

Sir Ernest Satow ' s Private Letters to W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins : The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918

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Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to
W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins

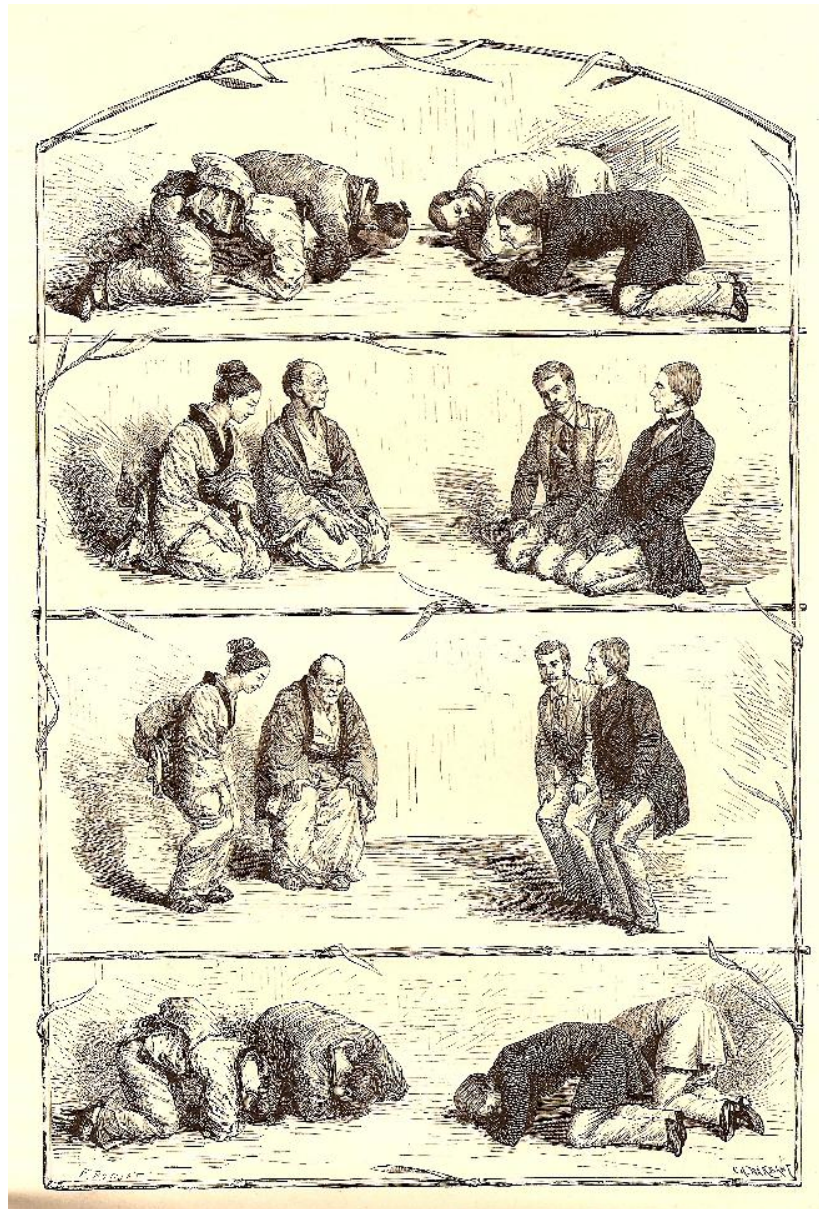
The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist
from 1870 to 1918

Transcribed from the Satow Papers, annotated and indexed
by Ian Ruxton

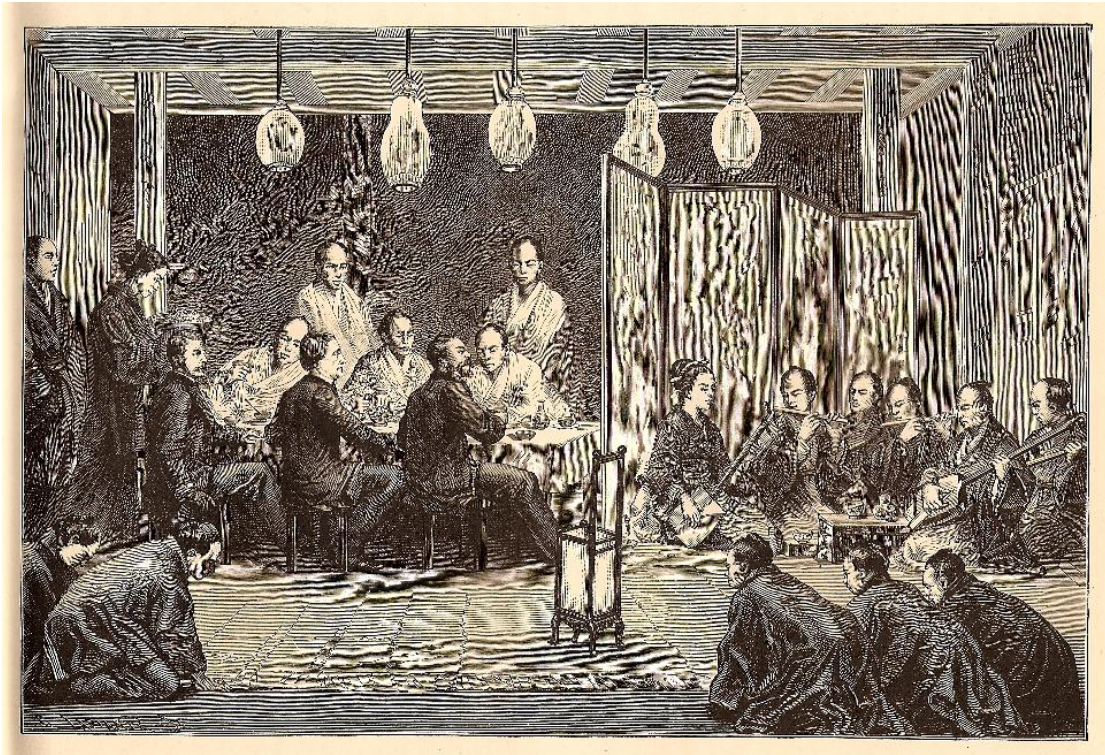
With an Introduction by Peter Kornicki



Ernest Satow as a young man of 26 years, photographed in Paris during his first home leave from Japan in December 1869 (reproduced with permission of the Yokohama Archives of History)



“When in Rome...” Satow and Austrian diplomat Baron Hübner visit a Japanese home. The sketches are by Josef Alexander Freiherr von Hübner who was in Japan July-October 1871. Satow and Hübner visited Prince Iwakura Tomomi’s home with the British chargé d’affaires F. O. Adams on September 11, 1871 and they were together on several other occasions. Satow later gave the Rede lecture at Cambridge University in 1908 about Hübner’s career. From Alexander Freiherr von Hübner, *Ein Spaziergang um die Welt, mit 317 Abbildungen und dem Portraet des Verfassers*, Leipzig 1882, following p. 192. (Courtesy Professor Peter Pantzer)



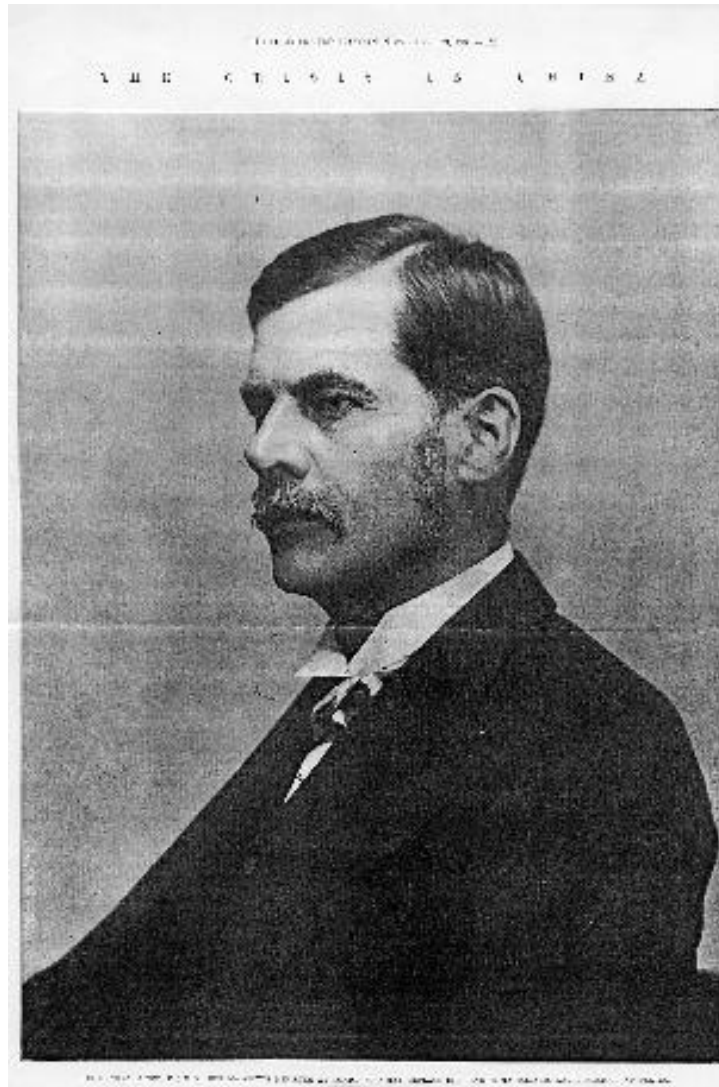
Satow, Hübner and F.O. Adams (left to right in picture) make merry at the house of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sawa Nobuyoshi (September 9, 1871). Sketch by Hübner in *Ein Spaziergang um die Welt*, following p. 216 (Courtesy Professor Peter Pantzer).

Satow's diary for this date describes this scene in detail:

"Sept. 9. Dined with Sawa in company with Adams & Baron Hübner. Miyamoto and Kondo (Sawa's headman & clerk at F.O.) joined us a[t] table. Painting in water colours before and after by a female servant, a male retainer and Sawa himself. Time occupied in each hasty sketch 3 to 5 min. Music on harp, lute, violin & flageolet by four blind men. Young Sawa's wife also performed on harp, but showed not her face."

In *A Diplomat in Japan*, Chapter XXVIII, Satow writes of Sawa as follows:

"Next day [March 1, 1868 – diary], Daté introduced to the Foreign Representatives Sawa Mondô no Kami, one of the five fugitive court nobles of 1864, who was proceeding to Nagasaki as governor, together with the *daimiô* of Omura, who was to furnish his guard. Sawa wore a rather forbidding expression of countenance, not to say slightly villainous, but for all that he had the look of a good companion, and a year or two later, when he was minister for Foreign Affairs, we liked him greatly."



Sir Ernest Satow the prominent diplomat, pictured in the *Illustrated London News* dated September 29, 1900 – the date Satow arrived at Shanghai to replace Sir Claude MacDonald as envoy, which was confirmed between them at Peking on October 21st (see Satow's diary). Satow's portrait appears here under the heading 'The Crisis in China'. The Legations had been under siege from the Boxers from June 20th to August 14th, and at one point all had been reported to be massacred.

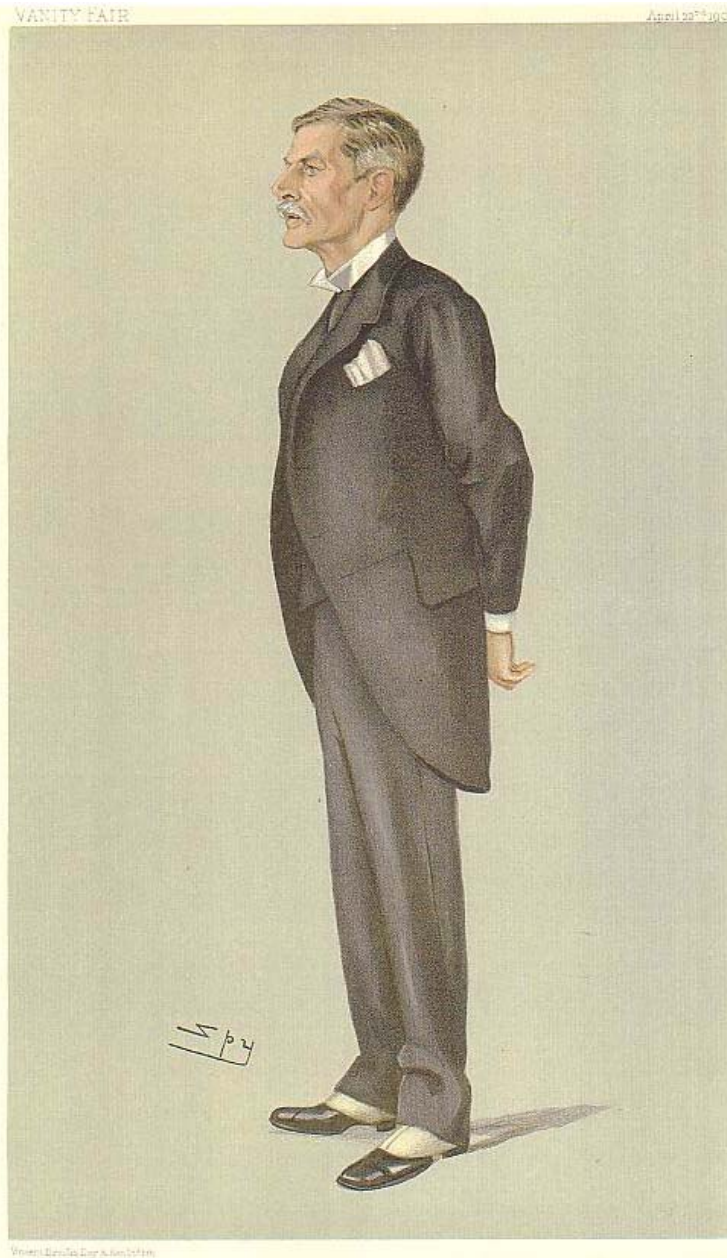
(With thanks to Dr. Nigel Brailey for drawing my attention to this portrait.)



Satow with the other Ministers of Foreign Powers at the Spanish Legation in Peking, 1900. He is standing in the doorway on the right at the back. The other envoys are, from left to right: (Lower step) E. H. Conger (U.S.A.), B. J. de Cologan, the doyen of the diplomatic body (Spain), Freiherr A. von Mumm (Germany); (Second step) Baron M. De Giers (Russia), Baron Czikan de Wahlborn (Austria-Hungary); (Third step) Marquis G. di Salvago-Raggi (Italy), Baron Nishi (Japan), M. N. Joostens (Belgium). On Satow's left is probably Baron d'Anthouard (French Legation Secretary).

This photograph was by James Ricalton (1844-1929) an American photographer commissioned by Underwood & Underwood. It appears in Christopher J. Lucas, *James Ricalton's Photographs of China During the Boxer Rebellion His Illustrated Travelogue of 1900*, Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990 (pp. 234-235).

(Courtesy Terry Bennett Collection)



Portrait of Sir Ernest Satow by 'Spy', the pen name of caricaturist Sir Leslie Ward
(1851-1922), in *Vanity Fair*, April 23, 1903

The biographical commentary by 'Jehu Junior' (Thomas Gibson Bowles, 1841-1922, founder of *Vanity Fair* and the maternal grandfather of the Mitford sisters) ends with the sentence: "He is an Oriental scholar, who probably understands the Japanese as well as any living Englishman may." (Portrait courtesy Sir Hugh Cortazzi.)



William George Aston (from the Takeda family collection, with permission of the Yokohama Archives of History)



Frederick Victor Dickins
(By kind permission of Douglas Dickins, F.R.P.S.)

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Acknowledgements by the Author

- 1) I wish to thank Professor Peter Kornicki for his expert introduction, and many others for their contributions, direct or indirect, to the footnotes. In particular my special thanks are due to Mr. Douglas Dickins who recently celebrated his 100th year and gave permission for the picture of his grandfather above to be used in a letter to me dated January 18, 2008. (He is the author of *In Grandpa's Footsteps: A 92-Year-Old Shows How to Start a New Career at 60*, published by Book Guild Ltd. in 2000).
- 2) Most of the transcription work was done in Japan using microfilms and digital images thereof. (In cases of illegibility or doubt the original letters at the National Archives were consulted.)
- 3) Any errors in transcription and unresolved ambiguities are my sole responsibility.
- 4) The images at the front of this book are believed to be out of copyright.
- 5) Japanese names in the index are given in the Japanese style, family name before given name.

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Relevant Books by the Same Author

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

I. Ruxton (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900): A Diplomat Returns to Japan*, Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2003, with an introduction by Nigel Brailey

I. Ruxton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900, Volume One*, Lulu Press Inc., 2005 (Chiefly official letters addressed and sent to Satow from the Foreign Office, the Tokyo legation and consular staff at Kobe, Nagasaki and Hakodate. Satow Papers reference PRO 30/33 5/1 through 5/10.)

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

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

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

Author's Preface

It gives me much pleasure to be able to publish these important letters of Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929), written in the period 1870-1918 to his two great friends W.G. Aston and F.V. Dickins, as part of a sustained effort over more than a decade to make the Satow Papers more easily available to scholars and the general reading public. It is hoped that some hitherto unresolved issues relating to this distinguished scholar-diplomat may be cleared up thanks to this publication: for example, Japanese scholars of Satow, beginning with the late Nobutoshi Hagihara (1926-2001) their doyen who first discovered the Satow Papers at the old Public Record Office, sometimes seem to express puzzlement as to why Satow should have effectively turned his back on Japan (but not his Japanese family) in retirement. One answer to this conundrum is surely provided by the relative lack of information and news about Japan which would have been available to Satow in retirement at Ottery St Mary, Devon. There was of course no internet in those days, and Japan was a world away despite occasional visitors. Another lies in Satow's clearly stated preference for and higher estimation of European over Japanese culture explained by Peter Kornicki below, and yet another in the deaths of both his closest 'old Japonian' friends with whom he could and did discuss Japanese culture in letters: Aston in 1911 and Dickins in 1915. As for his Japanese books, he made very large collections and complained of having too many to Dickins (186), and already in 1881 he was planning to 'shut up all Asiatic books' on his return to live in England (140).

In the end it was apparently – as with Shakespeare's Mark Antony in his funeral oration for Julius Caesar – not that Satow loved Japan less, but that he loved Europe more. Japan was delightful and fascinating as a subject of work-related study while he was there as a young man. But do not most of us - wherever we come from - ultimately value and cherish most highly the culture in which we were born and nurtured, and seek to return to it? Be this as it may, Satow's deep concern for the welfare of his friends shines through in this long correspondence, and we may feel privileged to be able to eavesdrop on one side of these erudite and thoughtful exchanges.

Ian Ruxton

Kyushu Institute of Technology

Introduction

Ernest Satow belonged to a small group of Englishmen who arrived in Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century and applied themselves to learning the language with remarkable results. Like William George Aston, Frederick Victor Dickins, and Basil Hall Chamberlain, Satow made his mark as a japanologist with a range of impressive publications, but he differed from them in that he also rose to prominence in public life, with the result that his name is still the best known of them all in Japan. This was, of course, because of his dazzling diplomatic career, which took him from Japan to Siam (Thailand), Uruguay and Morocco and finally back to Japan as Minister Plenipotentiary, followed by five years in Peking in the same position; in both of those two final postings he was head of mission, for neither post was at the time yet considered important enough to warrant an ambassador. He was also showered with honours: on his last visit to Japan, on his way home after relinquishing his post in Peking, he was received by Emperor Meiji and entertained by all the leading statesmen of the day, mostly men he had known as young men when he had been in Japan in the 1860s. In Britain he was knighted GCMG, awarded an honorary doctorate at Cambridge and made a member of the Privy Council. As an indication of his standing in foreign affairs and diplomacy, it is worth remembering that his monumental *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice* appeared in 1917; it remained a standard work of reference for young diplomats and was frequently revised and updated, the last edition appearing as late as 1979.

Although Satow has thus many and varied claims to distinction, his correspondence reveals an abiding involvement with and interest in Japan throughout his life, and this is particularly so with the correspondence contained in this volume, for his correspondents were pioneer japanologists like him. Although Dickins left Japan in 1879 and Aston in 1889, neither ever to return, they both continued to write on Japan in their retirement. It was in fact during those years of retirement that they produced some of their finest work as scholars of Japan, such as Aston's *History of Japanese Literature* (1899) and *Shinto (The Way of the Gods)* (1905), and Dickins' *The Old Bamboo-hewer's story* (1889), *Primitive and medieval Japanese texts* (1906) and *The Story of a Hida Craftsman* (1912). While they occupied their years back in England with scholarship on Japan, Satow was travelling the world as an increasingly high-ranking member of the British

diplomatic service, but that he, too, retained a scholarly interest in Japan is obvious, for example, from his correspondence with Dickins, in which we read of their speculations about the use of the Japanese word *jorô* to mean ‘courtesan’, their interest in Japanese botany and their criticisms of the writings on Japan of lesser figures, such as August Pfizmaier, W. E. Griffis and John Reddie Black. These and other topics, together with recollections of the Japan of their youth and reflections on contemporary Japan, are of as much interest to Satow when he is writing from Bangkok, Montevideo and Tangier as they were when he was still writing from Japan at the beginning of his career. Nevertheless, after 1900 he wrote very little about Japan for publication, with the principal exception of a section on Japan for his chapter ‘The Far East, 1815-1871’ in the *Cambridge Modern History* (1909).

After he had left Japan to rise in the diplomatic service, there can be no doubt that he missed his life in Japan: writing from Bangkok in 1884, he wrote, ‘I never think of that country without the liveliest feelings of regret. One was so happy there in spite of the distance from England, and the travelling in the interior was so delightful’ (146); thus when he needed to leave Bangkok temporarily to recover from a bout of ill-health, it was to Japan that he went. And yet he could also write to Dickins, ‘you must not regret Japan, it is not worth it’ (129), and he could claim that, ‘The Japanese are decorative not artistic’ (217). Similarly, complaining of the burden of work as head of mission in Tokyo, he wrote, ‘The routine work is killing me mentally, and I must come back to a higher civilization’ (219), by which, it is clear from the context, he was referring to Europe. Like many of his contemporaries, he was unable to escape the conviction, or instinct, that European civilization was unsurpassed. And thus it comes as no surprise to find him commenting on a review of Aston’s *History of Japanese Literature*, ‘Summed up altogether what a very poor show Japanese literature makes’ (220). Dickins himself expressed a similar ambivalence about Japan towards the end of his life, and regretted that he had devoted his life to things Japanese. It was, in the end, impossible for any of them to become cultural relativists and discard the cultural yardsticks they held undiminished and unchallenged in their minds for their entire lives.

Satow was an inveterate collector and reader of books and the correspondence reveals much about his reading, including a number of Japanese books, which at that time, of course, were entirely woodblock-printed books printed in cursive script. In a letter to Dickins of 1877, for example, he mentions reading Nô plays and the tenth-century poetry anthology *Kokinshû* (114). But Japanese was by no means the only language he was reading in apart from English, and readers of these letters will perhaps be taken aback by the extraordinary breadth of his reading and interests. By 1880 he was learning written and spoken Korean from a Korean resident in Japan and trying to read Korean literature (29-30); it is clear from casual references in these letters that he was regularly reading books in French, Italian, Spanish and German as a matter of course, and in 1916, when already in his seventies, he began the study of Russian in order to read Russian diplomatic documents (309).

It is worth pointing out here that the many activities, including dictionary-compiling, travelling around Japan, reading, studying botany and learning Korean that he mentions in his letters were only possible because his duties in the British legation could not be said to have been exacting. As he wrote in 1879, ‘we no longer sit in the Chancery at fixed hours whether there is work or not, which is one of Sir Harry [Parkes]’s favourite ways of making one waste time’ (126), or on another occasion, ‘official work is not heavy’ (143); recalling his early days in Japan with Aston, he wrote, ‘we seldom had more than half a day’s work each’ (42). And even when he returned to Japan as head of mission in 1895 he could afford to spend several months a year travelling or sitting quietly by Lake Chûzenji at Nikkô!

