

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters, Volume II

The Satow-Gubbins Correspondence and

Satow's Letters to Hon. H. Marsham

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters, Volume II:
The Satow-Gubbins Correspondence and Satow's Letters to Hon. H. Marsham

Edited by Ian Ruxton
With a Foreword by J.E. Hoare

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John Harington Gubbins (1852-1929)



Hon. Henry Marsham (1845-1908) in the centre of photograph, c. 1906
(Reproduced with permission of Maidstone Museum & Bentsley Art Gallery)

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters, Volume II

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Foreword

The bulk of this volume is made up of letters exchanged between John Harington Gubbins (1852-1929) and his former boss and friend, Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929). Satow had supervised Gubbins as a language student in Japan, and Gubbins eventually had succeeded him as the principal Japanese-speaking officer in the British Legation, the Japan Secretary. Of all the men who held this post between 1862 and 1941, these two were the best Japanese scholars and the most academic in their outlook. Together with another colleague, W. G. Aston (1841-1911), and Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), who taught at Tokyo Imperial University, they laid the foundations of Japanese studies in Britain.

There is one letter from 1908, just as Gubbins was retiring from the Foreign Office. Otherwise, the letters date from 1912-1918 and then from 1922-1927, providing a fascinating insight to the interests and lives of the two men. The majority are from Gubbins. These sometimes have the briefest of notes about Satow's side of the exchange. While both pursued their scholarly interests, Satow had moved on from things Japanese, into international law and diplomatic practice. The letters are full of comments on books and journals. Both read widely, in several languages, though Satow confesses at one point to have forgotten most of his Korean. Gardening was also a delight to both, though Gubbins, in rented accommodation in London and later in Scotland, had less scope than Satow at Ottery St. Mary in Devon.

The years take their toll. Both suffer regular bouts of sickness. The main cure seems to be bed rest, though Satow found himself on a wine diet, while the "almost teatotal (sic)" Gubbins had to drink stout. Before long, he confesses to quite enjoying it. Old friends and colleagues also fall ill and some die. From mid-1914, the war dominates Gubbins' letters for two main reasons. He was employed on war work as a censor of Japanese correspondence, which involved long hours somewhat alleviated by being allowed to work from home, and he had two sons at the front. While illness and general irascibility may have made him seem an uncaring parent, the letters reveal his pride in and concern for his children, even though he may not have shown it. As well as the two boys, he had three daughters. Their education and training for suitable jobs clearly preoccupied him much, especially as they too seemed prone to illness. Satow, with no family involved, wrote in March 1919 that he had not followed war developments much. But he was active in local patriotic associations. (Letters in Volume III to Lord Reay show that Satow was interested in some aspects of the war, such as law of the sea issues. He may have assumed that Gubbins was not.)

Unlike other parts of the Satow papers, this volume casts little light on developments in East Asia or wider issues. Yet it still retains interest for the account it gives of how two people well-versed in political matters viewed the changes thrown up by the First World War

and its aftermath. They could be remarkably conventional, worrying about the breakup of empires and the spread of socialism. Both opposed the enfranchisement of women as against the natural order of things. Yet Gubbins thought that it was only right that Ramsay Macdonald and the Labour Party should be given a chance to form a government in 1924. While sometimes exasperated by the expenses and the frequent changes of mind involved, he nevertheless allowed his daughters to experiment with various career prospects.

The last section moves into a different arena. Henry Marsham, the third son of the Earl of Romney, was a former army officer turned businessman. He and Satow developed a friendship out of Marsham's interest in Chinese and Japanese ceramics and other objets d'art. His collection is now in the Maidstone Museum in Kent. The letters, all from Satow, have the occasional interesting political aside but they are much given up to apologies for failure to meet or arrangements for meeting. One suspects that originally Satow had many such letters from a variety of people but eventually discarded them.

J E Hoare

October 2019

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Paper In Japanese

イアン・ラックストン

「神園」第二十一号 令和元年五月

明治神宮国際神道文化研究所

明治維新百五十年記念特別展 ギャラリートーク③

「外交官アーネスト・サトウが見た明治日本

—— 江戸開城談判から条約改正まで ——」

PRO 30/33 11/8

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins¹

1. Gubbins² to Satow

Moor View

South Brent [on the southern edge of Dartmoor]

Xmas Eve 1908

My dear Sir Ernest

This is just a line to send you our best wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

You are I am sure right about the Tokugawas, with the exception of Ieyasu and perhaps one or two others, never having ruled in the strict sense of the word. But don't you think that the family system is responsible for the oligarchical tendencies in both Japan and China? The nominal rule of the head of the family, the head of a clan, and the head of the State whether Shôgun or Mikado, is it not all the effect of the same system?

I am now wading through one of my volumes on Bushidô. What a lot of rubbish one has to read through in Japanese books in order to extract anything of real value! I have five books if not more to glance through. The one that attracts me most is a reprint of a work written in the Tempô period. It seems more matter of fact than most of such compilations, and does not begin with the divine age and ramble along through successive periods of remote history gleaning nothing practically on the way like the one I am now engaged in. [W.G.] Aston writes me Japanese bushidô is simply Japanese Confucianism. This is not quite correct but to a large extent all morality in Japan, as you know better than I do, rests on a Chinese basis. Poor Aston seems very poorly, he has a special nurse at present.

I shall invite myself to you very possibly at the end of January for a day or two if you will not be too much bored by a visit.

¹ Gubbins, John Harrington, C.M.G. (1852-1929). Appointed a student interpreter in Japan, April 14, 1871. Was attached, in April 1886, as English Secretary to the Conference at Tokyo for the Revision of the Treaties. Promoted to be Japanese Secretary, June 1, 1889. Employed at the Foreign Office from February to July 1894, in the negotiations which resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty with Japan of July 16, 1894. Was a British Delegate on the Tariff Commission appointed for negotiation of the supplementary convention with Japan of July 16, 1895. Acting Chargé d'Affaires in Corea from May 18, 1900 to November 4, 1901. Given the local rank of Secretary of Legation in the Diplomatic Service, June 26, 1902. Retired on a pension, September 10, 1909. Died February 23, 1929. [F.O. List, 1930]

² See Ian Nish, 'John Harrington Gubbins, 1852-1929' in Ian Nish (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume II, Ch. 8., pp. 107-119 (Japan Library, 1997). 'Harrington' is the spelling given in the F.O. List and *Who Was Who, 1929-40*.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow

24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Yours Always Sincerely

J. H. Gubbins

2. Gubbins to Satow

Tudor House

Worplesdon [near Guildford, Surrey]

18th Dec. 1912

My dear Sir Ernest

Zô-kei 造詣 is progress – and the meaning of the phrase is apparently: “not much progress has yet been made in this science”, which one might regard as true in the case of the Whethams’ studies.

You asked me once about the phrase “happy despatch”. What the New Dicty says about it I noted down some time ago but never sent to you. The first use of the word seems to have been in 1859 when the “Times” of the 26th March had in a leading article:

“The Japanese are taught the science mystery or accomplishment of “Happy Dispatch”.”

The same dictionary tells us that in Baldwin’s Moral Philosophy the following passage occurs: “To the godly death is the most happy messenger and quick despatcher of all such displeasures.”

It almost looks as if this sentence had given the original idea. What do you think?

Zôkei is quite a modern word I think. It is added in pencil in one of my copies of my dicty; I am sorry your copy is defective.

The post that brought your letter brought one from Aldis telling me that Jenkinson was ill with jaundice. I shall try and get to Cambridge to see him when he is well again.

I have nearly finished my reading for the first chapter of the next book. I want to make it a link between old and new Japan, describing the conditions of things politically in some detail, and giving an idea in a few words – not more than 2 or 3 pages – of the international aspect of affairs at the time of the restoration.

I hope you are keeping very well. What a nice Xmas card you sent us. It shows your house to great advantage. But for all that it conveys no impression as to the great comfort within. The great point about Beaumont is that it is as cozy inside as it is attractive outside.

When I saw Kato 6 weeks ago I formed the impression that he would soon return to Tokio. The situation there is curious. Katsura is suspected of wanting to control the young Emperor. He and Yamagata do not seem to be cordial. It is curious how Choshu’s division into 2 or 3 parties is continued. Ito, Yamagata and Inouye had

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always a separate identity and policy though they were Choshu men.

My wife & I have had long colds, and I feel rather out of sorts still. The country is rather gloomy just now but the weather is not encouraging. I love the quiet of things here. We are quieter than you even in Ottery, but then we are 2½ miles from a station.

Goodbye for the present.

Yours always sincerely

J.H.Gubbins

My hands are so cold and my pen so bad that you will be clever to read this.

3. Letter to Gubbins from Leiden

Rijks Ethnographisch Museum

Leiden 15 April 1917

Dear Mr. Gubbins,

I am delighted to be able to send you the information wanted by Sir Ernest Satow. It was not very easy to find it out, as the Leyden Library does not possess 1756 of the Gazette de Leyde...[part omitted]

As I am in doubt about Sir Satow's address (Beaumont?), I send you the statement, in order to be sure that it will come into his hands. I also write him a postcard, in the hope that it may reach him.

With kind regards to Mrs. Gubbins,

Yours sincerely

M W de Visser

4. Post card to Satow from Visser at Leiden

5. Gubbins to Satow (p.8)

C/o Miss Oxenden

Miramar,

St. Brelade,

Jersey

17 Oct. 1915

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thank you very much for the copy of your new book which you have sent me. I shall read it with an increased interest because the war has given the subject of belligerent rights over property carried in ships special importance. What strikes me at a first glance – and it was the impression produced when I looked at the proofs at Beaumont –

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is the precision with which your facts are marshalled.

My previous letters would, I fear, have conveyed the false impression that I was prohibited altogether from writing. This is not the case. But my doctors have insisted on rest as the one thing needful. And by the time my W.O. work is finished I have not had much energy left. Moreover, the writing of letters is the thing that has tried me most since my breakdown in 1880.

So many thanks for your long and interesting letter. You knew “Juliet” it seems. I was hoping you had not yet met her!

My niece (if you were more of a novel reader you might have read one of her stories) has been making a garden here for the last four years, and the results are now beginning to shew themselves. She has many irises, some roses (the American Pillar wh. I sent her after seeing it in your garden at Beaumont has done very well) for which the soil of Jersey does not always answer, and a considerable area of rock garden which consumes much time & energy, but for which Jersey is specially suited.

The cottage in which I write is sheltered in a little fold of the hills which are the chief feature of the island and looks South over the water of St. Brelade’s Bay which the steamers from England pass on their way to St Helier. We are only $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the sea.

I am sorry you have had rather a pessimistic account of Russian conditions from Lindley. He is not a very thoughtful or original person, but such people perhaps convey truer impressions than others because they are more apt to reflect the general atmosphere of their surroundings.

Things generally seem to be going not too well for us. But I do not allow myself to be unduly depressed. Because in the first place it is one’s duty to be cheerful, and secondly in a Great War like this there must occur much which no one can exactly foresee. What upsets me rather is the apparent want of clear-sighted policy and resolution on the part of the Govt. But then, as you know, I am not a believer in Sir E. Grey. In character he is too much like the late Lord Salisbury to inspire me with any confidence.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

6. Gubbins to Satow (p.10)

82, York Mansions

Battersea Park, S.W.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Dec 29, 1915

My dear Sir Ernest

My answer to yours of the 19th has been delayed by a recurrence of my chronic trouble which drove me to bed and there a haemorrhage of the bowels, not however regarded as serious by the doctors, has detained me. But I am better and hope to be able shortly to get about as usual.

Under the circumstances, much as I should like to help you by looking up American State Papers at the British Museum, I must renounce the pleasure. I have been meditating a visit there for some months for various reasons, but the opportunity must wait until I am stronger.

I have had another medical consultation, this time with new men, one, a general practitioner – the other, Hadley, a leading consulting physician of Queen Anne Street. The result is on the whole encouraging. Previous opinion advising no operation is confirmed, and the trouble diagnosed as gall bladder (either gallstones or some other local irritation). I wish I had seen Hadley 8 years ago. My teatotal instincts are also gratified, though prohibition is not insisted on.

I won't worry you further with my small miseries. When I feel really better and able to tramp about Devonshire lanes as before I will make bold to remind you of all your kind invitations and ask you to let me pay you a visit.

Fortunately for the peace of mind of the War Office I have been able – except for a month in Hampshire – to continue my censorship of Japanese correspondence. Like most work it comes in rushes and during Xmas week my hands were full. It is not always edifying reading. One hears a good deal of sharp comment on English things which one would prefer to criticize oneself.

The papers announce today the Cabinet decision to enforce the principle of compulsion. Better late than never.

I don't know Clarke-Thornhill's³ hotel in Sidmouth. But I have written to his town address and said you will be pleased to see him. So he will probably call or write.

I wonder if you who know so much can tell me when the startling change in the standing of English clergymen took place. It must have been after the middle of the 18th Century. For Macaulay's graphic picture of the status of country clergymen in England

³ Thomas Bryan Clarke-Thornhill (1857-1934). British diplomat and collector who gave over 70 East Asian textiles and other objects to the Victoria & Albert Museum. He joined the diplomatic corps in 1881, serving in the British legation in Tokyo in the 1880s (as Second Secretary from 1887 to 1891).

See <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/thomas-bryan-clarke-thornhill-1857-1934/> accessed 8 March 2019.

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referred to the end of the 17th Century.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I wish I could tell you any useful facts regarding the way in which American mediation took place in 1905. But my knowledge is confined entirely to the Japanese side of the negotiations. J.H.G.

7. Gubbins to Satow (p.11)

82, York Mansions

Battersea Park, S.W.

Feb 22, 1916

My dear Sir Ernest

Your letter of yesterday was very welcome. A letter to you from me has been in my thoughts for some time past. But it has never materialized owing to a bad bout of neuralgia induced by too much censorship work. There has been a great increase of work in the last 2 months and I rather foolishly tried to keep up with the rush instead of adhering to doctors' instructions not to work more than a specified time every day.

Your kind invitation is very tempting and I will certainly avail myself of it if I possibly can. I don't think the War Office will object to sending my work to Ottery. They have not objected before but the envelopes which come to me are now so bulky that this may make a difference. However I will not anticipate difficulties.

I am really not surprised at the cool request of the Librarian of the London University. All University officials are inclined to be greedy and parsimonious I think. It is the system which is at fault rather than the men.

I read Lecky's chapter on the English church which you kindly recommended to me. It is very interesting but he deals mainly with the political influence of the church, and does not solve for me the puzzle I mentioned.

[William Roscoe] Thayer's book on John Hay I made a note of some little time ago so that I might get it from the "Times" Book Club. But I have not seen it yet. You are right I am sure about what you call the unholy battle of concessions. It is easy for me to say this because I have always felt the same as you do on this subject. In Corea I had a sharp argument with Jordan on the policy he pursued in this respect in imitation of his colleagues. He said we must work in support of British interests. I said that the haphazard buying of mines through bribery by needy speculators was not a legitimate British interest. As you know our British gold mine was a failure from the first, and

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some people in England who could not afford to lose the money were sufferers.

I met Jessie Hannen yesterday at the D'Iffanques[?] at tea. She looked well & is very stout. She is working hard at different war things. Beau has a commission in the A.S.C. [Army Service Corps]⁴ and will be going to the front soon I suppose.

Believe me

Yours always sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

8. Gubbins to Satow (p.12)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Apr 12, 1916

My dear Sir Ernest,

Since I last wrote to you I have read Thayer's life of Hay. It is an interesting book, but I was disappointed with it – why I hardly know. Have you read "The Partition of Poland"? It is very readable, and its publication just now is quite useful.

I wonder if you have felt inclined to quarrel with any of the "Spectator's" articles lately. I have. Sometimes I think I am right; at others I am inclined to believe the feeling may be the effect of East wind. In a recent number I noticed a letter from you; likewise one from Currey.⁵ The other day I wrote a line to the Editor pointing out that Lord Cromer in a review of some book was wrong in an illustration he gave. Bismarck's diplomatic policy, he said, was to irritate his "antagonists", following the principle underlying the use of the picadores in Spanish bullfights. Picadores, I explained, were used not to make the bull angry, but to tire him, and to diminish the risk run by the Espada [lit. sword, here 'matador' who wields the sword]. But he did not put my letter in.

About the war I am not pessimistic. But it is making me pessimistic about things which have nothing to do with it. I used to have an idea – a foolish one no doubt – that it was possible to persuade a nation of the wisdom or folly of certain courses of policy. I think so no longer. The writings and speeches of the cleverest men have no effect on

⁴ Nicholas James "Beau" Hannen OBE (1881-1972) was a British actor of the early and mid-20th century who acted in stage plays and films. He was commissioned into the Army Service Corps in 1915, was mentioned in dispatches and awarded an OBE in the 1919 Birthday Honours for valuable service rendered in connection with military operations in France.

⁵ Cmdr. E. Hamilton Currey, R.N. (1857- 1916). Retired 1902. Author of *Sea-Wolves of the Mediterranean*.

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men's minds in the mass, unless they are backed up by considerations of a practical kind which they can understand, and which affect or seem to affect their interests. The present free trade system owes its existence to the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. All the eloquence of Bright and Cobden was of no avail. And when it makes room for something else, its disappearance will be due not to the efforts of the Tariff Reform League but simply to the war.

Did you see [Joseph Henry] Longford's⁶ letter to the "Times" some little time ago? It read like a self-advertisement, and the 'Times' heading "Too old at sixty" was rather disingenuous, for he must be close on 70.

Ottery must be beginning to look very pretty. Like Easter the spring is late. Here in England one notices the same arrested growth at a certain time early in the year. Before then buds form apace and there is every appearance of spring. Even the birds are deceived. Then there is a sudden change. Winter re-assumes its sway, and the prospect is forlorn. Year after year the same thing happens with unfailing regularity.

Yesterday I got "The Main Illusions of Pacifism" by [George Gordon] Coulton which Lord Cromer reviewed for "The Spectator". The book seems very sound, but it is distinctly dull. Don't you think books refuting other books are always rather tiresome? They suffer in style inevitably in the very nature of things.

I am looking forward to my visit to you at the end of this month, or the beginning of May. But I fear I shall be a very unsociable guest. My work comes in rushes and takes all the morning and a good slice of the afternoon.

Shand I saw last Sunday when I went over for tea. He looked well but tired. We talked a little about the war; we both think that it will be difficult for America to avoid breaking off relations. One of our girls was in Edinburgh during the Zeppelin raid. Several bombs fell close to her grandmother's house in Abbotsford []. Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I have just heard from Thornhill. He is back in town & comes to tea on Friday.

9. Gubbins to Satow (p.15)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.
June 5, 1916
My dear Sir Ernest

⁶ See Ian Ruxton, 'Joseph Henry Longford (1849-1925), Consul and Scholar' in Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume VI, pp. 307-314.

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I was sorry to see in the “Westminster Gazette” the death of Mr. [Henry] Tozer your brother-in-law. He had reached a great age and from what you told me of his state of health when I was at Beaumont I gathered that in the natural course of things the end could not be far off. I am sure you know how sincerely my wife and I sympathize with you.

[Alexander Allan] Shand⁷ showed me the “Westminster” when I was there to tea this afternoon. I had not seen any other notice. I found Shand and his daughter looking very well, Shand much higher than when I last saw him. He had met Sakadani the Senior Japanese delegate to the Paris Economic Conference. He told me he had the best authority for stating that “Lord Kitchener’s opinion was that the war would end this year!” I expressed my surprise and he seemed also to think it strange, but he assured me that his authority was completely reliable. Certainly Kitchener’s opinion must carry great weight, but I reminded Shand of the opinions expressed in Nov. 1914, & again in October last, by prominent men on French’s staff as to the early termination of the war. I cannot bring myself to think that the Germans can possibly accept the Allies’ terms, as foreshadowed by the Prime Minr. in his memorable speech, to which reference has so often since been made, without fighting to the bitter end.

I have read Piggott’s lecture on Blockade etc. From the legal point of view I cannot pretend to criticize. But it is, I venture to think, a brilliant piece of writing – and I do not like much that Piggott writes – and I really think you should read it. Even if it is only special pleading, it is very clever, and what he says is very clearly and forcibly put.

I have had an easy week of work, and I have been able to finish my reading of Mr. Yamada’s book on the Mongol invasion. The book is not a good one, & the author has cribbed a whole page from that imaginative historian Dr. [W.E.] Griffis without acknowledgement. But in my review I wrote round the subject & said as little as possible in the way of criticism. So I dare say the author & publisher will be pleased on the whole. After all it is a feat in itself to write a readable book, or any book at all, in a foreign language, & much must be pardoned to an author who accomplishes it.

What mourning there is in English homes after this sea fight! My wife has lost a cousin who was flag-lieut. to Adm. Arbuthnot on the “Defence”. No one on his ship was saved. Later news shows that the losses of the enemy were in ships greater than our own, and that the action ended in our favour. But one grieves at the sacrifice of officers & men. Some say that Beattie was rash, but it is a fault that the English people are only

⁷ See Olive Checkland and Norio Tamaki, ‘Alexander Allan Shand, 1844-1930 –a Banker the Japanese could Trust’ in Ian Nish (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume II, Ch. 5, pp. 65-78.

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too willing to condone.

I acted on your suggestion in sending the last review to Lane Cook[?] & asked him if he could lend me Vol. IX of the R[oyal].H[istorical]. Society's Transactions with [P.H.] Ditchfield's paper on Macaulay's Errors regarding the position of 'Squires and Parsons' in the 17th Century. He may not of course have a copy at his disposal. If he has & can lend it, I will tell you what Ditchfield says.

Kindest remembrances please to the Tukes[?] if they are still with you.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Devonshire has done me all the good in the world.

10. Gubbins to Satow (p.17)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Aug 11, 1916

My dear Sir Ernest

When I said in a recent letter that I would wait to borrow the 2nd Vol. of [William Cobbett's] Rural Rides till I was again at Beaumont I did not mean to invite myself to stay again with you so soon after my long visit in May. I simply did not want to trouble you to send the 2nd Vol., as I thought I shd. be too busy to read it. When you are back from your visit to the Reays it will be time eno' for me to think of visiting Devonshire again.

Thank you so much for letting me know Lord Coleridge's answer in regard to the lines which I had thought were Coleridge's but never could find. Perhaps I shall invoke the assistance of the "Spectator".

I have read lately in spare moments [Stanley] Washburn's "Victory in Defeat", a charming account of his experience with the Russian armies during the great retreat of 1915. And I am just finishing [Louis de] Beyens' "L'Allemagne avant la Guerre". The first half is most interesting. The latter half is ancient history to many who have read so much of what he says elsewhere.

My children are spending this hot weather in Yorkshire, visiting by relays. I shall probably go there to fetch them back the week after next. Just now they are on the moors some ten miles from Northallerton, where the railway ends. I am like yourself in affection for moors.

The last fortnight has been rather hard work. The new Russo-Japanese agreement has

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been discussed – so far at least as its purport is known – in several Japanese papers and my pen has been kept pretty busy.

My second daughter is very anxious to be trained in the looking after of horses & dogs! She rides well and can drive a bit, and she is devoted to dogs. I am afraid there is no special branch of ‘land work’ which deals with dogs & horses. Should you hear of any, will you let me know. Her idea is to learn her work in a regular way and then try & get the position of a lady groom! I don’t think the idea is a practical one, and I have told her so.

Hoping you will have a pleasant visit to your friends at Galashiels.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

11. Gubbins to Satow (p. 19)

“Ans[wered] 29/8”

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Aug 28, 1916

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter and invitation. I have seen Shand and he tells me he is writing to suggest going to you on the 28th, a day earlier than you mentioned. That will just be a month from next Thursday. Will you let me come the same day? Then we can travel together. And will you also kindly let me put off deciding, as to your suggestion to stay on a few days longer after the 4th October, till after I reach you?

You see I am not quite my own master, the less so perhaps now that I have begun to work regularly under that office, where I put in an hour or so every two or three days dictating translations & memoranda to short-hand typists. [It is wonderful how quickly they take things down, and it saves me hours of writing.] So I do not think I can get away for more than a week at the end of next month, and in any case I must consult the department first.

Yes I think Beyen’s book is good; also Prothero’s “German Policy before the War”; and so is Wile’s “The Assault”, but the title might be improved. I would recommend it to you, but Wile was Berlin correspondent of the ‘Daily Mail’ for many years, and I have too much respect for your prejudices to ask you to read a book the author of which has such connections. He agrees with Beyens that the whole German people are not responsible for the war; only the military caste and the universities with a sprinkling of

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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business men (a curious brotherhood in any case). Prothero⁸ and Robertson (the author who wrote “The Germans”) on the other hand, and most Englishmen, think that the German people as a whole are more or less responsible; the degree denoting the distance of the individual from the military, intellectual or capitalist circles.

You will be pleased to hear that our boy Colin has got the Military Cross. It is not in the Gazette yet; nor will it be for many days I fancy. He told us in a letter. His battery was moved a month ago about 40 miles, but whether N.S.E. or W. we do not know. At present he is having 10 days duty on the Hd. Qrs. staff.

I will tell you the train to expect me by when I know if the 28th will be quite convenient.

I did not like to write to Miss Dickinson but I must summon up my courage & do so.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I wonder what you think of Italy’s declaration of war and of Greece’s position. I have been alarmed lately, though perhaps unnecessarily, at articles from Petrograd in the “Sunday Times” stating 1) that there is danger in Russia of an early peace owing to reactionary influences in Govt. circles, and 2) that there is danger of a food crisis so severe as to be nearly a famine. Shand talks of Sir E. Grey (now Lord Grey) looking for peace in October! He would do anything I think.

12. Gubbins to Satow (p.21)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.
Oct 25, 1916
My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter and enquiries. I am quite well again. There is a good deal of flue in London. In the Mansions almost everyone has had it. Fortunately it is a mild type. I do not wonder at your joy in being based in your Devonshire house. London has few attractions for me, and apparently not many for you, but it is good for you to go there sometimes, if only in order that you may feel how good it is to be in Devonshire.

⁸ Sir George Walter Prothero (1848-1922). Historian, writer and academic. Historical Advisor to the Foreign Office. Editor of Peace Handbooks (published through H.M.S.O. c. 1920) which were briefing books on countries, territorial and economic questions, prepared on behalf of the F.O. for British negotiators at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Satow wrote the book titled *International Congresses*, and Gubbins wrote *Japan*.

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Can you tell me the origin of the quotation one sees occasionally in the papers in connection with In Memoriam notices?

“I shall remember while the light lasts, and in the darkness I will not forget.”

So you liked Oliver’s Life of Alexander Hamilton. I am very glad, for personally I never like friends not to like books I mention to them. And yet it often happens.

Yes, I quite agree with you about the Empire and the need for a central parliament or council. Many of us have for some 20 years past felt that the Empire wanted some new clothes, but it took this war to bring it home to the nation at large, and I sometimes wonder if enough people have learnt the lesson even now to make certain that the new garments will fit properly. The issue should be simplified, when the thing begins to be worked out, by the fact that the general form of the change – a loose federation – recommends itself to all. And seeing what economic union has done for Germany it might be wise to make a beginning in this direction first of all. If the various parts of the Empire can agree on Customs questions, it will take a good deal to keep them apart as regards other matters.

I have been reading several books since I left Beaumont. The one I liked best is “England and the Catholic Church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth” by [A.O.] Meyer. I read it in translation, the publisher being Cassell (if I remember rightly). The struggle between Spain & England is well described, and the prominent part played by the Jesuits in England I never understood properly before reading this book.

Probably you would not have thanked me for the suggestion, but I am sorry I did not suggest to you before the insertion of marginal quotations on the pages of your book on diplomacy. They help the eye so much, and might have been useful in a text book as your new book really is.

Hoping you will keep free from ‘flue ad other city evils.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

If you see Miss [Mary] Dickinson, will you say that I followed her advice and went with my second girl yesterday to “The Women’s National Land Service Corps” in Upper Baker Street and had a long talk with them. They are going to write to me later on. I am very grateful to her for giving me the address.

13. Gubbins to Satow (p.23)

“Ans[wered] 12/11”

82 York Mansions,

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov 9, 1916

I have two letters of yours to answer. In the last dated yesterday you ask a question about the Censorship. You cannot do better than write to Pearson the Chief Censor. His address – (I forget the name of the “House”) – or rather one that should find him all right is:

Colonel G.S.H. Pearson

Chief Censor

War Office Postal Censorship

Kingsway

W.C.

The Postal Censorship has occupied Imperial House, King’s House, Govt House & other places before moving into the present new building behind the Law Courts.

Many thanks for the Enclosure in your first letter. I have read it with much interest. The influence of ancestral worship I have tried to explain to people in England, but I fear with little success. No Englishman who has not travelled tastes any interest in things outside Pall Mall, if he is a club man, or, if he is not of this class, in anything outside his immediate circle – which is usually a narrow one. As for things in the Far East, he sometimes asks questions out of politeness to you, but his curiosity is easily satisfied.

Have Constable & Co. sent you a new weekly magazine called “The New Europe”? It is rather interesting.

I have heard a little about Greece lately. There is a hope – I think more than a faint one – that King Gino’s anti-Entente intrigues will be stopped shortly. It seems that there has been some misunderstanding between Vt.[Viscount] Grey & M. Briand which is at the bottom of the military inaction at Salonika and the unaccountable coquetting with the Athens Govt. I wish, as you know, that we had some one else at the F.O. We do not want either idealists or philosophers at the F.O. or the Admiralty. We want practical men of the world.

I have not seen Shand since we were y[ou]r guests. But I sent him today, through Ida Shand whom I met calling on a mutual friend in Sister Agnes’s Hospital in Grosvenor Gardens, the name of a book wh. will tell him all he wants to know about the Yugo-Slav question he was asking about at Beaumont.

We hope to arrange shortly for our 2nd girl to go on the land. The matter is practically arranged, but the candidate is in bed with a chill and the final steps cannot be taken until she is up & out again.

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Thank you for taking so much trouble about the quotation.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

14. Gubbins to Satow (p. 25)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov 11, 1916

My dear Sir Ernest,

I forgot to mention in my answer that you were of course right in thinking that printed matter of all kinds must be sent through the publishers. The reason that I could not give you the name of House and street for Pearson's address is a very simple one. I have mislaid his last letter, and my poor memory cannot retain the last of the several P.C. addresses, though I wrote it nearly every day for 6 months.

When I was in the City the other day I called at the Yokohama Nursery Co. Ltd. in Kingsway and asked about Iris Gracilifes. Unfortunately they had none in stock. As you know, bulbs cannot be imported any more for the present. I took the opportunity to tell the manager, who is English, about the Yonézawa and Morioka apples, and explained that I was very anxious to import some young trees into England, as the apples were better than any in England. He said he had never heard of either, but would make enquiries at once and let me know the result. I could not, of course, give him the botanical names, if they exist, (fruit trees like roses etc. have the grower's names, or fancy names given by the growers, have they not?). But I wrote a description of the apples for him, and said they were imported from California between 30 and 40 years ago. Perhaps your botanist son [Hisayoshi] would know the names they had in California at the time they were introduced into Japan.

I hope things may improve in Greece & elsewhere, but we must be prepared for an anxious Xmas. Like you, I am very confident of the final result, though I deprecate the constant harping upon the fact by our Ministers & others. It reminds one of people shouting to keep up their courage, as of the 'Hit me again' attitude of the Street Arab. Things may possibly, I will not say probably, get worse before they mend. It's a habit they've got, as Highlanders say.

Wilson's election may be good for us in more ways than one. In the first place he is more or less a known quantity, and secondly the Germans did not want him to be re-elected.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I am sorry to say our daughter who was going on the land is in bed with a temperature. it is not flu, which makes us a bit anxious. London air is full of illness just now.

J.H.G.

15. Gubbins to Satow (p. 27)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov. 18, 1916.

My dear Sir Ernest

I was very interested in reading the Peking Gazette you sent me. The gentleman whose machinations are described is classified in the “Japan Year Book” as a “political boss”, from which you & I can make certain deductions which are probably not far from the truth. “Political rōnin [masterless samurai]” for those who knew the old Japan comes, perhaps, nearer the mark. How strong is the survival of certain types! The Irish political agitator is another of the same kind. The Japanese probably find this class of person still useful, and the mere fact of his existence is not a credit to Japan. And one of the writers in the paper you enclose is undoubtedly right when he attributes the encouragement of the Sōshi (- my word-) in Japan to the weakness of the Govt. When you come to think that Miura, the man who organized the murder of the Queen [Min] of Corea is now a Privy Councillor, and a very active supporter of the Genro influence (he took a prominent part in this last change of Ministry), it does not look as if Japan’s future were going to be a very peaceful one. Personally I have little doubt that Japan is fishing in troubled waters in Manchuria & Mongolia & indeed further South. The Americans are getting uneasy. I see they are beginning to go back on their foolish policy of not taking part in “political loans”. They may shy at the term, but no one knows better than yourself that when people lend money to a country in the condition of China the door cannot be shut on politics. America cannot afford to abdicate in favour of Japan in the Far East. Ten years ago I wrote memos for F.O. to show that there was no fear of war between America & Japan unless something amazingly silly were done on one side or the other, which there was no reason to expect. Today I should not write so confidently.

I wish you knew the American fruit grower’s names for the Yonezawa & Morioka

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apples. It would simplify things.

Now I must stop for the present.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I saw Pownall⁹ at luncheon in a friend's club the other day. He is looking old & tired.

Please tell me if you can what has happened to McMahon, & why Wingate has succeeded him in Egypt.

16. Gubbins to Satow (p. 29)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Decr. 8, 1916.

My dear Sir Ernest

It was really my turn to write and I have been intending to do so for some days past. Before, however, my good intentions were carried out your letter of the 6th came to remind me of my sins. I hope the roses will be a success and that they are not varieties you already have. To send roses, or indeed anything else, to your garden is like sending coals to Newcastle (or one might say Cardiff now-a-days). Your garden gives me so much pleasure when I go to Beaumont that I am selfish enough to wish to add to my personal interest in it.

In your letter of 27th Novr. you mentioned the receipt of an 'Etymological Vocabulary of the Japanese Language'. This sounds interesting. The omission of Corean seems at first sight startling. Perhaps there is a reason wh. the author explains. Some time I shd. like very much to look at the book. Just at present, however, my hands are full. The office typists are overwhelmed, it seems, with work, and I have been asked "for the present" to relieve the congestion by doing my work in writing at home. Perhaps when Dumas & Reichstags have ceased their sittings I shall be able to resume my dictation at the office, but there seems to be so much unrest and confusion everywhere just now that I cannot be certain of this.

Thank you for the two enclosures in your letter, which I return. The translation from Claudian is very clever. Don't you think we might apply some of it to England? I wish I could say all. The verses about the lady guest are quite delightful.

Asquith was, I suppose, right in advising the King to send for Bonar Law. Did you

⁹ Probably Charles Assheton Whately Pownall (1848-1920), principal engineer for the Japanese Government railways in 1891.

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notice Sir H[enry]. Howorth's letter on the subject in yesterday's "Times"?

How events have crowded one upon another in the last month! History is being made almost faster than pens can record it. It is fortunate that we live in an age of type-writers and telephones. The telephone expenditure of London during the last week must have been rather heavy. I have not been in the way of hearing much myself about politics in England. Yesterday, however, I met a soldier friend at the Rag. He had just come back from the front and did not talk very cheerfully. Today I met another friend on leave. After lunch we walked across the Park to Hyde Park corner. He was going to interview the Mil: Secty. at the War Office. He was not cheerful either, and seemed to think we had made a mess of things in Athens, and would find it hard to maintain ourselves at Salonika.

I quite agree with you about Balfour & the F.O. Tonight's papers seem to point to his replacing Lord Grey. I hope they will find some one else. Lord Curzon has been talked of but he is hardly robust eno' to stand the heavy work of the post. They say Lord Hardinge is a weak man, but he is at least a diplomatist by training, and that counts for a good deal.

The "Westminster" tonight speaking of the Reform Club meeting says "Mr. Asquith looked rosy & smiling." The "Evening Standard" describes him as looking haggard & worn! What is one to believe?

It is a very curious political situation and there is some excuse for anxiety, especially as the war outlook for the moment is dark. If I had 'Martin Chuzzlewit' in the house I should read about Mark Tapley & try to imitate his philosophy.

Clarke-Thornhill goes to Bath next week to take the [spa] waters. He ought to have lived a hundred years ago. He does not seem to belong to this century.

My wife joins me in very kind regards & admires "The Perfect Guest". Some day you must tell me who wrote it.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

17. Gubbins to Satow (p. 31)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

30 Dec. 1916.

My dear Sir Ernest

Again a letter from you has come in the midst of good intentions on my part to write to you. This time only force majeure prevented my writing. A week ago one of my

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usual chronic attacks came on. Two days ago I felt well eno' to get up, but the attack returned with renewed vigour, and I am writing in bed and likely to remain there for a few days longer. Fortunately my work is not seriously interfered with; in fact it goes on just the same, except for the inconvenience of writing in bed.

Till your letter came I had forgotten all about the clematis, and even now my memory is vague on the subject. I think I asked an Exeter florist (one whose name & plant-price-list you gave me I think) to send it to you. He was also to send one to my niece in Jersey at the same time. My work and other things – small worries but worries all the same – have made me forget many things. The place you have chosen for newcomer sounds delightful, but I fear the old-established cousin may not give him a kind reception.

The last month has been so crowded with interest that had Beaumont been only the distance of Oxford or Basingstoke I should certainly have invaded you for a night just to talk over things. Like you, I did not have much faith in the Asquith Ministry even with its new Coalition pinafore on. It seemed to make a fetish of 'Wait & see'. And as the vulgar "Daily Mirror" said: "The longer we waited the less we saw." The "Spectator" always told us the late Ministers were indispensable, and the way it rubbed the point in became rather a nuisance. Now with the easy conscience of a journalist Strachey is busy taking up a new position. I wonder whether he will accept State purchase in lieu of prohibition as a solution of the Drink difficulty.

We are lucky in our Xmas gathering both our sons being with us and our three girls, our gunner boy – now a captain (temp[orar]y.) at 20! – came last week and returns to the front tomorrow. He tells me there is just an off chance of his getting a battery of his own next summer. He would then be a temp[orar]y. Major at 21! One or two things new to me I have learnt from him. (1) We hoped to break through last July but had not eno' men. (2) The risk incurred by the various branches of the service is roughly in the following order:

1. Infantry (& cavalry when employed as infantry).
2. Field Artillery.
3. R.E.
4. Flying Corps.
5. Garrison Artillery.
6. Army Service.

My own impression was that the flying men had the riskiest job. Colin says this is not so. Machines are now so good and so much has been learnt in the last year that the risk has been reduced very considerably. Promotion is very quick on account of the enormous development of the R.F.C. in a short time. Colin is now sorry he did not

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accept the offer he got to join the corps a year ago. He would, he says, be a major by this time if he had.

The Wilson note [of December 18, 1916] is a great puzzle. The view taken in one or two papers (the M.P. for instance) that the chief reason for its despatch was the fear of being drawn into war later by German sub-marine frightfulness seems to be correct. A reason at once ignoble and undignified perhaps, but one which must have weight with so material a people as the Americans. It will not be the first time in the world that an idealist has by the irony of fate been forced to adopt an ultra-materialist policy. Personally I look upon the note as a shocking blunder, with no redeeming feature in it except, in American eyes the one which recommends it to the American public – namely the desire for peace at any price. If I were an American how angry I shd. be. First Wilson says he is too proud to fight. Then he says he sees no difference in the objects for which the two sets of belligerents are fighting. Something of the same sort he said earlier in the war if you remember.

Talking of these peace pour-parlers [negotiations] the papers have not failed to put a finger on the weak spot in the position of the central powers – the exhaustion of Austria. If in any way she can possibly avoid serious disruption in the final peace settlements such a result would be very greatly to the advantage of Germany. One might say that an Austria crippled but yet left much as she was before is just what Germany would like. The process of her absorption by Germany would then begin and be rapidly carried through, though not perhaps on Herr [Friedrich] Naumann's lines. And Germany would ultimately gain what she wants – a clear road from Hamburg to Constantinople with a prospect of its extension to Bagdad. A dismembered Austria now (or as the result of the war) would not suit Germany at all. The way to Constantinople & Bagdad would be barred, even if Russia did not get Constantinople – wh. of course she must. And Austria's exhaustion is working another way too for it is compelling her to put pressure on Germany in the direction of peace.

Since I was with you in Oct. I have read Central Europe [a translation of Naumann's *Mitteleuropa*, 1915?] and dislike it very much. It reads as if it was written to order as General Hamilton wrote his book damning conscription. The cynicism of his translation of "In necessariis unitas" etc. etc. makes a disagreeable impression, and the brutality of the suggestion for the establishment of State granaries to enable the State of Central Europe to conduct war with better advantage has never been surpassed.

I notice with interest how once more the starvation theory of the way in wh. the war will be won is coming to the fore again after a long disappearance. I have, as you know, believed always that the facts, as they were known before the war, relating to German

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consumption of food & cattle fodder must eventually be a determining factor in the struggle. We know more now than we did a year ago. We know that the absence of fertilizers has made a vast difference in the yield of the ground of Germany wh. on the whole is poor & needs intensive cultivation. We know that the supply of labour has diminished and wh. means almost as much, its quality deteriorated. And although the Germans have not yet said so, and prefer to blame us for all the shortage that exists, we know that the closing of the long Russian frontier has probably almost as much to do with German exhaustion as the British blockade.

Was not [Comdr. E. Hamilton] Currey's death a sad business? I heard of it from a neighbour a few days ago and wrote at once to Mrs. Currey. Poor thing she writes as one who has been stunned. Currey attracted me very much. After 40 or 50 one is not impressionable. But there was something about him which I liked at once, and the longer I knew him the more I got to like him. His address as probably you know is Oakmere Potter's bar.

Please excuse a very dull letter, and wishing you all the good wishes of the season.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

18. Gubbins to Satow (p. 35)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Decr. 31. 1916

My dear Sir Ernest

In writing yesterday I forgot to mention that the other day glancing at one of Merriman's novels (his "Velvet Glare" is one of my favourite books in that line) I noticed that the lines I asked you about were at the head of one of the chapters. The wording is not exactly the same, and the lines rhyme. They are given as follows:

I shall remember while the light lives yet

And in the darkness I will not forget.

This gives the impression of being a more correct version and the fact that the lines rhyme may furnish a clue to your Oxford friend. I wonder if he knows the elusive line "And calm thoughts regular as infants' breath."

I have just read Graham's "Russia and the World". For his earlier books I never cared much. There was too much word-painting so I thought. But I read and liked his account of Russian growth in Central Asia and this is a sort of illogical sequel written in a

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rambling way, and very simply and naturally. I almost think you would like it, but I don't recommend it, for the anti-Teuton undercurrent is rather more than marked in places. The comments on America and her people are very true.

I like the Allies answer don't you? It is in the "Observer" & "Sunday Times". My only criticism would be it is too long by just a little. But perhaps they or rather the writer who drafted it thought with Strachey it was an opportunity not to be missed.

JHG

19. Gubbins to Satow (p. 36)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Jan. 3. 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest

You must have been amused at my prompt acquiescence in the suggestion that the red clematis came from me. As a matter of fact I was very nearly suggesting to you that the source of the gift was Mrs. Tuke. But as I had long formed the intention of giving you a cutting of red clematis, and of ordering one for you at the same time as I ordered one for my Jersey niece, I came to the conclusion that I had really carried out my intention and paid for both while I was at Beaumont. Quite a long time ago I had asked Mrs. Tuke to spare me a cutting of hers for my niece, and in May last I wrote her again on the subject and asked her also to send to you some seeds of a white marsh mallow I had sent her from Wales in 1915. I am now asking myself whether the two things have mixed themselves up in Mrs. Tuke's mind, though I hesitate to do her the injustice of accusing her of the same muddle-headed condition of mind of which I am guilty.

The "Morning Post" has some interesting letters from its Washington correspondent on the subject of Wilson's Note and its underlying intention. He says that there was never any idea of well-meaning if inopportune and ill-advised benevolence on his part, but that he has made up his mind to stop the war and will spare no efforts to attain this object even if it shld. lead to a rupture with England. This, if true, and it sounds incredible, reveals a very serious situation. That he was ever afraid of hyphenated Americanism never occurred to me, nor did I think that his ignorance of foreign affairs would ever bring him to the point of threatening to put an end to the present struggle. I do not envy the U.S. President his present position. As far as domestic politics are concerned I gather from the papers that he has done well. As for foreign politics his knowledge of and dealing with them seem to be on the low level of much of the American diplomacy that we have seen in the Far East.

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It will be interesting to see the Allies Note to him when it is published, and to watch the sequel.

I am still in bed but apart from the usual discomforts of my attacks, wh. seem to be complicated with intercostal neuralgia, I am wonderfully well and able to work as well as ever.

With every good wish for the New Year,

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Is it possible the “Coleridge” sonnet quotation I gave you so much trouble about was written by Hartley Coleridge, the less famous brother?

20. Gubbins to Satow (p. 38)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Jan. 20. 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest

The opening lines are

“How seldom, friend, the good great man inherits

Honour or wealth for all his worth & pains

It sounds like stories from the land of spirits

If any man obtain that which he merits

Or any merit that which he obtains.”¹⁰

And the last three lines are

“And calm thoughts regular as infants’ breath

And three firm friends as strong as day or night

Himself, his Maker, & the Angel Death.”

Thanks for your enquiries. I am still fighting a bad obstinate attack, wh. needs all my poor stock of courage. But as long as I can do my work I ought not to grumble. Here in London I miss very much friends to talk to. I think the real drawback of a life in the East is felt only late in life. I would give much to travel & talk with you.

But that must wait. I am reading over again [Edmund] Purcell’s Life of Cardinal Manning. What a remarkable man he was. Not, however, a pleasing character.

We felt the explosion yesterday & guessed at once it must be a factory.

¹⁰ These lines are from Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s poem ‘The Good Great Man’.

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Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

21. Gubbins to Satow (p. 39)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Jan. 22, 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your p.c. I have always marvelled at the “M[orning] .P[ost].”’s Buda-Pesth letter, and wondered (1) how a Hungarian could write it, and (2) how it got past the Censor. As to the second point, however, the difficulty was not so great, for we are liked in the A-H. Empire, and in a state wh. hangs so loosely together many things are possible wh. could not happen elsewhere. I had seen a reference in the “Daily News” to the fact you mention but have not seen the article. I could not afford to subscribe to the Magazine, much as I was tempted to do so. The Petrograd article in the “Sunday Times” has interested me for the same reason as the M.P.’s Hungarian article. It is very radical & outspoken. I asked the Russian Section in the Office what they thought of it, and the answer was “very good”. And certainly the last reactionary steps wh. have lately been taken in Russia bear out the criticisms of the “Sunday Times” correspondent.

Future writers of what stands for History will make interesting remarks on the curious fact that in two at least of the Entente countries a political revolution and a war were going on side by side.

The Japanese papers lately received contain two articles published the same day, which openly admit that for the existing ill-will in China towards Japan the Jap. Govt. & people are responsible because of their contemptuous treatment of the Chinese both in China & Japan. This to me is amazing, not the fact, I mean, but the admission. Matters must have become serious for Japanese papers to talk like this.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

22. Gubbins to Satow (p. 41)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Jan. 27. 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest,

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Many thanks for the New Europe. Seton-Watson's article seems unanswerable. Nevertheless another Buda-Pesth [Budapest?] article has since appeared in the "Morning Post."

Thank you very much for the two books. I am half-way through [Sir John] Fortescue's book. It is a great thing to get so much information about Napoleon which is authoritative, and has not filtered through several mediums, losing much on the way. To me it is curious to find one's general idea of the man confirmed, namely his remarkable genius and at the same time his violent temper, unscrupulous character and total lack of gracious ways.

I should like to tackle [Albert] Sorel¹¹ very much. So when I am coming to the end of the two volumes you have lent me I will let you know.

I think the newspaper comments in England & France on President Wilson's Notes & Speeches have erred throughout on the charitable side. Considering the attitude Lincoln assumed in the Civil War towards all foreign criticism of the North, and any whisper of intervention, the conduct of his present successor savours of meddlesomeness if not impertinence; and insincerity & pecksniffiness.

In a few days I hope to be up and about again, but I cannot be certain.

Thank you for your offer of hospitality. It sounds ungracious to say No. But I rather think I shall be obliged to go to baths of some kind.

I see the Govt. are going to commandeer most foreign investments. The one that seemed possible for me to dispose of I had already arranged to get rid of. But another could only be disposed of at a considerable loss. If the Government insist on a rigid enforcement of their regulation, some people will be hit rather hard. It seems a mistake to force people to sell out at a loss.

Again many thanks

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. President Wilson as a writer seems to be in the same category as Browning. First we have what is said. Then comes the question: 'What does it mean'? And the parallel would reach even further if on being appealed to to explain his meaning the President referred the questioner to [Secretary of State] Mr. Lansing or the "World". J.H.G.

23. Gubbins to Satow (p. 43)

¹¹ Albert Sorel (1842-1906) was a French diplomatic historian, nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature nine times. Author of *L'Europe et la Révolution française* (8 vols.)

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82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Jan. 30. 1917

Many thanks for your letter and for the new number of *New Europe*. The map in it is very interesting. Quite recently I have read three books on the Balkans, all good as far as my ignorance can judge. The one I like best was by Bailey. It describes the physical characteristics of all the various races in that part of Europe – except the Bulgarians and their various manners & customs. And there is much too about scenery and the general look of the land. Prague sounds very fascinating. I fancy you must have been there long ago.

I have finished Fortescue's book and enjoyed it immensely. The remark of Napoleon that it needs a man with imagination to govern a people sounds true enough. Lloyd George is perhaps an instance. Lord Cromer perhaps also was a brilliant exception to the rule, if it really exists. The idea, if true, also serves to explain why so many Irishmen have been good administrators.

Yes, I really feel I am on the mend, though the doctor, wisely perhaps, still keeps me in bed. I always enjoy visiting you at Beaumont, and perhaps the doctors may think baths better for use later on. If I can leave London in three weeks, or a month's time, I will let you know well in advance. But at present I can make no plans. I must wait till I am up & about again.

I have finished a third of Princess Lieven's Letters and shall be ready for the first 2 vols of Sorel in a day or two. So if you will send them on Thursday or Friday they will just cross with the books I am returning.

You may have seen the new Japanese Foreign Minister's [Motono's] speech in the "Times" of last Saturday. I don't wonder the Embassy supplied it for publication at once, regardless of expense. If you have read it you will be as pleased with it as I am. It is one of the best speeches of the kind I have ever read and I can't help thinking Terauchi¹² must have inspired it. I have always heard Motono¹³ spoken of as one of the best diplomats they have, but I never thought he could have made a speech like this. There has, as you know better than myself, always been an under-current of anti-English feeling in the country. The causes, as you also know, are various, not the least by any means being the anti-Japanese feeling amongst British residents in China, German

¹² Terauchi Masatake (1852-1919). Prime Minister of Japan, October 1916 – September 1918.

¹³ Motono Ichirō (1862-1918) was Foreign Minister of Japan, November 1916 to April 1918.

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intrigue, which has a fertile soil to work in, and a natural incompatibility of temperament & character which makes it difficult for Englishmen & Japanese to become very companionable. The war has not improved the situation. There is the alliance of course which has done much good, but after all it is simply a Cabinet understanding. I confess to having felt anxious for some time past about Russia, and the bearing on the war of her present internal difficulties. There was much, too, which puzzled me about this last Russo-Japanese Agreement in which Motono had a large share. His speech proves two things, (1) that the Japanese under Terauchi and Motono still look upon the Anglo-Japanese alliance as the pivot of their foreign policy; and (2) that Japan & Russia are not so closely associated as there was reason to think. Some time ago I gathered that some hitch had recurred in the negotiations at Petrograd. Now it is clear, I think, that the complete and thorough understanding desired by one at least of the two parties has not been effected. As long as the war lasts I shall always be afraid that the pro-German party in Russia may at any moment get the upper hand and try to arrange a separate peace. And at the back of one's mind there is always the feeling that unless the progressive party wins in the struggle now going on the Russian Govt. may be unable to work in close sympathy with Italy France and ourselves.

I am sure you are right about what would happen in the case of the disruption of Austria. You have hit the exact point. The only solution that occurs to me is one I have had in mind ever since I made my bet with Clarke-Thornhill. It is the simultaneous disruption of the German Empire, and the formation of a new Confederation of German States which would exclude Prussia and include Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Baden, & perhaps Silesia, but of course Austria Proper. You will think this very startling, but the Bavarians if they were made the prominent state might perhaps like it. It depends a good deal on their real feelings towards Russia and the Hohenzollern dynasty.

A lady we know of had an exciting experience the week before last. She was in the Tube when some policemen & soldiers with bayonets fixed came into the carriage. They preceded to handcuff a man sitting opposite to her, and while this was being done a man who sat next to her shot himself, dying on the spot. She was told afterwards that the men were spies.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

24. Gubbins to Satow (p. 45)

82 York Mansions,

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Battersea Park, S.W.

Feb. 1. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the two books wh. I return. I hope they will reach you in good condition.

My doctor disapproves of Bath or any other waters till the warm weather sets in. Tomorrow I am to get up in the afternoon, and I hope in a day or two to be out of doors again.

I think you are much to be envied living in the country and at a distance from London. The only virtue about life in town during the war is that it is a centre of news. In other respects its usual advantages are non-existent. And the drawbacks are great.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

25. Gubbins to Satow (p. 46)

“Ans. 8/2”

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Feb. 3. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Your letter came today at noon or thereabouts; the books last night. Thank you very much for them. I feel ashamed at having asked you to expose such beautiful books to the perils of the post in these unsettled times. Thanks also for the L.S. [Literary Supplement?] article.

I have read the article and think it excellent in many ways & charmingly written. It will interest American readers & not offend any susceptibilities. But it does not dispose of my grievances against the Wilson Note. You remember what Browning is reported to have said to an anxious enquirer who troubled about the meaning of a passage in one of his poems. The reply was “ask the Browning Society”. Well, this sort of vagueness may be permitted to a poet. But when it is a case where grave international questions are concerned, and the author of a Note on wh. so much depends is no less a personage than the President of the U. States, it is most desirable that there shd. be clear thinking and also clear writing. In both respects, I venture to think, the Note may be justly criticized. There have been many explanations, and some apologists have gone even so far as to tell us what was in the President’s mind. The general impression conveyed by all that

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has been said about it is that the Note needs both a glossary & commentary before the real meaning can be discovered. This is sufficient condemnation in itself.

When one thinks of the complicated character of the situation as between the two parties of belligerents with which the Note dealt, and the far more complicated considerations, - extending into regions transcending the resources of diplomacy & statesmanship, - which were involved in the universal-peace-scheme suggested in the same document, one wonders at the audacity, however well-meaning, which could think it possible to bring such comprehensive and conflicting aspirations within the compass of a state-paper.

You are, I am sure, right in thinking there is little anti-Japanese feeling here. Merchants & bankers don't in some cases like Japanese business men [my own bankers show this clearly], and there is the reflex of feeling in Australia & in 'British-China' (British residents there I mean of course), but otherwise there is no ill-will whatever.

The war is injuring the "Japan Society", but I suppose all similar associations are suffering in the same way.

Again many thanks for the books. I will take great care of them.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I am really out of bed and hope to be out of doors soon. J.H.G.

Don't you think that President Wilson in his own interests would have done well to follow Punch's advice to those about to marry?¹⁴ So far as we are concerned, I am not sorry the Note was written. It gave the Entente Powers an opportunity which was on the whole well utilized.

26. Gubbins to Satow (p. 48)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Feb. 25. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

At last I return the two "New Europe" numbers you sent me ages ago. I read them quickly eno' but waited till I shd. have time to write a decent letter in answer to your last. The article I found most interesting was the one by a German Free Trader who writes on the subject of the new Zollverein between Germany & Austria which was

¹⁴ Punch's advice was: "Don't!"

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recommended by the Author of Central Europe. I see that the F.O. are not going to do anything in the matter of the Morning Post's Buda-Pesth correspondence articles. To my thinking Seton-Watson's articles in the "New Europe" seemed to be very damaging, and Harold Gwynne's reply weak. But I suppose the F.O. are right in not interfering.

I enclose an article from the "Daily News" on the interesting subject. "A.G.G." is, as you doubtless know, Gardner the Editor, or nominal Editor of the paper. I saw the other day somewhere that both he & Harold Spender of the "Westminster Gazette", Shand's favourite paper, had refused a title. Whether baronetage or peerage I have forgotten. It is curious that in Russia & in England a sort of revolution shd. be going on at the time that a war is in full swing.

I've been very busy since I last wrote. The Japanese press has been full of interesting matter and besides I've had some worry in connection with correspondence with Japan in regard to investment in the New War Loan. No replies have come to letters written by me early in December and sent in duplicate & registered. So I at last telegraphed after consultation with Coutts & Co. to Yokohama. As no answer to my "reply-paid" wire had come I wired on the day the Loan closed to the G.P. Office. To this I recd. a reply by letter to say that telegrams were subject to censoring and that no information cd. be given. So I wrote to the Chief Postal Censor, marking my letter private, telling him all the circs., and told the G.P. Office what I had done. Pearson at once replied assuring me that none of my letters had been touched. And yesterday I got an answer from Japan by wire, for which I probably owe him thanks. These I have tendered circumciously [sic] through Tyrell of the F.O. to whom I had also sent a line asking for information on a trifling point. This business has necessitated visits to the City where I found Whitehead most kind. He really took a lot of trouble in the matter.

Our gunner boy is home again to go through an extra gunnery course of a fortnight at Shoeburyness & Salisbury plain. In the Army Order ordering him on leave for this purpose there was a paragraph saying only Captains specially chosen to command batteries were selected for this course. As he is only an acting Captain (he was again in command in January for a month while his major was on leave) this is a feather in his cap I think. He is really a good lad and has found, I hope, his métier. He tells us that the officers he sees don't object much to Haig's rhodomontade [bragging, boasting]. There is so much of that sort of thing at the front, he says. The French do a good bit of talking. Both he & another man, a Colonel, an old friend whom I saw yesterday, both say they would like our army to be "run" by the French higher command. For this and the French officers & men my boy has the greatest respect. The French rank & file are bigger & taller than our men and very fine fighters, he says, though our men though smaller are,

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if anything, more active and are good fighters. Accounts of the physique & fitness of the German prisoners we have taken vary. Those Colin has seen he described as rather a poor lot in every way.

I like [Albert] Sorel's book more than I can say and have already learnt much from it. I wish I had read it 10 years ago. I shd. be a wiser man.

My doctor is satisfied with my progress tho' to me it seems very slow. I shall be ready, I hope, for a visit to Beaumont in the first or second week of April. But don't you think you ought to find me lodgings in the village for I really don't like imposing myself on you as much as I do.

I saw Shand a day or two ago on a matter of business concerned with a prisoner at Ruhleben. I may perhaps ask your opinion on a point later on.

Believe me

Yours always sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Please forgive this economy of paper.

27. Gubbins to Satow (p. 50)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.
Feb. 27. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest,

When two people who write not infrequently to each other have not written for some time fate, or telepathy, so arranges it that occasionally each writes on the same day. This has happened in the case of our last letters. And now perhaps, as I write, you too are doing the same.

I am sorry to hear that the cold gave you a chill. It was wicked eno' to do anything.

The correspondence in regard to the meaning of the famous Wilson Note, and his real attitude in regard to America's intervention in, or abstention from, the war, has grown in bulk since I last wrote. The various views on these questions – for there are two – are really bewildering, and would be amusing if the subject were less serious. Was it not a French writer who in reply to an enquiry as to the meaning of a passage in one of his books said: "Three people knew. Myself, a friend and le bon Dieu. I have forgotten. My friend is dead. There remains but le bon Dieu." And who was the writer? I am rather mischievously pleased to find that the two London Radical Morning papers are more angry, perhaps, than any others at what they regard as Wilson's pusillanimous policy. The "Daily News" has said many bitter things. Today's "Chronicle" writing of the

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sinking of the Cunard liner says: “If this incident is ignored or condoned, what will in effect be admitted by the American Government is the claim that Germany has the right to prohibit American citizens, under pain of death, from travelling to England on English liners.”

I never answered your question about Robertson Scott and the magazine he is publishing in Japan. Yes, I got his circular. It was mislaid and not answered. Perhaps now that I have found it I shall write a civil letter to say I have no intention of putting any reminiscences into print in the form he suggests.

Fancy your looking again at my Oxford lecture to ladies on tariff reform. I have always been in favour of Imperial Preference, and for many years as you know, in favour also of small ownership, and conscription. The war will add a lot to the Statute Book, I think, and I see that the Govt. are going also to take up the Canal question. When a stringent Restrictive Drink Bill has also passed, I shall have no fads left to bore my friends with.

Do you ever read anything that Harold Cox writes? He writes occasional articles for the “Sunday Times”, besides editing the “Edinburgh Review”. I like him for his independence in politics, which cost him his seat in parliament. But his last article on Free Trade in the “Sunday Times” might have been written 50 years ago. He once refused an article of mine on Japanese political development, for which I am grateful, for it had the faults of Bishop Barry’s writing – the effort to put too much into a small space, - besides many other blemishes. I was nearly writing him a line about his last article, but did not feel equal to it.

Don’t you think my idea about your taking lodgings for me in Ottery is a good one? In these war times when everybody is very rightly economizing I don’t feel it is quite fair to inflict oneself upon one’s friends.

You will notice how my economy is extending to the paper used for my letters.

We have some reason to be happier about the war. My boy told me he thought Haig would manage to crump [shell] the Boches out of their fortified lines”. And the news in tonight’s papers about the effects of our new explosive shells on the outlying fortifications round Bapaume looks rather as if opinion at the front in France was based on solid grounds. Fancy our out-gunning the Germans! It sounds like a romance.

If I write more I shall bore you. I hope our epistles will not cross again.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I trust that the potatoes are doing well in your drawing room.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow

24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

We have put 2 gas stoves in our sitting room to avoid or rather guard agst a coal famine. Some friends have had to leave their nice Chelsea flat and live in a hotel because they could get no coal. J.H.G.

28. Gubbins to Satow (p. 53)

“ans. 11/3”

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Mch. 4, 1917

Dear Sir Ernest

Thank you very much for letting me know about the Rectory at Ottery. Unfortunately the 3 months May – July are not possible for us. School holidays – our youngest girl is still at school – do not begin till the end of July and our summer plans depend on her. We do not know yet what we shall do this year. Probably for August, and a part of Sepr., we shall go somewhere near the sea for the sake of our second girl who is passing through a phase of weak health not uncommon with girls of nineteen. And in her case things are not improved by inability to go into training for an active open-air life as she wished to do. Our plans too are rendered more uncertain owing to the illness of my wife’s mother, who has had a stroke, which at her age – 80 – is a serious thing.

I am a little worried about my work just now. As you may have seen in the paper, [John] Buchan, the novelist & one of the historians of the war, has been placed in charge of the whole newspaper work (including what is called the “press propaganda”). The idea is to centralize the work, wh. so far has been done by five more or less independent branches under the superintendence of the War Office, the Admiralty & the Foreign Office. I am told that the office for wh. I work is to be abolished, but that I shall be kept on and allowed to work at home, as before. But of this I cannot be certain. And a further embarrassment has been caused by the fact that for the last 6 weeks mails from the Far East by certain routes have been held up – whether by the Swedes again, or not, I have not yet heard. Tomorrow I go again to the Office to ask how the reorganization is getting on. The least of the evils wh. can happen to me is that I shall be working under a new man. Changes are always disagreeable in prospect when one has had pleasant relations under former conditions. At the Postal Censorate I experienced no less than six changes in six months. It may be necessary for me to go to the Foreign Office & speak to Tyrell, or some one else. And this I always rather shrink from doing. Buchan I do not know personally. He is a good writer I fancy. All that I know of his writing is the history of the war published by Nelson wh. I have taken from the first.

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Yes, I am rather extravagant about papers, tho' not so much so as you think. Two of my papers – the only ones I subscribe to regularly – the “Daily News” & “Express” are insurance papers. The first insures agst. Zeppelin raids & the second agst. accidents. But I must confess to buying the “Times” & “Morning Post” nearly every day, and always an evening paper. The “Spectator” I have dropped – after being a constant reader for many years.

I don't care for Strachey, if one can form an opinion of a man from his writing. There is much that is not tactful in what he writes on the subject of “Prohibition”, but on the main issue I think he is right. If a shortage of food is imminent and inevitable, the around 10,000,000 tons of barley for beer brewing were better employed for feeding the nation. As a clear-cut issue I regard his position as unassailable. He is an Asquith man, & does not like Lloyd George. This may have something to do with the tone he adopts in dealing with the question.

I did not think you would agree with the British politics side of Gardner's article. He, like the ‘Chronicle’ ‘Westminster’ & other papers' Editors, is very anti-Lloyd George. The latter, as you say, is a Fabian, but let us hope a practical one. Were he to free himself entirely from party trammels, I should be disposed almost to give him carte blanche. At present I think (tho' I am very ignorant) that Curzon & Milner may be steadying influences so far as he is concerned.

The newspapers are all praising Wilson for his brilliant stroke of politics keeping the Mexican Note up his sleeve. I shd. have preferred the more simple and straightforward course of producing it as soon as its genuineness was proved. They say if he had done so Congress wd. have declared war at once. If he is resolved to wait till the nation is united for war, and thinks this is his duty, it is certainly difficult to find fault with his decision. On the other hand surely Congress represents the nation. What an extraordinary situation it is! And how curious it is to trace the workings of the German mind. Their moral standpoint is not European, but German. Yet the world did not know this 3 years ago, though some people had their suspicions.

Believe me

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

29. Gubbins to Satow (p. 55)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.
Mch. 11, 1917

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Sunday Evening

My dear Sir Ernest

I have been rather affairé [busy] since I last wrote, and as regards my Devonshire plans it looks as if "l'homme propose mais le bon Dieu dispose."

In the first place my wife's mother, an old lady of 80, has had a stroke, and though the doctors think there is no immediate danger, they cannot give any definite assurance. This occurred 3 weeks ago, and we have waited hoping for better news. This has not come, and my wife has just started for Edinburgh. She may be kept there till some time next month, and this naturally affects my own movements.