For those who, like myself, first went to Japan in the 1970s, it is not difficult to identify myriad ways in which Japanese society has changed. Gone, for example, are the smogs of the big cities and the student protesters, and no more does a foreigner’s competence in Japanese astonish. But in many respects change has been gradual and far from dramatic: the Shinkansen is a bit faster and a bit more stylish, more Japanese are likely to own and use a car, architectural styles are more imaginative and confident. But for Satow and his contemporaries, the changes were colossal, and it requires an effort of the imagination to realise that. Arriving in Japan in 1862, he spent his first years in the Edo of daimyo mansions and palanquins, of two-sworded assassins, of woodblock-printed books and of single-storey wooden dwellings. By the time he left,

Japan had a navy powerful enough to defeat Russia, an extensive railway network, a publishing industry that used steam presses and churned out masses of newspapers, magazines and books, and magnificent museums, exhibition halls and other public buildings made of brick. By these dramatic changes Satow, like his contemporaries, could not but be impressed but there remained a deep ambivalence about Japan that none of them could shake off. Ian Ruxton's careful transcriptions of these letters offer a valuable opportunity to come face to face with that ambivalence and to see the workings of an educated mind which knew Japan intimately but could not reconcile his European intellectual loyalties either with the Japan he experienced in the 1860s and 1870s or with Japan as a rising power in the twentieth century.

Peter Kornicki
East Asia Institute
University of Cambridge
May 2007

PRO 30/33 11/2: June 14, 1870 to Nov 29, 1881 (61 letters)

1.

[undated – checked original at National Archives March 5, 2007]

Dear Aston,

Sir Harry [Parkes, British minister in Japan 1865-83] wants you to translate the documents which he has marked in the margin of the enclosed.

I have been looking more into the Jinkô Shôtôki, and have come to the conclusion that it is not perfectly good Japanese, of the kind we want for the students. Another objection is that I showed one or two passages to Okamoto & Takeda, & they were unable to make them out. This of course only proves that an ordinary Japanese of the kind we get as teachers would probably be unable to explain the book, but that seems to me a sufficient condemnation.

The Kita Ezo Dzushi is much better. I have tried to make a translation of the first page or so, and find it not difficult. There are one or two odd constructions, but the book is an interesting one, and that quality will get the student over many a rough place. I have asked Okamoto to consult with Kobayashi & Tamaki (Gubbins' & Woolley's teachers) about the selection of a suitable book. Kasu Kabé is not learned in any way, and I will look among my own books. The great difficulty, after having selected the book, will probably be to find enough copies.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

2.

London

June 14, 1870

My dear Aston,

Forwarded the enclosed in your note of April 12 to the Sanjos. It is decided that I leave Marseilles on the 2nd October and I ought to arrive at Yokohama about the 18th November. It is perhaps very selfish of me to remain so long away when there is such a great necessity (as I understand from Mitford) for your getting leave of absence. But it is very hard to tear oneself away from European life, just as one is beginning to like it; and besides my parents were so anxious that I should stop with them a few months longer, that I was almost forced to apply for leave. The Legation must be terribly shorthanded.

I quite share your feeling of disgust with Japan. For at least a year before I left I had ceased to take any interest in the work. The natives may be making progress there, but

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we foreigners only fall back I think. The railway scheme and the loan will, I am afraid, be a damned nuisance to the Legation.

Remember me kindly to Adams.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

3.

Yedo,

Aug. 19, 1872

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for the copy of your Grammar of the Written Language which with the others intended for [J.C.] Hall ¹, [J.H.] Longford ² etc. arrived last mail. As we have not yet seen any copies of your Colloquial Grammar but those sent to Lane & Crawford for sale, we began to think you had forgotten our existence. I like your grammar very much indeed and it is of immense use to me as I am just now studying the Kojiki. I am afraid that the public in Japan will hardly take any large number, but the learned philologists at home ought to greet it with joy, for it must be much more acceptable to them than Hoffmann's unwieldy book.

I am engaged in printing my exercises, with a few additional ones, and have found your Colloquial Grammar very convenient to refer to. The paradigms I have remade in the Yedo Colloquial, upon your system, with one or two exceptions. Howell is printing it with very much the same type as has been used for your new colloquial grammar, of which he happened to have got out a stock for a book by somebody else, who has given up the intention of publishing. There is to be a Japanese text cut on blocks, the first 14 exercises in hiragana and the other 11 in Giôsho [semicursive style] with kana at the side. I do not expect it will be out before the end of the year, even if then, as it can only be printed in the slack moments of Howell's office. From the proceedings of the

¹ John Carey Hall (1844-1921). M.A. of Queen's University, Ireland. Appointed student interpreter in Japan, December 1867. Called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, 1881. Appointed Assistant Japanese Secretary at Tokio, April 1, 1882. Consul at Hiogo (Kobe), 1896-1902. Consul-General for Kanagawa at Yokohama, 1902-14. (from F.O. List, 1921)

² Joseph Henry Longford (1849-1925). B.A. of Queen's University, Ireland. Appointed student interpreter in Japan, February 1869. Appointed Vice-Consul at Tokio, May 1886. Called to the Bar at Middle Temple, May 1889. Consul in Formosa, 1896. Consul for Nagasaki, 1897-1902. Retired 1902 and became a Professor of Japanese at King's College London, 1903-16. Wrote many books about Japan. See I. Ruxton's portrait in H. Cortazzi (ed.) *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume VI, 2007, pp. 307-14.

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Japanese Embassy [led by Iwakura Tomomi] we do not expect to see either them Sir Harry or yourself for another year: you are certainly an enviable man to be kept on duty in Europe. We are all very sorry to lose Adams; he was the kindest of chiefs and I think he thought less of himself and more of his duty than any other man I have ever served under. His promotion was quite unexpected by him. Lowder has accepted a temporary appointment in the Japanese service, and sits at the receipt of custom in Yokohama. What the precise nature of his engagement is I do not know, for I am not particularly eager to be acquainted with his affairs. By the way, Terashima ³ coolly told me one day that as soon as you arrived he intended to get you into their service. I told him that of course you were the person to decide such a matter, but that I certainly should not help him to get your services. Having got hold of Siebold and Dubousquet, they think they can get hold of everybody, but in the case of those two men, there was very good reason why they should do it, as they were certain never to rise where they were. Hall has turned out [a] very good Japanese scholar, and his translations generally read very well. McClatchie makes great progress, especially with the written language. [Joseph Henry] Longford I do not think much of: he is intensely vain and lazy. I am told that he has good talents [sic. concealed talents?], but he certainly has not yet displayed them. Of the last batch of students I think Gubbins will do well, but at present the other two Paul & Woolley show no signs of distinguishing themselves. [James Joseph] Enslie, to my surprise, seems to speak very fairly, but is quite ignorant of the written language.

Believe me,

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. The Mikado has just returned from his tour round Japan in a coat covered all over with gold lace. Nothing doing in the political world. No shaves. I have given up Nishimura some time. He brought nothing but what I found in the newspapers or on the notice boards myself.

4.

S.S. Volga

February 7, 1874

My dear Aston,

I placed to your account with the O.B.C. [Oriental Bank Corporation] a cheque for \$40 that the chief gave me for my pony, before leaving, and Plunkett promised to pay

³ Terashima Munenori (1832-93) from Satsuma. Politician and diplomat of Bakumatsu and early Meiji period.

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over to you other \$40, so that you will have altogether \$230 to meet the payments you have kindly undertaken to make for me.

I think I forgot to leave behind me a memo about the Buddhist canon which is wanted for the India Office library. Mr. Wade's letter about it to the chief has been mislaid, but might be answered nevertheless. He wanted to be informed whether we could obtain a copy and for how much. Idzumiya Bunsuke, the dealer in old books in Kita-daimon chô can find a copy for \$250 to \$300. But I heard or read in a newspaper just before I left, that a copy had been bought by the Gaimushô [Foreign Office] to send to Germany, by which statement may be meant the copy which the Gaimushô intended to buy and present to the India Office. Anyhow, Tanabe Taiichi of the Gaimushô will be able to tell you, for he assured me some months ago that they still harboured the intention, but had not yet found a copy.

Young Tôyama turned up at Yokohama the day I left, and I sent him back as soon as I discovered it. His excuse was that he had asked Tora to look out for him! I gave him a scolding, and told him that he ought to have asked your leave. I am afraid that he is an incorrigible idiot.

Hongkong, February 9. We got here in the "Volga" yesterday morning at half past eleven after a very rough voyage down the China Sea. The steamer rolled fearfully, and as the berths are placed athwartships it was impossible to sleep in them. I got a few winks by placing my bed outside on the floor of the saloon. There were 12 cabin passengers, of whom the Mexican Transit of Venus people were five, Atkin the late superintendent of melting at the Ôsaka Mint, & his wife, two, a man named Dennistoun who says he has never gone to bed sober once during the last forty years another, and the list is completed by Schwartz & his wife, who had a store at Yokohama next to the French Church. This does not make up a dozen, so that my total must be wrong. I have been very kindly received by the Hayllars. Hong Kong seemed to me a city of Palaces when I landed, but I am now beginning to get over the feeling. The weather is of course warmer than at Yedo, but not so warm as I expected. I leave in the Tigre on Thursday at noon. Kind regards to Mrs. Aston to Mrs. Plunkett & Plunkett, Lawrence and Dohmen.

Believe me

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. You will shortly have [William] Willis⁴ with you. Please tell him that I am

⁴ William Willis, M.D. (1847-94). Appointed Assistant Interpreter and Surgeon in Japan, November 16, 1861. Became a close friend of Ernest Satow. Resigned in 1869 and was

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expecting him in London as soon as he gets tired of the Green Isle [Ireland]. Will you kindly have the enclosed sent to Brinkley.

5.

Upper Clapton

April 20 1875

My dear Aston,

I hasten to congratulate you on having obtained the increase of pay and change of title which you asked for; it was a much better arrangement for you than the other proposed. The F.O. has done the same for me, quite unsolicited, that is to say £100 a year at once and another £100 at the rate of £20 a year for five years. This is what they consider necessary to place me beyond the reach of temptation. Their reason for doing it is that they had to make an application to the Treasury on behalf of [William Fredericks] Mayers [the Chinese secretary in Peking], & they thought they might as well include myself. I have entered myself at Lincoln's Inn, and am going to study Roman Law & Jurisprudence for the present. There is not much chance of my remaining here long enough to get called. My dictionary is in Trübner's hands, & I hope shortly to get proofs. I send you a copy of a memo. by Mayers on the Corean alphabet, which is of interest. But there is a difference of a century in his date and that given by Hirata. Will you kindly pay my Subscription to the Asiatic Society for this year: the notice to pay has been sent on to me, so I enclose it. I have called on O'Neill at the War Office, and fancy I like him, but our acquaintance is young yet. The only people connected with Japan whom I have seen are Nakai Kôzô, Alfred Howell, and Frank White, who used to be in Marshall's house. Kind regards to Mrs. Aston; I am busy practising duets with my sisters, and shall shortly send her a parcel: if she wants anything in the way of music she can rely on me as an agent; go enrio nashi ni [ask without hesitation]

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

6.

Upper Clapton, London

May 16, 1875

employed by the Japanese mainly at Kagoshima. Appointed Medical Adviser to the Legation at Yedo, March 1880. Resigned January 31, 1882. Appointed Medical Attendant at Bangkok, September 19, 1884. Died in Fermanagh, Ireland. (F.O. List, 1895) See Hugh Cortazzi (ed.) *Dr Willis in Japan, British Medical Pioneer 1861-1877* (London and Dover, New Hampshire: Athlone Press, 1985).

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to William George Aston CMG
June 14, 1870 – November 29, 1881 (PRO 30/33 11/2)

My dear Aston,

I wrote to you about a month ago, just as I was beginning my law studies, and before I had seen what a tremendous undertaking it is. The F.O. as far as I can make out from Currie, does not care about men getting called, will not ask for terms to be dispensed with, and will not give the necessary leave. It is considered very difficult to obtain honours (by which a man can get off two terms) and no one has got them since the new regulations were promulgated. It would be too great a sacrifice to devote all one's leave to law, considering the small advantage to be derived from the call to the bar. I shall go on with Roman law and jurisprudence for the next term, and then betake myself to the continent for the vacation, which lasts from the beginning of August to the end of October. I cannot say anything yet about the time when I may be back in Yedo. I send you a list of the contents of certain boxes of books which were placed in the writers' room, in case you should feel inclined to make use of them. Can you send me a couple of dozen copies of my chronological tables, which are to be found in a box at my house containing stationery. I am almost certain that it is marked outside with the word "Stationery". I would not ask you to do this were it not that I am rather boned[?] for copies and have promised my last to O'Neill. I have dined twice with O'Neill and have called on his wife. They are both exceedingly nice people, and I regret very much that I cannot be more in their neighbourhood. Enslie is studying law, and is in his second term; he works very hard, but will hardly have time to get called. The Quins are said to be in Italy, but I do not know anything certain about their movements. Willis has not yet arrived, and his people are becoming anxious about him, as his eldest brother George has been very ill. I do not see his name in any of the passenger lists, and begin to fear that he may have been persuaded to continue on at Kagoshima. My dictionary is in the hands of Trübner & some Edinburgh printers named Ballantyne, but I have not received any proofs as yet. Pray write to me if you want any money for the payments which you have so kindly undertaken for me. What I left with you would be quite exhausted by the end of this year. Kind regards to Mrs. Aston, to the Plunketts, Lawrence, Dohmen and Gubbins. Embrace Mopsa for me. ⁵

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

7.

Upper Clapton

⁵ See the reference to Mopsa below in the letter dated May 2, 1879. Apparently Mopsa was a bitch but the breed of this pet dog is unknown.

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to William George Aston CMG
June 14, 1870 – November 29, 1881 (PRO 30/33 11/2)

May 24, 1875

My dear Aston,

I was delighted to see your fist, and thank you very much for all you have done for me. Lawrence is no doubt quite right about the set-offs against the rent. I expected some, and particularly for tobacco. Rather than give yourself any trouble about sending me the kamoshika [a Japanese deer called a serow] keep it for me, though of course I should be delighted to be able to present it to the Zoological Society, as they would make me a fellow and give me Sunday tickets, if the beastly Sabbatarians do not succeed in getting the place shut up as they have done with the Brighton aquarium. When I was at Nikkô with the Hayllars I asked the etas to bring me a live one if they could manage it, and am delighted that they did so. There is probably no living specimen in Europe. You have my most sincere sympathy about the examinations, but it is a lamentable thing that Hall should not have done more and quite closed the chief's mouth for ever about the subject of penmanship. I have already congratulated you upon the F.O. having acceded to your desire for the increase of pay and the change of title; after all it is only what ought to have been done long ago. I shall gladly take advantage of the excuse you give me for going to the F.O. about your Grammar, and hope to be able to send you news of the 40 copies by next mail. I hope you will reconsider your determination not to spell Chinese-derived words according to the exact transliteration; for, in spite of Dr. Hepburn's opinion that the Japanese do not know how such words ought to be spelt, I am convinced that there is a right way and several wrong ways of spelling all of them. I see that at the Paris congress of Orientalists, in discussing the subject of transliteration some fellow quoted Hepburn's misspelling as if he were an authority on the subject. I have just come back from paying visits in the Whitsuntide recess to sisters of mine at Oxford & Twickenham, and go back to work at law on Wednesday the 26th. It is very interesting, but alarmingly extensive a subject. I have also taken up Italian, which does not seem difficult. My doctor finds me to be in a worse condition of health than I had suspected, though there is nothing wrong that time and a careful regimen will not set right. I am to spend August in drinking the waters at St. Moritz in the Engadine. Tomorrow I am going to the British Museum to assist [R.K.] Douglas with the catalogue of Japanese books: they have only three of Hirata's works. Kind regards to Mrs. Aston. I am gradually collecting and learning duets. Any commissions either for music or other things I desire to execute for her and you.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

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8.

Upper Clapton

June 10, 1875

My dear Aston,

I received your note of April 13, containing a bill of lading for the koto a few days ago, and thank you very much for the trouble you have taken about it. As soon as I get hold of it I shall present it to the British Museum. The enclosed letter to Ninagawa is to thank him for the manuscript on seals which he sent to the Museum through me, and I should be much obliged if you would kindly hand it to him when you have an opportunity. I have been twice to the F.O. to ask for your grammars, but can learn nothing about them. Nevertheless it is possible that they may be discovered. Can you send me the date when you sent them to the F.O. and the person's name to whom you addressed the accompanying letter. If the people there should not be able to discover them by the light of nature, perhaps more precise information would serve as a clue. A week or two ago I met Grove, the editor of MacMillan's Magazine at dinner, and called on him afterwards to ask about your M.S. of the Taketori. He produced it to me, but said he could not put it into the Magazine, because the public interest in Japanese tales is not at present very lively; and he said he should send it to Mrs. Aston's father. I am very sorry people here should be so unappreciative and that your work should be thrown away, but if you ever get the M.S. back, pray have it published somehow. It would be a great thing to have the almost earliest piece of Japanese prose in English.

I am glad that you had an explanation with the chief about the examinations. It is nonsense to say that he interferes in order to show his interest in the matter: who is to be affected one way or the other by his demonstration of interest! It is a relief to find that Woolley has been working. I had a sort of notion that he could do a great deal if he chose. Birds that can sing etc. must be made to. Willis' people are very anxious about him, but I hardly like to write to them a rumour that he has broken his collarbone. It will be best to wait for a confirmation of the report. My dictionary is getting on slowly, and at the present rate it will take a year to print. They have only got through about one tenth in the last six weeks. My law lectures come to an end with this month, after which I go to Sidmouth for a fortnight and then to St Moritz in the Engadine about the end of July to drink the waters. After spending a month there I propose to visit the Italian lakes and some of the chief cities in Italy, returning to England about the end of October. Of course I shall take some books with me to study law during the long vacation. About three weeks ago I began taking Italian lessons with a view to my journey and subsequent reading. Adams is in England just now, taking waters or baths at Harrogate.

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I saw him for a few minutes a fortnight ago. The *rokumaibiōbu*⁶ & Pfitzmaier's other book have come back from the binder. Turretini has printed a new translation of the former. Will these fellows ever take to anything serious. Kind regards to Mrs. Aston, to the Plunket[t]s, Lawrence and Dohmen.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Will you kindly have the enclosed note to Mr. Syle transmitted.

9.

Upper Clapton

June 20, 1875

My dear Aston,

From the enclosed note you will see that they know nothing at the F.O. about the copies of your grammar which you sent to them, and it will be a good thing therefore if you can send me the exact particulars of the date when and the person to whom you sent the books. If you can do this I shall make another attempt with some hope of success. The *koto* has arrived: many thanks for the trouble you have taken about it. I shall send it off to Franks tomorrow, so that it may be in time for his conversazione on Wednesday. I have been enjoying myself fairly, considering the distance from town at which I live, but the plan which I have adopted of keeping a room in town for my evening clothes facilitates going about. On Friday last I saw & heard [Adelina Maria] Patti [1843-1919] in *Romeo & Giulietta*; the music was quite new to me, but Patti's acting was divine: the

⁶ 浮世形六枚屏風 *Ukiyogata rokumai byōbu* [Floating-world style Six-panel screen] by Ryūtei Tanehiko with a German translation: *Die Sechs Wandschirme der vergänglichchen Welt* by August Pfitzmaier, Vienna, 1847.

See also Sepp Linhart, 'Japanese Books Abroad Austria: Too Small for Translation?', *Japanese Book News*, Number 34, Summer 2001, p. 5: "Austrian polyglot August Pfitzmaier (1808-1887) translated Ryūtei Tanehiko's work of late Edo-period *gōkan* (books of illustrated light fiction consisting of several volumes bound together) *Ukiyogata rokumai byōbu*... Apparently this translation was not a commercial success, and Pfitzmaier stayed away from commercial publishing after that initial attempt. His many translations from Japanese literature, several thousand book pages in all, were all printed in the non-commercial proceedings of the Austrian-Hungarian Academy of Sciences, so that they unfortunately are not widely available to the reading public." Linhart also states that Pfitzmaier's translation of the *rokumai byōbu* was the very first published translation from Japanese into any western language.

(<http://www.jpff.go.jp/e/publish/jbn/pdf/jbn34.pdf> accessed September 5, 2007)
The book is mentioned five times in Satow's letters to W.G. Aston (June 10, June 20, September 17, October 18, 1875; and September 3, 1876).

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to William George Aston CMG
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Romeo acts well, but sings abominably – tis a man named Nicolini. Yesterday I went to lunch with the Alts ⁷ at their place near Weybridge and had to hurry back to town for a party at Greenwich. Adams was here again a day or two ago, and is now off to Paris & Berlin. I expect to see him again about the 2nd July, before I start for the baths of St Moritz. What do you think of my calling on the Alcocks and dining there, after having cut Fred. Lowder. They were most amiable. Miss Lowder seems a very nice girl, but growing old. Mitford has sold a great part of his curios at very good prices; both collecting & selling are very fashionable amusements. My dictionary has got to its 72 page, which I fancy is about one fifth; the printers will have to make haste, or I shall not get it finished during my leave. I saw the O'Neills again on the 13th. O'Neill wants some other book than the Dôwa to work on, and I think it would be a welcome gift if you were to send him a copy of some monogatari, say the ochikubo or Sumiyoshi with kana inserted by the side of the Chinese characters, in which he is not strong, and a copy of the Kokinshiu. Motoori's edition in 6 or 7 volumes with a sort of translation into Kiôto colloquial would be the best. He appears to be very industrious and to know a good deal more than fellows like Rosny and Turretini. The latter has published a new translation of the Rokumaibiôbu, as if three were not enough. I see from the Japan Mail that Goodwin recommends that some one should translate the Uji monogatari & Uji shiui[?] monogatari. I wish we could get Hall to interest himself in these subjects, but he does not seem capable of any continuous application, otherwise his penal code would have appeared before this. Before I go away I hope to send to Mrs. Aston some music and to you the books which I brought home to be bound; they ought to go back to the Legation library. My present plans are to go to Sidmouth on the 5th July to remain there till the 22, and to start on the 24th for Vevay, where I have to drop a nephew – at school; then over the Furca to Andermatt & over the Oberalp to Coire, close to St Moritz. From St Moritz I shall, after a month's stay, pass over to Como, and after a look at the other lakes go on to Florence in the latter part of September. I very much want to see Rome if possible, but rather dread the fever. I see Willis arrived in Yokohama the day after you wrote about his collarbone being broken, so that no doubt he is all right; and I really expect to hear of his arrival shortly. Kind regards to Mrs. Aston and believe me

Your's very sincerely

Ernest Satow

Love to Purcell & Brinkley. Brinkley talked of a sergeant he wanted, & wrote me a

⁷ Probably William Alt (1840-1905) and his wife. Alt was a British tea merchant in Nagasaki until he left in 1869. The Alt House is preserved in the Glover Garden at Nagasaki.

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letter which I answered from Hong Kong but probably he has given up the idea for I have heard nothing more from him. I hope he is working at Tales.

10.

Sidmouth

July 6, 1875

My dear Aston,

Enclosed you will find a bill of lading for a parcel containing those two books of Pfitzmaier's which I brought home to be bound, and two books of duets for Mrs. Aston. In spite of their misspelling your name in the B/L the parcel is addressed in full

W G Aston Esq

H.B.M. Legation

Yedo

Japan – so that it cannot well go astray.

I have come down here with my mother and a sister for ten days, and I am very glad to get away from that noisy London. On the 24th I shall start for St Moritz by way of the Rhine probably: it is a pleasanter route than that by Paris. I saw [F.O.] Adams last Friday and dined with him at his club, he appears to be in good spirits and fair wealth. The last thing I did in town was to go to the Albert Hall to a concert: the seats are certainly very comfortable but the music mostly hacknied, it would probably be difficult to fill so large a place with a classical-music-loving audience. Dined with O'Neill on the 30th June, he is very much in want of books, and I hope you will be able to send him the Kokinshiu and an easy monogatari. [Bernard] Quaritch has a few Japanese books, for which he wants huge prices: they appear to have belonged to poor Vidal [who committed suicide in Japan in the 1860s]. I am very sorry that I could not manage to go abroad with the O'Neills: they must be such capital travelling companions; but they go to Germany, and I must go to Switzerland for my health; from there over to Italy is a short step and a matter of course. I am not exactly an invalid, for I walked yesterday 9 miles over the hill from Honiton to this place without feeling tired, but ought to be stronger. Kind regards to Mrs. Aston and believe yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

P.S. The dictionary has got as far as the 112 page, which is about one fourth of the whole.

P.S. K. Howard writes to me that some of your Grammars had been found. I replied (for it was only a day or two before I left town, & I had no time to go up to the F.O.) that you would be glad to have them sent out if the F.O. would do it. I shall go to see after

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them on my return to town on the 21st.

11.

Upper Clapton

London

July 22, 1875

My dear Aston,

I was at the F.O. today and saw Mr. Hertslet the librarian who has discovered 19 copies of your grammar, not forty, as you said to me in your letter about it. I have got the people in the China Department (Cockerell & Howard) to promise that fifteen, which is all that I could get out of Hertslet for you, shall be sent by the next Southampton bag which leaves on the 28th, so that you will get them a fortnight after this. I leave for Mürren in Switzerland tomorrow, instead of St Moritz, by way of Treves [Trier], Coblenz, Mainz & Strasburg. Will you kindly give the enclosed photograph to Mrs. Aston; she was good enough to wish me to send her one. Poor old Schmidt. I am really sorry for him, because after all he had some heavy griefs. At the F.O. I heard that the only alteration is that Gubbins is to be made second assistant, but that Hodges does not get promotion which seems rather unfair; but they will do nothing without Sir Harry's recommendation, unless a man happens to have a friend at court or near it. Enslie is trying to get rid of the application to him of the rule 'no Japanese no promotion'. I have given him a certificate that he knows enough colloquial for the purposes of interpretation, but could not say anything about his knowledge of the written language, which I fancy is not great. Whatever its amount may be, I do not know anything about it, but fancy that it is what you & I would call nil; i.e. capacity to translate the meaning of a document given to him in colloquial by his teacher. I have just heard of old Willis' safe arrival at Enniskillen [County Fermanagh, Northern Ireland], but am afraid I shall not see him for some time to come. Enslie, whom I saw today, tells me that Gower will leave Europe in January (or, as he pronounces it, Janiwery). Of the Quins I know nothing certain. You may safely answer this note, if you have time, but pray don't say anything about my not being back at the end of my leave, for I do not yet know how long I may get. If you find the work getting too much for you, let me know go enrio naku. You must positively take care of yourself. Would you mind telling my man Tôyama to write me a letter about the house and garden and any gossip he likes to put in. With kind regards to Mrs. Aston and remembrances to the Plunketts, Lawrence, Dohmen, McClatchie and Gubbins.

I remain,

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Yours very truly
Ernest Satow

12.

Florence

September 17, 1875

My dear Aston,

Your letter of July 6th reached me here on the second, and as I hope not to have to return to London before the beginning of November, it seemed to me that the best thing would be to write to Trübner and ask him to choose the paper and send it to you viâ Suez canal. I told him to apply towards paying for it, any balance due to you which he might have in his hands, and that if the said balance were not sufficient, I would be responsible for the rest of the cost. I gave him the details contained in your letter, 500 copies of about 200 pages, page when bound 6 inches by 9½, and the paper to be good of its kind. I sent this letter off on the 3rd so that he would get it on the 6th, and I have been waiting to have his reply, which I asked him to send at once. But as I have heard nothing from him, and the mail leaves Florence tomorrow morning, I thought it best to answer your note at once, and hope by next mail, French or English, to have something to tell you about it. Thanks for your hints about handai & postal card. I am afraid that I had put the former in under “table”, but there is time to correct the mistake, as we are not further than the letter M as yet. The other word I was so fortunate as to secure just before I left, as my Shintô teacher used constantly to write to me on them. I should much have liked to be present at your conversation with Mayers on the Corean language, because he probably knows something about it. You have probably received the copy of his memo. on the subject of the alphabet, which I sent you. While I am here I intend to find out Severini, the professor of Italian who has translated the rokumai biôbu. The translation made by Turretini is full of the most ridiculous errors from beginning to end, but I have not yet had time to review it, and rather doubt finding a hearing in any English Review. Thanks for your congratulations about my increase of pay; the F.O. has I think behaved very handsomely about the matter, but I should rather like to hear what Mayers thinks of it (they did the same for him). When I last wrote to you I was on the point of starting for Switzerland, where I spent a very pleasant month with one of my married sisters and her husband. I reached Florence on the 2nd September and found a teacher the following day. The [Italian] language is much easier than it seemed, for after a while a sort of general resemblance to the French construction begins to show itself, and is of great aid. So many words, too, are like their French equivalents, and the Latin

helps one to remember the irregular perfects. If I can manage to get time when I go back to London I shall lay a foundation for a reading-knowledge of Spanish, after which there only remain Portuguese and Dutch, but one at a time. A little seems to have been written about Japan in Russian, but I look upon that as an impossible language. Florence is an extremely pleasant place to live in now that the weather is getting cooler, the Michel Angelo fêtes have been rather a bore, but the town is now recovering its calmness, and the only traces remaining are countless lives of the great artist and photographs of his works in the shop-windows. Yesterday I went by rail to Siena, an extremely antiquated town surrounded by high walls. It is situated at the top of a hill, and the streets go up and down a great deal worse than those of Nagasaki. The view over the surrounding country with the backbone of the Apennines rising up out of smaller hills, well cultivated and lit up by the sun, with a deep blue cloudless sky overhead and a fresh breeze was really beautiful. It is no wonder that people have raved about Italy; it gets into one's head. They say that Siena possesses the purest Italian, notwithstanding the proverb, but it would be dull as a residence in comparison with Florence. On the other hand it has the recommendation of lying high up and therefore possessing a climate which English cold bloods can support in the summer, while at Florence the thermometer goes up to 35° Reamur ⁸: a week ago it went up to 29° which is pretty stiff for this time of year. May I ask you to give the enclosed to Tôyama or to the representative of my other annuitant. Laurence talks of coming home, so that the house will become tenantless. Pray let me know when the funds are running low, because I do not like the idea of inconveniencing you in addition to burdening you with what is a rather delicate affair. It is a service which I cannot easily repay. I hear that Sinety is living with Laurence, and am very glad that Laurence has found a companion. My retainer Tôyama wrote to me the other day one of those absurd Japanese letters which contain 4/5 compliments 1/15 news and the rest signature, but I do not blame him for it, as his intellect is not a bright one. I do not think I have said much about the O'Neills to you, chiefly, I suppose, because there is no fault to find. I like them both extremely, and they are the most congenial people whom I have met in England. If it had pleased Prov[idence] I should have travelled with them this year, and regretted very much that I could not do so. Will you kindly remember me to Mrs. Aston, and tell her that I have some more duets, the Overture to the Son & Stranger by Mendelssohn and

⁸ The Réaumur temperature scale was a scale established in 1730 by the French naturalist René-Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur, with its zero set at the freezing point of water and its 80 mark at the boiling point of water at normal atmospheric pressure. Use of the Réaumur scale was once widespread, but by the late 20th century it had practically disappeared.

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Six Symphonies of Haydn, and that if she can find anyone at Yedo to play them with her I will send them out, they are all beautiful. I had the extreme delight of seeing Rossini's Ceverentola the other night here, the overture is extremely pretty, and also sounds well on the piano. Salute Dohmen, Laurence & all the other fideles.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

13.

Florence

September 20, 1875

My dear Aston,

I have an answer from Trübner as follows.

“Sept. 17 1875

We duly received your letter of the 3rd inst. and have ordered the paper to be got ready. We hope to be able to ship in two or three days, and we will send the Bill of Lading &c. direct on to Mr. Aston advising you at the same time.

Yrs &c.

Trübner & Co.”

Would it not be worth while to order covers for binding from London? I know Dr. [James] Legge [1815-97] did this for several volumes of his Chinese classics, you would get them better and cheaper. It would be better perhaps to have the binding done at Hongkong, for the binders at Yokohama are slovenly and unskilful, as you can see from the Kuaiwa-Hen.

Yours very truly
Ernest Satow

14.

Florence

October 18, 1875

My dear Aston,

I have just received a letter from Trübner dated Oct 15, in which they say that the paper has been shipped by the steamer “Gange” (Messageries Maritimes) and that they have sent you the Bill of Lading & Invoice. I hope that it will arrive safely. When I wrote to you last I had not yet received an answer to my application for leave to May next. I am glad (on my own account, that is to say) that they have granted it. As soon as I return to London I will send you some funds to pay my pensioners, as I hear that

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Lawrence is transferred to Constantinople. This news came to me from Mrs. Hannen, and I do not know who his successor is to be; perhaps you will have already heard. My time here is drawing to a close: I leave here for Paris on the 26th by way of the Simplon. There I shall stop with [F.O.] Adams, and I hope also to see [William] Willis and Siddall Severini, with whom I have had a little correspondence called on me today. He is a very nice fellow. We shall perhaps publish an edition of the Rokumaibiôbu together, for the use of students, but probably not before I return to Japan, for passages in it about which I wish to consult a Japanese teacher. If you can find among my books the 2nd Japanese edition, with or without the American version, I should be much obliged by your sending it to me by the F.O. bag. Pray don't curse me for not coming sooner to your aid. Europe is so delightful that it is impossible not to wish to stop as long as possible in its revivifying atmosphere. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Aston

and believe me
ever yours truly
Ernest Satow

15.
4 Lower Terrace
Upper Clapton
January 7, 1876
My dear Aston,

I ought long ago to have acknowledged your two letters of Oct 4 & II, but have been away from England since the 13th of last month, and had little leisure for writing. The chronological tables [requested in Letter no. 6 above] have arrived, and I am greatly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in hunting them up and sending them to me. In my last, forwarding you a bill of exchange and Severin's additional list of books, I must have told you that I had seen Lawrence, from whom I learnt the fate of my kamoshika; after all, I daresay it did die. Lawrence has now retired to the country, and probably we shall not see anything more of each other, which I regret as I wanted to ask him quantities of questions. You will have heard that Saumarez has been appointed Secd. Secy. at Yedo, at his own request, and that he leaves about the end of this month. Adams tells me that he is a very nice quiet gentlemanlike fellow. I do not particularly desire to have a tenant for my house now that Lawrence has left, but will leave it to your discretion to let it to Saumarez if he is unable to get anything else, of course at the same rent as to Lawrence. There is always the danger of fire from stoves, the results of which one might bear philosophically if it broke out during one's own occupancy, while the

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natural feeling in the case of a tenant, would be to attribute it to his negligence or that of his servants, and in no case would it be possible to promise it to him for more than four months, so that in his own interest it would be better for him to take another house for a couple of years at once. I am sending by this mail to Cornes & Co. (in reality to my friend Arthur Winstanley) bill of lading for ten cases of wine, which I have asked him to get landed and sent on to you. If the legation godown [storehouse] which Boyce spoke of building has been completed, perhaps it would be better to store them there, for I am almost afraid of putting them in my own outhouse, which could so easily be robbed.

On my way home from San Remo I spent three days with [Francis Ottiwell] Adams, and we went through [Edward Howard] House's pamphlets on Kagoshima and Shimonoseki. There is a good deal in both which is quite true. Of course one does not believe that Shimadzu Saburô had really given orders not to touch foreigners. He certainly left Yedo in a bad temper, wch. was caused, as I have been told, by the Shôgun's officials having tried to treat him as a retainer of the Shimadzu House instead of as a member of it. You know he was in his youth adopted into a karô's [retainer's] family, and the adoption was annulled when his son became prince of Satsuma. Narabara is the name of the man who killed Richardson, brother of Saburô's confidential retainer. Whether Richardson did make the reply of which House accuses him I do not know and there is no evidence to the effect that he did, but of course Marshall & Clarke would naturally in telling the story make it appear that they had given no provocation. The tone of foreigners, whether officials or merchants towards Japanese was certainly unjustifiable: I look upon it as the effect of the years of opium-smuggling and ruffianism which were our introduction to China. How ridiculous is Admiral Kuper's contrast between the civilized European (who commits a treachery) and the barbarous Japanese. That statement about the Admiral sending to seize the ships, while the time which he had allowed to the Japanese for a final answer was still unexpired, ought to be verified.

I hope Jaudon has sent back to you my copy of Charlevoix, which I left with him. Willis says that he deposited with you my First Principles and Through the Looking-Glass when he was in Yedo. I shall not leave before the end of May so pray let me have a line from you.

With kind regards to Mrs. Aston believe me

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

P.S. Please remember me kindly to the Plunketts, Dohmen and Gubbins.

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16.

Upper Clapton

September 3, 1876

My dear Aston,

I was very glad to get your long letter of June 19, and I have since read your review of my dictionary. There are great faults and shortcomings in the dictionary, partly caused by haste and partly by ignorance, but as the edition is not a large one let us hope that there will be another opportunity of which better use may be made. I begin to think that acknowledging one's indebtedness to other men in one's preface cuts both ways. If the book is a good one, the man whose aid is acknowledged loses nothing, but if it is a bad one, then the man who has assisted is exposed to the reproach that either he did not judge its value aright, or that he has lent his name to what he knew to be inferior. This is a mere speculation and not in any way connected with the dictionary, except that once or twice looking at the Preface it seemed to me that by naming you and Brinkley I threw part of the responsibility on your shoulders. As to my system of pronunciation, I am not certain that I am right nor convinced that I am wrong; and here there is of course no means of testing the question at issue. The utmost one can do is to give approximations. My previous theory, given in the *Kuaiwa Hen*, that the vowels are the same as in Italian, was certainly wrong in several points; for instance kane metal [Japanese 金] is not pronounced like cane [Italian for dog]. I suppose F.B. is Brinkley. I am very much obliged to Mr. [William] Bramsen for his corrections, but as you replied to him, it is not a question of transliteration, but of spelling Japanese phonetically. As for differences between the *Kuaiwa Hen* and the Dictionary, I do not think it necessary to stick to former practices after I have ceased to think them correct. In the Japanese words in which I left the y, I fancied it could be heard: it is however very uncertain and very difficult to catch, and I may in some cases have unconsciously changed my opinion even during the course of printing the Dictionary. However, I dare say you have by this time forgotten the controversy. I have been back in England about three weeks, having bravely stuck to the lectures at Marburg, in spite of the heat, to the very end. I am going down to visit the Hayllars on the 6th at a house which they have taken for the shooting season about 12 miles from Salisbury. Mrs. Hayllar does not shoot, and must find it rather dull. Hayllar returns to Hong Kong in January next, and his wife will follow him in the course of the year. I have not yet heard anything about the arrangements for filling up Sir Edmund Hornby's place. ⁹ The F.O. has of course not decided upon

⁹ Sir Edmund Grimani Hornby (1825 - 1896), became Chief Judge of the Supreme Courts of China, Japan and India and Judge Consular Consort of Constantinople. He

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Gower's successor, as they are waiting to know what Sir Harry proposes. I for one have no intention of going for the vacant Consulate, for the idea of being exiled to Hakodate would be too terrible, a "beastly" climate and not the advantage of being included among unhealthy places: at least it was not last June. I wish you might have the option of refusing such a post [port?], though I should be afraid of your going up north, and should be very sorry to lose you & your wife from the Legation. As you know already what Sir Harry has proposed, it is not worth while to offer you any speculation of mine on the subject, more particularly as I usually abstain from speculating where I am entirely without a basis. I really think Dohmen ought to get it [Hakodate], but fear Annesley will be chosen. I called on [Japanese minister in London] Uyeno [Kagenori] the other day, and spoke to him about Sergeant Hanson's (Brinkley's Sergeant) beer money on the voyage out. I had no opportunity of doing so before. He promised to inquire, and assured me that he was very desirous of treating such matters in a way that should give no ground for discontent. If you have an opportunity will you kindly give Brinkley my love, and tell him the above. Adams & the Plunketts are still at St Moritz, but return to Paris shortly, and I go there on the 15th. Adams & Plunkett were thrown out of a trap some three or four weeks ago, and had apparently a nasty tumble, but are getting all right again. The next two months will be for me like waiting for the execution, for I have struck new roots here, and do not enjoy the prospect of having to tear them up, although there is much that allures one to Japan, and not in the smallest degree the prospect of meeting the members of our little society again. If we could only get old [William] Willis up to Yedo [from Kagoshima] it would be perfect. My passage is not yet taken, but I suppose it will be by the Steamer which leaves Naples at the end of November. If Longford is still in my house, it would be better to ask him to give it over at the end of December, as I should of course like to get into it as soon as I arrive: but pray do not move the piano or my books, unless you are desirous of getting rid of them, because I project various alterations to the house which would make them rather an obstruction at first. I think Wheeler has every chance of losing his bet that I should get married, but he had better wait perhaps until I arrive, because there is many a slip between the cup & the lip, which is perhaps a farfetched quotation as well as hacknied, but I cannot think of a better. Severini is publishing his *Esame critico* of the different versions of the *Rokumai biōbu* in his new *Bollettino Italiano degli Studi Orientali*. The anonimo Inglese [anonymous Englishman] is myself: I did not like to put my name to it for a variety of reasons, one of which is that I consider the book unworthy of the labour that various men have spent over it; another, that I never contemplated

was knighted in 1862.

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publishing a version of it, & only made mine to show him how I thought it ought to be done, as far as I could, another, that there are several passages which I cannot make out, and I do not see the profitableless [sic.] of publishing my ignorance to the world, and fourthly, he could not send me the proofs, or even the M.S. of what he intended to publish. So before he began I assumed the anonymous, and mean to stick to it. Douglas has gone to the Oriental Congress at Petersburg: I had myself some notion of going also, but found that it would interfere with other, and more diverting plans; so forswore the pleasure of representing the Asiatic Society of Japan. By the way, up to this date I have not received any communication from the Secretary, although according to the Japan Mail, it was voted at a meeting on June 14. It would have given me immense pleasure to write a polite reply to the Council saying, like Severini, that I find myself obliged to decline the honourable burden from motives of health. Of course everyone in England is very disgusted just now with the Turks, if one may judge by newspaper articles, but probably the men who are now engaged in slaughtering partridges, after disposing of the national business, feel more sympathy with them than the vulgar herd which had only to be led. Somebody the other day called Dizzy [Disraeli] a mountebank. It was excellently said. His flippant speeches about the Bulgarian massacres were outrageous. à propos of Dizzy the wretched newspapers have been singing songs of triumph in honour of the great mammon of success, obtained no matter how. I like Gladstone infinitely better, in spite of his radical tendencies, he is at least honest & honourable. You will not care how much I write to you after this, as there will be no obligation to send answers which would never reach me. Per contra, I can be as frank as I like without fear of retaliation, so you know what to expect, especially if I hear nothing more till my departure.

With kind regards to Mrs. Aston for whom I have a treat in store in the shape of a large stock of classical duets. Believe me

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

17.

Yedo

March 4, 1879

My dear Aston,

I have two letters to thank you for, dated Dec. 10 and January 12, and am sorry to hear that you had to leave London on account of the cold. In the winter there is so much to be done there, and Ventnor can hardly have been enjoyable. What a pity Mayers'

grammar is not capable of being published, but at any rate it leaves the field open for you. From the few lessons in Korean which I got during my expedition to Quelpart¹⁰ from the interpreter, who read a page or two of Ross' book, I am inclined to think the author must know very little: it looks as if it were a translation, made by a Korean, of the said Ross' Mandarin Primer, i.e. a translation of Chinese sentences into Korean, like old Brown's first Colloquial Japanese. Many of the sentences were objected to by the interpreter, as not being used by Koreans. Pronunciation differs a great deal no doubt in different parts of the country. If Ross' book had the words of Chinese origin printed in Chinese characters with Korean at the side it would have been much easier to make out, but probably your knowledge enables you to detect them. I have lately received three volumes entirely in the Korean character, probably a novel. Miyamoto promises you a copy of the Manual, when it comes out. Thanks for the notes on tobacco in Japan. I should be much obliged if you could give me the dates of Froes' letters about the preparations for Taikô's expedition against Korea, which you have found in Hakluyt. The book would be too dear for us to buy, at least at present. We have lately purchased for \$100 the China Repository, which has made a great hole in our funds. I wish we had a fireproof place to put our books in, for it is no use forming a library with the chance of its being burnt. I am building a godown [warehouse] for my own library, to be 30 ft by 15, with a top story; it will cost about \$400. When it is finished I shall be delighted to shelter your treasures. I congratulate you on going to Kôbe as Acting Consul, though I would prefer on my own account that you came back to Yedo. You know that French has proposed to have [H.S.] Wilkinson over to Shanghai in place of Mowat, going on leave, and Sir Harry has telegraphed to know whether he is to go or not, but there is no answer. McCarthy has gone to join the Kôbe Consulate. He has not passed his examination, chiefly because he would not. Gubbins will come up, but whether he comes to the Legation or not is...

[Both the microfilm and the original end here in mid-sentence. Original checked at National Archives, Kew on March 2, 2007.]

¹⁰ Satow left in H.M.S. *Egeria* for Quelpart (Cheju island) on November 13, 1878. The ostensible motive was to thank the Koreans for their kind treatment of the shipwrecked captain and crew of the *Barbara Taylor*. The ulterior motive to the trip ordered by Parkes was to gather intelligence about Korea and investigate the possibility of a treaty. Satow went on to Pusan, returning to Japan (Nagasaki) on November 28, 1878. Satow never landed on Korean soil apart from this one occasion. (I. Ruxton, *The Diaries & Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow*, Edwin Mellen Press, 1998, p.126)

18.

Yedo

May 2, 1879

My dear Aston,

Flowers' application for leave of absence goes home today and in the same despatch Sir Harry strongly recommends you for the acting vacancy. This is necessary because [J.J.] Enslie has already applied for it, on hearing that Flowers intended to ask for leave, and Sir H. prefers leaving the F.O. people to decide. He has thrown all his own weight into your scale, and I do not doubt that you will get it, but that you will be able to learn at the F.O. There are no other candidates as [Russell] Robertson we hear does not intend to come out again before the end of 1880. Your paper on the [H.M.S.] Phaeton at Nagasaki reached me by the mail, and I read it with great pleasure. The subject was perhaps not of sufficient general interest for people at home, but as you have treated it, it will I am sure afford great entertainment to people here. Woolley returned by the last French mail, and is at present kept here to help in the chancery, but no one knows whether he will remain. Old Syle is going away, probably to America by the steamer on the 16th, and will I am afraid not return. He has been very useful to the Asiatic Society, and there is no one to fill his place. Miss Washington is going to marry a man named Ewing whom you can scarcely have seen: he is a very clever nice fellow, about 26 years of age, and professes Civil Engineering at the University of Tokiô.¹¹ You will be very sorry to hear of the sudden death of Joseph Russell of the O.B.C. [Oriental Bank Corporation]. He died the day before yesterday of a ruptured aneurism of the aorta, almost suddenly. He was an excellent straightforward honest and loyal man. I hear that Carl Cramer has been induced to go home from Nagasaki, which must be a relief to [Edward Burness] Paul. All the naval mission is going, the Suttons and Baillie on the 16th by America, but of course you have heard all this from Mrs. Anderson. Hawes & [Basil Hall] Chamberlain still remain.

Many thanks to Mrs. Aston for her letter. Mopsa¹² is still in the land of the living, and is likely before long to become a mother, in spite of all my precautions.

Yours very truly

¹¹ See Neil Pedlar, 'James Alfred Ewing and His Circle of Pioneering Physicists in Meiji Japan', Ch. 8 in J.E. Hoare (ed.), *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume III, Japan Library 1999.

¹² Mopsa was also mentioned in the letter dated May 16, 1875 above. See also Satow's diary for April 12, 1878: "Mopsa bore three puppies towards morning, two lusty whining fellows of dark colour, one smaller quiet and reddish. It is touching to observe the tender care of them which inspires her." (PRO 30/33 15/5)

Ernest Satow

19.