Then the newspaper work on wh. I am engaged is not only in process of re-organization under Buchan as Chief Controller, but he himself was suddenly taken ill and had to undergo an operation. Meanwhile the work of re-organization hangs fire. Moreover, as you know, the mail service via Siberia (wh. has, I understand, hitherto passed through both Sweden & Norway) has been giving much trouble lately, owing to various causes, one of which is the sub-marine menace, and another, and perhaps the chief cause, German intrigue. Finding it impossible, owing partly to the serious illness of the man under whom I work in the present office, to get any definite information as to the probable length of delay as far as my work is affected, and the steps in contemplation, I arranged with the Office to go myself and ask what I could do at the Foreign Office. I found the newspaper branch there quite pleased at my visit, and open to suggestions. So while there a telegram was sent off to Tokio, and tomorrow I am going by appointment to the Office to learn what has been done. If necessary I shall go to the F.O. again.

While there the day before yesterday I took the opportunity to see Langley in connection with other business which had brought us into relations again. He asked me about Japan and talked a good deal. I gathered, not altogether to my surprise, that there had been some anxiety about the attitude of our Far Eastern ally, but that things were now better. He spoke rather sharply about Kato, for whom I of course took up the cudgels, saying he was essentially pro-English, and our very good friend. That he may well hold views regarding China which do not please us, I can well believe. But the China question is one of great difficulty, as you know better than myself. Terauchi he was better pleased with. I think the latter is a prudent and able man, though hardly in the same class as Itō and Inouye or even Katsura. I always found him a very attractive person to talk to or do business with, but in domestic politics he is inclined, I think, to be too much of the soldier.

I will write again when, or if, I am able to know more clearly about the future arrival

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of material for my work. But I am anxious that you should know as soon as possible the uncertainty of my position. It is possible that the material may not begin to reach me again for 3 weeks or a month, and if the reorganization is completed about the same time, it would not be easy for me to ask for leave to work out of London immediately after the establishment of the new régime.

I enclose an extract from the ‘Sunday Times’ as it may possibly interest you. The special article I wanted you to see is the one by Harold Cox with which I quite agree. His view of Lloyd George’s speech is wise, and also his view of the Irish question in the main. G.P. O’Connor’s amendment was, I think, a farce considering all present circumstances. The Nationalist Party are playing a very insincere game. Until they & the Ulster people are able to agree on a sound modus vivendi I do not see what the British Govt. can do. I feel amazed and indignant at the press attacks on Lloyd George. It looks as if a serious cabal were forming, and if this turns out to be the fact the next few weeks may see the country preparing for a general election.

Shand had tea with us yesterday. He asked affectionately after you. I told him that we in England were in a similar position to the Russians, as a silent revolution had been going on for some years, and yet people did not seem to be aware of it. He was much taken aback by what I said, seemed in fact startled. I did not tell him what Ld. H. had said to you 3 or 4 years ago. Ld. H’s cousin had told me something similar in 1908. I hear privately that things in Russia are critical but that the Army is entirely for the Duma.

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

30. Gubbins to Satow (p. 57)

“Ansd. 15/3/17”

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

[Not dated]

My dear Sir Ernest

I have to thank you for several things – a long letter, the “Spectator” and two magazines. Strachey is kinder to Lloyd George this time and he may end by accepting him as fully as he did Asquith. But in the latter’s case there was the Oxford magic – without which nothing can be quite perfect to Strachey. So far I have only had time to glance at his Indian Cotton Duties. His treatment of the question is to me niggling & unsound and I would like to add not quite honest. The Manchester School is in a

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difficult position and not making the best of what is a bad job for them. I shd. like much to have a chat on this question with you. I do hope the opportunity may come later.

I am still idle, like many others that the submarine menace and other conspiring causes have thrown out of work. But as regard my own position, I have been privately assured that, whatever re-arrangement may be made when Buchan recovers my services will be retained, with the permission (it was made a sine qua non condition when I was approached first last year) to work at home. Perhaps, as I ventured to suggest privately some days ago, I may be asked to work exclusively for the F.O. To this I could have no objection. I have tried to make my words more useful & indeed interesting by adding sketches of the past & present history of questions which crop up, and annotating rather freely. As you know, many Far Eastern matters which crop up are unintelligible to people at home without explanations, which the press rarely gives, sometimes perhaps because the necessary information is lacking.

Yesterday I called on the new J. Ambassador [Chinda Sutemi] to ask for information about mails. He was very friendly and told me quite frankly how very generally upset mail deliveries were. On politics of course we did not touch. I was never intimate with him as I was with Kato, but I always liked him. He is simple and genuine I think, and does not love mystery for mystery's sake.

Talking about mails yesterday with the head of my office I pointed out that from my experience the Vancouver-N York route was for mails from the Far East preferable to the Via America or Via Canada routes. You have I am sure long ago discovered this for yourself, and know the reasons, wh. are obvious. The route has also advantages at present wh. it did not possess in our day.

From Mr. Robertson Scott I have had a reminder in the shape of a post card saying that "the mails leaving London on January 7th & 8th were submarined," and asking me if I wrote on either of those dates to send a duplicate of my communication. I must now write & apologize for my silence. He seems to be an enterprising person, but he is rather too sanguine if he counts on getting much material from ex-officials for his magazine.

I shall be most grateful for the "Spectator". It is good of you to think of me. But I think I will return it for your file with the "New Europe", unless you prohibit me from doing so. It is no trouble to me to send it back.

My niece writes a doleful account of the havoc winter frosts have wrought in her Jersey garden.

You are I think quite right in what you say about alcohol. I can speak from an experience of war temperance. Unfortunately in my own case, the doctor has insisted on a course of stout. He tells me what I had always half-thought before, but had never

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proved through my own carelessness in not asking medical advice on the point – namely that in many cases stout is most useful in the same or rather a similar way to paraffin. So I am back on a stout diet, with excellent results. Oddly eno' I mentioned the matter to Shand last week when we walked together to catch a bus to take him back to Norwood. He told me he had always known the fact, and had himself benefited by his knowledge.

A few days ago I told my wife that a cabal seemed to be in process of formation against Lloyd George and that I shd. not be surprised at a General Election. Today's "Chronicle" says the same thing, and though there is reason to believe it has been & is encouraging the movement, strongly denounces the idea as unthinkable. There are, as you know, four causes for the movement, or to be more correct four causes for its being prematurely hastened. These are so obvious that I need not mention them.

My eldest daughter has just heard the good news of her having passed her Massage Exams. It is a 6 months course which she has gone through. The work has been very severe. So you can imagine how pleased we are. There were three exams, the subjects being anatomy, and theoretical massage & practical massage. Only 88 candidates passed all three out of 207 who were examined.

Colin is to receive his M.C. tomorrow at Buckingham Palace & goes back the next day to the front.

I hope I have not bored you with so long a letter.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

My best wishes for the successs of y[ou]r agriculture.

31. Gubbins to Satow (p. 59)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. II

[Not dated]

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for yours of the 18th & 20th, the first, or both, of which crossed with mine. I passed on the Shand the 'New Europe' and returned you the "Spectator", which you assure me in your last you do not wish returned. I shall, therefore, in future not send it back.

You will remember my mentioning recently the serious talk there was of a cabal being formed against Lloyd George. It seems to be coming to a head. Today's "Daily Express", Bonar Law's paper, as it is called, has a "Warning" on the subject. Sir John

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Simon McKenna & Co are the leading spirits it suggests. But it was no secret that these & other men were determined to re-instate Asquith if possible. Which in my opinion would be a national disaster. The position is very grave I think. The “King-maker” Northcliffe has helped to weaken Lloyd George’s position by the ill-timed support of another Home Rule solution for Ireland.

Please excuse a few lines. We are off in a couple of hours for Littlehampton, where I shall do very little work and a good deal of loafing.

Please thank your brother for his very kind message about Colin. We have no news of him yet, but he must be very busy, so we are content to wait. My wife will be another 3 weeks in Scotland I think.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

32. Gubbins to Satow (p. 60)

c/o Mrs. Godwin

Sisted House

17 St. Catherine’s Rd

Littlehampton

Sussex

24 March 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

In the few hasty lines I wrote when leaving London I quite forgot to congratulate you on the completion of your book [Guide to Diplomatic Practice], and to thank you for your kindness in presenting me with a copy. I shall look forward to its arrival, and read it with the greatest interest. How pleased you must be at having it [at] last off your hands. The last finishing touches, not to speak of the drudgery of proof correcting and indexing, are always fatiguing. I hope you will give yourself a rest now, and not start too soon on other work of the same kind.

Yes, I quite appreciate the facts about barley and the drink question. I read of course the letter on the subject in the “Spectator”, and quite share your view that the Editor has shown a great want of tact in the way he has hammered in nail after nail on the Prohibition question. I like less & less, I find, his presentation of a subject, even where I am substantially in agreement with him. His Indian Cotton Duties article is a case in point.

Sorel is a delightful writer. The book is one of the wisest I have read. His description

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of the English as never fighting unless their interests are menaced, but then showing the greatest tenacity in the struggle they enter on is true enough – and what he goes on to say applies with singular accuracy to the present situation and that wh. existed before the war.

“Leur histoire est pleine de ces alternatives d’une indifférence qui fait croire à leur décadence, et d’un emportement qui déconcerte leurs ennemis. On les voit tour à tour abandonner l’Europe et la commander, négliger les plus grandes affaires du continent et prétendre diriger jusqu’aux plus petites, passer de la paix quand même à la guerre à outrance.”

I wonder if the Germans studied Sorel much before the war.

Are you like myself waiting with some little impatience for the 2nd April? Whatever kind of war America wages her help will be great in many ways.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

This is a quiet sleepy little place but the rooms are very comfortable and the air is good. We like it so well that we are not returning to London till Thursday the 29th. J.H.G.

33. Gubbins to Satow (p. 61)

“Ans.1/4”

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. II
Mch. 29, 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the “Spectator” and “New Europe”. The latter I will pass on to Shand.

You will not, I hope, blame my careless arrangements when I tell you that I cannot come to you in April as I had hoped. Circumstances have made it quite impossible. My wife’s mother is we hear in a rather precarious condition. Hitherto she has had a professional nurse who is on duty at night, while my wife and two unmarried sisters divide the day-nursing between them, as the patient cannot be left alone for a moment in case something might happen. Now my wife writes that one of her sisters is feeling the strain, and has been ordered by the doctor to go away at once for change & rest. So my wife cannot get away from Edinburgh for another month or so, if even then. This means that I must look after the girls in her absence. The youngest comes back from her Oxford school next month, and the week after I am meditating another trip to the sea-side with the three girls. Matters are not made easier for me by the fact that my eldest

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daughter who has passed her Massage Exams may any moment receive an appointment in a military hospital. You will I am sure understand that I have no choice in the matter. After my wife's return things will straighten themselves out, and our plans for the future will become easier.

Perhaps in spite of my disappointing you at the last moment, and upsetting your arrangements, you will let me come to you later on, when it is quite convenient to you.

Things are still quite disorganized as far as my office is concerned. It seems still quite uncertain whether I shall work under the War Office or Foreign Office, or both. But my work meanwhile goes on as usual.

I like Strachey's article on Ireland in the last "Spectator". To me the Northcliffe view of things is inadmissible. We cannot force any settlement of the Home Rule question on Ireland to which any section of the people there is strongly opposed. I look forward with misgiving to the Government's final attempt to settle the question, for I do not believe in the sincerity or the loyalty of the Nationalists. Redmond, I see, is still ill.

I wish the 2nd or 3rd April wd. come so that we may know what America will do. It would not surprise me if America were to decide to co-operate whole-heartedly with France & ourselves. France I put first for sympathy in America for her is stronger than for us.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

34. Gubbins to Satow (p. 63)

"Arr. 2/4. Ans. 3/4"

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. II

Mch. 31, 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Our letters have crossed and yours makes me sad at the thought of what I shall miss. But, as you will understand, I cannot leave the girls alone.

Your two volumes have come, and look very tempting. I shall read them from cover to cover & many times. I looked at once to see if you had touched on the subject of Declarations of War. I see you have not, and for the best of reasons I am sure. My curiosity on the subject was aroused by the enclosed statement in the "Morning Post" which may possibly interest you. I enclose the whole of the American correspondents' articles which appeared in yesterday's "Mg Post" & "telegraph" in case you care to

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glance at them. They vary somewhat in point of view from the “Times” correspondents’ letters. The “Morning Post”’s correspondent has recently been more accurate I think, in gauging[?] the complicated situation in Washington than his confrères of the press. I was wrong it seems in thinking we should be relieved of all suspense the moment that Congress meets, namely on the 2nd April. It may, it now seems probable, be some days later before Congress finally acts.

On some future occasion I shall hope to have the pleasure of meeting your friends the Tindalls.

Just at present I am working under difficulties. I have been asked for the present to send my Press Notes to a man in the War Office whom I don’t know. The head of the office which is now closing is a most elusive person who is rarely to be seen. So I think of going to see Langley on Monday & asking his advice.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

35. Gubbins to Satow (p. 64)

“Ans. 8/4”

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. II

Apr. 7, 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter of April 1, for the “Spectator” and for the “New Europe”. The last-named has gone on to Shand.

In your letter of the 29th March you asked me where the line

“Bare ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang”

is to be found. I am sorry to say I don’t know. The line seems familiar, but this is an impression not always to be trusted.¹⁵

We have been so far foiled in our efforts to get to the sea. The rooms we liked so much at Littlehampton are occupied till the 26th, and others we thought of are unavailable for the moment. Hastings & Folkestone are full of Canadian troops and their relations, so that lodgings there are dear and difficult to obtain. I wonder if any of your friends in Sidmouth know of rooms – not very extravagant in price – available for the three girls and myself for a fortnight from the 16th April (Monday week). One sitting

¹⁵ The line is from Shakespeare’s Sonnet 73.

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room is all we shd. want, and we could manage with 3 bedrooms, provided one is large enough to hold either two single beds, or one double bed. Ida Shand was telling me of rooms you had engaged for them, the year before last I think it was. We should not think of going so far afield for only a fortnight, but constant change of air is recommended for our second girl, with whom London does not agree, and as the youngest goes back to Oxford on the 1st May, it is good for her to have a change to the seaside too. The girls are all good walkers. The best is the delicate one.

Our lease of this flat is up in May 1918. We are thinking of then moving North – near Edinburgh, so that the girls may be within reach of Scotch relatives & friends. I shall try & stipulate for a cottage within reasonable walking distance – say 2 or 3 miles – of a trout stream, so that I may have some occupation besides reading and amateurish gardening. One of these days I shall try to go North and prospect. Of course so long as the war lasts we shall stay in or near London, though probably not in this flat.

You are I feel sure, as pleased as I am about the fact of America's coming into the war, and coming in thoroughly and whole-heartedly as we both thought. It is indeed tidings of great joy and means so much to the world. If Russia can only keep her end up, as cricketers say, for some months longer, the worst of our anxieties will be over.

Bankers are of course delighted at America's intervention. Whitehead (Chartered Bank) whom I saw in the City two days ago said, like others, that the effect would be immense. Like you, I am inclined to lay most stress on the moral effect of the U.S. becoming a belligerent. but financially & on the sea the assistance she can give will be great and most welcome.

Everybody praises Wilson's speech. I should like to be one of the uncritical admirers, but, though liking some parts of it very much, I should have preferred it to be a trifle shorter. But the Americans like to orate, and the public expect it. America is the happy hunting ground of lecturers. There they can always secure audiences & make a living.

Hoping my appeal about rooms in Sidmouth will not give you much trouble.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Fancy the Sorel quotation coming in usefully for your speech! I am delighted. I am always coming across passages wh. ask to be copied out.¹⁶

¹⁶ The Albert Sorel quotation in French was in Gubbins' letter dated March 24, 1917 – see above. Satow appears to have used it in a vote of thanks at a meeting on National Service at the Ottery Institute on March 27th. (Diary entry)

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow

24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

36. Gubbins to Satow (p.66)

At Farway House

Salcombe Rd

Sidmouth

Apr. 22, 1917

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your letter and the two pamphlets. We enjoyed our visit to Beaumont very much. It was kind of you to entertain so large a party of us.

The 'Leviathan' pamphlet I have used. The last chapter is quite interesting. What the writer says about Hobbes and the principles on which the German state is founded apply very largely to Modern Japan. I have always thought there was something dangerously seductive in the worship of state authority as it exists both in Germany & Japan. To many minds that might rebel against autocracy in the form of personal rule the idea of state autocracy has great attractions. I cannot help feeling the influence of the spell myself. There is, I think, something of a spell in the idea itself – for there is no reason why such an autocracy of state should not exist in a republic. We know how despotic republics can be.

A large portion of Gray's pamphlets are to me very dull reading. One has already read enough of modern Efferdions in Germany wh. glorify the doctrine of might being right to know what the general tendency is, and to become weary of a confusion of thought which is wholly unedifying.

I should not wonder if the end of the newspaper campaign against Carson would be his resignation on grounds of health.

The Convent school at Oxford opens on Monday Apr. 30th & not on Tuesday the 1. May as we had heard. so we are returning to London on Friday the 27th.

I read your article on the internment of aliens with much pleasure & the greatest interest.

Yours always sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

37. Gubbins to Satow (p.68)

[Ans. 6/5]

82 York Msns

B[attersea]. Park

S.W.II

May 3. 1917

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the A.C.J. re Canals. I have read it with interest. There are, as you have probably noticed, no L. & S.W. Railway Co's canals apparently under Govt. control. Perhaps there are none in working order. Greater facilities for internal transport would certainly have helped us in the war, though it is probably extravagant to assume that the torpedoing of some of our merchantmen between home ports might in this way have been prevented.

You gave me Katsu Awa's book when I went to Oxford, and I have it here. Need I say it is very much at your disposal? Shall I send it to you?

Yes we were all very sorry to leave Sidmouth. How lovely the country must be looking now! And your garden must be a great joy to you.

I think it is quite likely that the Northcliffe Press may, as you say, be piling on the agony. He is a very dangerous person, but I cannot help feeling, much as I dislike him and his press, that he did more to save the country in the munitions shortage than any one else. The sub-marine menace is the only thing wh. has made me feel pessimistic. It seems to be now a sort of race against time for us. But I have no doubt that we shall win through, with the help perhaps of our latest ally.

We are not, as you say. likely to go so far as the Germans in the matter of state sovereignty, but we have made a god of party, which is almost worse, and the caucus has in its way been as great a tyrant as militarism.

Pity me please. I have to take the chair at a meeting of the Japan Society on the 30th when Hall is to read, or his daughter for him, a paper on the Great Reform of the 7th/8th Centuries. Hall's papers rather alarm me. The workmanship is usually rough, and the general treatment of the subject incomplete.

I know nothing about the North Sea. The Germans have, I see, blockaded Norway more closely, and, as you know already, our communications with Russia have been interrupted. My wife has a naval cousin who looks us up occasionally. When he next comes I will put the question you raise to him, though he may not answer it!

London is full of colds. People are going in for a new system of treating them – or rather preventing them – by inoculation. I shall very likely try it myself.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Thanks for the 'Spectator' & 'New Europe'. The latter is a good number. It has gone on to Shand.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow

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38. Gubbins to Satow (p. 69)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. II

May 8, 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

I enclose the first page of the “Spectator” which you ask for. How curious that a retired clergyman at Exmouth should unearth what one might have expected the ‘Times’ to be able to lay its hands on before any one else! I saw the old proclamation for the first time in one of the ‘Spectators’, and came to the conclusion that Strachey with journalistic acumen had scored again with another useful suggestion. [He gave a list of his profitable & timely suggestions the other day.]¹⁷

About Russian communications, - I was told 5 or 6 weeks ago that postal communications were being maintained solely, or mainly, by Russian and our own destroyers and cruisers. When Lord Milner went to Russia the other day, he left from Oban [in western Scotland]. He came back by Russian cruiser to a port on the N.E. coast. Some enemy plans were thus disturbed, for about the time he was due back the Sound of Mull was found to be full of mines. Which rather goes to show that enemy espionage is still active.

Yes, I read Mr. Whyte’s article and think he is right up to a point as to the desirability of young members of the diplomatic service studying certain subjects in the countries where they work. What I used to tell Students in Tokyo was that the best way to master a subject was to write about it, and I used to encourage them to write. Mr. Whyte’s Exam: paper I thought rather foolish. As you say, few even of the writers in the ‘New Europe’ could answer many of the questions. The whole question of our diplomatic & consular services is a very difficult one – difficult I mean to regulate in the most useful way and on the wisest lines. The two things are not necessarily the same. A policy which is the most useful for a certain period of time may not be the wisest in the long run. I am for building for all time wherever practicable. And I think the distinction between the two services should be done away with, though, paradoxically, I shd. feel inclined to stretch a point in favour of young men with family traditions of diplomatic service behind them. I see Mr. Whyte is inclined, like myself, to favour French diplomacy, but I don’t regard him as a safe guide.

One of our friends who sees a good deal of club life, and hears much London talk, told me last Sunday that he thought Lloyd George was by no means safe in his present

¹⁷ Gubbins’ parentheses.

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position. He said the Labour party did not like him on the whole, and that he had many enemies both among Asquithites and Extreme Unionists. I should be sorry to see Lloyd George go for many reasons, but Ireland, the Navy, or the Food Question might give his enemies the opportunity they seem to be seeking. Meanwhile, Asquith, judging from his last speech at the Eighty Club, seems anxious to shew that politically he is very much alive, and quite ready to assume the reins again whenever the country is tired of the present Premier.

I quite agree that we don't want more territory, but, as you gently suggest, we might have to remain in Mesopotamia to carry out irrigation schemes, and restore to that part of the world its ancient fertility. For similar reasons, all more or less connected with civilization and progress, our continued presence in other regions will be desired in the future as in the past. And though American, French, Dutch & other people will question our good faith, and our responsibilities will undoubtedly be very seriously increased, it is not easy to see how we can withdraw from every place wh. our armies have occupied. As to Palestine, Strachey is right I think. The French would not like to see us there, nor would the Italians be pleased.

The Americans seem to be certain that the war will be a longer affair than we ever thought possible. I hope they are wrong, but the looker on sees most of the game, and they have been in that position for nearly three years.

Now I must go back to my newspapers.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I wish some day you would ask your gardener if the bush or tree building birds build their nests before the leaves come out. Rooks do I know, as do the crows in Japan, but it seems a dangerous thing for most birds. J.H.G.

39. Gubbins to Satow (p. 71)

[Answered] "25/5"

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. II

May 17th 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for the "Spectator" & the 'New Europe'; the latter went on at once to Shand after I had looked through it. 'Rurik' on Russia is always readable and Mr. Hyndman's article on Finland was interesting. I remember [B.H.] Chamberlain once

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speaking of the affinities between Finnish & Japanese, and I think [W.G.] Aston held the same view. I wonder the former never went farther into the subject, and never tried to trace a definite connection between the two languages. The ‘spectator’ I think a very good number. The Irish question (you take little or no interest in the question, I am aware) says exactly the right thing in my humble opinion. The England of the XXth century is not competent to settle the question of Home Rule except in so far as to make it quite clear that the details must be thrashed out and arranged between Irishmen themselves. It may be prejudice on my part due to Irish ancestry, but I have thought for a long time that one reason the Irish settlement always hung fire was because the Roman Catholic clergy preferred things to remain as they were[,] deeming the interests of the Church of Rome to be best served by fishing in troubled waters.

So you are going to help the ‘New East’ after all. You are certainly, as you say, in very distinguished company.

Something still seems to be interfering with the mails. I find correspondence with Japan to be rather hopeless work, and am consoled for the small inconvenience I suffer by the fact that my correspondence has shrunk to very small dimensions.

[Henry A.C.] Bonar is I hear Professor of Japanese in the new Oriental School.

I will bear in mind Fletcher’s ‘Foreign Relations’. At present I have only time to read Japanese & English papers and Sorel, who continues to be most attractive.

You ask me about [John Arthur Ransome] Marriott¹⁸ at Oxford. Yes, I met him once or twice. In some ways he is a typical Oxford don. He is very clever and writes well, but his “manners have not the repose” which gives an added charm, and he is very self-centred. His wife is nice.

Your rain has come, and I am glad for your garden’s sake and the countryside generally. An evening paper yesterday announced the fact that in the last 4 or 5 days there had been a fall in temperature of 27 degrees [Fahrenheit]. May is a dangerous month for English agriculture.

Very selfishly I am longing for the war to end so that I may be able to settle down and cultiver mes choux, [grow my cabbages] like you. To me there is a great attraction in the Japanese, Irish and French idea of retirement after a certain age from the public worries of the world. My dream of inkio [J: retirement, 隱居] happiness is associated with a trout-stream within easy walking distance, and many books, and some extent & variety of pretty country. Some people – not all by any means for in this as in other things the company should be select – have earned the right to enjoy a quiet evening of

¹⁸ Sir John Marriott (1859-1945). British historian and Conservative Member of Parliament. Author of more than 40 books on British and European history.

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life before passing into the Great Beyond. Those who are greedy like myself would like the call to come gently and imperceptibly, as sleep draws down the eyelids of a tired child. But before this slumber comes they would like to have a quiet interval of meditation of the kind approved by Zen philosophers.

You have never answered my question about birds' nests. I am sure your gardener or his son knows.

You must not think it is jealousy if I say I think you may be writing too much. I hope Lord Reay will soon become your guest.

Believe me Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

40. Gubbins to Satow (p.73)

"Ansd. 25/5"

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. II

May 24. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Thanks for your p.c. and the 'Spectator' & 'New Europe', the text of which has gone to Shand. The page of the 'Spectator' you ask for I enclose.

There is, I think, a decided change in the 'Daily Chronicle' in so far as crabbing [grumbling] of the Govt. is concerned. For some reasons for the change, if I am right in the view that there is a change, one need look no farther than the new attempt at Irish reconciliation, the re-organization of the Admiralty, and the suspension of intrigues against the position of Lloyd George. If it is a fact that the political atmosphere has cleared, we ought to be thankful. We have our work cut out for us and cannot afford to quarrel at home. Shand, whom I saw last Sunday – he asked as he always does, after you – said he had gathered from friends who were in a position to know that the Asquith party thought he had been treated rather shabbily by Lloyd George.

Yesterday I dined with Walford who was up for the night, and we went to a theatre afterwards – a thing I very rarely do, for I am not a theatre goer. He mentioned that he had introduced Layard to the Admiralty, where he was very useful in connection with Shipping. He was also, he said, now working for the F.O. Walford has been settled at Walmer in Kent since 1911, and likes his life there. He seems to be doing a good deal of Secretary's work in connection with Hospitals.

Can you spare me another volume of Sorel? I am in the last pages of Vol. II, and like the book more & more. Ignorance which prevents criticism is sometimes useful.

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Shand was as usual full of peace rumours. I am afraid my attitude was not encouraging, though I really did refrain on this occasion from argument.

The Japanese are I see now helping us both in the Pacific & Mediterranean. I wonder they did not do it before to the same extent. Perhaps we were too proud to ask them. They like to be asked.

You will I am sure have liked [Jan] Smuts's speech. I read the Chronicle's précis of it to our gunner boy keeping the "Times"'s report for myself. He is one of the big men of the century.

Walford, who is a Roman Catholic, is not sanguine about the success of the Irish Convention. I don't know anyone who is, but at all events this time we have gone the right way to work.

How lovely your garden must be!

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

My eldest daughter goes shortly to a hospital at Tipperary as Masseur. There I hope she will be within reach of some of my Irish cousins. Our second girl goes at the end of the week to pay a long visit in Iona.

41. Gubbins to Satow (p.74)

"Ansd. 1/6"

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. II

31 May 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter of the 25th, yr note of the 27th, for the "Spectator", the "New Europe", and for the 3rd vol. of Sorel wh. reached me safely. I am posting to you Vol. II wh. shd. reach you soon after my letter. I never really understood the French revolutionary movement till you kindly lent me Sorel.

I feel about the 'New Europe' just as you do – with rather more reason perhaps. But in spite of the parti pris writing of so many of the articles many of them are very interesting.

People are very pessimistic about Russia but most of my acquaintances are much given these days to pessimism. I never felt gloomy about the final result of the war, though I have thought the Govt. dilatory in their action, and the people apathetic. Sorel helps one by pointing out how clearly the French Assembly enunciated the doctrine of no conquests – no attempt at the liberty of other nations – and then having framed &

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passed an article to this effect in the Constitution at once proceeded to do the very opposite. History may repeat itself.

The Japan Society meeting is I am glad to say a thing of the past. I am also glad for yr sake you were not there.

The Japanese fleet which made its appearance in 1915 in the Mediterranean went to the Baltic where the Russians bought them. If there is now another squadron there, it is probably a light fast cruiser or two with half a dozen destroyers.

It is not easy to translate the word feuillants wh. Sorel uses. I have no Littré.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

What a difference having America with us makes! I hear the French are getting rather exhausted. There was a notable change of tone in the Kaiser's last speech.

42. Gubbins to Satow (p.75)

"Ansd. 10/6"

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

June 5. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the "Spectator" – a capital number – and for the information you kindly give me about the "Feuillants" and the Jacobins. I think Sorel's book helps me to understand better the war, German, Austrian & Italian politics, the Spanish situation to-day, and even the position of England at the present moment, not to speak of the Russian revolution.

The news from China seems bad, that from Japan very good. The latter is probably an effect of the former, of the Russian revolution and of America's entry into the war; all of which things are embarrassing in various ways to Japan. To me there is always so much that is artificial in Japanese political conditions, especially those of parties, that one must be careful not to regard them too seriously.

I have re-written the reporter's notes of what I said on the subject of Hall's paper. In the fullness of time they will doubtless appear in the [Japan] Society's Transactions.

In haste Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

43. Gubbins to Satow (p.77)

82 York Mansions,

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Battersea Park, S.W. II

June 12. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the 'Spectator' – again a good number, the Govt. might do worse than utilize Strachey's article on peace conditions for the Propaganda – and for Vols IV & V of Sorel. Vol. II wd. have gone back to you to-day, but a rush of work, to be done at short notice, stopped my reading for two days. It shall return safely, I hope, to your library in the next day or two. I purchase my privilege of working at home rather dearly as regards work, for I am tempted to work rather later than I shd. do in an office. But at my age I value it very highly – too highly perhaps – for it gives me a freedom wh. is almost a necessity.

It is very good of you to ask me to come to Beaumont in July. I would like to do so very much, and the opportunity to make Lord Reay's acquaintance is a great temptation in itself. But I have new masters, and things have not settled themselves quite yet. And I get telegrams & telephones at unexpected moments now & then – which makes me reluctant to ask for permission to leave London again so soon after my last visit to Devonshire. Early in July, however, I shall know my plans better and I might be able to spend a weekend (from Friday or Saturday till Monday) with you after the 20th of that month. But in any case please do not count on me, and make whatever other arrangements for guests may best suit you.

An Irish cousin, ex-director of the R.A.M.C.¹⁹ with whom I had tea at the Senior United [Club] yesterday, told me he thought the Irish Convention had little chance of success. He is Unionist, so perhaps the wish was father to the thought. He said that if General Elections were held soon under the new Reform Bill the Sinn Feiners would romp in, leaving the Nationalists nowhere. Then he thought the British people might come to understand the true condition of Ireland. I hear the same thing from other Irish cousins. I met Lord Nicholson at the same club. He looked much older, but I had not seen him since the end of the Russo-Japanese war. he congratulated me on looking so young & well!

Our flat is very cool and pleasant in this summery weather.

When I return Vol. III I will mention a point wh. struck me in connection with the essay you wrote for the Grotius Society concerning the treatment of enemy aliens wh. I have read again since I was in Devonshire. I seemed to detect an inconsistency in one of your statements, but probably the explanation is that the question of alien bills passed in

¹⁹ Royal Army Medical Corps.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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special & peculiar circumstances & the general question of the treatment of enemy aliens are quite separate & distinct matters.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

44. Gubbins to Satow (p.79)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

June 13. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

I return Vol. III with many thanks. The point mentioned in my letter of yesterday, and for which I also suggested an explanation, is this, on page 5 of your paper read before the Grotius Society and published in the Quarterly you say: "On the whole it may be inferred that down to five-and-twenty years ago Governments contemplated treating enemy aliens with forbearance and even generosity etc etc." Does this agree with the statements of Sorel (Vol. III page 241 etc.) regarding the passage of the Alien Bill in 1792-3, and the protest made by the French Govt.

The good news I mentioned in a previous letter as coming from Japan is not confirmed. Evidently what the Terauchi Govt. has effected, or is contemplating, is another compromise or working arrangement, with certain political parties wh. is opposed by V[iscoun]t. Kato [Takaaki] and others. So there will be more political friction & more work for [missing word?]

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I have never yet quite adopted the view that what may be good for the Mother of Parliaments should necessarily be good for all the world.

45. Gubbins to Satow (p.80)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. II

June 19. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

I return the "Spectator" with many thanks. What a nice review Strachey gives you! I'd sooner have a 'good press' in the 'Spectator', & one or two other papers than in the 'Times' Supplement, which has fallen off greatly in the last few years.

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Do you notice Strachey's attack on Lloyd George? Rather stupid I think, but he cannot forgive him for two things – his turning out of Asquith & Co., for whom the 'Spectator' had a tender feeling, and his attitude on the temperance question. I fear Strachey, like many other people, has early Victorian prejudices which in these cataclysmic days are rather an obstacle in the way of seeing things clearly. There is a good deal of tree-felling to be done before the light & air which England needs can be let in. All of us in our own ways cling to ancient Shibboleths. We all tend to move in a vicious circle. Success in any line of life, unless there is genius, depends on concentration, and this in itself narrows the horizon of our outlook on things. A connection of mine sought a remedy in sending a son to Harvard after his Oxford course. It seems a step in the right direction; the idea is the same as that of the Rhodes Scholarships. People seem to think that the war will let in new light through chinks which time has made! Perhaps so.

Thank you for letting me see your article.²⁰ I have read it with interest. I wonder if it is quite correct to speak of Paris as an undefended town. Is it not rather heavily fortified? You have certainly made out a strong case against Germany and her 'handmaid'. No one would deny the civilizing effects of Hague Conferences, but their conclusions, if the present war be any criterion, do not seem to be able to stand the test of war. The trouble is that all writers on war, military & civil alike, whether Germans or others, agree that war must be waged more or less brutally. This principle seems incompatible with any Hague Conventions, so that their educative & civilizing influence is limited to times of peace, and does not extend to the very field in which their conclusions were intended to operate.

Believe me

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I was interested to see in Sorel Vol. IV that France had an agent in Spain whose duty it was to supply money to French prisoners. J.H.G.

46. Gubbins to Satow (p.81)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. II

July 8. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

²⁰ 'Germany's Violations of International Law', *The New East* (Tokyo) 1, no 7, (December 1917), pp. 46-9 at p.47.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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Many thanks for 2 'Spectators'. I always like looking at Strachey's paper, tho' I am not always inclined to endorse his views any more than yourself.

You may perhaps like to glance at the enclosed which comes from America via Japan. Personally I rather like to read things written on the war from a non-British point of view, even if the writers are not very well-informed. One gets new light sometimes in this way, and it helps me to keep an open mind on questions which one is naturally tempted to look at through purely British spectacles. Please put it in the waste-paper basket when you have read it, for I do not want it back.

I am sorry to say that I do not see my way to paying you a visit this summer, much as I shd. like to do so. My position as press reader & memo. writer(!) is in course of being "regularized", whatever this may mean, and the process will, it is understood, result in my services being utilized by one instead of three departments. This will be more convenient for me, but my new masters want me to work in the department. They will probably agree to a compromise which will involve my putting in 3 or 4 hours daily in the department, and working at home for the rest of the day. The matter is to be settled definitely in the course of this week, and you will, I am sure, understand that I hardly like to ask for leave (even if I take my work with me) the moment the new arrangement comes into force.

The person I shall be working under is Lieut. Col. Wake, who is a Devonshire man and knows you. Although [Walter] Langley assured me some time ago that the Authorities knew quite well who I was, I am told by Lieut. Col. Wake that he & others had never known, and regarded me simply as a "paper-man". We certainly as a nation seem to work in water-tight compartments.

I have seen Langley once or twice lately. He is always pleasant to meet.

My work keeps me fully occupied & most people in London are busy too I think. So I rarely see any one. From an army friend I hear that the retention of the Ypres salient, about which I think I wrote to you ages ago, is a matter about which the army itself is divided. The Smith-Dorrien school has always been in favour of a withdrawal and a concentration further back. The other side, including of course [Sir John] French, were guided by considerations of politics & morale, and their view was followed. As you know, the material considerations which influenced [General Sir Horace] Smith-Dorrien & others were based mainly on the question of the losses which the retention of Ypres wd. involve. I reminded my friend that 2 years & more ago when discussing the question he had put the probable cost in men at 30,000. He doubted the accuracy of my recollection. Had he not said 300,000? I replied that very possibly he had and that I had probably mistaken the figures. But on thinking the matter over I feel pretty sure my

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memory is not at fault. When the previous conversation took place we had not learnt to think “in continents” where manpower was concerned. Our gunner boy was twice at Ypres and the weakness of our position there we naturally heard about from him when he was on leave.

I am puzzled to understand how the German & Austrian papers can have read “a more conciliatory disposition” between the lines of Lloyd George’s Scotch speeches. But the process of Teutonic thought is not always easy to follow. It seems to be more akin to feminine intuition than logic.

The papers do not seem to think that Lord Hardinge’s statement has improved his position. A niece [nephew?] of mine who was staying in Gloucestershire with his brother the other day tells me he (Lord H) puts the blame on the Asquith Govt. I am afraid I am what bureaucrats would call a very mischievous person, for I would like to see sweeping reforms made in all administrative departments. What in classical Chinese is known as “clearing a way for the voice of the people to be heard” is just as much an evil of to-day as it was when the phrase first originated. “He’s a sound fellow; it will all be well” is the feeling which inspires much administrative action. It is not merely a coincidence that in more than one country just now there should be a strong popular movement against bureaucracy (I dislike the word) which means of course the control of affairs by an official caste as pernicious in its way, and more dangerous because its methods are insidious and less overt – as Prussian & Austrian militarism.

The last London raid passed right over us. The guns were very busy. The raiders when they came to us had apparently disposed of all their bombs. I do not care for [Sir Thomas Henry] Hall Caine’s books, but his open letter to the Mothers of Germany in the “Chronicle” of Friday is interesting in a way because it shows, if he is right, that British mothers may draw us into reprisals just as our Generals have, for the protection of our fighting line, been drawn into the use of gas & jets of fire. Yesterday I was talking to one of these British mothers. She said that she had from the first been against reprisals, but that she had now changed her mind. She had not read Hall Caine on the subject. Personally I have been against reprisals, but the ghoulis description given by the German squadron commander of the previous raid, wh. appeared in Friday’s “Times”, has shaken me. I am quite content to leave the decision with our military advisers.

Give my love please to Shand if he is with you. I wish Norwood were nearer us. I hope he has good news of his son in Mesopotamia. He like most of us has probably read the Blue Book. The Govt. are in for rather a stormy debate I imagine. With all sympathy for over-worked men in a situation of unparalleled difficulty one nevertheless feels that

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public indignation is only natural.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

This rain will please you for your garden.

47. Gubbins to Satow (p.84)

“Ans. 22/7”

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

July 17. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Before I could manage to write in answer to your letter of the 15th your card inquiring about Michaelis²¹ has come.

I remember Michaelis quite well. When I knew him he must have been about 30. The impression I retain of him is that of a small, bright, blue-eyed & fair-haired man of the Prussian type. Dapper is the adjective which describes him best. He was a professor, a lecturer, in the Tokyo University I think.²² His subject was law, though what branch I forget. He wrote some papers (for the German Asiatic Society I believe) on Japanese legal customs, one of which I remember to have seen when I was translating the Civil Code. He never mixed with English or Americans. I met him very rarely. He never bridged the gulf which separated Germans from other foreign residents when he was in Japan. [Dr. Erwin] Baelz & [Dr. H.] Weipert and also [Ludwig] Riess²³ were, as you know, exceptions. Baelz & others used to speak of him as a clever chap. I wish I could tell you more about him, but I saw very little of him, and that only at functions.

I am glad to hear Norman Shand is keeping well.

Of the Mesopotamian debate I don't pretend to be a judge, but I liked Lord Lansdowne's speech in the House of Lords and Lord George Hamilton's letter to the "Times". Balfour's speech struck me as very unfair, and the Govt's attitude as ungenerous and un-English. You know what I think of the press generally. There at least we agree.

I hope in a day or two to be able to make my plans for the summer. The Admiralty

²¹ Georg Michaelis (1857-1936) was Chancellor of Germany, July 14 – November 1, 1917.

²² From 1885 to 1889 Michaelis lived and worked in Tokyo as a law professor.

²³ Ludwig Riess (1861-1928) taught history at Tokyo University, 1887-1902.

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through Prothero want me to do some work for them, but I doubt if I shall be able to do what they want. It depends on my talk at the War Office tomorrow.

You will be glad of a short letter this time I am sure. I have spent the morning at Burlington House, and the afternoon at the wedding of a nephew released for the purpose from the front, and feel too demoralized for letter writing.

Wilkinson, I see, is to take part in the Home Rule Convention. Our eldest daughter writes me that the Sinn Feiners are very active & noisy near Tipperary where she is now.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

My nephew tells me the Germans secured the sea-approaches to Nieuport in their last attack. He spoke of [General Sir John Philip] Du Cane a gunner as being in command. I am afraid it was rather a bad business.²⁴

48. Gubbins to Satow (p.86)

“Ans. 31/7”

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.
July 29. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

You are quite right about Prothero, but I am thankful to say it is only a miniature hand-book that is required. I was amused at the way Langley, when I said I might have to ask them for information regarding statistics, snorted at the Admiralty. “We don’t pretend,” he said, “to be able to command ships, but they think that they can run the Foreign Office better than we can.”

My position at the War Office is being slowly regularized, but there is a good deal of friction.

We’ve practically taken a converted farm house in Sussex from the middle of next month for 4 weeks. I shall only be away for 3 weeks, and wish it were 3 months. The place is “The Firs, Upper Dicker” and the station Berwick – 20 minutes from Lewes. We shall be quite in the country, 3 or 4 miles from the nearest little country town of Hailsham. I went down to see the house early last week and settle matters. If we had not liked that house I shd. probably have taken a vicarage at Looe in Devonshire beyond

²⁴ Operation Hush was a British plan to make amphibious landings on the Belgian coast in 1917. It was cancelled on October 14, 1917.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Plymouth – and on the sea. I had written to the Vicar but not sent off my letter.

The post will take you safely I hope Sorel Vols. IV & V. I feel very grateful to you for the loan of it. It has taught me much I did not know. May I ask you for the loan of another French book you mentioned when lending me Sorel? I have forgotten the name but the author was a lady.

I am sorry to say you will find a small tear in one of the early pages of Vol. V. I have gummed a tiny slip of paper over it in order to prevent further damage. It is rather a noticeable blemish I fear.

Both of our sons are back in England with trench fever. The gunner boy [Colin] is, however, on ordinary leave and not in hospital. The doctor ours, who saw him here thinks it is the end of an attack for wh. he never went into hospital, and tells him to be careful. He is now in Bedfordshire staying with the aunt of a girl he met when we went to Ireland from Oxford.

When you come to town, if we are still here, perhaps you will give me the pleasure of entertaining you at lunch or dinner at the St. James, one of your old clubs.

Things are in a very unpleasant state for us from a military point of view just now, and it will take us all our time to keep our stumps up till America is ready to come in & take a hand in the batting. I am English or British eno' to feel no pessimism as regards the final outcome of the war. But I have not admired our Govts., and I dislike the press and party politicians. Colin tells me the French have been losing heart a bit, but that both they and we are massing reserves for he thinks another offensive. Dozens of corps are being kept doing nothing, while the divisions in other corps are being used over & over again. he thinks this must mean another offensive, and he thinks the push will come between Armentières & the coast.

The Japanese will be very angry with the Russians. They were angry eno' six weeks ago. Now they will explode. And this senseless unrest in China will not make them feel more friendly towards the Chinese.

I have not heard from Clarke Thornhill since he was here to tea six weeks ago – nor have I any news of the Tukes.

A friend at the front, who knows a good deal about birds says his own idea is that birds build nests for protection in evergreen shrubs in gardens, but that their favourite places for nests are hawthorn trees & hedges, where they get more light than in laurels and other evergreen bushes. He mentions in his letter his having heard from a cousin in the extreme north of Scotland, who tells him that in this late spring the blackbirds & thrushes built their nests at the usual time before the leaves came out, and that one could not help seeing their nests.

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Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

49. Gubbins to Satow (p.88)

“Ans. 13/8”

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Aug. 1. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

So many thanks for the books. I don't know how I made so stupid a mistake as to think I had come to an end of Sorel. I must have been wool-gathering [indulging in aimless, dreamy thought], and so was misled by the last chapter of the 5th vol., in which the author gave my rather muddled brains the impression that he had come to the end of his story. The mistake was absurd, for you had previously explained that there were 8 vols. in all. But I am really delighted at my error, because I was quite miserable at the idea that I had finished a book which has interested me more than any book I have read for several years.

Almost as you were writing your letter, the new offensive was commencing, and it was in progress while your letter was on its way. I am afraid that the weather will interfere greatly with our operations. Well, we must just accept our bad luck. We have much need of philosophy these days. It will take all our British grit to carry us through another year's fighting. Then I hope daylight will be so clearly in sight that the last leg will be easy going.

Yes, you have guessed nearly right as regards Colin. But as he is only just 21 I hope he will not think of marriage for some time yet. He talks of it “when the war is over”, but he will still be very young, unless the fighting goes on for another 4 or 5 years.

I find people in London very depressed. People in Scotland – even on the Clyde – are much more cheerful. All our accounts agree as to this.

Mr. [Arthur] Henderson's visit to Paris makes me a bit uneasy, but perhaps it will be explained satisfactorily when he comes back. We cannot of course expect to carry on a war like this without there being much discontent in the country.

I am sorry to hear you are poorly, even though the cause is slight. We expect to leave for Sussex about the 10th or 11th of this month. So I hope your visit to London will be either before that date or after my return. I shall be away for 3 weeks.

Thank you for your offer of the Japan Guide Book. I will not ask you for it now.

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Later on, however, if I feel it would be useful, I will remind you of it if I may.

Till I read Sorel I had no idea how nearly Napoleon's coup d'état failed. He seems to have been saved by his brother Lucien.

I have never thanked you for the "Spectators". I read them pretty carefully.

People are anxious about this rain and say the harvest will suffer. My wonder after being in the East and watching the almost monotonous regularity of good harvests in Japan, how we ever with our changeable climate get any harvest at all!

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

The first letter to which there is an answer from Satow in PRO 30/33 11/10

50. Gubbins to Satow (p.90)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Aug. 1. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

"What! another letter from G.!" you will say. It is only to send you the following lines, which I hope are new to you. If not, please pardon my inflicting them upon you.

The rain it raineth every day
Upon the just & unjust feller,
But chiefly on the just because
The unjust has the just's umbrella.²⁵

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

51. Gubbins to Satow (p. 91)

"Ans. Sept. 9" [See p.216 below.]

The Firs

Upper Dicker

Sussex

²⁵ Attributed to Charles Bowen (1835-94), an English judge, in the Oxford Dictionary of Humorous Quotations, 2013. On September 9, 1917 Satow writes: "My dear Gubbins,

Many thanks for the amusing lines upon the umbrella and the rain. It is skillfully done..."

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Aug. 15. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your knowledge of our new address was greater than ours. But the above seems to be sufficient. Our landlord never adds "Hellingley" nor have I heard the name used since we've been here.

I don't know the novel you mention, though I have heard Shand speak of it. One of these days I will get it for my girls.

Yes, I think you and Lord Reay must be right in distrusting the amateur strategy of the "Spectator". Strachey always reminds me of an Oxford don. He writes with an air of superiority – in knowledge I mean – wh. does not carry conviction, & is often irritating.

I am reading Gerard's book in the D.T. [Daily Telegraph] At first I was inclined to dislike it. It seemed rather undignified and perhaps a little unfair for an Ex-Ambassador to take the public into his confidence regarding things ambassadorial. Now I have changed my opinion and think the publication of his experiences in the partial form in which they will appear will do much good to the Entente cause, and increase the disgust of the world with the methods and actions of the Germans & their war-lord.

This is a pretty little place – just the kind we were looking for. It is 3 miles from Berwick Station & the same distance from the market town of Hailsham. We hear the guns of Flanders booming day & night, and by the increased cannonade, at intervals, we know when fighting becomes hotter.

I am glad your agricultural operations have been successful & hope that the Food Controller will prove amenable.

I envy as I always do the energy & facility with wh. you write. After 3 days I have written some 4 pages of foolscap, and I must write 25 or 30! History I am compelled to treat under the disparate heads of Domestic, Foreign & Economic. In both of the first I am commencing with 2 or 3 pages to be labelled introductory, which to me seems to be the clearest way of treating the subject.

With very kind regards from us both

Yours, in haste, always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I am glad to hear you are not going to London.

52. Gubbins to Satow (p. 92)

"ans 18/9"

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. 11

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Sept. 11. 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I had been meditating a letter to you for some time past when yours came this morning.

What you tell me about the "Spectator" is interesting. I took the two recent articles on naval policy to be Strachey's. Perhaps they were, for he might easily have left them behind for insertion later. Like you, I don't believe in amateur strategy. It is very tempting of course to think of clearing Belgium, especially the sea-coast, of Germans. But at the time when naval co-operation would have been easiest, & most effective, there were no land forces available. And now that the coast, and inland lines have been heavily fortified the problem is more difficult.

I feel as you do about Russia. It is very hard on the French. Personally I try to put Russia out of my mind, though I don't succeed very well. Just now I am at the point in Sorel's history where Napoleon has over-run Prussia, and though victorious everywhere much as the Kaiser has been, recognizes, when he has time to think about it – that he is in rather a disagreeable position, and that the permanent and glorious peace he desires is like a will o' the wisp, always out of reach. The book is full of things which bear a close parallel to circumstances to-day. Not only does the German Emperor speak and act like Napoleon did a century ago, but the German people seem to think as the French people then did. The German Kultur propaganda is nothing but a repetition of the French revolutionary propaganda. The ideas are of course different, but the movement is similar in character, especially in its popular aspect. But while there is much to admire in the French Revolution, Germany's endeavours to spread abroad her Kultur are a sorry spectacle.

Quite early in the war Shand in a letter to me (in August 1914) expressed his conviction that the war was brought about by the German Junkers and the military caste. I wrote at once and tried to disabuse him of this idea. Every day that has passed since has confirmed me in the view that the German people as a whole – I admit gradations of responsibility of wh. we have instances in the industrialists University professors & Lutheran clergy – are responsible for the war, and that the soul of the nation must have become demoralized before it could have been submitted to be the instrument of a corrupt & debased Govt. Like Faust the German nation in the last 60 years has made a bargain with the devil, and one day his price will be demanded. I cannot see myself any other end to the war but the complete ruin of Germany. And she will have deserved her fate as fully as Napoleon deserved his – and for similar reasons.

What you say about your booklet and Prothero is comforting, for I alas am ten days

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now without any acknowledgement of about 1/3rd of my booklet – which I sent him on approval. As I had departed from the lines laid down for all writers, thinking that in Japan's case separate treatment was desirable, I wrote explaining my news and asking if I might send him what I had finished on approval. He seemed quite pleased with my suggested treatment of the subject, but has not written since my typed work reached him at Rye – [We were “distant neighbours” as an Irishman might say!] What I feel about Japanese history is that there are certain main features which demand explanation – such as Japan's isolation, the establishment of treaty relations with Foreign Powers, her adoption of Chinese culture & later of Western civilization, the duality of government language & religion, the Shogunate, the Restoration, the abolition of feudalism, conscription, parliamentary reform, Treaty Revision, foreign relations. Without explanations on these points the history of the country cannot be made intelligible. But apart from these a mere brief record of events is all that is necessary.

I have probably failed in these few words to explain my meaning clearly, but perhaps you can form a general idea of the method of treatment. For instance, I do not think it is possible to understand the Japan of today unless it is understood how the Restoration came about, and in explaining this it is necessary to say something about feudalism and the clans. Once this is done, it is not necessary to refer again to the subject.

You may possibly have time to look at the enclosed. What the Telegraph's correspondent says about [Georg] Michaelis is one feels, very correct, and I see that Mr. H[erbert]. Samuel²⁶ in a recent speech takes the same view. Today a paper suggests that the pan[?]-Germans are determined to turn Michaelis out at once, and substitute Von Tirpitz!

I have been too busy to write the Essay on the Importance of the study of History wh. Crewdson on behalf of the “New East” London Committee asked me to write. As they dunned me last week on the subject I told them so [I had never promised to write this particular article] and offered to give them the article I wrote for the Historical Congress in 1913. To this I have had no reply. Meanwhile I have seen a number of the “new East”. It reminds me of Okuma's “Fifty Years of New Japan”. But it is worse! I can understand what Cholmondeley's view of it may be.

Yes, you are quite right about the pessimist. The condition generally is serious all round. But I never had greater faith in an ultimate victory than I have to-day.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

²⁶ Herbert Samuel (1870-1963). Liberal politician.

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24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

J.H. Gubbins

53. Gubbins to Satow (p. 95)

“ans 23/9”

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. 11

21 Sept. 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for yours of the 18th and the “Far East” and for several “Spectators”.

Masujima [Rokuichirō] is a clever man. One thinks of him as connected with a certain period of Japanese progress! And Shand has rather an exaggerated idea of his attainments – which are great – and of his influence – which is almost nil.

You will smile when I tell you I have been writing my booklet on Japan under a complete misapprehension. I had been puzzled & much worried with the distinction I was asked, as I read the written instructions, to make between domestic & foreign affairs throughout the narrative. After writing some 7 or 8 pages I rebelled and asked to be allowed to combine both narratives in one from the time of the Restoration. Prothero consented but he seemed so disappointed with what I had written – when he got it – that we had further correspondence wh. ended in a letter wh. reached me this morning. I now understand what I am to do, and am relieved of what was a veritable nightmare. But much time has been wasted. Prothero probably thinks me a duffer for not reading the instructions as he intended them to be read. To me, the instructions appear rather foolish! Of course I must re-write everything. But the main obstacle being removed I hope to produce something wh. will be acceptable. What Prothero & others fail to grasp completely is the bearing of the past on the present, and the greater necessity there is for explanations in regard to past matters, without which modern Japan cannot be understood.

I am just finishing Vol. VII of Sorel. I am sorry to say that Vols. VI & VII got very slightly damaged in coming to me through the post. The top corners of both Vols. have been slightly bent for about an inch in each case. Before returning them to you, I thought of taking them to the Army & Navy Stores – where books are bound rather nicely in the School Prize Books style – and asking them whether the small bendings could not be put straight without much difficulty. I have thought that this might be done better in London than elsewhere. It will be no trouble to me as the Stores in Victoria Street are only a step from here. If you will let me do this I shall be greatly relieved in my mind, as I do not like the thought of your volumes returning to you damaged in any

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way, however slight. If you agree, I will retain both volumes for the present, and ask you to let me have Vol. VIII whenever convenient to you.

Sorel spells morals with an e! I am so pleased. Now that I have his authority I feel that I can write my long-meditated letter to the “Spectator”. So long as the utilitarian argument, supported by the plea that morale had become anglicized, was met by the argument of linguistic error, one felt one’s ground to be rather insecure. Sorel’s use of the word puts the matter on a different footing. Will you suggest that it is a printer’s error?

Even optimists in regard to the war, like myself, have lately been influenced by London’s depression – a depression not shared by the provinces – least of all in Scotland. Now it looks as if the gloom of London minds might give way to a healthier and more courageous view of things. Personally my courage has always been assisted by the belief from the first that we were in for a very long war. For years I have been impressed – I will not say obsessed – by German, Austrian & Japanese militarism. Can a nation, I have said to myself, that has systematically neglected to put its house in order, and study the art of war – if only for purposes of self-defence – hope to obtain victory in a short & glorious campaign? And yet most Englishmen seemed to think it quite a reasonable view! We are now learning our lesson.

It is quite possible that the experts themselves did not realize the deadly effect of our gas shells within a small area. The effects seem to diminish as the area extends.

You will be glad to hear that the Jiji [Jiji Shinpō newspaper] had a very nice article about England the other day. It blamed Motono for not referring specially & directly to England as our ally in his speech before the diet on the 26th June, and for not saying explicitly what England & the Anglo-Japanese alliance had done in the war. Then it proceeded to explain what England had done in terms which could not be bettered, and said that all this should have been mentioned in the speech. Motono will not have liked it.

I must stop before I bore you too much.

The last “Spectator” was dull I thought. Conscientious objectors do not interest me.

Please remember me to your brother if he is still with you.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

54. Gubbins to Satow (p. 98)

“ans 30/9”

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.
Sept. 27. 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for yours of the 23rd., for Vol. VIII and for a "Spectator". I am returning Vols VI & VII to you to-day. I only hope you will agree with my view of the extent of damage sustained. It is really not serious but one has a tender conscience in regard to friends' books, and yours are so well bound as a rule that they deserve extra care.

I wanted to mark the page in which the word morale occurs in Vol. VII, but I failed to make a note of it at the time, and to-day after a long search I gave the quest up in despair. The passage is somewhere about the middle of the Volume.

A friend writing to me to-day about his son, who is a gunner & was slightly wounded in the recent fighting, says his son tells him "he has never seen so many dead Germans all through the war as he has seen of late in our recent advances." This bears out newspaper statements which I am always inclined to distrust.

You are right I am sure in your opinion of the German & Austrian replies to the Pope. They show, however, in conjunction with other indicators[,] how much the Central Powers dread the further indefinite continuance of the war.

You will have noticed the "Times's" leading article and special articles regarding labour unrest and revolutionary tendencies. It has always seemed to me to be a serious matter. Yet serious people are inclined to underrate the movement.

Yes I think that the French will, as you say, make use of their historical memories when the day comes to discuss peace terms. And some of them will probably refer to Sorel.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

55. Gubbins to Satow (p. 100)

"ans 30/9 The passage is on p.300, where it means 'morality'."

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. 11
21 Sept. 1917.

My d[ea]r Sir Ernest,

Since writing to you yesterday I have found on p. 191 of Vol. VIII the following. Speaking of the crushing defeat of the French army at Leipzig Sorel says:

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“l’armée de conscrits, estropiée, éreintée, ruinée, ne se tient plus; l’exaltation est tombée, le moral perdu.”

This seems conclusive, for the context explains the exact meaning.

I wish I had been able to find & send you the passage in Vol. VII in which he uses the word morale.

Among the countless analogies to be found in Sorel between the events of 100 years ago & those of to-day is the want of good soldiers experienced by Napoleon in his later campaigns, especially at the battle of Leipzig. According to the “Times” of to-day German officer prisoners are now complaining of the same thing.

I wonder if Shand is reading the “Times’s” “revolutionary” articles.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I hope I did not misunderstand your last letter regarding the damage to your books, and that they have reached you safely.

56. Gubbins to Satow (p. 101)

“ans. 12/10”

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

11 Oct. 1917.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I quite agree with you in your view as to the meanings of morale and moral in the contexts in which they appear. But for moral I would suggest spirit or discipline as a better rendering than courage. It is often difficult of course to find an English word which exactly corresponds in meaning to a foreign one. And moral is a case in point. My objection to writing moral in italics as a foreign word is that in process of time the word will become Anglicized and the italics disappear. Then we shall have one English word “moral” standing for several things, which must lead to confusion. This is why in my opinion it would have been better to have continued the process of Anglicization of the word morale (though founded on error* unless the spelling was intended as a guide to pronunciation) which had already begun – (see quotations given in Oxford dictionary). In that case we should have had a clear distinction established between the two words. You will see that I am a strong advocate for “morale” to be written as an English word without italics.

Vol. VIII of Sorel returns to you to-day. I cannot thank you eno’ for the loan of the book. It has interested me more than I can say. I shall feel quite lost without it. May I

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ask you for the loan of another French book, preferably one not too beautifully bound as I fear the results of postal transit.

We had a lively time on moonlight nights lately. The aeroplanes came very near us – I mean their bombs – once or twice; our gasometers luckily escaping, but not by more than 300 yards. If they had gone, our windows would have followed suit.

Like Sir Cyprian Bridge I have had the eventuality of a German revolution and/or mutiny always in my mind since the battle of the Marne. All the best writing experts have so far laughed at the idea, and those of my friends who know Germany have discouraged the notion. I have regarded it nevertheless as a possible, though not probable, hypothesis to be reckoned with in forming conjectures as to the direction of the war. I fancy that the papers which speak of the recent naval mutiny having been due mainly to badness of food & scanty rations are probably right.

Our gunner boy has been very busy the last month in the firing line. He is now in command of his battery again, his major having been attached to the staff for six weeks. We met one of his friends lately who was with him at Woolwich, and is now at home slightly wounded and dying to get back to the fighting. He is a young major of 23! & of course in command of a battery. He said nice things of Colin, & mentioned what I knew from an Army Order, that he had been recommended for the command of a battery. I hope it may come soon, though at 21 Colin is rather young for the responsibility.

This cold weather shrivels one up.

Thanking you again for Sorel & the last “Spectators” & hoping Vol VIII will reach you safely.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

57. Gubbins to Satow (p. 103)

“ans. 21/10” [See p.217 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. 11

Oct. 16th 1917

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for the Memoirs wh. arrived uninjured by the post. Thanks also for the list of books you give me in your letter. They all sound nice, but I think while the war lasts I must be chary about asking you for big books, lest they shd. suffer in transit.

I had a long conversation with Crewdson, the Secretary of the “New East”

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Committee, the other day. He wanted to consult me about some translation work he is having done and I asked him to tea. I explained how busy I was and he writes to-day to say that the Committee will not expect anything from me at present, but would like to have some time in the future an article on “the marvellous happenings during the Tokugawa period – especially the way in which the Samurai sacrificed themselves for their country – a unique example in the history of nations.” I should like him to spend six months in Japan not under official auspices. Between people who have lived much in the East – whether Far or Near – and those who only know it at second hand there seems to be an “unbridgeable” gulf.

I am afraid we can hope for nothing from Russia before next spring; & not much even then. A revolution in the midst of war, and in a country where the masses and many even of the middle classes are so ignorant, must mean something very close to anarchy.

The weather makes one keep thinking of our poor soldiers in the firing line. A friend met some yesterday. They had been in the last fights, many of them fighting while up to their necks in water & mud. I feel very impatient and keep asking for the spring & the American army. Does it ever occur to you that no matter what happens – except perhaps a miracle – England after the war will have lost some of her prestige? I’ve read “Ordeal by Battle” again. What a good book. And yet Asquith remains the idol of the Liberal Party!

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

58. Gubbins to Satow (p. 104)

“Ans. 25/10” [See p.218 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. II

24 Oct. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you so much for the remaining vols. of the Memoirs of Madame Junot. I had just finished Vol. 1; so they came very opportunely. You must really allow me to repay you in these war times for the cost of the carriage of the books you have lent me. It is really too much for you to be saddled with the quite heavy expenses of sending me all the books you have so kindly lent me since the autumn of last year. I have kept a rough note of the outlay, which comes to more than 16 shillings. I venture to enclose a few

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stamps to cover the carriage of Far East heavy parcels, and with your permission I will send you a postal order for the remainder of my indebtedness. Even then, I shall be greatly in your debt, as I need not say.

My work for Prothero drags very much. I have now prepared Saturday & Sunday for his work, but as I have had to rewrite everything ab initio, the process is slow. However, once I get past the [Meiji] restoration episode less explanation will be needed, and I hope the pace will improve.

Thank you also for the “Spectators” and for the “New East”. The latter comes to me direct though I seem unworthy to receive it, not having yet followed yr. good example.

Colin has taken to writing oftener, and there is more in his letters. In his last wh. came yesterday he tells me of the bad luck of his wounded friend whom we saw. His place as Major has been filled already by a much older man, and also the captaincy in his battery. So his friend when he returns will only be a subaltern in the battery wh. he commanded for 6 months as Temporary Major! This makes one realize the meaning of the term “the fortunes of war”. Colin I am glad to say is still in command of his battery, but he is only in acting command as Temporary Captain. If he does exceptionally well, however, and someone notices it – for much depends on this – he may get his own battery as Temp. Major in the next few months. I shall then be a proud father. Colin writes in his last letter: “We are having at present alternate spells of frightful storms & rain & cold wind with fitful sunshine. The wet predominates and our shell-holes are full of water. We get a lot of Gothas [biplane bombers] over every day, and they throw their bombs promiscuously all round the country without doing much damage. They are enormous things compared to the usual aeroplanes one sees.”

The damage done in Piccadilly a few days ago was rather serious. It extended from the Piccadilly Hotel – that unsightly structure which in Paris the authorities would certainly have condemned – to the Circus, the buildings round the corner on each side also suffering.

I am so sorry about your brother’s [Sam’s] naval boy. He must indeed be anxious – your brother I mean – for the state of Russia seems to be chaotic. You will have noticed perhaps Genl. Alexiev’s reported statement wh. appeared in the papers. I have received private confirmation of it. Russia, it seems, is ready to cede the whole of the district of Ussuri in return for military help from Japan. The Japanese will be foolish not to jump at the offer. The people, as you know, are rolling in money, wh. they find it difficult to make good use of. Please keep this to yourself (and your brother, who may be interested to know what comes from a good authority.)

If there is anything to be altered in your M.S. you would have heard by now. Prothero

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must be delighted with it & feel very grateful for the rapidity of your work, wh. I as a sluggish writer never cease to envy.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I find the Memoirs very interesting, but I am glad that I read Sorel first.

59. Gubbins to Satow (p. 106)

82 Y. Mans.

24 Oct. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

As often happens with me, the closing of my envelope preceded the enclosing of the stamps. So I send them in another cover.