Yedo

January 18, 1880

My dear Aston,

Asano junior has gone back, either to you or to his native country, and so I return the letter addressed to him. The other man has promised to call on me, but I have not seen him, and he probably does not intend to come. By next steamer I hope to send you proofs of your paper, which was read at the last meeting of the [Asiatic] Society [of Japan]. We all wished it had been longer.

I am glad to find that your practice with regard to the house-allowance is what approves itself also to my conscience. There was some temptation to draw it, as my having to occupy this house involved buying curtains and other furniture which will be of no use to me in my own place, but on the whole it seems to me rather Of the nature of a squeeze, and when Dohmen called it a 'perquisite', my mind made itself up.

I do not know when Chamberlain is likely to return, but in the meantime there could be no harm, I imagine, in your using the books Asano primus left with you. The French Dictionary seems to be a great work, as far as I could judge in merely cutting the leaves, but I have not had time to use it at all. My conscience has imposed on me the preparation of some translations of despatches and notes for the use of the students, and this occupies the greater part of my leisure at present.

Willis writes regularly, but does not say when he may be expected. Sir Harry talks of not leaving before May or June, but hopes to start before the hot weather sets in. You will have heard that Paul has resigned, at the invitation of the F.O. and we are threatened with another student. I think they are a little too much in a hurry as there is no vacancy at present. The F.O. approve of Hall acting as Japanese Secretary, and of my going to Peking as soon as he comes out, but I am greatly afraid he will not hurry himself, and if Sir Harry arrives first, I may be disappointed after all. We hear that Gubbins is forbidden to read or write for six months, and that the voyage home did not do him any good. Chamberlain is under the oculist's care, and also may not read or write. With kind regards to Mrs. Aston, Believe me,

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

20.

Yedo

February 28, 1880

My dear Aston,

I got your note of the 17th enclosing corrections to your paper in the first number of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society, and will take care they are inserted. At present the reprinting is delayed, because [R.] Meiklejohn [of Yokohama, printer] finds that the extra 100 copies of the Transactions exhausts his stock of paper more quickly than he expected.

[Joseph] Edkins' corrections unluckily arrived too late, but I think we shall publish errata to this volume 1 as there are several in Atkinson's paper also, and then they can be put in: the most important of all, I had however myself corrected. I return his letter. It seems to me that little can be done in Japanese etymology until we know what the original meanings of words were in the earliest literature. I am inclined to think mata again is the same as mata fork. We ought also to find out the exact amount of influence which the introduction of Chinese literature has had upon Japanese idiom: it was assuredly very great.

I am sorry to find you have no time for study at Hiogo, but as Consul you are obliged to represent, which must waste a lot of time. After all it is better here in Yedo. If you got the Hakodate Consulate you would have plenty of leisure, but the climate and isolation would be very unpleasant for you both. Eusden talks of not going back there, and perhaps he has his eye on Hiogo. You would in any case get one of the vacancies. It is said Robertson does not want Hiogo, but prefers assistant judge at Yokohama. It seems probable however that they will do away with the consul being ex-officio judge. You know Enslie is to be Acting Registrar & Crown-prosecutor, I suppose Acting in order to keep it warm for [H.S.] Wilkinson no doubt. I am going to try to get to Peking for some months; it would be a great thing to get a fair start in Chinese in the country itself, and perhaps a little Mongol or Manchu might be picked up.

The Kennedys have gone off to Narita and the Shimosa Sheep-farm ¹³, but will be back by the 2nd March.

I am sending Edkins his 25 copies by post.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

¹³ The Imperial Stock Farm at Sanrizuka, Shimosa, near Narita (Chiba prefecture) under the Department of the Imperial Household, was established in 1875 for the breeding of cattle, sheep and horses.

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P.S. When can we look for the remainder of your invasion of Korea?

21.

Yedo

April 30, 1880

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for your contributions to the dictionary. I hope you will always make a note for me of anything new that strikes you as likely to be useful, or of any delightful exact renderings of idioms that may suggest themselves to you from time to time in walking, eating or even in dreams.

Have you seen or heard of the revolving American bookcases made by Trübner? They are the most delightful things in the world. You can have one close to your chair with a whole library in it, and turn it around as you want your book. There are four shelves on each side. I have just received one from home as a present, and find it an immense comfort; I am sure you would also. It stands about 5 feet high and is 2 feet square. You could easily get one out by steamer.

The Kennedys had rather a bad passage up, and in fact, it blew so hard on the Tuesday night that it is a wonder they ever came here at all. I have heard pretty frequently from old Willis. He is doing all he can to come here, but up to the date of his last letter, no official information of Anderson's resignation had reached England. I have not said a word about his wishes to anyone but yourself, because if he does not come one would not like his disappointment to be gossiped about. I am working hard at Guidebook and Japanese stories for Anderson. It takes a deal of reading in out of the way books, but I take dictionary notes by the way, which is some consolation. It is a mistake to have a fixed purpose, it hinders one from making pleasant excursions into the wide field of study.

With kind regards to Mrs. Aston,

Believe me,

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

22.

Yedo

May 12, 1880

My dear Aston,

I have overhauled Hall's books but cannot find either Mayers on the Chinese

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Government or Dr. [James] Legge. I've looked through the greater portion of the books to see if your name were there in any, but could not find it, though there were a good many blanks. We have nothing from the F.O. about Hall having got an extension of leave, and you know they always send us an official notice of such things. The only authority for the statement that he had actually got leave is [John William] McCarthy, but we have it not first hand from him. He is said to have told [George] Hodges, who told [James J.] Enslie, who told [Martin] Dohmen. It is possible therefore that he may after all return in June. He wrote to me that he wanted to get leave enough to get called, but that he felt sure Sir Harry would put a spoke in his wheel. We have no news of Sir Harry, and as long as his departure from home is not telegraphed we may feel that he is still safe in England.

I hope that if you have an opportunity you will do something for the guidebook in your neighbourhood, a description of Maya-san, Minowo [Minō] or Arima or the temple near Ichi-no-tani, called Suma-dera, I think. We want exactly the same sort of thing you see in Murray or Baedeker. I am afraid I shall not be able to visit you, for I find it impossible to persuade Kennedy to let me away, and Kiu-shiu would be a great deal too hot in the summer. If I get a holiday then, I shall go into the mountains for my health.

We have plenty of papers for this session, but shall be very glad to see yours in the van of Volume IX [of the Transactions of the A.S.J.]. I sympathize with you about it, for I am in precisely the same condition with two papers of my own that hinder me from doing what is more interesting. I have discovered the key to the Japanese Sanskrit characters by comparing the inscription on the stone at Asakusa [temple, Tokyo] with a transliteration by Wylie in the Royal Asiatic Society for 1870 of a similar inscription at Kalgan in China, and should like to work a little at Sanskrit, but my only spare time is the evening after dinner, and it spoils my sleep if I study then.

Sir Harry has applied to the F.O. to give Willis the appointment, but there is some hitch owing to Lord Salisbury having gone to Biarritz.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

23.

Yedo

July 1, 1880

My dear Aston,

I am much obliged for the statistics enclosed in your letter of the 26th. They did not arrive in time for the despatch, which went by today's mail, but it was not of very much

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importance, as Kennedy says in the despatch that the total number is over 1000 annually, including Koube, which is not very much under the mark. We hope to get the whole system very much simplified on the lines proposed by you.

I do not think [John James] Quin has any reason to complain about not having the use of a dictionary and teacher to do his papers at the examination. Of course one does not expect newspaper articles to be translated so well without such aids, and the proper allowance for that will be made. He ought to have passed long ago before the conditions were made stricter by the addition of the code. He is working very hard, but one can see that it is only cram.

I will tell Pryer when I see him about the Magpie.

This afternoon I sent you a telegram which requires some explanation. I have just now an excellent opportunity of studying Korean, and want a volume of those novels which I fancy I must have lent you, as I cannot find them here. Any one that you do not happen to be working at yourself will do. Please do not say anything about the matter to anyone, as the Korean who is giving me lessons is desirous of keeping as much in the dark as possible, and particularly of not letting the Japanese know that he comes so constantly to me. You will probably see him in a month or two, as he talks of paying a flying visit to his own country. Perhaps the arrival of the Korean envoy next month may delay him, but he is very desirous of making your acquaintance, as he has heard about you from the interpreter with whom you were reading. I wish you were here to take full advantage of his extreme willingness and good nature. He is indignant with Ross' book, and it is evident that that gentleman has been far too much in a hurry to publish.

When do you think of sending the conclusion of your Hideyoshi paper? Could you manage to let us have it by October in time for the first meeting?

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Willis talks of leaving about the end of September. Hall has 14 months more leave, Robertson till next April.

24.

Yedo

July 19, 1880

My dear Aston,

A thousand thanks for sending me the novels so quickly, and for your notes on te ni wo ha, which are of the greatest possible help to me. I hope some day you will put them in shape for publication with examples, and confer a boon on students of Korean. It was

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really very good of you to take the trouble of copying out so many pages for me. I have not yet seen Oppert's book, but am not at all surprised to hear that it is a swindle. Ross' way of spelling is a great stumbling block. I have begun the 風樂傳 with my friend, and am finding it less difficult now that I have your notes to help me. It is extremely interesting to note the close correspondence of the construction with that of Japanese. I shall lose him at the end of this month, as he is going back to his country, and shall give him a letter to you. He promises to do what he can to get you a man, and I really think it quite possible. He will no doubt return here before the end of the year, and will, I hope, bring some more books. It will be quite safe to give him money for that purpose. He advises me to read the Chinese classics in Korean in order to understand the division of sentences better, and no doubt it would help me. Thanks also for the M.S. novel, it is much more legible than one at least of the books. I cannot find that any ancient Korean literature exists, or anything in Korean characters beyond these novels, but if we ever get an entry there, we may perhaps find out something. Apparently the use of Chinese is far more extended among the educated people in Korea than in Japan.

Willis writes that he will certainly not leave before the end of September, and Sir Harry I conclude from various reports that have reached me not before the end of the year.

Believe me

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Enslie's acting appointment has at last arrived. The interpreter to the Court gets £50 in addition to his pay in the Consulate, in which he is to work when not wanted in the Court. Enslie gets £150 in addition to his present pay, and is relieved from Consular work.

25.

Yedo

July 28, 1880

My dear Aston,

I appeal to you for aid in great extremity. We are going to limit the Guide to Central and northern Japan, so as to avoid the necessity of using other people's materials or compiling from Japanese books and maps accounts of places we have not visited. But we want to include Kōbe and its environs, and ask you therefore if you can find time to do it between this and the end of September. The enclosed proofs, for the dirty condition of which I apologize, will show you how we have treated Yokohama & its environs. In

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Kōbe all we want is similar practical information for globetrotters, and in the Environs, accounts of the ride to Akashi, including Suma-dera and Ichinotani, Hiōgo, if it contains anything of note, Masashige's temple and the battle of the Minatogawa, Mayasan and its temple, Arima and Minō. And if you could also do it for us, the Rapids from Kameoka, including the route to the latter, which I have not been able to do. Unless you can help us we shall either have to omit all this, or delay the publication of the book for some months, as I cannot get down in your direction this year, and Hawes probably will be tied to Yedo till next July. You will see that we have after all given up kana spelling, to which Hawes was from the first opposed, though he good-naturedly consented, and have adopted the most phonetic spelling we could think of, leaving however w in Kwan-non and such words, because it is pronounced over such a great part of the country. The long mark over O instead of the circumflex is imposed on us by the printer. I don't like it, but it is less trouble to write.

Pray do not show the proofs to any one, as I am anxious that my surrender shall not become known until the book appears. We have had a good deal of fun with people who fancy they are going to have to learn kana spelling, and wish to prepare an agreeable surprise for them.

The Korean was going this week to Kōbe, but has changed his mind and will wait until the arrival of the envoy at Nagasaki is telegraphed. I find your notes of the greatest assistance, and am beginning to feel my way among the terminations, which seem to be legion. I have collected forty different forms of ha- to do &c. The novel I am reading is most ridiculous

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Quin has passed the examination by dint of mugging.

26.

Yedo

4 August 1880.

Private

My dear Aston,

The Korean of whom I have spoken before has asked me to write to you to recommend him to your good offices on his approaching visit to Kōbe, which it is perhaps hardly necessary [to do] as he would be an object of interest apart from my recommendations. But I do not think I have mentioned his name before. He calls

himself Asano 朝野,¹⁴ and you will recognize him by this token when he sends in his card. His movements depend very much on those of the Korean envoy, who I suppose is now with you, but he will in any case shortly return to his own country for a visit, and then come back here. I have talked to him about a teacher for you, and he tells me there is a young fellow of great intelligence at the Higashi Hongwanji in Kiôto whom he brought over a short time ago, but says that he cannot well remove him from their care. Perhaps you may be able to persuade him to give you this young fellow. Asano will no doubt also undertake to get you some books, as he has promised also to Chamberlain and myself, but I am afraid there is not a great quantity in 諺譯 beyond novels, and that the language must be learnt orally to a great extent. There are one or two things which I think you will incline to alter in your provisional transliteration when you have seen this man, e.g. the distinction of a and ã for γ and •. He says the second is exactly the same as the first, and I have certainly found them interchanged. ㅏ [Korean symbol] sounds to me more like ö or Wade's ê than ũ, but I confess it is not constant. I should like to have a talk with you on Korean some day, but Heaven only knows when we shall meet.

Believe me

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

27.

Yedo

August 7, 1880

My dear Aston,

Half a loaf is better than no bread, and we shall be grateful for any contributions. The Settsu Mei-sho may be useful for history, but as far as my experience goes, books are very misleading about buildings and local descriptions. We can hardly expect to go into as much detail as in the case of Yokohama. Kamakura being of historical importance, it seemed necessary to give a short summary of its past. The guidebook will no doubt contain a great deal that should be kept out of it, but it is a convenient opportunity for publishing exact information about many things, and so I do not mind extraneous matters creeping in.

There is no likelihood as far as I can see of our attempting anything in Korea at present. What Kennedy has done has been a despatch telling what the Americans have

¹⁴ Asano's real Korean name was I (Lee) Tong-in. Satow was first visited by him on May 12, 1880 (Satow's diary entry).

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done and what the others think, and enclosing a little fresh information I procured for him. I do not believe in the utility of force if it is overwhelming, and the Koreans do not appear to me to have merited an attack of that kind from any of the foreign powers. If we can ever do anything by gentle means, I should certainly support the idea, but just at present there seems no chance. Still, the country is sure to be opened some day, and the more one knows of the language beforehand the better. How extremely difficult, nay impossible, it is to read the Korean without the aid of Chinese characters. I have got through the 梁風傳 and am reading with Asano the 黃雲傳, which is only a second volume and is much more filled out with Chinese derivatives than the other. I do not see how any woman could possibly understand it. Asano says its style is better than the Yang Pung. Chamberlain has 林將軍 in the country with him, and I have not yet looked at the M.S. I am of course reading as much with Asano as possible before he goes. I am sure that he will do his best to get us men to teach us. It is a pity that there is so little, if any old literature, for the language must have undergone great changes since the time when comparison with Japanese would have been easy.

Thank you for your congratulations. But I do not intend to assume the title until I am old, fat and greyheaded, which seem to me the necessary attributes of a Doctor.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

28.

Yedo

August 11, 1880

My dear Aston

Your letter has just arrived. Asano will not leave until he has ascertained whether he can have an interview or not with the Korean envoy who arrived this morning, but I expect him to sail by the steamer this day week. I do not think he would look upon a room in the servants' quarters as beneath him. He does not seem to be proud and is probably ready to do or undergo anything for the sake of his object.

The coincidence between toran [Hindi/Sanskrit] and tori-wi [Japanese torii gate] is certainly very striking, but I have not seen any drawing of the Indian gateways. The Chinese pailo resemble the tori-wi to a certain extent. If the Japanese term is of Indian origin it can only have come here in a Sanskrit form.

I should like to collect Sanskrit words which have become colloquial in Japanese. At present, beside danna and perhaps aka for bilge water, I only know of tokoro-mandala 'sporadically' from mandala, a picture covered with figures dotted about here and there,

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and garan-do empty, the former part meaning 'temple'. I am not quite certain about mandara. If you come across any pray note them down.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

29.

Yedo

8 September 1880

My dear Aston,

Asano came to me last Saturday and announced that he intended to leave on the following day, so as to get away before the Envoy, and I hope by this time you have seen him. He has a plan for providing you with the services of a very learned old man who is attached to the Envoy, and whom he thinks he could smuggle back here after they have once got back over there. I sincerely hope he will be able to arrange the matter. Lately I have not been able to do much on the language, as Asano has been constantly going about with members of the mission and could not come to me. All I have done with him amounts to reading one volume and about $\frac{1}{3}$ of another, and taking very full notes.

The F.O. has replied to Kennedy's despatch about my going to Peking, approving of the proposal, but coupling their approval with the condition that you and I must not be absent from Yedo at once. I hope some way will be found of getting over this difficulty, for it is not likely that you will be relieved of your present post by a permanent man for some time to come, and then it is quite on the cards that you will get one of the vacant consulates. I am very anxious to go there next year, because after that it will be much less convenient to me. If Sir Harry returns at the end of this year as he talks of doing, that will rather put obstacles in my way.

We are making great progress with the printing of our guide-book, which will be a volume of 500 or 600 pages, I am afraid. Do you ever go to Kiôto? We are very much in want of some particulars about the best workmen in various branches of art manufacture, Japanese inns and restaurants, distance & jirikisha fare from the station to Nakamura's hotel, position of the Telegraph offices. Jirikisha fares from some one point, say Sanjô-Bashi to the chief places in the town, or else a tariff per ri and hour. About the potters I have all the information necessary, but want the names and addresses of the best workers in bronze, the man Komai who does the fine zôgan of which Kennedy bought some specimens, Silk-shops, Curio shops and the Japanese name of the bazaar in Teramachi. Can you help us to these bits of information? It would be a great help to us.

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We are going to put Kiōto Ōsaka & Kōbe in the centre of the book, and should like to put them in the printer's hands in November. Quin told me that you were working at the environs of Kōbe for us, and I hope you will be able to send us something by that time. I hope to get away for a trip to the north about this time next week, and to be away a month, but shall wait till I hear from Dr. O'Brien, for whom you telegraphed for a passport. He is a great friend of the Hayllars, and Mrs. Hayllar wants him to visit Nikkō, so I wrote to him that we might go as far as that together.

Willis will probably not be here before the end of the year.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

30.

Yedo

September 22, 1880

My dear Aston,

I am extremely obliged to you for the information about Kiōto contained in your letter of the 18th: it is exactly the thing we wanted. We are delighted to hear that you have got the materials for Kobe together, and I must thank you very much for the trouble you have taken for us, for had you not helped us the book would have been delayed at least three months. We can now go on uninterruptedly. I have read up the historical part of Ichi-no-tani in the Gempei-Sei-sui-ki, which is a very interesting book, and well-written, though it cannot pretend to be exact history. I hope asano will fulfil his various promises of teachers & books, he ought to have no difficulty.

You will be sorry [to hear] that Gubbins is so bad with neuralgia from the combined effects of a too long residence in this climate and hard work that the doctors have advised him to go home at once, and he will probably leave by America on the 5th October in company with Chamberlain, who has got 6 months leave from the Japanese, and an engagement for two years from April next. I do not know what we shall do to fill his place, but it is on the cards that Paul on his arrival will return to Nagasaki, Woolley be sent to you, and Longford replace Gubbins here. Hall is not due for another year, and we cannot count on him. It is not quite fair that he should have three years in order to get called to the bar. He had only been ten years in Japan, and the same might be said of Robertson. If two men get three years each, it may involve one man having to remain four years longer in Japan than he otherwise would have to do. As it is, I am afraid it will become necessary to send a student interpreter to one of the ports.

I do not think we could have fought the Manifest question with success, especially as

the Japanese Govt. proposes in its new arrangements with foreign powers to do away with Customs Regulations altogether. I don't mean that I think there is any probability of their getting this, but they would certainly not agree to abate anything of what they conceive to be their rights. Hachisuka, who is Chief of the Customs Bureau, has written me a private note in which he says everything that is promising for the future, but he did not see that he could censure the man at Kôbe, who he thought had acted according to the strict letter of the law. The Japanese are like Shylock, and if you deny their right they will always take their pound of flesh, and you have to persuade them, instead of being able to lay your case before Portia.

The French missionary's Korean dictionary is not yet finished. Asano said that the Korean who was helping him is an uneducated man, and that not much was to be hoped of a book the main part of which is to be obtained from him. But we shall see when it comes out.

Believe me,
Yours very truly
Ernest Satow

31.

Yedo

October 12, 1880

My dear Aston,

We are really very much indebted to you for the capital account of Kôbe and its environs which you have been so good as to do for us. Nothing could be more exactly in correspondence with our wishes, and I am only sorry that you have not done the whole of the book instead of ourselves. Would you mind looking at [James] Summers' paper on Ôzaka, Transactions vol 7 p 386, and telling me whether his information about the temples at Minô is correct. I rather suspect him of having taken the account out of a book. Who is the Emperor Riôbu, who had an image of Maya made and taken to China by Kô-bô Dai-shi; I cannot find him in my chronological tables. I see you mention a temple Shin Kwô-ji at Hiôgo: do they really pronounce the w? I want very much to know this, because I do not recollect noticing it in the speech of the Kiôto people.

We are very much obliged to you for the information you have taken so much trouble to obtain from Kiôto. There is one address, marked by a cross on the enclosed sheet, which I think can hardly be exact. It is that of an inn in Sento machi. Instead of Sanjô sagaru, I think it ought to be Shijô sagaru. Can you manage to find this out. We are

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making great progress with the printing, and are within a route or two of Kōbe. The book will probably reach 450 p.p. and would have been longer, but Gubbins' unfortunate illness and departure put a stop to a journey to the north which I had been planning, and I shall now be stuck here until some one comes to take Gubbins' place. Paul will not be here till the end of February, as he has got leave for three months from the middle of October, and I am going to move into the Vice-Consulate, in order not to have to keep office hours. It is not altogether convenient to me as you may suppose, but Kennedy does not like to be without some Japanese-speaker in the Legation, and until Paul comes there is no help for it. Buchanan is doing the accounts, and does not like it. The judicial business I hope will be done by the Court, for the constable knows more of it than I do. There are several ruffianly British subjects whom I should like to deport or put in prison, and it is to avoid miscarriage of justice that I think it better not to attempt to play the judge.

Chamberlain was extremely ill when he started. The night before he embarked, he had a terrible attack of neuralgia, which seemed to be nearing his heart and he expected to die. I hope the sea-voyage will do him good, but he is extremely delicate. Gubbins was rather better but he certainly needs the change. He would have broken down completely had he stayed any longer.

We opened the session of the Asiatic Society today with a paper on lacquer, prepared by Quin for his examination. It contains a vast amount of ill-digested information, put together in the raw state in which he obtained it from a book or two and some workmen. It is his first (literary) composition, if literary it can be called, and will be his last. He is an indolent person. I hope you will be able to contribute something before long, for we have no prospects. I think of giving an instalment of the norito for next month, in default of a paper from anyone else, of which there is no hope at present. McClatchie could always be depended on for a paper, and Chamberlain was a tower of strength, but beyond a page or two of notes on the Aidzu dialect from the latter, we shall get nothing this year.

Dohmen is very much disturbed, between you and me, because he has heard from Marshall that you are to be the next consul. I do not know who Marshall's authority is, but hope for your sake that it may be true, barring going to Hakodate.

Believe me,

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Ninagawa has given me the enclosed slip containing indications by which the names and in one or two cases the addresses of Kiōto workmen and curio dealers might

be got. Can you get any one at Kiōto to hunt out what is wanted to complete these addresses. I think they would be useful for mention in the guidebook.

32.

Yedo

October 18, 1880

My dear Aston,

Peacock says that Mrs. Aston's parcel was sent off ten days ago by the Tsū-un kwai-sha people, so I hope it has reached you by this time. Many thanks for your notes to fill up the blanks in the Kōbe Guide. We shall print it almost exactly as it is, with the addition of a short account of the Minatogawa battle, and of Atsumori's death and the preceding events. It came just in the nick of time, and we are immensely indebted to you for it.

We have no news of Sir Harry, and the rumour that he has been offered Stockholm seems to be credible. It is hardly likely the F.O. would offer him a post in Europe if they did not mean him to take it. We shall know for certain before long, because Reuter would be sure to telegraph his departure for Japan if it took place.

I am horrified to hear of Paul's doings, but surely the brother will pay eventually. Of course one knew him to be lazy and useless, and it is a great pity Troup did not leave him to his fate, which would have been expulsion from the service or perhaps something worse for making use of public funds in his charge.

Kennedy will do all he can to get permission for Sir J. Baker to shoot, but as they have refused once, it may be difficult. What asses they are sometimes. It would be quite as much to their advantage to make a friend of such a celebrated traveller, as to run wild after Hennessy. The latter has not been able to render them the particular service they desired, and the Treasury has again declined to make the silver yen a legal tender at Hongkong.

It was lucky for Quin he got away before Gubbins' illness declared itself, or he might have been kept here as Vice-Consul, and Eusden have been detained another six months at Hakodate. I daresay you know that Hodges applied for the vacancy, but as he cannot be spared from the Consulate and Court there was no chance of his getting it, and it appears also that he has at least partially reverted to his old habit of drinking, which has made Kennedy disinclined to have him here. We shall have to hurry up the present batch of students to get the service properly manned. You ought to have a second assistant, besides Longford.

Gubbins left with me McLeod's "Emize[?]" of the Alceste" which belongs to you.

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Shall I keep it, or send it to you with the other five or six volumes of your's which I possess. I shall be sending Transactions vol 8 part 3 to Kôbe shortly, and can enclose your books at the same time. Of Monier Williams and Pfizmaier I have provided myself with copies, and for the German philologists I have no time. Would Mrs. Aston like to read "Theophrastus Such"; it is at her service in that case.

Believe me

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

33.

Yedo

October 21, 1880

My dear Aston,

The Japanese for sūtra is 經 and they call the Sanskrit version 梵經 [bonkyō]. As far as I have been able to find out, there are no MS.S. left at Hō-riū-ji [temple in Nara]. Some months ago, on seeing [Sanskrit professor at Oxford] Max Müller's letter in the Athenaeum, I wrote there, and got the answer that the 2 palmleaves they possessed had been given to the Mikado, upon which I applied to Iwakura to help me in procuring copies, and some weeks ago he sent me transcripts or rather facsimiles of three M.S. fragments, which I sent off to Max Müller by Chamberlain, besides a copy of a printed book called 阿又羅帖 which contains very nearly the same M.S.S. but badly copied. Besides what Iwakura got for me, I have ten or a dozen copies of Sanskrit M.S.S. sent me by the chief priest of 高貴寺 [Kōkiji temple] in Kawachi, who seems to know more about the subject than any other Japanese I have met. At Chi-on-in [in Kyoto] they have a palmleaf of some other kind not Sanskrit, but written in exactly the same character as the Will Adams palmleaf at Yokosuka, of which I sent home a facsimile some time to a man in Oxford, but there is no answer yet. There is a palmleaf M.S. at 瑞泉寺 at the village of 調子 in Yamashino, of which I have only a copy but no fac-simile, & one at 海龍王寺 at Nara, ditto. If you had an opportunity of getting facsimiles made it would be worth while. There is a book called 梵學津梁¹⁵, originally compiled by a former chief priest at Kō-ki-ji, part at least of which has been printed. It contains several Buddhist texts, one of which is the Hridaya[?] Sūtra mentioned by Max Müller, and others of which I have copies, but know nothing of the contents. It is evident that a great deal may yet be done in the way of hunting up

¹⁵ *Bongaku Shinryō*, a Sanskrit study text of the late Edo period, comprising about 1,000 volumes. (*Kojien*)

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Sanskrit texts, and I hope that if you have any opportunity you won't think I want to keep the field to myself. You could very easily get at the Kō-ki-ji man, who is really a very intelligent and nice bonze. The monastery is at 石川村 [Ishikawa mura] in 白石郡 [Shiraishi gun] in Kawachi, not very far from Ōzaka, I imagine.

I am glad to hear that you are taking up your paper on Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea again, and hope you will send us an instalment before long, which I undertake to read [to the Asiatic Society of Japan] as far as my voice will permit. It easily gets hoarse. We have got no answer from the F.O. yet about simplifying the passport procedure. I have no doubt the F.O. referred Kennedy's despatch on the subject to Sir Harry, and he has tried to throw cold water on it. We proposed to do away with that unwieldy English certificate, which as you know was ordered by Lord Derby, and loved by Sir Harry. They do not appear to be in a hurry to send him back here, and he writes about it to Kennedy & Dohmen in a peevish way.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

34.

Yedo

October 26, 1880

My dear Aston,

Yet another thing for the guidebook is what I hope you can give me; the names of inns or restaurants at Ōzaka to which foreigners going there either to stay or to visit the place might be directed, with their distances from the railway station if possible. This is the 'one thing needful' for us.

Imbrie's book on Japanese seems excellent. His grammar is entirely based on yours, as was natural, since it would have required great ingenuity to devise any other account of it, but the sentences seem also to be very good, and I think of prescribing it to the students. My conscience has often pricked me for not giving them anything better than the Kuaiwa Hen, and now here is a book which relieves me of all further trouble.

Eusden is here from Hakodate, full of importance. He seems to think the Hokkaidō is plunged in grief at his departure. He sent the following telegram as soon as he got here to some native whom he had left behind.

'Arrived this morning 9 o'clock. Good passage down, Portholes never closed. Heartfelt thanks for all kindness and great consideration shewn us on leaving. We shall never forget it. Please circulate this among officials, Foreigners and Representatives of inhabitants and publish in Hakodate newspaper – Prosperity, Peace, Hokkaidō.'

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He has been at the pains to write a long despatch protesting against the idea of reducing Hakodate to a Vice-Consulate and enlarging on the political importance of the place. It would have been wiser to let well alone, instead of suggesting the reduction to the Treasury & F.O. His advice is not likely to weigh much. Sir Harry has written to Dohmen that Flowers begins to talk of being uncertain whether he will retire this time or not.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

35.

Yedo

October 30, 1880

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for the copy of Spence's report, which is both interesting and amusing, besides being a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the [Korean] people. I am inclined to take a somewhat more favourable view of the behaviour of the Japanese officials, because their govt. is afraid to do anything in favour of foreigners, lest their own influence should be lessened thereby. This is what both Iwakura and Inouye tell us quite frankly, and the former always tells us that the Chinese are the proper channel to work through, while at the same time they urge us to enter into Treaty relations [with Korea]. They do not value their petty trade higher than their safety from Russia, and their prime object I am certain is to prevent Russia establishing herself at Port Lazareff or Fusan. But it is not their policy to thrust Europe upon Korea.

By the way, would it not be better, in view of our one day having direct relations with Korea to write Korean names properly, instead of taking them from the Japanese, thus Uonsan for Gensan, Tongnai for Tôrai and Soul for the capital instead of Seoul, which it could not be in any European system of spelling. Fusan is so thoroughly naturalized, besides being a Japanese settlement that we might leave it as it is. The Korean pronunciation seems to be Tongnê, but they write the last syllable [Korean script] pronouncing [] like [].

I thought the shortest way of returning your books & sending T. Such would be to make up a box, in which I have also put the Transactions for you and Longford. I am sorry there are no more members of the Society in your settlement. Can you not turn yourself into a recruiting sergeant, and get us a few. The price of the books in the shops will henceforth be greater than the subscription, I hope.

I have got a note from the Ministry of the Interior to say that they will also give

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instruction to the Napa officials to inquire about Captain Byrne's wreck, but as Yoronjima is so far from Napa, it will be some time before they can get news, and that they will also tell the post office people to make inquiries, as they take cognizance of shipping matters.

I hope the gentleman who applied for a passport to go from Nagasaki to Hizen [now Saga prefecture] will not be shocked when he finds out that it is made out for the whole of Hizen only. It is on a par with the usual amount of geographical knowledge possessed by residents at Nagasaki, who think the world is bounded by their own horizon. One man I knew, after being ten or twelve years there, had never heard of Yamato.

There seems great likelihood of Sir Harry staying out the winter in England, and I begin to think of sending old Liu back to his own hearth, having got hold of a younger and more interesting Chinaman with whom it is a pleasure to study. With Liu I have done nothing for a year past, and have only kept him on because he is in some measure a retainer of Sir Harry's, but am getting tired of doing so. My chances of getting to Peking are however very poor, because before anyone comes here to relieve me I shall be in a fit state to ask for leave.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

36.

Yedo

November 14, 1880

My dear Aston,

I have not quite recovered the use of my right hand, which I sprained about a fortnight ago, which is the reason of my not having written before to thank you for the information contained in your letter of November 1 about Ōzaka inns. It was just what we wanted.

We shall be very glad to get your Hideyoshi paper when it is ready, for you know how hard up we always are. I think however that we shall not want it before the January meeting. Brinkley talks of reading a paper on Japanese pottery next month, and if he fails us, I have a paper on Norito, if I can manage to copy it legibly. I find it very fatiguing and unsatisfactory writing with my damaged hand, and my left is not clear enough for the printer I am afraid.

You have no doubt heard that Brinkley has bought the "Mail", and is going to edit it. It can hardly prove a success. He is going to retire from the Army as his seconded time is nearly up. I hope you got the Customs pass for your office furniture all right. The

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students take it in turn to do the passport applications, and Peacock sends them out, an arrangement which ought to have been made long ago, but Sir Harry was so absurdly particular about trifles. We have not got a word of answer from the F.O. about the proposal to abolish the certificate, and allow British subjects to get passports direct. I hope the difficulty about recovering the groundrents will be got over, but am afraid the Japse. Govt. wishes to show that the municipality is unworkable, for they certainly intend to propose its abolition when the Treaties are revised. They say it gives rise to a conflict of police jurisdiction.

Believe me

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. What do [you] think of my proposal, after you and Dohmen get permanent promotion, to amalgamate Vice-Consul, Assistant Japanese Secretary and Accountant, and give the billet to the best Japanese scholar. As long as there were a Japanese Secretary or Acting J.S. the Japanese work to be done would be very little, and as you know the Vice-Consulate has been almost a sinecure for years past.

37.

Yedo

November 26, 1880

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for your note of a week ago and the information about Jinter's hotel at Naka no shima. We have got as far as Nara, but can always add anything fresh in the way of information as an appendix to the introduction.

Could you not manage to give us what you have ready of Hideyoshi as you are not likely to have leisure for working at it for some time to come? I envy you both your teacher and the leisure you have for working with him, for I find Asano far more inclined to talk than to read. If we should ever go to Korea, there can be very little doubt of your being of the party, at least if Kennedy's recommendations are listened to. I do not feel very hopeful, because of the rebuffs Sir Harry has already met with, but if he should not return to Japan the F.O. may perhaps feel less bound to snub his locum-tenens.

My hand is all right again as far as writing is concerned, though it is still weak. But a couple of days ago I had another accident. My pony bolted with the carriage from Kōji machi down the hill to below Ii Kamon no Kami's ancient yashiki, and in trying to pull him in I wrenched [wrenched?] my left little finger so badly as to make the hand quite

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useless for the present. The beast now wears the severest bit to be found in Yedo.

About the amalgamation of offices there is a good deal to be said on both sides. The Vice-Consul has very little to do, and one morning a week is sufficient for all the work that has fallen on my shoulders since I have undertaken the duties. The Assistant Japanese Secretary would have very little, unless Sir Harry were here, and insisted on a newspaper article being translated daily. But in fact, while you and I were together, even with him, we seldom had more than half a day's work each. The accounts would be the hardest part of the amalgamated officer's duties. But if an acting vice-Consul were appointed during the absence of the Japanese Secretary, the assistant Japanese Secretary would simply advance to the gilded leisure of the senior. I should propose to give the amalgamated office to the best Japanese scholar in the service, and not by seniority. Another plan proposed is to unite Vice-Consul and Asst. Japanese secretary and to take a second assistant into the Legation and give him £100 a year to do the accounts, which would be an excellent arrangement if it could be carried out, but we fear the F.O. would reply 'the accounts are the business of the 2nd Secretary'. In any case, no such change could be made until both you and Dohmen are promoted, which can hardly be for another year at least, although Eusden talks of applying for his pension directly he reaches home.

I have just had a few lines from Hall. His eyes seem to impede his work, instead of aiding it. He says nothing about coming back, so I suppose he intends to stay out his leave, and I must give up the prospect of going to China. I would much rather go on leave to Europe, as I am very anxious to have a look at my people.

Believe me,

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

38.

Yedo

December 19, 1880

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for your contribution to the Asiatic Society, which I hope you will find time some day to complete. In reading it through I noticed in one or two places what looked to me like slips of the pen in spelling the geographical names, but you will be able to get proofs and correct them yourself. I cannot quite make out whether you follow the Chinese, Korean or Japanese pronunciation in such cases.

I really do not know what can be done about the arrears of landrent, and Kennedy is

inclined to think that as it is a matter which concerns all nationalities the Municipal Council ought to lay it before Bingham, as Doyen. If it is only an opinion of Rennie's that prevents the council from suing defaulters, then the best plan would be to ignore it, and let them be sued before you. It is quite clear that the money is due, and you would be merely enforcing justice independent of quips & quirks. That seems to me the easiest way out of the present difficulty. Why Kennedy does not urge them to give the necessary directions about police complaints I do not know. It is months since I went to the Ministry of the Interior and was told there that they saw no objections. It is a pity Kennedy is not more energetic, but when he goes to the F.O. he wastes so much time in gossiping over unimportant matters, that the Kōbe affairs are quite forgotten, and after a two hours talk we come away pretty much without having accomplished anything.

Dohmen has been making rather a mess of it with his prosecution of the Gazette, and I believe he wants you to send for the editor of your local paper and talk to him about it like a father. One might do this of the editor were one's friend, but you probably are not intimate with either Creagh [J. Creogh?] or [Francis] Walsh.¹⁶ Kennedy's long despatch to you on the subject was only show, and I tried to dissuade him from sending it, but he thought necessary in order to pacify Dohmen.

Willis writes regularly once a fortnight, but does not yet say when he will start. His last letter was dated about the end of October, just after his return to London from looking after his brother's practice for six weeks or so. It looks almost as if he was in no hurry to leave England, now that he can do it whenever he likes and with the prospect of remaining here for a considerable time. There is a great exodus among the foreign employés. The De Bonivilles are going by the next steamer, and besides them [Erwin] Knipping, Morris half a dozen from the Engineering College, some twelve or fifteen in all. In some branches of knowledge as for instance natural science they will not keep a single foreign instructor.

I shall be very glad to see your Korean when he comes up. There are one or two things in a book Asano got for me which I cannot make out. It is the 十九史畧 with a pretty literal translation of each section in Korean, but every now and then it becomes idiomatic, and then the Chinese text gives no help. But I have very little time for Korean, as my afternoons are taken up with Chinese, and the mornings with varia. Anderson still hopes some day or other to find a publisher, and is constantly urging me to go on working at the motives. They require a great deal of miscellaneous desultory reading in

¹⁶ Francis Walsh bought out the owners of the Hiogo News in 1869, and owned the paper until 1888, when he retired to Britain. (J. E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, Japan Library, p. 159)

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out of the way books, which does one no good, and I wish I had never promised to help. We have not yet received either Reed's book or Miss Bird's. Dickins reviewed them for the Quarterly, and Sir Harry sent me copy ¹⁷, writing at the same time an indignant letter about Reed, who he says by a judicious use of suppressio veri [suppression of the truth] and suggestio falsi [false suggestions] gives a very unfair account of foreign doings in Japan.

Of McClatchie and Hall we hear now and then. The former writes paragraphs for newspapers on Japanese subjects, and the latter poor fellow has bad eyes. I don't know when they will be back.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Are you not going to take Kennedy's suggestion and come up here for a month. You do not lose your acting pay, but Longford gets it as well. That is the rule I am told.

39.

Yedo

December 22, 1880

My dear Aston,

Your Korean came to see me yesterday afternoon, and we got on fairly together, in spite of his weakness in Japanese. I am very much obliged to you for sending him, and hope to get a little help from him when he is inclined to come. He says you talk Korean fluently now, on which I congratulate you.

There does not seem to be much probability at present of anything being done over there, and all that the people at home have said in reply to what Kennedy has written on the subject is 'You may spend £50 on getting information'. Mr. Tak says he intends to remain a couple of months in Yedo. Were you aware of this when you gave him leave?

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Would you mind telling me whether you drew \$15 a month for a horse, when you were acting Vice Consul. Dohmen tells me that this has been done ever since the Vice-Consulate was at Tsukiji, instead of the allowance for a boat. I should be guided entirely by what you did.

¹⁷ F.V. Dickins, 'Recent Travels in Japan', *The Quarterly Review*, vol. 150, no. 300. See the reference in Satow's letter to Dickins dated January 25, 1881. (PRO 30/33 11/5 No. 20 below)

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40.

Yedo

January 11, 1881

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th. I will propose Dr. Renwick at the Council meeting next month, and in the mean time write to him about his paper, which would very well suit the Society, I imagine. I think there is still one part of your paper on Hideyoshi's war against W[?] Korea needed to complete the whole, and hope you will be able to give it for this session. Chamberlain is going to give a translation of the 古事記 [Kojiki] and Batchelor of Hakodate promises a paper on the Aino language. Blakiston and Pryer are going to give us a supplementary paper on birds, but this is all I know of, and there is nothing in hand for the February meeting, so that if you can send yours in time for it we shall be very grateful.

Wilkinson's retirement seems to render your chance of a consulate before long a certainty, but I won't offer your [sic. you?] premature congratulations lest it should turn out to be Nagasaki. Wilkinson can hardly retain his place in the consular service, but of course he will be allowed to count his consular time towards a pension.

I am glad to say that I feel no effects now of my recent illness, but have not yet recommenced my studies, which in fact would do me little good if I succeed in persuading Sir Harry to let me go home in March, when McClatchie comes out. Under any circumstances one wants leave after five years, and I should be very sorry to wait until the conclusion of the [Treaty] Revision negotiations. The Struves Hoffer Diesbach and the other French attaché are all going home next month.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

41.

[Yedo]

February 11, 1881

My dear Aston,

Wood has found some eight or ten small books of music, which probably belong to Mrs. Aston, and I send them down to you by post, as the most expeditious way. If they do not turn out to be the right things, then I am afraid the music has disappeared, for there is none with your books.

[I am] delighted to hear that Mrs. Aston is taking up the piano again, and can send her a few duets, if she has any one to play them with.

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The guidebook is almost ready for delivery to the binder, and I hope to send you a copy in another six weeks or so. You cannot think what a relief it is to me to have got rid of it. The Korean refugee came to see me the other day. He speaks very little Japanese & we had to converse with paper & pencil. I doubt whether he will turn up again. Even with the aid of the dictionary I find it impossible to make out everything in the book I am reading, and cannot flatter myself that I make any progress.

Willis in his last letter said that he had plans of study that would keep him in London some months longer, so that I do not expect to see him before May or June. When Hall will arrive is equally uncertain. I fancy that when I go away Hodges will be made acting Vice-Consul.

Can we look for anything from you in the Korean way for the Asiatic Society. A translation, or a text with notes. It would be easy enough to get the Korean text cut on a block. I had a letter from Chamberlain the other day. He had been staying at Oxford with Max Müller. His eyes are better, and he was looking forward eagerly to his return to Japan. We do not expect him, however, before May.

With kind regards to Mrs. Aston, Believe me,

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

42.

Yedo

February 28, 1881

My dear Aston,

I am sorry that the music turns out not to be Mrs. Aston's property, but if you can send me the names of the pieces, I will have another search made. Had it all Mrs. Aston's name written on it? If she is in want of music, I can easily send her some from my very large stock, and she need only say what she would like.

Kelly could certainly supply you with a copy of Mayers on the Chinese Constitution. Was it for that I searched among Hall's books. I forget whether you lent any to him when you went home. As for the German dictionary it is a fair conjecture to think that McCarthy, who was always borrowing books and forgetting to return them, may have carried off this to help him in his translations. I have a spare copy of Thierre [Thievre?] & Black's smaller dictionary which is at your service, and next time I go to my own house I will look it up.

Many thanks for the offer of a Korean novel, but I should prefer not to borrow it at present, as I have a history book, containing a Korean version of a Chinese text in

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alternate sections, which I am working at. It is entitled 十九史畧, and is very nearly the same as the Japanese 十八史畧 in Chinese, with a commentary in the same language. With the various sidelights I get in this way, there ought to be no difficulty in spelling out everything with the aid of the dictionary, but although I know the meaning, it frequently happens that I cannot manage to identify the words. It is quite possible that some may be obsolete. The differences of spelling cause a good deal of waste in time. I can only give my Sundays to Korean, and so do not make much progress, for what I learn then disappears during the week from my memory.

I should be very glad, if my project of an etymological dictionary of Japanese ever comes to anything to have your help in identifying the Korean and Japanese elements. For some time past the Guidebook has prevented my continuing the study of Mañ[û?]-yefu, and now I am under a promise to Anderson to help him with the legends and history which he wants to give as explanatory of the motives of Japanese art. I convert this work partly to my own use in reading the early histories, and noting out of the way usages and words, but very much regret the time that has thus to be spent in gathering materials for what may never see the light; for Anderson has not yet found a publisher, and I am afraid has not much chance. In fact, it would be better for his prospects if he gave up art studies, and pushed his professional practice. It cannot be of any use to a consulting surgeon in search of patients to have it known that he is a living book of reference on art. Such side pursuits are only allowable when a man has already achieved his position. My afternoons since Chamberlain's departure left his teacher Chang free, have been exclusively devoted to Chinese, and I am now beginning to find my way in the modern official documentary style. At the same time I see that it is a great drawback in Japanese studies not to have gone through the Chinese classics with a Japanese teacher, so as to start with the same knowledge of classical terms and phrases that the native Japanese student possesses. I am afraid it is too late to overtake such an amount of work.

Chamberlain will return here about the end of March or middle of April, but I do not suppose he will be in a tearing hurry to get his Korean books at once, as he is not inclined to attempt the language without a teacher, and we have none at present. The man I told you of has never turned up again.

Troup has applied for leave to go home early next year, so that whatever happens you are not likely to return to the Legation for a long time to come, except at your own choice. In fact you are pretty sure of acting vacancies until you get permanent promotion. One of the vacant consulates must fall to you, unless they promote Dohmen, which judging from all that we know seems very unlikely. Enslie of course is shelved,

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and Wilkinson and you must get them.

With kind regards to Mrs. Aston

Believe me,

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

43.

Yedo

March 30, 1881

Dear Aston,

We applied for a pass for the Consular furniture, but it has been refused on the ground that passes are only given for diplomats' property. I went to the Foreign Office this morning and pointed out that they had given a pass in November last for office furniture at Kōbe, but the man I saw said it was an error to have given it. He promised however to look into the matter again, and if it could be done, to send a pass.

Many thanks for the press, which is very useful to me in many ways, especially for big books which I cannot put anywhere else.

I shall be very glad to see your notice of the Korean Dictionary in the Chrysanthemum. Judging from my own experience, it seems to leave much to be desired, but for a first book of the kind is a wonderful performance.

The Korean refugee was with me all last Sunday, and gave me some paragraphs of the 大學 written out with the different kinds of reading. If you could spare the volume of Classics with that book in it, I should be glad to have it. He says however that the author of that edition was a provincial, and that it does not give the pronunciation of the capital, which is the same defect he finds in the Dictionary. He is rather a dirty fellow, but a good teacher.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

44.