I rather liked Lloyd George's speech. It reads like the speech of a man who while remaining an optimist on what seems to me – and to you too I am glad to say – to be solid grounds, recognizes the seriousness of the situation. In Ireland I fear there will be trouble. The complaints referred to in the "Times" (I think) which came from Ireland in by-gone days about the export of yarn, and have come recently about the export of potatoes & butter reveal the unreasonableness of Irish character. What can statesmanship do in presence of this attitude? Only one thing, continue, so far as is possible, to make amends for the past, and govern Ireland firmly & with justice. There is no other way. To do this, and at the same time to hope for better things, is all that is left to us.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

60. Gubbins to Satow (p. 107)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov. 3rd 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

You are right I am sure about the interest attaching to French history & memoirs. Our insularity extends to our historical writing. The French, besides their more dramatic history, have, until comparatively recent times, had a wider outlook on the world. Our enterprise has opened to us wide avenues of trade, but the bulk of our people have not had the opportunities of the French for association with other European peoples. We are

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bornés, [limited] and sometimes when talking to English men & women I think we shall remain so till the crack of doom. There is a good deal one can skip in Madame Junot, but there is much wh. is very interesting.

I had a long talk with [George W.] Prothero the other day. I like him better than at first. Perhaps because he has given me carte blanche as to theme and substance. Slow workers can't be hurried. Men who write at the rate that Sir Harry [Parkes] did are few. But tho' he wrote naturally fast, he took immense trouble over his work, writing things over & over again. I think I have found the best map for the booklet, unless Prothero manages to find another. I suggested that it would be best to give a map which would shew not only Japan & her recent conjuncts, but a good portion of the Continent as well, so as to help the reader's perspective. Japan means now Asia. England never for long meant Europe – except in so far as Gibraltar & Malta are concerned. Perhaps there may be two maps to shew Japan before & after her great expansion.

The water is flowing so fast under the bridges now that events go racing by & I find so much to read in the papers that I am keeping late hours, wh. is bad for one's work. But debates take a lot of reading.

Mrs. [Hamilton] Currey & her daughter were here to stay & we talked much of you. Mrs. Currey is looking perhaps less fragile than I expected, but she is very blind. The daughter is working at the War Office. Her hours are long 10 to 6 but she does not complain of them and looks well. But though she was asked to work at French & Spanish, she says most of the time she is only typing!

I wonder what you think of the Italian disaster. British & French troops will soon be in Italy I suppose, or we may take over a longer line in France & leave the French to help the Italians.

We had a nasty air raid the other night again. It kept many people awake from midnight to 3 am. One of the Gothas lost its way and circled over us for an hour. But no bombs fell near us. These raids are not conducive to "calm thoughts regular as infants' breath". I have not found yet the poem which has this line. Some day perhaps I will ask Jenkinson if he is still at Cambridge.

We have good news of our gunner boy but he is having rather a lively time.

I hope your brother [Sam] has some news of his sub-marine son and is less anxious than he was.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

After reading Sorel I was convinced that the Kaiser had modelled many of his speeches

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on Napoleon's. The latter, as you will remember, was always talking of the freedom of the seas, anathemas of England were very like the Kaiser's. But as you say, the similarities are striking.

The enclosed [newspaper cutting] by Osborn may interest you.

Cutting:

BOOKS OF THE DAY

DEMOCRACY: THE FIRST LESSON

Book review by E.B.O. of FROM PERICLES TO PHILIP by T.R. Glover, Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge, and University Lecturer in Ancient History. Methuen and Co. 8s.

61. Gubbins to Satow (p. 110)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov. 6. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

I know you will be pleased to hear that Colin has got a battery of his own – the 125th of which [he] has the command with the rank of Temporary Major. At 21, he must be one of the youngest majors in the British army.

We must I suppose just possess our souls in patience and hope for better news from Italy before very long when the Italians have been stiffened up by French & British troops & more guns and the wherewithal to work them.

Our gunner boy I fear is in a very hot place. His new battery has had 2 majors & a captain wounded in 2 months.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

62. Gubbins to Satow (p. 111)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov. 10. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Thanks for yours of the 8th. I should like to see the "Chronicles" Cholmondeley sent you very much. We do not take the Kobe paper because, having so many to choose

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from, it seemed inadvisable to add to the list a paper which is consistently anti-Government. But there have been one or two questions lately in regard to wh[ich]. even the new magazine “The New East” is unable to take a wholly Japanese view. And I shd. therefore much like to see the Japanese letters you mention and [Robert] Young’s comment on them.

As things have since happened don’t you think it is very lucky for us that America came into the war when she did, and came in so energetically? Since the Russian & Italian disasters the Japanese, - never as you know very keen on the war beyond the Kiaochao part of it – must be reviewing the situation; and had they not been carried off their feet by the American war enthusiasm, one wonders what inconvenient cross currents might not have troubled the course of the Allies. The way in wh. the Americans have come in has impressed the Japanese more than the thing itself. Two days ago I lunched at the Rag – where I had not had a meal for many months. At the table next to me was the Times Correspondent who wrote that account of the Mons Retreat wh. made so much sensation, in 1914. I am speaking of [Captain] Battine not [Charles] Repington. My friend introduced us and asked him what he thought of the Italian treachery. He said the Northern Italians were not good soldiers and that a large portion of the Italian army was more formidable in quantity than quality. The army as a whole, he said, would have been better without these troops.

There was a delightful Irish story in a paper yesterday. A visitor fishing in the West of Ireland is in need of a gillie. Seeing a man – a boatman – apparently idle not far off, he hails him and asks him if he will lend him a hand. The man says he can’t as he is “working for the Government.” “What Government” asks the visitor. “The German”, is the reply. What work? Mine-laying.

Another man is seen approaching in the distance. The fisherman calls to him. The Irish boatman says: “You needn’t trouble yourself about him. He’s my brother; he’s working too for the Government.”

“What Govt.?”

“The English.”

“What work?”

“Mine-sweeping.”

I must stop and go on with my work.

What curious spring-like autumn weather! The glass is perpetually on the move.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

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24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

63. Gubbins to Satow (p. 113)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov. 11. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Your feeling is mine about the war. The darker the hour the more the true British spirit will shew itself. I firmly believe that France America & ourselves can beat the Central Powers and their Eastern allies, for neither Turk nor Bulgar is European except by accident. I find myself quoting Tennyson to myself daily. I love the ballad of the 'Revenge'. "And he said 'fight on, fight on'." I have no patience with air raid nerves. I tell everyone I meet who talks in a nervous way about the death toll from accidents wh. is far greater than air raid casualties.

I hear from a man in the Munitions department that the combing out process will not yield very much, in his line, but the authorities are evidently alive now to the necessity of compelling Trade Unionism to recognize present emergencies.

In haste Yrs always Sincerely

J.H.G.

64. Gubbins to Satow (p. 114)

"Ans. 14/11" [See p.219 below.]

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov. 13. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the "Chronicles", which I have read with interest, but no surprise. The articles from the "Nihon oyobi Nihonjin" are of the same Chauvinistic kind as others I have dealt with before. I have treated them fully in my Notes on the Press. They are useful in bearing out what I have told the W.O. more than once that the writing in Japanese magazines is more Chauvinistic & anti-foreign than that in the daily press – which is curious and at the same time instructive. Do you think that it is the same with our 'Reviews' – always excepting the "National Review"?

I feel with regard to the Anglo-Japanese alliance the sentiment expressed by the Scotchman in Paisley who woken up by what he thought was the sound of the Last Trump found himself the only person in the churchyard. You & I know of course that it is only an alliance de Cabinets, and I often ask myself how long it will last. If the war comes to an end before another 4 years, will it be renewed? It will require much self-

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow

24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

restraint on the part of Japan to avoid taking advantage of the golden opportunity the war has given her. She is beatus possidens as regards opportunities. As long as the war lasts she has China & Siberia open to something more than peaceful penetration, and her recent reorganization of colonial administration suggests that she may be preparing for great efforts in the future. The only powers she has to fear, if the war ends as we all hope, & you & I believe, are America & England, especially if, as we must hope, we keep closely together. The future looks troublesome in the Far East on any hypothesis.

I have finished in rough draft my remarks on Japanese religion for Prothero – and propose to bring it in after the account of the Restoration wh. I am just finishing. Then I propose to say something about the Japanese social system. After this the historical narrative will continue practically uninterrupted. Law & education will go best at the end I think. I rather dread the history part from 1908-14. For this I must make some journeys to F.O. which will be disagreeable.

Talking to [Walter] Langley the other day about Japan, we both agreed that Japanese ambition was more boundless even than the Kaiser's.

In haste

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

65. Gubbins to Satow (p. 116)

“Ans. 15/11”

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov. 15. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you very much for the For. Office booklet. It seems very good. Thanks also for your p.c. telling me of “Contemporary Politics in the Far East” by S.K. Hornbeck. I will act on your suggestion & ask Prothero if the Admiralty will supply me with a copy. If not I will borrow it from a library or buy it.

My boy has moved off with his new battery to another front, - further South I think, but we are left to guess. It is not Italy though, for he had already arrived. I am glad he has left the Ypres neighbourhood. It is not a healthy spot. The casualties lately have been appalling in the artillery. I have been counting them lately in several casualties & have found their range from 50 to 20 per cent of the total casualties. One is not surprised for the papers speak of the Germans having brought up many more guns against us, & their bombardment is described as intense.

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I am glad your brother has heard from his son. I wish his son could get out of the Baltic & come home – but this is probably impossible for the present, and later on the ice will prevent all navigation, even, I suppose, for sub-marines.

It sounds like a comic opera to read of China seriously thinking of sending troops to Europe. But the Japanese papers are discussing the question rather vehemently. From what the Tokyo press says it seems that the French Govt. have suggested the idea, and have guaranteed transport! Some one must surely have lost their wits. The Japanese papers of course condemn the idea as ridiculous, but it is evidently thought that a serious proposal has been made, and on the part of China gravely entertained!

From a telegram in today's paper ('Evening Standard') it looks as if the Tokyo Govt. were becoming uneasy about Russia. One cannot be surprised at the chaos in Petrograd & elsewhere, & poor Buchanan²⁷ must be having an unpleasant time, but as long as there is chaos there there can be no separate peace with the Central Powers. That is the only consolation one has at present.

The news from Italy looks a little better. The German-Austrian rush seems to have spent itself for the moment. Colin, evidently reflecting opinion around him, suggests that the invading forces have exposed themselves in pushing so S. We shall see in a few days what happened.

I hope Allenby won't push too far into Palestine. looking at the map one wonders whether there is any object beyond defeating a particular Turkish army, which is perhaps sufficient in itself. We surely could gain little by occupying Jerusalem.

London is rather excited about Lloyd George's Paris speech and Lord Northcliffe's letter declining the post of his Minr.

Thank you for two "Spectators". The Editor seems to be still absent.

I enclose what seems to be a sensible article. It was in today's "Morning Post", but not being political I have no hesitation in sending it.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

66. Gubbins to Satow (p. 118)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. 11
Nov. 26. 1917

²⁷ Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador to the Russian Empire, 1910-17.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

My dear Sir Ernest

I have been too busy to thank you before for the extract you sent me from the “Times Literary Supp[lement].” about Chinese poetry. It is a big subject. When I was at Oxford I used to go to the Bodleian occasionally to read Legge’s Translations. From this very imperfect glimpse of the subject I came to the conclusion that there was more affinity between Chinese poetry and our own than between Japanese and ours. The Japanese to my mind have gone astray in all their art by an over-refinement of aestheticism. It has cramped their brains and hindered its natural development. Much of their art to-day with all its delicacy & wealth of detail is colourless, lifeless, shallow and without soul. This is a strong indictment is it not? I wish I were in Ottery to tell you more clearly what I think about the matter. You have read “The Spirit of Japanese Poetry” by Yoné Noguchi. Well, he puts the case forcibly eno’ – considering how bad is his case – in favour of Japanese agst. English poets. He sees or rather feels, what the lover of music does, that there is an intangible something which cannot be expressed in words and he abuses our poets for their verbosity. He does not seem to realize that after all language, for the ordinary man who is not a musician, is the only medium of expressing emotional thoughts, and that to try and meet the difficulty by “half-expressing” the thought is to fall between two stools [stools?]. From another point of view there is a narrowness of outlook in Japanese art wh. reminds one of our pre-war university school of thought. * Chinese poetry strikes me as being more human. Japanese poetry like Japanese art bases itself on nature, but it is nature cut into lengths & used over & over again till one tires of the process.

One of these days, unless the Food Controller stops it, I must really invite myself once more to Ottery and have some walks & talks. But I must first get my Prothero work done, and this will occupy me for 3 months more at least – possibly more -, for I have no idea how long the F.O. part of my researches will take.

We have had for a fortnight an overflowing flat, inundated, so to speak, from the front in France & Flanders. The accommodation at our disposal is so small that we have taken two other rooms in neighbouring mansions.

Our gunner boy has come home on leave for a fortnight. He has been gassed, but fortunately not badly. The regimental doctor said that unless the Colonel gave him immediate leave he would put him on the sick list. So the Colonel gave way as he evidently did not like to lose Colin; and this might easily have happened, for once on the sick list a man may go anywhere.

The casualties in the Gunners have been appalling the last 3 months. The battery Colin now commands lost 3 majors in 3 weeks. He himself before he came on leave was

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commanding 2 batteries for some days. A division in the same army as his ran through its officers twice in 3 months. And his own brigade had in 6 weeks lost more than half of its officers and more than its full complement of men with the guns. [This for yourself only.]

What do you think of the “Spectator” and its Lloyd George articles? Are they Strachey’s or Atkin’s? I am afraid it will lose the paper some subscribers. No one can regard the “Spectator” as very moderate now.

I enclose a cutting from a Tokyo paper re Chinese Troops for Europe.

Believe me

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

67. Gubbins to Satow (p. 120)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Decr. 1. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest,

I am glad we are in agreement about Chinese & Japanese poetry. Sane views in regard to Far Eastern matters have not been in vogue for many years, so that I am often taken for a Philistine. You are certainly right that Chinese characters are not conducive to the free & easy expression of ideas. One might say more, and argue that the Japanese poetic ideal – that of half expressed thought – was evolved not from the Japanese scripts but from Chinese – which leads up to the strange anomaly that what [Laurence] Binyon & others regard as the most charming(!) and characteristic feature of Japanese poetry is of alien origin. I wonder what things in Japan are really Japanese – if in fact anything is. Years ago I used to think that feudalism represented Japanese influence as opposed to that of China. I began to think that if it were possible to study Chinese feudalism one might change one’s mind even on this point.

Yes, as you say, the Japanese are materialists – and excellent materialists at that. And this is, I think, the reason why intercourse with Japanese is so uninteresting, not to say unprofitable.

You remember Mrs. Mackay in Jermyn Street. I am trying to get a room for our gunner boy in her house. He wants a place to store things in when he is at the front and our flat is not large eno’!

As to the “Spectator”, I can only say Bravo! I admire your courage and principle. Like you, I have no opinion of a paper wh. makes personal attacks on the Govt. of the

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day. An Editor who does so needs a wholesome lesson. For Churchill I have no love, but the personal attack Strachey made on him several months ago struck me as being in the worst possible taste. Still it is always a wrench to give up a paper wh. has become an old friend.

Poor Lord Lansdowne! He ought to have read Sorel as carefully as I did. The "Telegraph" has this morning a good article on the 'freedom of the Seas'. Does your Oxford Dictionary tell you who first used the word? It sounds Elizabethan or Cromwellian.

Please lend me the two books you mention "A Century of British Foreign Policy", G. Gooch & Masterman, and "An Introduction to the Study of Foreign Relations". It will be very kind of you.

Our officers & men get gassed in their sleep now. This is how Colin and a friend were caught by it the other day. The Germans know that our chaps are proof agst gassing by day. They wear their masks suspended in front always so that not more than 2 seconds elapse before a mask is in position. But at night our chaps sleep without them. It is then that the Germans use their gas shells wh. penetrate all but the very deepest & strongest dug-outs.

I must go back to my work, the new Japanese Shipping Control Law, wh. I am just finishing.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

This "mustard" gas destroys for a time the membrane of the bronchial tubes. Colin's voice is now coming back.

68. Gubbins to Satow (p. 122)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Decr. 4. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest,

Many thanks for your letter and for the two books which came to-day. I look forward to reading them with interest – the more so as the writer of one of the essays in "An Introduction to the study of International Relations" – Urquhart – is known to me. He is a Fellow of Balliol and told me about books on Feudalism which I wanted to refer to when at Oxford. He is not an interesting man to talk to. But if he had travelled as you have he might well be so for he has plenty of ability. You must not think that I am

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puffed up in any way by my own little travelling, or that I am at all a crank on the subject of English stay-at-homes. If a fellow is worth his salt, travelling shd. make him humble. There is nothing like it for making people realize their ignorance.

The surprise of the Germans at our attack was nearly equalled by our surprise at theirs. There is little doubt that we were caught napping. Byng has a bad staff I am told on authority which I am prejudiced enough to consider good as there is no jealousy or malice in the opinion I pass on to you for your own information. Oddly enough after this much-trumpeted victory the Japanese proverb about tightening the strings of one's helmet²⁸ immediately occurred to me, and I thought of it more than once before the bad news came.

Lord Lansdowne's case is quite hopeless I think. He is a type of an old-fashioned school of statesmen – heaven save the mark – which is thank goodness now fast disappearing. Such people do not think for themselves. They live in an atmosphere of Tradition, move in grooves when these are not dangerous ruts, and think & speak like the Chinese & Japanese of the last generation, & even the Eastern officials of today, in formulas. His letter has done harm of course both at home & abroad, but if it leads to more vigorous dealing with the situation the ultimate effect may be good. Everyone speaks of him as very estimable & courteous and amiable in private life. But that has nothing to do with statesmanship.

I wish the "Times" had published your letter.

I must stop now.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I enclose you a cutting which amused me. Foreigners' opinions of us as a people are sometimes good to know.

69. Gubbins to Satow (p. 124)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Decr. 7. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest,

I enclose an article by Yoné Noguchi; his book on Japanese poetry I am sending you

²⁸ 'Katte, kabuto no o wo shime yo.' After a victory, tighten your helmet strings (for the next battle). 「勝って、兜の緒を締めよ。」

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another separate cover.

I saw Shand last Sunday. He looks pretty well but thin and “peaky”. Ida said he had been having colds. He mentioned having sent you Christine. What do you make of the book? To me it reads like a novel put into this form, but some people seem to think the book is really a scrap of biography, as the preface states. Shand said a “friend of his” had asked Countess [Elizabeth] Russell (Von Arnim that was) if she had written it, and that the answer was No. But the writing and the acidity are very like the Rügen book.²⁹

The war outlook is not rosy is it? All the more need is there for Mark Tapleys.³⁰
There is a hard time in store for us for the next 6 months.

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

70. Gubbins to Satow (p. 125)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.
Decr. 20. 1917

My dear Sir Ernest,

This must take to you our good wishes for Xmas. It is not quite so gloomy a Xmas as one had reason for thinking a month ago. I was almost afraid then of writing letters for fear of saying something the reverse of cheerful.

I see the papers contradict the rumour of the occupation of Vladivostock by the Japanese. Worse things than this might happen to Russia. It might even turn out to be a blessing in disguise. You will be interested to know (if you’ve not heard it already) that Ishii [Kikujiro] in one of his speeches in America before his departure stated that the alteration in our last Alliance Treaty, so as to get over the difficulty of the Arbitration treaty with America, was suggested to us by Japan.

I am just finishing the second of the booklets you sent me. The Review of British foreign policy is a useful synopsis & pleasantly written. Of the other essays I prefer the one on intercourse between civilized & backward nations, though it is not exhaustive. Urquhart is also interesting, tho’ too academic in style & treatment for me.

The other day I saw what ought to be an authoritative statement as to the German populations of the United States and Brazil respectively. I wonder if you know wh. is the larger & by how much.

²⁹ *The Adventures of Elizabeth in Rügen* (1904).

³⁰ Mark Tapley is a character in Charles Dickens’s *Martin Chuzzlewit* who is always cheerful.

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It seems very clear to me that the Ishii mission has not been by any means the success that was hoped for in Japan by the Terauchi Cabinet. His “Monroe” speech was not liked by the American Press, and though Notes were exchanged in respect of policy in China the American recognition of Japan’s special position in China is colourless and unsubstantial. Everybody on each side speaking for officialdom directly or indirectly says that the visit of the Mission has improved relations. This is quite possible. But in Japan there is a significant silence on the part of the press, and in America a tendency to belittle the whole affair which does not promise well for the future. There is at the same time irritation in Japan regarding (1) American export prohibitions which are making things difficult for Japan & clouding her economic prospects, (2) Japanese intervention in Europe with troops, (3) Japanese naval & mercantile co-operation in the war regarding wh. the Allies are considered to have made unreasonable suggestions, and (4) American sympathy with Southern China wh. is not agreeable to the Terauchi Cabinet. I will not say any more for fear of boring you.

My work is heavy – 10 or 10.30 am till 7 or 9 & sometimes later p.m. But I am keeping well and the Prothero work goes on, tho’ only by inches.

Hoping this finds you well & not too cold.

Believe me with the best of good wishes for Xmas.

Always Yrs most Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

71. Gubbins to Satow (p. 127)

“ans 10/1/18”

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. 11

Jan. 8. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

Your letter found me in bed, the third Xmas in succession that this has happened, and there I remained from Xmas Eve till 10 days later. I am now up and about having shaken off this last attack better than ever before.

I put a question to you in my last letter about the German – not the German-American population of Brazil & America. The figures I have got from two American sources (leading N. York papers) give the number of people of German nationality in the United States as 400,000 and 500,000 respectively. The figures are near enough to show, if correct, that I was myself quite wrong in my opinion – (which I did not mention in my letter) – that the German population of the U.S. was considerably over a million. The

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small number of non-naturalized Germans is probably explained by the rapidity with which they become naturalized. The German population of Brazil is given by one of the two American papers I have mentioned as 450,000.

How pleased you must be at having got so far with yr Prothero work as to be correcting proofs! This is still a promised land for me, but to-day after many hours of writing & rewriting I seem to have climbed a good way up Mount Pisgah [from which Moses viewed the promised land] and think I see the beginning of the end of the journey. I have finished Treaty revision and my next business will be a notice of the War with China prefaced by a brief survey of previous Chino-Japanese (what a hateful word!) relations. My next job to tackle is Korea & its annexation. Then will follow Americo-Japanese (!) disputes, the Russo-Japanese war, and the Anglo-Japanese Entente. I shall keep Religions (already written) and Social system etc. until almost the last, and finish with a summing up of Modern Japan as it is to-day – wh. will be short but outspoken. Commercial & individual development I shall leave to some other pen placente Protherone [if it please Prothero?].

What do you think of Lloyd George's speech? Do tell me. It seems well received everywhere except by the "N. York Times". As regards German & African colonies I fancy South Africa will have a word to say and the Belgians if they are allowed a voice.

My stay in bed did not, I am glad to say, interfere with my work.

I hope your nephew in the Baltic will be able to get away safely.

With best wishes for the N. year

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

My hands are cold & cramped by much scribbling.

72. Gubbins to Satow (p. 128)

"ans 20/1" [See p.234.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Jan. 12. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

In my last letter to you I have stupidly omitted to say how very sorry we were to hear of Churchill's³¹ bad accident. I hope you have later & better news of him. Should you

³¹ Lt. Col. Arthur G. Churchill was military attaché at the British legation in Japan, 1898-1903.

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be writing again to Mrs. Churchill it would be kind of you to say how sorry we both were to hear of his accident. My wife liked him always and so did I but we did not see much of him after his wife joined him in Japan.

I don't like President Wilson's last address so much as the first. It was intended, so I read, to propitiate the Russian Bolshevists after the cold water of Lloyd George's wish. Most Americans besides the President were, it is said on good authority, alarmed at the possible effect of Lloyd George's speech on Russia.

Winston Churchill's speech is rather alarmist. I hope it does not mean that the Govt. are really very anxious about our food supplies and the Western front.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

73. Gubbins to Satow (p. 129)

"ans 20/1" [See p.234.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Jan. 12. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

Thank you very much for Treat's book which will be useful for reference, especially in the matter of dates, when I am putting the finishing touches to my Prothero work. You are right, I feel certain, in thinking that the blue pencil will be freely used when my M.S. comes up for judgment. My present idea is to prune no more myself, after a general & perhaps rather hasty recasting of the booklet, but to send the M.S. untyped to Prothero and leave him to decide where the pruning knife should be applied. As I think I have told you in previous letters, Japanese history is so unlike that of many countries that in order to understand clearly modern Japan a somewhat detailed reference to earlier times to the feudal system & the Tokugawa Gov. is necessary. If Prothero, to whom I have already written on this point, disagrees, a large portion of what I have scribbled can be omitted. But this I would rather leave to his judgment.

It is like your inexhaustible industry to be planning another book. When I have done with Prothero I shall lie on my oars a bit, and confine myself to my W.O. work which in itself occupies several hours of each day.

When I have like you, corrected proofs I shall take my courage in both hands and suggest to Col. Wake at Watergate House that a few days of Devonshire air are recommended by my doctor. The suggestion being entirely against rules – those hard &

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fast precedents wh. Govt. departments equally with Tennyson – love – he will very likely say No! In that case I must just stay here.

Colin has gone back to the command of the 126th Battery – the former wounded major of the 125th, who is senior to Colin, having returned to duty. Although in command again of his old battery Colin reverts to the rank & pay of Captain because the real but absent major of the 126th Battery is attached for duty to the staff. These army distinctions are unintelligible to the lay mind.

The Russian revolutionaries are like the French in the early years of the Revolution in France, quite mad. Things must get worse there before they can mend.

In haste Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Please excuse this very untidy letter.

74. Gubbins to Satow (p. 130)

“ans 22/1” [See p.234.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. 11

Jan. 20. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

“Contemporary Politics in the Far East” by Hornbeck is coming to me, but has not yet arrived. Meanwhile may I ask you for the exact dates (in some cases I know the year) of

1. The Secret treaty between Russia & China [in 1896 I think] for the construction of the Siberian railway through Manchuria.
2. The German arrangement with China in 1898 for the lease of Kiao-chau (German spelling is it not?)
3. The Russian Agreement with China for the lease of Port Arthur etc.
4. The British Agreement regarding Weihaiwei.
5. The French Agreement for the lease of Kwang-Chow in Hainan.

And can you tell me the name of the shop – in the Strand I believe – which is the best for getting Govt. Blue-books?

I feel I must join the London Library eventually. The British Museum is too far, and has been closed lately.

So far I have not troubled the F.O. but I shall have to go there shortly to get information about Russian doings before the Russo-Japanese war.

Please excuse the trouble I am giving you,

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& Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I have [am?] now at Vol. VII of Madame Junot. The earlier volumes are not so interesting to me as the VIth & VIIth.

75. Gubbins to Satow (p. 131)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W. 11

Feb. 2. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

I should have answered your letter of 22nd Jan. long ago, but I have been kept very busy with many things wh. have prevented my visiting.

Hornbeck's book gives me little help, but I am going to get everything I want in the way of information from the F.O. I have had a talk with A[lwyn]. Parker who is now Librarian, amongst other things, and he says everything will be placed at Prothero's and his staff of writers' disposal. An Annexe for this purpose is being prepared somewhere in Dean's Yard and it will be opened for reference work & collaboration in a fortnight. He said it would expedite matters if I would send him a list of subjects in regard to which I might want more detailed information. This I have given him.

He told me Lord Hardinge was taking a firm line about conciseness. This I knew already. I have handed my M.S. of the historical part up to 1900 to Prothero and am quite prepared not to recognize it again when I next see [it]. But I have asked Prothero to prune mercilessly. He could do that better than myself I said, as he knows exactly what is wanted.

I had a talk with Langley a few days ago. His views on the Far East are very much those I think wh. you & I share. Japan is giving cause for uneasiness at F.O. This is partly due perhaps to a want of general acquaintance with Far Eastern questions as a whole. We ought to have very strong men in Peking & Tokyo just now. I don't think either China or Japan is properly understood in Downing St. How can it be when not one in 100,000 Englishmen knows or cares anything about either country?

This rationing will make it difficult to move about, & Devonshire in the spring will I fear be un[]able.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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76. Gubbins to Satow (p. 133)

“Ans. 10/2” [See p.235.]

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.
Feb. 5. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

This is merely a line to say I am returning two books with many thanks. “Treat’s” and this volume of Essays by Urquhart & others. I am making bold to keep back “A Century of British Foreign Policy” by Gooch & Masterman. I am curious eno’ to compare what Gooch writes about Japan & ourselves with original documents.

What spring-like weather we are having.

Had I not wanted very badly, in order to save time in future, to know how far my historical narrative meets with Prothero’s approval, I should have kept back my M.S. till I had finished the history part. As it is, I fear it will be some days before it returns to me.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

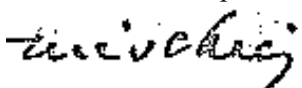
J.H. Gubbins

77. Gubbins to Satow (p. 134)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. 11
Feb. 12. [19]18

My dear Sir Ernest,

I was very sorry to learn from yr letter of the 10th that you had been so seriously indisposed. I suffered in the same way myself some years ago, so I can fully sympathize. My trouble came on before typhoid & to the doctors’ surprise went on after my

convalescence. My experience was that the  was largely local, and did not affect my general health. But it is most annoying, and indeed at times painful, and interferes with exercise – wh. is a drawback.

I wish I could see some prospect of running down to Ottery to have some long talk “de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis”. There is so much I want to say – and much also – you will observe that I selfishly put it second – that I want to hear.

The manuals move slowly I think. Certainly I can speak for my own. But they appear to have given up the idea of being in a great hurry, wh. is a blessing. The F.O. are most

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cordial and are giving me everything I want to see. Parker the new Librarian is very civil. He does other things besides being Librarian and was, perhaps still is in diplomacy. Lord Hardinge appears to be taking control of the series of manuals & I was amused[?] at what Parker told me. I have written to Prothero suggesting, in order to avoid needless labour – that if all that passed between China & For: P.P. in the years 1896-1904 id being dealt with in the Chinese Manual (presuming of course that one is being compiled) he may prefer me to deal with these matters very briefly. Prothero is, I fear, over-weighted with work, & the Admiralty & F.O. from what Langley & Parker tell me do not always see eye to eye.

Yes, Guizot will be nice to read after the war. At present I am rather overwhelmed with scribbling, but I find time every evening for an hour or more of the Duchess d'Abrantès. I am now midway on the IXth Vol.

Last Sunday I took a half holiday & went to see the Shands. He told me one of yr Allan cousins had mentioned you being indisposed. Shand is more pro-Japanese than ever. It is a banker's pose[?] I think.

Hoping soon to hear you are quite yourself again & resuming yr walks.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

78. Gubbins to Satow (p. 135)

[Note by Satow: "Fêngtien is the Chinese name of Mukden, wch. is the capital of the prov. of Shêngking. Liaotung Pen[insul]a. lies betw. The Gulf of L. & Gulf of Corea. Liaotung = E. of Liao R." See also Satow's letter dated February 16, 1918.]

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Feb. 15. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

In my M.S. up to 1900n, wh. is now in Prothero's hands, I mentioned that the question of Loochoo [Ryukyu, Okinawa] had been referred by China & Japan to General Grant as arbitrator, and decided by him in favour of Japan. Hornbeck in his book on the Far East says that Genl. Grant offered to mediate but that Japan refused. Is this correct? I have looked up my authorities but cannot find any authority for my own statement.

May I trouble you with another point which is bothering me? One sees in documents

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the phrase "Liaotung peninsula." There is a gulf of Liaotung but I am right in thinking that there is no peninsula of that name am I not?

Yet another question: The extreme Southern portion of Manchuria constitutes the province of Feng-tien, which is not marked in most maps. In its place this portion of S. Manchuria is marked Shing-king. Are these two names for the same province?

Please excuse my giving you so much trouble. The geography of these parts is rather puzzling to me.

I have recd. a very crabbed answer from Prothero to my letter asking him if he would like me to treat very briefly questions which he might wish to have dealt with more at length in the China Manual, if there is to be one. He evidently thought it was a broad hint that I wanted my M.S. back. He writes that another M.S. has priority over mine.

The "Chronicle" says the political atmosphere is still disturbed. I gathered the same impression from a member of the Reform Club to whom I was talking two days ago. There is evidently a good deal of anti-Lloyd George feeling just now, but a City man told me yesterday that the opposition to the Prime Minr. was, he thought, more noisy than serious. By the bye my Reform Club friend – who has been a member for 40 years – told me he was an Unionist and Chairman of a Conservative Association in Gloucestershire, where he has a small property! It seems rather a contradiction in things; but he told me there were many Unionists in the Reform Club.

Three days ago I wrote to my gunner boy condemning Repington's recent writing and added that the "Morning Post" would get a rap over the knuckles if it did not behave better. I am glad the Govt. has taken the matter up. The tone of the M.P. has been quite outrageous. The article which led to the prosecution I have not seen, nor do I wish to.

Shopping in London in quest of food is becoming rather trying. I have no patience for standing in queues – nor the time to spare. I find I can do very cheerfully without many things.

Hoping you are quite yourself again.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

79. Gubbins to Satow (p. 137)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Feb. 18. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow

24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Many thanks for your long letter and for the information which clears up my difficulties about the “Liaotung Peninsula”. It is evidently a loose term for the peninsula, given to it on account of its situation East of the river Liao. You are right again, I am sure, as to the three names of Fêng-tien, Mukden and Shing-king being used synonymously. The Russo-Chinese secret treaty speaks of Fêng-tien, Kirin and Heilungchiang as the three Eastern provinces. It also speaks of “Mukden (Shenking)” as being “the provincial capital of Fêng-tien.” The Treaty of Peace between China & Japan of April 1895 speaks of “the province of Fêng-tien.” The heading of the Retrocession Treaty of May 1895 as given in Hertslet’s Treaties speaks of “the retrocession of Liao-Tung (Fêng-Tien peninsula).[.]” The latest map I have seen, the one accompanying Hornbeck’s book, ignores Fêng-tien altogether, and gives Shing-King as the name of the province. Which is all rather puzzling to the student of history.

Yesterday, Sunday, I was again at the Shands for tea. He read me an extract from your letter to him. I hope you are mending fast and that you will soon be able to resume your walks.

There is much talk about the military changes, and there is certainly a good deal of feeling in certain circles. On the whole I think the press is inclined to support Lloyd George & the War Cabinet, though Genl. Robertson’s departure is regretted. I gather from what I hear that Asquith has a strong following in the House, but that the country is behind Lloyd George, in spite of his entourage wh. is not liked. I mean of course the Northcliffe Press, the “Manchester Guardian” & Lord Beaverbrook’s paper. Lord B seems to be distrusted more than Lord Northcliffe even. The “Chronicle”’s political correspondent hints broadly at a change of Govt., but the other articles in the same paper seem to be in favour of Lloyd George & the War Cabinet.

Shand as a staunch Asquithite is of course anti-Lloyd George. His politics are those of his favourite paper the “Westminster Gazette”. He told me that a millionaire friend of his who had served in the war had become an advocate of peace by arrangement. And he added naively: “But then you must know he is the head of a large bill-discounting firm, and he is of course suffering much loss by the continuance of the war.” The few bankers I meet are all more or less “peace-talkers”.

Lloyd George certainly does not seem to be loved in the two departments I have something to do with. Nor I fancy is he beloved by the Admiralty.

On Saturday night a bomb fell in Chelsea unpleasantly near us. The widow of John Robertson, the O.B.C. manager,³² comes down from her top flat to me during the air-

³² Robertson was manager of the Oriental Bank Corporation’s Yokohama branch.

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raids. I have urged her to go during these raids to friends in the country who have invited her.

I should have used another word instead of ‘crabbed’ in speaking of Prothero. I have written very little to him about my work as I know he is overburdened. But on this occasion I was obliged to write in order to save him & myself useless work.

Shand has lent me Madelin’s book on the French Revolution. So when I have finished Madame Junot I shall have something to read still on the same subject. One of these days I must read Thibaudeau’s Memoirs.

Your Hague story is delightful. Did you all laugh? I suppose you only smiled.

I am sure your doctor is right in recommending wine & nourishing fare. I cling to stout on doctor’s orders – when I can get it.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. People seem to think that the Winston Churchill app[ointment]t. did Lloyd George much harm, but personally I don’t set much store by what people say, and fortunately I am too busy to hear much. J.H.G.

80. Gubbins to Satow (p. 139)

“Ans. 22/2 enclosing my correspce. c. Academic registrar on the same subject.” [See p.237 et seq.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Feb. 21, 1918

My dear Sir Ernest,

A few days ago I received a letter from the University of London asking me “if I would be good eno’ to act as a Referee in respect of applications for Recognition of Teachers in Japanese.” It was added that “the claim on my time would be very small.”

I replied that I should be very pleased to meet the wishes of the Academic Council by acting in the capacity mentioned; my impression, when I wrote, being that in view of the possible increased study of Japanese in the future the University wished to be in a position to deal with applications of this kind which it might receive from time to time.

The University then wrote to me again forwarding an application to them from Bonar asking for recognition.

This morning I called at the University & saw the person who had written to me, a Mr. Watson who appears to be acting for [Sir Philip] Hartog during the latter’s absence

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in India.

I told him the impression I had formed from his first letter, and added that it now appeared that they had moved on the matter simply with a view to the particular case of Mr. Bonar.

He admitted that this was the case, upon which I explained that as the applicant in question had been for many years in the same service, I thought it was most undesirable that I should act as Referee in his case. He said that he entirely agreed with me, and recognized the difficulty of my acting in the case as judge of the applicant's qualifications.

In the course of further conversation he referred to the interpreter's Examn. passed by Bonar in 1885, and drew from me the fact that I had been the examiner on that occasion. Since that date I told him I had had no further opportunity of forming an opinion on the applicant's attainments in Japanese.

He then asked me if I would allow my name to remain on their records with a view to my acting as Referee in any future cases that might arise, and added that he would see I was approached "in a more straightforward manner" on any future occasion.

I said I should be quite pleased for them to do so, and I asked him for information as to the way in which the duties of Referee should, in the Council's opinion, be discharged, as little was said on this subject in the Regulations they had sent me.

From what he told me I gathered that the Council expected the Referee to go very thoroughly into the question of the applicant's qualifications. Academic distinctions would have to be considered, courses of lectures attended, and books written by the applicant carefully read. In some cases the work entailed might be quite light, in others it might occupy much time.

He explained that the University gave no fees to referees, as they were usually persons connected with the University.

I said if they called upon me for my services in the future I should certainly raise the question. The responsibilities and duties of referees seemed to me on his own showing to be heavier even than those of examiners, who always received fees. I instanced my own case when examining for them while at Oxford.

I said nothing to him about my name having been put forward by friends as a possible candidate for the post at the School of Oriental Languages now held by Bonar. This of itself is of course a fatal objection to my acting as Referee.

Pardon this long story. I have told it you in case you should hear anything about it at any time from another quarter.

I do not like Madelin's book very much. It is one of a series, written to order, and

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though it is probably scientifically exact in all the statements made, such books always seem to me to lack the charm wh. belongs to more spontaneous works.

I hope you are not inconvenienced in any way by this fickle English weather.

I wrote you more than a month ago that I had finished the subject of Religion for Prothero. Since then I have rewritten it twice. Last night I finished it. It only now remains for Prothero to destroy much of what has been written.

The debate in the House ended happily enough. It blew itself out in a night like what sailors call “a moderate gale”.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. You have probably seen the lines I enclose. May I ask for them back. J.H.G.

81. Gubbins to Satow (p. 141)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Feb. 24, 1918

My dear Sir Ernest


I don't think the London University has any reason to congratulate itself on the way it has handled the matter. My impression is that Mr. Watson found himself forced to say something in defence of the University's regard for respectable standards in the case of recognized teachers. He contradicted himself in saying what he did on this point, as it was, for he had previously told me he knew nothing of the letters to me purporting to be signed by him as they had been written by an assistant, and were a mere formality! I should have thought that the London University would have been too proud to act in this tricky way.


I fancy the Napier connection made interest for Bonar in the appointment in the School of Oriental Languages. When I first worked as Japanese Censor I was in the same room as the Chief Censor Pearson, and Ross[?], now the Principal of the Oriental School. The latter spoke of Bonar to me & said what a marvellous knowledge of the written language he had – especially of Sôsho! I forget what I said in reply, something I think to the effect that his colloquial knowledge was better.

Bonar is no scholar. He has never been an industrious student. In his application he mentioned working for the censorship. He did a few days work for Pearson before I was employed, & it was said he was very lazy. Pearson told me when I left that my

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successor was Tamé Kato, who probably writes his name  [Tame]. He is a newspaper man, the London correspondent of the “Nichi Nichi” and “Osaka Mainichi”. Kato Naoshi is a better stamp of man to judge by his paper you refer to. It is one of the few good papers the Japan Society has published. I see he takes the view that Shinto was always connected with ancestor worship. I have always been led to believe that ancestor worship came into Shinto later through the influence of Buddhism & Confucianism. What is your view? Is it not strange that Shinto shd. have had no funeral

sites till they were introduced at the Restoration when the 
[Jingikwan (Jingikan), Shinto Council 神祇官] was revived?

Madelin’s book is one of the Funck-Brentano series.

Many thanks for the enclosures wh. I am returning.

[The letter ends here, with no closing greeting.]

82. Gubbins to Satow (p. 143)

“Ans 9/3” [See p.238]

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

March 8. 1918

My dear Sir Ernest

Will you be so kind as to lend me the volume of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan for 1891 [Volume XIX]. It contains a paper by [Arthur Hyde] Lay on Funeral Rites to which [William George] Aston refers in his book on Shinto, and which I want to look at before placing this part of my M.S. in Prothero’s hands. My copy of the volume has disappeared.

I have decided to treat religion separately along with finance, army, navy, education etc.

You will doubtless have met Shand & his daughter Ida before this reaches you. I hear that they are in Exeter looking for houses. When I was last there Shand spoke of letting his house and settling somewhere in the West of England. He spoke of Dorsetshire as nice. I recommended Devon. As you have doubtless heard, he is retiring before very long from the Bank Directorate, and I think he & his family are so anxious to settle in the country that they will go there even if they cannot let their house.

You & he will find much to talk about as regards the war. The Russian débacle has created a situation of the most difficult and embarrassing kind, the changes of Govt. in

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Russia and of quasi-representatives in London having caused unpleasant complications.

It does not look as if the Irish Convention would settle anything, and it is just as well perhaps that the issue should be long drawn out, since, in this way, if failure be the ultimate result, as many think, it will have been largely discounted beforehand.

I have nearly come to an end of Madame Junot. Although it seems ungrateful to the author to say so of a book which has interested me, I like it better than its author. Excuse this involved sentence but you will understand what I mean.

What a curious position has been reached in Eastern Siberia! To hear of Chinese troops restoring order in Harbin sounds like comic opera. And to make things stranger still, the papers tell us that Japan is waiting for a mandate from England before occupying Vladivostock! It reminds one of Sir Richard Strachan & the Earl of Chatham [at Walcheren island in 1809]. There is a very strong feeling in Japan against intervention in Europe. But intervention in Asia is another matter, and there are plenty of Chauvinists to put pressure on the Govt.

Ozaki Yukio³³ has written a book which has created some sensation. A friend has sent me a copy. it is called “Rikken Kin-ō Ron,” (Constitutional Loyalty) [立憲勤王論], and is really beautifully printed. I have glanced [at] it and notice that he takes the popular view that no nation has been ever more consistently loyal than the Japanese. Their patriotism is perhaps more exalted of its kind than that of any other nation, and more intensely personal. But their treatment of the sovereign in past times belongs almost to the same category as the conduct of certain African tribes towards their idols.

Please pardon my troubling you for the A.S. volume.

& Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. No word from Prothero yet but I must go & see him soon to get information. J.H.G.

83. Gubbins to Satow (p.145)

“Ans 14/3” [See p.239 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Mch. 12. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you very much for the volume of the A.S. [Asiatic Society] of Japan you have

³³ Ozaki Yukio (1859-1954). Japanese liberal politician. Minister of Justice, 1914-16. Gubbins describes Ozaki as his friend, see letter dated March 24, 1924 below.

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kindly sent me. How well Lay writes! And his Japanese colloquial of the official kind is excellent. He passed the best Interpreter's Exam. I have ever examined for. And yet I never found him interesting to talk to.

A point which has always interested me is the existence of two shrines, a Kamidana [Shinto] & Butsudan [Buddhist], in every Japanese household, so far as I am aware. I looked into the matter when preparing my slight prefatory sketch of the family system in Vol. II of my translation of the Civil Code. That every Japanese shd. make offerings to the shrines of the two religions would seem to suggest the inference that all Japanese more or less professed both faiths. Yet there are districts on the West Coast where Shinto always more than held its own. And in Satsuma the treason of Buddhist priests during Hideyoshi's invasion led to the destruction of many Buddhist temples. Official work, dictionary making and other things absorbed most of my time in Japan. I often think how much I could learn about many interesting things if I could go back now. But probably I am wrong. It would require more energy than I possess, and the surroundings in which one's enquiries wd. be conducted would not appeal to men of my age.

Today I saw Prothero, finding it hopeless to go on with the work without more precise instructions. And a new circular to manual compilers laying down a new system of compilation was a good excuse. He was very nice, as he always is, and I found my corrected M.S. lying in one of his drawers. He thought, it seems, that he had answered my enquiries as to how matters affecting both China & Japan, but primarily the former, shd. be dealt with. But he never had. However, on my pressing for a decision, he approved of the idea that they shd. be treated only briefly in the Japan manual.

So far as I have seen at a hasty glance, my M.S. is intact except for what I may call "literary suggestions" of the kind that Tuke kindly obliged me with after reading my Oxford lectures. I am greatly relieved, for I had feared being obliged to rewrite almost everything, being unable to see wherein my work conformed to the principles & arrangement laid down in the instructions.

Economic matters, including commerce, industry etc., and army & navy are reserved for other hands I am thankful to say. And so is finance. This I had already written, but Prothero is quite pleased & thinks that it will come in very usefully. Taxation I promised him a sketch of.

I now see my way clear and the time not very far distant when, like you some weeks ago, I shall be correcting proofs.

I will return your volume of A.S. Transactions in a day or two. Do you not rather agree with me that there were comparatively few Shinto funerals before the Restoration, and that most Japanese, whether Shinto professing or not, were parishioners of Buddhist

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temples.

I hope the Shands will settle somewhere near you.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

How nice the early spring flowers must be looking in Beaumont garden!

The enclosed may interest you. It is by N. Kato. He is the correspondent of the Nichi Nichi & Osaka Mainichi. A man of his name – perhaps a brother – succeeded me as Japanese Censor.

What has Professor Macdonald – “the Historian” as Prothero called him – written? You are sure to know. It was he who corrected my M.S. So I am naturally interested.

84. Gubbins to Satow (p.147)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

March 15. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

This goes to you in a box with Madame Junot’s book in IX volumes and the volume of A.S. Transactions containing Lay’s paper. I hope the L. & S.W. company will deliver them carefully and that the books will reach you safely. The bindings are so precious that having in mind damage previously done to other books you have kindly lent me I have tried to pack them securely. I cannot thank you eno’ for the loan of the Memoirs. It has been a great pleasure and relaxation after monotonous scribbling to read something unconnected with either the day’s tasks or the war. I have still one of your volumes, “A Century of British Foreign Policy” by Gooch and Masterman, which I shall venture to keep for reference till my small historical sketch is finished.

Your letter of yesterday is of much value to me in confirming an opinion formed indeed long ago, but held only tentatively in deference to religious scruples which must, so it seemed to me, lurk somewhere in the background. The condition of religious feeling which permits believers in an ancient faith to hand over to the priests of another religion the performance of funeral rites and the charge of the resting places of the dead is simply inconceivable. And Marquis Okuma prides himself on the fact that the Japanese have no religious bigotry!

I have looked up Professor Macdonald in a “Who’s Who” for 1911, but cannot find him.

The Shands will I hope find a house within easy reach of you. My wife suggested in a

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recent letter that they might leave London even if they could not let their house.

I want very much to have a talk with you about many things, but I cannot leave London till my Prothero work is finished. I have not taken more than a glance at the corrections made in my M.S. Prothero told me not to take them all very seriously. But I probably gave you too couleur de rose an account of the Editor's comments, and I am prepared when I go over the work in detail to find many hard knocks.

I am writing under difficulties preparing to make a trip into Surrey tomorrow to look into the behaviour of our youngest unruly daughter who has [been] giving a little trouble to the lady who superintends "arts & crafts".

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

85. Gubbins to Satow (p.149)

"ans 17/3" [See p.240 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

March 15. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Tomorrow a box of books (Madame Junot's memoirs and the volume of A.S. Transactions) starts on its way to you by the London & South Western Railway. There is a letter of thanks inside, quite inadequate to express the obligation conferred on me by your kind loan. But in these days of slow traffic I have thought it well to add a line to let you know the books are on their way and also the letter. One thing I omitted to mention in my letter. It is that some of the ribbon markers have given way & become detached. It is not, believe me, rough usage that has caused this. I have tried to pack the volumes securely so that they shall reach you in good condition.

Madelin I did not like till I had read 50 pages. Then I liked it and I think there is a good deal in it of great interest, especially as regards the feeling & aims of the French people of all classes. It has given me a new idea of the whole movement.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

If you could at any time spare me another book on European history – not too expensively bound – I shd. be very grateful.

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86. Gubbins to Satow (p.150)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

March 18. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter and the list you kindly send me. May I choose

Coquelle – Napoléon et l'Angleterre 1. vol. ?

I have never shared the English admiration for [A.J.] Balfour. To me he has always seemed as a statesman to be a much over-rated man. When the tongue-tied and generally inarticulate Englishman, who has also still towards literature something of the old-fashioned awe that our fathers felt, comes across a person so exceptionally gifted in speaking & writing as Balfour, he is inclined to take him to be a heaven-born genius, which he is not, and to make the further mistake of thinking him as wise as he is clever. It seems to me to be an instance of nature's abundance of contradictions that the earnest, sober-minded & puritanical Liberals should have embraced the narrow & careless, slipshod & superficial views of Cobdenism³⁴ with its laissez aller & the devil take the hindmost policy, while the cynical & nil admirari³⁵ leaders of the Conservatives should represent the broader views of a sane & thoughtful Imperialism.

Madelin clinches for me the impression made by Sorel, whose book he praises, - that the man who saved France in the first instance, kept her from anarchy & started her on the road to greatness was Carnot,³⁶ whose share in the regeneration of his country has escaped the notice of many people owing to the dazzling career of Napoleon and the contemptible character of Carnot's associates in the Directorate.

I was with the Shands yesterday. We talked about you a great deal. Shand & I rather agree that you are inclined to be too much of a Spartan in these war times.

I went to Surrey on Saturday on business. The country was beginning to look very nice.

The Shands liked the house at Honiton very much but on the whole seem to think that Chudleigh would suit them best.

Shand seems quite indifferent – in fact singularly so – to the Japanese intervention in Siberia question. He told me he had met nobody and heard nothing, and shewed such

³⁴ Cobdenism, named after statesman and economist Richard Cobden, is an economic ideology which perceives international free trade and a non-interventionist foreign policy as the key requirements for prosperity and world peace.

³⁵ A Latin phrase meaning "to be surprised by nothing."

³⁶ Presumably Lazare Carnot (1753-1823). French mathematician, physicist and politician.

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absence of interest in the matter that we did not pursue the subject.

I am sending you to-night the "Everyman" a weekly paper with a new Editor whom I hear a good deal of.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

87. Gubbins to Satow (p.152)

"Ans 31/3" [See p.242 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Mch. 24 1918

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for Coquelle. I am reading him with interest. It is unusual to find a Frenchman writing so nicely & fairly where England is concerned. I wonder if I am right in thinking that the tendency of later years in France is to take a less exalted view of Napoleon's doings.

Your letter of the 20th tells me of the safe arrival of your books. In these war times when things so often go astray, and if they are not absolutely lost, meet with sad experiences, it is a comfort to know that a box the contents of wh. are valuable has reached its destination without mishap.

My glance at Professor Macdonald's criticisms and corrections proved to be quite misleading. He has scarified me. The main force of his scoldings is directed to a point, however, for wh. I am not I think responsible. He condemns me throughout for insufficient explanation and a vague & wandering presentation of history; not being aware perhaps of the rigorous limits originally assigned. 4,000 words! Afterwards in the course of correspondence expanded to 8000. Having written 15000 already with a certainty before me of adding at least another 5 or 6,000 you can imagine my one idea all along has been to boil everything down into the smallest compass. And both Prothero & the F.O. have insisted on condensation. Well, I expect other people are in the same case as myself.

The Shands talk as if they had decided on Chudleigh.

In gt. haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

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24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

88. Gubbins to Satow (p.153)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Apr. 1. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

I should like very much to read Cheradame's "La Question d'Orient", if you will lend it to me. But I am really ashamed of troubling you for more books after making such inroads on your library. Coquelle's book was packed up this morning to go back to you and will start on its return journey tomorrow. I admired very much Fox's French letter – he must have been as good a French writer as Campbell Bannerman was a linguist. And Canning's despatch to the A[ustro]-H[ungarian] Ambassador in reply to the impertinent ultimatum that worthy delivered ought to be framed and hung in every Chancery for the edification of youthful diplomatists.

Cheradame³⁷ is the great authority on Pan-Germanism is he not.

Yes we are of course worrying a bit about our gunner boy. My wife got a few lines from him dated the 24th. He said he was "nice & comfortable" – but that is probably intended for maternal comfort. We don't know where he is. He was last at Monchy le Preux – with the 3rd Army Byng's. He is very conscientious about not giving us any hint of the whereabouts of his battery the 126th R.F.A. [Royal Field Artillery]

My brother's son also a gunner was with the 5th Army (Gough's I think) wh. got so badly hammered.

It is a critical time but people in London are taking the strain well on the whole.

You must have found the Memo. of [Prince] Lichnowsky³⁸ rather startling. He was badly treated of course and it was only intended for private circulation. Still to have written such a paper at all – no matter what the provocation was – shows a not very keen sense of honour. It is not the sort of thing Lord Roberts would have done. As for the diplomatic dualism wh. is revealed – the same thing has happened elsewhere as Chirol explains. And in Tokio both Treutler (now in attendance on the Emperor) & van Eckhardt (or Eckert) – who was lately in Mexico – had probably the same instructions as von Kühlmann in London.

A naval cousin of my wife's who called today thinks that the mystery gun wh. did

³⁷ André Chéradame (1871-1948) was a French journalist and scholar. Author of *The United States and Pan-germanism*, New York: American Rights League, 1917.

³⁸ Karl Max, Prince Lichnowsky (1860-1928). German Ambassador to Britain, 1912-14. He published a private pamphlet which accused his government of failing to support his efforts to avert World War I. This was published widely as the "Lichnowsky Memorandum" in 1918.

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such mischief in Paris is simply a monster gun of the ordinary kind. He said its construction wd. present no special difficulty.

Believe me

with thanks for Coquelle

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

89. Gubbins to Satow (p.155)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Apr. 8. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Your p.c. kindly offering me a copy of “The Great European Treaties of the XIXth Century” came this morning to remind me I had not yet thanked you for Cheradame’s Book on the Bagdad Railway. Many thanks for Cheradame. He has more statistics than I welcome in my present mood, but the book is a valuable one. I wish it had been dated 1917 instead of 1903. The German and the in-the-process-of-becoming-German [railway] lines must have increased very much in the last dozen years of German pre-war activity.

I shd. like very much to have the copy of Oakes’s book if you can really spare it.

We had good news of our gunner boy during the opening phases of the battle. He was in Byng’s army, & estimated the German casualties up to the 31 Mch at 600,000, a figure wh. two well-informed City men both separately indicated to Shand. This morning we have a line from our boy to say he is down with Trench fever & expecting to be moved to a base hospital, & perhaps to be sent home. It’s hard luck on him for he has had Trench fever once before. My family is very liable to malarial fevers. My grandfather nearly died in the Walcheren expedition³⁹ – and I have lost two brothers from it.

Shand & his daughter Ida go down to Chudleigh to-day. So perhaps you may see them. He is not very well.

I am reading for the 4th or 5th time “Le Siècle de Louis XIV”. Voltaire is inimitable. Talking of the persecution of the Huguenots he says in one place – “C’était une espèce de chasse qu’on faisait dans une grande enceinte”.⁴⁰

³⁹ An unsuccessful British expedition to the Netherlands in 1809. More than 4,000 troops died of “Walcheren Fever” – thought to be a combination of malaria and typhus – but only 106 died in combat.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

With many thanks Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

90. Gubbins to Satow (p.156)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Apr. 10. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

The book has come. Thank you very much for so kindly giving it me. It will be most useful. You are always either giving or lending me books and I only trust that my gratitude increases in the same ratio as my indebtedness.

The War Office tells me Colin's case is a slight one. So I hope for his sake, as he is so keen on getting back to his battery, that he may soon be reported fit. I can't help being a little anxious about him for this second bout of fever may mean that he is feeling the strain of the campaign & needs a change & rest at home. He was pulled down a good deal by his last gas illness. At the time he was gassed he was commanding 2 batteries – rather a strain on so young a lad – and not being able to talk for some days above a whisper worried him a bit. Excuse this detailed grumble from an anxious parent.

I wonder what you think of everything. My Reform Club member draws me depressing pictures of the growing hostility to Lloyd George, and thinks a storm is brewing wh. may sweep him away. The wish probably is father to the thought.

Roy Piggott (now a Lt. Col. R.E. [Royal Engineers])⁴¹ was on Gough's staff. The Piggotts are in London for 3 weeks and when I returned Piggott's call Lady P read me letters from her son wh. were inconceivably optimistic. It struck me they must have been written for the Censor.

Again many thanks

In gt. haste

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

⁴⁰ "It was a kind of hunt conducted in a large enclosure." The reference is to closing the borders to prevent the escape of the Protestant Huguenots. *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, Ch. XXXVI.

⁴¹ F.S.G. Piggott was known to his friends as Roy. See Antony Best, 'Major-General F.S.G. Piggott (1883-1966)' in Cortazzi, Hugh (ed.), *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume VIII, Global Oriental, Leiden, 2013, pp. 102-116.

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Ireland is a vexatious[?] question. But I believe the Sinn Feiners & Nationalists are bluffing. More danger lies in Ulster I fancy. But I am only an ignorant man on the street.

91. Gubbins to Satow (p.157)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Apr. 11. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

In these days of gloomy writing in the press and depressing debates in parliament it is encouraging to read a military article written in a more cheerful tone. So I make no apology for sending you this evening's "Westminster Gazette", not for the leading article but for the military article I have marked.

I liked Bonar Law's speech & hope it will have a good effect. As I said in my last letter I am more nervous about Ulster than about the rest of Ireland. But I trust that the Cabinet has arranged matters with [Sir Edward] Carson.

The religious situation in Japan is for us rendered more puzzling still by the fact that the present Emperor's robes were recently blessed – in order to ensure his long reign – in the Buddhist temple of Kio-o-Gokokuji⁴² in Kyoto. One of my Japanese papers has pictures of the robes being carried back to the Palace after the conclusion of the ceremony. The custom is said to date back 1000 years!

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

92. Gubbins to Satow (p.158)

"Ans. 16/4" [See p.243 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Apr. 15. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Could you help me with the date of the Papal Decree in the 16th century I think, which is supposed to have divided for purposes of exploitation the then newly

⁴² Tōji (East Temple 東寺) was formerly known as Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji (The Temple for the Defence of the Nation by Means of the King of Doctrines 教王護国寺).

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discovered regions in America & Asia between the Spaniards & Portuguese, those in Asia falling to the share of Portugal? My Prothero Editor wishes it inserted, and my few books of reference do not give it.

I feel in regard to my Prothero work like a school-boy whose exercise is being corrected.

There has been some anxiety in London during the last week. The latest news from the front is better. One's thoughts naturally go back to the early days of the war. For myself I feel the utmost confidence, though the strain will doubtless be prolonged.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

93. Gubbins to Satow (p.159)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Apr. 17. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you very much for the information you give me regarding the Papal Bull, and for your prompt reply.

Colin came to us yesterday evening on three weeks leave. He is now in the hands of our local doctor, a very sensible man who will write a report on his case for the Medical Board wh. Colin thinks of applying for. The fever has gone for the present, but the lad is run down & evidently suffering from overstrain. His chum in the battery was apparently quite fit when Colin left to go into hospital. But two days later he suddenly went to pieces though the heavy fighting had all stopped; - "gas & severe shock" the War Office said to parents – and he is now in a London hospital where Colin saw him today. The battery (126 R.F.A.) had a very hot time from the 28th Mch. to the 31st, and was congratulated by the General after the battle was over. It was specially selected on one occasion to cover a withdrawal. What I hope may be done in Colin's case is that he may get 2 or 3 months leave in England, & may then be transferred to another front. After 3 attacks of trench fever in France & Flanders, a change of climate is certainly desirable. He went to Flanders in Nov. 1914, being then only 18, and has served continuously at the front ever since. Had I any interest in high quarters I would try & work it at once, but I have none.

Colin tells me the Portuguese troops fought magnificently, but he says the officers are poor, and that the Portuguese rank & file prefer themselves to fight under British officers!

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I have not seen the Shands since their last visit to Devonshire. They then seemed to have decided to take the house at Chudleigh, and talked of shutting up their Norwood villa.

Soldiers I have met speak highly of Gen. [Herbert] Plumer.

Believe me

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

94. Gubbins to Satow (p.160)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Apr. 27. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

I am returning Chiradame's book with many thanks. The French may rightly talk about the love of money being the root of all evil in connection with the Bagdad railway. The [Joseph] Caillaux taint is on much of French finance, while the Deutsche Bank [Bank?] shows what peaceful penetration means even in England.

[Sir Francis Taylor] Piggott is lecturing again next month on the "Freedom of the Seas", being dovetailed between [J.L.] Garvin & [John] Leyland. I would try & go were I not so busy.⁴³

A curious & very outspoken article appeared in the "Shin Nihon" for Feb. last on Japanese party politics. The writer – the Editor of the Yorozu Chōhō a Tokyo daily paper – says that Japanese political parties are not political associations united on definitive principles at all, but groups of politicians clustered round some central figure who goes his own way dealing with his followers as he likes, and changing his views without any scruple. This is the view I have always taken. Still one must admit the existence of two opposite schools of political thought, the pro-German & the pro-American, though this dividing line of politics does not go very far with the Japanese.

I am gradually drying myself after my editorial ducking, and hope to have rewritten my exercise shortly. Then I shall hope to add some two dozen pages on different subjects, and after a visit or two to the F.O., I look forward to writing Finis [The End].

The action of the Irish R.C. bishops won't do any good to the R.C. cause in England.

Believe me

⁴³ Piggott's lecture was one of three delivered before the Royal Society of Arts in May, 1918. See Royal Society of Arts, *Special Lectures on the Freedom of the Seas*, London: 1918.

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Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. Colin is picking up very fast and will very likely not need an extension of leave.
J.H.G.

95. Gubbins to Satow (p.161)

“Ans. 27/5” [See p.245 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

May 26. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Yes, I should like to see the American Historical Review for April very much, though possibly I may be disappointed when I read the article you mention. You found some inaccuracies, I remember, in another article by Treat, or rather a book.

I should have written before, but we have been worried about our gunner boy who appears to have developed some kind of “soldier’s heart.” The Medical Board before which he went some days ago sent him to hospital at once, and it will be some days apparently before he is transferred to a Convalescent Home. He is so young still that there is every hope that the trouble will prove to be temporary, and will yield to time and treatment. But for the moment we are naturally anxious. If the hospital doctor consents, I shall arrange for Colin to see a heart specialist as soon as possible.

I am getting on with my Prothero work slowly, being hampered by much scribbling for the other department wh. fortunately for me sends grist for my mill. In a week or two I hope to have revised all the corrected pages & then I shall see daylight for the rest will not trouble me much.

If I were at Ottery St. Mary I would consult Miss Dickinson about arts & crafts. The course of training which our second girl & our protégée daughter (educated in Germany) have been going through in the country is nearing an end, and I need further information & advice in regard to weaving. Both girls can do simple weaving now and make cloth for sale. They are anxious, like all the impatient youth of to-day, to start at once “on their own” & take a cottage somewhere in the country[,] buy looms etc. and in short settle down as weavers. My gunner boy aids & abets them. I am in favour of festina lente, social sponsors – wherever they may settle - & further advice & possibly, in fact probably, more training. Tomorrow I go to the Art School in Kensington to try & get the information I want, and Shand is giving me an introduction to the head of a large weaving firm Sir Frank Warner; for I have ambitions in the direction of a real career for

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my girls, - wh. wd. include a course of study at Lyons & other things. So you can see that apart from my work my hands are rather full just now.

You will see that there is a real crisis in Ireland. How things there will end no one knows, but I hope the steps taken by the Govt. will at best clear the air, and bring into the open any lurking disaffection or treason wh. there may be.

I am told confidentially by a friend in the W.O. that "New Europe" is prepared & published in the F.O. with Sir W.T. as Editor in Chief. Please keep this to yourself.

Voltaire in his "Siècle de Louis XIV" mentions how at one time high prices in France coincided with the increased value of metallic currency (there was of course then no paper). The Japanese Finance Minr. tells the same story of Japan to-day. Prices are soaring and the value of metallic currency is rising in spite of the immense amounts which have come to Japan during the war. This sounds strange.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

96. Gubbins to Satow (p.163)

"Ans 2/6" [See p.246 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

May 28. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the Review which has just come. The article seems very interesting, though I have been able only to glance at it. I notice you are quoted very often.

The Shands are trying to fix up the matter of their house at Chudleigh wh. still hangs fire. Meanwhile, though the Norwood house is sold, they have arranged to stay on. I hope they will soon be able to arrange matters as they wish.

I am struggling with a sketch on Local Govn. for Prothero. He thinks I have condensed too much. F.O. does not seem to have a copy of a law on the subject – that of Cities Towns & Villages of 1889 or 1890 – which I want to look at. I suggested their asking the Japanese Embassy in London, but I have not heard the result yet.

Things in the Far East seem to be getting more & more complicated.

I hope you are keeping well. Shand thinks you are writing another book!