Yedo

April 12, 1881

My dear Aston,

Your review of the dictionary arrived a few days ago, and after having read it I sent it on to Faulds with a note about the Sanskrit & Korean characters. The latter he thinks can be managed, but for the former there would be no other plan feasible but cutting

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them on a wooden block. I confess the comparison between the Devanagari ¹⁸ and Korean seems to me a little hazardous, especially as there does not seem to be any reason for supposing the Devanagari to have been brought to Korea. It certainly is unknown in Japan, and I think in China also. If the Koreans actually adopted any Sanskrit letters, they probably took them from the ancient forms which have been handed down in these countries on palmleaves and other Mss., but if you examine these you will hardly find one that makes for your theory. Something of the arrangement of their alphabet they may perhaps have adopted from Sanskrit, but not in the consonants. The second stroke in the vowels for initial y looks like an imitation of the stroke used in the Bonji for marking the long vowel. I do not quite see how the division of the letters forming a word into groups is to be accounted for, though it looks almost as if in many cases it was suggested by the inherent vowel a of the Sanskrit letters. One of the books we have in the Legation, given I think by the Japanese government, uses Chinese characters as kana for the terminations etc. Are these what are meant by Nido? Some appear to be on kana and others kun kana. The parcel of books for Chamberlain and the registered copy of the 大學 came safely, many thanks for them. I see the ordinary edition of the classics does not help one much. The refugee Keum [Kim?] has written out for me the whole of it afresh, in a most elaborate way, to show exactly how it is learnt by the young, and he talks of translating the 玉編 [gyokuhen] to make just such a book as the Japanese have. It would be very useful to students, who knew Chinese already. He seems very anxious to work, and I am going to contrive a lesson or two during the week besides Sunday.

The maps for the Handbook are at last finished, and I enclose a copy. Northern Japan looks rather blank, which is owing to Gubbins' hasty return to England putting a stop to my intended journey to Awomori and back. He seems to be much better than when he left, but to have ups and downs, and sometimes I am afraid that he may not recover sufficiently to come back here. If he does, it should be to an easy post, like Niigata. We see a new student announced, and I am beginning to think it may be advisable to despatch a student to one of the ports to make room for him, in which case there will be a general move all round, and I shall be freed from this Vice Consulate, which now that the flowers are coming out in my own garden, bores me to have to keep.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

¹⁸ Indian alphabet used to write Hindi, Sanskrit and other languages.

45.

Yedo

April 27, 1881

My dear Aston,

We shall be very much obliged for your notes of the ascent of Hi-yei-zan [Mt. Hiei between Kyoto and Lake Biwa] as an addition to the Handbook. It is a great many years since I climbed it, and I had only a few notes in my diary to go upon. If your next chapter of Hideyoshi's invasion would make enough for a meeting [of the A.S.J.], we should welcome it gladly, as there is a great lack of papers this year, and [we] shall hardly be able to go on to the end of the session without help.

[John C.] Hall writes to me that he will only begin to think of taking his passage in July, as he cannot be called [i.e. become a barrister] before the 26th June, so that he will not be here before September. Willis is going in for the Fellowship of the College of Surgeons in May, after which he intends to start at once. We have no news of the new student, and nothing directly from Sir Harry, but the impression is that his return is indefinitely postponed. Treaty revision will pretty certainly not take place before the autumn or winter, even if then. I sympathize with your dislike to consular work; it is intensely uninteresting and there is not enough to occupy all one's attention. Mine fortunately is extremely little – as you know from experience. This Vice Consular house is a horrid place to live in, and I am going back to my own. In summer one must have a place to be free and unobserved in.

I wish we could do something for Asano Senior, but the sum required goes beyond what has been authorized. There is no doubt of the truth of the story, which has been confirmed to us by the Japanese Foreign Office. I would not mind giving 200 or 300 yen myself, if you think that would be any use.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

46.

Yedo

May 3, 1881

My dear Aston,

I have seen Thak [卓] twice, and heard a little from him about the state of affairs over there ¹⁹; his story about Asano Primus [the first, or elder] seems to me quite worthy of

¹⁹ See Satow's diary for May 3, 1881. "The Korean 卓 挺 埴[?] [Thak Chyöng-sik] has come back, bearing news of 李 東 仁 [Lee Tong-in] who is alive and in hiding,

belief, and I have got Kennedy to agree to advancing some money to him. His requirements seem to be moderate, or rather he now asks less than at first, and we are going to give him the money on loan, though of course scarcely expecting its repayment. (He asks me now for only \$100.) He tells me the King gave him 200 兩, and in fact showed me a letter from 金宏集 forwarding him that sum with his passport (which I have also seen); but he gave the money, he says, to Asano P[ri]mus, who will need it to bribe his protectors. I think the money you have advanced to these two men ought to be refunded to you, and if you will let me know, I will get it from Kennedy. He has no doubt told you that I have authority to draw only £50, and that we have already given about half to A[sano] Primus. Thak talks of stopping here till everything is quiet, which he hopes will be in July or August. The other man intends to see as much as he can during the next two years. He comes to me three mornings a week, but I am too busy with Chinese and reading utahi with a learned old Japanese to profit much. One thing at a time would be the best plan, but in practice I don't find it possible. The "Mail" has lately published a very interesting document, given by the Chinese secretary of legation here to the Korean envoy last year, but as the translation is full of errors I am going to make a new one to send home. You see the Chinese, like the Japanese, favour the American alliance.

I wish you were up here instead of so far off at Kôbe, but it is useless to hope for the impossible. Hall is to come out in September, but I fear his deafness and blindness will make him great difficulties, and this makes me doubt whether it will be possible for me to go to China, much as I want to carry out that long cherished plan of mine. I don't much believe in Hodges, and think his passing the exam was due to a peculiarly lucky chance. Hall is designated by the F.O. as my locum-tenens, so that it would be difficult to make any alteration (of course it was at our suggestion). I wish Chamberlain belonged to us, instead of being in the Japanese service, where he is thrown away, and if it were in my power would bring him in tomorrow.

I corrected the proofs of your review for Faulds, and stuck to your MS, though I was in great doubt about ty for [hangul character like 스], and the running of Korean surnames and personal names together as if they were one word. I thought you must mean tj, but the MS. was distinctly ty. There must be a great many more mistakes than

lest he shld. fall a victim to the hatred of the anti-foreign party. The liberal party is much divided. Some are for the American alliance, others against it, as still being their national foes. Tong-in advocates the English alliance, and is very outspoken in his views, wch. gives offence, while few take his view that England ought to be leant upon. Then he is a great favourite with the King. Another section are afraid of Xtianity." (PRO 30/33 15/6)

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those you pointed out, errors in Chinese characters, & by omission of the *, neglect to mark hybrid words, and clumsy definitions. I am still unconvinced about your theory that some of the letters are copied from the Devanagari, and think your previous account in the Asiatic Society far more likely. The alphabet seems to be made up intentionally of horizontal, vertical and oblique lines, like Pitman's shorthand, and O a Korean has suggested may be the open mouth which is the necessary preliminary of a vowel, and the termination of a nasalized final vowel. If the Korean letters are derived from anything Sanskrit, they of course come from the only form of that alphabet known in these countries, the same that is given in the 三密抄 [Sanmitsushō].

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

47.

Yedo

May 25, 1881

My dear Aston,

I owe you answers to two letters, of May 10 and 18. The latter must have crossed the passport for Mr. Warburton, which I am assured was applied for on the 16th, and sent off in due course on the 18th. I should be very glad to do anything in my power to help on Kôbe affairs, but my power and opportunities are very small. We find the Japanese very difficult to move. They have got into their heads a notion that as we have always in past times refused to make any concessions, they must in self-defence always reply to any proposals from us with a negative, and they are encouraged in this by their [foreign] employés. Inouye is no better for his journey, and will probably have to give up. He is the only man who could be got to take a broad, liberal view of foreign questions. [Acting chargé d'affaires John Gordon] Kennedy is trying hard to get the local passport system altered in the way you propose, and I have found Miyamoto quite willing to agree; we have also discoursed Itô on the subject, and Kennedy is pursuing it with Uyeno. Probably they will give way at last, but they require a great deal of pressure. Prosecution in the name of the prefect agst. people who do not pay their groundrents is what I fear we shall not get them to agree to, as they wish to abolish the municipal system altogether. When that is done, perhaps they may listen to proposals for the purchase of the gasworks. I expect you will have an opportunity of discussing all these subjects with Kennedy shortly, as he talks of making a voyage to Nagasaki in June.

I have not yet heard any report that the [James Joseph] Enslies are going away; he was up here [from Yokohama] last night at Kennedy's Birthday dinner, but I forgot to

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ask him. [George Justus Liebig] Hodges comes up as Acting Vice-Consul from the 1st June, and an examination which takes place tomorrow will decide which of the students is to replace [William Abram] Woolley at Nagasaki.

Thak comes now and then to see me, but has no later news than what he brought over. He is in high glee at the prospect of the arrival of his countrymen tomorrow. The other man Kim divides his time between Chamberlain and myself. You doubtless have heard that the F.O. write nothing about Korea to us, and probably are disgusted with Kennedy for bothering them with the bare mention of its name.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

48.

Yedo

June 1, 1881

My dear Aston,

Your paper arrived all right, and I will lay it before the Council [of the Asiatic Society of Japan] at once. There seems to be a good quantity of matter, and I think it would be well to print it in the present volume, as we shall want everything we can put together in order to make a decent appearance.

Kennedy asked me a day or two ago to make a shot at the Foreign Office here about the Kôbe gas company, which I did, although much in the dark as to what was wanted, and possessed of no details whatever. Miyamoto, who was the person I saw, told me he thought the negotiations for its sale to Japanese some four years ago fell through on account of the price asked being too much. That he thought there could be no objection in principle to the transaction, and that if he knew something more about price etc. he would stir up the Kenrei [prefectural governor] to represent the matter in a favourable light to the central authorities. But there must be a hitch somewhere, and if one could find out the principal objector to what is proposed, we might go at him, and try to overcome his obstructiveness.

[Henry Alfred Constant] Bonar passed first in the examination, and you will shortly see him on his way to Nagasaki. He is a very nice young fellow, and will be a credit to the service.

I have only just got the Korean grammar and read as far as the noun. There are some useless comparisons of the pronunciation of Chinese words with the Mandarin dialect, and the extraordinary statement that there are "ten parts of speech as in French". If the author had known Japanese he would have made a better book of it. I wish you would

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write a comparative grammar of the two languages.

I am getting over my disappointment at Hall's announcing his intention of not getting here before December, and am considering whether it might not be possible to brave the cold overland journey. But possibly Sir Harry may turn up here and upset my plans altogether.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. I have not seen any of the new Koreans yet, but Chamberlain has. Among them is one very intelligent boy of about seventeen, whose father's acquaintance I made last year.

49.

Yedo

June 22, 1881

My dear Aston,

Some more mistakes in the totals of your "Trade Returns" have been discovered, which seem to vitiate some of the conclusions drawn from them, and in particular the total amount of the trade for 1879 is given on p.2 as 5,446,344 + 7, 057, 154, which does not make 13, 416, 833 as given in the statement XI. Which is correct? If the latter is, then the trade of 1880 cannot have been \$2,000,000 odd in excess of 1879. The calculation of the excess of 1879 over 1878 seems also wrong: taking your own figures the surplus is only \$776,023 and less than a million.

I suppose the only thing is to return them to you for correction, as we might make a mess of it if we attempted to meddle.

The passport question will be settled in accordance with your wishes as soon as Kennedy returns and writes a note to Uyeno. Gas is going on well; there is a disposition to be accommodated, but on the other hand the Japanese think the Municipal Council should arrange that matter of the Road through the Prefect, which I suppose they will not choose to do, as it looks like an attempt to make them acknowledge his 'suzerainty'. (I think this is really the proper use of the word.)

McClatchie writes to me in high spirits at having passed first in Roman law out of 87 competitors, and he is going to apply for a third year's leave. Hall's eyes are as you know bad. I am afraid he is a lame duck after all, and that his infirmities may induce the F.O. to offer him a pension.

We read your contribution at the last [A.S.J.] meeting. Your irregular habits of naming your heroes are to be regretted. I think sometimes a Chinese gets called by his

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own pronunciation, sometimes by that which the Japanese use. It is distracting, but I suppose irremediable.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

50.

Yedo

July 4, 1881

My dear Aston,

Kennedy wrote to me that I should ask the Japanese to allow Chinese nurses to go to Kiôto in charge of European children, and I went to Uyeno about it. He said he thought it was all right, and sent me a note, of which I enclose a copy. You will see that all that is necessary is for the employer to make application for the Chinese' passport.

We have got a new student named [Raymond de Burgh Money] Layard who seems a nice young fellow, but then all young people are nice looking.

[Albert George Sidney] Hawes and I are going away to climb mountains in Kôshiû at the end of the week, and I hope to remain there till the middle of August at least. This damp weather is depressing.

Can we count on you for the final instalment of your invasion of Korea early in October, to open the [A.S.J.] session with? I am trying to get a couple of papers ready, but shall not be able to bring forth either as early as that. Pray do something to help us.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

51.

Yedo

July 5, 1881

My dear Aston,

You will get a despatch from Kennedy about the Gas Company, telling you in general terms what the Japse. Govt. says to the scheme, and he has asked me to send you the private notes exchanged between myself and Uyeno on the matter, which you might show to St John Browne. The latter is in Japanese, but for your convenience I add the translation I made to show Kennedy. I think I told you that Kennedy had asked me to speak about the matter, and that eventually Miyamoto came to ask me to write a private note to Uyeno on the subject: the correspondence was the result of that. I hope therefore that the difficulties are in a fair way of removal, and armed with this approval from the

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Foreign Department, the Gas Co. ought to be able to arrange matters with the local authorities at your place [Kobe].

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

52.

Yedo

July 10, 1881

My dear Aston,

Kennedy, to whom I have mentioned what you write about closing the road through the Customhouse [sic, written as one word] at night, requests me to say that as far as he is concerned, he sees no objection to your giving your consent. As we have no request to make of the Japanese at present, we cannot use this concession, and he does not think it need be withheld if you approve. There seems some likelihood of the Japanese giving way about the Prefect bringing suits agst. defaulting land-renters, so that everything you wanted done is in a fair way of being accomplished.

Thank you for Spence's note, which I return herewith. There is a certain peevishness about his utterances in general which is very characteristic. I saw him frequently in London and again in Shanghai, and he always seemed to think himself not quite duly appreciated. We have got his report back from the F.O. printed confidentially. I continue to see a little of the Koreans here, and gabble a little with my refugee, without making any satisfactory progress, partly because my interest is divided also by Confucius and the Gen-zhi Monogatari. My prospects of Peking are improving, as there seems a chance of Hall coming out in September or October. [Russell Brooke] Robertson returned yesterday, looking much the same as usual with a slight addition to his whiskers. He says Willis talked of leaving in August or September with Sir Harry [Parkes]. That as Hakodate has not been put on the list of unhealthy posts, [Richard] Eusden will probably not retire voluntarily.²⁰ [Marcus Octavius] Flowers still lives on at Eastbourne,²¹ and gives no sign of his intentions. [Hiram Shaw] Wilkinson applied for the Acting Judgeship, but did not get it. [John H.] Gubbins is still seedy and melancholy; he says his disease is malarious gout, which sounds like a new combination of phrases, at least. I am very much afraid that his case is incurable.

²⁰ Richard Eusden retired on a compensation allowance, April 1, 1882. (F.O. List of 1882). He died in 1904.

²¹ M.O. Flowers joined the Japan consular service as an interpreter at Kanagawa in February 1861. He retired on a pension in March 1882 and died at Eastbourne, January 28, 1894. (F.O. List 1895)

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

53.

Yedo

August 23, 1881

Dear Aston,

I only got your letter of July 19 the day before yesterday on my return from the country, but I hope you will have heard of my absence and put down my not answering to the real cause. [A.G.S.] Hawes and I have been travelling on a new plan, of doing parallel bits of country and meeting after a week or so of separation, in which way we contrive to get more information than if we plodded on side by side. Between us we have ascended all the important mountains of Kōshiū, the highest of which is Shirane, some 9900 feet.²² It is very pleasant to get so much air and exercise, but it pulls one down terribly, and I feel more like a sun-blackened ghost than a human being.

I hope the information that Tong-in has arrived at Nagasaki may prove to be correct, for he is really a very interesting man and if he can keep his head on his shoulders, pretty sure to make his mark in the history of his country. In order to get some information I have asked Thak to come and see me, but fancy he must be away as he has not turned up. By way of compensation I had a visit from one of those left behind out of the recent mission, but did not care to question him, as they have always professed ignorance of Tong-in. Poor Kim, the man who has been teaching Chamberlain & me has gone out of his mind, permanently they say. I really am sorry for the poor fellow, for his simple childlike ways were very pleasing, and he was an excellent instructor. The man who came this morning said that there are eleven here now, one of whom, surnamed 齋, a recent arrival is to study English. The brightest of all, a boy of 17 named 尹 is in Nakamura Keisuke's school, studying Japanese.

My chance of going to Peking is removed a long way off by Hall's extension of leave, and I am beginning to reconcile myself to the prospect of going on leave to England in the spring instead. One cannot help pitying poor Hall for his misfortunes, which I am afraid are irremediable. [Thomas Russell Hillier] McClatchie who is to leave in January will no doubt act in my place if I go home. We have no precise news of Sir Harry's movements, but Kennedy seems to expect him in October. He will no doubt bring with

²² There are two Mt. Shiranes. One is in Northwest Gunma (2171 metres), the other is the one meant here, on the border of Tochigi and Gunma prefectures. It is a volcano to the North West of Nikkō and is 2578 metres tall.

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him old Willis, who writes that he is recruiting after the strain he put on his physical powers in order to pass those two stiff exams. We shall no doubt before long hear of Flowers' taking his pension, which must be an event of great interest to you. They can hardly pass over [James] Troup, but I do not feel at all sure that [H.S.] Wilkinson will have Nagasaki.

I am looking forward to reading your review of the Korean Grammar, which ought really to be rewritten. As you say the author seems to have taken some old Latin Grammar as his model, very much like our friend Rosny with his conjugation of aru.

Do you see that there is a scheme announced of publishing a series of Oriental Grammars edited by Professor Palmer, including a Japanese one – probably by Pounds! What an arch humbug that fellow is.

With kind regards to Mrs. Aston, Believe me,

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

54.

Yedo

September 4, 1881

My dear Aston,

I suppose you have heard that the negotiation about the Kōbe Gas Co. has resulted in nothing, as the Tōkiō Gas Co. declines to have anything to do with the proposal. If not, I can send you copies of the note I have received from Uyeno, with enclosures from Tōkiō Gas Co. to him and to the Kōbe Gas Co. in Japanese. When I read St John Browne's long letter making the proposition, it struck me at once that he had gone the wrong way to work, for all experience goes to show that such negotiations in this country are best conducted viva voce [orally], and that writing comes in at the end when everything is settled, simply as a record. But our countrymen in Japan are generally very far from understanding the people.

I see Kennedy has officially informed you of Flowers' additional six months leave. You are safe from disturbance for a pretty good long time to come, for if Troup should get Kōbe in virtue of his seniority over Wilkinson, or Robertson as senior or even Eusden, neither would be ready to take up the appointment for another year. If they were to give it to me, which is not probable, I should certainly go home on leave for a year at least.

I do not feel quite sure that Thak is to be entirely depended on for the truth. What became of his plan for sending money over to ensure I Tongin's safety? He told me that

even if we did not give him anything, he could get the coin elsewhere. I lent him 200 yen however, which to my surprise he brought back to me early in July last. He certainly is much less frank than one would expect from Tong-in's friend.

Chamberlain is away still, but as far as transliterating Korean goes, he would be ready to agree to anything you proposed, I feel convinced. It would be a great thing to have uniformity between ourselves at least. There are some difficulties which I do not quite see how to surmount. Would you propose to connect Korean syllables by hyphens, as the dictionary does? This ought to be observed in compounds from the Chinese, but it would be rather troublesome in Korean words.

I have mostly written down the words I have learnt in Korean letters, and have not thought much about transliteration. One gets rather confused with the spelling of the dictionary, and I wish they had left it alone. It is no help to one who knows the native character, and very little to one who does not, as the transliteration cannot claim to be phonetic. Of course for Chinese syllables the 玉編 [gyokuhen] would, I suppose, be the authority to follow. It would be impossible, I think, at present in the case of Korean words to do anything but follow the spelling one may chance to get, whether in a book, or from one's teachers, no matter what one may suspect their dialect to be. I find great variations between the Dictionary, I Tong-in, Kim and the books I have worked at.

It would be a great thing if we could dispense with accents altogether, for they are so apt to get omitted in writing, as is the case in phonetically spelt Japanese names. Who will take the trouble of putting an accent over Ozaka, Kobe, Tokio. That would be the only reason which would incline me towards French e for ㅌ, though to my ear it often sounds very much more like ㅓ or like Wade's ê. But then if we wrote e, that would make confusion between 어우 [hangul] and your value of 으 [hangul]. I would propose to use a for both ㅌ and ㅓ, as they seem to be merely different ways of recording the same sound, and are used indiscriminately in at least one novel I have. I should also like to spell the three diphthongs according to their components (if ㅑ [hangul] and 으 [? hangul character] are the same then there would be only two) as ai and whatever may be determined one for 어 i. Could we not write ㅓ at the beginning of a word, and ㅓ at the end for ㅓ. It is not consistent with the rule of representing each character by the same sign, it is true, but it would practically be a convenience. The Koreans do not appear to hear any difference between ㅓ and ㅓ, which is probably the reason why they use the same letter for both. It seems to me also that o [hangul] before a vowel might be left unrepresented. These are however merely ideas that occur to me at the moment, and I think the only practical way of preparing one's self for a consideration of the subject would be to write down a few thousand words, especially names of places and persons,

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which are what are most likely to demand spelling. For instance 서울 [hangul characters] and 동래 [? old hangul characters]. The first written phonetically sounds to me just like the English Soul. Tongnè fairly represents the second. Let it be given to you to transliterate a map of Korea: would you like to spell Syūul and Tong-lai. It is the same as the question between Kiyau-to and Kiōto. In the case of personal names the practical difficulty would be less felt.

I have not heard anything about the recreation ground or the direct application to the police. Bingham is at Kiga, and does not care to fash [trouble] himself about anything. In view of the negotiations for Treaty revision the Japanese do not care to settle any general questions. Kennedy is still at Hakone, but I expect him back about the 15th.

Willis writes to me that he will leave England positively the first or second mail this month. I wish he would come. This place is getting very dull.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Being at the Gwai-mu-shō [Foreign Office] today (Sept. 6) I stirred Inouye's memory about direct application to police, and also about the passport question. As Kennedy sent in a note on the subject in the middle of July, we ought to have had a reply by this time. Sir Harry writes to Kennedy that he will not leave till after the beginning of October. I should not be surprised if Kennedy hands over charge to the new secretary of Legation. An occasion for making up one's mind about spelling Korean place-names has just arisen. Wade has asked us to send him copies of the map of Korea for the F.O. as the map said to be attached to Spence's report ²³ has never gone home. This is strange, seeing that at Spence's request I sent him a copy several months ago; it is true, he never acknowledged its receipt, and it may have gone astray in the post, which has several times happened to my book packages. However, as they cannot read Chinese at the F.O., and probably there is no one at Peking who could put the Korean pronunciation, I thought of attempting it myself. What would you do under the circumstances.

E.S.

²³ William MacDonald Spence of the China Consular Service was in July-August 1880 allowed to accompany the Duke of Genoa on a visit to Korea on an Italian warship, the *Vettor Pisani*. His report, written in September, was sent to London in Sir Thomas Wade's despatch no. 5 confidential from Beijing of 5 February 1881. This appears in the FO Confidential Print volume *Correspondence respecting the Russo-Chinese Treaty (Kuldja Territory): 1881*. (With thanks to Dr. Jim Hoare for this footnote.)

55.

Yedo

October 1, 1881

My dear Aston,

I sent to the Naval Department to ask for the remainder of the 明義錄²⁴ [*Myonguirok*] and have received the enclosed note in reply, together with a volume which I sent to you registered. You will see that the people to whom the books belong are beginning to think they would like to get them back again, but I suppose there is no hurry. This one volume is all they have of the book.

Chamberlain and I are now provided each with a Korean teacher, but they are such uncertain creatures that there is no saying how long it will last. We have been talking about transliteration, and I find that Chamberlain has strong views of his own, for instance he proposes ä, ö and ü for 애 [hangul], 어 [hangul] and 으 [hangul]. I do not mind the ö and perhaps might vote for ä, but 으 seems to me far more like the neutral vowel, and I like ü better, as I have said before. ö is the short ö in Böcke. But this is the principal part where he would disagree with your system. We neither of us like é and è.

So the passport question is settled at last, I am glad to say. It has taken a ridiculously long time to smooth the Japanese down.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

56.

Yedo

October 23, 1881

My dear Aston,

Your discovery of the old tombs at Maiko is very interesting and I hope your paper will shortly be ready. If we can get it in time for a December meeting we should be much obliged. From your description I should say they most closely resemble those near Ōzaka first described by Morse, and mentioned in our Handbook, and those of which I gave an account in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society last year. Can you send us with your paper the fragments of ancient pottery to be examined. The idea of these burial-places having anything to do with the temporary occupation of Hiōgo by Kiyomori seems absurd; the Japanese had long ago given up that style of burial, and certainly created Buddhist monuments over their dead. I hope you will be successful in persuading the Ken-rei [prefectural governor] to have the rest opened. I will go and

²⁴ Printed in hangul circa 1778.

speak to Machida about them, as he is head of all such investigations.

I am at present engaged in buying old Japanese printed books, and making notes for a paper on the history of the art of printing in this country. The earliest specimen of print goes back to the reign of Kōken Tennō, and I have one or two books of the middle of the 14th century, quite genuine. The Koreans appear to have practiced printing with moveable types, and I have found a notice of a book of this kind dated 1317; but have not seen the book itself. Both Chamberlain and I have picked up some real curiosities in this line of late. Korean books in Chinese seem not to be uncommon, but I have met with only one or two that have Korean alphabetical characters, and then only in the margin. Next month I hope to get some leave, and go down to Kiu-shiu to study the topography of the Mongol invasion, from Kokura to Hirado, and then cross over to Iki and Tsushima. I have got a quantity of literature on the subject, besides that book of Hanawa's and the Mō-zok'-ki, including copies of the illustrated make-mono of that period in which the story is told. You have been at Nagoya and Hakata have you not? We hope to have your final chapter of the Korean invasion before long. I must tell you we have been turned out of the Shō-hei-kwan, and are now seeking for a place to hold our meetings in. This is the reason why we have had no meeting this month.

I have told Milne about your discovery, and he thinks you can do quite as much as himself, to say nothing of the difficulty of getting to Kōbe at present.

The detached squadron arrived the day before yesterday, and the Princes are to land tomorrow. After stopping here some days they will go back to Yokohama for a regatta, and then there is some talk of their being taken to Nikkō, so it is impossible to foretell when they are likely to be in your part of the world. At their present rate of progress they will not get back to England before the end of the year.

A telegram from Mori [Arinori]²⁵ has been received at the Gaimushō announcing that Sir Harry will leave Marseilles on the 13th of next month, so we may expect to see him about Xmas.

We have had Hillier here lunching & dining, but not able to stop in Yedo. He is a very nice fellow. Of Hewlett I have seen nothing. He put his foot into a solfatara near Miyanoshita and is a cripple for the present.

Willis wrote by last French mail to say that he would leave on the 22 September, and I therefore expect him about a fortnight hence.

²⁵ Mori Arinori arrived in London in January 1880 as the third resident minister from Japan to be appointed to the Court of St. James. He left Britain in 1884. See Andrew Cobbing, 'Mori Arinori, 1847-89: from Diplomat to Statesman', in Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume IV, Japan Library 2002, Chapter One.

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What a blessing that passport question is at last settled. It has taken over a year, I think.

The resignation of Ōkuma, the promise of a parliament at a certain date, and the recent changes in the government have taken everyone by surprise. I hardly think the account Brinkley gives in the "Mail" of the reason of Ōkuma's disgrace is the real one. The fact is, he is cleverer than the rest, and it is no wonder he should be unpopular with the rather stupid members of the cabinet. If he were wise, he would profit by his seclusion to pay a visit to Europe.

You can have no idea of the bitter spirit of the Japanese press about the blockade in the silktrade in Yokohama. It has be[en] turned by them into a political question, and the consequences must be serious to whichever party loses. If the foreign merchants have to give way, their prestige will be gone for ever; if the Japanese ring is beaten, it will be felt as a national defeat in all the silk producing centres. After all, it seems very unfair of the Japanese to turn round and accuse all the foreigners of unfair dealing, because one or two men have taken advantage of the present trade customs. All over Japan, in no matter what trade, the custom of leaving goods "on sale" is common. In retail trades like curio dealing & bookselling it is the universal practice, and silk and teabuying, where inspection is as complicated as determining the age of a bit of lacquer or the probable value of a book, cannot escape the custom which springs from their very nature. Kennedy has written a note to Inouye on the subject, in order to draw out a denial that the Govt. has anything to do with the Ito gwaisha, [thread companies?] as happened before in 1873.

Believe me

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. If when I pass through Kōbe I can bring any parcels for you or Mrs. Aston I shall be delighted.

57.

[Yedo?]

["6 November? 1881" is written in blue pencil at top of letter. Apparently this was added when the file was created at the Public Record Office, since the same blue pencil is used to label the whole file.]

My dear Aston,

The prefect says by the mouth of Noguchi that he is going to invite the Admiral & officers of the squadron to the picnic at Maiko and Mr. Dalton thinks it would be well if

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you would explain the object of the picnic, the place to land at, distance & every other detail to the Admiral or his secretary. Which you would probably do without any advice on that head. The princes are on no account to receive separate invitations, and I have given Noguchi a form to be sent to the Admiral.

Dalton tells me that the Admiral will be unhappy if he discovers that he has hurt the susceptibilities of the Japanese by omitting to salute the shore, and thinks you might still manage to arrange matters, if the Admiral will salute tomorrow morning.

Your's in haste

Ernest Satow

Sunday

58.

[Yedo?]

Monday evening ["7 November? 1881" written in blue pencil]

My dear Aston,

Morioka has come up here to announce to us that as the princes cannot go to the picnic he intends to give it up altogether and to substitute fireworks and illumination for it. So he will not ask the admiral and officers of the squadron as previously proposed.

Many thanks for the newspapers and the letters, among the latter was a cover containing your paper on the tombs at Maiko, which I will bring down with me on Friday – or stay, upon second thoughts I will post it to Chamberlain to be read on Thursday at the General Meeting.

We leave here for Nara on Wednesday morning, but I do not know where we shall be the next night.

I have found one ragged old Korean book here, that is all up to the present.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

59.

[Kyōto?]

Wednesday morning ["9 November 1881" in blue pencil.]

My dear Aston,

Noguchi reappeared yesterday morning and told me that the Jap[ane]se had altered their mind again about the picnic and were going to give it after all. I was on the way to the station for Ōtsu at the time, and could not therefore correct my last note. It is to be hoped that they will not change any more.

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We are going today to Nara by way of Uji. Yesterday was rather wasted in going as far as Sakamoto and coming back again. There was no time left to go to Ishiyama, and the poor prefect of Shiga was no doubt disappointed. Everyone else, however, was quite satisfied. Tomorrow night we are to sleep at Dō-miō-ji near Ōzaka, but on the further side. I do not know exactly where it is. This is instead of sleeping at Hō-riū-ji as originally proposed. There is no probability of the princes going to the picnic, as they will not be back in time to do it comfortably, but they will go on board the "Bacchante" as soon as they get to Kōbe. I have told Dalton that I am not going to Shimo no seki with them; and I should like to spend a day or two at Kiōto before going up [to Yedo] by the next Mitsu Bishi steamer. If you are going to the picnic, I may perhaps rush after you and try to see the tombs. Shall you be disposed to do a little bookhunting here or at Ōzaka?

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

9th November

60.

[November 18, 1881]

My dear Aston,

By post I send you Morse on Dolmens and on the Ōmori shellheaps. Of the latter you may perhaps be able to procure a copy by writing for it to Mr. Katō Hiroyuki, the Director of the University here, but the other is not obtainable in Japan as far as I know. We had a smooth passage up, but I was slightly seasick all the same. Willis is just like his old self, but a little greyer. He is busy making calls on the Tokio residents, but we see each other morning and evening. I find that what I have of that Korean picture book is the Continuation, with half the Korean translation cut down, so that I should like at some time or other to borrow the whole and have it copied. The last thing about Sir Harry is a telegram that he cannot leave till December, as he is waiting for an audience of the Queen: another respite for us all.

Many thanks again for your hospitality while I was at Kōbe. You have certainly a most enviable climate. Here it is at least one kimono colder. I hope Mrs. Aston will enjoy her visit to Shanghai, and bring back a good account of the Hannens.

Believe me

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

November 18, 1881

61.

Yedo

November 29, 1881

My dear Aston,

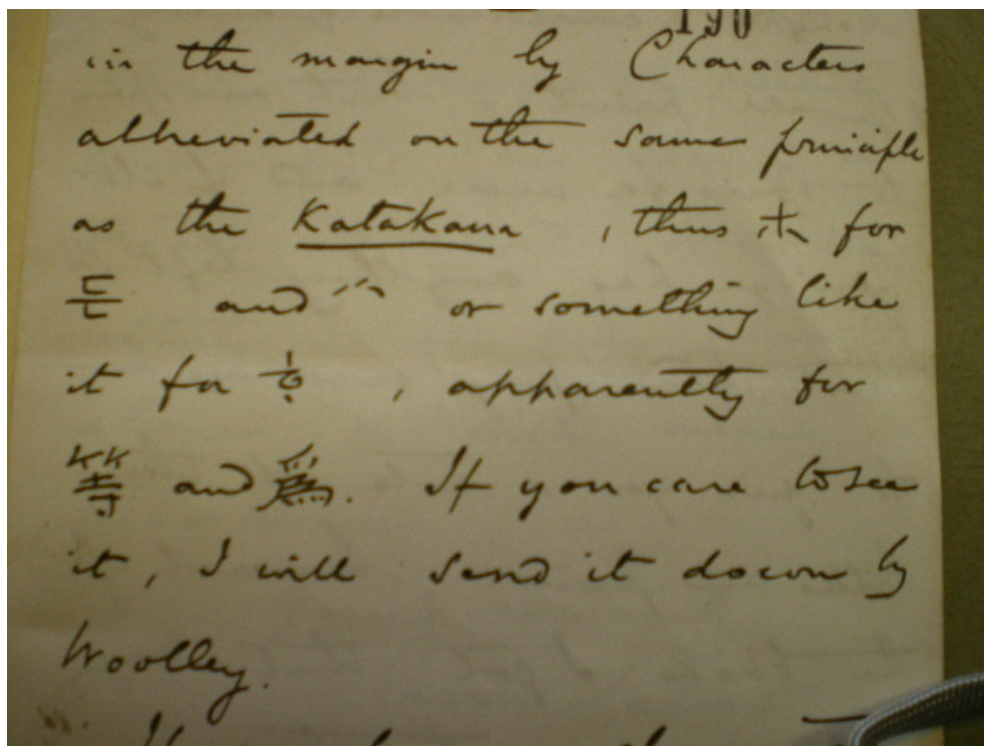
I suppose you will be sorry to lose Longford and get Woolley in his place, but the latter is clearheaded enough when he is not led away by men like Hodges, and will probably keep straight if you look after him a bit. His wife is rather dreadful. Hodges has made a great fool of himself, by getting gradually cockier and cockier. He used to go off to Yokohama without saying a word to Kennedy, on ridiculous pretexts such as cutting his hair or fitting a coat, and last of all he returns from one of these expeditions in a drunken state. The first idea was to make him change places with Longford, which would have caused surprise and people would have gossiped about the cause, and then Kennedy offered to let him go on leave, which I think was the better plan for everyone. He will consequently start, I believe, as soon as Longford replaces him. When Hall arrives I expect he (Hall) will be appointed to act for Troup, and McClatchie will set me free, I hope. Of course, if poor old Dohmen has to go home, some fresh combinations will have to be thought of, but on the whole it seems probable that Enslie would be appointed to act at Yokohama in that case. Our two senior students ought to be ready by midsummer to pass out and go to Consulates.

Woolley said something about wishing to pass the interpreter's examination before joining you, but there does not seem any reason why he should not do the papers at Kôbe, if you do not mind mounting guard over him, and testing his interpretorial capacity. He has not however yet made any official application to be examined, and has merely mentioned it in a casual way to Kennedy.

I bought the other day a Korean copy of a Chinese book, in which the ㄱ ㄴ are indicated in the margin by Characters abbreviated on the same principle as the katakana, thus ㄱ for [] and [] or something like it for [], apparently for 等 and 為. If you care to see it, I will send it down by Woolley.

[See below for photograph of letter.]

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in the margin by Characters
abbreviated on the same principle
as the Katakana, thus for
E and " or something like
it for 1/2, apparently for
寺 and 鳥. If you care to see
it, I will send it down by
Woolley.

If you have a chance at Kiyauto of bringing me a copy of the original 正平論語 [Shōhei Rongo] with the batsu, pray secure it for me at any price up to 30 yen. Since returning here I have bought a considerable quantity of old print, but am open to offers for more, and if Mr. Zeni-ya [錢屋] has anything left of that kind, pray encourage him to give you a note of the titles and prices. Several of the books I got that day when we were in Kiōto were valuable acquisitions.

Willis is flourishing and will in time get together a nice little practice, but the weather is fine and people are provokingly well. He stays with me for the present, and I find his society a great comfort. It is so utterly dull being always alone or with mere newcomers.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. There is a fac-simile reprint of the Shō-hei Ron-go dated in 明應 [Meiō era, 1492-1501] of which I much want a copy. Pray, if you come across one, secure it for me, up to 10 yen.

[End of PRO 30/33 11/2]

PRO 30/33 11/3: January 5, 1882 to August 9, 1909 (52 letters)

1.

January 5, 1882

My dear Aston,

The Kyoto bookseller [probably Zeni-ya] has written to me offering some old books, which I have accepted, but he says nothing about a 正平校論語 and so I hope you will stimulate him in the search if you have an opportunity.

I congratulate you most heartily on your recent discoveries of dolmens, which will lead to something of importance, I feel sure. It certainly seems not unlikely that as you say the Ōzaka dolmens may belong to the period when the capital was in that neighbourhood. I don't think that the Japanese have worked at the subject, and as far as I recollect, the Kawachi-Meisho does not attempt any explanation of the dolmens being there. I return your original paper, which you said you would revise for the printer, and the additional materials you have will enable you to make it very full. In fact, I think it would be well to read it again when completed, especially if you send drawings to illustrate the markings and shapes. The [Asiatic] Society [of Japan] is well off just now, owing to our having got a remittance from Trübner, and could afford to lithograph the drawings. We are very hard up for papers, and I fear will have to omit the January meeting.

Last month I had rather a serious touch of illness, which has very much thrown me out of my usual groove, and I have applied for sick leave. It was a chill, followed by congestion of the brain and the liver, and Willis advises me to discontinue study for the present. I am obliged therefore to give up both Korean and Chinese. Willis & Baelz have given me a certificate which justifies my application for sick leave, and I hope Sir Harry will not oppose it. [Thomas R.H.] McClatchie would be quite able to take my place. You have heard of Wilkinson's accepting the Crown Advocateship at Shanghai, so there is one less competitor for the consulates, and you are pretty sure to get either Nagasaki or Kôbe permanently. I am sorry to think that you will not return ever to Yedo, but promotion cannot be refused. [Martin] Dohmen is not going for another fortnight, because though better, he does not feel equal to undertaking the voyage at present. There is very little chance of his coming back to Japan, I imagine, and we may safely look upon him as shelved. The only rival then is Enslie, who will probably be now confirmed as Registrar of the Court.

I hope that you and Mrs. Aston have enjoyed your holidays, and feel better for being away from Kôbe, though the change from that to Nagasaki is not a very enlivening

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variation of surroundings.

Your's very truly,
Ernest Satow

2.

Yedo

January 18, 1882

My dear Aston,

I cannot at this moment lay my hands on any letter besides yours of the 13th, though there certainly is another somewhere. By book post I send you a copy of my Tables with the provinces of the Mikado's capitals inserted: they are correct I believe, but in case of doubt you can verify them by the Ko-zhi-ki Deñ.

It would be delightful if I could accept your kind invitation and join you in the search of dolmens, but I do not like to ask Kennedy, because if I urged it, he would be sure to say "yes". In the matter of leave I always feel one is taking advantage of his good nature. The fact is that the conferences about Treaty revision are about to begin, and it is possible that my presence may be needed in the capacity of interpreter or Secretary, so that I ought not to go away just at present. None the less sincerely do I thank both you and Mrs. Aston for asking me to take a holiday with you.

I do not know any book which gives descriptions of misasagi [imperial burial mounds, 陵], except an illustrated one with copper plates which I have somewhere, and will look for tomorrow, but there are several misasagi at Nara, and two are mentioned in the Handbook: it is merely a circular mound of larger size than ordinary: there are others near Sakai.

If you go to Kiôto please do not buy a 正平論語 with the date on it, as I have got one here for 30 yen. My collection is gradually increasing, and one or two are really beautiful books, especially a Japanese reprint of a Chinese illustrated Kuwañ-oñ Kiyau. I wish I had Douglas' catalogue of Chinese books in the B.M., as I might then buy old Chinese print too, of which there is no end here. But the booksellers say that 1200 yen would secure all there is in Japan of rare editions. I have spent 6 or 700, and so must have about half.

We are reprinting Vols 1, 2 & 3 part 1 [of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan]. Have you any corrections for your paper on relations of Japanese to Aryan. I propose to put the Greek words in in their proper type if possible. In reading over the discussion the other day I noticed Dr. N. Brown had said that hachi, bowl was the same as 'pot' in English & patia in Sanskrit. But its occurrence in Japanese is a case of

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borrowing. It is the beggar's bowl of the Buddhist monk that furnished the Japanese with the word. Another curious coincidence – Sākya was tempted in the desert by a demon named Māra, god of lust. Do you see a resemblance to any vulgar Japanese word here?

I hope you got your dolmens notes back safely, and that before long they will reach us again much enlarged and developed.

The book on tombs of the Mikado is in 3 vols., and is entitled 首註基陵一隅抄 1 vol., and 聖蹟圖志 2 vols. published in 1868, so that if you want them for yourself they ought still to be procurable, but I will try to send them to you.

Believe me,

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

3.

Yedo

January 31, 1882

My dear Aston,

I am extremely delighted to hear that you are getting such success with the dolmens, and can assure you that the Society will gladly devote a whole volume to the record of your researches. Of course you will not neglect the pictorial element. Every piece which has special markings and every different form ought to be exhibited. The next point of importance is measurement, and if you can manage it, I believe it will be better to use the metrical system than English feet and inches.

I meant to have told you that I have bought a copy of vol. 1 of that Korean picture-book we were to divide between us, and having given my much cut-down copy of vol 2 to Kennedy I hope you will not think I am greedy in asking you to let me have vol 2 of the said copy. On reading part of the Korean text, I found it possessed several unknown forms of ön-mun, and is in reality a mixture of that with Chinese characters, much like the Japanese mixture of shin-katakana.

Sir Harry is just the same as ever, gushing, secretive and friendly by turns. From what I learn it seems to me doubtful whether I shall get home for a long time to come, unless Gubbins perhaps should make a surprising cure. He has not yet told me what you are to have, but McClatchie is not to be counted on to relieve me here. Eusden writes that Hakodate is to be cut down to a Vice Consulate (there being no other way of getting rid of him than abolishing the Consulate). I do not feel quite at liberty to speak of the other changes I know of, but you at any rate seem safe for a Consulate. My idea is that Sir

Harry will keep me here as long as possible out of revenge because he knows I want to get away from him.

Siebold and the Hepburns came back in the same boat as Sir H. The former is somewhat grey, but just the same merry fellow as ever. I do not quite believe in his sincerity, particularly as he is on the other side from us, but we get on very well together. The two girls seem very nice and Mabel is rather pretty. We shall all be kept at a safe distance. Sir Harry will not be a bit more hospitable to his staff because his house is now more attractive than formerly.

The conference began again last Wednesday, and tomorrow again we are to sit for real business. All the colleagues but Bingham and the Chinese are there, and there is a secretariat composed of two Japanese, Siebold, young Siebold, Krien[?], Abbé Evrard, Lanvuy[?] (cancellier of the French consulate at Yokohama) and myself. Too many cooks spoil the broth. But H. Siebold and Krien[?] are there only for the decorations which they expect to get: today they were discussing whether they would get six or ten. If Thackeray knew of them he would have put them in that immortal book of his.

I am afraid we cannot well suppress your paper on the relations of Japanese to Arian. If that were allowed, I should like to rewrite several of my contributions and others might do the same. But if you like to add a postscript of any kind, that is quite admissible.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

4.

February 9, 1882

My dear Aston,

It is no doubt Willis whose name you saw in the Shanghai papers as having taken a passage to London. He has sent in his resignation, which arrived today. I am very sorry to lose him, as you may imagine. But Japan was a great disappointment to him, and he had been very down in the mouth for a month or so before he went. I hope he will get on in England, as he certainly deserves to, for there is no question of his being a first-rate doctor, and quite wrapped up in his profession. The want of work here made him melancholy to a degree that was almost catching. It is a pity however that he should have gone away in this clandestine fashion, but I saw he was bent on it, and no arguments would have any avail. I say all this for yourself alone. His private affairs are of course secrets which he is entitled to have kept as close as possible.

I congratulate you on your acquisition, and hope you will be able to keep him. My

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man is very uncertain, and as my time is nearly all taken up with attending the conferences and drawing up protocols, he would not be much use to me even if he came. I have forwarded Thak's letter to Iida.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

5.

February 16, 1882

My dear Aston,

Willis' return to England has caused me as much pain as yourself. Some day or other if we meet I may tell you all about it, but I am certain that his only reason for not saying to you what his intentions were was his wish to relieve you of the burden of keeping a secret. He had no hopes for any practice here among Europeans that could at all make it worth his while to stay, and his connection with the elder Saigō [Takamori] combined with his dispute in 1877 about compensation for furniture left at Kagoshima had put the official Japanese against him. For some time before he left he had been very melancholy. But he is unfortunately quite different from other men, and has some peculiar streaks in his composition. The primers were probably intended for the youngster, whom he took to England with him, and perhaps the best thing to do with them would be to send them here, as I am winding up his affairs.

It would not only be agreeable to you but better for the service if you remained at Kōbe. Poor old Troup is so very dull, and his wife also. It could not be of any use if I were to say anything to Sir Harry, but he might perhaps be induced by yourself to arrange a change of posts. I am afraid Quin and Longford will both be rather disappointed for the present. Sir Harry who loves to keep these things secret is rather annoyed at their having become known so early. He is not a whit altered but is more civilized than when he went home after six years residence here – as is the case with all of us under similar circumstances.

Pray take care of yourself. Regular exercise is probably the great cure for all ills produced by devotion to books. Thanks for the parcel you speak of, which I look for tomorrow. I have sent 100 yen to Korea for books, and hope to be more fortunate than we were with the venture made through Sakuma. That worthy is, I hear, a convert from his habits of indulgence.

Do you recollect Moto Fuji up the Furukawa valley. Bain bought it, and turned it into a little country house, and now it is the property of Henry von Siebold. Last Sunday a number of us breakfasted there, but unluckily the place is thatched and they are afraid of

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lighting a fire. The temperature indoors was unbearable.

We are just coming to the crucial question in Treaty revision, and I am curious to see how it will be surmounted. As yet everything has gone pretty smoothly, but the future is uncertain.

With kind regards to Mrs. Aston Believe me

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

6.