I cannot help thinking that the Germans have their hands too full. The expenditure of energy necessary to carry all their plans to a successful conclusion must be a gigantic strain. Russia alone must be a task which would be in itself an immense undertaking had Germany nothing else to do. And think[?] of Poland & all to wh. they are

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committed there, not to speak of Turkey the Black Sea, Finland & other regions. The internal situation too must be a tremendous problem to deal with. In the homely language of the Western cowboy she seems to have bitten off more than she can chew. Their position before long may be that of boys who have made an enormous snowball wh. they can no longer push, and are obliged to abandon with disagreeable effects to the neighbourhood.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

97. Gubbins to Satow (p.165)

“ans 9/6” [See p.247 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

June 7. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

I feel ashamed that my last letter mentioning the matter of local government should have given you the trouble of looking up your papers on the subject. I had no idea when I wrote of troubling you on the subject. For the dates I want I must write to Japan, and trust to getting an answer in time to insert them in the Manual before it is printed. I think that there will be plenty of time as I am inclined to share your view that the war will last a long time – perhaps 3 or 4 years more. F.O. have not the text of the law I want. Neither has the Japanese Embassy to whom Parker appealed on my behalf. But they have promised to write for it, and between us I hope we shall be able to get something.

So Shand was right in thinking you had another book in hand. I admire your industry and energy, though I cannot hope to emulate it. I find my paltry work too much for me from time to time. For the last month since an attack of flue I have been obliged to take festina lente as my motto. But I am much heartened by the permission conceded to me again to take my work out of London whenever I feel a change of air necessary. I arranged it with Wake two days ago. He was very nice & made no difficulty. So later on when you have no other guests – say July or August – I would like to have another look at yr. garden & stroll with you to East Hill and along that beautiful ridge.

Just now I am taking advantage of the new permission to pay a long-promised visit to Suffolk. An old friend lives there between Stowmarket & Framlingham, and my son Colin who is keen on getting a pied à terre in the country for his sisters & himself has

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heard of some cottages to be let in that neighbourhood. So I am off on Monday to look at them & spend a day or two in a part of England wh. is new to me. Today I went to the Admiralty to arrange a day for seeing the cottages wh. I had ascertained, belong to a Capt. Scrivener R.N. To my surprise I met an old acquaintance. You remember or have heard of a Lieut. Levett⁴⁴ who married Mabel Parkes. He is the man. I suppose he came in for some more money when he added Scrivener to his name. He has a place called Sibton Abbey near Framlingham and seems from what he told me to own a good deal of land. He gave me some news of Mrs. Keswick his first wife's sister. I don't fancy that any of his cottages will be quite suitable for what we want. But two or three days change of scene are good for a tired head and my long-promised visit to Suffolk has been too long in abeyance.

Our children I confess quite take my breath away with their advanced ideas. I always considered myself decidedly progressive in my views but I can't keep up with my children. I sometimes think it may come to my being left marooned somewhere while the young people are pursuing an independent course searching for new adventures. The question of finance is the only real difficulty in the solution of such problems as many parents are faced with now. The war has changed many things & not least of these the relations between youth & age.

Colin is better but I think the improvement can only be gradual. His hospital is one of the best and he has a very nice civilian doctor where he is – at Denmark Hill. I saw him by app[ointmen]t. the other day and he said it was a case of over-strain “most natural under all the circumstances.” There was no organic heart trouble. One of these days, the week after next in all probability – he will go to a Convalescent Home. It was so good of you to think of his going to Ottery St. Mary. It is unfortunately out of the question. He will be sent to one of the regular Convalescent Homes. We are of course anxious that it may be a nice one, for I am told they differ very much, - and I am trying to put in a word for him with a cousin of mine who was for some time Director-General of the R.A.M.C. I doubt, however, if my letter will bear any fruit.

I am returning the American Review with many thanks. The article is interesting though I am inclined to think that the writer attaches too much importance to the Imperial Ratification. He evidently does not share my view that the Mikados were never anything but puppets – a curious mixture of Nepaulese sovereign and Thibetan Dalai Lama. I see that Shibusawa has written a book on Tokugawa Keiki.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Captain Egerton Levett-Scrivener (1857-1954). R.N. Flag Lieutenant and aide to Vice Admiral George Willes in the Far East. On retirement he became Bursar of Keble College, Oxford University.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

The review of your book struck me as rather superficial. But it is a difficult book to review for you have covered such a lot of ground. Voltaire's account of Cromwell's action in hanging the Portuguese ambassador's brother is amusing. v. 18 p.249.

How far off seem the days when people in the Far East were discussing the Yangtze as the legitimate sphere of British influence.

Ussher's article on Germany & Austria in the same Review I found interesting. Much of what he says sounds as if it might be correct.

How lovely yr garden must be looking.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

98. Gubbins to Satow (p.168)

"Ans 1/7" [See p.248 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

June 29. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

I have prevailed on the C.S. [Civil Service] Commissioners to accelerate the date of an Examn. they wanted me to conduct for them in August. I have also arranged matters with Colonel Wake. By Monday the 4th August, or Tuesday the 5th, therefore, I shall be free to leave London. Will you please fix the exact time for my visit to Beaumont to suit yourself. Preoccupations of many kinds, and a chill – rather a common ailment during this last cold spell – have prevented my writing before.

Your nephew in the Levant service should be with you by now. He will indeed have much to tell you. The situation in the Near East must be full of interest just now. The war seems to have reached its most critical moment, in politics as well as in a military sense.

I enjoyed my flying visit to Suffolk very much, though it was rather a rush. None of the cottages I saw would have suited us, but Sibton Abbey, Levitt [Levett] Scrivener's place, is pretty and has nice grounds. He told me, when I saw him on my return to London, that the interior was falling to pieces rather, part of it being, I gathered, almost uninhabitable. There is a fine tree in front of the house – a kind of beech the gardener told us which was strange to me. It has narrow pointed leaves, the colour being dark

⁴⁵ Shibusawa Eiichi, *Tokugawa Keiki Kō Den*, Tokyo: Ryūmonsha, 1918. 8 vols.

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green; and one side of the building is covered with the tallest wisteria I ever saw.

The part of Suffolk I saw is very pretty; - not flat but undulating country with sharp rises & dips, and the main streets[?] of old villages clustering in the hollows. The gardens are full of guelder roses, and honey suckle – the pink kind – which is made to grow in bushes. One of its drawbacks for the traveller pressed for time is the difficulty of getting there, and the difficulty of getting about when there. There is, however, a Mid-Suffolk light railway which crawls along at the pace and with the motion of a caterpillar. The line is so unevenly laid that an approaching train has an undulating gait and looks like a caterpillar in a hurry. There seem to be no cross lines, and the stations are disposed with an eye to the convenience of the railway alone, and with little reference to the villages in the districts they pass through.

The village where I stayed, Debenham, has a stream the Deben whose eccentricities are similar to those of the water channels in the Alton district of Hampshire, mentioned by [Gilbert] White of Selborne & [William] Cobbett. Usually dry, or almost so, it becomes full of water from time to time, so that the country round the village is inundated and traffic on the roads is blocked. Some curious arrangement of strata seems to be the explanation.

When I mentioned Voltaire I was quoting from “Le Siècle de Louis XIV”. I have ordered his “Essai sur les Moeurs” which I shall probably bring with me to Ottery if it reaches me in time. I often regret the years I spent over a dictionary which is out of print. What a lot of reading I might have done! My annotated copies (two sets) may be useful to students later on. I would leave them to the Embassy in Japan as a parting gift were I not afraid of their being lost. So probably I shall give them to the Balliol or the Bodleian [Library], where they will be lost too though in another sense.

The Japanese seem to have decided to do nothing in the matter of intervention in Siberia. But one can never tell what may happen. Affairs all over the world are in so extraordinary a state that no one can foresee the future. I have always thought since reading Steed’s book before the war that Austria was in a shaky position. Do you think she will be the first of our enemies to retire from the scene? I will ask you for an answer when I am in Devonshire.

Colin found a little cottage at Rayleigh in Essex and our weaving girls are established there now. We have taken it for a year by which time we shall know how the weaving experiment is likely to work, & perhaps also have a clearer idea as to the military situation and the war future. A loom & spindle are ordered, a weaving shed will be hired and materials will then be purchased. Then we may ask you for orders!

A passage in Hallam’s “Middle Ages” seems not inapplicable to the Kaiser &

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Germany. Speaking of the inordinate ambition of the Papacy wh. claimed supreme spiritual & temporal dominion, Hallam says: “There is a spell wrought by uninterrupted good fortune, which captivates men’s understanding, & persuades them, against reason and analogy, that violent power is immortal and irresistible. The spell is broken by the first change of success.”

Is it too rash to look for something of this sort to happen to the Kaiser & his people in the not too distant future? It may be imagination on my part, but I think some signs of a change are visible already.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

99. Gubbins to Satow (p.171)

“ans 30/7”

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

July 29. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

I forgot when writing to you last all about Bank Holidays which in these war times render travelling very difficult. So if you will allow me to defer my arrival until Wednesday the 7th I shall be grateful. I am inclined to travel direct to Exeter and come on quickly to Ottery from there.

The extra day or two in town will enable me to get through some troublesome Prothero work for wh. I must read at F.O. Some months ago I asked Prothero how I should deal with the rather complicated questions between China & Japan & Russia & Japan[,] suggesting that if they were fully dealt with in other manuals I need only touch lightly on them. A fortnight ago – not being able to wait longer – I again pressed him on the subject. He then said he would like me to treat them fully. So I have been reading archives laboriously and find that the railway questions – as you must have known to your cost in Peking – need rather careful study and frequent references to maps. And none of our maps are very good, as you probably found out long ago! I have read the Chinese Manual, which covers a lot of ground, but reads like an official Memo.

I am thinking of drawing up a Memo. on railways in which China Japan & Russia are interested, and referring in some detail to the various agreements concerning them. It will require a sketch map to make it quite clear. I will ask Prothero what he thinks of the idea. It might be useful as an appendix to the Japan Manual. But perhaps he will not

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agree.

Ida Shand writes to my wife that Shand is to come to you shortly on a visit. It will be nice to meet him at Beaumont.

Hoping my abrupt change of date will not inconvenience you in any way.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

100. Gubbins to Satow (p.172)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. 11

Aug. 5. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

My arrangements have been upset suddenly by a case of chicken pox. The patient is our youngest girl Helen, who is at home with us. The doctor who saw her yesterday & gave the unwelcome verdict tells me the quarantine lasts for 3 weeks. I am so sorry that this disturbs your own arrangements for my visit to Beaumont. For the present at least I must just stay quietly in town. The case is a slight one and the doctor talks of only 4 or 5 days in bed, but the risk of infection remains. You will probably have made your plans for guests for some time ahead. If this be so, may I postpone my visit to a date which will not out you to any inconvenience? Now that I am allowed to leave London when I like so long as work goes with me, any time that suits you will suit me. I have only to tell Prothero & Wake in advance.

I've just read 'Bismarck' by J. Robertson of All Souls Oxford. The beginning is rather dry, but the rest of the book is very interesting.

A day or two ago I ordered the 'National Review' – the first Review I have bought during the war – and arranged for it to be sent to your care, thinking an indiscreet article in it showing how the Cabinet decided on war in Aug. 1914 might be interesting. If it arrives, will you please read it, if you care to do so, and just return it at your leisure.

I tried to wire to you to-day but Bank Holiday prevented me.

Believe me in haste

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. Should a packet arrive for me from the Junior Army & Navy Stores may I ask you to keep it till my postponed visit comes off. J.H.G.

Can you tell me the best book to read, for my Prothero work on the Russo-Japanese

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war. Parker tells me that [Emile Joseph] Dillon's "Eclipse of Russia" is worth reading as an up to date book.

101. Gubbins to Satow (p.173)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. 11

Aug. 10. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for [Auguste] Gerard's "Nos Alliés d'Extrême Orient". He gives a good summary of Russo-Japanese Relations. I shall read his other book you mention with much interest when I come to Ottery.

Would Wednesday the 21st suit for my visit? Counting from the day Helen began to feel unwell, the 1st August, this will be the end of the strict quarantine term, and my wife & Helen will be leaving for Exeter on the next day Thursday – with medical approval.

Some time ago Shand asked me to define Jugo-Slavism. Though I had read some modern books on the Balkans, I was unable to answer his question satisfactorily. The other day I came across the enclosed which I cut out intending to give it to him when I went to you. It seems to explain the point clearly, and the explanation has the merit of being concise. Will you kindly give it to him if he is still with you.

I like to try to look at things philosophically. The delay in my visit to you has had one advantage – that I have been able to get through a long bit of work on the Military Convention between China & Japan which otherwise would have occupied much of my time at Ottery.

When I arrive in Devonshire I shall feel like a school boy does after detention at school owing to an outbreak of measles. For a day or two I intend to be very idle.

I've just been reading the "Novum Organum" [by Francis Bacon] again & then Macaulay's Essay on Bacon. It is hard to know which of the two to admire most.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Thornhill is in Exeter at the Rougemont Hotel.

102. Gubbins to Satow (p.174)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. 11

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Aug. 14. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Thanks for yours of the 11th. I will come by the S.W. line viâ Sidmouth Junction taking the train you advised, the 10.50 from Waterloo, which will bring me to Ottery at 2.30 p.m. That will be Wednesday the 21st, this day week.

Thank you for passing on the “Slave[?]“ extract to Shand. He is in some ways a typical Scot, more so than either of his brothers.

It will be interesting to hear the details when they come about the fall of Lenin & Trotsky. And there shd. be interesting news from the Far East. The new situation there – as you may well imagine – pleases not Japan at all. She would have liked to have moved alone – receiving carte blanche to go ahead as the mandatory of the Allies. American & British co-operation she will not care for, but one presumes her expenditure has been guaranteed, if indeed no other compensation has been mentioned. It would be very nice to see Bohemia restored to something of her ancient position. You will see the rather singular declaration of H.M.G. in to-day’s morning papers.

The “Novum Organum” I will certainly bring with me. You will probably have somewhere in your library a portrait of Bacon. I have none.

My love to Shand if he is still with you.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

103. Gubbins to Satow (p.175)

[82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W. deleted]

at Littlehill

Chudleigh

Sept. 18. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest,

I reached the Shands’ very comfortably yesterday & had plenty of time to do what I wanted in Exeter. The trains between Exeter & Chudleigh are very slow. It takes 53 minutes to cover a distance of 15 miles. This reminds me of the Mid-Suffolk light railway which traverses that Eastern & very provincial county.

The house here is very nice. The rooms are conveniently arranged – the drawing-room being in shape & size very like their last in Norwood - ; the aspect of the house is that of Beaumont, S.E. – slightly more East than you are – and the country round and

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

the immediate vicinity are more like the surroundings of West Hill than that of East Hill. Generally, the country is more broken than that near Ottery – in fact it is more like the South-Brent country – which is quite natural, as it is close to Dartmoor.

Ida Shand is waiting to take this to the post so I will only add my very best thanks for your great kindness & hospitality. When I came to you I was not very well. When I left Beaumont I was another person. You see how much I am in your debt. It is no use repeating my thanks in words – you & I are both, I think, believers in the providential disposition of things which makes it difficult to repay favours received, but easy to pass them on to others, thus helping to complete the circle of sunshine in the world. So you will understand that your kindness will be passed on according to the faith we both share.

Please give my kind regards to yr. brother [Sam]. The Shands desire to be very kindly remembered. I tell him you are working harder & walking faster than ever.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Enclosed: Short cutting about canals and light railways.

104. Gubbins to Satow (p.178)

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.

Sept. 19. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

So many thanks for the book you have kindly sent me. The writer turns out to be a traveller and he appears to regard Chamberlain as a safe guide. But intelligent travellers' books, even about a country one knows, are often valuable, for they are written while the writer's perspective is still true, and has not undergone the process which culminates in inability to see the wood for the trees in it.

I enclose a small cutting. It is an extract from a speech of Dr. Addison to a newspaper reporter, and seems to throw cold water on Canal Reform. However, the matter is in the hands of a Transport Reform Committee, which, one must hope, will give due weight to the interests of the poorer classes.

The last 3 or 4 days I was at Littlehill Shand was suffering from a fresh attack of boils, which kept him confined to the house or in bed.

I am afraid the Spinning & Weaving Experiment will be a failure. The girls seem to

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24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

have suddenly got tired of it. It is disappointing; I don't judge the money spent, but the time & labour wasted; one must be prepared for these things, however, and try and accept them as incidents inevitable in the launching of girls.

Your brother would like Littlehill for one thing – the “freshness” of its air. It is certainly colder than Ottery.

Shand is looking forward to a visit from you after the war. You will like the walks, which are many, and the beauty of the views.

I congratulate you on having made a beginning with your new book on Treaties of Guarantee. What a pace you work at! Most trains don't travel at that speed.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

105. Gubbins to Satow (p.180)

“ans. 16/10” [See p.252 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.11

Oct. 14. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

I heard from Thornhill when I saw him at Exeter that [Walter] Langley had been very ill, but that he was better and would soon be able to go into the country to complete his convalescence. The next I heard was that he was dead. The cause was an abscess at the base of one of his lungs – the result of pleurisy following on pneumonia & influenza. He was really my last link with F.O. I feel quite lost there now, and shall be very glad when my last notes are made. I have not much to do, but the years from 1900 on were busy ones in the Far East, and dates are elusive things.

I shd. be very grateful if you could give me the dates of the relief of the Legations in Peking. I cannot find it in my books.

Yes, has not the march of events been stupendous since we were talking in your study of Foch's counter-stroke and the chances of recovering all the ground lost since March? First Allenby then the Serbians, French & ourselves in Macedonia, then Haig, Generals [Marie-Eugène] Debeney, [Charles] Mangin, [Henri] Berthelot & [Henri] Gouraud and last but not least the Americans. All have struck in turn such dramatic blows.

One knows not what to say or even think. Russia's doom has come so swiftly and nothing can avert it. She may fight for some time yet, & doubtless would if she were guaranteed agst. revolution at home and mutiny in the Army. I think the Empire will

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break up and that I shall after all win my bet with Thornhill.

I wonder if your brother would be so kind as to give me his Prunes prescription for bowel trouble, I mean for ensuring regularity.

Shand writes me he has not begun Bismarck yet. He is reading Price Collier a different kind of book altogether,⁴⁶ though quite good in its way, except perhaps an over fondness for the Kaiser. Had he lived a few years longer he would probably have written a book like Owen Wister's "Pentecost of Calamity". All the reviews of "Bismarck" that I have seen are very enthusiastic. When I had read it I told my wife, I had read two books within a year wh. stood out above all others. Sorel's book wh. you lent me and 'Bismarck' – and this is one reason why I wanted to give you Robertson's book.

Do you think, like I do, that a cataclysm is imminent in Germany? It will be difficult to prevent it. Even the luck of the Hohenzollern can hardly survive the egregious folly of the Kaiser and the heir to the Prussian throne. One is reminded of Goethe's lines. [Mit der Dummheit kämpfen die Götter selbst vergebens.]⁴⁷

I hope you are very well. I can't write cheerfully about myself. That chill has left disagreeable results. It is very provoking after my profiting by the good air of Ottery.

I was nearly sending you the enclosed a week ago. I cut it put for the purpose and then thought you had probably got one already. But after Fortescue's long article in the "Times" of Saturday I think you may like to have it.

With Best Wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

106. Gubbins to Satow (p.182)

"ans. 17/11" [See p.259 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.1

Nov. 13. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

I will answer the last part of your letter first if I may. Please, if you can really spare it, lend me the "Histoire Diplomatique." I should much like to read it. Both the French books you have last lent me are inaccurate in the matter of names & dates. Chéradame,

⁴⁶ *Germany and the Germans from an American Point of View*, first published in 1913.

⁴⁷ Gubbins' parentheses

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for instance, gives the Russian dates only. This leads the reader astray when the narrative deals mostly with Gregorian dates.

At the end of 1915 Col. Maude the “Sunday Times” correspondent on war, who afterwards appeared in Courts as a judgment debtor (is not that the proper term?) & ceased to be connected with that paper, suggested that the war might end in a dramatic manner, - a sort of cataclysm for Prussia & Germany. I never believed in what Maude wrote very much – in so far as I was able to form an opinion – he was an anti-Conscription fanatic and talked or rather wrote, wildly on the subject. But this suggestion of his agreed with my own ideas, and shortly after that I made the bet with Thornhill that the Empire would break up. I had always in mind either a revolution, or a mutiny, and latterly the latter seemed more likely. Don’t you think it is possible that the revolution was started by the soldiers on leave, whose feelings had previously been harrowed by stories of the misery at home? If disaffection started in this way, it would not take long to spread. The sailors’ mutiny is not surprising. A powerful fleet humiliated by inaction in its own harbours, where it hid from an enemy it dared not face, might easily become a hotbed of sedition. And when the German Government stooped to work with Bolshevism it played with fire.

I’ve finished the history part of the Manual. The rest will be short and I don’t think I shall require to go any more to F.O. Work there is comfortless & disappointing.

You are quite right I think to quote Pitt. England has saved the world. We have done marvels & the flag stands higher than it ever did. We may well be proud. And I think all the world will acknowledge it. The “Nichi Nichi” some three months ago (and it is not pro-British) had a nice article about us entitled “The old but ever new England”. What it will say now I can’t conceive. As a whole Japan will be the nation most surprised at the glorious way in wh. the war has ended for their Allies & especially for England. The politicians will think a little more of us than they have done so far, and they will be sorry they have always been anxious that the Alliance de Cabinets [Anglo-Japanese Alliance] shld. not develope into something more.

How busy your pen seems to be! I have written – or rather the Stores have written for me - to America for “The Freedom of the Seas” by an American author and am trying to get his Lectures on the subject published by the Society of Arts. I think they must be Piggott’s.

I saw Thornhill the other day at St. James’ Club where I was giving my gunner boy tea. Hohler too I met. He goes to Constantinople as Chief Political Adviser. His people are Jews, clever of course & very rich.

I am looking forward to a holiday when my Prothero work ends for I fancy my other

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work will stop any time now.

You were I think wise not to come to London. I was asked to minor functions but declined.

Colin goes today to Berkhamsted for a 3 weeks' gunnery instructor's course.

I hope this will find you well.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

107. Gubbins to Satow (p.184)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Nov. 20. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter and card & for Debidour (2 vols) and the 'New East' [magazine]. Please excuse a card in reply but I am busy with Prothero's work. There are only half a dozen pages more to write but I want to write them carefully as they will embody ideas about Japan & her future relations with other countries which may not be exactly those usually held.

I am returning the "New East" & Chéradame Russo-Japanese War. Your article on the Freedom of the Seas⁴⁸ I have read with interest. But for me it is much too short. I was surprised to find you in favour in the main of the British view of the Freedom of the Seas. Somehow I thought you were an upholder of the American contention – the immunity of Private Property at Sea.

In great haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. Yes. Germany may as you say hang together as a Confederation and in that case my bet might end in a stale-mate – which as far as I am personally concerned I shd. prefer. But even then it would not be a German Empire. And some weeks ago Bavaria startled Berlin by insisting on a Legation of her own in Sofia!

108. Gubbins to Satow (p.185)

82 York Mansions,

⁴⁸ "The "Freedom of the Seas", *The New East* (Tokyo) 3, no.3 (Sept. 1918), pp. 254-5.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

Battersea Park, S.W.1

Nov. 20. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Can you tell me if I am right in thinking that Japanese can be naturalized in Canada, or if the point is determined by State law, in British Columbia?

I am writing my last pages and prefer troubling you to asking F.O.! Please excuse my great selfishness. I am writing under difficulties for I have given up smoking the last 2 months and my pen does not run so easily.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

109. Gubbins to Satow (p.186)

“1911 Quarterly Jan & July

1913 XIXth Centy Feb.”

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.11

Nov. 26th 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

I certainly was under the impression that you were in favour of the “Immunity of Private Property at Sea”. During the war I read no reviews or magazines, and for this reason I probably never clearly understood your position with regard to the question. I remember a conversation with you at Beaumont early in the war, in which you upheld the Declaration of London, and I gathered from that that you were an upholder of the doctrine which America ever since the War of Independence has put forward.

I have got the lectures delivered before the Society of Arts by [Gerard] Fiennes, [John] Leyland and [Francis Taylor] Piggott, and I have ordered from America the American book on the subject of the Freedom of the Seas.

About Canada I must ask F.O. I think. Prothero might know of some one I cd. consult. The British Museum is a far cry, and I know no one at the Canadian Agency-General.

Tomorrow I am giving Prothero my last typed sheets, and after that I shall only have proofs to correct.

You would probably not read, even if you had the chance, Putnam Weale’s last book on China – “The Fight for the Republic in China”. I have studied it with some interest in search of information on the Far East, wh. may possibly become a storm centre later on. The author is very inaccurate & unreliable, but even a bad book sometimes tells one

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow

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useful things.

Believe me in great haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

This is an article of John Fortescue's wh. you may care to look at. Please do not trouble to return it.

110. Gubbins to Satow (p.187)

"ans. 2/12" [See p.261 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.11

Dec. 1. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

In a recent letter you mentioned having seen the step-mother-in-law of Col. Wake who seemed to think that the reading of the foreign press in the Dept. of Information might continue. It is possible that the wish in this case may be father to the thought. Wake seemed to favour the idea of my sounding Tyrrell on the subject, and I thought of doing so. But on further consideration I decided not to do so, and wrote him to that effect. I told him that I did not know Tyrrell well – as I had known Langley, and that I had always worked under him (Wake) without having any special relations with Langley's successor. I do not, as you know, feel drawn in any way to Tyrrell, who might have drawn quite wrong inferences from my visit.

Thank you for letting me see [Lionel B.] Cholmondeley's letter which I return. I think he takes a very sound view of things. But I feel my opinion may be prejudicial because so much that he says represents my own feelings on the subject. To say that Japan is in a state of transition is to utter a commonplace, for there is more than this in the present condition. Uniform progress is of course an Utopian idea, never realizable anywhere, and therefore impossible in Japan, but the result of the adoption of material civilization from the West on the top of a Chinese & feudal under-structure has produced dislocation, and a want of balance generally which inspires no great confidence in the permanent stability of the whole national structure. To my mind difficult days are in store for Japan. Her relations with China, with Russia where anything may happen, with America – now a great military Power, suspicious, & rightly so, of Japan's policy in the Far East – and with Gt. Britain & her colonies (a word now & in future taboo in all British possessions overseas) contain possibilities of great friction, if not worse, in the time to come.

PRO 30/33 11/8

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

I am writing this in the drawing room where – for reasons of fuel economy – materials for Sunday supper are being cooked on the fire. Before the same fire our dog & cat are reposing cheek by jowl. They are very good friends in spite of the fact that he always steals her food if he gets the chance, & never lets her steal his.

Thank you for yr warning about proofs. Prothero told me I must not expect them for a fortnight . He said things were very much congested. I have never known them otherwise. One point I am going to suggest to him. It is about the writing & spelling of names of persons & places etc. in China, which should be uniform in the China, Japan & Russia Manuals.

I wish I were in Ottery or you were in London. About Germany there is much I would like to ask you, so much indeed that correspondence on the subject is impossible.

You must have seen Stephen's letter in yesterday's "Times". It seems to an ignorant person like myself unanswerable. I would give a good deal to hear what the Law Officers of the Crown have said. The papers say that they have decided that he is indictable, but under what law and before what Court? For international lawyers like yourself the question must be an interesting one. Is it not one of those cases which are outside the realm of law? Does it not in some way resemble cases where the only course is to deal with them as an act of Comity? Pardon all these questions and please do not trouble to answer them.

I have had a long type-written letter from Shand about Price Collier and his book on Germany which I find some difficulty in answering.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

111. Gubbins to Satow (p.189)

"ans. 15/12" [See pp. 262-3 below.]

82 York Mansions,

Battersea Park, S.W.11

Dec. 6. 1918.

My dear Sir Ernest

Not being sure that you do not want the [Japan] Chronicle's malevolent article back, I am returning it. I have never met the Editor, who is one of J.C. Hall's friends, nor have I ever wished to do so.

In a recent letter of your's you kindly asked if I would like to see Morse's "International Relations of China". At present I am fully occupied in my small[?]

PRO 30/33 11/8

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

reading time with Debidour wh. you have kindly sent me. I find him, as the “Times” once said of Bishop Barry, too full of matter to be very easy reading; but he is instructive.

No, I have not seen the China National Defence League’s Manifesto. I can well believe that it is violently anti-Japanese. For this Japan has herself to thank.

I am working now for a short time – when not busy with W.O. work – in Prothero’s office. He has asked me to rearrange the Japan Manual according to the latest scheme, (there have been two or three) and alas! to write a Bill of Contents. I had hoped his staff would do this. However I could not say no.

Some day I should like to see all you have written on the subject of the Freedom of the Seas and the immunity of private property at sea.

I have also to thank you for yr letter of the 2nd. I am glad I did not see Tyrell (you write it with one r so I follow you) because he would probably have misunderstood my purpose as you have done. I should never have asked to be kept on – I have never asked for any war work – but simply enquired for my own convenience how long the press work was likely to last. My lease of the flat expires in June, and I have to give 6 months notice. So you will understand my wish to look ahead.

I fear I also led you astray as to my intentions in regard to Ottery. I was not asking for an invitation. Had I wanted to encroach on your hospitality so soon again, I should have spoken out more plainly. I merely expressed a pious wish to have an opportunity of clearing up my ideas on Germany. One of these days I shall probably ask you to take rooms for me in Ottery, where I could do some quiet reading & writing for a few weeks. But this will not be for some time yet.

You will have seen that (1) the Associated Powers will probably ask for the Kaiser’s extradition, and that (2) the French talk of trying him by Court Martial. If he could only be made impotent for mischief – wh. perhaps is impossible for no one can tell what will happen in Germany – Holland might be the best place for him. Evidently, however, feeling seems to be too high for him to be left where he is.

For several reasons I am not sorry the ‘New East’ has come to an end. I don’t think that sort of propaganda is useful with the Japanese tho’ they go in for similar propaganda elsewhere – witness the Japan Society.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I am meeting various people in Prothero’s office – amongst others Gooch. J.H.G.

PRO 30/33 11/8

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
24 December 1908; December 1912 – December 1918 (112 letters)

112. Gubbins to Satow (p. 191 – last letter in this file)

82 York Mansions,
Battersea Park, S.W.

Dec. 17/18

My dear Sir Ernest

This is not meant as an answer to y[ou]r letter wh[ich] came this morning, but simply to introduce a little book – a Xmas present to me – which you may care to glance through. The translation of Kipling's 'If' is quite nice.

The recent reading revealed in your letter suggests some antidote in the way of light literature; but indeed I had not the volume to send you before your letter came.

Yes: I am glad to say 'vare' [farewell] to Prothero and his work. But I am glad to have done it. I am now struggling through a list of Japanese Authors & others for my list of Authorities. Prothero, I gather from him, rather prefers new to well-known authorities, and he wants Japanese authors especially. Can you give me Gerero's initial or initials for my list? I am adding his "Mission En Chine". Please forgive the trouble I cause.

As to Japanese papers, I shld. like to continue the work so long as I can use my pen. But I feel that war work must all stop sooner or later, and I have no wish to suggest that my own case should be made an exception. That is the position in a few words.

I have not yet got Dawson's "Freedom of the Sea" from N. York[?], but I am looking forward to it impatiently. I have read all three lectures delivered before Society of Arts. They are all quite interesting, but none in my opinion give sufficient emphasis to the change made in the nature of contraband by (1) the fact that wars are not the wars of nations in arms and (2) that by the universal commandeering of private property – in wh[ich] Germany led the way – such a thing as private property as is passed from hand to hand in commerce has almost ceased to exist in time of war.

Yours always truly

J.H. Gubbins

[End of File.]

PRO 30/33 11/9
Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

PRO 30/33 11/9 – Gubbins to Satow

1. (stamped p. 2)

GARLAND'S HOTEL¹
SUFFOLK STREET
PALL MALL S.W.1

Jan. 12, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

This is not an ordinary Collins [post card] of the kind that the post conveys every day from grateful guests to the hosts with whom they have stayed. I write to ask you to understand how deeply I have appreciated all your kindness & hospitality for so many months,² and to add that if there is ever anything I can do for you & yours in the time to come, you have only to say the word and it will be done.

I had a very comfortable journey to town and this hotel is nice & quiet.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

2. (stamped p. 3)

This is the best address for letters.

8 Blantyre Terrace

Edinburgh

Jan. 23.1922

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter and for all the trouble you and your servants have taken to forward all the things I left behind, which reached me safely by instalments.

There was a consultation of doctors here on the 16th. The opinion expressed was that the case was quite hopeless, and that the end might come at any moment.

The publishers were anxious to omit the two other chapters. They regarded them as unnecessary, and this inclusion as undesirable because of the statistics which wd. have been unavoidable. I was only too glad to concur in their view. Both Service & his readers expressed themselves as very satisfied with the book. It has after final revision

¹ Satow had stayed at "Garlant's Hotel" in Suffolk Street on 13 November 1907, 8 February and 27 October 1909 and 20 June 1910. The name apparently changed.

² Gubbins came to stay with Satow at Ottery on September 3, 1921 and left on January 12, 1922 (Satow's diary entries).

PRO 30/33 11/9
Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

been posted to them to-day.

Thanking you again for all your kindness & hospitality during my long visit of 4½ months.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

3. (stamped p. 4)

8 Blantyre Terrace

Edinburgh

Jan. 30. 1922

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you very much for yr telegram of sympathy. The funeral [of my wife] takes place tomorrow. I have decided to correct my proofs in Jersey & have wired to my niece.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

4. (stamped p.5)

8 Blantyre Terrace

Edinburgh

Feb. 2, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

You will see what the enclosed letter says.

When I saw Parker [Alwyn Parker?] on the 13th Jan. he said that so long as I did not quote in my book anything from official documents not published there could be no possible objection on the part of the F.O. He suggested that I shd. write to [Stephen] Gaselee³ at once, mentioning that nothing in the book was quoted from unpublished official documents. I wrote the letter accordingly in his room. He approved of it, and added that it was a mere formality, and that I shd. receive a letter from F.O. in the course of a week stating the absence of any objection. Not having heard from him up to yesterday, I wrote reminding him of the assurance he had given me. My letter has crossed with his.

I think that if Lord Curzon knew that you had read the M.S. and found nothing

³ Sir Stephen Gaselee (1882-1943). In 1920 he was made librarian and Keeper of the Papers at the Foreign Office, until his death.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

objectionable in it, all difficulty wd. be removed, & it would be unnecessary to submit proofs.

If you could see your way to writing a line to Lord Curzon yourself I shd. be grateful. If you would rather not do this, I would then write myself & mention that you had read the M.S.

I am sorry I did not act on yr suggestion, and wrote to Lord Curzon myself direct, instead of approaching the Librarian.

Believe me in haste

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

5. (stamped p.6)

8 Blantyre Terrace

Edinburgh

Feb. 3rd, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

This is only to say that Douglas & Foulis, Castle Street, have instructions to send you the book I promised O'Connor's "Travels in the Pyrenees & Andorra" if it is procurable, and they can get a good copy.

I leave for London on Tuesday next and hope to be in Jersey on Thursday morning.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

My address in Jersey will be

"c/o Miss Oxenden

Miramar

St. Brelade

Jersey C.I."

I will give you the address of my own rooms there when I reach Jersey.

6. (stamped p.7)

8 Blantyre Terrace

Edinburgh

Feb. 6, 1922

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you very much for all the trouble you are so kindly taking about my book.⁴ I

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

have ventured to suggest one or two alterations in your draft letter. Lord Curzon will I am sure make no difficulty when he knows that you have read & approve of the M.S.⁵

I am returning with many thanks the last Dumas story you were good enough to lend me. It goes under separate cover & will, I trust, reach you safely.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I leave Edinburgh tomorrow morning & hope to be in Jersey Thursday morning.

7. (stamped p.8)

St. Brelade's Bay Hotel

Jersey

Feb. 12, 1922

My dear Sir Ernest

I cannot thank you enough for your very kind intervention in the matter of my book. Lord Curzon's reply settles the matter. I felt sure that when he knew you had read the M.S. and approved of it, he would at once give the desired permission. I have sent the enclosures to Service.

Service asks me for suggestions as to device on cover. I have suggested

1. Paulownia Imperialis alone, or,
2. The same emblem in conjunction with crests of Satsuma & Chōshiū clans. The Imperial emblem to be placed above the other two, and to be twice the size of the latter.

I am in favour of No. 2, & have said so. What do you think?

I reached here on Thursday morning in weather as cold as any I have experienced. Today there is no more East wind, and one's spirits revive.

I have just seen the doctor who attends my eldest girl. He is a London hospital man by name Symons & looked after me when I was convalescing here 7 years ago. He says it is a very clear case of "Grave's disease", and that her recovery will be a matter of years. It is probable, therefore, that I shall settle here, and get my furniture shipped by sea from Edinburgh (Leith) when my lease expires in May. I must look for a house at once.

With best wishes & again many thanks

⁴ J.H. Gubbins, *The Making of Modern Japan*, Seeley, Service & Co., 1922.

⁵ Gubbins gave Satow the typewritten manuscript (all except the last five chapters not yet written) on August 26, 1921 (Satow's diary).

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

8. (stamped p.9)

St. Brelade's Bay Hotel

Jersey

Feb. 25, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

I am very glad you like O'Connor's book. One rainy day I shall try and get Stenghal's Travels in Spain (& I think, Portugal). At present I am still struggling with arrears of correspondence.

I've given up the idea of an Introductory Chapter. Service has given me too many reasons against it. And my preface will be very short. I am trying to get a book on feudal crests from my Edinburgh flat. Though I've written & wired, no reply has reached me. So I've suggested to Service to apply to British Museum for both Paulownia & feudal crests.

My son in Nigeria asks me to thank you for the stamps you kindly gave me for him.

Ida Shand writes that her father & Daisy & Winnie arrive in England on 4th March.

It has been very cold & rainy here, but the last two days we have had bright sunshine, & Jersey is beginning to live up to its reputation. Camellias white & red are blooming in sheltered places, and there is a pretty blue-flower shrub in my niece's garden wh. she calls "Misenbryanthemum" (I've probably got the name wrong for, as you have often noticed, my botanical lore may fitly be expressed by 0).

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I cannot follow the course of matters in Ireland. Nor do I fancy you could either even if you wanted to do so – which you don't.

I hope you had a pleasant visit from the [Arthur] Churchills. He is a very nice fellow.⁶

9. (stamped p.10)

St. Brelade's Bay Hotel

Jersey

⁶ The Churchills visited Satow on February 20, 1922. He had been military attaché at Tokyo, 1898-1903.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

March 3rd, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Will you kindly cast your eye over the enclosed and tell me if there is anything in the reference to yourself wh. you would like to see altered.

As I need hardly say to one so much more versed in these matters than myself, the obligations recorded in a Preface do not, & cannot in the nature of things, include much that one feels to be owed, and would like to say. Remarks made quite casually in the course of conversation, and not meant as advice, often have the effect of definite suggestions, and even silence, as eloquent as yours can be, may convey much to a receptive ear. What I have in mind bears to my thinking a far-away cousinship to Bismarck's imponderabilia, - things which refuse to be weighed. This is my present case with regard to yourself. Nor, if such things could be weighed, and stated in just proportion, might it be well to let the public eye into the simple though veiled arcana of intimate talk between friends. For the same reason, though here, perhaps, vanity speaks, I have said nothing of the generous hospitality which so greatly helped my work.

In my last letter I forgot to tell you how delighted Service was at the result of your kind intervention with Lord Curzon. However innocent a book may be, the official censor is bound to strike out something, if only to justify his existence.

There is a French edition in this hotel library – if I do not err in giving this name to a rambling collection of books – of a work which might interest you & your Oxford nephew [Percy Allen]. It is the “Colloquies of Erasmus”, in three vols. The book is well printed and has vignette illustrations at the head of each chapter. It is in good condition. I had it in my hands yesterday, but have very stupidly forgotten the author's name which begins I think with D. The bookcase is locked for the moment, and I cannot find the proprietor who has the key. But I will add the name before the post goes, if I can.

The camellias, veronicas, Mirabel, mimosa (now almost over), & pinus japonica (both white & red) now blooming in the open air would please you. And there are other things whose names I do not know. The bamboo – the same as in Lord Coleridge's grounds – thrives only too well.

People here are excited over the last political news. I hope the moderate section of Conservatives will sit upon Sir G. Younger, and uphold the British tradition of Compromise with a big C. Times are too critical for a rupture it seems to me. Lloyd Georgites, however, think the premier would triumph in a general election. The ‘Die-Hards’ would be crushed certainly, which would be so much to the good, but I shd. prefer compromise & the postponement of Elections till things are more settled.

The book of accts has gone to Service with all necessary explanations & suggestions,

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

& printing has begun. I hope to be proof-correcting in three weeks' time.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. The name of translator is Victor Develay & of illustrator J. Chauvet, the publishers are Librairie des Bibliophiles, Paris, Rue Saint-Honoré 33, date 1875. A portrait of Erasmus figures as frontispiece to Vol. 1. J.H.G.

10. (stamped p.12)

St. Brelade's Bay Hotel

Jersey

March 5. 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Our letters have crossed each other. Appert's book has already gone to Service, but I will ask him if he would like to see Vol. 5 of your Japan Asiatic Society's Transactions, and, if so, I will let you know. Many thanks for the trouble you have so kindly taken. This is one of the imponderable things mentioned in my last letter.

My botanical malapropisms must afford you much amusement. I had been strolling with my niece in her garden, and her answers to my ignorant enquiries about certain plants I saw got mixed up when I sat down to write to you. The plant I wanted to mention was Lithospermum prostrata, in vulgar English "Groomwell". It has a little dark blue flower.

Can you give me chapter & verse for

"He warmed both hands at the fire of life" ?⁷

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

11. (stamped p.13)

St. Brelade's Bay Hotel

Jersey

⁷ "I strove with none, for none was worth my strife:

Nature I loved, and next to Nature, Art:

I warm'd both hands before the fire of Life;

It sinks; and I am ready to depart." Walter Savage Landor, *Dying Speech of an Old Philosopher*.

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Apr. 4. 1922

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for sending me the paper returned by Truscott. I am sorry you shd. have any trouble in the matter. I told him to keep it for his own use in case I was unable to send him fresh copy from Edinburgh, but he seems not to have understood what was said.

I am very sorry to hear that [Basil Hall] Chamberlain's health is so unsatisfactory. He was always delicate, and the climate of the Far East did not suit his studious habits.

The article on Japan in the Literary Supplement I did not read, the paper being lent to me. You are probably correct in your conjecture regarding its authorship.

I will bear in mind the book you mention "Les Origines de la Guerre" and try to get it from the London Library. At present I am reading in the intervals of proof-correcting "Religio Medici" wh. I had never read carefully before. I like it very much, and find the Notes full of interest.

Fancy your book being printed at Leipzig! This will not, I hope, delay publication.

Yes, Everard Fraser's⁸ death is a great loss to the Service and to England. I never met him, but the impression I formed from his despatches and from what I heard of him is exactly what you write.

Please excuse a very hasty letter, but proof-reading & correspondence with a publisher who has no library proclivities make letter-writing difficult.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

12. (stamped p.14)

St. Brelade's Bay Hotel

Jersey

Apr. 10. 1922

My dear Sir Ernest

I have two post-cards from you to acknowledge. Many thanks for the information regarding Ōkubo's & Kido's names. You are of course right about the final syllable of Ōkubo being short. It is an old error of mine which I am apt to repeat. I am glad you agree as to the order of names, and the omission of "Mr.". I have told the publishers that

⁸ Sir Everard Duncan Home Fraser (1859-1922). Consul-General for Great Britain at Shanghai from 1911. Satow noted his death from heart failure five days earlier in his diary for March 25, 1922.

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

I have consulted you on these points.

For your sake I am glad your book will not be printed at Leipzig. This would have caused much delay. Proof-reading is irksome, as you say. What is even worse is the seemingly endless correspondence on various points with one's publisher. It throws fresh light on the wish expressed by Solomon.

My eldest girl is on a visit to the Shands, the doctor having recommended change of air. Her "Aunt Ida" tells me that you have had a touch of sciatica. I hope it may not be true, and if true, that the attack was of a very slight kind.⁹

So the Tukes are actually building! I am sorry for them in a way, for everything in these days is so difficult.

Jersey is not very good for walking, and the roads are hard on boots and feet.

Have you seen these lines about Dr. Coué?

Il est un disciple de Coué

Dont les bas étaient tristement troués;

Il leur dit: "Mes bons bas

Vos trous n'y sont pas!",

Et les voilà de beauté redoués.

Our weather continues to puzzle the meteorological authorities. The other day a London paper had the usual weather forecasts column. The forecast read: "Wind moderate; colder; occasional snow or sleet-showers." Further down in the column – without apparently any malignant design on the editor's part such as had been revealed before in another London journal – came Weather Reports which announced "Hurricane in Channel."

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Yesterday was what Scotch & Irish Celts call a "pet day". Warm, sunny and windless. In these conditions Jersey is almost a glorified Devon.

Have you seen the sequel to "Les Silences du Colonel Bramble"? The "Sunday Times" of yesterday has a review of it by Edmund Gosse.

13. (stamped p.15)

St. Brelade's Bay Hotel

Jersey

⁹ Satow noted a slight attack in his diary entry for March 24, 1922.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Apr. 18. [19]22

My dear Sir Ernest

This is only a line to return with thanks the enclosure wh. reached you from the A.S. of Japan.

When you can spare a moment from your proofs I should be grateful for a suggestion regarding any book which may serve as a guide to the pronunciation of Latin words. What troubles me now almost more than quantities is the value of the letter ‘c’ in the declension of nouns like medicus & amicus. My schoolboy instinct & one cannot call it memory at my age – tells me the “c” is hard in all cases. But I cannot trust so precarious a guide.

Shand writes me you have not met yet as he has been not very fit since his return from Italy.

The Chudleigh doctor confirms the Jersey doctor’s diagnosis regarding my eldest girl. So I shall probably “stay put”, as the Scotch say, in this hotel for a year or two at least.

We are overrun with Easter holiday folk. The weather is now finer and the hotel is not very crowded during the day.

There are two or three ladies here who are good walkers, and Jersey has some pretty walks both inland & along the coast. So I manage to follow to some extent the good example you set me in Devonshire. But Anno Domini is beginning to tell.

Hoping you have quite shaken off your sciatica.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

14. (stamped p.16)

St. Brelade’s Bay Hotel

Jersey

Apr. 25. 1922.

My dear Sir Ernest

This is not a letter to be answered, for you are busy with proofs; nor have I for the moment any troublesome questions to bother you with. I write merely to return the Latin Grammar you have kindly sent me. On further reflection, I find that, like you, I was inducted – though never taught by rules of pronunciation – into pronouncing “c” before “i” as if it were “s”, and similarly “t” before the same vowel as if it were “sh”. In all other cases “c” was hard, being pronounced like “k”. If we had been methodical we should have taught this by rule in our schools, and not by convention. And, as a rule, it

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

would have impressed itself more firmly in the memory. In this, as in other respects, school teaching & conventions are in Gt. Britain somewhat chaotic. In Scotland, as you know, the pronunciation of Latin vowels is different from that in England, so that in former days a Scotchman speaking Latin on the Continent was more readily understood than an Englishman. And to-day in some English colleges for girls Latin words are pronounced as if they were modern Italian.

I have got from the London Library a volume of Addison's poetical works. But I am disappointed at not finding in it the beautiful poem on the Universe containing the oft-quoted lines beginning: "Soon as the evening shades prevail." I would like to be rich enough to bring out for private circulation an anthology of my own. It would include all the things I love, chosen from a very wide field of things ancient & modern. No anthology I have seen quite pleases me. So much that does not appeal to me often appears, and, conversely, things I like are frequently omitted. Public taste usually guides all such collections. Mine would depend on private taste exclusively!

What interesting talks you must have had with Temperley, and how much you must have heard of which the man in the street has no idea!

I am reading again for the third or fourth time Tocqueville's "French Revolution" – to give it a short tho' incorrect title. But I am reading Henry Reeve's translation, which I much prefer to the original. Tocqueville's style is not attractive, but to me his book is a classic.

On second thoughts I did not retire from membership of the Institute of International Affairs. One interesting number of the Journal has reached me. The Committee have asked me to read a paper, or give an extempore address, on "Japan". But I have explained that continued absence from London makes it impossible for me to have that pleasure.

My thick boots are furnished with the india-rubber things you mention, but in spite of them my feet suffer, and my corns require constant attention.

I congratulate you on the disappearance of sciatica. My own rheumatism is troublesome "whiles" [sometimes], as the Scotch say.

Do you know the umbrella story?

A lady living in a London suburb went to London by train. One of the objects of her journey was the execution of commissions for friends which involved the purchase of several umbrellas. As she would have several to carry back she did not take her own with her. On getting into the train she found another lady in the same compartment. This lady had an umbrella with her. This she had laid on a seat within reach of the lady first-mentioned. When the train arrived in London the latter, forgetting she had left hers at

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home, picked up the umbrella of her fellow-passenger, and was carrying it off with her, when the other lady stopped her and asked for it. She returned it with an apology which was received with silence. The lady in question returning the same evening with a bundle of newly purchased umbrellas, found herself in a compartment with the same lady with whom she had travelled up to town. The latter observing the umbrellas remarked: "I see you have had a successful day."

We here have also seen our first swallow, and heard the first cuckoo. We have also seen our first bat hawking merrily for moths at 4.30 p.m. when the sun was shining brightly. He must have been very hungry.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

15. (stamped p.18)

St. Brelade's Bay Hotel

Jersey

May 22, [19]22

My dear Sir Ernest

Let me give you my new address from 1st June:

"c/o Mrs. Heulin

Roseleigh

St. Peter's

Jersey."

I have taken two rooms in a cottage in a parish next to this, some two miles from the sea. There I flit at the end of the month. The rooms are tiny, but quite big eno' for the single man I have become. I shall be near eno' to my two eldest girls to keep an eye on them. My sofa is coming to me with some books, pictures and knickknacks (have I spelt this wrong?), and I have bought a small bed to fit the liliputian bedroom which had a four-poster completely filling it! If I like my new habitation, I shall stay there through the winter, & perhaps longer.

Many thanks for yours of the 17th and for "La vie des Peuples." The leading article on the origin of the War is most interesting (the others I've not had time to do more than glance at yet). One point made in the article – for me a new one but nor surprising at all – is the assertion that both Viennese & Berliner financiers wanted war both in 1913 & 1914. What, too, goes far to confirm the suspicions already widely entertained regarding the Sarajevo tragedy is the author's statements wh. do more than suggest the complicity

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of Hungarian Austrian & German politicians – not to give them a worse name – in the Archduke's assassination.

The Index – carefully revised and 2/3rds rewritten – went on the 18th to Service. It was a long job and meant a good deal of night work; and it was conducted under difficulties. First of all the publishers sent me the reader's very badly written M.S. without proofs to guide me. The printers would not spare them – they said! As I refused to revise without them, they finally reached me, but they were uncorrected proofs of the book. Then they sent me instructions quite contradictory. I protested, and eventually I took my own course, and corrected everywhere all through. They will be angry I know, but a bad index is almost worse than none – in this I feel sure of your support - ; and, if they grumble, they will at least be faced with the fact that the index (40 odd columns, 3 to the page) in its revised form will be shorter than it was before, thanks to re-arrangements & condensation.

[Joseph] Longford has had, I am sorry to hear, a stroke. Shand, too, mentions that the Longford family are very hard up. As you know, I never was intimate with any of them, but I have heard nice things always of the daughters.

My youngest girl is better I am glad to say. I have nice letters about her from Professor Gulland, who, at my request, was called in for consultation.

I am glad you like the Jersey potatoes. You talk of "generosity"! Has it ever occurred to you what heavy calls were made on your purse by presents of books made by you to me, and by postage on books loaned? And what, think you, would have happened to my present book, and to its writer, had it not been for the generous hospitality of my old chief?

Believe me, these things are not forgotten.

When Jersey tomatoes are ripe, I will send you a sample to taste.

It is getting hot and I shall be glad to get away from the sea to higher & cooler ground at St. Peter's. Besides, the hotel is becoming crowded and noisy.

I am reading [Leopold von] Ranke's 'History of the Popes' and like it very much. Until I read 'Erasmus' (yr nephew's book) I never realized the close connection between the Schoolmen the Renaissance & the Reformation. When I've finished Ranke I shall ask you to give me the name of the best book to get from the London Library on the Italian & Southern European Renaissance.

Shand asks me to write for Thompson 'confessions' regarding poetry. The request is vague. He tells me you have 'confessed'. I am too much of a Philistine, I fear, to do much in the line suggested.

Believe me

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Yours always Sincerely
J.H. Gubbins

16. (stamped p.20)
c/o Mrs. Heulin
Roseleigh
St. Peter's
Jersey
June 5th, [19]22
My dear Sir Ernest

I am returning under separate cover with many thanks the French review you kindly lent me, and hope it will reach you in good condition. In reading the first article I was struck by the "English phraseology" used by the writer, - a point we once discussed in connection with a French book you lent me. Such "expressions" as eut vent de (got wind of) sound curious. [Rabindranath] Tagore's article on Japan is much what one might expect from an Indian poet whose knowledge of Japan is not profound. For us Western people, it is, nevertheless, good sometimes to see ourselves as others see us.

I am struggling with proofs of Index, and have received plaintive letters from Service in regard to its length.

The "simple life" I am leading with an infirm but very kindly landlady would surprise my friends. I hope to stay here for some weeks, but as soon as my index is done I may have to run up to Edinburgh to see my youngest daughter, whose sudden illness causes me much anxiety. My great trouble is that I cannot have her here because the doctors insist on perfect quiet for my eldest girl, who returns shortly from a visit to the Shands.

I was glad to see my friend Crowe's¹⁰ name in the Honours List. He is going up the ladder fast.

Believe me in haste
Yours always Sincerely
J.H. Gubbins

17. (stamped p.21)
c/o Mrs. Heulin
Roseleigh
St. Peter's

¹⁰ Presumably Sir Eyre Crowe (1864-1925).

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Jersey

June 12, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Your position in Ottery and your acquaintance with various agricultural matters tempt me to ask you if you know any good method of dealing with “wireworm”. Talking to a farmer neighbour of mine to-day, I gathered from him that he was much troubled by the ravages of this pest in one of his fields where ‘roots’ have been sown. He was unable to eradicate it and knew of no effectual remedy. I shall be grateful for any information you may be able to give me.

To-day’s post brought me a letter from my son in Dublin. He gives a very grave account of the state of things in Ireland. The situation seems to be very critical, and those who have relatives there cannot help being anxious.

Hoping you are getting on well with the 2nd Volume of Diplomacy proofs.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

18. (stamped p.22)

c/o Mrs. Heulin

Roseleigh

St. Peter’s

Jersey

June 23rd, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your prompt reply to my enquiry about wire-worm. My farmer-neighbour is most grateful for the information you have given him, and will plough in gas-lime this next autumn in the proportion you mention. The farmers here are of the peasant type. They are becoming more English every year. Their wives are more polished in manners than they are, but as a rule understand & speak less English.

I congratulate you on the speed with which you are getting through your proofs.

Service writes that the book has gone to the printer. I hope your copy will reach you before many weeks have passed, and that the index will meet with your approval.

The murder of Field Marshall Wilson will I fear lead to more trouble in Ulster.

I wonder if Shand & Prince Shimadzu paid you their promised visit.¹¹ The Prince’s

¹¹ The Prince & Princess Shimazu visited Satow with A. Shand and his daughter Ida on June 19, 1922 (diary entry).

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

younger brothers were in Miss Howard's hands for a time. From her we heard something of the way in which young feudal princes were brought up. Her task was not an easy one.

A friend has sent me "Kimono".¹² It is not a nice book. It is no credit to modern English taste that it has been so widely read.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I have read "Tom Jones" again. Parts of it are very clever. I've also read again Stern's 'Sentimental Journey' which I did not like.

I am getting, if I can, from the London Library Prosper Merimée's "Jacquerie".
J.H.G.

19. (stamped p.24)

Roseleigh* *This is sufficient address now that I am known here.

St. Peter's

Jersey

July 19, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

The enclosed cutting from a daily paper seems to me the most sensible statement of the reparations question that I have seen, though as few papers come my way, I must confess to much ignorance on the subject. I ought, perhaps, to mention that the paper from which it was taken is the "Morning Post." Please do not trouble to return it.

I am leaving tomorrow by the steamer wh. takes this letter for London. There my address for a few days will be Garlands Hotel.

My rooms here I am keeping for the present, as a pied à terre. Somewhere is necessary, and my plans for the future depend somewhat on the outcome of my talk with the Edinburgh doctor who has been attending my youngest daughter. I am looking for a suitable family in which she could stay as a paying guest & continue her secretarial training in a very quiet way, as the doctors agree that she is not suited for hostel life. But to find what I want will not be easy. Should you with your wide acquaintance happen to hear of any one who would be willing to take a paying guest, and at the same time to assume some responsibility for supervision in regard to attendance at classes & keeping regular hours, I feel sure you will bear me in mind.

¹² John Paris, *Kimono*, W. Collins & Co., 1922.

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When my plans for my three girls are settled and in satisfactory working I may be able to go abroad for some time. My thoughts are turning, as usual, to Spain, and I might begin by visiting Majorca.

I congratulate you on the rapid progress you have made with the second edition of "Diplomacy", and especially on having secured the assistance of Gaselee in the Index. This will be a great help to you.

For your sake I am very sorry that you have lost the Johnstones. A congenial doctor is a great asset.

I noticed in the papers an account of the plucky rescue of a kitten from a well by the son of a police constable in Ottery. He must be a nice boy.

Shand writes to me you are taking prodigious walks again. I am delighted to hear it and only hope you are not doing too much. You would enjoy the walks here, for this is a country of lanes, but you would find the roads trying and long for your Devon meadows.

Please remember me to your brother if he is with you, & with best wishes.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. My permanent address 'c/o Coutts & Co, 440 Strand, London W.C.2' will be the safest place after next week. J.H.G.

20. (stamped p.26)

Permanent address: c/o Coutts & Co 440 Strand WC2

Roseleigh

St. Peter's

Jersey

Sept. 26, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

This is only a line to say that my book, published yesterday, is on its way to you, and to repeat my very sincere thanks for the kindness and hospitality I enjoyed at Ottery, which so greatly assisted its production.

I leave Jersey on the 2nd Oct. My new address – for some weeks at least – will be

c/o Mrs. Moody

Holt Street

Nonington

Nr. Dover.

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There I shall be near my brother who has lived at Nonington for some years.

Shand in a recent letter said you feared from my silence I might be ill. The fact is that I have been rather overwhelmed with family business, settling one of my girls in Edinburgh & another in London. Correspondence with friends has thus been quite impossible.

I see from the papers that G.W. Prothero has joined the majority. I noticed also the death of Saunders whom I met some years ago in Sussex. He will be a loss in journalistic circles.

If you have read “The Pomp of Power” you will have been struck by the intimate knowledge of French politics the writer seems to have. It looks as if a French hand had taken part in the making of it.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

21. (stamped p.27)

Roseleigh

St. Peter's

Jersey

Sept. 28, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for your letter of yesterday wh. has crossed with mine to you of the day before.

I am glad to hear the book has reached you. The Japanese will probably not like it, & the F.O. will be sorry it received your imprimatur. But if it regarded by good judges as useful in its way – a very small way – I shall be well content.

What you tell me of your reading amazes me as usual. Mine has been limited to “Sully's Memoirs” and Ranke's “Lives of the Popes”. The latter I have not finished.

In Kent I shall be nearer the London Library. There too my feet will have grass to walk on in place of the rugged granite roads of Jersey, which make much walking a penance.

Did I tell you in my last letter of meeting Beau Hannen, grown out of all knowledge, seeing him act in “The Road to Dover”, and afterwards chatting with him by invitation in his dressing room at the Haymarket? A friend writes me he is well spoken of by his brother actors.

I hear that Shand, who has not been very well lately, is still anxious to leave

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Chudleigh because of its dampness. Writing to-day to his daughter Ida I am reminding her that most parts of the British Isles are damp, and that rheumatism is also due to other causes. I don't suppose they will move elsewhere during the winter at any rate. His doctor recommends Sidmouth. It would be nice for you if they could find a house there to suit them.

Yes, things look bad in Europe and also further afield. One can only hope there will be no war with the Turks, though personally I should prefer them to be out of Europe.

With best wishes,

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

22. (stamped p.29)

c/o Mrs. Moody

Holt Street

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Oct. 4, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Your much too flattering appreciation of my book has given me great pleasure, and encourages the hope that it may meet with friendly criticism in other quarters.

I am sorry for the mistakes you have noticed. The date "1870" on p.148 I have corrected. It should, as you point out, be 1873. Your correction on p.66 I am unable to verify at the moment, being without books of reference. You are sure, I think, to be right, though I have a hazy idea that it was in the autumn of 1864 that the For[eign]: R.R. [Representatives] demanded the recognition of the treaties by the Mikado, and that this recognition was not given till the following spring. With regard to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, I have adopted the loose, as you point out, incorrect phraseology of other writers. It would have been better to have used the term 'Agreement' throughout.

Sir Claude [MacDonald] was not yet Ambassador when the Alliance was concluded. He was made Special Ambassador for the Garter Mission, and the appointment was confirmed later.

My M.S. was, as you suppose, completed before the conclusion at Washington of the Four Powers Treaty of Feb. 6. What you tell me regarding the Alliance having come to an end as a consequence of the Washington Treaty is interesting. I was under the impression that Japan had maintained that the Alliance would remain in force until a

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year after its denunciation by one of the two contracting parties; and that our Law Officers had upheld the Japanese contention.

I am so glad you think I have been just to the Japanese. I have really tried to write with fairness, & impartially, but try as one may one does not often succeed.

Knowing the meticulous care you give to your own proof-correcting, it is a surprise to learn that Gaselee was able to find any misprints in your book.

Will you please note two slips which a friend has found in the Index:-

p.307 The two entries beginning respectively with the words “Brinkley” & “British Legation” should come after “Boxer Rising”.

Yes, I fear Shand is far from well. They are trying to let their house for 6 months in November. Whether they will go to Italy or the South of France seems uncertain.

Will you kindly tell me on a p.c. the date of the short notice of my book you saw in the Lity. Suppt. I have only seen the publishers’ notice I spoke of in a recent letter. The “Scotsman” had a nice review the other day. Some friend of mine must have written it. Chirol, if he cared to do so, might review the book for the “Times”.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

23. (stamped p.31)

“Ans. 22/10”

c/o Mrs. Moody

Holt Street

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Oct. 13, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your p.c. of 6th and your corrections. I must try to get the Senate Document you mention. When I am next in London I shall muster up courage perhaps to call on Gaselee. To me the F.O. atmosphere is so depressing that I shrink from entering its portals.

Please note two errata:

p.241 – 10th line from top. for I. Ho. C’uan read I. Ho. Ch’uan.

p.279 – middle of page. for Antun read Antung.

I’ve been following Shand’s evil example and parted with several teeth. Now I am lying low, like ‘Brer Rabbit’ – waiting for a new plate.

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The political situation makes one wish to be in London within reach of evening papers. In Jersey I thought I had lost all interest in domestic politics, but coming nearer London one falls into the same old groove.

I hope you are keeping well & climbing East Hill regularly! My feet & shoes are rapidly recovering from the indelicate attentions of Jersey roads.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

24. (stamped p.32)

Holt Street

Nonington

Oct. 27, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Yes, home & foreign politics are both interesting just now. We have been living in stirring times for some years, and it looks as if this condition of things will continue, in spite of the desire for tranquillity expressed by Liberal & Conservative leaders with so much uncton.

You are probably right in your estimate of Lord Salisbury.¹³ His portraits which are given in the papers do not suggest a high order of intelligence, but appearances may in his case be deceptive as newspaper likenesses can be misleading. When photography first came in one remembers how people rejoiced in the idea that they would be able to get faithful pictures of their friends. They now know that the camera can make worse errors than a second-rate artist.

As to Lloyd George too, you are doubtless right in condemning him for ignoring trained diplomacy, for after all, in matters calling for expert knowledge it seems natural to rely on experts. Perhaps in poaching on the preserves of others wiser than himself he may have had in mind the late Lord Salisbury's¹⁴ description of English policy as being "to float lazily downstream, occasionally putting out a diplomatic boat-hook to avoid collisions"; and encouraged by what one of his late colleagues called "his abysmal ignorance of history", and the torrential energy which showed itself in munitions, he may have decided to be his own pilot in unbuoyed waters. The nation owes him much gratitude for insisting in unity of command, in spite of the opposition of his official military advisers. To my mind this, which spelt victory for the allies, is the greatest

¹³ This refers to James Gascoyne-Cecil, 4th Marquess of Salisbury (1861-1947).

¹⁴ This is Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903).

thing he did. When other things are forgotten this will not be. The British people in after years will think of him as the man who won the war, and will with its characteristic good-nature forgive him his many shortcomings – even his blundering incursions into a diplomacy he did not understand.

With all my admiration for Lloyd George I am inclined to share your relief that, for the moment at least, he “no longer governs or misgoverns our foreign policy”. Not that the special form of your indictment is one which I would select in preference to all others. For the fact, (if in this respect the press is correct), that we are not at present beloved on the continent other ministers must bear their share of blame, if blame there be. Surely if our Near-Eastern policy was wrong, and we backed the wrong horse, the Foreign Secretary & Lord Balfour cannot escape all responsibility. If the former disapproved at any time – and the times were grave – of the policy adopted, resignation was always open to him. I don’t think it is fair to put the blame for everything that went wrong on Lloyd George. I am glad, however, for many reasons that the coalition-ministry in its recent form has come to an end. It was an assortment of strange bed-fellows associated to meet an emergency of a very special kind, but with very little in common. The leader of this ill-assorted ministry was a stormy petrel, a dynamic force, as the late Minister of the Board of Trade described him, - and we want neither one nor the other at present. The political atmosphere needs clearing. The elections will clear it. We shall know then where we are; whether a strong Conservative ministry is possible, or whether some sort of coalition is still necessary; what the future of the “Wee Frees”¹⁵ is to be; and what will be the strength of the Labour Party in the next parliament. And – which is of some importance – we shall understand more clearly the programme of the very mixed elements masquerading under the banner of Labour, and whether the bogey of Chamberlain’s & Lloyd George’s speeches is really as dangerous as they say.

I am also glad of a change because the late Govt., in spite of its dynamic leader, has been weak in several respects; - weak in its Irish, Russian & Indian policies, & most culpably weak in its truckling to Labour and Communist extremists, notably in its apathy towards Communist Schools. How ministers with any proper sense of duty can justify their action in permitting such schools to exist it is not easy to conceive.

Are you not pleased at the announcement of the new management of the “Times”? It is a relief to feel that there is now little risk of being forced to discontinue taking that paper.

You sometimes read novels. Have you read “Greed? It is better than its title might

¹⁵ The “Wee Frees” were two Scottish Presbyterian churches after the union of 1900: The Free Kirk and the United Free Kirk.

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lead you to think. I've finished my two pièces de résistance – Ranke's 'History of the Popes', and Sully's "Memoirs". I read them alternately as the London Library sometimes failed me, and enjoyed them more than I can say. The period of Sully's Memoirs is referred to by Ranke quite fully, and a new light is thus thrown on the subject.

From Shand & other Asquith-Liberals I have learnt how strong was the dislike of the "Wee Frees" to Lloyd George. But till I read the latter's Leeds speech I never knew how mutual the dislike was. His denunciation in it of Lord Crewe shows bitter feeling. Lord Grey in his temperate speech was also unable to conceal a note of personal dislike. In speaking of the distrust of Lloyd George's policy felt by foreign governments he only said, however, what the man in the street has often thought of the same Minister's policy at home.

Forgive, please, a very dull letter – mostly about one person. My excuse must be that he bulks still larger in the public eye at this moment of his fall than perhaps ever before, and that he may possibly rise again sooner & more suddenly than his enemies will like.

I will end on a more cheerful note, - the guests you are expecting next week. I shall envy you your talks with both, for I confess to being rather lonely in this corner of Kent – the more so as I've been for some time in the dentist's hands, and am debarred from all intercourse at meals with friendly neighbours. Please remember me to your guests, Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Did you notice the 11 I's in the 18 lines of Churchill's farewell to the Colonial Office?

25. (stamped p.34)

Holt Street

Nonington

Nov. 6, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

I am sorry you should have troubled to return the "Saturday Review". You evidently did not notice the words written at the top of the first page in pencil "Not wanted back. J.H.G."

The paper was sent to you not for its cartoon, but for the two articles specially marked. Knowing your liking for good poetry, and your wish for the revival of better feeling on the Continent, I thought – wrongly as it now appears – that they might interest you.

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My post-card was an afterthought. So also was my reference to the cartoon and to one of your guests, who was not mentioned by name. The paper was made up to go to you with a brief note on it in pencil of the articles to which I wished to draw your attention. Before posting it it occurred to me that it might be more civil to send a post-card. The words previously written were then rubbed out, and those above-quoted were substituted.

Should you think that I do not share your views as to the vulgarity of cartoons in general and of the one of Lloyd George in particular, you would be mistaken. But our English cartoons of all kinds compare very favourably in point of good taste with those in Continental or American journals, as you yourself would be the first to admit; and your criticism “inexpressibly vulgar” seems to me to be in any case unduly hard, and, when written as it was on a post-card to the friend who sent the paper, lacking in the courtesy we all have the right to expect, whether from friends or strangers.

As a matter of fact I did not pay much attention to the cartoon till the second time of making up the paper for the post. Then I thought of tearing it out, - but refrained because I dislike sending mutilated papers to any one.

In case you should – not that I think you would – entertain the idea that this explanation is also an after-thought, I may mention what happened some weeks ago. A friend gave me a copy of the same paper. It contained a French article on – if I remember correctly – literature, which I liked so much that I made it up for posting to you. Before posting it I recollected that it had a cartoon of two popular writers which had struck me as being more than usually vulgar. So, instead of that number finding its way to you it was consigned to the waste-paper basket. The Lloyd George number would probably have shared the same fate had I not amplified my post-card with remarks on the Caliphate.

Do not, please, think that this explanation is prompted by any feeling that excuse is necessary for shortcomings on my part. I see no reason whatever for me to make excuses either in regard to the paper which went to you or the post-card. Your reply does not appear to me to be quite in the same light. From Royalty itself I would not receive a communication of this sort without protest.

Please pardon my troubling you at such length about what you may regard as a mere trifle. But between friends it is well to speak out when one feels hurt. Otherwise the sore is apt to rankle. I should not like this to be the case in my relations with an old chief to whom I shall always be grateful for the hospitality which so greatly facilitated the completion of my last book, and for his kind intervention with Lord Curzon which disarmed the Foreign Office censors.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

26. (stamped p.36)

Nonington

Nov. 9, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Of course I shall do what you say. It was nice of you to ask it.

If so trivial a thing has ever recurred to you, you may remember the answer of a friend to whom another once wrote suggesting, when there seemed to be a prospect of his becoming a colleague, a change in the form of correspondence. For him, he said, the principle of semel amicus semper amicus applied also to chiefs. That feeling is still retained.

The 'L.S.' [Literary Supplement] review was far too flattering. If all reviews were like this, there would be a sensible increase of vanity in the world. The writer, whose identity internal evidence reveals, does not know what you may have guessed – the struggles of the author to keep himself out of the picture, to cut out purple patches in the effort to write impartially. For this there were a multitude of reasons, some of which you know. Hence the absence of colour of which complaint is made.

Believe me with kindest regards

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

27. (stamped p.37)

Holt Street

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Kent

Nov. 28, 22

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your kind thought in sending the enclosure to your letter. I will tell you later of any correspondence – very small – with France.

For the moment I am unusually affairé, packing to go to town tomorrow for interviews with Paymaster General, lawyers, tailors etc., too long postponed on account of disagreeable consequences of tooth extraction wh. have placed me in doctor's as well

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as dentist's hands.

I am very glad to hear a good account of Dr. Johnston who was most kind to me during my long stay at Beaumont. Please remember me to both. From Shand I have heard quite recently. They go to Pau [in the French Pyrenees], & have let their house which will please all their friends tho' their absence will be felt in Devon.

Believe me in gt. haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

My doctor tells me to go very slow. In London I shall be in a cheap hotel close to my gunner boy.

The doctor bans buses & insists on taxis or walking.

28. (stamped p.38)

c/o Mrs. Chapman

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Dover

Kent

29 Dec., 22

My dear Sir Ernest

This is only a line to wish you all possible good things in the new year 1923.

I have spent Xmas with my brother whose house was full of in-laws whom I found agreeable company; but old men from the Far East are not attractive to stay at home English folk unless they happen to be persons of distinction.

Today I moved into my new quarters. This is a doll's house but the dimensions are not quite so liliputian as my former lodgings. So far as I can judge at present I shall be quite comfortable, and when I have round me the few books left in Jersey, and one or two things wh. are all the company I now need, I shall be in no danger of breaking the 10th Commandment.

East Kent is cold and has not the special charm of Devon, but the climate – or perhaps I should say the samples of weather wh. do duty for it – is on the whole preferable to wind-swept Jersey.

My dentist's last attentions have been most satisfactory and I can eat – & what is more to the purpose – smoke – without discomfort.

The Shands seem to like Pau. So it is to be hoped that he will be content to pass the winter there.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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I have had 2 letters from Troup enquiring about Buddhist matters, telling me he was reading your last book, & wanting, when he had finished it, to read mine. So I have sent him my own copy. Tho' never intimate with him, I have always liked & respected him. He has throughout his career tried invariably to do his duty and spell it with a big D; and that after all is the great thing in life.

In the Near East question our position and that of others seems to be that of the 'Waiters on Providence' of whom Scott speaks. I hope peace may be preserved. Otherwise my gunner son now under orders for India may have to fight again nearer home.

Packing & unpacking do not encourage letter writing. Please therefore excuse a short letter.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I saw a very nice notice recently in the 'Times' praising the splendid work done on Erasmus by your Oxford nephew [Percy Allen] & his wife [Helen]. I thought the article charmingly written.

At present I am reading 'La Vie Littéraire' by Anatole France. He says some wise things. J.H.G.

29. (stamped p.40)

"Ans. 15/1"

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Jan. 3, 22 [1923]

My dear Sir Ernest

I wish I could give you the information you ask for in regard to Proust's works, but here I am alas! far from all libraries, and lists of French books rarely come my way. Nor have I read any of the writings of the author you mention. I only know him by name.

Please remember me kindly to your brother [Sam], of whose indisposition I am very sorry to hear. You & he will both miss your walks together. This is the country of the 'man of Kent' and there are many nice walks. If we have not quite as steep gradients as in Ottery to trouble us, we buy this advantage at a sensible price, - the absence of your extensive views, and our muddier roads.

Yes, I suppose war with Turkey would mean Anglo-French complications. The aftermath of allied fighting promises to be like that of coalition government. Despite all

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the recent talk of increasing internationalism French paths & our own appear to become increasingly divergent.

You are indeed an omnivorous reader. If only I could read books with my youthful facility I should not stray further afield.

I hope Shand will not return till May. In another 18 months, please the pigs, when the training of my younger girls is finished, I shall hope to “see the palms & temples of the South” – but not before.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

30. (stamped p.41)

“Ans. 6 Feb.”

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Jan. 17, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

Chamberlain’s full account of Marcel Proust’s book “Du Côté de Chez Swann,” and the long review in the “Times Literary Suppt.” should help you to await with your customary patience the reprint which Hatchard announces. I envy you the zeal you bring to the perusal of French novels. There must be something defective in a literary taste that eschews even the best of these, which is my sad case. I was urged the other day by a friend to read “La Rotisserie de la Reine Pédauque”. Unwillingly I consented, - only to be much disappointed. Yet I can read Anatole France’s Critical Essays with great pleasure. I like the more serious works of French writers better than their novels. Your liking for Dumas, the elder, I fully share, and Alphonse Daudet’s books appeal to me and some of Victor Hugo’s. As regards novel reading, I confess to being not only Philistinish in my taste but also narrow-mindedly English. I prefer a simple love-story – such as the French have no use for – to anything else; and if it doesn’t end happily I won’t read it! So you see that I am past redemption.

I wonder how Basil Chamberlain is getting on with his contemplated task of studying all French literature. He told me of his plan when I first went to Oxford. In my reply I remember suggesting that his audacity resembled Bacon’s claim to take all knowledge for his province. I wish Chamberlain would not follow in Lord Acton’s footsteps, and keep to himself the wealth of information he has acquired. What interesting papers & books he might have written. All his learning will now die with him. It is the greater

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pity because he can write so well.

If you can walk up East Hill at the rate you mention, you must indeed have renewed your youth. My brother & I sometimes take a longish walk. This does not often happen, however. He has longer legs and complains of my walking too slowly. But I usually go for longer walks than he cares to take.

Do you recollect having a touch of lumbago which stopped your walks for a day or two in the autumn of '21? Some days ago I was troubled in a similar way, but I have walked it off. It bothered me mostly when I was in a sitting position.

I am glad to hear that your brother is better. At our age we must expect to have pains in legs, and unfortunately they are not growing pains.

To try & read all that you manage to get through would demand more energy & strength than I now possess. I am noting all the books you mention, but I fear I shall never read them. I am looking in a lazy way for some subject to study and then write about in essay or story form. So far I have found nothing wh. promises to be the kind of material desired. I must I fear content myself with

“Dropping buckets into empty wells – and growing old in drawing nothing up.”¹⁶

I am far from all books except those the London Library sends me. Having no atlas I cannot find out where Beaulieu is. It must be on the Riviera I think, for the Shands talked vaguely of going to Mentone before they returned home. I hope Shand will “stay put” – as the Scotch say – somewhere in the South where palms & temples are to be seen, and not come home too soon.

Goodbye for the present. I share your misgivings regarding the state of things in Germany & France. The ‘Times’ talks of ruin as imminent in both countries. This would be terrible. Can nothing save Europe?

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I have asked the Library for Renan’s ‘Histoire d’Israël’.

31. (stamped p.43)

“Ans. 18/2”

Yew Tree House

Nonington

¹⁶ A line from William Cowper’s poem *Task*, Book III.

Feb. 14, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

Your activity of the literary kind is every whit as indefatigable – as you call it – as Chiról's. His life's work has been and is bound up with the various questions now pressing themselves on the attention of the world in general and publicists in particular. Of these he has made a special study. Had you been a publicist you would now be doing what he is. The topsy-turvydom of politics everywhere to-day provides him with endless material, and almost forces him to write. The trouble with most publicists is the fatal fluency of their pens, and the fact that they are so frequently called upon to write at a moment's notice and against time. This leads to concentration on one part only of the picture; they cannot see the wood for the trees; and their work consequently lacks the more leisurely thought of the historian.

Clarke Thornhill¹⁷ has taken the trouble to read my book with microscopic care & has found several faults & slips. May I note these for your information, in case you like to indent the necessary marks in the margins of pages?

pp. 42 & 69. In the first case Meiji has an acute accent over the "e". In the second there is none. I have, as you know, in transliterating Japanese words always written "e" with an accent. He raises the point that Meiji should be written without accent, as the accent alters the pronunciation, - mei being, he says, a diphthong! What do you think? I see what puzzles him, but I think the accent should remain.

p. 89 line 19 - For "another" read "the other".

p. 167 " 14 " "had" read "has".

p. 209 " 9 from bottom. For "it" read "they" to make grammar. But the whole sentence needs rewriting.

p. 237 " 11 Omit "French".

p. 271 lines 1 & 2. The sentence is clumsy & needs rewriting.

p. 278 line 4 For "force" substitute "military strength".

Thornhill also asks why we write Peking – but Tonkin. I have told him the former is the Manchu pronunciation of the Chinese capital, & Tonkin presumably the Annamese pronunciation of their country's name. But this suggested explanation does not cover the whole ground. We of course formerly wrote Pekin as the French still do. He thinks

¹⁷ Thomas Bryan Clarke-Thornhill (1857-1934). British diplomat and collector, at Tokyo legation in the 1880s and as Second Secretary, 1887-91. See V & A website <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/thomas-bryan-clarke-thornhill-1857-1934/> accessed 8 March 2019.

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de Huc is the author of Pekin. Possibly we owe this transliteration to the Jesuit mission in China. Not having any reference books of any kind here I cannot be sure of the characters for Tonkin. Thornhill thinks we should write Tongking if we wish to be consistent. It seems natural, however, with the French in possession to write the name as they do.

The Shands talk of coming home at the end of the month. They met some of my in-laws at Beaulieu.

Yes, the French do seem to be going ahead in Germany. Nobody can say where they will stop, for apparently they don't know themselves. They and we and all the world just now are "Waiters upon Providence". As for Turkey, or rather the men in charge of Turkish affairs, they seem to have lost their heads, like the Egyptians. And China's state is getting worse every day. It looks as if Western Powers & Japan must intervene sooner or later. And when that day comes can they do so without quarrelling? Have you read [Frederic Abernethy] Coleman's "The Far East Unveiled" or [George Frederick] Abbott's "Greece & the Allies"? But I need hardly ask. The portentous list of literature you are now studying cannot admit of any extension.

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

32. (stamped p.45)

Nonington

Feb. 20, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for answering my queries. Being without any books of reference is disastrous. It makes one distrust the little knowledge one possesses or once had. I must have seen Tonkin written 東京 dozens of times in the Japanese press, but for the life of me I could not feel absolutely certain about the characters.

Meiji raises an awkward point for me. To you mei evidently suggests something very similar to the impression derived by Clarke-Thornhill; though what he calls a diphthong you prefer to speak of as "sounding like a single vowel". I prefer the absence of accent myself in the case of mei, but it looks inconsistent and arbitrary to use it in one place and not in another. If the book ever reaches a second edition – wh. is very doubtful – the accent will come out. Meanwhile, for my own curiosity I shall ask one or two people here how they would, of their own volition & unprompted by experts, pronounce

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mei. Then I will tell them the e is continental, and see what happens then!

I forgot in my last to say how pleased I was to hear of the flattering notice of the 2nd edition of your book on Diplomacy.

Troup threatens me with many pages of notes & queries! What have I done to deserve this?

My gunner son [Colin] goes to India with his wife & little son next week. I shall miss him. He is spending this week end with me, for my doll's house has, wonderful to relate, a spare room.

Don't you rather envy Egyptologists just now? It must feel nice to have a direct, personal, and cultivated, not to say learned, interest in Carter's wonderful discoveries.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I can quite believe your garden is looking beautiful. In the gardens here hepatica is blooming profusely, and in the hedges one sees blackthorn in flower – and this, mind you, in a South Eastern county, and in what is known as its cold corner.

33. (stamped p.47)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Kent

March 9, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

The heading of the article on Japan in to-day's "Times" reminds me of the title I once suggested for your book [A Diplomat in Japan] when you wrote to me in 1920. I don't know the writer, but the tone is friendly. Perhaps, now that Lord Northcliffe has given place to Lord Astor, the "Times" will again assume its former rôle regarding the Far East. You will notice the reference to Brinkley.

Troup has sent me several pages of criticisms which I am slowly answering. There is nothing of very great importance. Many of his queries are suggested by what friendly critics call the "austerity" of my narrative, meaning thereby its bald dryness! A point on which he enlarges at great length is the Buddhist worship mentioned in the Chapters on religion. What exactly constitutes worship is of course a very difficult matter, leading itself to manifold interpretation. The presentation of offerings at shrines is one form of worship. I quite understand Troup's objection to the word, but to my mind his objection

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seems to be rather hyper-critical. What other word could one use in a book wh. deals with a mere fringe of the subject, and is not a theological treatise?

Kentish roads are not as hard as those in Jersey. Still old feet do suffer. I have been introduced to a local salve made of simples [herbs] gathered in hedgerows which heals all skin abrasions & other troubles in a magical way. The recipe is in the hands of an old lady in an almshouse, who makes the ointment herself. So I can't send the prescription, but I could send a very small quantity of the stuff should you care to look at it.

What is your news of the Shands? They talked of returning to Chudleigh by the end of last month. The tenants had not turned out to be very satisfactory. A sister-in-law of mine, who is an old friend of the family, met the Shand party at Mentone. Writing to me from Yorkshire she said "Mr. Shand was looking much better, Winnie very well, but Ida not so well as her sister." The sister-in-law in question is the wife of a Yorkshire manufacturer and ex-M.P. He takes a rather optimistic view of trade in the future, but a pessimistic view of politics. Manufacturers dislike Labour Leaders more than we do, and I fancy the King & Queen's meeting three of them at dinner was not at all to their taste. For my part I am delighted to see Royalty recognizing the progress of the times, and accepting the fact that many things dear by tradition in this England of ours are dying slowly like a tree from the top.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

34. (stamped p.49)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Dover

Kent

Mch. 13, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

No, I did not see the notice you mention. I have found it in the "Times" of the 6th. Chamberlain will feel the loss keenly, for this was I believe his favourite brother.¹⁸ I saw him once only in Novr. 1880 at Liverpool. He came to meet the White Star "Britannic" which brought Chamberlain & myself from New York.

¹⁸ Henry Chamberlain (1853-1923) was a Lt. Commander in the Royal Navy. Satow knew him, having asked him to deliver a lecture on Patriotism to the Primrose League, which he did at Sidmouth on April 21, 1909.

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You will have some interesting talks with your friend Chirol. Things, however, are moving too fast in Europe, & indeed all the world over, to make conversations with friends as stimulating as they used to be, so it seems to me. But perhaps I'm wrong. Anyway this is no time for doctrinaire notions. If anyone holds them to-day, when the wisest statesman knows not what the morrow may bring forth, he should bear in mind the lines:

“Then old age & experience hand in hand
Lead him to Death & make him understand
After a search so painful & so long
That all his life he has been in the wrong.”¹⁹

I am in the position of the fox who lost his tail. I don't smoke and now I shall of course advise my friends to give up the evil habit.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

35. (stamped p.50)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Kent

May 23, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

My acknowledgment of the Washington Conference volume is much belated. My first intention was to be able to say something about it when I acknowledged its receipt. Later, during the process of reading, I conceived the idea of trying to write an article on it for one of the Reviews. There are a good many points suggested by the Report you have kindly lent me which seem to be of public interest, though they may very naturally escape the notice of most people. To write so serious a paper is rather a bold undertaking for one who has had painful dental experiences for eight months and is still under dental supervision; but, if I can manage to write anything I consider fit to print, I will, perhaps, send it to you to look at before it is offered to any Editor. Your imprimatur, and that of one or two other friends would encourage my belief in its merits – however small these might be – and my hope in its acceptance. If you think my

¹⁹ John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester (1647-1680) wrote these lines in his *Satire Against Mankind* (1679), II. 25-29.

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proposal – always assuming the paper is written wh. is doubtful – would bore you, please warn in advance.

You may have seen the few lines of my letter to the ‘Times’ (May 21st). Newspapers – least of all the ‘Times’ – don’t like to admit errors in leading articles; but I took my courage in both hands, and the Japanese Embassy will not be displeased.

Personally a good many people will be pleased I think at the change of Prime Ministers, tho’ very sorry for the cause. The “Times” leading article on Sunday foreshadowed very correctly what would happen. We are living in a new world, and new men – & of course younger men – are wanted to lead the way in everything.

Our Chudleigh friends seem to be resigned to making the best of Chudleigh.

I hope I am not keeping the volume you sent me too long.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

36. (stamped p.52)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

June 28, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

I should like very much to see “the issue of Foreign Affairs for June” which has the article you mention.

Constant visits to the dentist in Canterbury and a troublesome correspondence about my girls, one of whom is again in a nursing home, have interfered with my contemplated article on the Washington Conference. I have now practically mastered the contents of the very solid book you kindly lent me, & made numerous notes. But two or three things discourage me & made me think of possibly relinquishing my task. The more one studies the proceedings of the Washington Conference, the less becomes one’s confidence in its production of much real good in international relations; America, it seems to me, has asserted herself triumphantly on most points of interest to her, other nations represented having given way all along the line; in several respects the effects of agreements arrived at are in suspense and appear likely to remain so indefinitely; while the condition of China bids fair to render everything done by the Conference in her regard more or less a farce. Under these circs. it is not easy for an English observer to take an optimistic view of things. So my study of the question will probably bear no

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fruit for the role of a critic finding fault has no attractions for me. Here in this out of the way village one has no facilities for writing, which is an additional reason for not airing what would probably be ignorant views. I don't even know whether the Tariff Commission has done the work assigned to it [Satow's comment: Chirol would be able to tell you.], or what has happened to the Special Conference which was to do so many things.

The U.S. seems to be bent on demonstrating the correctness of the view that republics are more autocratic & aggressive than monarchies. The feelings of the people of a country – as Burke & others have said more than once – count for more than paper agreements.

You must not think that I don't approve of the Washington Conference. I do approve of it heartily for I think some good generally results from all such meetings. At the same time I also think that the U.S. Delegates were inclined to talk too loudly. Their pride will I suppose have a fall some day, though at this moment it is not easy to put one's finger on the quarter from wh. the needed lesson will come.

Have you read Dunning's Great Britain & America [Satow's comment in margin: I have it.] written to commemorate the centenary of the Treaty of Ghent? It is quite nice. Since working my way through many vols. of Anatole France & Renan I've read Temperley's & Stapleton's books on Canning, & am now reading [Karl Friedrich] Vitzthum's "St. Petersburg & London".

Hoping this will find you well.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. The post has just brought me better news of my daughter, & I am hoping she will join me here from Edinburgh next week. J.H.G.

37. (stamped p.54)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

July 2, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the June number of "Foreign Affairs". I have read the article you mentioned & found it interesting. The writer will find many to agree with him that "the détente brought about by the Conference" is something to be thankful for. With your

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permission I will keep the Review a little longer.

My mouth was X-rayed to-day and the source of all troubles discovered. So I hope soon to be out of the wood.

Hoping you are enjoying this delightful weather and that your garden is flourishing.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

38. (stamped p.55)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Aug. 9, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

Will you, if it is quite convenient to you, let me keep the June number of Foreign Affairs a week or two longer. Many things have conspired to prevent the writing of the article I have had in my mind. Not the least of these have been the visits of two of my girls. I don't know yet if I shall be able to write anything at all of the kind which has suggested itself, - & which remains so far in the dimmest outline. If you are in a hurry to get your copy of Foreign Affairs bound, please do not hesitate to say so. I will then post it to you at once.

I always envy you your industry in reading, and wish I could imitate it. My reading of late has been of a rather light kind – chiefly Travels. But I am now re-reading the “Provinciales” and have come to the conclusion that Pascal would not have had the same fame had he been English as he gained in France. But then perhaps he would have written differently.

My youngest girl, who came to me to recruit after quinsy [an inflammation of the throat], returned to her studies in Edinburgh ten days ago. Her place was taken by the eldest who has been an invalid for nearly three years. She left me yesterday for Jersey. I am glad to say she is much better and the doctors have good hopes of her resuming work before the end of the year. My second girl now with the Shands on a visit, completed her training in London a month ago, and celebrated the event by promptly becoming engaged to a young man who will pass his final medical exam. in January. His father has a large practice at Tonbridge, not far from here, & eventually he will become a partner.

The French are as you suggest, always troublesome negotiators. They are petty and

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distrustful, yet withal, more honest than the Japanese, Germans or Americans. Personally, from what I have seen of them, I would sooner deal with Spanish diplomatists than with those of any other country. But on this point you can speak with far greater experience, although it is possible that Spaniards in S. America may be less trustworthy than those in Madrid.

The last 15 months I have been “marking time” for family reasons, living here not from choice but for cheapness. If I could find any other place as cheap & comfortable (£2.10 a week) – my landlady is a very nice woman & an excellent cook – I should not stay much longer. I would like to be near a river where I could row, canoe, or fish more senectutis. You know of no such place I feel sure, but the Shands think it is possible that Devonshire might supply the river, & be as cheap as Nonington. I have thoughts of the Tweed – but it is cold up there.

Hoping this will find you very fit – it is too hot for walking to East Hill! – with best wishes,

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

39. (stamped p.57)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Aug. 10, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

I find I am able to return your number of “Foreign Affairs” sooner than I thought when I wrote yesterday. Many thanks for it. The writer seems to have a good knowledge of matters relating to the Far East. But he goes astray in thinking that there is no “organized Liberal movement” in Japan.

It becomes increasingly doubtful if I shall ever finish the article I am anxious to write. I seem to have no energy left after dealing with my own family matters.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

40. (stamped p.58)

Yew Tree House

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Nonington

Nr. Dover

Sept. 3, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

This is shocking news from Japan.²⁰ I have written to Hayashi;²¹ and to [Edward F.] Crowe our Comm[ercia]l. Councillor, now on leave, I have wired. Any news I receive I will send you.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. A niece of mine was staying at *Ninooka* [Ninooka? 二の岡] near [Mount] Fuji when she wrote end of July. J.H.G.

41. (stamped p.60)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Sept. 5, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

I sympathize with you most sincerely in your great anxiety which will, I trust, be relieved before long. Enclosed is a letter from [Commercial Councillor at Tokyo Edward F.] Crowe which gives, however, little news.

The other enclosure from Sir James Marchant – (not wanted any more) – I have answered, saying I am unable, being away from all books to comply with his request. I have ventured to add that

“the Rev. L.B. Cholmondeley of the S.P.G., for several years Chaplain to our Embassy in Tokio, might possibly be able to write the Chapter you desire. He is eminently qualified for the task. His present address I do not know, but a letter addressed to c/o For: Office, or to c/o Sir Ernest Satow, Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary, Devon, would be sure to find him.”

I wrote to Shand when I wrote to you, but have heard nothing. He will, I fear, be quite overwhelmed by the disaster, but I hope he has no very serious financial commitments in Japan, beyond his interest in certain Cotton Spinning mills.

²⁰ The Great Kanto earthquake occurred on September 1, 1923.

²¹ Hayashi Gonsuke (1860-1939). Japanese ambassador in London, 1920-25.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

42. (stamped p.61)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Sept. 24, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

This book goes to you with my best thanks & apologies for keeping it so long. But the task I undertook proved to be more lengthy than I at first thought, and my work has been subject to distractions connected with my three girls who have visited me from time to time.

The article is now being typed, for it is not fair to friends to ask them to read bad M.S. It will be posted to you tomorrow evening or the day after. You, with your enviable power of reading without, apparently, fatigue, would have smiled at the struggles with heavy tomes which have been necessary for me before venturing to write at all. And I fear that with your greater knowledge you will find much to criticize. The article does not pretend to originality; it is designed to put into a brief compass & readable form – in so far as matter so dry can be made in any sense attractive – for the information of the general public a few salient points regarding what was done at Washington.

Will you do me the kindness to pass the article on to our friend Shand, if you do not positively condemn it; and if you can suggest to me any Editorial destruction where, in your opinion, it might possibly be acceptable, I shall be most grateful.

I was glad to hear from Hayashi that his family is safe. I hope your own anxiety has also been relieved.

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

43. (stamped p.62)

Nonington

Sept. 26, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

Your p.c. crossed with my letter. Many thanks for letting me see the Japanese

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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magazine which reached me this morning. I have always regarded your “Guide to Diplomatic Practice” as an invaluable vade mecum for all Diplomats, and this you will recollect, was the opinion of the late Lord Bryce, whose “International Relations” I have just read. It is well worth reading, but you will probably agree with my, perhaps, too critical self in thinking that the chapter on Nations and Nationality is not the strongest part of his book.

You were kind eno’ some years ago to give me an introduction to Atkins of the “Spectator”. Armstrong, the Associate Lit[erary] Editor, has asked me to review at some length a History of Japan, not mentioning to me either author or time limit. As it appears on enquiry that he wants it in a week, and as my absence in Edinburgh for several days from the 3rd or 4th Oct. would not allow me to do justice to the book if it is a good one (and like yourself I shrink from crabbing books I don’t like) I have told him the time-limit is too short.

I will not trouble you with any further remarks on the enclosed. Its many manifest shortcomings you will not fail to perceive, but perhaps you may consider it not altogether useless as a general sketch of what happened at Washington for the information of those who never read blue-books. To me the amazing part of the Proceedings is the lecture (with a big stick almost flourished) delivered to the Japanese delegates at the final plenary session! [Satow writes in margin: ? last but one] Surely nothing quite like this ever was known before. How they stood it passes one’s comprehension. Of this, of course, as of many other things, there is nothing in my article.

As I write, workmen are blowing up tree-roots with dynamite close by, & bits are falling in my little garden! I am reminded of London & Teutonic aeroplanes during the war.

I am very sorry you are still without news from Japan.

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. My niece [Gladys Gubbins - see no. 50 below] in Japan, though safe, was, it appears, in the centre of things, almost – at least in the danger zone – being at Gotemba. To a very delicate woman – simply sight-seeing – it must have been a severe shock.
J.H.G.

44. (stamped p.63)

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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[Post Card]

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Sept. 26, 23 Wednesday Evening

I think the date in the first par. of what went to Beaumont this afternoon shd. be 17th August & not 16th. But I am not sure. I forgot to add a pencil note in the margin to this effect.

J.H.G.

You will I hope have seen the letter which went to you with your books.

45. (stamped p.64)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Sept. 29, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

I am very grateful for your 'imprimatur' and greatly pleased. Your approval is more to me than that of any Editor. I will take your advice & try the "XIXth Century, & after". An asterisk and note at bottom of page giving date will, perhaps, meet the point you mention regarding Jordan's letter to the "Times". It was July 2nd.

"International Relations" has gone back to London Library. So I cannot name the chapter, but as its chief subject is Nations & Nationality you cannot fail to note it. Vitzthum, though treating the matter from quite a different point of view, has (p.p. 259/60) some wise reflections on it; some later writers have stolen his thunder.

I also have been reading one of Cunningham-Graham's books – that on Morocco. For so good a writer he is curiously incorrect in his use of thence & thither. You have doubtless read the book & noticed the ludicrous printer's error in the footnote to p.53, in substituting "like a sheep in the night" for "like ships that pass in the night" – though Graham's careless use of the singular number in quoting Longfellow may have led to the mistake.

May I hope that you corrected my dubious date in passing on the article to Shand? I am still puzzled as to whether the Agreements came into force on the 16th August – as the 'Times' telegram (I think) led one to infer from the fact that the signatures of the Protocols took place then – or on the 17th August as was suggested in a later issue of the same paper. My own carelessness is to blame for the Agreements themselves would settle the point.

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My safest address for the next fortnight (after 2nd Oct.) will be c/o Coutts & Co, 440 Strand, London WC 2.

Believe me with many thanks,

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

46. (stamped p.64)

Nonington

Sept. 29, 23

Since posting my letter I have remembered that I never thanked you for the mag. on International Law & Diplomacy. I have read the article of your book, which is quite nice. The Articles – notably that on the Doctrine of Continuous Voyages – seem interesting, but I must reserve further reading of them till after my return from north. I shall hold the magazine at your disposal in case you wish for its return. J.H.G.

47. (stamped p.66)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Kent

Nov. 28, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your "Peacemaking Old & New".²² I have read it with all the more interest because I have been reading a good deal of history lately, both old & new, including much about the Congress of Vienna, & other conferences & councils; - with the result that I have often said to myself: 'Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!' If at any time you should think of a quotation to put on the fly-leaf of the pamphlet, may I suggest this from Voltaire ("Essai sur les Moeurs" Tome IV, Ed: 1825, p. 291).

"On peut, ce me semble, tirer un grand fruit de l'histoire, en comparant les temps et les évènements."

This is what you have done.

The article on the Washington Conference was not accepted by the 'XIXth Century & After'. It went later to a friend in Yorkshire, who kept it for a month (being busy, it seems, with elections) and now returns it with the discouraging comment that it is "too

²² 'Peacemaking, Old and New', *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 1, no. 1 (1923), pp. 23-60.

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historical & not newsy (sic) enough” for modern editors. So I must just put it in the waste paper basket.

I hope the weather is treating you kindly at Ottery. Here we have no reason to grumble.

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

48. (stamped p.67)

“ans.”

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Kent

Dec. 1, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

I return the Reprint of the Earthquake Letters with many thanks. I had not received a copy from the Guild; they are interesting. All classes of the people seem to have kept their heads wonderfully in the confusion of the catastrophe. I am very glad to hear that you have news of the safety of your own folk[the Takeda family].

I had thought of trying the ‘English Historical Review’, Edited when I was in Oxford by Stanley Lane-Poole, for whom I have done some reviewing. But I came to the conclusion that it would simply mean costing him the postage for its return. I don’t know [Harold W.V.] Temperley. If you would not object to the use of your name as having suggested my doing so, I would gladly send the article to him for ‘The Cambridge Historical Journal.’ His initials are E.V. I think. Does he like the prefix of Dr. or Professor?

I should have much enjoyed a brief visit to Ottery under your hospitable roof. But until I get an upper plate, now being made by a Canterbury dentist – in whose hands, owing largely to his carelessness in not discovering an old stump, I have been for nearly 14 months – I am not in a condition to pay visits. During my three weeks’ visit north I could only eat slops and was therefore much of a nuisance in the boarding-house wh. took me in.

You saw [Joseph Henry] Longford’s letter of course in the ‘Times’ of last Thursday. Protection has been one of the causes of increased prices there, but there have been

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other more powerful causes at work, as you know. When I read his letter my first thought was to answer it. But I decided not to do so. For one thing, he has the ear of the 'Times', which has become pro-Japanese again, as it was in pre-Northcliffe days.

I am expecting one of my girls to spend Xmas with me, but I shall ask her to change her mind unless she is prepared for a very dull time.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

49. (stamped p.68)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Kent

Dec. 6, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for letting me see [Harold] Parlett's²³ interesting letter which I return promptly as you may like others to read it. The murder of Koreans & Socialists does not augur well for the political future of the country. On the other hand the catastrophe seems to have brought into strong light the great courage of the people, a quality which has always impressed those who know the Japanese.

The last few months I have been reading many books; amongst others Pascal's 'Lettres Provinciales' & his 'Pensées'. Until one reads his sister's short account of his life one finds it difficult to understand how the same man could have written two such different books. I've also been looking again at Bismarck's "Recollections and Reminiscences". His opinion of German political tendencies, more especially in regard to the results of the disappearance of dynasties, seems to show how well he read the character of his countrymen.

I have taken advantage of your kind permission, & have said to Temperley that you have read & approved of the Article on the Washington Conference, and have encouraged me to find a place for it in the "Cambridge Historical Journal." Not knowing his proper address I have addressed my letter

H.V.W. [H.W.V.] Temperley Esq. etc. etc.

²³ Harold George Parlett (1869-1945). Japanese Secretary from August 17, 1919. C.M.G. 1921. Knighthood, 1924. Retired 1927. Employed at Foreign Office, 1942-45. [F.O. List, 1946]

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Editor

Cambridge Historical Journal

Cambridge

What excitement there must be everywhere over the Elections! No such issue has been raised since the Corn Law agitation, and the extension of the franchise since then & the increase of education – not to speak of the rise of a Socialist party, unknown practically in those days – add to its importance. As a seasoned Protectionist I trust the country will support Mr. Baldwin.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

50. (stamped p.69)

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Dec. 10, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

You will see by the enclosed very civil letter from Temperley that even your imprimatur has failed to secure his acceptance of my Washington Conference article. To gratify paternal vanity I think I will send it later in to my gunner boy in India. It will do him no harm to get some idea of what the Conference discussed, even though my views do not find favour with Editors.

This Conservative *débacle* was expected in many quarters apparently. I've been too long abroad to be much of a party man, but I am sorry for the sake of Protection, which I believe in, and sorry also for Mr. Baldwin.

You do not, I think, take any great interest in American history. Otherwise I can strongly recommend a book I've just read. It is: "The Founding of the American Republic, Vol. I – The Causes of the War of Independence", by Claude H. van Tyne, Professor of History in the University of Michigan – (Constable, 1922). Two other Vols. are to follow, but I think this one, written with great fairness, will prove to be the most interesting of the three.

It looks now as if we might have a Labour Party before very long. We live in fast-moving times, and the Liberals, having no "slogan" (excuse the American-sounding word), may find it hard to hold their own ag[ain]st Ramsay Macdonald. I wonder if you have noticed what has often struck me, though I am very likely wrong, - that is, the

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enthusiasm of the Labour party both men and women, and, in sharp contrast to it, the lukewarmness, if not apathy, of the two others.

My niece Gladys Gubbins has just returned from Japan. She was near Fuji in the earthquake, and is coming to tea with me soon. If I hear anything of interest from her I will let you know.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Please don't trouble to return Temperley's letter. I don't want it back.

51. (stamped p.70)

Satow writes at the top of the letter: "21 Jan 1924. I got this from London Lib[rar]y & compared it with my copy dated 1867 which I bought in Paris in 1869. They are very similar, except that the Preface de l'edition de 1670 is not in the latter. It is to be found in J.M. Dent's edition[?] in the 'Collection Gallier[?]'. "

Yew Tree House

Nonington

Nr. Dover

Kent

Dec. 15, 23

My dear Sir Ernest

The "Pensées" I am reading came from the London Library. The title-page gives the publishers as 'Lefèvre et Compagnie Rue de l'Eperon, 6'; and the date as 1847.

The Preface says:-

"L'édition des Pensées de Pascal que nous offrons au public n'est ni l'édition critique demandée par M. Cousin dans son Rapport à l'Académie française sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle Edition de cet ouvrage, Paris, 1843, ni la copie entière du manuscrit autographe conservé à la Bibliothèque du roi; c'est le livre publié en 1670 par Arnauld Nicole, le duc de Roannez, etc., et par Bouseut en 1779; le classement des matières et les titres d'articles adoptés par ces premiers éditeurs sont en général conservés; mais le vrai texte, le texte authentique, celui du manuscrit autographe, est partout rétabli; sa restitution a fait disparaître les omissions, les alterations et les suppositions de texte qu'on avait reprochées aux amis de Pascal."

It adds that additions made to the author's text by the inmates (solitaires) of Port Royal in order to make its meaning clearer, or develop the author's thought, have been

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placed within brackets in this edition.

The preface occupies three and a half pages.

Bismarck's "Recollections etc." have gone back to the Library. I did not make a note of the pages where his remarks on the political tendencies of his countrymen appear. There are several in the 2nd Vol. towards the middle; others elsewhere. The notion that when the dynasty disappears the people are apt to go to pieces seems to be in process of confirmation to-day in more than one part of Germany.

Thank you for returning Temperley's letter. But I don't know that I am really grateful. I feel now as if I ought to have a shot at another Editor, and I shrink from another repulse. Shand suggested "The Round Table" but I thought yr idea of the 'XIXth Century' better.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

52. (stamped p.71)

at 24 Blantyre Terrace

Edinburgh

Jan. 16/24

My dear Sir Ernest

This is just a line written in haste to wish you all good things for 1924.

When I returned to Kent in October I thought I had made arrangements for the further secretarial training of my youngest girl in Edinburgh which wd. cause me no further trouble. But in the last days of Decr. I had to come north again. And at present I see no prospect of an immediate return to Kent.

You will be glad to hear I think that my talks with two shrewd Bankers have confirmed the impression that the political outlook is not so dark as some people in the South think. And business men here owing to their nearness to the Glasgow Centre of Socialism shd. have less reason to be optimistic than Londoners.

With best wishes & kindest regards

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

53. (stamped p.72)

Caledonian United Services Club

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Edinburgh

Mch. 6/24

My dear Sir Ernest

You had been in my thoughts for two or three days before your letter of the 2nd reached me, and I was on the point of writing to you more than once. Shand was right in what he said about my intention to stay here till my youngest girl's training is finished. Whether the period, however, is six months, or less or more, is uncertain. For some time past I had known that her secretarial training was not going on satisfactorily, and matters came to a crisis about Xmas. Fortunately this coincided with the end of my dental troubles and I was able to hurry North in the final week of January. All difficulties have for the present been settled, and the training is now proceeding on the right lines. Still some anxiety there must always be until her education is completed, and she is able to secure a good post as Secretary.

Your letter is full of recondite information about books you have read or are reading. I am always amazed at the quantity of hard reading you get through, and the storehouse of facts you are ever busily building. And my admiration is coloured by not a little jealousy. One of the advantages of Edinburgh lies as you say in the wealth of good libraries, and the generosity which opens them to strangers. So far, I have not been able to profit by this generosity, for my hands have been full of work of a less agreeable kind, such as old fathers have to wrestle with when they undertake a daughter's education. Not that I meddle with teaching myself. Far from it. But the supervision of it, wh. is all that a father can do, involves multifarious details which he only can settle. I am, therefore, besieged by "quandrums" – the word I wanted Sir Edwin Arnold to father [i.e. adopt?] for the Oxford Dictionary. May I explain what is meant by a "quandrum"? It is a combination of quandary & conundrum. A conundrum you may be asked, but are never compelled, to solve. A "quandrum" insists on being solved; and you have no peace of mind till this is done.

I have had a message from Shand, but no letter. Writing does not come easily to him now. Ida Shand is still here, and yesterday I wrote a long letter to her father giving him news both of her and of his many Edinburgh friends. I have told him incidentally that I am much nearer to him in my political views than I used to be; that I am glad the Labour Party has an opportunity to show how it can govern, believing as I do that they will be sobered by office & responsibility; and that I have no more use for Die-hard Conservatives than he has, regarding them as more mischievous & indeed dangerous to the country than any Socialists.

The only books I have read here are "Venice in the 18th Century" and a "Short

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History of Italy". Both I liked – especially the latter. You have probably read them.

Goodbye for the present, & with best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

54. (stamped p.74)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Mch. 14/24

My dear Sir Ernest

In a leading article in the "Times" of the 12th reference was made to a certain "Jack Mylton,"²⁴ whose identity must be known – as the writer evidently took for granted – to the average reader. The individual in question is presumably a character in some book or play. Can you throw any light on the point? I confess to an ignorance I feel rather ashamed of, for articles in a daily paper written for the public are usually simple reading.

You have I hope escaped the prevailing epidemic of influenza colds. Until the other day I thought that I had done so. Then I discovered that I was no exception to the general rule. I've had a week of laryngitis which sent me to bed for a day or two.

Shand & his daughter Helen are at Pau. From what Ida Shand tells me they seem to prefer it to the Riviera. I've always wanted to go there & see the view of the Pyrenees from Argèles. You of course have seen it. A friend who has seen both says it reminded him of the view of the Himalayas from Darjeeling.

As I write, men round us are discussing the defeat of the Govt. in the H. of Lords over the vexed question of the Singapore Dockyard. You will have noticed the comments of the Japanese Press on the matter. It has always struck me that a lively controversy might arise at any time in the Far East over this point. The late Govt. was clearly within its rights – having regard to the understanding arrived at in the Washington Conference – in deciding on creating a strong naval base at Singapore, and the U.S. Govt. would back us up – as against Japan. I should be sorry to see any weakening of our position overseas.

The Japanese Govt. must itself be in a weak political situation just now. I hope Viscount Kato [Takaaki], our old friend, & my friend Ozaki Yukio²⁵ will not get into

²⁴ The handwriting appears to be 'Mylton' but this may be John "Mad Jack" Mytton (1796-1834). Eccentric and rake of the Regency period.

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serious trouble.

My gunner boy in India has, I am glad to say, been transferred to the Intelligence Section of the staff for 8 months. His brigade did well in the recent manoeuvres & camp practice, which lasted over four months. The inspecting general said it was the only brigade with which he was perfectly satisfied. The Colonel was of course delighted, and the general's satisfaction may have been reflected in my son's new appt. It will help him in many ways – not least in working for the Staff College. The competition is now very keen. My nephew at Woolwich writes that in the examination just held 130 Gunners competed for 4 vacancies in the College.

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

55. (stamped p.76)

24 Blantyre Terrace

Edinburgh

Mch. 14/24

My dear Sir Ernest

In my letter of this morning, written from the Club, you will have noticed an error regarding the defeat of the Govt. and the point on which it occurred. My mistake arose from not having yet read the morning papers, and drawing hasty inferences from scraps of conversation that reached my ears.

This is a typical Edinburgh day – everything being shrouded in 'haar' [cold sea fog].

J.H.G.

56. (stamped p.77)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Mch. 20/24

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for so promptly answering my query regarding Jack Mylton. Your library and its works of reference are a veritable boon to your friends.

I was interested to hear that Dr. Johnston & his wife are back at Tipton St. John's (at

²⁵ Ozaki Yukio (1859-1954). Japanese liberal politician. Minister of Justice, 1914-16.

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the Golden Lion). Please remember me to them. He was very kind to me when I was with you – greatly overstraining your too generous hospitality – 18 months or more ago. And I found him most helpful in suggestion & advice at a time when anxiety regarding my wife's illness made his sympathy of value. If he is likely to remain long there I shd. be glad to know, for as soon as my youngest girl's training is finished I shall be tempted to go South in the direction of Sidmouth; and from there to Tipton is not a great distance. By that time, too, Shand will be based at Chudleigh, which wd. be an additional attraction. He & his daughter Helen are, I understand, meditating a trip to the Auvergne country before returning home; and I thought they might like to see Henry James's "A Little Tour in France" before going there. But on second thoughts I shall not send the book to Pau. It might miscarry, and I like the book too much to entrust it to the dangerous mercies of the French Post.

You will I hope agree with me in deprecating the abandonment of the Singapore Dock Scheme. At the same time I wish the 'Times' would not help Geoffrey Drage²⁶ to air his grievances against Japanese policy.

We are in the 7th week of fine dry weather, a record for Edinburgh; so you see we have been better off than you even in Ottery.

Fancy your climbing East Hill! I congratulate you, and hope you will long continue to be free from influenza at Ottery.

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. I hear Nicholson²⁷ has been returned for Westminster. While sorry in a way that Churchill has been kept out of Parliament, I am glad the Labour candidate was not successful. J.H.G.

I am reading Sir Henry Maine's "Popular Government."

57. (stamped p.79)

"Ans. 26/3"

Mch. 25/24

My dear Sir Ernest

²⁶ Geoffrey Drage (1860-1955). English writer and Conservative party politician.

²⁷ Otho William Nicholson (1891-1978). Conservative M.P., 1924-32. In a by-election on 19 March 1924 in the London constituency of Westminster Abbey, he defeated Winston Churchill, who stood under the "Constitutionalist" banner, by only 43 votes.

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This is just a line to acknowledge your last of the 23rd, and to ask you if our friend Basil Chamberlain is still in Geneva and at the same hotel as before. I want to write and ask him for any information he can give me about pensions at Annecy in Haute Savoie – the place [Hippolyte] Taine was so attached to. I have a mind to see it this autumn, and walk about a little in the country of Jean Jacques [Rousseau].

Thanks for your kind offer of the Yellow Book. I am too busy now with “Popular Government”, which you must really read. Though written 40 years ago there is much in it which is applicable to present times. I would like to see each member of the present cabinet to be provided with a copy.

Pascal’s ‘Pensées’ is worth dipping into. But I am mundane eno’ to prefer the “Lettres Provinciales” which strike a more human though lower note, - and are the wittiest things to my mind in the little Jansenist literature I’ve read.

Have you I wonder climbed East Hill again with your active vicar! And I wonder too if he contrives to keep up with the pace you usually set your walking friends!

Hoping your household will continue to keep free from flue – which has laid low 3 of 5 inmates of my boarding house,

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

58. (stamped p.80)

“ans. 5/4”

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Apr. 3/24

My dear Sir Ernest

I was very sorry not to be able to give you the reference you wanted for Geoffrey Drage’s letter. My “Times” are dispersed every week.

Can you I wonder return me good for evil by telling me if “Non cuivis homini [con] attingit adire Corinthum”²⁸ is a correct quotation? I have known it always in the shortened form: “Non Cuique contingit adire Corinthum.”

Shand & his party will, I suppose, soon be back in Devon. They were by last accounts at Dax in the Landes. My only knowledge of that place was gained at Ellezelles [in Hainaut province], a Belgian village, where there was a Club which flew its carrier

²⁸ “It is not every man that can go to Corinth.” (i.e. not every man possesses the same opportunities). (Horace) In the margin Satow has written “Hor[ace]. Ep[odes]. 1.17.36”.

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pigeons in competition with a club at Dax.

I have returned “Popular Government” to the London Library, and am now at work on Vol.1 of [Elie] Halévy’s “History of England in the XIXth Century”, - which from its bulk is likely to occupy me for some time. The print is not good and the volumes are unpleasantly heavy.

To Chamberlain at Geneva, whose address you gave me, I have written.

Hoping you are keeping well, quite free from flue, and climbing East & West Hills as often as the spirit moves you.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. You may have noticed the death of Arthur Larcom of the F.O. at San Remo. It appeared in a recent “Times”. J.H.G.

59. (stamped p.81)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Apr. 8/24

My dear Sir Ernest

Thanks for answering my query. I though attingit must be wrong.

At the risk of boring you I am tempted to quote a passage from Helévy’s “Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIXme Siècle”, which though written with reference to the opening years of the last century, has some bearing on the present political situation.

“Les vieux noms traditionnels de Whig et de Tory, qui paraissent impliquer une politique de principes, tombent même en désuétude: on ne dit plus guère que “le parti de l’Opposition” et “le parti ministériel”. Quel est dans le pays le succès de cette tactique, nous le savons déjà: l’opinion publique enveloppe, dans un même sentiment d’indifférence et de mépris tous les groupes qui, du Parlement, se disputent le pouvoir. La nouvelle tactique du parti Whig a-t-elle un meilleur succès à la Chambre des Communes? Les Whigs ont-ils, à force de compromissions, gagné assez de voix pour compenser de ce qu’ils perdent en popularité? En aucune manière: et sur ce point il n’y a pas divorce entre le Parlement et le pays.”

Your views regarding Singapore as a naval base I found so interesting that I have sent them to my boy in India. It is good for him to know what an experienced diplomatist thinks of this question.

I hope Shand will have good weather for his tour in the Auvergne country. When he

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returns to Chudleigh he will be able to read what Henry James says about this historic district.

11 Apr. On Friday I am off to North Berwick for a week with my Edinburgh daughter.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

60. (stamped p.82)

“Ans. 7/5”

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

May 4/24

My dear Sir Ernest

I have moved into this Club for the time being, having been lucky in securing a comfortable bedroom. My intention had been to come for a fortnight only, while spring cleaning & repairs were being undertaken in my boarding house in Blantyre Terrace. But on second thoughts, I decided to leave the Terrace for good. Boarding houses are at the best a pis aller [last resort], and as I may have to visit London very shortly, I shall be more free to move if domiciled here. I have suggested to a cousin in New Zealand that my eldest girl, Una, shd. visit her. The latter appears to be practically well now after three years of invalidism, but I have reason to think that her health is not completely re-established. A long sea-voyage will in all probability put the final touch to her recovery, & justify me in facing the very considerable expense of the journey. Like many young women of to-day, my daughter prefers to live in London. It is not a good place I think for anyone not very robust.

I am beginning to feel the weight of years, tho' my health is fairly good, and I am naturally anxious that my girls should be as strong as care can make them when my turn comes to go West. I have arranged with my N.Z. cousin for a cable which shd. come in the next fortnight. So I shall probably be in London to make arrangements in the course of this month.

I wonder if you have read in the “Sunday Times” of to-day an interesting & thoughtful article by “Scrutator” on the present confusion of politics. The same paper in its “Political Notes” has the following, which may possibly interest you in case you do not see the paper in question:-

“A pungent description of the state of sixes & sevens which characterizes the hierarchy of the [Consvrative] party at present is given in a monthly magazine by “A

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Conservative ex-Min.” [* I cannot find the magazine in wh. the article is said to have appeared.], whose identity is a matter of lively curiosity in political circles. He is said to be one of the ex-Ministers mentioned in the article, and ‘Is it you?’ is a challenge that is going round.”

Being constantly in the Club I see a good many magazines and reviews. This month’s “Fortnightly” has some interesting things, and article on the ‘League of Nations’, and another on Women in India, which mutatis mutandis (very much mutandis of course) applies to Japan, where from what I hear conditions are rapidly changing. The “National Review” – wh. I remember, is anathema to you – has a very interesting article on the abstention of French women from Politics. I am a horrid conservative on this question, & deplore the entry of English women with votes into a field which, as I think, was intended by a wise Providence to be reserved for men. In this respect, I am accused of being ‘Early Victorian’. Perhaps you would plead guilty to the same impeachment; for my part I feel proud of the accusation. I have never quite understood before why French women did not clamour for the vote, seeing that their influence in almost every aspect of life is so much greater, in my ignorant opinion, than in any of the other countries that I know well eno’ to judge; & bearing, alas, in mind the wonderful, & to me beautiful, link between French mothers and sons, I have often wished it were the same with us.

To go back to politics again, the significant way in which history is for ever repeating itself is brought more vividly before me the more I read Halévy’s book. (I am now in the 3rd Vol; & have returned the two first to the London Library. I mention this in case you shd. at any time have the leisure & inclination to glance at it). And if anything were needed to confirm the doctrine it would be found in all the countless articles on the present situation appearing in the daily papers & reviews of the day. You would, perhaps, like Ramsay Muir M.P.’s article in the “Contemporary” for May. He is of opinion that certain anticipated advantages of the Three-Party system have been realized, to wit: greater public interest in the proceedings of Parliament; an increased sense of responsibility on the part of non-Governmental parties for ensuring “the carrying on of the King’s Government”; and the disappearance of the old principle that it is the duty of a Govt. to oppose.

[Satow’s comment in margin: an Opposition]

I must, however, not bore you any further, or you will vote me a nuisance as a correspondent.

Shand will, I fear, not like this late spring. When you see him, please give him my love, & say I wish for his sake he had stayed a little longer in the South of France.

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I hope you are keeping very fit and are enjoying, as usual with your perennial zest, the spring growth of the garden you love like Alfred Austin.²⁹ I have been under the weather lately. My doctor says it is a chill on the liver wh. causes my present most unusual depression of spirits, and he blames our inclement weather, but eleven weeks of drought ought to have warned us of vagaries of the clerk of the weather. Please pardon this reference to climatic changes a subject wh. you taboo, and

Believe me with best wishes

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

61. (stamped p.84)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

May 8/24

My dear Sir Ernest

It would have given me the greatest pleasure to say 'Yes' to your kind suggestion of an early visit to Beaumont, the more so as your letter of yesterday seemed to offer, possibly, an opportunity of meeting [Harold] Parlett under the happiest auspices. But even when the cable I am expecting comes it may be, & indeed is, very doubtful if I can go to London at once. My daughter in her last letter still clings to the idea of putting off her voyage till the autumn. In which case I should not hurry south.

Please remember me most kindly to Parlett.³⁰ I was very sorry to hear of the serious and almost irreparable loss he sustained during the earthquake. To a lover of curios & books, whose artistic taste guided his selection of rare & valuable things, the havoc caused must have been a grave trial.

The 'Contemporary' I mentioned has an informative article on Hispano-American affairs with special reference to the old mother-country. I have written to the London

²⁹ Alfred Austin (1835-1913). Poet Laureate of the United Kingdom, 1896-1913. A famous quotation is: "The glory of gardening: hands in the dirt, head in the sun, heart with nature. To nurture a garden is to feed not just on the body, but the soul."

³⁰ Parlett "arrived from Jersey" (a visit to Gubbins?) on June 1, 1920. Satow wrote congratulating him on his C.M.G. and asking for Japanese cucumber seeds on June 15, 1921. Satow sent Parlett's long letter describing the Kanto earthquake to Gubbins on December 4, 1923. Cucumber seeds reached Satow from Japan on April 21, 1924. Parlett visited Satow on May 21-24, 1924. Satow wrote to congratulate him on his knighthood on June 7, 1924. Satow asked Parlett to send him a Japanese translation of Dante's works on October 28, 1925. The books, bought by Parlett on or before January 19th, reached Satow on March 11, 1926. (Satow diary entries)

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Library for the latest book on the subject by Frank Deakin.

What talks you & your guest will have on Japan – and the recent U.S. action, and all the id omne genus of things! I wd. dearly have loved to listen & chime in.

My chill persists, and the rheumatic gout which so often comes with it has temporarily crippled my pen hand, so that writing is a labour.

You do not mention Shand in your letter. So I presume you could not give him any message. He shd. be back in Chudleigh by now.

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

62. (stamped p.85)

May 23/24

My dear Sir Ernest

Of course you are right. The Japanese armies never went near Kiaochow in the campaign of 1894-5. And it was not, as you know, until 1896 that Russia earmarked it for her own use by secret treaty with China concluded at St. Petersburg.

Have you noticed “Times” leader in issue of 15 May on Japanese elections? I wired offering short article of comment prepaying reply, but received no answer for three days. Now I am writing short article wh. will be offered elsewhere. I say “writing” but I shall dictate it to Helen (Babs) who will take it down in short hand and then type it for me. Would you care to see it before publication – if indeed any Editor will care to take it? The “Times” article contains a few mis-statements.

What a terrible storm you seem to have had!³¹ We have escaped more lightly. Two nights ago the thunder rolled all night & a small powder factory at Roslyn [Roslin?] blew up.

My very kind regards please to Parlett.

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

63. (stamped p.87)

Caledonian United Services Club

³¹ On May 18, 1924 lightning struck and destroyed the tall Wellingtonia on Satow’s lower lawn. This was reported in the Western Morning News of May 20th, and Satow put the cutting in his diary after the entry for May 28th.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Edinburgh

June 2/24

My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for your kind & prompt response to my request. The article is on its way to a friend in London [Crowe, see June 17 letter below], who will try to “place it” for me. As to whether it is accepted as a short article, or in the form of a letter, I am indifferent. He will be free to decide. I have only barred the “Times”, because of its discourtesy. I have wired to my friend in advance, & taken every precaution to guard against any possible chapter of accidents such as befell the ill-fated M.S. on the Washington Conference wh. you kindly took the trouble to read long ago.

You will vote me a literary bore for persisting in calling your attention to Halévy’s “Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIXme Siècle.” The first 3 vols. (out of 7) are all that have so far appeared. The 3rd I have found the most interesting. The book is admirably ‘documented’. The author quotes in copious Notes chapter & verse for every important statement he makes. In so voluminous a work there is of course a good deal which may according to the taste of the reader be skipped. And in your own case acquaintance with much historical literature will facilitate the process. To me, however, whose reading is less extensive, much that the author mentions is new.

For instance, I never knew before of Canning’s description of Palmerston – “that he nearly touched the top of mediocrity”; a statement possibly true as regards intellectual attainments but less accurate when statesmanship is in question. Halévy’s own view that Palmerston was “John Bull incarnate” is more convincing as an estimate of a much abused and also greatly belauded minister. [Satow notes in margin: Canning died 1827 Pam. 6.1784. See at war 1809 to 1828]

But I must leave you to pick out good things for yourself.

I hope the Wellingtonia débris will come in as useful as you expect, while at the same time I should wish to assure you of my sincere sympathy in the loss of so fine a tree.

With renewed thanks & begging you not to trouble to answer this letter.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

64. (stamped p.88)

“Kopenhagen 1853”

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
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Mch. 6/24

My dear Sir Ernest

I am thinking of writing to Dr. Craigie of the Oxford Dictionary, with whom, when in Oxford, I once discussed the origin of English spellings of Continental place-names, and telling him of the atlas (published in Germany in the fifties if I remember rightly) which you once showed me, & in which Copenhagen appears in its recognized English form. Before doing so, however, I should like to verify the fact, if you would kindly oblige me by looking at the atlas again & giving me the date of its publication. [Satow's note at top: Kopenhagen 1853] Talking to the head of a printing firm here about this singular error in a German map, he suggested that the explanation probably lay in the fact that the map in question was a reproduction of one of the English maps of Bartholomew. If this suggestion be correct, I need not trouble Craigie with a letter.

May I bother you with two other questions? They are:

1. The pronunciation of Monte Vidéo locally. Is it as I have written it, with the value of the Continental é, and the accent or stress on the penultimate syllable?
2. Can you tell me the author of the lines beginning:-
"An Austrian army awfully arrayed
Boldly by battery besieged Belgrade"
(etc. etc. each line beginning with a letter of the alphabet) ?³²

Shand has probably called your attention to an article by Dean Inge³³ in a recent "Spectator". I fear it has bored you. Since writing to him I have read two other articles by the gloomy Dean, one of which was on the religion of the future. To me both were equally disappointing.

You will I am sure sympathize with me when I tell you that my eldest girl has changed her mind about visiting her cousin in New Zealand, and prefers to stay in London and teach dancing. It is provoking after so much trouble has been taken to make the necessary arrangements. Fortunately, however, I was waiting for a letter from N.Z. to confirm a cable, before taking her passage. One feels inclined to whisper to oneself "Souvent femme varie; fol qui s'y fie."³⁴

What was diagnosed as gout in my foot turns out to be a more plebeian ailment, - an in-growing toe-nail, and I hope soon to be walking as well as ever.

³² This is from the poem 'The Siege of Belgrade' by British poet and journalist Alaric Alexander Watts (1797-1864).

³³ William Ralph Inge (1860-1954). Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral. Nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature three times.

³⁴ In full "Souvent femme varie; bien fol qui s'y fie." Said by Victor Hugo to be originated by King François I. Engraved on a window at the Chateau de Chambord.

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With best wishes
Believe me
Yours always Sincerely
J.H. Gubbins

65. (stamped p.90)
Caledonian United Services Club
Edinburgh
June 17/24
My dear Sir Ernest

Thank you for two letters and answers to questions. You are almost sure to be right about Kopenhagen. It remains to be seen what Dr. Craigie says. At present I am too busy with my girls' affairs to write to Oxford, but I will do so later on & let you know the result.

Monte Video, thanks to British shipping & trade, seems to be one of the place-names which for nous autres has become anglicized. The printer I mentioned has been engaged in a controversy with an author whose book he is printing about the spelling of the name Spitsbergen (otherwise Spitzbergen). He was defeated owing to the author's quoting the latest edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, which gives s in place of z. Curiously eno' the point was also raised in the course of conversation by a man who is going there next week. I suggested the expediency, now that the territory has been assigned to Norway, of adopting the Norwegian spelling, whatever this may be.

How busy you seem to be in your reading! And your Danish studies are a proof of your unabated enterprise.³⁵

I am reading Chateaubriand's Memoirs for the first time, and between whiles dipping into Bagehot's Essays in the American Edition. How well he writes, and in many cases how clearly! The other day I compared his discursive remarks on mysticism – always to me an elusive subject – and much preferred the former's sketchy presentation of the matter, though I felt that my comparison of two things so different was scarcely fair to either.

Crowe has returned me my brief article on Japanese politics. Neither the M.P.

³⁵ On April 14, 1924 Satow began reading Kierkegaard's *Sygdommen til Doden* in the original Danish. He read various books by Kierkegaard, but finally gave up, returning volume 11 and 12 of his collected works to the London Library on September 5th because "he is too difficult for me to understand." He also read part of the New Testament in Danish (April 28. 1924). (Diary entries)

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[Morning Post] nor the D.T. [Daily Telegraph] would take it. I am sorry now that I ever troubled him on this subject, which appears to have no interest for daily press editors, nor, for that matter, for the British public. I notice that in Kato's new ministry³⁶ the portfolio of war remains in the hands of the previous holder.³⁷ Which means, of course, that clan government continues. One wonders what definite result will come out of present strained relations between America and her erstwhile protégé. If the situation should alter the Br: Govt's attitude regarding the Singapore base, good will come out of evil.

I wired Parlett my congratulations on his Knighthood. He seemed by his answer to be pleased.

A good deal would I give for a long talk with you. But I see no prospect of this for the present.

Please don't do too much wood-sawing. Gentle walking & exercise is preferable.

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

66. (stamped p.92)

c/o Mrs. McGillevray

Ulva Ferry

Aros

by Oban

July 12./24

My dear Sir Ernest

I don't think you could ever have expected to get a letter from this address. I am lodging in the cottage of the ferryman in the island of Ulva, known to those who know it all because it is the subject of an old Scottish Ballad. I was to have come to Mull in June to stay at Ardfenaig with a sister-in-law. But she had to come to Edinburgh with her husband Col. Houston to see a dentist, who promptly diagnosed pyorrhœa & took out her teeth. The after-poisoning made her ill, as so often happens, and my visit, then postponed, was again put off. Meanwhile I had heard through the wife of the present

³⁶ Katō Takaaki (1860-1926) was Prime Minister from June 11, 1924 until his death on January 28, 1926. He had been Minister of Foreign Affairs four times: 1900-01; 1906; 1913; 1914-15.