Yedo

15 March, 1882

My dear Aston,

Sir Harry mentioned to me your application for an allowance to your Korean teacher, and I suggested his giving it out of secret service money, as the F.O. would probably not sanction such an addition to the regular expenditure, especially as they are very ticklish about Korea. Perhaps they do not like to offend Russia by seeming to encroach on the domain of what humbugging Frenchmen and Italians call 'legitimate influence', vide newspapers on the subject of Tunis and Egypt.

Your discovery about the tombs of the Maiden of Imahi and her lovers is very interesting, and I have no doubt that you have hit off the true origin of the story. Japan is full of such myths.

We have had a break of three weeks in our Treaty revision work, and are at last going at it again tomorrow. There are signs that something may be done towards developing the relations of Japan with foreigners, but the timid, antforeign party is numerous and obstinate.

If you get Troup to exchange posts with you, I shall consider you a much-to-be-envied man. But I imagine he and his wife must be too tired of Nagasaki to come to stop there if they have the option of moving.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

7.

Yedo

April 4, 1882

My dear Aston,

I really do not know what to say about Woolley's examination since you seem to

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think he is not quite strong enough in colloquial [spoken Japanese]. That after all is a very important matter nowadays, and I do not see how it can be tested sufficiently by a written examination. Your own experience of him as a court interpreter would furnish the best grounds of an appreciation of his powers. If you could not justly give him a certificate of efficiency at present, it seems to me that the best thing to do would be to tell him so and advise his applying himself diligently for another three months to cultivating that branch. A certificate of efficiency from you would of course have as much weight as if you were officially his examiner. I think the candidate ought to be prepared to pass in all the subjects at once, since the object of his examination is to ascertain his efficiency, and not the conferring of an ornamental degree. If he is not fit to pass in colloquial, I should not be willing to set papers in the other subjects.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

8.

Yedo

5 April 1882

My dear Aston,

The note I wrote you the other day about Woolley's examination was seen by Sir Harry, who entirely approves of its contents, and if you think proper you might show it to Woolley. It was written in rather a hurry and perhaps sounds very dry and official, if it seems do to you, do not look on it as part of our usual private correspondence.

Sir Harry is much interested in your news about the intended American expedition to Korea, which is confirmed by Wade and also by Stevens of the U.S. Legation. He would like to see an English squadron appear on the scene at the same time as Schufeldt, and contemplates telegraphing to the F.O. in order to stir them up. Wade has already done so. So you may possibly get your wish, though I don't quite see how you could be replaced during your absence, unless Sir Harry sent down Longford to take charge of the Consulate for a few weeks.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

9.

Yedo

April 8, 1882

My dear Aston,

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The Chōya Shimbun of today has an account of the discovery of an ancient tomb at 赤部村 in 横瀬郡 [Yokose-gun] in Yamato, which seems rather important. 14 or 15 feet below the surface was a large stone coffin containing a perfect skeleton embedded in vermilion, and in the dust were found a large number of maga tama. Ruda tama and what appears from the description to be a Rō-ro of green glass. Round the cavity which contained the coffin were a number of earthen jars, which are spoken of as Giō-gi yaki, and these are no doubt of the same class as what you have already got.

In the Museum at Uyeno there is a fairly good collection of ancient pottery, but it does not contain any of those tall pieces which I described in Kōdzuke.

They have also a quantity of extremely interesting Xtian relics at Uyeno, oil paintings, statuettes of the virgin, brass fumi-ye and a little book written in kana. I think of trying to get a nearer look at them, with a view to describing them for the Asiatic Society.

Hoskyn wrote by last mail to ask me for a copy of the map of Korea, but as I do not know whether he has left Kōbe or not, I have addressed it to you, and shall be much obliged if you will kindly forward it to him by the earliest opportunity, as well as the enclosed letter.

I have heard last from Willis just before he reached Aden. His letter was written on board, and so he had heard nothing about poor Dohmen before it was closed.²⁶ He himself had been suffering from an attack of gout, but had got over it.

With kind regards to Mrs. Aston

Believe me

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

10.

Yedo [very faint ink – original checked at National Archives, March 2, 2007.]

July 26, 1882

My dear Aston,

I am sorry we are not to have the opportunity of seeing you up here on your way to Hakodate but you will not lose much as everybody is horribly busy finishing the Conference, of which the last sitting is to take place tomorrow.

There has been some difficulty about procuring for you a chart of Broughton and I am not confident of being able to get one in time for your present trip. The Admiral however has a complete set, which Sir Harry sent him before he went treaty-making. It is not out of print, but they are unwilling to depart from routine in order to supply us

²⁶ Martin Dohmen died at Aden, February 19, 1882. (F.O. List, 1883)

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with a separate copy direct.

I enclose your copy of our Stirling convention.

Many thanks for your kind offer of books, but on examining my own I find I have all the six you name.

Sir Harry does not lose an opportunity of having a dig at the Korean Treaty and in his despatches home attributes the attitude of the Japanese on the Revision questions to its malefic influence. I think he exaggerates the matter; it has merely furnished them with a good precedent to quote in support of the claims they have been making for a long time past.

Your's very truly,

Ernest Satow

PS. Will you be so kind as to take charge of the enclosed for my nephew who is on board the flagship.

11.

August 9, 1882

My dear Aston,

I am very sorry to miss you, but perhaps we shall meet again before you return to Kōbe after your journey to Korea. Everything there seems to be at sixes and sevens.

Will you take this list of place names with you, and look through the spelling. It contains all those given in the end of the French Dictionary and a few that I have added from the map. But many of those contained in the Dictionary are difficult to identify and where the Chinese characters are not given, might be omitted from our list. The number of ö required makes me doubt the possibility of printing it, even at Levys, where they are in the habit of printing German. After all I would prefer

어 [Hangul] e ö

애 [Hangul] ei instead of é

으 [Hangul] ü eu

because Foreign Office people, newspaper editors and all men who have to copy are sure to omit accents, and u for ü is less objectionable than o for ö, which we are certain to get in practice.

I have set a Japanese to copy out all the Chinese characters defined in the 玉篇 [gyokuhēn], and proposed to add our spelling in Roman. If you would give a list of the official titles, then we might between us publish a very useful book, beginning with the conventional system of spelling, an essay from you on the pronunciation, then the geographical names and list of official titles, and finally the Ok-pyōn, which would

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enable any intelligent person to transcribe personal names.

The Nichi nichu of August 3 & 7 contains useful lists of Korean officials. If you can get hold of a complete set of the 時事新報 [Jiji Shinpō] from the beginning of this month, you will find some interesting paragraphs on Korean politics from an authentic source. I will tell Okamoto to get a couple of sets, one for you and another for the Legation so you need not hesitate to carry it with you; also the copies of the Nichi-nichi which you will find with the geographical list.

I expect to be at Hakone on the 22nd and back in Tokio about the end of this month.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

12.

Tōkiō

November 10, 1882

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for the title of the book on the Korean official system, which I hope to get, as it is said to be published in Yedo.

We have obtained a copy of the German Treaty with Korea. It only differs from the American in having a stipulation in Article XIII that a French version shall be the standard in case of dispute, and three versions were consequently signed in that language, as well as the German and Chinese.

I have not seen anything of the Koreans since you left except at entertainments and Kim Jong-ok whom I asked to come to me for lessons. He came once or twice, but not at a convenient hour, and as on the second occasion I was unable to see him, he has not been near me since. He said he would in any case be very busy until the Mission left, which they are rumoured to intend doing about the end of the month.

Everything seems to point to a determination on the part of China to tighten the bonds that hold Korea to her, and the Tsungli Yamên has officially communicated copies of the decrees published in Korea & concerning the detention of the Tai-won-kun [Korean regent].

Brinkley will this week print the list of names & the transliteration of the Korean alphabet. At his request I have written a few words of preface, which I trust will meet with your concurrence. There was not time to consult you, as B. only asked me to do it when he sent over the proofs of the rest. Sir Harry has agreed to publish the complete geographical list, and a selection of characters used in personal & geographical names, but there will hardly be time for me to work up the official nomenclature, and I have

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given up the idea for the present. Yoshida lent me a copy of the 大典會通 in MS. of which I have had a complete copy made.

Woolley has not done well in his examination, and I am rather disappointed. He gains only 750 out of 1200; the law was his best paper. I should like to ask you privately whether there is any possibility of his cribbing from a copy of the code, for some of his answers, as to the question, give an account of the provisions against forgery, are almost word for word from the book. In translating into Japanese he is below the half. Before passing him I should be much obliged if you will give me a confidential reply about the cribbing possibility. He only attempted to translate one out [of] two notes from English into Japanese. I expect Gubbins to arrive in about three weeks time, but shall not leave until the 30 December, at Sir Harry's desire.

I hope Mrs. Aston will forgive me for not going to call on her when I passed through Kōbe in August. Multitudinous are the apologies which I desire to offer, if ever an opportunity is afforded to me.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

13.

Yedo

November 18, 1882.

My dear Aston,

After talking the matter over with Sir Harry and showing him Woolley's papers, we have come to the conclusion that he had better come up again for examination in translation from and into Japanese. He will be passed as far as the code goes, and can now devote himself seriously to reading and writing. I am very sorry not to be able to pass him on the present occasion, but his answers, except in the Penal Code, were very unsatisfactory.

I am off into the country for about ten days, and shall be back by the end of the month. The fine weather seems just to have set in.

Brinkley is going to print the Geographical index to the map of Korea and a selection of characters used in names, at the Expense of H.M.G. He will do it for \$100, and seemed anxious to have the work; otherwise the Insatsu Kioku [Japanese Government printing agency] would have done it well enough. It has been a tedious labour, but is now finished.

I hope Mrs. Aston and the young ladies are enjoying their holidays, and not getting too fatigued with sightseeing.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

14.

December 4, 1882

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for the correction to the Guidebook. If Long of the Curaçao is still at Kōbe, pray ask him to oblige me with the notes he has made of mistakes about Yoshino and Ōmine, as I expect to leave this by the end of the month, and am anxious to get all possible amendments before that time. The "copy" of the second edition is nearly ready, thank Heaven, except the maps, which require to be much improved, worse luck to them.

I applied to the department which published the Chronological Tables, and they have sent me a leaf volume instead of the single leaf. They want the imperfect one returned. Will you post it to me? I am despatching the complete one to you by this steamer.

By the way, should you ever have an opportunity of doing Takao, I wish you would give me a note of it for the Guidebook. I knew of its existence but never had time to go there. The fact is that Kiōto was rather hurried over, and that part of the book requires a thorough revision, which unluckily we must now leave to the future. It is a horrid responsibility, and the trouble of keeping up to date consumes all one's time. I should like to sell it out and out to Murray or some other enterprising publisher of such books.

I had a very pleasant fortnight's excursion in the neighbourhood of Ikao and Kusatsu. The scenery up there is really magnificent, and the upper valley of the Tone gawa near Numata is the finest thing of the kind I have seen anywhere. It was bitterly cold at Kusatsu, and the ascent of Shirane had to be made in a snowstorm. It is disappointing to find that the mud and hot water eruption have entirely ceased, and there is nothing going on but the issue of steam from a hole in the side of the crater with a loud roar. One can see the steam clearly from a distance of over twenty miles.

Believe me
Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

15.

Yedo [very faint – original checked at National Archives, March 2, 2007]

December 15, 1882

My dear Aston,

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Many thanks for the information for the Guidebook contained in your last note of the 12th. It will be very useful to us. The volume of comparative chronology arrived all right.

Buchanan and I have taken our passages, the P. & O. steamer which leaves at daylight on the 31st, and is expected to get to Kōbe on the evening of New Year's Day. If it is convenient to you to have us to dinner (supposing that the ship carries out its programme) we shall be very delighted to have that chance of saying goodbye to you. In any case we shall of course come to see you and Mrs. Aston.

I have plenty of work getting the geographical Index in order for the printer. The first sheets are now being set up, and the specimen page looks very well. But it has been a very tedious piece of work, and I shall be glad to turn my back on it.

Gubbins is staying with me and is a very pleasant companion. But he might have worked too hard, and I hope Greville will soon turn up for his sake.

Through Miss Parkes I received many kind messages from Mrs. Aston, which I gratefully appreciated as marks of forgiveness.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

Part of another letter? [Checked at National Archives, March 2, 2007.]

p.44 “any longer. Suggestions for a new edition about any part of the country known to you, or about style, arrangement and so forth will be very acceptable. If Hawes' hopes are fulfilled we shall get rid of the whole edition before the end of the year, but I am not so sanguine. It has been favourably noticed by the Herald & the Gazette, which was a great relief.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

Letters from Bangkok

16.

Bangkok

21 March 1884

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for your letter from Nagasaki of February 18. I had certainly hoped up to a few days before leaving England to have seen you again, but now I can hardly expect to have that pleasure unless you should still be there next September. I cannot quite believe that the Koreans will back out of their Treaty, and trust for your sake that they will not. You will doubtless have learnt all about Treaty Revision from Plunkett. I am very sorry to hear of poor Thak's death. He was such a very good specimen of an untutored people, and I liked him very much. Of Okam I have never heard a word since I left Japan; he talked with apparent earnestness of his desire to come to Europe, but probably his courage failed him. Of the embassy that passed through London on their way home from America I was not able to get a glimpse being very busy at the time.

This is not such a bad place, though there is much that makes me regret Japan. The town lies on the river in the midst of a wide delta chiefly cultivated as paddy fields. The public buildings are fine and even picturesque, rather more so than in Japan owing to the great number of sharp spires in the Buddhist temples, but the houses of the inhabitants are squalid and dirty. That is partly due to the difficulty of being neat and tidy in a hot country. One chiefly goes about in a sort of gondola, but there are a few roads, and I have taken my first ride today. We also have tennis in the [British] agency compound. The house is not altogether bad, though quite destitute of ornament, and I have plenty of room. I like the work pretty well as a change from Japanese newspapers and interpreting, but I am very sorry not to be in at the Revision of the Treaties. And I like the Plunketts so much that it is a real grief to me not to be in Tokio during their reign. I rather hope that you will be at headquarters until you go to Korea, which is as certain as anything not actually announced can be. What a fine lot of promotion there will now be for the Japan service. You will find Söul rather trying in winter, but probably an improvement on Nagasaki, which I cordially unite with you in detesting. Kind regards to Mrs. Aston and

Believe me

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

P.S. If you should ever want a few maps of Korea I can send you some.

17.

Bangkok

27 June 1884

My dear Aston,

I was very much annoyed to find on receiving this morning some copies of the "List of Korean Geographical names" that the title page I left behind has not been used, and that my name has been attached to it as author. In acknowledging to Plunkett the receipt of his letter covering the books, I have acquainted him with the important shares you and Chamberlain had in its preparation, and told him that we had agreed it should appear anonymously. I have also written to Gubbins and suggested that a new title page should be printed and furnished to every one who has received a copy of the work. In this way I hope the injustice done to you will be remedied. I need only say that no reference was made to me on the subject, and that I have never for one moment contemplated its going forth to the world as my work. If you had not been good enough to revise the spelling, I should never have ventured to bring it out alone.

I hope you find Korea less uninviting a residence than the reports of Hall and Bonar represent it to be, and that your health will keep good there. The work must be very interesting, and you have a teachable people to deal with.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

18.

Bangkok

8 May 1885

Dear Mrs. Aston,

It gave me great pleasure to see your handwriting again after such a long interval. Only the very barest accounts have reached us here of your alarming adventures in Korea last December, and I have been longing for a description of them by a graphic pen. Then we were greatly concerned to hear of Aston's illness, and I knew that neither he nor you would be able or have much inclination to use a pen. I am very glad to hear that he is convalescent and that you hope to return to Söul before long. But you ought not to stop there next winter unless they build you a suitable house.

Willis lives much with me. There is a vacant house in the compound owing to the absence of the Vice-consul in England, and he occupies it instead of trying to find a house outside. We lunch, dine, take five o'clock tea and a bottle of Rosbach [mineral

water] at ten regularly every day. It is such a comfort to have his society, and he is quite the old Willis of days that your husband will remember between 1864 and 1869, full of stories, argument and the most sympathising doctor you could have in the world. I tell him that he is old Sam Johnson come back to the earth. He studies the Siamese language with great diligence, and has a large clientèle of patients who give a great deal of trouble and don't pay.

Society is more numerous than with you at Söul, but gives little satisfaction. One is obliged to see and dine a lot of folks who are entirely uninteresting. The feeling is no doubt mutual. But on Wednesdays at least I have a few musical people, and on Fridays a small tennis party. To the latter I wanted to invite ladies, but there are none who can play, so it had to be given up. The other form of enjoyment is driving. There are some good roads, and after much difficulty I have succeeded in getting a couple of ponies, who go and look extremely well in brown harness with brass fixins. But it is more of a lady's turnout than a critical taste would approve. Also I possess a horse, who is rather difficult to mount. In the tropics you require a hack that will take you out for a quiet hour's ride, and give you no trouble, a padded armchair on four legs, and the very idea of beginning the afternoon's promenade with a fierce contest for mastery is enough to make one hot by way of anticipation. So I usually get some one else to ride him. It is a relic of Japanese feudal manners.

Eating and drinking are very bad here, and the cooks are worse. Luckily one has but little appetite. We catch the rainwater that drips from the caves and so satisfy our thirst. Don't picture us as standing with gaping uplifted mouths every time it rains and going about with black parched throats in the intervals. We store the water in big terra cotta jars, from which it imbibes a slight flavour that we (always Willis and I – we can do nothing alone) think is derived from saltpetre in the clay. Potatoes come from Hongkong, whence also a pheasant now and then, and sheep. Desirous of feeding my countrymen on fat mutton on the 25th, I have got a sheep for butcher's purposes and another to keep it company on the voyage here. It appears that they pine and mope themselves to death if made to travel alone. The only delicacy is the rice-bud, the beef is tough and tasteless, and the rest of life is ducks and chickens. A turkey or guinea-fowl is a dish for high days and holidays. Curry forms the staple article of diet. We are however not badly off for fruit, and some of the mangoes are delicious – but only some – the others are fit for pigs. Durian is much belauded by those who have got over their disgust, but I cannot forget that I was born in a civilised Xtian country, and look on such men with pity. If I ever find myself in danger of overcoming this righteous prejudice I shall apply for sick leave.

Round Bangkok the country is flat and paddyfieldy, but on the coast of the gulf there

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are many places that could be made very pleasant by a small expenditure on building houses. In one way it reminds me of Niigata, a very nice place to go away from. The natives are not pleasant, and one has as few of them as possible for servants; as a rule they are thieves, and the truth is not in them. I have a Chinese cook and coolie, a Japanese boy and a Siamese + Chinese hall porter, a Malay gardener and two Syces[?], also probably Malays. Natives are used only as boatmen, hewers of wood and drawers of water. Of the official Siamese it would be indiscreet to give one's opinion, but in general it may be said that they are the correlatives of the ambassador in the famous definition. I have had one Siamese lady to dinner, and she has promised to come to the ball. So there are signs of progress.

Kind regards to Aston and thanks for his note. I shall write to him as soon as I can.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

19.

Bangkok

27 November 1885

Dear Mrs. Aston,

Your letter of 15 November and the parcel of music reached me a few days ago. The latter I had quite forgotten, but it was extremely kind of you to send it, for amongst the pieces were some very old favourites. Had I known by what steamer you and Aston would pass through Singapore, I should have sent a few lines of greeting, but it seemed so unlikely that they would reach you. You must have greatly enjoyed having Admiral Dowell and Cecil Smith on board the "Hydasper". With the latter I have been on excellent working terms since I came here, and I regret his departure from Singapore extremely. Owing to the Straits Settlements being adjacent to the Siamese possessions in the Malay Peninsula there is a good deal of correspondence between them and us.

I hope that the stay in Cairo will benefit Aston as much as it is sure to interest you both. Do not omit to visit the Pyramids, and if possible make the excursion to Sakarah. You will find Dean Butcher at Cairo in all probability. Pray remember me kindly to him. I cherish the most pleasant recollections of him. If Aston cares to make the acquaintance of Egerton (nicknamed Topsy by his acquaintance) who used to be at the Legation there, he will find him worth knowing. Perhaps you may also fall in with Major Sandwich[?] formerly of the Marine battalion in Yokohama. To him also I would desire my kind regards.

I should esteem it a great kindness if Aston would send me 2000 of the best cigarettes

to be had in Cairo, by P. & O. steamer, care of Boustead & Co., not omitting to let me know the cost, which I would remit at once.

What are your plans for the future. I cannot believe it possible that Aston will think of abandoning his career in the East at present, and that in case he does not return to Sōul, Tōkyō will see him back again during Plunkett's tenure of office, or if not Tōkyō, that he may succeed Troup at Kōbe. The younger generation is not yet sufficiently experienced for men like your husband to leave the field to them, and if the revision of the Treaties comes off, Japan will be a pleasanter place than it now is. Though even under present circumstances it is not a bad place to live in.

When you get to England pray let me know where to address you. I do not make new friends here, and writing to old friends is some consolation for being deprived of their society.

In a few days I start on my journey to the north, out of the reach of letters and telegrams, and expect to be away quite two months.²⁷ There has been a terrible drought this summer, and the water in the river is so low, that I fear the steam launch with which I make the first part of the journey will not get very far, and then I shall have to rely upon a crew of rather lazy gormandizing native boatmen, who will not go very fast. The goal of the trip is the capital of the northern Laos provinces of Siam, called Chiengmai, where we have a vice-consul to look after the interests of Burmese foresters engaged in cutting teak wood. They seem to do nothing but have disputes with the local authorities over the royalties, which somehow never get paid. The Laos are a branch of the Siamese race, who speak a slightly different dialect, and are said to be a much less dishonest though less civilized people than the Siamese. The latter are odious, but for political reasons we have to bear with them. The French are suspected of hankering after a great part of the Siamese dominions, and my principal function is watching them. They have been sadly disappointed in Upper Burmah, which in a few days will be within our grasp as completely as if we had annexed it. In Corea I suppose your chief subject of anxiety was Russia.

Believe me yours very truly

Ernest Satow

20.

Bangkok

22 April 1886

²⁷ For Satow's full account of this journey see N. Brailey (ed.), *A Diplomat in Siam*, Bangkok: Orchid Press, 1994.

My dear Aston,

I have just got your letter of March 9 from Helonan[?], and hasten to enclose a cheque for £4.10.0 which will cover both lots of cigarettes, exclusive of freight, which no doubt my agents in Singapore will have paid. I must apologize to Mrs. Aston for having left her to guess that Boustead & Co. were a Singapore firm [see previous letter]. Very many thanks for the trouble you have so kindly taken on my account. We were both Willis and myself extremely concerned to hear that you had had a relapse at Cairo, and are greatly relieved to have a much better account of you. I feel convinced you will recover your health and strength during the coming summer in England, just as you did before in Japan, so many years ago, and I hope you will not find it necessary to retire on a pension. Of course you will have heard that Plunkett has proposed Gubbins for Japanese Secretary as he could not get on with Hall, and now I hear the latter is laid up with bad eyes so that he can do nothing. Whatever you do, pray do not go back to Söul. The climate is too severe. If only Troup would make up his mind to retire, you would of course go to Kōbe, and there you need have no troubles. I have taken the liberty however of suggesting to Mrs. Aston that you should be my successor here, if they would give me a change when I go home next spring, or even before that, that is to say, if a warm climate would suit you. I cannot say that the air of Bangkok is invigorating, but one can get along as long as one contents himself with the daily official work.

My journey to the Northern Laos was on the whole a pleasant one, and proved to be very necessary from an o[f]ficial point of view. But it took a terribly long time. I am writing an account for my people at home, and feel as if it were impossible to condense what I saw into the pages of a letter. The Lao States are governed by mutually independent chiefs, who are more or less interfered with by the Bangkok Government. This however is a good thing. They belong to the same race as the Siamese and ought to belong to her, especially as they occupy the headwater of the Mënam. But the control of the King over his outlying provinces and states is very imperfect. Teak forests are what chiefly take British Subjects thither, and they are mostly Paguans and Tangthoos from British Burma. We have a Vice-consul up there to look after their interests, but he has no jurisdiction, that having been handed over to the Siamese through the influence of the Indian