³⁷ Ugaki Kazushige (1868-1956).

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owner of Ulva of rooms available here and shall remain until my sister-in-law is well eno' to take me in. The surroundings are primitive, but to a simple life I am now quite accustomed after living in Jersey & Kent.

Frank Clark the present "laird of Ulva's Isle" and one of the D.L.'s [Deputy Lieutenants] for Argyllshire I've known for many years. He was very intimate with my wife's family, married rather late in life a lady with money, & has one son. His wife is a great reader & a highly cultured woman. She is very interested in lilies [* She has a Japanese *lilium auratum* of the species known as *macranthum*, the only survivor of several, and peculiar for being without spots. If you could suggest any special treatment for it she wd. be greatly obliged.] and wishes to learn the best place, or rather firm, in Japan to write to for lily bulbs. I told her I had a friend, namely yourself, who was an authority on all things Japanese, including plants, and having got them himself in recent years from Japan, knew best how to get everything; and I promised to write to you at once. For any information you can give me about lilies for Mrs. Clark I shall be most grateful.

Many thanks for your last letter, & for what you tell me about the spelling of Spitsbergen.

In haste to catch the post

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

67. (stamped p.93)

Ulva Ferry

Aros

by Oban

July 20/24

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for so promptly answering my question. Mrs. Clark is most grateful. She knows about Barr & Sons, and has got bulbs – those of the *Lilium Giganteum* amongst others – from them. But she finds their prices rather high, & thought she might get them cheaper direct from Japan. One of her Giant Lilies has done fairly well this year. So tall a lily I have never seen before, nor such elongated flowers, but an allied species is common enough in Shinano; it is much smaller of course, but has the same green colour outside & similar dark purplish markings inside.

I must when I've finished Chateaubriand's 'Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe' get Plato's *Apologia Socrates*, since you praise it so highly. There is so much to read, and so little

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time before one goes hence & is no more seen.

I've just finished [André] Siegfried's "L'Angleterre d'Aujourd'hui"; or rather a précis of it I undertook for the Edinburgh Branch of the National Citizens Union. It has been rather a heavy job. I've read it twice, the second time taking notes, then wrote a summary, & finally boiled it down to an article of 4 pages. If the Editors send me a spare copy or two – I've asked for it to appear in the form of a Supplement – I will send you one.

The last three days have been quite perfect. The low lights on sea & land are a joy to see, and the islands are dressed in their Sunday best, the peaks as I write, standing out clear-cut against the soft evening sky.

Vale atque my dear Chief that was,

& Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. Last night my ferryman landlord went off in a boat with a friend to catch & bring back two young sheep which had been put on an islet, having grown too large & mischievous to be kept any longer as pets. They spent an hour & more trying to catch them on land, but in vain. So they finally chased them into the sea & picked them up from the boat. J.H.G.

68. (stamped p.94)

c/o Colonel Houston D.S.O.

ARDFENAIG

ISLE OF MULL

July 27/ 24

My dear Sir Ernest

This is only a line to enclose a letter from Craigie, one of the O.E. Dictionary Editors, to whom I wrote the other day about the spelling of the Danish capital. You may like to see it.

This is a lovely spot, and the weather is in keeping with it.

My writing hand has struck work again. So I cannot enlarge on the beauties of the neighbourhood as I shd. much like to do.

If you see Shand, give him my love please. "L'Angleterre d'Aujourd'hui" is finished and approved of, - wh. is satisfactory.

With best wishes

Yours always Sincerely

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J.H. Gubbins

69. (stamped p.95)

Ulva Ferry

Ulva

by Aros

Isle of Mull

Argyllshire

Sept. 3/24

My dear Sir Ernest

I hope this will find you well and enjoying your active pursuits of walking & wood cutting in the intervals of your strenuous reading.

The enclosed is the précis – translation I promised you. Please send it on to Shand if he cares to glance at it. From him it will pass on to my son in India, whose address the Chudleigh folk have.

From my address you will see that I am back in Ulva again, but not playing chess with Mrs. C[lark]. as before. It was a diversion and in old age one welcomes anything of this kind. But the lady of Ulva House is now confined to the sofa with gout, and does not feel equal to it. Perhaps, too, my invited criticism on her moves erred on the side of severity, and sprelae injuria artis may have reinforced physical weakness. So I do not see so much of my neighbours, and have to be content with books, long strolls, - not walks with 7 league boots like yours – hill climbing, and such writing as a sore hand permits.

The walks here & across the ferry in Mull are beautiful. I wish you were here to join me in some. The scenery is like that of Carbery's 100 isles [in southwest Ireland], where we went for two long vacs from Oxford, but more beautiful; for there are mountains besides hills, and more islets & islands scattered in the sea.

Please remember me to your brother should he be at Beaumont; and with the best of wishes,

Believe me

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. The late Canon Beeching's "Pages from a Private Diary" is in my hands, and explains why Warren was chosen instead of him as Poetry Professor – much to Oxford's loss!

If you've read Zedwitz-Trutschler's book on the ex-Kaiser your opinion of it will

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perhaps agree with mine. J.H.G.

I hope to go one day to Gometra, if the laird of that islet can send me back by sea. There is a bridge now from Ulva but it means an 8 miles walk, - & 16 there & back.

70. (stamped p.96)

Ulva Ferry

by Aros

Isle of Mull

Sept. 12/24

My dear Sir Ernest

Your kind suggestion that I should visit Beaumont in January to meet Chirol is most tempting; and the prospect of chess which you mention is a rare thing in these days. I would like to say Yes at once, but I cannot for the simple reason that I am able to make no plans so far ahead. If, as now seems probable, my daughter Marjory is married some time in the latter half of Decr., I shall come to London or its vicinity for the wedding. And in that case I should like of all things to travel further in the direction of Ottery. At present I can say no more for I am still just a waiter on Providence, as [Walter] Scott puts it, and my future movements depend wholly on circumstances.

Zedwitz will interest you more perhaps than Siegfried. When he reaches you from the Library you will notice how more than once or twice he refers to the aphorism that nothing is permanent but change. It seems to have made the same impression on him as it did on me when I first came across it many years ago. I have always wanted to know, if indeed it can be known, who first used it. [Erwin] Baelz when I asked him said he thought it came from some German philosopher. The way Zedwitz repeats it bears out, or rather supports, this conjecture. I should not, however, be surprised to hear that its origin was Greek. For me the aphorism – owing perhaps to its paradoxical form – has become almost an obsession. It is constantly in my mind.

This has been a stormy week, and high tides in the lochs have come in just as Clough describes: “far back through creeks & channels making, silent comes flooding in the main”.³⁸ And when the tide is in, and the ebb has just begun, and the wind has dropped, one insensibly recalls Tennyson’s lines: “but such a tide as moving seems asleep, too full for sound or foam, when that which drew from out the boundless deep, turns again home”.³⁹

³⁸ These are two lines from the poem ‘Say Not the Struggle Nought Availeth’ by Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-61).

³⁹ From Alfred Lord Tennyson’s ‘Crossing the Bar’.

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If you ever read books of travel read “The Cradle of Mankind” by Dr. Wigran & his brother.

Were I a rich man I would make a selection of the passages in Chateaubriand’s “Mémoires d’Outre Tombe” which I liked, and have it bound in one or two volumes.

Please remember me very kindly to your brother.

& Believe me

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I have been to Gometra. Walking there 8 miles & returning in the Owner’s motor-boat. A delightful trip.

71. (stamped p.97)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Dec. 2/24

My dear Sir Ernest

The wedding of my daughter Marjorie is to take place in Tonbridge on the 17th, date & place having been arranged to suit the convenience of her fiancé Dr. Newton, who is finishing a course of study of tropical diseases, & leaves for Hongkong in January to take up an appointment there under the Colonial Office. This alteration in my plans will make it difficult for me to visit you early in January as you have so kindly proposed.

Beyond spending a day or two while I am in Kent with my brother at Nonington, there will be nothing to keep me South after the wedding. Not being able to leave Edinburgh for good before a secretarial opening is found for my youngest girl, whose training brought me North in January, it will be best for me to return there, & give up for the present the idea of being your guest at Ottery. This seems, I fear, an ungracious response to your kind invitation, but you will I am sure understand my difficulty, and make allowance for my shrinking from the double journey North – South which my visit to you in January would entail.

I hope you have escaped the colds which have kept the doctors here very busy, and are enjoying the charming walks of Ottery.

I have read some interesting articles in magazines lately. Two especially I may mention: one in the last ‘Quarterly’ by J.H. Morgan on German disarmament, and the other in the ‘Outlook’ by Gilbert Murray on the future of Liberalism. Chateaubriand I am still reading. When he is not talking about himself his writing I find fascinating.

In the hope of our meeting one of these days before very long – when I warn you that

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you won't be able to get a word in edgeways, - with the best of wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

72. (stamped p.98)

Jan. 27/25

My dear Sir Ernest

This is only a line to [say] how grieved I was to see to-day in the Times the death of Sam Tuke's wife. I have wired at once.

I have been too busy lately to write to any one, - and my weak hand is a bit of a handicap. Please forgive my silence. I will write soon again. For the present I am snowed under with N.C. [National Citizens] Union work, and correspondence & interviews regarding a secretarial post for my youngest girl.

What good numbers the 'Quarterly' & 'Edinburgh Review's last are! In the former "Religion & the Life of Civilization" is one I have read and re-read, & Chirol's article is instructive. What he writes is always worth reading.

My best – though they come late – wishes for 1925.

In haste

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

73. (stamped p.100)

March 31/25

My dear Sir Ernest

You kindly suggested some months ago that I might pay you in the spring a visit at Beaumont. A fortnight ago this seemed to me very impossible. But on returning from a visit to Perthshire on the 21st I found a telegram from my gunner boy in India waiting for me. It told me that my small grandson had been very ill with dysentery. And yesterday he wrote that the doctors had ordered him home. The passages of my daughter-in-law & the child are now in process of arrangement. If they come by P & O, Plymouth will probably be the port of arrival. In that case, as soon as I hear I will let you know, & if you will allow me to do so, spend a day or two at Beaumont on my way further West. In writing to you proposing this visit at all I am drawing a bow at a venture; for I cannot tell what line my daughter-in-law will travel by. Passages from India at this season are hard to get, and the home port in this case may be London or

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Liverpool.

The Shands – Winnie & her father – are based in Chudleigh I fancy. Ida Shand writes that she is staying for heart treatment at Montreux & will follow later.

A friend has found for me a quotation I was seeking relative to buckets being dropped into empty wells. It comes, it seems, from [William] Cowper.⁴⁰ The other day I came across lines from Catullus which of course you know:

“Soles occidere et redire possunt

Nobis cum semel vita brevis occidit

Nox est perpetua una dormienda.”

Swinburne came at once into my mind:

“Nor wintry winds [leaves] nor vernal,

Nor days nor things diurnal,

Only the sleep eternal

In an eternal night.”

I am doing my duty, and a little more so I think, by the “National Citizens Union”. For the last 3 months I have been reading - & for my sins making Notes on – the Socialist Review. And I really think I could pass quite a creditable exam. on Modern Socialism in its varied aspects – the least interesting of which to me, if I may say so, being the one expounded by Ramsay MacDonald.

I was sorry to see Piggott’s death. We were never intimate, but I admired his wonderful versatility and his amazing industry, which ran you close & was simply prodigious. He died of heart complication following pneumonia.

If you see Shand please give him my love.

& Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. My grandson’s home-coming upsets the few vague plans I had made. Where I shall be this day 2 or 4 months hence only destiny knows.

I trust you are keeping very fit and are able still to walk more or less in the rapid way of which I have vivid recollections.

Tuke writes cheerfully from Corsica. He says the so-called brigands are respectable people; the brigand industry being reserved for hotel-keepers.

⁴⁰ “Defend me, therefore, common sense, say I,
From reveries so airy, from the toil
Of dropping buckets into empty wells,
And growing old in drawing nothing up!” from William Cowper’s ‘The Task’.

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

74. (stamped p.102)

Apr. 29/25

My dear Sir Ernest

Your kind letter of the 24th makes me feel very guilty for having led you to believe in the possibility of my paying you a visit in May. I ought not to have talked of going to Plymouth till I knew my plans more definitely.

My son now tells me that his wife & little boy will come on to London in the "Ranpura".⁴¹ So it will be unnecessary for me to go to Plymouth. And as it will be far easier for her people to meet the steamer in London from where they live near Bedford than for me to go all the way from here, I have decided to wait here quietly till my daughter-in-law and the boy come North later on, and then escort them to my sister-in-law's in Mull, where they will spend some part of the summer.

You know me well enough to understand what pleasure it would have given me to stay with you again, & meet our friends from Chudleigh, - and I hope you will forgive my disappointing you at the last moment. Please, however, lay the blame on the res angusta domi [severe pressure of poverty] which is the determining factor in the movements of so many state pensioners.

I shd. like very much to see Chirol's lectures when you can spare them. May I offer you in return [Ivanhoe] Bonomi's "From Socialism to Fascism"? The print is very good.

The last "Quarterly" has one or two nice Articles. "The Awakening of Spain" makes me want more than ever to go there. From another Article on Shakespeare one learns the motto of the Nevilles – Ne vile velis [Nothing distasteful or vulgar] – which has the same punning note as those of the Freres and the Scotch clan Chattan.

The next instalment of my Socialist Press Notes (written for the information – I won't say edification – of the Committee of the Edinburgh Branch of the N.C. Union), which I am now finishing, will be the last. Enough has been said to show the general character & tone of Socialist & Communist papers. I may, perhaps, wind up my work by reading a paper on the subject.

I wish the Govt. could see their way to sending the Bolshevik Embassy back to Moscow. Without Russian subsidies the Communist organs would soon cease to appear.

Please give my love to the Shand party when they come to you, and with best wishes.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

⁴¹ SS *Ranpura* was a P & O steamer launched in 1924.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

J.H. Gubbins

75. (stamped p.104)

May 3/25

My dear Sir Ernest

I am reading a very striking anonymous article in this month's "Contemporary" – on 'The Meaning of Bolshevism'. Much that the author says applies to all Oriental countries, especially China & Japan, & is very true.

Shand I believe takes this Review. You might, perhaps, get it from him. If not, I am so anxious for you to see it that I will, if you will allow me, send you a copy, & ask you to pass it on to our friend.

I am meditating a short visit to Peebles to shake off the aftermath of a bout of 'flu.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Please excuse my gouty handwriting.

76. (stamped p.105)

May 21/25

My dear Sir Ernest

This is only a line to return Chirol's lectures with many thanks. I've read them with much pleasure & gained some – indeed no little – instruction therefrom.

The Shands should be with you as I write. He is, I hear, not so well again; but after [the age of] 70 ups & downs of health seem to occur – or, to be more accurate, perhaps, one's feelings in regard to physical fitness seem to vary – more frequently than before.

I was very sorry to see in the 'Times' the death of Tuke's naval boy. This will hit him very hard poor chap.

The 'Times' I notice also has reported [Joseph Henry] Longford's death. I wired condolences to his widow, who I fear will be left badly off.

My daughter-in-law & grandson arrive in London at the end of this month. They come North early in July, and we shall go together to Mull, she & the boy to stay with my sister in law Mrs. Houston & her husband, while I shall be established for July some two miles off in a tiny cottage on the coast. After that we shall try to find rooms for the three of us somewhere in the West of Scotland for the autumn & winter.

Please excuse bad writing due to a gouty hand & a bad pen, & with best wishes & love to the Shands, if they are with you.

Believe me

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

77. (stamped p.106)

June 6/25

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for your letter and its enclosure. The latter I return. [James P.] Mollison's reminiscences extend further back than my own, nor, never having been stationed at Yokohama except as Acting Consul for six weeks after [Russell] Robertson's death, did I ever know many of its residents. So very few of the names he mentions are familiar to me.

You seem to be as diligent as ever in yr reading. Mine has been interfered with by my study of the Socialist Press for the N.C.U., which has now happily come to an end; but my pen is still busy at present on a paper for the same Society wh. is intended to embody the results of my study & a sketch – by way of Introduction – of Socialism. The latter has given me a good deal of trouble, but it is nearly finished. The former will be easy. Therefore the little reading I've done has been limited to Metternich's & Bourrienne's Memoirs, & the "Catholic Reaction in France" [by Denis Gwyn, published 1924].

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

78. (stamped p.108)

c/o Mrs. Susan McInnes

Fion[n]phort

Isle of Mull

By Oban

Aug. 3/25

My dear Sir Ernest

This has been a wonderful summer. "Such a June we haven't seen since before the war" – say the folk about here, forgetful, perhaps of past blessings, and yielding unconsciously to the impulse of fixing a convenient landmark for the passage of time. We can imagine our forebears doing the same a century ago. Yet the shock to the world was not so far-reaching in its effects, though the period of actual hostilities was shorter

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

than that of the Napoleonic wars, - always supposing that Europe & the world outside are settling down to an interval of peace, a presumption which is hardly justified by the present policy of the Soviet mischief-makers.

I am again at the back of beyond as I was last year, living the very simple life which is now incumbent on many aged state pensioners of our class whose incomes do not keep pace with the increased cost of living. This little hamlet is on the shore of the Ross of Mull, & faces the island of Iona. The old cathedral, restored a few years ago, still boasts of its flat battlemented roof, and is as much out of keeping as ever with its primitive surroundings. Iona has become quite a fashionable resort on the summer. The same people go there usually every year, and the little inns & cottages are full of visitors. Three times a week excursion steamers bring crowds of trippers from Oban & elsewhere, and during the Glasgow fair last week there were hundreds. But they only stay a few hours and leave Fionphort (pronounced by the way Fyunyfort) severely alone.

You will have noticed the death of [James] Troup. We exchanged letters a year ago, but had not met since I saw him at the Historical Congress which I went to from Oxford. He and [Hiram Shaw] Wilkinson were about the same age I think. Do you ever hear of the latter?

Within walking distance – 3 miles each way and a stony road! – is Ardfenaig, a little property with very rough shooting & fishing where I stayed for a month last year with my sister-in-law Mrs. Houston & her husband. My daughter-in-law & grandson are there, & two or three times a week I walk over to see them. On the 1st Sept. I go to Oban for 3 weeks, having taken rooms there for our small party of three. Then my daughter in law goes to London for some months, visiting elsewhere on the way, and I return to Edinburgh, where I shall probably spend the winter.

There are some lovely walks in the neighbourhood, but they are mostly meant for younger legs than mine.

Life here is only possible if one has many books to read. Fortunately the London library keeps me well supplied. At present I am reading [Baron Antoine-Henri] Jomini's "Napoleon at the Tribunal of Cesar Alexander & Frederick" & [Marie Joseph L. Adolphe] Thiers's "History of the French Revolution." Incidentally I've also finished at a sitting St. John Ervine's "Parnell". It is a book to be read, but not read twice.

When I get back to Edinburgh I shall have to read at a N.C. Union meeting the paper I have finished on "Socialism & the Socialist Press". It isn't much of a paper in spite of the time spent on it, and I am not looking forward to the meeting with any pleasure.

My love please to Shand when you see him, & with the best of wishes

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

79. (stamped p.110)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Oct. 22/25

My dear Sir Ernest

My letter diary – the only one I keep – tells me I have not written to you since very early in August when I was in the island of Mull. As you are known to all & sundry friends as the most punctilious of correspondents, that entry also tells me that you were the last to write. My silence since then please ascribe to laziness aggravated by anno domini.

After leaving Mull early in Sepr. I spent 3 weeks with my daughter-in-law (my gunner boy's wife) and grandson of 4½ years in Oban; there we were lucky to get rooms overlooking the land-locked & very beautiful bay. We then came here, where I saw my guests off South after a brief stay, and settled down for the winter – or at any rate for the late autumn months.

My movements have depended on my girls – the two unmarried ones – for some time past; more especially on the movements of the youngest. She is now visiting her old school, by invitation, at Oxford. If she decides to remain South, I shall not feel so tied to Edinburgh in the future as I have been hitherto.

The Shands are, as you, of course, know, migrating shortly to Poole [Dorset], and contemplating another tour in Switzerland. It seems a pity for them to leave Chudleigh, but the demon of restlessness seems to govern everything now.

My paper on 'Socialism & the Socialist Press', wh. was written in June last, & slightly touched up since in order to bring it up to date, - is to be read a month hence at a General Meeting of the National Citizens Union. It will fall very flat I fear; I will send you a copy later on, but I should warn you that it is very dry.

Please excuse a very dull letter. My gouty hand makes writing a labour. I hope to be able to go South before the end of the year. When I can arrange my movements I will let you know, for I want to see Ottery again & have a talk de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis, -(almost my most hackneyed quotation)!

The news in the papers shews us a topsy turvey, if not altogether crazy world.

With best wishes

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. In “Memoirs of a Napoleonic Officer” (Trans. from French) by Maurice Barrès [George Allen & Unwin: 1925] there is the following passage:

“I saw in the village of Ober-Thomaswald, for the only time in my life [* The italics are copied from the original.] a kind of rose-tree whose wood & leafage smelt of roses], like the flower itself, which was very lovely.”

Perhaps you can identify the kind of rose described. My ignorance of botany is so abysmal that the statement seems almost unbelievable.

I am slowly getting through Thiers’ History of the French Revolution. It is very interesting. J.H.G.

My friends tell me my letters are like a woman’s; there being usually more in the postscripts than in the body of them! You will possibly agree.

80. (stamped p.114)

Oct. 27/25

My dear Sir Ernest

Just a line to say I am sorry to hear you have lost your only surviving brother [Sam]. As years pass by the deaths of friends & relatives become more frequent for us all – a commonplace remark which, perhaps, I ought to have spared you.

Pacta sunt servanda⁴² I must read next time I am in the Advocates Library.

Don’t please trouble to answer this.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

81. (stamped p.113)

Oct. 29/25

My dear Sir Ernest

If I may venture to make a suggestion about books to one who knows so much more about them than I can ever hope to do, - I would ask you to glance some time at

“Islam & the Psychology of the Musulman” by André Servier (Trans.), which I have just returned to the London Library.

⁴² Sir Ernest Satow, ‘*Pacta sunt servanda* or International Guarantee’, The Cambridge Historical Journal 1, no.3 (1925), pp.295-318

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

When my paper – to be read on the 23rd Nov. on ‘Socialism and the Socialist Press,’ which I am now putting the finishing touches to, is ready I am going to ask you to look at it. We live in rather difficult days, and though all here who have seen it before revision approve, I should like to feel that it has passed the Censor whom I most respect.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

82. (stamped p.114)

“p.10 gives the name of the late Min. of Educa[tion]” In pencil, Satow’s writing.

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Nov. 7/25

My dear Sir Ernest

This is the paper you have kindly consented to look through. Please criticize freely.⁴³ Since it was written in June the political situation has changed in some respects, and the prosecution of alleged Communists, which is still pending, makes it, of course, desirable to write with great circumspection. The paper has, therefore, been corrected carefully, & in parts rewritten, and brought up to date. I don’t quite like the flourish at the end, being of Johnson’s opinion that purple patches should be avoided; but those who have read the paper advise its retention. One of my friends, an Edinburgh K.C., whom I have consulted more than others, sees nothing in what I have written to which objection can be taken.

I wish I could ask you to lend me the Japanese book you mention, but my eyes, well as they still serve me – and I read without spectacles – are not as strong as before. I need a brighter light than most people, and dare not read Chinese characters for any length of time.

From the Shands I’ve not heard for a month. Ida, my correspondent, has had of course, to part with her bees. I sent her a teasing Limerick on the subject, & possibly she regarded it as too frivolous.

With best wishes

Believe me

⁴³ “Gubbins sent me his paper on Socialism, which I read, praised and returned.”
(Satow’s diary, November 9, 1925)

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

P.S. You will sympathize with me when I say I am busy arranging with Anglican Convent in Oxford for an appendicitis operation for my youngest girl, who is now on a visit to her old school. J.H.G.

83. (stamped p.115)

Dec. 23/25

My dear Sir Ernest

This is only a line to wish you all the good wishes of the season.

I hope you are keeping free from colds and that your weather for the moment – one can't look far ahead as regards weather in the British Isles – is not as Arctic as it has been with us for the last day or two.

My lecture is being printed and you will have one of the first copies, and be in a position then to correct your earlier & too flattering opinion.

There is much snow here, but locomotion with thick boots is not difficult.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

My doctor orders little writing till I've finished with proofs. So please excuse these few lines.

84. (stamped p.116)

Feb. 8/26

My dear Sir Ernest

I hear from the Shands at Locarno that you have been laid up with a sore throat. By the time that this reaches you you will, I hope, have quite recovered.

For myself, I have nothing to complain of, except a rheumatic hand which prevents me from writing to friends – especially old ones – as much as I could have wished.

Don't, please, bother to answer this, but wait till you get the brochure on Socialism, & then don't spare yr criticism!

With best wishes

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I like Thiers's Consulate & Empire book more than his Revolution.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

85. (stamped p.117)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Feb. 17/26

My dear Sir Ernest

At last I am able to send you the long-promised brochure on 'Socialism & the Socialist Press.' I hope you will like it in its new dress.⁴⁴

You will notice two or three misprints, which you will be correct in ascribing to Anno Domini on the part of the proof-reader.

As my years increase, and my legs – unlike yours! – become more feeble, my faith in my own judgment of things, not persons, tends to diminish. I may, therefore, I feel, be quite wrong in thinking that Communism, as an active force, has shot its bolt both with us & elsewhere; and that Socialism is, as Canadians would say, on the down grade. But to my mind the whole Socialist-Communist movement has spent its greatest force – for the time being at least – and is now receding like the tide when the ebb sets in.

I hope this finds you as well as the strongest of us can hope to be after three score years & ten; that your daily walks still give you the exercise, combined with the sawing of logs, which you delight in; and that your gardening pursuits still interest you actively.

You will be amused to hear that I am thinking of visiting Cyprus. Years ago – more years than I like to recall – an old friend, who stayed there for some months, spoke to my wife & myself so enthusiastically of the island & the pleasant life there that I've always wanted to see it. My eldest girl sails for Hong Kong next month, and my youngest, whom I came here to look after, is engaged & may with good luck be married in the summer. My gunner boy in India – who was to have come home this spring – too, is to be kept on the staff in Simla. So there will be nothing to keep me in these Northern latitudes. If you have heard anything about life in Cyprus, please let me know. I have got two books from the London Library on the subject, but information of a more personal kind, coming direct from people who have been there recently, I should be very grateful for.

Locarno did not please our friends the Shands. Shand & Daisy are I fancy already back at Parkstone [in Poole, Dorset], & Ida was, when I last heard, to follow later.

With best wishes,

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

⁴⁴ Satow noted receipt of the paper in his diary for February 19, 1926. He found it 'very enlightening'.

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

J.H. Gubbins

86. (stamped p.119)

“Ans. 18/5”

Loyden Villa

Oban

May 13/26

My dear Sir Ernest

Many thanks for the ‘Spectator’. Your kind offer of a Japanese version of Dante I cannot accept as my movements for some time to come will be erratic. It sounds inconceivable, but I must confess to a very imperfect acquaintance with the original.

The ‘Spectator’ is interesting, but I am not in sympathy with its views. Had the Editor read as much Socialistic literature as some of its readers have for their sins been obliged to do, its condemnation of Mr. Baldwin & the Govt. would perhaps have been modified.

Twelve weeks of suppressed or Gastric Flu have not left me much strength, and my hand holds a pen with difficulty. But since arriving here I am rapidly mending.

With the best of wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

This is my lecture in its new dress. It asks for your indulgence.

87. (stamped p.120)

“A[nswered] 1 Aug.”

Marine Hotel

Oban

Argyll

July 30/26

Convalescing after 6 or 7 months “walking typhoid” (*typhoide ambulante*).

May I come to you for 2 or 3 days on my way to friends in Dorset?

I am writing to our friend [Samuel] Tuke in Honiton. Can you give me the name of his place wh. I’ve forgotten?

J.H. Gubbins

88. (stamped p.121)

PRO 30/33 11/9
Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

at COLWELL

HONITON

Sept. 26/26

My dear Sir Ernest

I arrived here “on time” & found a car waiting for me to take me to Colwell.⁴⁵

As I found my host was expecting me to stay till Saturday next I at once wired to Shand asking if Saturday would suit him for me to go to Parkstone. He replied that this date would be quite convenient.

Tuke looks very well and his house & surroundings are very pretty. Mrs. Harrison was dining here last evening and was very entertaining.

Tuke desires to be very kindly remembered to you; & with my best wishes & thanks for a hospitality which made my stay with you everything that could be wished.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

I am taking the Fellowe’s tonic you recommended.

89. (stamped p.122)

at Colwell

Wednesday Sept. 29/26

My dear Sir Ernest

I am writing on a stray sheet of memorandum paper, which I have found on Tuke’s desk, to thank you for the two Cicero volumes you have so kindly sent me.

Miss Coleridge’s note, which I return in case you may have occasion to refer to it, teaches me that her Xtian name is sometimes written with an i instead of y.

Tuke joins me in very kind regards. The volumes you have sent are just what I wanted, and the Notes I am very glad to have.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

90. (stamped p.123)

at Colwell

1 Oct./26

⁴⁵ Gubbins had stayed with Satow at Beaumont from September 18th to 25th. (Satow’s diary)

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

My dear Sir Ernest

You were so kind in giving me advice in regard to a very delicate matter that I venture to send you copies of a reply that I have received from the young man in question, & of my answer which was posted to-day. I also enclose copy of my original letter wh. you kindly read. I shall feel much assured if you are able to approve of my answer. You will, of course, understand that in no case should I consent to an action for breach of promise, nor would my daughter ever dream of such a thing. But I can & probably shall punish him later on through Oban friends in a way that will make things very uncomfortable for him.

My man will hand you this letter & can, if convenient, take back your reply, which to save you trouble may, I venture to suggest, be the word "approve."

Fellowes' hyperphosphates has done me much good & I have now dispensed with all medical treatment.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

91. (stamped p.124)

at

Oct. 4/26.

My dear Sir Ernest

You may like to hear that I found Shand looking very well & in good spirits. His walking has fallen off a little in the five years since we met, but otherwise he bears his years very well.

It was good of you to look over the correspondence I troubled you with, & I am very grateful. The concluding paragraph – worded rather hastily – of my answer to MacLachlan was intended as an intimation that I should not allow the matter to drop altogether without first consulting others.

The young man will – with my daughter's approval – probably encounter some private pressure from mutual friends and acquaintances which may persuade him to tender an apology to my daughter.

Please do not trouble to answer this letter.

& Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

92. (stamped p.125)

“A[nswered]. 20/26”

SWAN HOTEL,

BEDFORD

Oct. 18/26.

My dear Sir Ernest

I came here last Saturday to be near my son & his wife before they leave for India on the 15th Nov. What I shall do after that depends on doctors' advice, but in any case I must probably first go North to collect my things.

At Parkstone I had a very pleasant stay, & am feeling on the whole better for the change. When I left, Shand & his two youngest daughters were preparing for their visit to Beaulieu early next month.

In his letter acknowledging the Alonson seeds I sent him Colonel MacDougall says: “I will send your friend Sir Ernest Satow some seeds & young plants of *Tropeolum Speciosum*[;] it has done very well this year, but unfortunately most of the ripe seed has already fallen”.⁴⁶

He would, I am sure, be very pleased if you could reciprocate in the way you kindly suggested. And when he fulfils his promise, perhaps you might be able to spare something of what reaches you for Ardmore. Margaret Shand would much like to have some *Propeolum* for their garden where she feels confident it would flourish.

With best wishes

Believe me in haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

93. (stamped p.126)

SWAN HOTEL,

BEDFORD

Oct. 20/26.

My dear Sir Ernest

As soon as I get to Edinburgh I will read again the poems you mention & tell you what I think of them, though my opinion is worth nothing. Few readers like all that a poet writes, for only the very greatest poets appear to be always inspired, and as you once said to me, liking depends often on the reader's mood.

⁴⁶ Satow received the seeds from Colonel MacDougall of Dunollie, Oban on October 22, 1926. (Satow's diary)

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

Please pardon this very short reply to your letter of the 18th but I am not up to much writing yet.

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

94. (stamped p.127)

SWAN HOTEL,

BEDFORD

Oct. 21/26.

My dear Sir Ernest

Just a line to acknowledge yours of yesterday.

May I when I write again to Dunollie Castle, as I shall be doing in a day or two, say that you will be only too pleased to send in exchange any slips or seeds which you may be able to supply? Colonel MacD[ougall]. is an enthusiastic gardener. He has a fine collection of rhododendrons, and would, I am sure, be grateful for anything whatever you could send.

In haste

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

95. (stamped p.128)

CALEDONIAN UNITED SERVICES CLUB

EDINBURGH

Jan. 27/27.

My dr. Sir Ernest,

The Shands have left Beaulieu on the Riviera and also Santa Margherita where they stayed next. Their present address since yesterday is

Hotel de L'Europe

Montreux

Switzerland.

In haste,

Yrs always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

96. (stamped p. 129)

CALEDONIAN UNITED SERVICES CLUB

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

EDINBURGH

Apr. 21/27

My dear Sir Ernest

When I was your guest in Sepr. you kindly lent me your copy of the Vendetta Story which was published in the "Japan Mail" many years ago. I then arranged with Manley, the Stationer in Ottery St. Mary, to have it printed for private circulation. The first proofs reached me in Bedford, when I was laid up with influenza, and were corrected by my son who returned to India soon afterwards at the expiration of his leave. In sending these proofs Mr. Manley wrote that his small stock of type only allowed him to print a very few pages at a time, and that the printing of the Parish magazine had the first call on his type. Had I known this before I shd. have made other arrangements. On my return here in November I received another instalment of proofs, but I was too unwell to correct them, and my doctor wrote for me in this sense to Mr. Manley.

In the following January Mr. Manley sent me another copy of the same proofs which I corrected & returned to him on the 11th of that month. Since then I have not received any further proofs, but I have a recollection of a letter received from him in which he spoke of his business having been interrupted by an attack of influenza which affected both him & his staff.

I can only presume that my printing arrangements with him have fallen through, & that the copy which you so kindly lent me has been returned to you.

Since my visit to you I have had a recurrence of the trouble of last year. A month ago I was obliged to go to Harrogate again for fresh treatment, and it was only a week ago that I left a Nursing Home to come back to this Club.

I am now slowly picking up strength; but I am still very weak, and am writing this scrappy letter in defiance of my doctor's orders.

Hoping this will find you still enjoying your walks.

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

Please remember me to Miss [Mary] Dickinson. I hope her building operations are progressing satisfactorily.

97. (stamped p.131)

Address as before

Edinburgh

Aug. 6/27

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

My dear Sir Ernest

Your kind letter of July 23rd deserved an earlier reply, but people in Nursing Homes do not usually find letter writing easy, even if possible, & in my case a gouty hand is a standing obstacle.

My long illness, broken by periods of semi-convalescence, dates from February of last year. My present doctor has very confident hopes of my soon being able to move somewhere into the country if I can only get a little more strength into my legs, & can find a cottage to shelter me. I can walk up & down stairs now with a stick. So I have not yet lost all hope.

My gunner boy, whom you so kindly asked to Beaumont, has passed 4th into Quetta Staff College, and received a nice note of congratulation from Birdwood, the present C.I.C. in India. His little son also distinguished himself by getting 1st prize for children's riding. One of the C.I.C.'s A.D.C.'s took a film of the youngster's long fight with his pony wh. brought down the house. The film was shown to the Viceroy who seems to have been much amused.

Tuke is kindly seeing the story about Vendetta through the Press. Manley was very silly to undertake the printing when he had only sufficient type for the Parish Magazine. At the present rate of progress 1928 will hardly see it finished.

I sent you a message the other day through Ida Shand & her father. I wonder if it ever reached you.

Let me know please if you should hear of two rooms with a nice view & a moderate rent wanting a tenant for September.

And with best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[pencil note: 16/- per room]

98. (stamped p.132)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

[Date unclear]

My dear Sir Ernest

Thanks for letting me know about the rooms near you in Ottery. My two girls who were in Hong Kong have come home for a short time. On their movements those of my youngest girl depend. For the present, therefore, I must keep near Edinburgh, and if I

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Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

can get the rooms I want I shall spend a week or so in Oban.

You will miss Lord Coleridge as a neighbour very much I am sure. I was very sorry to see the notice of his death.

I have written to Mr. Manley & urged him to hurry up with the printing of the Vendetta Story. And I have reminded him that the scrap-book you have so kindly lent should be returned to you as soon as the printing is finished.

Have you read “Diary of an XVIIIth Century Garden”? It is dangerous to recommend the reading of any book to a friend. But in this case I make an exception.

I have read Gardner’s Civil War with interest and much shame at my ignorance. And now I am tackling [Jean Jules] Jusserand’s “Renaissance & Reformation”.

Ida Shand writes that her father & Daisy go abroad in Nov. and that she will join them later.

The weather here is cold for the time of year.

With best wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

99. (stamped p.133)

Caledonian United Services Club

Edinburgh

Nov. 20/27

My dear Sir Ernest

I hope this will find you fairly fit, & in as good spirits as the sunset of our days permits to any of us who have outlived some of our contemporaries.

For some time past I have wished to escape to some more genial climate further South. Now at last there seems to be a better chance of my doing so, since my youngest girl whom I came here to look after will be sailing for Hong Kong to join her sister at the end of January. Even then my own movements will depend on the extent of my walking powers. They have improved lately as the result of an operation performed three weeks ago, but travelling any long distance is a pleasure still to come.

These past few months I have been reading some interesting books, - amongst others Ludwig’s “Bismarck”, “William II”, & “Napoleon”, all in translation. Of these I prefer the first. Ludwig is a graphic writer, but his books give one an unpleasant impression of the author. I am now reading Vol. 1 of Gertrude Bell’s letters. Her death & that of Hogarth are a national loss. The latter I got to know at Oxford; the former I met in

PRO 30/33 11/9

Private correspondence from J.H. Gubbins to Sir Ernest Satow
January 1922 – November 1927 (99 letters)

London during a Historical Congress. They were both charming personalities.

Please remember me to Tuke when you next see him. He was troubled with sciatica when he last wrote. I fear he may find the proof-correcting of my little Vendetta story more of a grind than he expected. Manley is making heavy weather with his printing job!

The other day I read a review of Basil Chamberlain's Anthology of French verse. If you can give me his present Geneva address I should like to write him a line of congratulation.

Your greenhouse must be a great comfort to you at this time of year. One drawback to life in a city in these Northern latitudes is the darkness of the winter. One is constantly reminded of Goethe's cry for "more light".

This is a dull letter for which I have little excuse. Our friend Shand seems to retain most of his activity. Ida Shand writes he went up to the City the other day & was all the better for the journey.

With the best of wishes

Believe me

Yours always Sincerely

J.H. Gubbins

[End of File.]

PRO 30/33 11/10
Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

PRO 30/33 11/10 – Satow to Gubbins

1. (Page 2) Lexicographical Note in French, in Satow's handwriting with "[July 1917?]" in blue crayon

Littre

Feuillants. Nom de religieux réformés de l'ordre de Citeaux, appelés en France feuillants et en Italie réformés de Saint Bernard. 2°. Membre d'un club (en 1791, 1792) de royalistes modérés qui avaient adhéré à la constitution, et don't les chefs étaient La Fayette et Bailly; il s'appelait d'abord société de 1789, et prit le nom de feuillants lorsqu'il vint occuper le couvent des feuillants auprès des Tuileries.

Jacobins. Religieux et religieuses de l'ordre de St. Dominique, dits Jacobins à cause de l'église de Saint-Jacques qu'on leur donna à Paris, et près de laquelle ils bâtirent leur couvent. 2°. Membres d'une société politique établie, en 1789, à Paris, dans l'ancien couvent des jacobins, et ardents à soutenir et à propager les idées d'une démocratie et d'une égalité absolues.

2.

"Ansd. 11 Sept. [1917, by Gubbins, see PRO 30/33 11/8]"

September 9, 1917

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary¹

My dear Gubbins,

Many thanks for the amusing lines upon the umbrella and the rain. It is skillfully done. By this time you are probably back again at your own flat, and I hope your sojourn at Upper Dicker [East Sussex] has done you all the good you desired. Strachey I hear is taking a holiday till Christmas, and J.B. Atkin the sub-editor is in charge. This was told me by Atkin's father-in-law, whom I sometimes meet at the Club in Exeter. The difference of style in the leading articles is noticeable, Atkin being more trenchant and outspoken even than Strachey. What a shocking mess the Russians are making of their affairs. It is very hard that they, for whom France entered into the war, should give no assistance to her ally. The pessimists are having a fine time of it. But no doubt the Americans when they get to the front in force will make a great impression on the foe. It is interesting to learn that the Germans admit the authenticity of the telegrams exchanged in 1904-5 between Willy and Niki. What a disgraceful intrigue. Gerard's book will do a deal of good in America. One wonders how much the Daily Telegraph

¹ All letters are on "Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary" headed embossed paper unless otherwise stated.

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

paid for the copy. I find it very interesting. Then the German bombing of American hospitals will incense all Americans, and one even hopes that some day or other the actual criminals will receive the punishment they deserve.

My booklet went off to [George W.] Prothero a fortnight ago, but he does not seem to have had time as yet to read it. If he is to edit all the multitudinous [H.M.S.O.] booklets mentioned in the list he sent to me his work is cut out for him. I hope you are getting on well with your contribution. A 3rd number of the *New East* has reached me, together with a letter from Cholmondeley² telling me what he imagines to be the Japanese view of this enterprise. C. knows the Japanese mind thoroughly well, and judges the people very fairly. Archdeacon King seems to be in a precarious state of health.

The greater part of the harvest has been got in here, and from what farmers have told me I infer that it is in pretty good condition, better than the pessimist writers in the papers are willing to admit. They seem to me to exaggerate evil and ignore all the good that befall[s] us. There will be abundance of potatoes, if one may judge by the results obtained by my friends, some having got crops at the rate of over 20 tons to the acre. The best returns are from a sort known as Arran chief.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

3. October 21, 1917

My dear Gubbins,

As I said should be done, I am sending you tomorrow by passenger train parcel the remaining volumes of the *Duchesse d'Abrantes*, and hope you will not be alarmed at their number. And also the September number of the "New East", that you may read the editor's article pitching into the Japanese press for belittling the [Anglo-Japanese] alliance. You need not return it to me, for it is not one of those periodicals I care to accumulate. You will henceforward I hope get the 'Spectator' earlier in the week, as Reay is no longer here to keep it for a day or two.

My brother [Sam] is a bit anxious about his son [Christopher] who is in command of a submarine at a place not very far removed from the Gulf of Riga,³ but we hope the

² PRO 30/33 12 and 13 (general correspondence, 1906-27) include a total of 1,397 letters, including 75 letters from Reverend Lionel Berners Cholmondeley. The letter mentioned here was probably the one dated August 5, 1917 in PRO 30/33 13/4.

³ Lt. C. P. Satow's submarine C32 was grounded in Vaist Bay, Estonia and blown up to avoid capture on October 22, 1917. See A.S. Evans, *Beneath the Waves: A History of H.M. Submarine Losses 1904-1971*, Pen and Sword Maritime, 2010, Part II, The Great War.

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins

1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

commander of our flotilla will get off before the enemy come nearer. Riga is of course shut off from communication by sea during the winter months. The state of Russia is truly deplorable, and one does not see any prospect of the nation pulling itself together. But the arrival of the American forces on the Western front next year will more than compensate for the Russian weakness. Perhaps a removal of the government to Moscow may work a change for the better. And then, I think it possible that the newspaper correspondents are dwelling too much on the social confusion, while the army is really doing fairly well at the front. Anyhow, I think Germany is getting to feel beaten, and the condition of the people must be very bad. How thorough the Americans are with their embargo on exports to neutral countries. Poor Holland between the Devil and the deep sea.

I have nothing from Prothero about my M.S. tho' he has had it for a couple of months. Probably he is overwhelmed with work. I hope yours is getting on to your satisfaction.

Yours ever sincerely

Ernest Satow

4. October 25, 1917

My dear Gubbins,

I am very glad that Mme. Junot arrived so à propos. She is very amusing, and also instructive; she shows us the underside of history. After all there is nothing so interesting as French history and memoirs. I have just got from the London Library the two final volumes of Garden's *Histoire Générale des traités de paix*, which cover the period from Napoleon's arrival at Paris after the Russia disaster to his departure for Elba. It is curious to note the similarity between his speeches and those of the Emperor William, the object being to hearten up his people and inflame their passions against England le tyran des mers. Eighteen months later he was a defeated and exiled tyrant himself.

Please let me send you books from time to time. It is such a pleasure to think that I can help to get you away from your all absorbing work. But I shall not be able to do this if you talk about paying the carriage. I will appropriate the stamps you have sent me, but this is a *conditio sinè quâ non*. Books by rail cost next to nothing. I will not send you the *New East* any more. For my own part I do not care to see it, and it usually goes into the waste paper basket. How I should like to show you Cholmondeley's letter about the editor and his belief in himself and his plans. What you tell me about Ussuri [river, a tributary of the Amur] is remarkable; I don't at all like it.⁴ I liked Lloyd George's

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outspoken language on the Irish question. Redmond I suppose had to say something in order to get back the confidence of the Nationalists, and his complaints did not seem to have much in them. If people would read the correspondence of Peel about Ireland, when he was Irish Secretary and afterwards Home Secretary, they would be less hard on the occupant of the former post. I don't know whether the Home Secretary has much to do with Irish affairs in these days, probably not. Duke did very well, but I think he is apt to be prosy and a little pompous in his delivery; at least that was the impression I got on hearing him speak once at Exeter. It was very plucky of him to accept the job he has, and I partly wonder how the Prime Minister came to pick out so good a man.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

5. November 14, 1917

My dear Gubbins,

Herewith I send you a pamphlet on the Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular services, which I have got from No. 10 Adelphi Terrace. It seems to be very well done, but I have no idea who is the author.

Many thanks for your card of the 11th and your letter of yesterday. I agree that there are no limits to Japanese ambitions, and the worst of it is that they are so remarkably efficient as soldiers and sailors, and in other branches besides, diplomatic and consular services. I have been speculating on the possibility of its one day becoming necessary for ourselves and the Americans to put a curb on their ambitions. By the time this war comes to an end the Americans will have become a military nation. If it should ever come to a war for this purpose Hongkong will be the object of attack from Japan, and next to that the Philippines which the Americans will have some difficulty defending. They will have to greatly increase their navy, as such a war would have to be mainly a naval contest.

I am not surprised at the popular feeling in Japan about the alliance. Hitherto we have been the only power disposed to prevent by all possible means the devouring of China by Japan. The Americans are evidently now inclined to the same policy. The Germans, and perhaps the Russians, might like to divide with Japan, but no one can safely speculate on the future policy of a Russian democratic republic.

⁴ "Russia, it seems, is ready to cede the whole of the district of Ussuri in return for military help from Japan. The Japanese will be foolish not to jump at the offer. The people, as you know, are rolling in money, wh. they find it difficult to make good use of. Please keep this to yourself..." (Gubbins to Satow, 24 October 1917, PRO 30/33 11/8)

PRO 30/33 11/10
Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

What you tell me about your book is most interesting. I hope I shall be allowed to see it when in print. Oppenheim has sent me the galley proofs of his paper on "Straits". I have suggested that he should also mention those which give access to the Inland Sea, as well as those of Tsushima, Tsugaru and La Pérouse. I suggested to him that you could probably tell him whether the Japanese government has adopted any special regulations with respect to the former bunch.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

6. November 27, 1917

My dear Gubbins,

Very many thanks for your very interesting comments on Chinese and Japanese poetry and art, with which I entirely agree. Though the Chinese people is generally reproached with being materialists, there is the whole of their philosophy to prove the contrary as far as concerns the leading minds among them, and in art and poetry they are the superiors[,] the masters and the teachers of the Japanese. To them the title of materialist more properly belongs. Since the Manyōshū fount of poetry dried up, it has been merely naturalistic and then artificial. I have not seen Yone Noguchi's⁵ "Spirit of Japanese poetry". As regards verbosity, the writer of the review I sent you seems to make the same complaint of our poets, but I do not think this is just. [Tennyson's] In Memoriam and the Two Voices, and much of Browning, are as concise as could be wished. Probably the Chinese written character allowed to both Chinese and Japanese less ease & freedom than is bestowed on our poets by the alphabet.

You say you would pay me a visit but for the Food Controller; however, if you came, you would get your rations of meat and bread, if not of sugar. Only, do not delay till you have finished what you are writing for Prothero. You could bring your materials and books of reference, and have the room you know of to write in. So come whenever you feel so disposed.

I am one of those who entirely disapprove of the "Spectator's" tone towards Lloyd George on account of his Paris speech, and yesterday I told my newspaper agent to stop it. So you will not receive any more after next Saturday's issue. In the "Times" Literary Supplement I get all the reviews of books that I need see.

There are two little books that would be worth your while to look at: "A Century of British Foreign Policy" by G.P. Gooch and Canon J.H.B. Masterman, which among

⁵ Yonejirō Noguchi (1875-1947). An influential Japanese writer of poetry, fiction, essays and literary criticism in English and Japanese.

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins

1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

other things gives an account of the genesis of our alliance with Japan. The other is called “An Introduction to the Study of Foreign Relations, containing Essays on “War and Peace since 1815”, “The Causes of Modern Wars”, “International Economic Relations”, “International Law”, “Political Relations between Advanced and Backward Peoples” and “International Relations and the Growth of Freedom”, by A.J. Grant, F.F. Urquhart (of Balliol), Arthur Greenwood, J.D.L. Hughes & P.H. Kerr (Editor of the Round Table). Greenwood writes also the last of the six. It is an excellent little book. Both these I can lend you, if you would like to read them; they give much food for reflection.

The paragraph you send me about Chinese troops coming to Europe is curious, and I cannot yet believe that they are really to be sent here. They would not be of much use.

I hope Colin will get over his gassing. What a horrible crime on the part of the Germans to have introduced this method of making war. I shall not repeat what you tell me about the gunners.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

7. December 2, 1917

My dear Gubbins,

The books will go off to you tomorrow by parcel post, and I hope you will like them. Gooch I believe is a well known writer, and so is Canon Masterman. R.S. Poole has sent me for a notice in the Historical Review “Early Diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan 1853-1866”, by Treat, a Professor at Stanford University. He quotes you incessantly. When I have done my writing, I must send you the volume to look at. It seems to be very accurate, as far as I have got at present.

I did not see Lord Lansdowne’s letter, as the Daily Telegraph does not come my way, but I hope to get it, as well as the article of yesterday, on the Freedom of the Seas, from my brother Sam. There is an article on this text by Sir John Macdonnell in the XIXth century for November, and perhaps you might find what you want there, as to the first use of the phrase. I rather think he quotes Queen Elizabeth on this subject. But I do not possess the Oxford Dictionary. The date of Grotius’ Mare Liberum seems to be 1609. I got very excited when I read that Lansdowne had talked of the Freedom of the Seas in his unhappy letter, so I sat down and wrote my view of the question to the Times, but doubt whether they will put it in. They look to the name of a writer rather than the merits of what he says. But I kept a copy. Surely Lansdowne must have gone off his head. But I remember that his ancestor Shelburne was quite ready to give up the capture

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of enemy ships and cargoes, and it was a lucky thing that he had no hand in the commercial treaty of 1786 with France. Perhaps it is a hereditary tendency in that family to seek conciliation by sacrifice. Fitzmaurice in his *Life of Shelburne* makes no mention of this disposition of the Shelburne of the 18th century, but I am certain he knows of it, for I told him what I had discovered.

By the way, Piggott has a first article on the history of the 'Declaration of Paris' in the same number of the *XIX Century*, full of information, but disfigured by his usual violence of language. His temper does not seem to be softened by increasing age. Still, what he writes is often worth reading.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

8. 19 December 1917

My dear Gubbins,

I am filled with admiration of the careful reading you have bestowed upon Yone Noguchi's book. But I do not find that I can get on with it. I read a chapter or two, and then began to feel bored. Probably the explanation is that the subject does not fit in with what happens to interest me chiefly, which just now is the history of Holland. So Y.N. goes back to you with many thanks. He must have got a friend to correct his English, for it is much better in the book than in the article on Milton and Toho (ho ought to be So Tungpo, I think; he was a great man, but not as great as Milton). As for the Lady 'resident at one of the legations', I don't believe her to be what she describes herself as being, in fact the writer strikes me as being a clever newspaper man. You will say I am unduly sceptical. So I am too about "Christine", and in spite of the "late" Countess [Elizabeth] von Arnim's disclaimer I believe she is the author, on various grounds. Odious little woman.

I have read Lord Lansdowne's letter very carefully. It is a pity that he published it, and it would have been wiser if he had consulted an independent opinion before he signed it. As I have often said, most books would be better if they were revised by a friend before they are published. He omits so much that it ought to have contained. Kerry's disagreement is very curious. He Lansdowne is a very charming personality. My letter to the *Times* has been set up, and they sent me a proof, with an intimation that it will be published at a more fitting moment. Proofs of my book on Congresses and Conferences began to come to me yesterday. It looks as if it might run to 100 pp. or so, but Prothero has talked about cutting it down. I hope not, for I took a great deal of trouble to confute the F.O. traditional view of 'collective guarantees' as regards

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins

1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

Luxemburg, and I am pleased to find that [Louis] Renault agrees with my view. If I had time I would write a book on guarantees in general, which has been badly done by a lawyer and another fellow. The cases in which guaranteeing Powers have been called on to fulfil such engagements are few in comparison with the number given.

My hands are cold this morning which accounts for my poor calligraphy.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

P.S. I have read John Morley's "Recollections". It is extremely interesting, especially his private letters to [Viceroy of India Lord] Minto when he was S[ecretary] of S[tate] for India.

CUTTING from The Japan Times, Sunday, October 7, 1917. Two columns.

FROM A JAPANESE WINDOW

"Toho and Milton" by Tokutomi

(Especially written by Yone Noguchi)

17

THE JAPAN TIMES, SUNDAY, OCTOBER, 7, 1917.

FROM A JAPANESE WINDOW

"Toho and Milton" by Tokutomi

(Especially written by Yone Noguchi)

The somewhat dull historical narration of the first half of "Toho and Milton" by Mr. Iichiro Tokutomi makes the other half more brilliant and entertaining by way of contrast; even Mr. Tokutomi's literary gift well arranged with a journalistic common sense (his style of rounded and harmonious sentences is like steel at its best, as somebody remarked on Macaulay, and like 'in, of course, at its worst) cannot be expected to turn out anything original, when the subject he treated was Milton. It is almost impossible to make any new discovery in criticism of the western literature, when our Japanese libraries, all of them, are nothing, as far as foreign books are concerned, more than a mere accumulation of odds and ends whose best use would be of utilitarian service; we cannot make any first-hand investigation when the subjects are of western origin. We have to be content, at least at the present, with a translation or transcription of the book of a western authority, when we want to write and criticise foreign literature through Milton or Wordsworth or Tennyson or any other writer. The fame of Milton was popularised in Japan, I think, by Macaulay who had an immense vogue at the early time of invasion of the English literature, that is, some three decades ago; from the preface of "Toho and Milton" I understand that Mr. Tokutomi was first acquainted with Milton or Macaulay's Milton when he was barely eighteen or nineteen years old. He was certainly precocious (who was not precocious in those days, I wonder) to think in his little mind of writing an essay on Milton, and to be absorbed in Macaulay whose Puritan prudence, I dare say, appealed quite strongly to Mr. Tokutomi's temperament eager to find a sort of turning-point. As it was said that Macaulay's presence among the Whig families marked an epoch, we can say perhaps that Mr. Tokutomi, under the influence of Western books (though his reading was not so wide, I believe, in those early days), lifted himself into a sphere which was difficult to enter by those whom a new democratic programme was still foreign. From the same sense that we call Macaulay the bourgeois in Belgravia, Mr. Tokutomi carried the aristocratic understanding into the ascending middle class of modern Japan. It was Chesterton that wrote somewhere on Macaulay in this way: "Above all Macaulay typifies the two things that really make the Victorian age itself, the

local mandarin gave a great banquet in honour of the distinguished poet, whom he had rescued, half drowned and famishing, from the ruined shrine by the shore where the waters had cast him up. The wine-cup brimmed again and again, food was piled up in front of the honoured guest, and the attendant who waited was Death. The end was swift, sudden, and pitiful. The guest died from the banquet of his rescuer.

One Point of Meeting

Thus the lives of Milton and Toho are so different; but they joined their hands in point of making poetry the only one greatest vehicle to express their own minds of nobility and truth. A certain critic writes on Milton as follows: "Nature has for Milton the stimulus of novelty. Like other town poets, he knows nature less, but feels it more. What he does exactly render for us is not objective nature, but its effect upon the emotional life of the lettered student." On the contrary to Milton, Toho was far more intimate in his feeling toward nature, there in his work is an underlying sadness, as L. Cranmer-Byng writes, which appears continually, sometimes in the vein that runs throughout the poem, sometimes at the conclusion, and often at the summing up of all things. Mr. Cranmer-Byng writes on the reason why the Chinese poets are sad. He says: "The reason is that the Chinese poet is haunted. He is haunted by the vast shadow of a past without historians—a past that is legendary, unmapped and unbounded, and yields, therefore, Golcondas and golden lands innumerable to its bold adventures. He is haunted from out the crumbled palaces of vanished kings, where 'in the form of blue flames one sees spirits moving through each dark recess.' He is haunted by the traditional voices of the old masters of his craft, and lastly, more than all, by the dead women and men of his races, the ancestors that count in the making of his composite soul and have their silent say in every action, thought, and impulse of his life." Such is this Englishman's opinion. I have pleasure to tell you that Mr. Cranmer-Byng is the author of "A Lute of Jade" being selections from the classical poets of China.

Mr. Tokutomi sums up Milton and Toho in the last chapter of his big book of nearly eight hundred pages, saying that their lives were never meant to receive, but only to give; they were not given a proper opportunity, and realized their own lives' failure, and with the failure they were content. Milton was the man of will; and Toho the man of passion. But Mr. Tokutomi thinks that, although Toho was thought generally to be no man of affair, he was, on the contrary, a man whose practical ability had no chance to express itself. Finally I can say that this book by Mr.

all wrote somewhere on Macaulay in this way: "Above all Macaulay typifies the two things that really make the Victorian age itself, the cheapness and narrowness of its conscious formulae; the richness and humanity of its unconscious tradition."

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When I say that Mr. Tokutomi is typical of writers at the age of the Meiji compromise, I mean that his imagination, though limited, is always well-balanced and ethical, his reason, though not constructive, is well enduring and often romantic; he is wholly foreign to a modern aestheticism, and he cannot forget his ardour and appetite for a thing which is sometimes called morality and I myself call lockjaw. Although I am not ready to say that Mr. Tokutomi's understanding of Milton is much affected by Macaulay's utilitarian theory, I can say that his criticism is based on information than intellect, on body than soul; but Milton, the most classic of all the English poets, is not utterly uncongenial, happy to say, to Mr. Tokutomi's way of criticism; and when he compares Milton with Toho at the famous Court of Ming Huang of ancient China, it seems that he stands brilliantly with all the authorities. It is plain enough that he knew Toho better than Milton; at least he can understand the former with his own natural passion and impulse.

The Exquisite Toho
Toho or To Fu (A.D. 712-770) was, it is

he was, on the contrary, a man whose practical ability had no chance to express itself.
Finally I can say that this book by Mr. Tokutomi is quite worthy of translating into English. Many English reader will be delighted to know many things about Toho when he is placed on the same platform with Milton.

famous Court of Ming Huang of ancient China, it seems that he stands brilliantly with all the authorities. It is plain enough that he knew Toho better than Milton; at least he can understand the former with his own natural passion and impulse.

The Exquisite Toho

Toho or Tu Fu (A.D. 712-770) was, it is written in books, tall and slightly built, yet robust with finely chiselled features; his manners were exquisite, and his appearance distinguished. Although he was not an equal match with Milton of proud noble mien, Toho was quite creditable in appearance; and like Milton, he came of a respectable family, and as he says himself, from his seventh to his fortieth year study and letters occupied all his available time. At the age of twenty-seven he came to the capital with his fame in front of him, and there Riharu or Li Po the poet and Ts'en Ts'an became his friends, and Ming Huang his great patron. When Milton was not older than thirty, he had L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Arcades, Comus and Lycidus already to his credit, firmly believing that verse-making was a work divine; and he had amply proved in those early works the qualities which were good enough to inspire Tennyson to write as follows:

"O mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies,
O skilled to sing of Time or Eternity,
God-gifted organ of England,
Milton, a name to resound for ages."

Milton looked upon himself, as somebody writes, as a man dedicated to a high purpose, and framed his life accordingly. He thought that "he who would not be frustrated of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he has in himself the experience and practice of all that which is praiseworthy." Such words, solemnity, nobility, gravity, majesty and loftiness are stock vocabularies to use when one criticises Milton's distinguished qualities as an English poet; and I think as Mr. Tokutomi believes that those words are equally fitting to Toho's poetical works whose craftsmanship was far excelled than any other Chinese poet. Toho was aptly called the God of Poetry. He was born in the province of Hu-kuang.

Toho Was no Man of Affairs

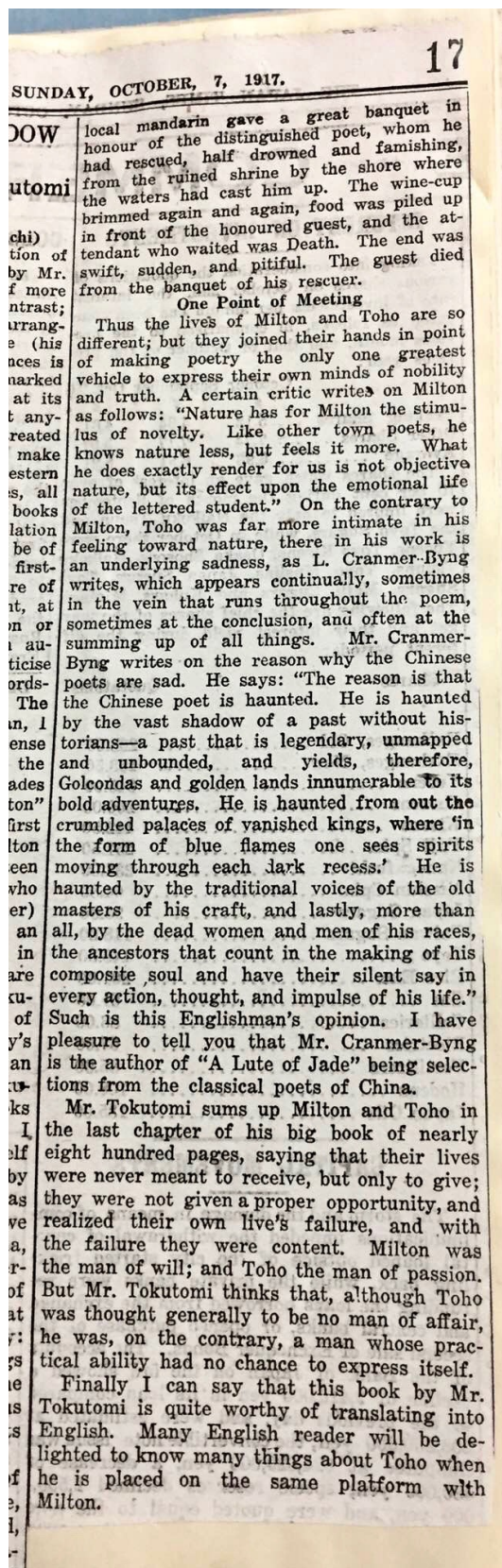
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Toho Was no Man of Affairs

Unlike Milton, Toho was no man of affairs, when the new Emperor Su Tsung returned in triumph to the capital and appointed him Imperial Censor, he fulfilled his new duties by telling his majesty the whole unpalatable truth in a manner strangely free from ornamental apology, and was promptly rewarded with the exile of a provincial governorship. Then he became a homeless wanderer, just like his friend Li Po; but, unlike Li Po, it is written, he concealed his brilliant name, obtaining food and patronage for his delightful nameless self alone, and not for his reputation's sake. Finally, he was discovered by the military governor of the province of Ssuch'uan, who applied on his behalf for the post of Restorer of Ancient Monuments in the district, the one congenial appointment of his life. For six years he kept his post; then trouble in the shape of rebel hordes burst once more upon the province, and again he became an exile. The last act of his eventful life took place in his native district; some

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins

1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

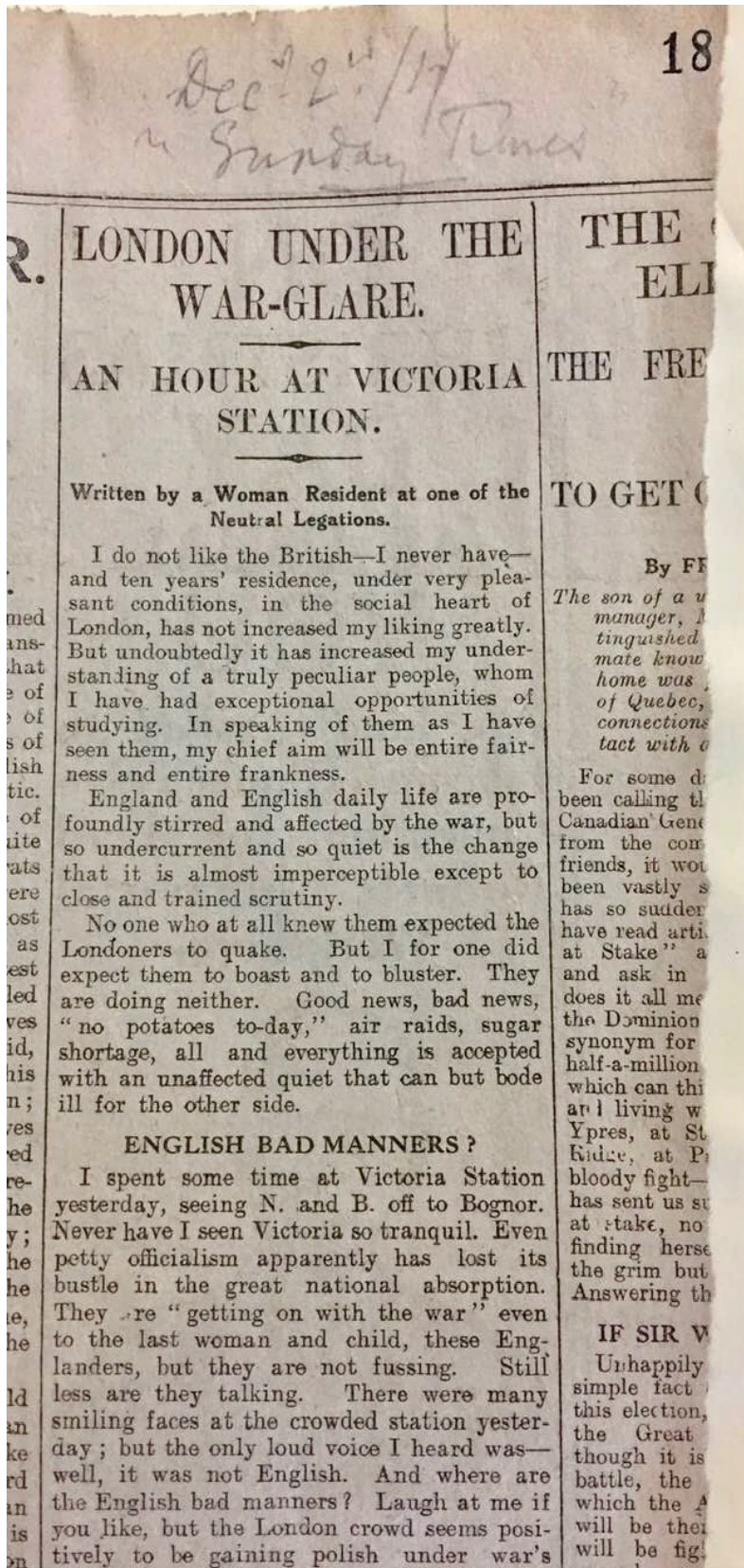
CUTTING from December 2nd, 1917 Sunday Times.

LONDON UNDER THE WAR-GLARE

AN HOUR AT VICTORIA STATION

Written by a Woman Resident at one of the Neutral Legations.

“I do not like the British – I never have – and ten years’ residence, under very pleasant conditions, in the social heart of London, has not increased my liking greatly. But undoubtedly it has increased my understanding of a truly peculiar people, whom I have had exceptional opportunities of studying. In speaking of them as I have seen them, my chief aim will be entire fairness and frankness...”



shortage, all and every thing with an unaffected quiet that can but bode ill for the other side.

ENGLISH BAD MANNERS ?

I spent some time at Victoria Station yesterday, seeing N. and B. off to Bognor. Never have I seen Victoria so tranquil. Even petty officialism apparently has lost its bustle in the great national absorption. They are "getting on with the war" even to the last woman and child, these Englishers, but they are not fussing. Still less are they talking. There were many smiling faces at the crowded station yesterday; but the only loud voice I heard was—well, it was not English. And where are the English bad manners? Laugh at me if you like, but the London crowd seems positively to be gaining polish under war's grinding. N. had lost her vanity-bag and B. had mislaid his valet, but theirs was the first emotion I saw. All the push and small selfishnesses, once the hall-mark of the middle-class British traveller, seemed charmed away. People were grave and people were gay. But all were quiet.

English indifference is gigantic. It may be a fine quality or the reverse. But it is not a pose. Ten years have convinced me of that. It is just blood of the British blood, bone of the English bone. Personally I think it overrated and unattractive, but it is not affected. It may be a form of vanity, a self-sufficiency. Certainly it is a brand of pride. But it is perfectly genuine.

THE CROWD AND GERMAN PRISONERS.

Two or three hundred German prisoners were brought from Epping way while we stood on platform 5; sat some time in their train, and then were detrained, marched across the platform and retrained for Southampton. It was an amazing spectacle. No one paid any attention to them. We three were interested and curious. The English scarcely looked. I saw one woman yawn. I was visiting in Germany when war was declared, and only regained my London domicile some months later through international official-circle courtesy. I saw British prisoners marched through German crowds twice—hysterical, hooting crowds of men and women, peasant and gentle. The contrast is enormous.

If any of the German soldiers at Victoria

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THE CROWD AND GERMAN PRISONERS.

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If any of the German soldiers at Victoria Station yesterday had ever, in the earlier days of the war, acted as guards to English prisoners in the streets of Berlin, they must have been struck by the difference. I wonder what they thought.

They themselves were not a martial sight. "Don't you hate them?" I could not resist saying to an English acquaintance whom I chanced to encounter. The girl looked at me in surprise. "No," she said, "one doesn't hate boys." And almost all of them were mere boys.

"But," I persisted, and then realised what I was about to say, and paused abruptly, embarrassed.

She looked down at her own black dress and then up at me and smiled, and shrugged her shoulder a little. "I know what you started to say. Perhaps one of them killed Bob" (her brother). "Well, perhaps one of them did. But what of it? That's war. And they are prisoners. It wouldn't be easy to hate a prisoner, would it? And these don't look to me as if they could have done much killing."

NOT A MARTIAL SIGHT.

No, they did not. Two or three looked ill. A dozen looked home-sick. Two or three dozen looked surly, as many more looked very dejected. Quite a noticeable number looked stupid. The rest, and these the large majority, looked contented and relieved. All were clean, well clad and apparently well fed. A great many were smoking. I saw a guard hand one an apple. The German boy smiled as he took it, but no one seemed surprised.

When they were marched down and across the platform it was a picturesque moment. They did not march well. Probably they were not on their mettle. But they went between closely standing lines of upright English soldiers, tall men for the most, with upheld drawn bayonets glittering in

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 the platform it was a picturesque moment.
 They did not march well. Probably they
 were not on their mettle. But they went
 between closely standing lines of upright
 English soldiers, tall men for the most,
 with upheld drawn bayonets glittering in
 the sunlight. Yet no one but I looked.
 Oh! these English!

THE CALM OF SUPERB STRENGTH.

Do I wish England to win the war?
 Not greatly.

But I realise she will. I do not under-
 stand military things over much; but I
 know Berlin and I know London. I see the
 spirit of these English people who are wait-
 ing and working at home. I believe that
 such calm is irresistible as well as invulner-
 able.

England is tranquil. There is a mighty
 hush over London, the hush and the calm
 of great determination and of superb
 strength. After all, it is the spirit and the
 soul of the people who wait and watch in
 the homelands that win wars, is it not?

Napoleon said that the English never
 could be beaten because they never knew
 when they were beaten, but fought on and
 on until they turned the day. The stupend-
 ous calm of London to-day is the calm of an
 imperial people's inflexible determination.
 Everyone is quiet (even the Americans in
 the London drawing-rooms and on the
 London streets speak quietly and more
 calmly). Everyone is strong and patient -
 inexhaustible courage screwed to an ever-
 lasting sticking-place.

Probably the Germans are as determined.
 I, for one, do not doubt it. I spent years of
 a very happy girlhood in Germany. But
 there is a difference—the German deter-
 mination is of another quality. It lacks the
 English poise, the English calm. Calm is
 a great asset. Perhaps a nation can have
 no asset greater or more potent.

PRO 30/33 11/10
Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

9. January 20, 1918

My dear Gubbins,

Very many thanks for your two letters of the 12th. I am very glad that you propose to pay me a visit when you have corrected proofs of your book for Prothero. If I can help to soften Colonel Wake's heart I shall be very pleased to write him a line, as I know him quite well. He married a stepdaughter of my Sidmouth friend Mrs. Francis Johnston and for a time lived in a cottage there called Woodbine which formerly belonged to us. So if you said you were coming to me, he would see the propriety of your request for leave.

There is another parallel besides the French revolution. Just before the Invincible Armada, Queen Elizabeth, who honestly desired peace with Spain, sent plenipo[tentiarie]s over to Ostend to negotiate with Alexander of Parma. They were kept hanging on there for three or four months, and accused by Alexander, who professed equal eagerness to negotiate, while all the time he and Philip II were exchanging letters that showed that on that side the only object was to drag on the discussions so as to give time for warlike preparations. Elizabeth was honest; the other side was only pretending. Now, I take Trotzky and co. to be honest, simpleminded persons who allow themselves to be fooled. The 16th century story is told by [John Lothrop] Motley in great detail in his "United Netherlands", with the aid of papers from the archives of Simancas [in the province of Valladolid, Spain]. I confess that the documents of the time often show our great Queen to have been also a capricious and even foolish woman at times.

I shall be writing to Mrs. Churchill shortly and will give her your message.

Lloyd George's interview with the Labour delegates reported in yesterday's "Times" is good reading. One wishes that Labour men (and other politicians) knew more of real history. Have you seen a pamphlet entitled "Then and Now", by Firth the Regius Professor of History at Oxford; a comparison of the present war with what we had on our hands a century ago. I am told it is very good, but probably there is not much in it that you and I would find very new. I cannot believe that the Germans will succeed in bamboozling even the Bolshevists into signing a peace.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

10. January 22, 1918

My dear Gubbins,

I am very sorry not to be able to give you the dates of which you send me a list, but

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

some time ago I gave my collection of China bluebooks to the London Library.⁶ But I think that possibly they can only be found in the Confidential China & Japan print, which no one has but the F.O. If you go to Blech or write to him he will give you the dates.

Wyman & Sons
29 Breems Buildings
Fetter Lane

are the people from whom I get Govt. publications.

I am very sorry indeed not to be able to give you the dates you require.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

11. February 10, 1918

My dear Gubbins,

Treat and the volume of Essays reached me safely. Pray keep Gooch & Masterman as long as you like. Quite recently I made the discovery of Guizot's Lectures on Civilisation, delivered from 1828 to 1835 when he was a professor. They are truly admirable. The first set form a sketch of the development of European civilization from the fall of the Roman Empire, the five succeeding volumes are on French civilization from the Vth century up to 1789. I feel confident you would like them. But I cannot offer to lend them to you, as I borrowed them from the London Library.

I have been laid up since Monday last in consequence of a hemorr[h]age, which seems to have come from the rupture of an internal pile. But I have turned the corner, and hope to get downstairs tomorrow.

Jellicoe on German submarines was interesting a few days ago. I hope it is true that the U-boat that torpedoed the Tuscania was destroyed. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why she did not complete her malignant work.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

12. Ottery St. Mary,⁷

February 16, 1918

My dear Gubbins,

⁶ Satow offered them to the library on December 9, 1915. The gift was reported in the Times of December 7, 1916. (Diary)

⁷ Responding to Gubbins's letter dated February 15, 1918 (PRO 30/33 11/8)

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins

1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

I have no record of the Loochoo [Ryukyu, Okinawa] question being referred by China & Japan to General [Ulysses] Grant, but my vague recollection of the matter agrees with yours. No doubt Sir Harry [Parkes] will have reported to the F.O. If General Grant offered to mediate, the fact would be related in J.R. Grant's Around the World with Grant. It is possible that Grant first offered his mediation, and on its being declined by Japan, heard what the Japanese Government had to say on the matter, and gave it as his opinion that Japan was in the right. I am sorry I cannot elucidate the point.

Liaotung I take it means "East of the Liao", i.e. the river which flows out past Newchwang, and the peninsula is usually called Liaotung Peninsula by Europeans in China. The Gulf lies to the W. of the peninsula. Fengtien is the Chinese name for Mukden, which is the capital of the province of Shêngking (盛京)

*for reference, see
Capital of the pro
Shêngking (盛京). I
think Shêngking is* I rather think that Shêngking is another synonym for Mukden, and that the province takes its name from the city, just as the province of Kirin is also named after its capital. The capital of Heh-lung-chiang is Tsi-tsihar.

You must not think Prothero is crabbed. I think he is very hard worked, and his notes are consequently short, or even curt. I adopted the plan of writing to him as little as possible.

What a disgusting lot of charlatans we have in the H[ouse]. of Commons. And really Asquith the other day was malignant. I did not see [Lt. Col. Charles] Repington's article in the Morning Post. That newspaper has been repulsive to me for a long time past.

The Bolsheviks remind me of the Chinese delegate at the Hague in 1907, who when the question of declaration of war was discussed, inquired what would be the situation of the nation against whom war was declared refusing to receive it. It is a relief to think that China is not conterminous with Germany. For Germany would make war, and the Chinese would refuse to fight.

I hope the Powers that have persuaded China and Liberia & Uruguay and Siam to declare war against Germany will remember their responsibilities when peace returns, and after.

My health is not yet all that I would desire, for I lost a good deal of blood, more than I could afford. But I am now eating meat and taking wine again by my doctor's advice, and am feeling a bit better in consequence.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

PRO 30/33 11/10
Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

13. Ottery St. Mary⁸

February 22, 1918

My dear Gubbins,

Your account of your correspondence with the Academic Registrar [of the University of London] and your interview with Mr. Watson interests me greatly, for I am in the position of a Referee also. I forget when it was that they asked me to undertake that office; some time last year I think. Anyhow, ‘thinking no evil’, I assented. Then in January last the enclosed correspondence took place.

3 Jany. C.M. Greig

6 Jany. to do.

22 Jany. A. Watson

24 “ to ”

I read Kato’s paper published by the Japan Society, and it was so good, I thought, that there could be no objection to certifying his fitness.

You will see that Watson says Bonar could not furnish copies of his contributions to the Asiatic Society of Japan, nor did he send a list. So I made no search. I cannot recollect any such papers, but there may be.⁹ I did not trouble to look. That Bonar can speak Japanese fairly well I think is probable, but I do not remember ever having come across indications of scholarship in his case.

The way in which the Registrar threw the forms of application at my head made me think that the University looks on recognition as a mere formality, but I am not willing to state that I know a thing where I do not. But from what Watson said to you it is clear that he at least considers the duties of a referee to be real.

I need not tell you that Bonar’s appointment came on me as a complete surprise,¹⁰ and that I have no idea whatever of how it was procured.

I return Housman’s epitaph, which I don’t altogether like.

You mention a book by Madelin,¹¹ but I can’t recollect what it is. I sympathize with your difficulty over Japanese religion, which appears from your having written it three times. My task was a much simpler and more straightforward one.

⁸ Responding to Gubbins’ letter of February 21, 1918 (PRO 30/33 11/8).

⁹ Bonar, H.A.C., ‘On Maritime Enterprises in Japan’, Transactions of the A.S.J., Vol. 15, pp. 103-123, Yokohama, 1887; also ‘Notes on the Capital of Korea’, T.A.S.J., Vol. 11(2), pp. 274-284.

¹⁰ See diary entry, January 5, 1917.

¹¹ Louis Madelin (1871-1956). French historian who specialised in the French Revolution and First French Empire.

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

P.S. Please let me have these enclosures back. E.S.

14. Ottery St. Mary

26 February 1918

My dear Gubbins,

The best authority on Shintō is no doubt Aston, who holds that the older Shinto gods are nature-deities, and that the ancestor worship associated with modern Shintō is merely derivative. He says that the cult of one's real forefathers beginning with deceased parents was hardly known in ancient Japan. But he says nothing about its having come into Shinto from Buddhism or Confucianism. I don't suppose you wish to go deeply into this question, but if you did I could lend you Aston's big book on Shintō and his little volume published in 1907.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

15. Beaumont

Ottery St. Mary

March 9, 1918.

My dear Gubbins,

I have great pleasure in sending you the volume of Asiatic Society Transactions you ask for.

[Alexander Allan] Shand lunched with me yesterday. I thought him looking very well, no doubt the prospect of getting rid of business trammels has cheered him up. His two daughters after having inspected a house at Honiton went off straight to see another at Chudleigh near Newton Abbot. But I hope they will decide on the Honiton House, as then I shall have more opportunities of seeing them. Chudleigh is a long way off, over two hours from here. The other place I know, having exchanged calls with the previous occupants, and I would like it myself if I were not already comfortably settled here.

The embassy has been withdrawn from Petrograd, and I suppose we shall not renew diplomatic relations until things settle down, and a reasonable government emerges from the present chaos. I agree with you that the idea of Chinese troops keeping order at Kharbin [Harbin?] is almost farcical. It would not surprise me to hear that the landing of Japanese troops at Vladivostok is a fait accompli, before the newspapers are allowed to tell us of the result of conversations between Balfour and Motono.

PRO 30/33 11/10
Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

I have got [Louis] Madelin's French revolution, but have not begun to read it, having started on the volume of that series called 'Le Siècle de la Renaissance' which for the moment interests me more. It is a very readable and clear account of events from Charles VIII to Henri IV. The next volume, Le Grand Siècle, Louis XIII & Louis XIV is also likely to be of absorbing interest. Perhaps you would like to see these. I have not yet received the latter, but I have XVIIIème Siècle, i.e. Louis XV up to the Convocation of the States General [1789].

Yours Sincerely
Ernest Satow

16. Beaumont

Ottery St. Mary

14 March 1918

My dear Gubbins,

Saburō tells me that there used to be a butsudan [Buddhist altar] and kamidana [Shintō altar] in every household, except of the Montoshu,¹² which only has the butsudan. Before 1868 every Japanese subject had to be registered as a member of some Buddhist congregation or other. I don't think there were any Shintō funerals before 1868, unless perhaps of priests connected with the Ise temples, but as to that I have no knowledge.

The Kamidana contained a tablet of the Daijūgū and those of other temples visited by members of the family, and the Butsudan the memorial tablets of the family.

I am very sorry to confess that I do not know who Professor Macdonald the historian is. Many thanks for N. Kato's article on intervention in Siberia. It will be interesting to see if it comes off. The Chinese would tremble if Germany got on to the Trans-Siberian railway.

I began reading Madelin's French Revolution, but have laid it aside for the present. One has read so much about that period that I am not sure I want to pursue the subject.

Shand & his daughters have decided against the house near Honiton. He has first to find a tenant for his own house. If he does, then perhaps he may take the house at Chudleigh, which is on the S.W. of Exeter near Newton Abbot, about 2 hours travelling from here, so that I should be able to go there and back in a day when I wanted to see him.

Yours ever

¹² The Monto sect of Buddhism 門徒宗

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins
1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

Ernest Satow

17. Ottery St. Mary

17 March 1918

My dear Gubbins,

Here is a list of books not too expensively bound – all of which are at your service.

Ollivier, l'Empire Libéral, 16 volumes, sm. 800.

Ollivier, l'Eglise et l'Etat du Vatican 2v.

Bourgeois et Clermont, Rome et Napoléon III, 1 v.

Coquelle, Napoléon et Angleterre 1.v.

Zevort, Histoire de la 3ème République, 4 v.

E. Daudet, Madame de Lieven, 1 v.

“ , L'Ambassade du Duc Decazes en Angleterre 1 v.

Sir A. Ward's Germany vol. I from 1815 – 1852

Gorainow, Le Bosphore et Les Dardanelles 1v.

Temperley, Frederick the Great and Kaiser Joseph, 1 v.

Lecky's England in the 18th Century, 8v.

Dyer's Modern Europe, 5v.

Dalling's Historical Sketches (an excellent one of Talleyrand)

Seeley's Expansion of England, 1v.

“ Growth of British Policy 2v.

Froude's, English in Ireland 3v.

Diaries & Correspondence of the First Lord Malmesbury 4v.

Mémoires de Marbot 3v. (one of Napoleon's generals)

I started again on Madelin a day or two ago, and like yourself, find him more interesting as I get further on. Le Siècle de la Renaissance, i.e. the history of France from Charles VIII to Henri IV, is very good (in the same series as Madelin). I expect the volume on Louis XIII & XIV shortly from Hachette, next to that comes the volume on Louis XV.

I have plenty of books on Napoleon, but with the exception of Rosebery's 'The Last Phase', they are mostly in the sort of binding that makes the volumes heavy to hold, and a cause of anxiety to you (though I don't mind the risk).

Mme. Junot will reach me in a day or two, I dare say.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

I daresay you read Balfour's speech in which he jeered at people who trace resemblance

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Private Correspondence from Satow to J.H.Gubbins

1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

between the French and Russian Revolutions, on the ground that the former had a unifying effect, the latter disintegrating. But surely he forgets the royalist movement at Toulon which handed over that place to England, and La Vendée which was not finally subdued until after 18th Brumaire. The soldiers of France, as Madelin shows, sided with the revolution and killed their officers. I think B. has not devoted much of his time to modern history. E.S.

P.P.S. In an interesting passage from Frederick's *Histoire de mon temps*, he ascribes the success of Prussia in the Seven Years' War to 'le défaut d'accord et le manque d'harmonie entre les grandes puissances de la grande alliance; leurs intérêts différents, qui les empêchaient de convenir de certaines opérations; le peu d'union entre les généraux russes et autrichiens; la mort de l'impératrice de Russie, avec laquelle l'alliance de l'Autriche fut ensevelie dans un même tombeau, la défection des Russes...[']

What a close parallel. The first set of causes one hopes no longer exist for us, though they surely impeded our operations for the first three years, until Lloyd George changed the system. The last, the defection of Russia, was what set Frederick on his legs again. But for that he would have been utterly crushed, and his dominions torn to pieces. As [Kaiser] William is the political heir of Frederick, one may safely suppose that he studies his writings and has this particular passage in mind at the present moment. E.S.

18. Ottery St. Mary

March 20, 1918

My dear Gubbins,

The box of books arrived this afternoon, and the contents were in perfect condition, which shows what great care you bestowed on them. Coquelle went off to you yesterday. It is really a very interesting book, not excessively pro-Napoleon, but rather the contrary. I am very pleased to read in your letter of the 15th that when you have finished what you are writing for Prothero I may have the pleasure of seeing you here. May that time come quickly! The garden is fast getting into condition. There is a white magnolia covered with ivory white blossoms, and all the flowering plums, cherries and crabs are hastening forward. About the end of the month I may have a naval nephew [Christopher the submariner] & his wife, the former recently returned from Russia, and I expect to learn a good deal from him about that distressful country. The threatened change of government in Japan seems rather unfortunate. I imagine Terauchi to be a much sounder man than Saionji. The latter was Foreign Minister when I arrived in Japan in 1895.

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1917 [July?] – 1919 June (49 items: one note and 48 letters)

I hope your journey into Surrey had a satisfactory ending.

One of the books I am sending is an excellent Italian history of the last hundred years by a man named Orsi. It was reviewed in the last quarterly by G. Trevelyan. I wish we had such a book in English. Gooch & Masterman's little volume does not quite fill the gap. What we need is a book from which Englishmen can learn what foreign countries have been doing in the same time.

In Madelin I have just got to Carnot. He was no doubt a great man. Another parallel between the French & Russian revolutions is that the former while renouncing conquest laid themselves out for admitting other nations to join them – only in the present instance it is the Germans who are carrying out that ambiguous policy. I much wish to see the Japanese at Vladivostok, but can quite understand the indifference of city men. They are probably afraid of Japanese ambition.

The "Everyman" you said in your letter of the 18th you were sending has not turned up. Perhaps it will be delivered tomorrow morning.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

19. Ottery St. Mary

March 31, 1918

My dear Gubbins,

Did I mention to you [André] Chéradame's *La question d'Orient*, published in 1903. It is all about the Bagdad railway, which is of particular interest now as we have got hold of a long section of it, and there seems a possibility of the Mesopotamian expedition reaching Aleppo, close to where the railway passes after crossing the Taurus [mountains]. The book is much at your service when you have done with Coquelle.

Macdonald of course knows nothing about Japan, so it is natural for him to want a great deal more precise information. It is quite impossible to impart in a few pages all the knowledge you have gained during a residence of nearly forty years. You will no doubt find further condensation will be called for. What I find troublesome is being told that I may write so many hundred or thousand words, a measure of which I have not the slightest notion. I once got Prothero to tell me in terms of pages of the Quarterly Review, but have mislaid his letter.

You must be anxious just now about Colin. As far as I can judge from the "Times" I conjecture that things on the whole are going on well both for ourselves and the French, but what a fearful slaughter it must be on both sides. One hopes that before long we shall read that the tide has turned and that we are pressing forward again. I have been

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told that the French have sixty divisions in reserve that have not yet fired a shot. That long-range gun of the German seems to be a nasty weapon, tho' perhaps not very formidable, except when it smashes the vaulting of a church and sends down the fragments of stone upon the congregation.

There is a rumour of the Turks sending an expedition to the Crimea, the inhabitants of which are Mussulman Tartars. It looks as if the plan of the Central Powers were to reduce Russia to its dimensions of about 200 years ago before Peter the Great began his conquests, afterwards extended by Catherine the Second.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

20. Ottery St. Mary

16 April 1918

My dear Gubbins,

The date you are in search of is 1493. It was a couple of bulls dated 3 and 4 April of that year, issued by that old dissolute scoundrel Pope Alexander VI. You will find some account of these bulls in [William] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, and the actual text in [Juan de] Solorzano De Indiarum jure. I had the Leyden edition of 1672, and the reference is vol. i. p.345. But it went with other books to Sotheby's. Prothero is no doubt exacting, like all editors. It was very kind of you to send me the Westminster with that reassuring article. Not that I have doubted the ability of our men to hold their own. Gough,¹³ I am told, ought to have been superseded long ago, but his popularity caused him to get off on each occasion. A parallel to Buller¹⁴ it seems. What a curious thing that Buddhist ceremony of blessing the robes was. I do not recollect its being held when the last emperor came to the throne.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

21. Ottery St. Mary

21 April 1918

My dear Gubbins,

Many thanks for your letters of the 10th & 17th. I hope your Reform Club friend is exaggerating the hostility to Lloyd George. As you say, probably the wish is father to

¹³ Probably General Sir Hubert Gough (1870-1963). He commanded the British Fifth Army, 1916-18.

¹⁴ Probably General Sir Redvers Henry Buller, V.C. (1839-1908).

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the thought. I doubt whether the majority of the nation would be pleased to see him displaced by Asquith. I have great hopes that the Irish question will be settled by the Bill now being drafted. Probably it will satisfy no Irish body of politicians, but that the government will stand or fall by it one cannot doubt.

I am very glad you have got Colin with you, and trust that he will improve rapidly. If he could have a few months in this climate it would set him up again. There is nothing in the world like English air for healthiness.

The last thing I heard from Shand was that his house in Upper Norwood was to be put up to auction on the 25th, and that he had not quite decided on the Chudleigh house. If he came down here or not again to see it I do not know.

I have been trying to get [I. Valentine] Chirol here for the Whitsuntide vacation, and had I been successful should have proposed to you to come and meet him. But he cannot come. I fancy he is a busy man. I don't know whether my brother [Sam] will come then or not. But you know that this house is always open to you. As the Spaniards say, it is Casa de Usted.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

22. Ottery St. Mary

28 April 1918

My dear Gubbins,

I am very glad to hear that Colin is getting on so well that you think he is not likely to require an extension of leave. Men like him must be much wanted at the front at this moment. The loss of Kemmel [Kemmelberg, Flanders, Belgium]¹⁵ seems a serious matter, but it is to be hoped that our big guns will pound it hard and render it untenable by the Germans.

In the March number of the *New East*, in an article by W.B. Mason occurs the incorrect statement that England received the lion's share of the Shimonoseki indemnity. Few people seem to know that in the fable from which this phrase is derived, the lion claims each share in succession, and shows that he is entitled to the whole. But leaving that aside, the facts are that we received only \$645,000, which [while?] each of the other Powers got \$785,000. I have written to Robertson Scott to point out the mistake, referring him to the Appendix to Treat's book on American relations with Japan 1863-65. By the way it is usually said that the Americans returned the whole indemnity to

¹⁵ The Second Battle of the Kemmelberg took place between April 25 and 26, 1918.

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Japan, but as they had invested their share in 5% bonds, they kept the interest, and consequently only returned a part of the total sum that had accrued, and it took them till February 1883 to decide on this course. When the payment to Japan was made and prize money for the officers & crew of the Wyoming and the gun's crew of the Takiang had been provided for, the sum of \$914,533.12 remained, which was paid into the U.S. treasury. All the figures are American dollars. As the original sum had been invested in 5% bonds it had of course more than doubled in the course of time. When the indemnity payments were made the Mexican dollar was worth more than the American gold dollar. That is a very interesting article you tell me of in the Shin Nihon. But were not our political parties at the outset something like this, gangs of Whigs and Tories with their followers, who aimed more at dividing the loaves and fishes than at pushing forward definite political principles?

Cheradame will not doubt come by tomorrow's early post. Parcels are seldom delivered here on Sunday.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

23. Ottery St. Mary

May 27. 1918

My dear Gubbins,

I am very sorry to hear of your anxiety about Colin. It sounds rather serious, but I hope he will be able to have a good long rest, which is what is needed in such cases. I suppose a convalescent home such as he is likely to go to must necessarily be a government establishment, but if it is permissible for him to do his convalescence in a private house, I should be very glad to see him here for the purpose. As you know, the climate here is excellent, and he would not have the company of other invalids, which must be depressing one would think. I am hoping to have a visit from Shand and one or two of his daughters, in order that they may look at a house at Sidmouth which I think might suit them. I only wrote to him this afternoon to propose this, so do not know how the idea is likely to find favour with him.

Many thanks for "Everyman"; the personal article on Gwynne seems to me to be in rather bad taste. I rather think G. was Reuter's man at Peking part of my time there.

Noel's¹⁶ death has grieved me much. He was a fine type of British Admiral, and his work in Crete when rear admiral in the Mediterranean was excellent. He and I were

¹⁶ Admiral Sir Gerard Henry Uctred Noel (1845-1918). Satow noted his obituary in his diary entry for May 24, 1918.

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wrecked together in the “Rattler” in Soya Bay in 1868 – fifty years ago.¹⁷ His wife is sister to a lady I know well at Lymptone on the estuary of the Exe.

I do not know whether Mary Dickinson can give you any information about weaving, for she seems to be chiefly engaged in getting women for the land. But in default of a personal talk with her, why not write and ask. No doubt you know that Wiltshire, the district in which Trowbridge lies, was at one time a great centre of the cloth industry.

It is quite impossible to believe that the government would have arrested all those Sinn Fein people without being in possession of sufficient evidence to convict them. Dillon is in a disagreeable position, obliged to feign disbelief in their guilt. He is a man whom I personally dislike, having once met him at lunch. Not an attractive person at all.

What you tell me about the “New Europe” is highly interesting. You may rely on my not repeating it. I do not receive it any longer. The American Historical Review was posted to you this morning. Besides Treat’s Article, it has a review of my book on diplomacy, which has not deeply impressed me. But Moore is learned in international case law, and I made a good deal of use of his book. Surely Voltaire must have confused value with volume.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

24. June 2, 1918 (stamped p.46)

My dear Gubbins,

I am sorry that I cannot furnish you with anything about Japanese local government, at least not of 1889 or 1890, though I might perhaps find something of an earlier date – I have just had a look at my papers, but have found nothing. Shand’s idea that I am writing another book is so far correct, that I am collecting materials with a view to a book on treaties of guarantee; but it goes on slowly, as some twenty folio volumes of Dumont’s Code diplomatique have to be examined, and notes taken. Whether anything will ever come of it lies on the lap of the gods, to use a Homeric phrase, but it serves to amuse my forenoons.

This reminds me that meeting an old hedger & ditcher, whom I have sometimes employed, I fell into talk with him about our ages, and the necessity of working less. To which he replied ‘You can’t have two forenoons in one day.’

The position of all the weak Powers whom the Western Allies have persuaded to declare war only on Germany gives one a good deal to think about. A good many will

¹⁷ See Satow’s diary for September 8 to October 17, 1868.

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of course be protected by England, France or the United States. But China? She must not be left to become a victim to German aggressiveness after the war. So I was interested to see in the Times some paragraphs about an alliance between her and Japan with the object preventing German peaceful or other penetration. If Japan undertakes to defend China, with China's consent, what an important part is cast for her on the Far Eastern Stage. It is to be presumed that the F.O. knows all about it.

I think I have already drawn your attention to the curious fact that Russia has now been reduced to her former dimensions, before she began her career of conquest & annexation under Peter the Great and his successors. How near she was to appropriating the whole of Manchuria, but for Japan's interference. And before 1900 Witte had told O'Connor that Chihli &c. the north of China would fall to Russia. That was in the days when the Shanghai 'Statesmen' were urging on the F.O. the annexation of the Yangtze valley. There will be a curious rearrangement of the globe, at least of the Old World after the war.

I am afraid that it is going to last much longer than any one ever ventures to suggest to the public.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

25. June 9, 1918 (stamped p. 48 – very faint)

My dear Gubbins

I don't feel certain that this will reach you before you start on your expedition into Suffolk but I want to lose no time in saying that I shall be delighted to welcome you here in July or August for a good long stay, whichever you prefer, but of course for me the sooner you come the pleasanter. Towards the end of June I expect my nephew Harold Satow & his wife. He is titular Consul at Trebizond, but was at home on leave when the war exploded, and has been employed on all sorts of odd jobs since, in Albania and Greece. So he will have interesting stories to tell. I hope to keep him till into July. It is very good news that you have concluded a concordat with Wake, and are able to get away for a few days change. I quite remember Levitt [Levett]. He was flaglieutenant in 1882 to I forget which of the many C. in Cs. [Commander in Chiefs] we have seen.¹⁸ After he married Mabel Parkes he became bursar of Keble College, and she was thrown from her horse and killed on the spot a few years after. I don't think I saw them at Oxford when I went home in 1883, and by 1887 he had I think gone to his

¹⁸ Levett – not Levitt – is the correct name. Satow mentions 'Levitt' on July 12, 1881 (diary), and again spells it wrong here.

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inheritance and taken the additional surname of Scrivener. Strange that he should turn out to be the owner of the cottages you are going to look at. A labourer's cottage is scarcely likely to be fit for your childrens' pied à terre without a good deal of alteration.

What you say about the young people of the present day is quite true in many cases. They do not seem to have the same respect for their parents' judgment as I can remember to have had for my father's. And of course the war has made a great difference. My brother Sam's youngest ones have taken their own life, but the elder ones are old-fashioned.

I have just read a volume of [Ernest] Lavisse's Histoire de France which is excellent as a work of reference, superior in many respects to the much smaller book brought out by [Frantz] Funck Brentano, which is a popular history, rather slangy, especially the volume on the French Revolution. I am now going to read Lavisse's volume on Louis XI. Voltaire's account of the [Portuguese ambassador in England] Pantaleon de Sa affair you mention is I suppose the short paragraph in Le Siècle de Louis XIV, which I got out and read. If there is any other by Voltaire please tell me. I shall read Ussher's article on Germany & Austria. I have just got a couple of books from Germany through the Stationery Office. They are very expeditious in such things.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

26. 1 July 1918 (stamped p.50)

My dear Gubbins,

I am very glad to learn that you will be able to come to me on the 4th or 5th August. For some days past I had it in my mind to write and tell you that Chirol has proposed to pay me a visit of a week or ten days from the 15th of the month, but it evidently would not suit you to time yourself with him. He is an interesting man, as you doubtless have experienced. It is 9 years since he was here last! But to have you here in August will be a great pleasure. I have no intention of going from home any time this year. Harold Satow arrived with his wife today. He is to work for the present in the Consular dept. of the F.O. Your description of Suffolk is very enticing. I do not know a beech with narrow pointed leaves, but there is a sort with leaves rather like the oak, indented along the edge, but rather more pointed. If you cannot procure Voltaire's Essai Sur les Moeurs, you will at any rate find it here, for I have a set of his works, 18th century. One can't always get what French books one wants in London, even from Hachette, who has a very poor stock, and is not always supplied with the publications of his Paris house. He has not e.g. Lavisse's Histoire de la France, which by the way I find an exceedingly

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interesting book, and full of detail that one wants. I wrote a week ago for Gerard's *Nos Alliés de l'Extrême Orient*, which had been reviewed in the *Times Lit[erary] Supplement*, but have not even had an answer. There is some one who knows a good deal about that part of the world writing now in that weekly, and it cannot be J.O.P. Bland, for he is away I think. Who can it be? I threw out a feeler to Chirol, but he did not rise to it. You and I both feel the same thing, that we wasted a good part of our time on things of naught. Don't give your annotated copy to the Embassy, Balliol or Bodley, but to the School of Oriental Languages, which will do some good work one of these days. There is a man named I think [Arthur] Waley, who has made some delightful translations of Chinese poetry, specimens of which have been published in the *Bulletin*. I don't mean to say I think that the School will do any good work in Japanese at present. From Oxford I had a notice the other day that the Hebdomadal Council had elected me to be on the Board of Electors to the Chinese Professorship. I wonder who is the candidate to replace Bullock. Parker is the best Chinese scholar I know of. C.W. Campbell is good at official Chinese, but I don't think he is literary, and probably Cockburn is not either.

Yours ever sincerely

Ernest Satow

27. August 11, 1918 (stamped p.52)

My dear Gubbins,

Wednesday the 21st will suit me very well for the beginning of your visit to me, and I shall be very pleased to help you to idle when you come. No doubt you will send me a postcard beforehand to say by what train you will arrive. I have given to Shand the paragraph about the Yugo-Slavs. He says he found out for himself after putting the question to you. Pray bring the *Novum Organum* with you, for I have never read it. The only thing of Bacon's I possess is the *Essays*, which I delight in. The *National Review* has not yet turned up. We have had delightful weather during the last week. Shand came on Monday, and we have had some nice walks together, once getting to the top of East Hill. It has generally been too hot to go out until after tea. He looks a good deal older, and is terribly thin. Of Thornhill I have heard nothing except what you tell me of his being at the Rougemont [Hotel]; but as I seldom go to Exeter I have not been able to look him up.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

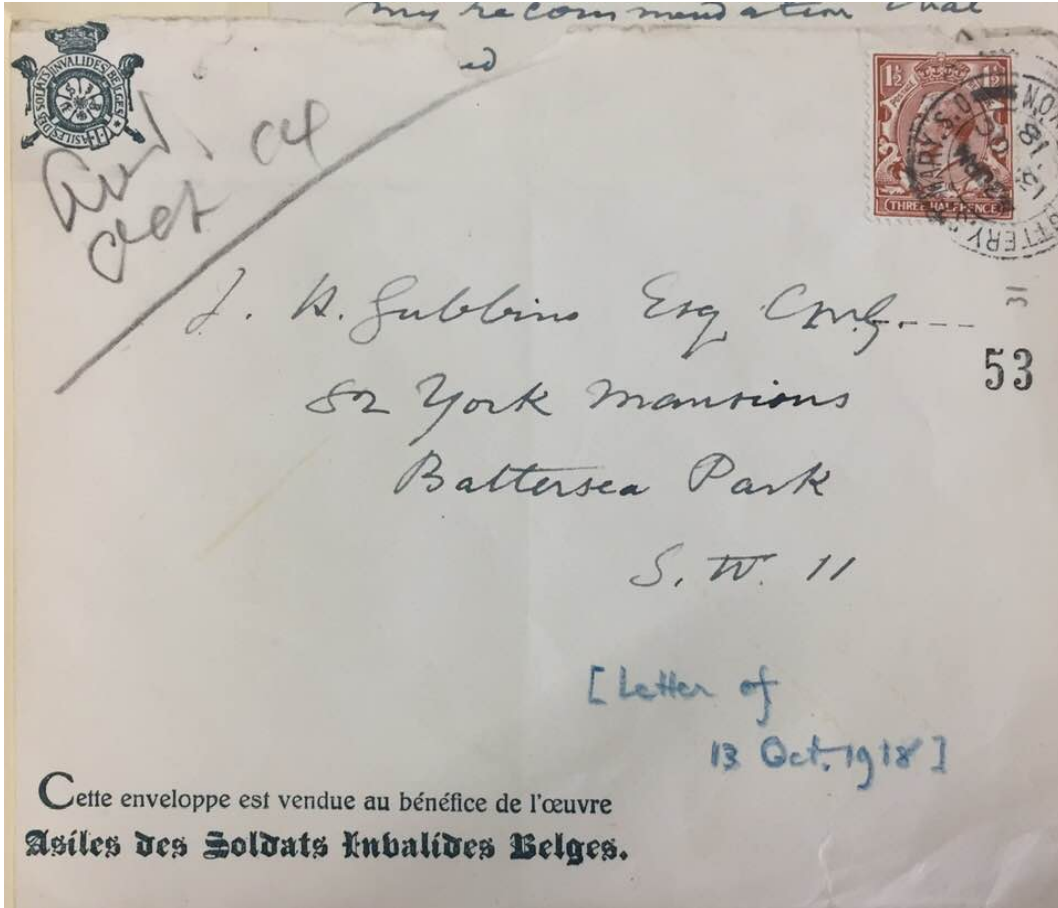
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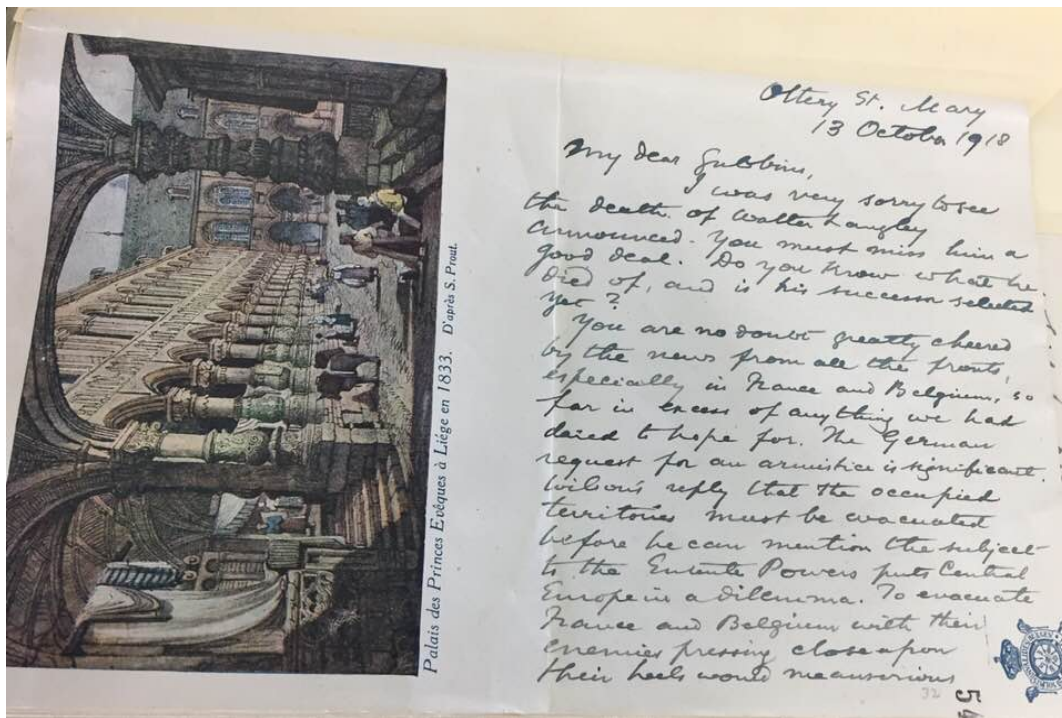
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[Illustration in letter. The envelope is sold in aid of the work of 'Asiles des Soldats Invalides Belges'.]

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My dear Gubbins,

I was very sorry to hear the death of Walter Langley announced. You must miss him a good deal. Do you know what he died of, and is his successor selected yet?

You are no doubt greatly cheered by the news from all the fronts, especially in France and Belgium, so far in excess of anything we had dared to hope for. The German request for an armistice is significant. Wilson's reply that the occupied territory must be evacuated before he can mention the subject to the Entente Powers puts Central Europe in a dilemma. To evacuate France and Belgium with their enemies pressing close upon their heels would mean serious losses in men and matériel. Can it be true that William has made up his mind to abdicate in favour of his grandson, and that military rule in Germany is in its death-throes. In [Paul] Matter's excellent *Bismarck et son temps* the author says that on Jan. 3rd 1864 B. reminded the King that his predecessors had gained in succession Hinder [Hither?] Pomerania, old Pomeranian Silesia, Posen, the Rhine provinces, and the Jahde territory, and to keep up the tradition he must annex Slesvig-Holstein to Prussia. And as we have seen William took Hanover & Nassau, & Alsace-Lorraine. So William II also has tried to carry on the Hohenzollern tradition, and having failed may perhaps think it his duty to give up. You must read Grant Robertson's *Bismarck*, which is excellent.

I wonder what you think of the present situation.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

29. 16 October 1918 (stamped p.55)

My dear Gubbins,

The date you are in search of for the relief of the legations in Peking is August 14. I have sent your address to Sam and asked him to let you have the recipe for the prune compôte. It was on my recommendation that Shand is reading *Price Collier*, which he probably finds easier than 'Bismarck'. Certainly P.C. would have written in a different tone of the Kaiser if he were doing it now. Did I tell you of the Frenchman [Paul] Matter's '*Bismarck et Son Temps*'. It is very good, but three volumes.

Germany is in a bad way I think. I trust the Powers will persevere in pushing back the Prussians, and continue to refuse to even discuss an armistice until they are entirely out of Belgium, France, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, Russia and Finland. Wilson's last note, which the Exeter evening paper published last night does not quite content me. He seems to me to enter too much into details. Then when we have presented to the Germans preliminary articles of peace, on the model of what they prescribed to France

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in 1871, we can begin to talk about an armistice. But we must have ‘material guarantees’ placed in our hands in the shape of German frontier fortresses, at least. There were some good letters in yesterday’s Times on the subject. George Prothero’s was especially good.

I am very sorry to hear that your health is not what it ought to be. Mine is very good. I have resumed [Moritz] Schreber’s Zimmer Gymnastik after having disused it for some years. It exercises each muscle of the body in turn, feet, knees, arms, hands & shoulders.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

P.S. Many thanks for the cutting about the gallant conduct of the Devons. The only men & officers who survived were the wounded. My friend John Morshead’s son, of Salcombe Regis was in command, and nothing has been heard of him since.

30. November 10. 1918 (stamped p.57)

My dear Gubbins,

Some time ago you wrote to me that you thought a revolution in Germany was possible, and your forecast appears to be verified by events. Our Sunday bulletin tells us that William has decided to abdicate both of his crowns; I suppose he felt unable to acknowledge his defeat by signing, or authorizing the signature of, the armistice. It does not seem possible under the circumstances for the Germans to refuse. Anyhow, we shall know tomorrow, so it is safer not to prophesy. It will be a great relief to know that there is to be no more fighting. What a curious ending to the war, the downfall of autocratic government and the triumph of democratic rule. How seldom do the results of a war accord with the intentions of those who start it. England, in which I include Scotland, Wales and the Dominions overseas, has cause to be proud. She has saved Europe by her exertions and example.¹⁹ “Weltmacht oder Niedergang” was [Friedrich von] Bernhardt’s watchword. They have got the latter; in fact they had no choice once the English-speaking nations threw in their lot with Belgium and France. I like the announcement made by France & Great Britain of their intentions with regard to Mesopotamia and Syria, which latter no doubt includes Palestine, though perhaps the plan is to set up a Jewish Commonwealth there. As for the German Colonies I daresay an attempt will be made to decide their future on similar lines, to avoid the reproach of having entered the war to gain territory. Well, if it can be managed so, I do not mind.

I am reading [Antonin] Debidour’s “Histoire diplomatique [de l’Europe], la paix

¹⁹ This is a quotation from a speech by William Pitt the Younger delivered at the Guildhall, City of London, 9 November 1805.

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armée and Vers la grande guerre[?]]. It is a useful book of reference, only a few slips such as giving only 6 instead of 8 weeks as the duration of the siege of the Peking legations. I have promised Poole to review the 2nd & 3rd volumes of [Hosea B.] Morse's International Relations of the Chinese Empire. It is a dull book, but very accurate as to facts and dates.

You will have seen in the September No. of the New East the history of the Carew Case²⁰ and my article on the Freedom of the Seas. I have also written for Reay a paper on 'A League of Nations' showing how it would have to be done, and I should like it to be published in the next volume of the Grotius Society. But I have not heard what he thinks of it. He says that Bryce is in favour of the League, while Fitzmaurice disbelieves in its possibility. There are difficulties, I admit, but if England and America are agreed, the thing can be done.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

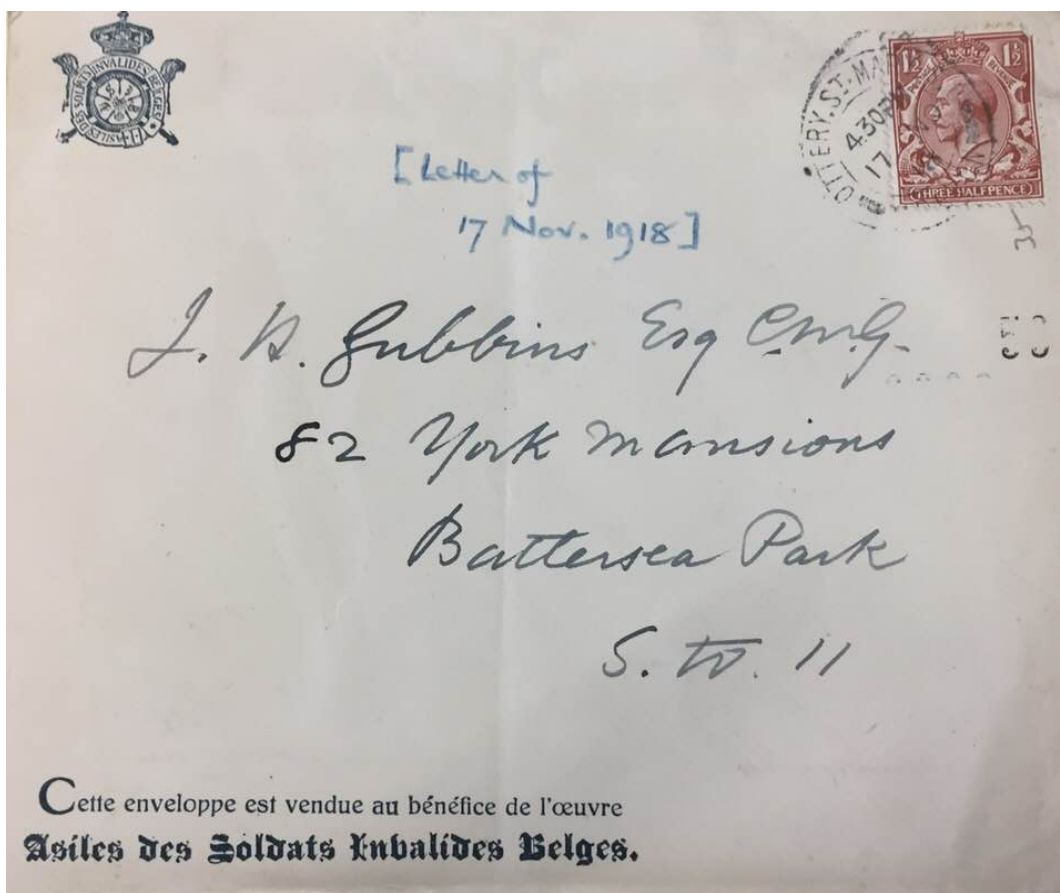
Would you like to read Debidour?

²⁰ Edith Carew was tried in 1897 for the arsenic poisoning of her husband in Yokohama. She was found guilty in the British Court for Japan and sentenced to death, but Satow as Minister was able to secure an Imperial pardon for her.

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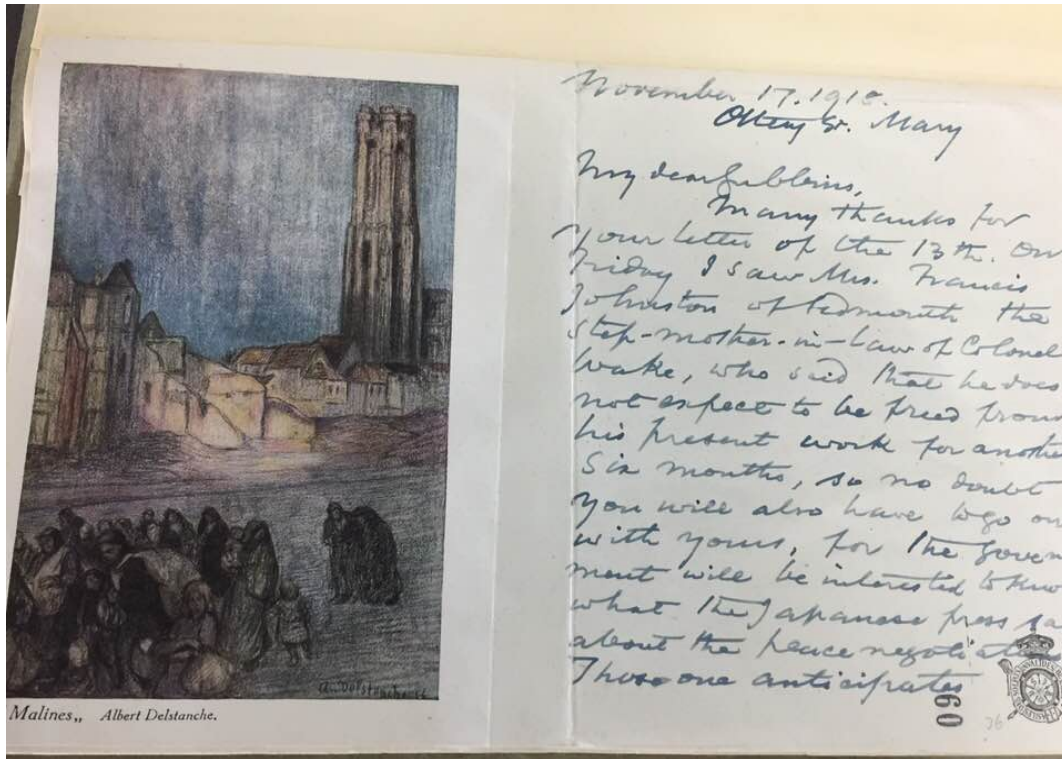
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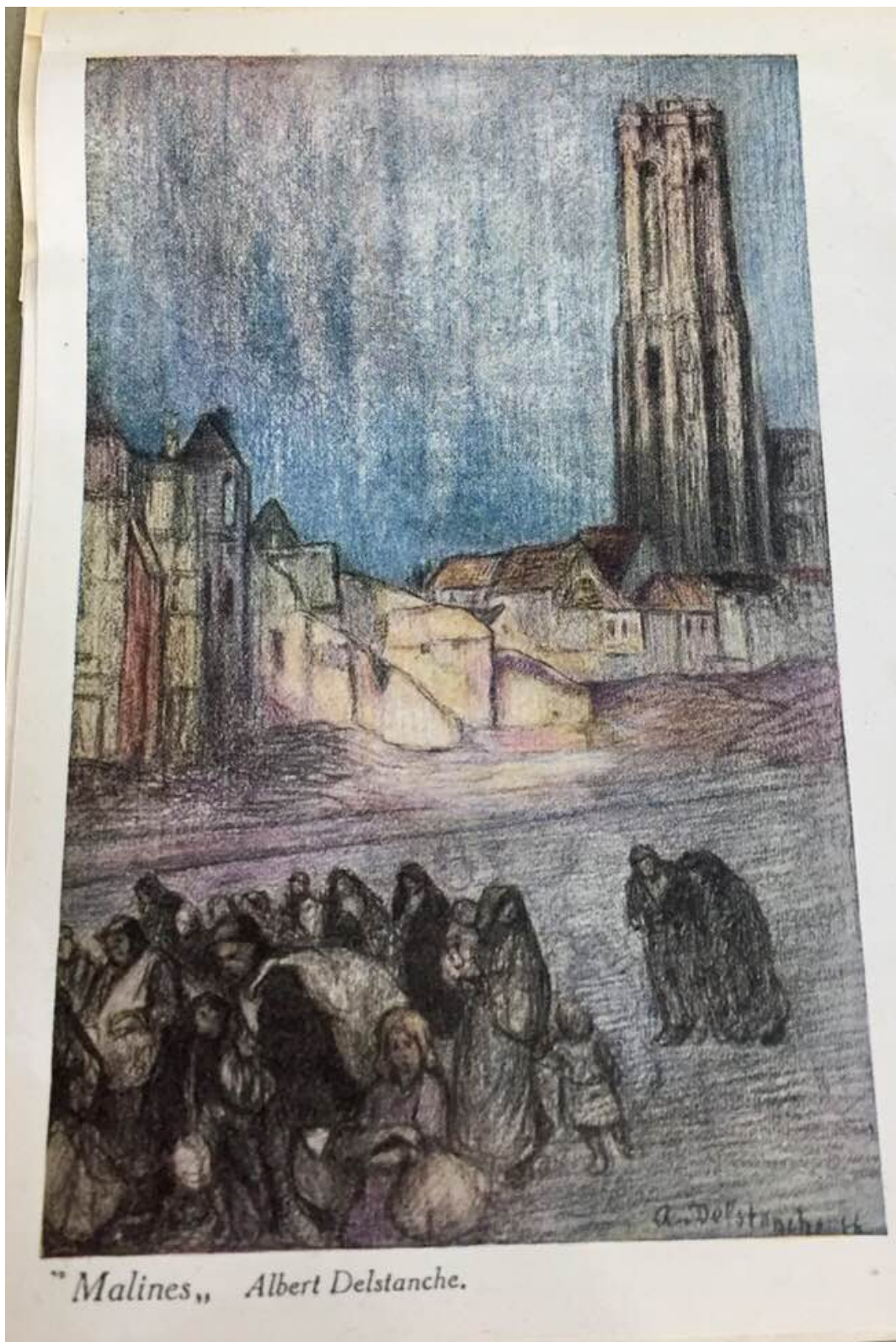
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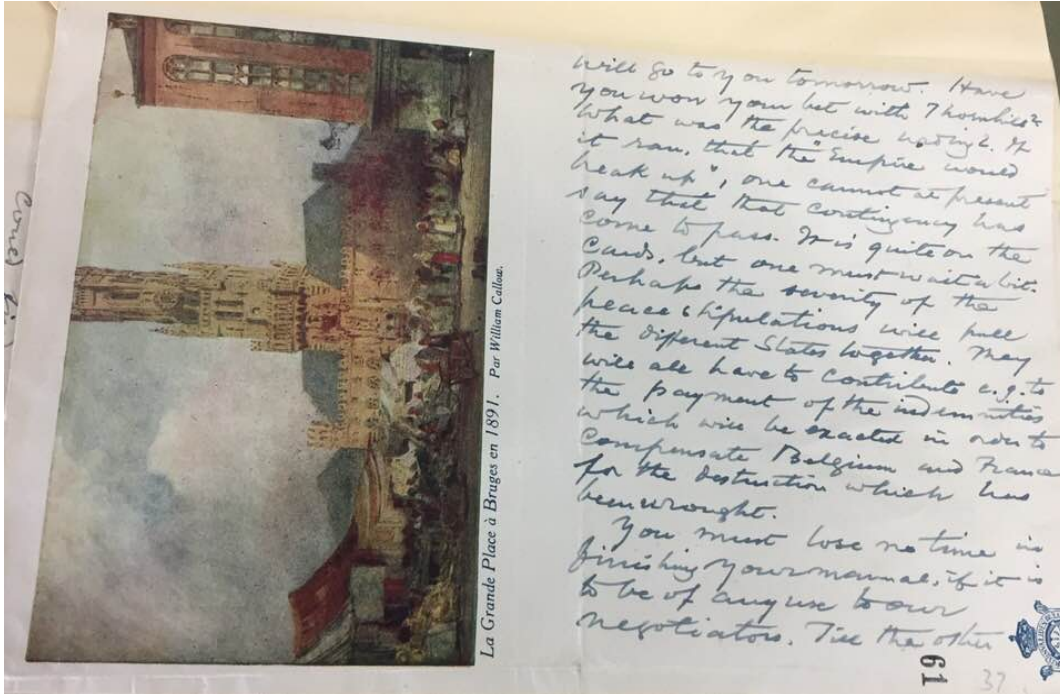
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31. November 17, 1918.

Ottery St. Mary

My dear Gubbins,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th. On Friday I saw Mrs. Francis Johnston of Sidmouth the step-mother-in-law of Colonel Wake, who said that he does not expect to be freed from his present work for another six months, so no doubt you will also have to go on with yours, for the government will be interested to know what the Japanese press says about the peace negotiations. Those one anticipates will take some months, for with all these new states to settle, it will be a complicated business. And then there will no doubt be an attempt to lay the foundations of a League of Nations. Curiously enough there exists a model, on a restricted scale, in Art. 17 of the Treaty of Westphalia, which gave peace to Germany for nearly a century, from 1638 to 1740, when Frederick invaded and seized Silesia. I don't think there was any fighting in Germany among Germans during the whole of that time.

Debidour's 2nd volume will go to you tomorrow. Have you won your bet with Thornhill? What was the precise wording? If it ran, that the "Empire would break up", one cannot at present say that contingency has come to pass. It is quite on the cards, but one must wait a bit. Perhaps the severity of the peace stipulations will pull the different States together. They will all have to contribute e.g. to the payment of the indemnities which will be exacted in order to compensate Belgium and France for the destruction which has been wrought.

You must lose no time in finishing your manual, if it is to be of any use to our negotiators. Till the other day it seemed as if there were still plenty of time.

Piggott's writings on the Freedom of the Seas which appeared in the XIX Century are not very helpful. They are verbose and declamatory. Those published by the Society of Arts I have not seen, and do not know whether P. is their author.

Thank you for your kind inquiry about my health. It is quite good, but I am feeling the cold today. There is an East wind and last night we had a sharp frost.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

32. November 23, 1918

My dear Gubbins,

I am very sorry that I cannot answer your question as to the naturalization of Japanese in Canada. Perhaps you could find out from the office of the Canadian Agent-General, or by consulting the most recent naturalization act, which you would find at the British

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Museum.

What I wrote about the Freedom of the Seas was sent to the “Times” as a letter to the editor. He had it set up, but after a fortnight or so decided that it was not an opportune moment. It was some time in the spring, when Lord Lansdowne’s letter appeared in which it was mentioned. An Article would naturally have gone into greater detail, with the history of the idea, but that had already been done.

I grieve that you should have thought I could uphold the ‘Immunity of private property at sea’. Four or five years ago I had two articles in the Quarterly giving the history and theory, and protesting against it; and not very long ago I had an article in the XIX Century in reply to Lord Avebury who had upheld it.

When I went to consult Sir Edward Fry before the Hague Conference of 1907, I found him as strong an opponent as myself, and if H.M.G. had instructed us to favour it at the Hague, I should probably have refused to go there. Fortunately the dissensions in the Cabinet on this subject were composed, and the then Lord Chancellor was beaten. Campbell-Bannerman however said to me after the dinner at the Palace given by King Edward that he found it difficult to make up his mind about it!²¹

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

33. November 26, 1918

“Ansd 1 Dec. 18”

My dear Gubbins,

No, I do not think I would read “Putnam Weale’s²²” “Fight for the Republic in China”. For one thing it was badly cut up in the “Times’ Literary Supplement”, and I dislike the author intensely. At Peking I refused to let him be introduced to me. He wrote 2 shameless books, “Manchu & Muscovite”, & “Indiscreet Letters from Peking”. He is very untruthful.

Would you like to see vol. 3 of “Morse’s International Relations of China”? The author is a very careful & exact writer, and can be depended on for the exactness of his citations. But he quotes Putnam Weale and Savage Laudon with reference to the siege of the legations without comment. In writing a notice of the book for the English historical Review I have hinted that some of his authorities are not as trustworthy as others. This volume gives the history of the Japanese China war & the proceedings in Corea which led up to it, but says very little about the Russo-Japanese war, with which

²¹ See Satow's diary for May 7, 1907.

²² Putnam Weale was the pen name of Bertram Lenox Simpson (1877-1930).

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China had little to do.

Have you seen “Manifesto of the China National Defence League” which comes from Birmingham. It is a violent diatribe against Japan, which it accuses of having ‘loaned’ 208,000,000 yen to the utterly corrupt Peking Government. I can send it to you with Morse.

My articles on Immunity of private property at sea, were in the Quarterly [Review] for January & July 1911, and my reply to Lord Avebury in the XIX Century for February 1913. As you of course know, this doctrine is that enemy private property in ships and cargoes ought to be immune from capture, because it is immune(!) on land, & pillage is forbidden by a Hague Convention. The Declaration of London goes on quite the opposite tack, and assumes the capture of enemy ships & their cargoes. As to the Declaration itself, I have never approved it, and have frequently said that if, instead of [Hamilton Cuffe, the 5th Earl of] Desart, I had been Chairman of the Maritime Conference, no Declaration would have been signed.²³ What I did say at the beginning of the war was that Asquith & Grey having authorized its signature with complete knowledge of its contents, ought either to have ratified it or resigned; all the more that the preamble declares its contents to be in accordance with international law. But that is very far from ‘upholding’ the Declaration as such.

Many thanks for John Fortescue’s article. I do not see the Sunday Times and had only read the portion reprinted in a local paper.

May I suggest that you insist on seeing proofs of the book you are doing for Prothero? Part of mine they have printed off without sending me proofs, & the consequence is that there are some hideous misprints, particularly in names.

You may be interested to read this letter from [L.B.] Cholmondeley which arrived this morning.²⁴

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

Particularism seems going strong in Germany. You will win your bet from Thornhill after all. E.S.

34. December 2 1918

My dear Gubbins,

Yesterday I sent you an article from the Japan Chronicle, written with one of Young’s

²³ Satow said the same thing to Sir Claude MacDonald on March 23, 1915 (diary).

²⁴ Cholmondeley wrote five letters to Satow in 1918. This is probably the one dated October 22nd.

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most vitriolic pens, on the premature decease of “the New East”, announced by the Editor in the October no. That too I can send you if you care to see it. This number also contains an article by W.B. Mason on [Francis] Brinkley, not altogether enthusiastic.

I applaud your decision not to go to Tyrell about continuing your work on the Japanese press. If the F.O. want it done they must ask you, not you them. Besides I am sure you will be much happier if you now get some respite from what must be very trying for the eyes, and dull at the best of times.

Stephen’s letter in the Times of Saturday seemed to me the quintessence of good sense. As F.E. Smith is one of the Law Officers I should have little confidence in whatever opinion they give to the Cabinet. It is true that he has written a book on international law, but that does not make him a learned man in that branch. Industry, like that of Philippon, carries a man far in compilation, and I rather think he has a coadjutor at least for his 2nd edition. As you say; under what law and before what court could the ex-Kaiser be tried. The attempts that have been made by early writers to distinguish between just and unjust wars have proved a failure, see Hall 7th edition p.62. I hope our government will not lend itself to anything so foolish as a demand on Holland for William’s extradition, for they are pretty certain to meet with a rebuff at the hands of a nation that knows as much of international law as all the others put together. On the other hand, it seems quite feasible to try German officers who have broken the laws & customs of war on land by which the parties to the Hague Conventions of 1899 & 1907 are bound; but even in that case it would be their own government whose duty it is to place them on trial before a court martial.

As for the punishment of William, surely his downfall & disgrace in the eyes of his own people is sufficient. I forget what criminologists say with regard to punishment. It certainly ought not to be revenge. If it is to be deterrent from a repetition of the offence, or a warning to others, in the present case it is not needed. Is it merely retributive? Leave him to God and his conscience.

If you would like to take a run down here I should be very pleased to see you, but you would not be able to have a sitting room to yourself as usual, for I have had to move into it to economize coal. Still, you could have a table to yourself. Or stay, you could have a Perfection oil stove in your bedroom. I daresay Wake would make no objection.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

35. December 15. 1918.

“Ansd. Jany. 1. 19.”

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My dear Gubbins,

I do not suppose you cared to read that Chinese diatribe against Japan, but I looked everywhere today without finding it, so fear it must have found its way into the waste paper basket. It is not to be much regretted. I apologize if in my letter of the 2nd I appeared to think that you were anxious to continue the work of examining Japanese newspapers. At the worst I can only have fancied you were not unwilling if the authorities desired it. I am hoping shortly to receive from Paris two vols. on the Foreign Policy of Austria by a writer named [J.] Larmeroux, reviewed in the Times Literary Supplement of the 5th, which promises to be interesting. I have been reading [Viscount James] Bryce's Essays & Addresses in War Time, which has two good chapters on a league of nations, very like [Professor Lassa] Oppenheim's three lectures on that subject which he tells me Longmans are to publish this week, Baroness [Olga] Lentrum's "Court & Diplomacy in Austria & Germany" which is a genuine story. Her father was Austrian minister at the Hague in 1899 when the first Peace Conference took place, and she tells one some curious things about the attitude of the German and Austrian delegates. Her own sympathies are Russian, her mother having been a Lobánow. And lastly Rudyard Kipling's booklet about War at Sea. Now I have a big German book on the Greek Insurrection of 1821-29 and the negotiations which ended in the Greek Kingdom, and a huge collection of diplomatic documents about the war of 1870-1, by the diligent compiler who uses the pseudonym of Comte d'Angeberg. So life is still interesting.

I sympathize with you in your having been asked by Prothero to re-arrange your manual on Japan, but hope it is merely a matter of scissors & paste, and does not involve rewriting. You must be heartily sick of the subject by this time. The English Staff for Paris negotiations must have crossed over about a week ago. It will be pleasant to see the peace preliminaries when they are published. I was much pleased by the Dutch announcement recently that they cannot refuse asylum to the Emperor William. After all, the existing practice of nations does not forbid a State from making war with or without a pretext. But of course my view of the matter is not the popular one.

The best time in Ottery is May. If you can come then my house will be ready to offer you the usual shelter, for I shall then go back into the bookroom. So don't talk of taking lodgings.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

36. January 5, 1919.

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My dear Gubbins,

If you have not succeeded in getting [Charles Stewart] Davison's "The Freedom of the Seas" from New York, I shall be very pleased to lend it to you. It would not take you more than a couple of hours to read.

And also I have these following things: "The Peace conference – and After." a pamphlet advocating the establishment of a league of nations with annual meetings of Prime Ministers and a permanent standing Committee following on the formulation of the terms of peace. It shows how imperfect a means of discussing international matters is the old-fashioned way by despatch writing and telegraphing to ambassadors; & how much more effective is face to face discussion. This is what I have always maintained, that writing Notes is altogether inferior to talking to a Foreign Minister, and that a Note is only useful when you find it necessary to put your views on record after you have found that you cannot induce your antagonist to adopt them.

Also a pamphlet by A.F. Pollard, "The League of Nations in History", and Lastly, [John Arthur Ransome] Marriott's "The European Commonwealth", a reprint of review articles mainly going over much of the ground of his "Eastern Question", but with an Epilogue discussing the League of Nations. Any of all of these are at your disposal if you have time to read them, but I don't want to let them out of my hands unless they can be read without much delay. Davidson's [Davison's] book, which you can get thro' in a couple of hours, was kept by one friend 3 weeks, and by another for a fortnight.

I have also Ruth Putnam's book on Luxemburg, which is an excellent piece of work.

Reay has lent me Theodore Marburg's capital little book, published by Macmillan, on "League of Nations", which one reads easily in one hour, and I am going to send it back to him tomorrow in order to set him a good example.

Many thanks for your New Year's letter of January 1, and kind wishes for 1919. Debidour might wait, for after all, he is ancient history. It is a useful summary of that. Larmoureux's [Larmeroux's] volume on Austrian foreign policy has not reached me yet. Hatchard's are very slow about getting books from Paris. Perhaps they are shorthanded. I see Brentano of New York has set up a branch there, and I think of trying him.

I am very sorry to hear that [John Carey] Hall has had a stroke. The F.O. list says he was born in 1844. How old we are all getting!

[Charles William] Campbell I liked very much. He is an excellent Chinese scholar, and made a first rate Chinese Secretary. Probably no man ever understood the Chinese mind so well.

The Japanese "Official Guide to Manchuria & Chōsen [Korea]" says that by the end of 1901 the Chinese Eastern Railway was open as far as Dalny [Dairen, Dalian] & Port

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Arthur, while towards the east the works were completed as far as Pograditchnaia by that date. This place is 341 miles from Harbin, and there it connects with the Russian railway to Vladivostok. I cannot find out when this east line was made, but conjecture that it had already been built from Vladivostok to Pograditchnaia by the date mentioned. Much obliged also for S. Wilkinson's article from the "Observer". I do not quite agree with him, for I hope something efficient will be constructed in the way of a League of Nations, and that even if war is not altogether extinguished as a method of settling disputes between nations, that there will be a long interval before another breaks out.

I am glad to say that I am quite well, and have had no lumbago for a long time. Today we have a sheet of snow spread over the country, which is very pleasant to see.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

37. February 1, 1919

My dear Gubbins,

Very sorry to hear that you are suffering from a chill, but if you keep warm in bed, it will doubtless soon leave you. Reay & I have been taking a preparation called Virol, which is very strengthening and it has done us both much good. In spite of the continued frost I can take plenty of exercise, and this afternoon I achieved East Hill in less than the usual time. [Antonin] Debidour arrived today in perfect condition. Your remarks on his style are most interesting. I daresay he has been reading the English state papers, which would account for his employing phrases that read like a translation. You know our own diplomatists are, or were, much given to the use of French and Spanish idioms after living at Paris or Madrid, and both at Montevideo and Tangier I found English people interlarding their discourse with the local idiom. As soon as I can find time I shall read again Debidour on Balkan matters, to see how far he agrees with Larmeroux, whose *Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie* I have recently acquired and gone thro' rather hurriedly. At the present moment I am engaged with Weil's *Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric*, a very entertaining series of extracts from his *Political Correspondence*. What an arch humbug he was. You say you are reading [Louis, duc de] St Simon. It must be a most entertaining book. I have only a small abridgement [of his memoirs] never having had an opportunity of buying the whole, but it is well worth having, and I envy you its possession.

Of course you have seen in today's Times the announcement that [Sir William] Conyngham Greene starts homeward [from Tokyo] in March and that he will probably retire. We may look for a contradiction in a few days, of the latter statement. I have it

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from a trustworthy source however that [Walter] Townley has been recalled from the Hague. His wife [Lady Susan] has proved impossible; and she even went off in a motor car to see the ex-Kaiser arrive at Amerongen. She was rather a friend of his when they were at Berlin years ago. They were with me at Peking. I had a very high opinion of his capacity, but she was extraordinarily indiscreet.

I have written to tell [Lord Bernard] Coleridge of your dictionary. In my edition of S.T.C.'s [Samuel Taylor Coleridge's] poems, which is that of Pickering, I cannot find the verses. He will be ashamed of his ignorance.

Glasgow seems to be in a bad way, but it is too far off for me to take much interest in their doings over the border. And besides, I distrust the newspapers, as sensation.

By way of relaxation I have taken up [Goethe's] Wilhelm Meister. I used it formerly as a bedside book, but now I carefully look up the words I don't know in a dictionary, and write their meaning in the margin. It disfigures the text, but will be useful to the next person who uses my copy, if he chance to know less German than I do. It is my usual practice, but I have hitherto spared Tolstoy's War and peace, for it would scarcely take all the unknown words. I have got a Serbian grammar and am delighted to find how much the language resembles Russian. I am taking a holiday from the study of treaties of Guarantee, which are rather out of date now. The League of Nations is more important. Smuts' book is very good.

We are allowed 25% more gas for lighting purposes, which is a great convenience, but I confess I would rather have had more coal. Wood is not a very satisfactory sort of fuel. I hope however shortly to get a better fireplace put in.

Take care of yourself and get well as soon as you can.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

P.S. Would you like to possess [Charles Kingsley] Webster's Congress of Vienna, of which I shall have a spare copy. It is one of the series of handbooks to which yours & mine belong. E.S.

38. 25 February 1919

My dear Gubbins,

How very good and kind of you to send the delicious oatcakes that arrived this afternoon. I have had some with my tea, together with scones, so you can see there is quite a Scots atmosphere in this room. I hope you have plenty of such oaten fare for your family; they certainly deserve it. The pockpuddings²⁵ of England who like to eat

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bleached-white bread hot from the oven don't know what is good. But I have been better brought up.

Probably you never got a letter from me in which you were offered a copy of Webster's little book on the Congress of Vienna, one of the series you and I have contributed to. I have nearly finished a notice of it for the English Historical Review. Little bits of work like that require a good deal of time and care, but I hope to have avoided all pitfalls.

Reay has given me (pray forgive the blot. It is the fault of a fountain-pen lately acquired which now and then discharges a jet d'eau noire worthy of Versailles) a Dutch book on the International Law relations between the Netherlands & Japan, 1605 till today. The author cites you repeatedly as an authority, from your book of which I lent my copy to Chirrol six months ago, and he has forgotten to return it. But he finds fault with your statement on p.66 that the additional articles gave to Dutch relations in Japan for the first time more of the character which distinguished those of other powers. He says that the concessions to the Dutch in respect of commercial relations went further than what other states had succeeded in obtaining. He must have misunderstood your words.

I have a duplicate too of a handy Dutch-English dictionary which is at your service, if you like to accept it.

When you last wrote to me about the end of January you were in bed with a chill, but I trust you have long ago got over it.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

39. February 28, 1919

"Ansd. Mch 2/19"

My dear Gubbins,

Here is Webster's book. He and Prothero are both in Paris, as I learn from one Gathorne-Hardy who is in charge in College Street. You are no doubt fully occupied with despatching Colin to his new sphere of action, which will be of the greatest interest.

When you and your family move to Edinburgh it will seem as if you had disappeared out of my life. Even if I don't see you, the fact of your being in London makes you near.

²⁵ 'pockpudding' is Scottish word meaning a fat, overfed person, or (disparagingly) an Englishman. Satow probably encountered it first in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, a favourite read of his.

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So I very much hope that your work will go on and that you will carry out your idea of coming to Devon for sea air. But I must forewarn you that Sidmouth is very full, and only a few days ago I was told that there is not a room to be had there. Of course in June there are no families. But the place has been boomed[?] of late years. After all, Ottery is not so very far from the coast, and we get a good smell of brine when the wind sets in from that quarter. So I beg you to remember that you will be most welcome at Beaumont for as long as you can stay.

The author of that book on the Freedom of the Seas²⁶ has written me several extravagantly worded letters which will make you laugh.²⁷ He appears to be a violent Republican politician, and a bitter opponent of Wilson.

I have not seen Rhyme and Revolution in Germany [by J.G. Legge], but think there was a review of it in the Literary Supplement nor have I had Morgenthau. My review of Webster is now off my hands, so I can go back to Tolstoy and the Dutchman on Japan, some of Erasmus' letters in Latin which are delightful, and Wilhelm Meister of an evening. The other day Wheaton's *Histoire du Progrès du Droit des Gens* arrived from Paris; it is an excellent introduction to the study of that subject.

You are probably right about the distribution of land becoming a living question when the internationalization of mines and railways is accomplished. It has always seemed to me undesirable that so much of the agricultural land should be owned by so small a number of men. You would be surprised to see the list of landowners in Ottery parish, something like 400, owning from ½ acre up to 300: and sellers of land can get quite high prices.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

40. March 4, 1919

My dear Gubbins,

With much pleasure I have sent off the Dutch-English dictionary today, but the English-Dutch part I am sorry not to be able to give you. But perhaps you will not need it.

Have you heard that Tuke has sold Netherton.²⁸ The news reached me thro' 3rd

²⁶ Charles Stewart Davison (1855-1942). American lawyer.

²⁷ See Satow's General Correspondence, PRO 30/33 13/6 and 13/7.

²⁸ Netherton Hall in the parish of Farway, Devon was the home of Samuel Tuke (1854-1937), a member of the Quaker Tuke family. In 1919 the estate was purchased by the English playwright Harley Granville-Barker (1877-1946).

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parties on Sunday, and I have written to ask him what the truth of the matter is.

The little cutting from the Times enclosed in your letter of the 2nd was an example of how careless a press man can be.

I think I shall have to get [J.G.] Legge's book to look at. It seems to be very interesting.

Skolko seems to be the most important Russian word to know; it means ikura.²⁹ My small Russian dictionary is by Freese, but I don't possess an English-Russian part. Nevill Forbes grammar is good. I have a primer of spoken Russian which is not at all good.

When my review of Webster comes out next month, I will send it on to you.

You ought to be allowed a great deal more than 1 ton of coal. I help it out with coke of which one can now buy any quantity less than five tons, outside one's ration of it.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

41. Ottery St. Mary

9 March [1919]

My dear Gubbins,

The Dutch-English dictionary is a duplicate of what I have, but I never had the corresponding English-Dutch part. So you can keep it as your own, not to be returned, as I have my own copy here. I have asked my brother to borrow Legge for me from Mudie's [Lending Library].

I hear from Tuke that it is quite true that he has sold Netherton, and got a good price for it. But he has not yet been able to go house-hunting for himself, as the weather has been adverse.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

42. 16 March 1919

My dear Gubbins,

Thanks for the newspaper cuttings you sent me a few days ago. But who is Mr. Pollen [Polleu?] that he should suppose all the statesmen gathered together in Paris to be fools and he alone a wise man? More and more I dislike the tone of newspaper men, being by temperament an optimist myself. They write sensationally about what goes

²⁹ 'How much?' in Japanese.

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wrong, and are studiously silent about the good side of national and international affairs. Miss Few's verses are pretty, and if one were inclined to be critical, much might be said. I think our tactics in poetry are very similar. Of Meredith I have read very little, and it did not encourage me to pursue the study. Of Browning there are several things I greatly enjoy; but much more that I detest. Keats I only care for in his smaller pieces.

I gather that you have given up the idea of taking a room at Sidmouth when you quit your flat at Battersea. That being so, will you not come to me at either Easter or Whitsuntide? Before you move away to Scotland. It is the only chance I shall have of seeing you for a long time to come. You have a great advantage from living in London, in that you are able to get hold of all the current literature, whether books or reviews. If I want to see any magazines I have to spend the whole day in going to Exeter to consult them at the Club, and the time wasted in travelling and waiting at the Junction irks me. So what Cox or Nutt write about transport nationalization escapes me. The other day I read J.S. Mill's Essay on S.T. Coleridge as a practical philosopher, which presents him in quite a new light to those who know only his poetry. And Mill as you know was an advanced radical. It is quite refreshing to find him exalting Coleridge above Bentham.

At last I have got through the Dutch book about the treaty relations of the Netherlands & Japan, which I told you makes frequent reference to you, and it is at your disposal if you care to see it. So now I can go back to Blok's History of the Netherlands people, which is really worth careful study.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

43. March 24, 1919

My dear Gubbins,

You are quite right to choose the early part of May for your visit to me, for it is often quite pleasantly warm then, and the country looks so well with the young foliage. In the garden there will be some Prunus & Pyrus in blossom if all goes well. So I shall count upon you for a fortnight at least then.³⁰

Two copies of my little book on International Congresses have been sent to [me], for which I have had to give receipts, but they are not likely to be wanted, and I could give you a copy. It has not been published, though Prothero told me a couple of months ago that it had been recommended for publication with some others of general interest. The Clarendon Press being the printer would certainly announce their books as being on sale.

³⁰ Gubbins arrived on April 28th and left on May 22, 1919 (diary).

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You recommended to me Legge's *Rhyme & Revolution*³¹ and I am half way through it. You no doubt know that he is a son of the late Professor Legge,³² who translated the Chinese Classics ages ago. His metrical translations are very good, as far as I have been able to compare them with the originals; for instance all those of Heine could hardly be better done. Hegel and the other philosophers I can make neither head or tail of, except Kant, whose style is clear enough. I tried to get Trotsky's book, but it does not seem to have got to London; unless, as I conjecture, the Censor has stopped it. Nor have I read Maurice's *Forty Days*. The Germans were no doubt not far away from Paris, when another French army was rushed up in motor-cars, and cut in on Kluck's right. However, now that there is a lull in the fighting, the peace negotiations and the League of Nations give one quite enough to think about, and not being the father of a combatant I have abstained from reading the history of the war itself. I hope Colin will not find the climate of Archangel too severe for him. No doubt the W.O. has done its best to provide winter clothing for officers & men, and to keep their quarters properly heated.

I have ordered a copy of J.B. Scott's book on the American treaties with Prussia of 1785 and two later dates. You can see the direction in which my reading lies.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

44. Ottery St. Mary

April 3. [1919?]

My dear Gubbins,

I am very sorry to hear that you are threatened with gallbladder trouble, which must be very painful, but hope you will soon be out of bed again. But it is good to find that you are able to get through lots of work. Many thanks for the Edinburgh address. I have 7 vols. of [Alfred Thayer] Mahan's works, *Sea Power & the French Revolution*, *Ditto & the War of 1812*, *Life of Nelson* & the earlier work *Influence of Sea Power on history*.

In case it has not come your way, I send you the *Japan Times* with a long utterance of Makino's, skilfully contrived to throw dust in the eyes of the public.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

³¹ James Granville Legge, *Rhyme and Revolution in Germany*, first published in London by Constable & Co. in 1918.

³² James Legge (1815-1897). Missionary for London Missionary Society in Malacca and Hong Kong (1840-73) and first Professor of Chinese at Oxford (1876-97).

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I have the first 2 vols. of [Adolphus William] Ward's book on Germany.³³ It is a dull book. Vol. 3 is probably no better, in spite of the observer.

45. April 13, 1919

My dear Gubbins,

The London University people have sent me the McGovern and Khori papers to report on. I propose to reply that I know nothing but what is disclosed by these papers, but that as to the former the preface to the Japanese pamphlet shows that he can write in that language; while Khori's article (which is so obscurely worded that I cannot understand what he means) shows only what he knows of English, but as he is a Japanese it may be assumed that he knows his own language. As to the teaching capacity of either, of that I can say nothing. If they wish for my opinion on that head, it could only be given after a personal interview here.³⁴

Mahan is a competent writer on naval matters, but *ne sutor ultra crepidam* ["a cobbler should stick to his last"] is the advice I should give him on Asiatic problems or questions of diplomacy and general international law. And here I am glad to find that we are in agreement.

The Times Lit[erary]. Supple[men]t. has a review of a huge and costly book by Piggott on the Declaration of Paris, a not very favourable pronouncement. Who does the critiques of such works for the "Times" I cannot conjecture. As you say, in most histories one would like to have the date printed on the top of the page; it would save a great deal of time to the student. Another thing one has to bear in mind is the age of the chief actors, e.g. in the War of the Austrian Succession, the youthfulness of Frederick and the advanced age of George II, that of Maria-Theresa, a young wife.

By the way, it would be interesting to know whether the University of London has granted recognition in any of the previous cases referred to us. They referred Bonar & Kato I think, as far as my memory goes. I reported "cannot say" as to No. 1 and "yes" as to No. 2. It is an impertinence of Mr. McGovern to let himself be addressed as "Very Rev."³⁵

I have begun Gentz's letters to Metternich, and came across the following useful

³³ Sir A.W. Ward, *Germany 1815-1890*, 3 vols. Cambridge: 1918 in the Cambridge Historical series edited by G.W. Prothero, F.B.A., Litt. D.

³⁴ Satow wrote and sent off a "report on applications of McGovern and Khori to be recognized as teachers of the University of London, they being engaged for the school of Oriental Languages as teachers of Japanese." (Diary, April 13, 1919)

³⁵ This title is given to senior Anglican priests in a cathedral, whether a dean or a provost.

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quotation from Measure for Measure:

Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good that we might win
By fearing to attempt.

which I shall treasure up for use next time I hear any one say “It can’t be done.”

Another was the origin of [Axel] Oxenstierna’s: *An nescis mi fili, quantilla prudentia mundus regatur*. [“Do you not know, my son, with how little sense the world is run?”] Probably there are several versions of this famous sarcasm.

Then I daily read one or two of [Charles Augustin] Sainte-Beuve’s “*Causeries du Lundi*” [Monday Chats]. When I was a young man in Paris for the study of French these essays were brought to my notice, but they did not interest me. Now they give me great pleasure. The books one enjoyed in one’s teens and twenties are often no longer readable, and it is a gain to find that what one could not tolerate then have rip[en]ed into delight. There is a good deal in [Goethe’s] *Wahrheit und Dichtung* that is worth quoting, and I have made a few extracts in my Catalogue of “Books Read.” I am now at his “*Italienische Reise*”, and propose to read all of the Goethe writings that appear attractive. After that I hope to get at Schiller. [John] Oxenford’s translation of *Wahrheit und Dichtung* is poor. It does not help one a bit to understand the obscure passages. but then it must be conceded to him that German is a very difficult language to translate, because of the great difference between the German way of arranging ideas and ours, besides the difference of temperament, and of surroundings. We have no Rhine or Moselle, no Elbe or Saxon Switzerland. By way of compensation we have the Lakes, Seashore of Cornwall; Wales and you will add Ireland. When you come I shall want you to fall in love with some old French poetry, in the Oxford book, and perhaps by that time I shall have indulged myself with the O.B. of German Verse. Some of Goethe’s poetry is delicious.³⁶

My Garden gives me great joy just now. There is a white magnolia, like that big one on the Embassy lawn at Tokio, in full blossom, having happily escaped the effects of cold winds earlier in the year, plenty of narcissus of different varieties, *Anemone fulgens* and a very fine almond tree with big flowers, long rows of *Triteleia*, grape hyacinth; and double *Anemone nemoralis* just coming on. Sweet scented jonquils in abundance, will, I hope, not be over before you come, perhaps varieties of *Pyrus* and Japanese double cherries. This spring weather how young it makes one feel! Instead of going out walking I employ part of the afternoon in weeding out dandelions and

³⁶ See Satow’s diary entry for October 13, 1918.

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buttercups, which would spoil the lawn if they had their own way. But with you for a companion I shall be a pedestrian again, and I have two new walks to show you.

I am very sorry to learn that you have to go back to bed. Until the beginning of May brings you here I shall be impatient.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

46. Good Friday 1919

“Ansd. Apr. 23/19.”

My dear Gubbins,

I am very sorry to hear that your doctor thinks that you have been working too hard, and has sent you to bed again. Would it not be well if you hastened the date of your visit to me? Here you would have a better climate and perhaps less temptation to overtax your strength.

Many thanks for letting me see your handbook. It is an admirable piece of work. I have always envied your excellent style, and wished I could imitate it. What a marvell [marvel] of compression! On p.102 there is a misprint which I have taken the liberty of correcting. But be consoled. It is the only one I have detected.

Of [Friedrich von] Bernhardi³⁷ I have only read ‘Germany and the next war’, and have not a copy in my possession. The other one ‘How Germany makes war’ I have not seen. But more than once I have met with a German statement that Bernhardi was hardly known in that country until English comment drew attention to his books, and I have been under the impression that he was only a retired cavalry officer of whom not much was thought. Whether the German staff had really planned to make use of Holland as well as Belgium for a road into France is I daresay uncertain. The strategic railways were built towards the Belgian frontier, and Holland has excellent flooding arrangements. Of course the Germans might have traversed Limburg without any inconvenience. Perhaps they gave up the idea of using Holland, because then we were unable to use the Schildt. The neutrality of Holland was perhaps better for them than if she had been forced into the war.

Lloyd George’s speech was delightful. The “Times” leading article was a very weak reply. The newspaper and popular-assembly demand for information both here and in France seems to show that the objectors have not read the history of 1813-4. One can’t

³⁷ Friedrich von Bernhardi (1849-1930) was a Prussian general and military historian. A militarist, best known for his book *Deutschland und der Nächste Krieg* published in 1911.

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expect them to find time for what only students can attend to. The “Times” jeers at Lloyd George for ignorance of Teschen, but that is a defect he doubtless shares with most of his countrymen. Tho’ I knew all about the Congress of Teschen [of 1779], I was not aware of its wealth in coal. It may be that the “Times” told us all about this a few months ago, but who has had time in these days to read his paper from end to end? Certainly not a Prime Minister. On the whole I think Holland’s neutrality served Germany better, until we stopped imports for her through Dutch ports, and I daresay the Germans expected us to act in accordance with the declaration of London.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

47. 26 May 1919

My dear Gubbins,

Mrs. K[assburg, housekeeper]³⁸ gave me the enclosed ration book, which she found among her papers, & though it is not actually required in order to obtain an allowance, it seems necessary to keep it. So I send it on.

[I. Valentine] Chirol left me this morning, and I feel very lonely, all the more because every day this week including the afternoon of Thursday, when Lady Fry and her deaf daughter came over from Lyme, I have had company. The [Arthur] Churchills who are staying at Sidmouth were here on Friday. Saturday I was in Exeter, and yesterday we were fetched in a motor by my neighbour Willoughby Smith to lunch with him at Benchams,³⁹ his country cottage on the hill overlooking Harpford [south of Ottery St. Mary]. He is a man of much money, married but I think childless, has built a really pretty house & planted all sorts of trees and shrubs round it. Altogether he has about 600 acres of what originally was merely moorland overgrown with gorse and heather. In one corner of the grounds he has a tiny shrine of Mari⁴⁰ with a goodsized granite torii⁴¹ in front, and in another place a bronze Buddha with an iron tôrô⁴² before it. He seems to have been once in Japan, but I do not know in what year.

From your letter of the 22nd I gather that you prudently went to bed soon after your

³⁸ Mrs. Kassburg left Ottery and Satow’s service for Bothwell, near Glasgow, on September 10, 1919. She had become his housekeeper when he was Minister at Peking, arriving on November 23, 1903. (diary entries)

³⁹ See diary entry for 25 May 1919.

⁴⁰ Presumably Mari the Hindu goddess of rain.

⁴¹ A Japanese gate found in front of a Shinto shrine. 鳥居

⁴² A Japanese traditional lantern. 灯籠

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arrival in town, but I hope you are getting the better of your trouble, and that before long I shall have the good news that you are really well. I gave your message to Mrs. Kassburg on behalf of the whole household, and she was much gratified.

The Churchills have been at Sidmouth rather less than a fortnight, and talked of returning to looking on Wednesday. They have had very hard work in getting their garden into proper order again, after having been absent nearly four years while he had war employment, and came down into Devon for rest & refreshment.

Chirol let me see the proofs of two articles, in which he had a hand, that are to appear in the next number of *The Round Table*. It seems that the articles of that review are often a mosaic by several writers, pieced together by the editor, which will account for the apparent prolixity of some that one has seen. But those I saw, on the Peace terms and the League of Nations, seemed to be decidedly sensible.

Cura ut valeas. ["Take care of yourself."]

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

48. June 4, 1919 (p.94 in file)

My dear Gubbins,

Much obliged to you for telling me of Horatio Brown's *Studies in Venetian History*, and what he says about the *bailo*⁴³ in Constantinople. I shall get it from the London Library, and if ever my book gets to a second edition will make clear the date from which he existed. Brown is probably more trustworthy than Holtzendorff, who I daresay got his date from Kranski.

You ought not to have sent me those postage stamps, it was quite bad of you, and if I were not of a forgiving temper I should say it implied distrust of my character!!

Thornhill's items of news are interesting. Frank Hopwood has red hair, and I do not think his learning can be as extensive as Fisher's. He must be a man of ability, if one may judge by the long list of his various employments given in *Who's Who*. Fisher was the only man Chirol had heard spoken of. Perhaps the Prime Minister is delaying the appointment until the President returns to Washington. It may well mean that there is no need to fill it up till he goes back. I see in the "*Times*" of today that [George Ernest] Morrison is going on well after his operation.⁴⁴ It was some sort of growth in the pancreas, as he wrote to Chirol, that rendered it necessary. I daresay [Ralph Spencer] Paget would rather be free to look after his rubber plantation⁴⁵ than be tied by the leg in

⁴³ *bailo*: a diplomat who oversaw the affairs of the Venetians in Constantinople.

⁴⁴ Morrison died the following year. Satow attended his funeral in Sidmouth.

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Tokio for three years. It will not be an easy post to fill up.⁴⁶

We were blessed with some rain today and are expecting more. Newspapers speak of the drought spoiling the hay harvest, but I have seen no signs of that about here. The grass is indeed very deep. Spring corn I should say did call out for a shower. Everything else is doing splendidly, as far as my observation goes.

I am glad to hear that you are faithfully obeying your doctor. You will be better in Edinburgh than in the mephitic [foul-smelling, noxious] atmosphere of the Wen.⁴⁷ Don't forget to send me some day your new address.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

49. Beaumont,
June 12 [1919] (p. 96 in file)

My dear Gubbins,

It is very good of you to give me the number of the Korean Society's Transactions with the article on trees, which will be a treasure to me. I was a little shocked to find that I had forgotten a good deal of the Corean alphabet, with which at one time I was quite familiar. From your description of "Men of Letters" I feel certain that I should not care for it. Even Sainte Beuve at times writes in a style that conveys little to my mind, and also Goethe. Narrative is much more comprehensible to me than criticism.

A short time ago, in a book printed before the meeting of the Peace Conference at Paris, I met with the phrase "Big Three" applied to a group of English Statesmen, of, I think, the 18th century. My impression is that the three were Pitt, Fox and Burke, but I cannot be sure. Anyhow, it preceded the use of "Big Four" for Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and the Italian Prime Minister.

We seem to be on the eve of a change of weather, which will be most welcome.

I hope the change to Edinbro' will do you much good. That would console me in some measure for the loss your departure from London will mean to me. But I shall constantly think of you.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

⁴⁵ Paget, who had served under Satow in Tokyo, was the first British ambassador to Brazil, 1918-20.

⁴⁶ Satow is talking about the ambassadorship in Tokyo, where Charles Eliot succeeded William Conyngham Greene in 1920.

⁴⁷ 'The Great Wen' is a disparaging nickname for London, coined in the 1820s by William Cobbett.

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[End of File.]

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

The Hon. Henry Marsham (1845-1908) was the son of Charles Marsham, the third Earl of Romney (1808-1874), a Conservative party politician. He was a retired army officer turned businessman who lived in Weaving House, Maidstone. He settled in Japan in 1905. His collection of about 700 ceramics was bequeathed to Maidstone Museum on his death.¹ The Hon. Henry Marsham died on July 1, 1908.²

1. Tangier

June 25, 1894

My dear Marsham,³

De Vismes tells me that Sijilmes is a high Arabic name for Tafillet, the land of dates. You are to be congratulated on the possession of a coin of such antiquity. I had thought of offering you a silver piece struck at Rabat in the Moorish year 1188, rubbing enclosed, which I bought at Laraiche the other day. We are quieting down after the little excitement of last fortnight. Political persons had prophesied that the death of Mulai Hassan would be the prelude to a period of perturbation, so we may be excused if for a few moments we feel uncomfortable on getting what was absolutely unexpected news. Morocco has not as yet fallen to pieces, and the Great Powers have not quarrelled over the distribution of the spoil. We are living on the most amicable terms with the French legation, a state of things hitherto unknown in the history of Tangier, and are intimate with Spain. The others are nowhere. Portugal has gallantly come to our support with her only ironclad, and we feel completely reassured. We are having a wonderful cool summer here, and there is little doubt left on my mind that – after that of England – the climate of Tangier is the best in the world.

¹ See Maidstone Museum website

https://museum.maidstone.gov.uk/explore/collections/japanese-decorative-art-prints/?fbclid=IwAR0ntPocOBm_koHRsiR_kxzMQjpZoLbL0Qtjogrq9JCuJ5fFRvVNLbcuV8M

accessed March 13, 2019.

² Marsham collected Japanese art works in Kyoto in the 1900s. See Ai Fukunaga, ‘Tourism and Collecting in Kyoto: The Miyako Hotel as an Agent in the Creation of the Hon. Henry Marsham Collection of Japanese Art, Maidstone Museum, Kent’ in *Journal for Art Market Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (2018). (See

<http://dx.doi.org/10.23690/jams.v2i3.66> accessed March 13, 2019)

³ Henry Marsham appears in the following entries in Satow’s diary: June 1, 1883 (Basle, Switzerland); June 18, 1883 (London); July 19, 1887 (London); January 21, February 2, 3, 1891 (Montevideo); October 1, 1891 (London); April 12, 13, 15, 1894 (Morocco); April 28, 30, 1895 (Morocco); June 26, 1895 (London); June 29, 1900 (London); April 17, 22, 24, May 1, 1905 (Peking); May 19, 20, 1906 (Kyoto); May 8, 1907 (London). Satow noted his death on December 31, 1909 (more than one year after the event).

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

2. Tangier

July 9, 1894

My dear Marsham,

I cry you mercy! I thought that as we all knew Tafilelt quite well, you would have no difficulty in recognizing it. It is a region lying on the other side of the Atlas, S.E. of Morocco City. If you cannot find anything about it in your club library you might borrow Rolf's travels in Morocco from our friend Mr. Silver who has or had a copy at York Gate. But the best book on this country is 'Description et Histoire du Maroc' by Godard, and in case you want a good book of reference I recommend it to you. It only costs 15 francs.

The French fleet may be more or less in readiness, but the Admiral has 21 of his best ships lying at Gib. at this blessed moment, if necessary to anticipate. I do not think anything is going to happen however, for no one has given the slightest provocation. If you will accept the coin of 1188 A.H. I shall certainly send it to you, for at my mature age to begin collecting would be inqualifiable. I have not seen Mohammedan Dynasties, but pray do not send it to me. When I have any leisure to read I betake myself as far as possible from all Moorish subjects. The 'Barbary Corsairs' I have. It is too small a volume for a big subject. I will take an opportunity of stirring up the old serpent. Now that he has your money like most of his class he probabl[y] cares no more about your pursuits of numismatics.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

3. Tangier

27 July 1894

My dear Marsham,

As luck would have it, a Spaniard brought here the other day and [a?] handful of square silver coins, which he said he found in a pot while digging in a field near Cadiz, and Reader got the Taleb to pick out the best for me. As they cost next to nothing, you owe me no thanks, but I hope they may prove of interest. An old Moorish find near Cadiz is however a curious historical incident. I don't know what means you may have of identifying them, but fancy that you numismatical gentlemen in London among you are possessed of all knowledge, especially of the art of deciphering strange alphabets.

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

My colleagues are flitting one after the other and Tangier is becoming hideously dull and stupid. My garden a mere piece of sand and pumice sand, the sky pitilessly blue, the sea torn in pieces by east winds. I am kept here by my own fault, but it is irremediable at present, until a man comes back who could release me. So I hardly expect to be in England before November, and my people are beginning to warn me against affronting your climate at that deadly season. But I shall try nevertheless. Our friends the Japanese seem to be going ahead in Corea pretty extensively, teaching Grandmother China how to suck eggs. That seems the most important bit of news our F.O. have had for a long time, far worse in its possible results than Siam or the Congo Treaty Art. III.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

4. Tangier

August 7. 1894

My dear Marsham

In the F.O. bag which will leave Gibraltar tomorrow by the P. & O. steamer goes a letter addressed to you c/o The Porter Foreign Office to be left until called for. I suppose it will reach England about the same time as this letter. I[t] contains the coin I spoke of, and some other bits of silver, with further observations on that and sundry other subjects, which were, I thought, not safe to reach you by the ordinary post.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

5. Westminster Palace Hotel

30 May [1895]

My dear Marsham,

Many thanks for your kind congratulations, which I found on my arrival. I am going into the country on Saturday till June 18, after which I shall be at Tallant's Hotel North Audley Street. Otherwise I should have come to see you at the Club. I have to leave England on the 27th, or thereabouts.⁴ It is a terribly short holiday.

You had to hurry away from Tangier, I know, or we should have seen more of you. Morant and I came through Spain together, but saw only Madrid. I enjoyed the pictures there greatly.

Yours sincerely

⁴ Satow left England (Euston station) for Japan on June 29, 1895. (Diary)

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

Ernest Satow

6. Tallants' Hotel

North Audley St.

19 June [1895]

My dear Marsham,

I am sorry to say that all my evenings are taken up until I go, which is to be on the 29th, and that I cannot easily manage to breakfast with you on Sunday next. About the remaining days as an opportunities [sic] for breakfasting I am not sure, as Gerald Lowther's mother wants me to lunch one day not yet fixed, and I suppose I shall have to go to Windsor one other day. So if you will let me leave it open till these two events are fixed, I should be much obliged to you. I fear that I have omitted to acknowledge your note of May 31, which I have before me. Pray excuse my heedlessness and ascribe it to the multiplicity of my obligations in the way of letter-writing.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

7. [Tokyo]

9 April 1896

My dear Marsham,

The principal Japanese at the Telegraphic Conference is Mr. Den, for whom I enclose you a letter of introduction, though I don't know him personally; and I am afraid he possibly does not speak English. But in that case he is sure to have a good interpreter with him.

I have just been reading in a Japanese paper an account of his views as to the attitude he ought to take at the forthcoming conference.

He is very patriotic to judge from his reporter, and feels acutely the treatment to which his own country is subjected by being denominated "extra-European", and having 7 letters calculated as one word, while in Europe 10 letters are allowed. He is also ambitious of getting the next conference held at Tokio, on the ground of the importance of his own country.

Whether these views were really expressed by him, or have been invented by some patriotic journalist is more than I can tell. But there is no inherent improbability about the former theory. Japan means to assert her place among the nations, perhaps conquer and annex effete old Europe. La vieja y carcomida Europa as my friends in South America used to be fond of saying.

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

I suppose you all recognize at home that the Armenian agitation was a great blunder; certainly, after reading what the “Times” printed of the blue-book one cannot help coming to that conclusion. Harris’ article in Blackwood of September or October last seemed to give a very good account of the matter. I suspect myself that it is on a par with the Jewish question in Morocco.

There are a few Europeanized Jews with a turn for lying and a fertile pen like that of a *Benglu Baboo* [Bengalu Baboo?] were always writing to the Jewish World stories of cruelty &c. practised on their fellow religionists, which crumbled into dust when exposed to a searching examination. To say that Armenia is a province in Asia Minor is about as exact as to represent Judaea as a part of Morocco.

Tokio is at its best just now. Cherrytrees in full bloom and the spring rushing onwards with rapid strides. When are you coming out here again? I have a house in building at Chiuzenji the lake above Nikkō for summer occupation. Come and put up there a bit.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

8. [Tokyo]

24 February 1897

My dear Marsham,

You may have wondered why your letter of October 13 has remained so long without an answer, and even now I have nothing to tell you. Mr. Den the Japanese delegate has come back, but I have not seen him nor his companion Matsunaga, but am told that they gained their ends. We have nothing yet for certain about the Pacific Cable from Vancouver to Australia, but it is pretty clear that the field is still unoccupied by others, so I hope in time it may be managed, and a cable from here to Fanning island [south of Hawaii] also in English hands into the bargain. We may be contented with the way things are going in this country for us, none of our rivals have gained on us politically or commercially. Of China I can say nothing. There are many croakers abroad who are crying out that England’s prestige is gone, but that is perhaps a good sign. Probably it merely means that they have not got everything they want for themselves. I am however inclined to pity [Claude] Macdonald, who must have an uncomfortable time of it with those gentry. And to make it worse, that fellow A.R. Colquhoun⁵ has just gone there to represent Anglo-German interests as he writes to me.

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham

June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

I don't know whether you are acquainted with this gentleman, but I know him particularly well, since he visited Bangkok in 1884 and tried to bounce the Siamese into giving him a railway concession.

Japan is about to distinguish herself by adopting the gold standard and so putting another nail into the coffin of bimetallism; (whatever that may be). It makes my American friends here very angry with her. My German colleague [Gutschmidt] says she suffers from Grossmacht Kitzel, he of whom it was telegraphed that he struck some Japanese students with his whip in driving in the streets, and had to eat humble pie in consequence. The Dutchman approves, because the plan proposed resembles that of Holland. But it matters little after all what any of them think, for the Japanese go their own way.

Our Maybrick case⁶ has come to an end thank heaven as far as the consulate court is concerned, but now I suppose the relations will make a row, and try to get her⁷ pardoned. My own opinion is that she was properly convicted, and if it had not luckily happened that an amnesty for Japs. had been proclaimed, I fear I should have had to compose a death warrant. It was a comfort to have a good excuse for not doing that.

I have asked for leave and hope to be home by the beginning of June, so au revoir.

Ernest Satow

9. 127, MOUNT STREET W.

1 July 1897

My dear Marsham,

I had been meaning to try and find you at the Club, but the Jubilee week left me no peace. I am very sorry to be unable to accept your kind invitation for the 9th, as I have an engagement that evening. But could you come to lunch with me here on Wednesday the 7th, at half past one, and then we could have a chat.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

10. 127, MOUNT STREET W.

14 July 1897

My dear Marsham,

⁵ Archibald Ross Colquhoun (1848-1914).

⁶ Mrs. Florence Maybrick was found guilty of poisoning her husband in Liverpool in 1889.

⁷ Mrs. Edith Carew was found guilty of poisoning her husband in Yokohama in 1896.

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

I should have liked very much to accept your kind invitation for the 28th, but am afraid it will not be feasible. My mother⁸ is extremely ill, and from one moment to another a fatal termination may be looked for, though she might possibly linger a week or even more. I have to be with her most of the time, and am sure you will not mind if under the circumstances I do not accept.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

11. TRAVELLERS' CLUB,
PALL MALL
S.W.

May 8. 03

My dear Marsham,

I have been out of town since the 29th and have only just had your note handed to me. I am very sorry that I have thus been prevented from accepting your kind invitation for last Monday.

It is quite three years since we met, but I must try to make an opportunity before I go back to Peking the unqualifiable.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

12. QUEEN ANNE'S MANSIONS
S.W.

19 May [1903?]

My dear Marsham,

I have waited for your return to town to answer your missive from Scotland, as I did not feel that it would be safe to send a letter to that distance in search of you. I should have been delighted to dine with you, but my book tells me I have not an evening free till after Whitsuntide, and I start for China on the 18 June.

I hope your chase after the elusive salmon has been crowned with success.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

13. BRITISH LEGATION,

⁸ Margaret Mason Satow (1812-99). She died on September 10, 1899 as Satow was informed by telegram in Japan (diary entry for September 13th).

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham

June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

PEKING

23 January 1904

My dear Marsham,

I wrote these few lines on the chance of catching you before you leave Kiōto, and to say how pleased I should be if you could spare the time to run over and see me here. Of course Peking is not as agreeable as any place in Japan, but it is unique in its peculiar way, and by the end of February the frost will be all gone. In fact the warm weather arrives here earlier than in Japan. I can put you up and make you I hope quite comfortable. You will find me quite sound in limb, and otherwise too, as long as there is no north wind.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Envelope of letter no. 14:



PRO 30/33 11/11

Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

14. BRITISH LEGATION,
PEKING

June 22. 1904

My dear Marsham,

Your letter of 25 April duly reached me, but it [is] only on rereading it this moment that I have become alive to the probability of your being already back in town. I don't think I can forgive you for refusing to come over here to see my few monochrome Chinese pots, and me. Writers on style say one should not terminate a sentence with a monosyllable, but when the monosyllable is about six feet high perhaps it may be forgiven. Still, I can appreciate your difficulty in tearing yourself away from Kioto. You say nothing about the legation garden at Tokio, which is one of the gardens that I have a parental love for, but perhaps you are not given to bamboo culture. It is one of the greatest griefs of my present form of existence that bamboo growing is so difficult a problem in N. China. I wanted to show you the view from my cottage here, which I think of christening Belriguardo, and the trees I have planted. It is a pity life should be so short, for I shall never see them develop to their full height. In my new garden behind the Peking house I have a Salisburia, which takes quite three hundred years to grow up, alas! It is hot out here, but the air is pure, which certainly cannot be said of dusty Peking. I fear I cannot meet you next April in Kiōto at cherry blossom time. My leave is not due till the end of August, and will the war be over even then? I sometimes doubt whether I shall ever see Japan again, though a couple of months holiday there is the thing above all others that I should like; a real holiday, with no telegrams, not even local newspapers to read. By the time you get this London will be empty, so perhaps you wont get it, but I rely on your going to the Travellers' [Club] at least once before you start Japan-wards again.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Envelope of letter no. 15:

PRO 30/33 11/11

Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham

June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)



15. BRITISH LEGATION,
PEKING

30 December 1904

My dear Marsham,

I heard of you from my new 3rd Secretary Robt. Collier,⁹ who crossed the Pacific in the same steamer with you, and the other day my eyes were refreshed by the sight of your handwriting. Atami is a delightful place for an invalid and the walks along the cornice road are beautiful. The news that you will pay me a visit in the spring is extremely agreeable. The end of March or beginning of April is a very good time here, as the flowering shrubs and trees are then beginning, and you get a better impression of Peking than later on. I shall take you out to my cottage in the country during the intervals of your search after porcelain. There is one collector here who has really magnificent things, worth huge sums of money.

I am afraid I cannot do much for you in the way of cigarettes. The place I get mine

⁹ Collier arrived in Peking on November 3, 1904 (Diary for November 4th).

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham

June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

for other people to smoke is Aden, but I am told there are decent ones at Shanghai. But how are you to get them through the Custom house. I imagine there is a terrible institution called the Régie which reserves to itself the trade in such articles. Brinkley of the 'Japan Mail' is the only man I know who could give you the meaning of Bandeki, I am not at all learned in such matters, my education having been sadly neglected.

Perhaps you may come across a Mrs. William Maxwell, wife of the "Standard" correspondent with the Japanese forces in Manchuria. She told me she was going to stay at YaAmi's Hotel. I think you would like her. She is American originally, but has been a good many years in England. Her husband is an excellent fellow.

I shall count the days till you come.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Envelope for no.16.

Addressed to: The Hon. Henry Marsham

Miyako Hotel

Kyoto

Japan

16. BRITISH LEGATION,

PEKING

5 February 1905

My dear Marsham,

The date you give for Bandeki has enabled me to recognize it. We usually write the name of that period Banreki but some Japanese, especially those of Satsuma, pronounce this letter like d. It is one of the later reigns of the Ming dynasty, the last but two I think 萬曆. [1573-1620] It was dull of me not to have guessed this at first. I have not heard dealers or curio hunters here talk of Wanlieh (the Chinese pronunciation). In the present dynasty they distinguish the reigns, but before that they mostly talk of Ming, Yüan &c. If you have any book on Chinese ceramics, pray bring it with you, for I have nothing but [French sinologist] Stanislas Julien's book about Kingtechen[?].

I am interested to hear that you are also collecting shrubs though certainly the winter seems a bad time for transplanting. You will not hear much about bamboos from me. They are very difficult to grow here on account of the intense cold, and there are no wild ones within several hundred miles. But there are lilacs and Prunus triloba, and Rosa parvifolia, which I don't recollect seeing much of in Japan. By the end of this

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

month we shall, it is probable, have got rid of the frost, and the country will begin to be enjoyable again. I am eagerly expecting your arrival. You will send me a telegram from somewhere to say by what steamer you will arrive at Taku or Chinwangtao, and when you reach either place another to say what hour your train will be in. From the station to this house is only a ten minutes' walk.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Envelope for no.17.

Addressed to: The Hon. Henry Marsham

Miyako Hotel

Kyoto

Japan



17. BRITISH LEGATION,

PRO 30/33 11/11

Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

PEKING

19 May 1905

My dear Marsham,

I return your map with railways which are in operation marked in red ink, with the nationalities to which they belong. This in compliance with your first respect [request?]. Of concessions which have 'lapsed' I know none.

Besides those in actual operation, there are in process of construction the following

Laokai to Yünnanfu (French)

Shanghai to Nanking (British)

Concessions exist for the following

Chinan to Ichau and Ichau to Kiaochau (German)

Tientsin via Chinan and Ichou to Nanking (or Chinkiang) – Anglo-German

Pukou (opposite Nanking) to Sinyang on the Luhan line. (British)

Kaifêng to Honan (Belgian)

Canton-Hankow (American)

and

Chengting to Taiyuanfu (Russian) is in process of construction.

All the others are merely lines that have been talked about.

But I forgot to add among lines conceded but not begun

Suchou-Hangchou-Ningpo (British)

Canton-Kowloon (British)

and

Swatow to Chao-chou-fu, Chinese (in progress) and

Macao-Canton, Portuguese, not begun.

I hope this information is what you want.

I hope you have got safely to your journey's end, and are not sighing for the fleshpots of Peking. You went away too soon, for we have had delightful weather for the past three weeks.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

18. BRITISH LEGATION,

PEKING

3 September 1905

My dear Marsham,

I hope you are enjoying the dusty pavements of London, or the green delights of the

PRO 30/33 11/11

Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

country, both of which I sigh for, but especially the latter. It is unlikely however that I shall see either this year. Things have so shaped themselves for me that it seems preferable to defer my leave till next June. I want to escape the hot weather in Peking next year. I have spent three successive summers in hot places, and the result has not been good. So I telegraphed the other day to Eric Barrington that I would stay here over the winter, and go away before the hot season.

No doubt there will be much dissatisfaction among the rank & file both in Japan and Russia with the terms of the peace. But the Japanese Government it seems to me have shown great good sense in not continuing the war for the possession of half an island [Sakhalin] which is only of strategical, not economic value. As for the indemnity, all lookers-on have judged that it could not be got.¹⁰ You must have possession of a considerable portion of valuable territory of your enemy, out of which he wishes to get you with all speed, in order to induce him to pay money. For the rest, Japan has attained in full all the objects with which she went to war. So I hope she will rest contented.

Peking is likely to be the scene of interesting intrigue for some months to come, the general nature of which you can divine, so there is no need to depict their course beforehand. What bores me here to extinction is the crowd of concessionaires and their endeavours to enlist H.M.G. and the Legation in schemes for the extraction of money out of the esurient, because poor, investors' pockets. I trust you have nothing in any of them, Peking Syndicate, Chinese Engineering and Mining Co. Lister Kaye's mines or any others. I have no doubt made many enemies among the financial gentry.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Envelope for no.19.

Addressed to: The Hon. Henry Marsham

Miyako Hotel

Kyoto

Japan

¹⁰ See also Satow's letter to F.V. Dickins, 6 December 1905, on the peace terms. (PRO 30/33 11/6, reproduced in Ruxton ed., *Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W.G. Aston and F.V. Dickins*, Lulu Press, 2008)

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham

June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)



19. BRITISH LEGATION,
PEKING

21 January 1906

My dear Marsham,

I was very glad to get your letter and hear that you had arrived back in these parts. No doubt by this time you have got safely to your destination and are pleasantly engaged in overhauling your precious collection. In about three months time I expect to be starting hence on my way to England viâ Japan and America, unless something quite unexpected forces me to alter my plans. I have long ago told them at home that I cannot spend next summer here, and they seem to have made up their minds to that.

There has been published in Kioto a remarkable book called 真美大観 Shimbi Daikuan, containing reproductions, photographs and facsimiles of famous works of art, in ten folio volumes. Can you find out for me from any of your friends what the cost of the collection is? It is exceedingly attractive, by far the best book of its kind that I have seen. A certain German professor of archaeology Dr. Fischer [attached to the German legation], who has been some time in Kiōto, has lent me a copy to look at, and I am

PRO 30/33 11/11

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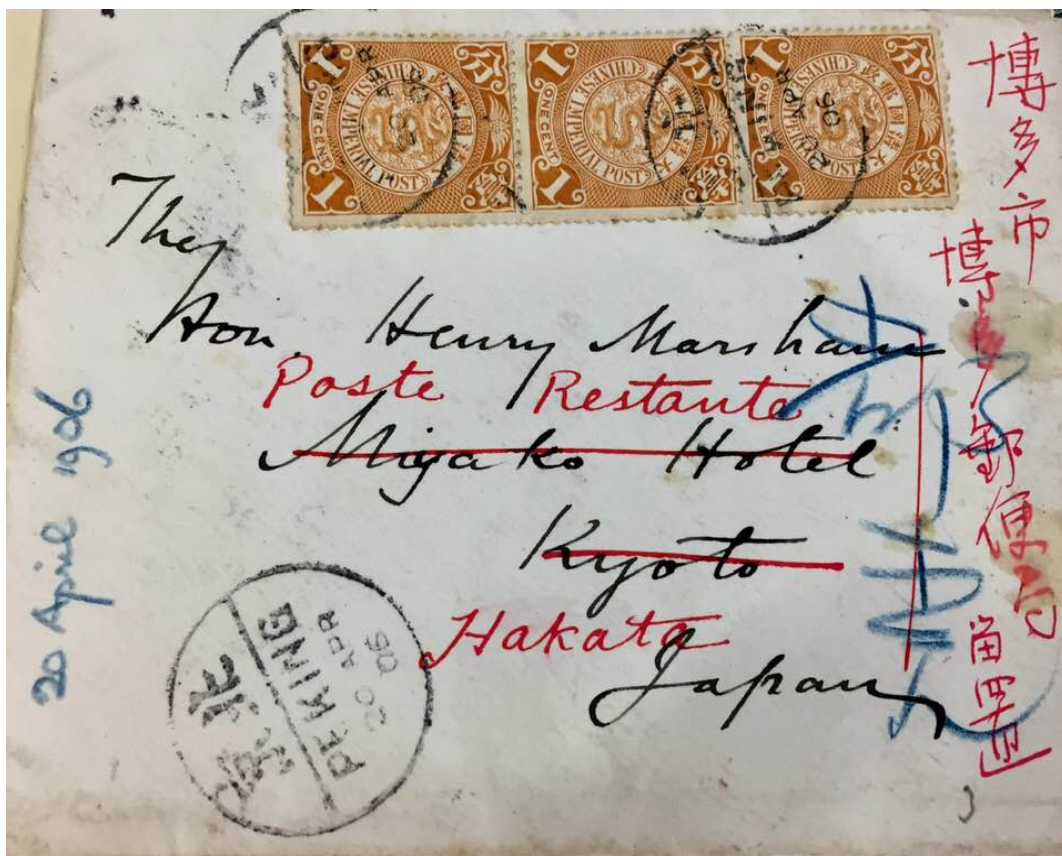
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

inclined to fall in love, though I have not yet made up my mind that I cannot do without it.

Perhaps you do not care much about politics, and if so the change of government will not have interested you greatly. There is one piece of news that has delighted me, Brodrick¹¹ has lost his seat. His treatment of Younghusband¹² and of Lord Curzon has made me feel as if he were a personal enemy. It was about time Mr. Balfour gave up but I am sorry to lose Lord Lansdowne who has done so surpassingly well at the F.O. and is a pleasant chief into the bargain.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow



¹¹ William St John Brodrick (1856-1942). Conservative politician. Secretary of State for India, 1903-05.

¹² Lt. Col. Sir Francis Younghusband (1863-1942). Leader of the 1904 British expedition to Tibet.

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

20. BRITISH LEGATION,

PEKING

20 April 1906

My dear Marsham,

I have been an unconscionable time answering your letter of February 4, but I have been waiting till I could say something approaching the definite. It seems quite possible that I may start from here in time to catch the Coptic leaving Shanghai on May 14, due at Kobe on the 18th and from there I think I shall probably go by train to Tokio, but I hardly think I will stop at Kioto, because the temptation to ruin oneself in buying pretty things is so difficult to resist.¹³

Very many thanks for the particulars of the Shimbi Dai Kwan, which I wanted for my friend & colleague [William Woodville] Rockhill. I have so much in the way of this world's goods that for myself I hardly care to acquire any more.

Spring is with us just now, and the air is full of the scent of white lilac.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

21. Tokio

British Embassy

23 May 1906

[BRITISH LEGATION, PEKING crossed out]

My dear Marsham,

The journey after all was pleasanter than might have been expected, for there were seats to spare, and young Inaba [Masanao] was an agreeable companion till he got out at Ōgaki. Then there were three Chinese gentlemen, one of whom I mistook for an anarchist, as he had more beard than his countrymen usually sport. I was overheard expressing this view to Inaba, by one of the three, who afterwards turned out to be well acquainted with both Japanese and English; and my anarchist was the Censor of Chinese students.

Mrs. Bonar very likely wished to suggest that I should have enjoyed Lake Biwa more, but that was wrong. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure than the way we spent the day, and the visit to the nunnery will occupy a big place in my memory as it does already in my journal. I should not have cared at all to be of that party except as far as she is concerned.

¹³ Satow did stay for two nights (19-20th) at the Miyako Hotel and spent time with Marsham in Kyoto before going by train to Tokyo on May 21st. (Diary)

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham

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I have, I believe, made arrangements to go by the P.M.S. "Siberia" to Frisco, unless the Co. cry off, but your advice about a 'parlour' is equally good for the American railway. I have managed to induce my man to cut down my baggage to one-third of what it was when I left Shanghai, and shall be able to travel easily.

I am very glad not to be an Ambassador. It seems to be a position hedged round with much etiquette, and the opportunities for jealousy on the part of the representatives who have not yet been raised to that rank, endowed as it is with many undefinable and mysterious attributes.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Envelope for No. 22.

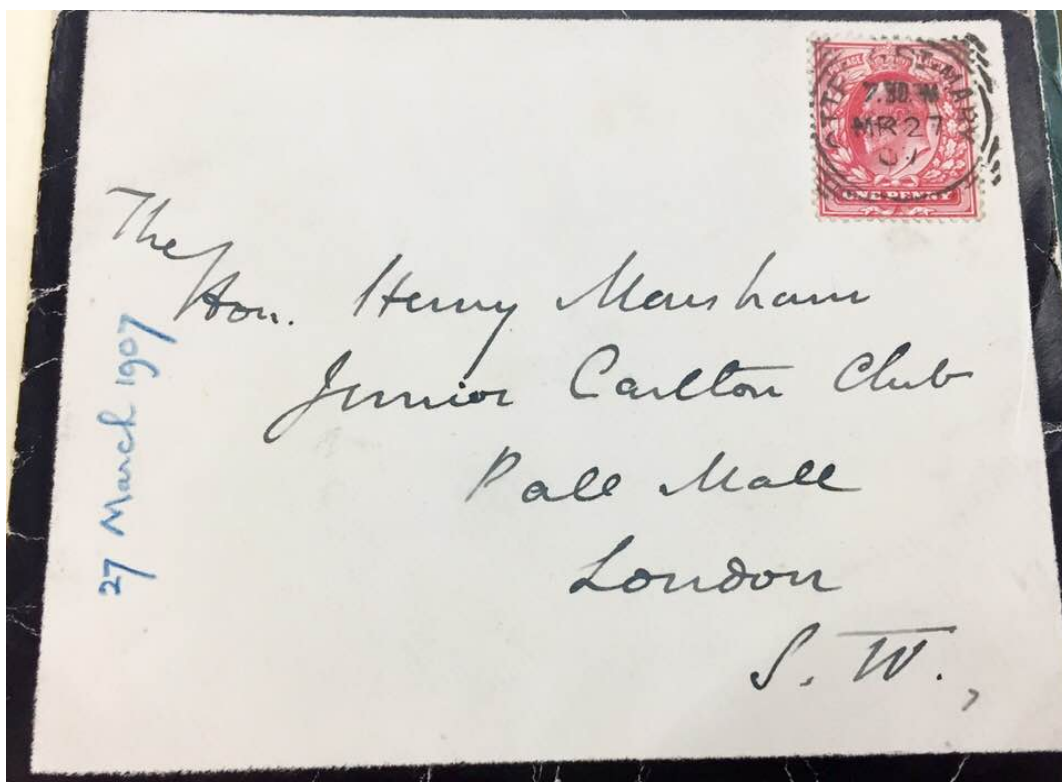
Addressed to: The Hon. Henry Marsham

Junior Carlton Club

Pall Mall

London

S.W.



Beaumont
Ottery St Mary
27 March 1907

My dear Marsham,
Welcome back to
England. I am truly
sorry to have been away
when you took so much
trouble to hunt me
up, but I had to go
to town the day before
yesterday to a family
funeral. The beautiful
vase you helped me to
acquire is on the top
of a bookshelf in the

8

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham
June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)

22. Beaumont

Ottery St Mary

27 March 1907

My dear Marsham,

Welcome back to England. I am truly sorry to have been away when you took so much trouble to hunt me up, but I had to go to town the day before yesterday to a family funeral.¹⁴ The beautiful vase you helped me to acquire is on the top of a bookshelf in the room where I am writing. It will give me very great pleasure to see you hear [here] whenever you can tear yourself away from London and your Maidstone Museum.¹⁵ Perhaps you will write and propose a time. I shall I trust be here till the first levee in May takes me to town to pass before His Most Gracious, and the only positive engagement I have is one at Exeter on April 22. So pray fix your own time. As you will have seen, the country round here is beautiful. My own dwelling stands on a ridge, looking South upon Ottery East Hill as it runs S.W. towards Sidmouth Gap through which the railway runs. I have a decently small garden and kitchen garden and pasture for a cow or two whenever I am able to procure the right animal. I was never more contented in my life.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Envelope for No. 23

Addressed to: The Hon. Henry Marsham

22, Chester Square

London

S.W.

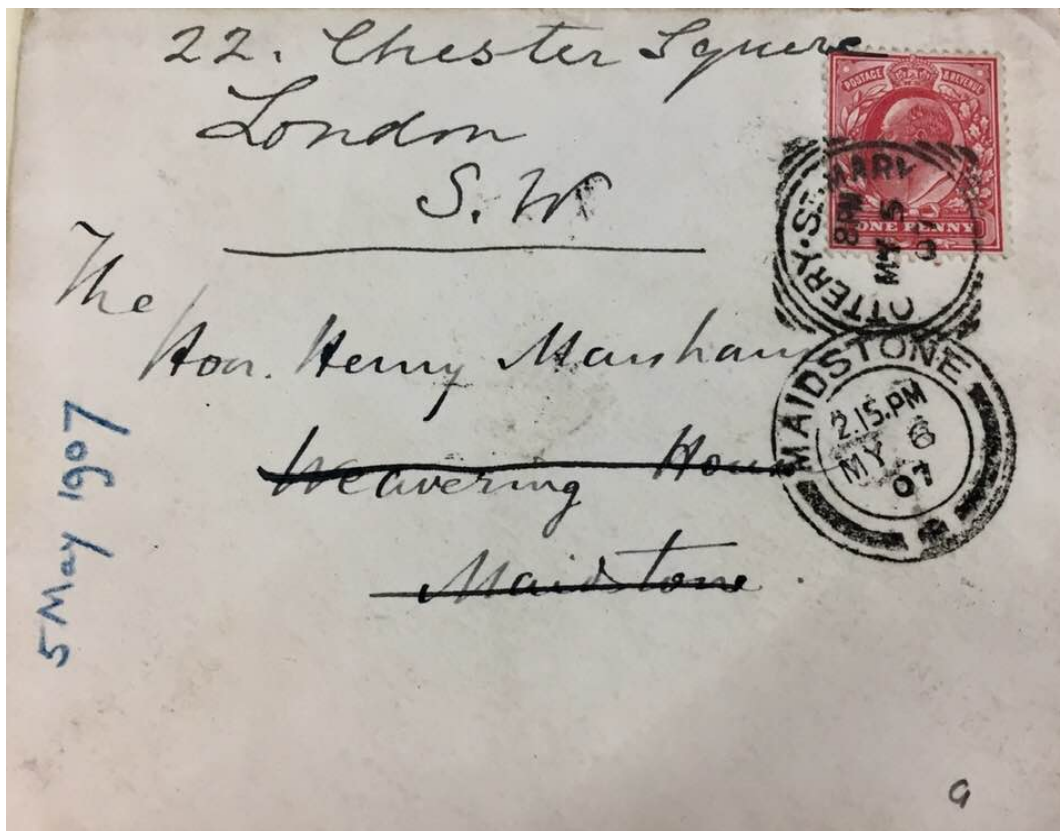
¹⁴ The funeral was of Kathrin (Kate) Satow, wife of Ernest's younger brother Sam.

¹⁵ Maidstone Museum was founded in 1858 as the Charles Museum after a local Doctor Thomas Charles bequeathed his art and antiquities to the borough council in 1855. It is housed in Chillington Manor in Maidstone town centre. (<https://museum.maidstone.gov.uk/> accessed March 14, 2019).

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Private correspondence from Ernest Satow to the Hon. Henry Marsham

June 1894 – May 1907 (23 letters)



23. 5 May 1907

My dear Marsham,

I am coming up to town the day after tomorrow and shall be dining at the Travellers [Club] on Wednesday and Thursday. Your letter from Bournemouth fills me with wrath against the Manager of the Sidmouth hotel Victoria, for if he had kept his word we should have met long before this. Ottery people think nothing of going to Sidmouth to see their friends. I shall be back here about the 15th and hope to remain undisturbed till I go to the Hague, which will be about the second week in June. Alas for my strawberries and so forth which will be eaten by other people or converted into jam.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

P.S. I hear that the levee will be early in June.

[End of File.]

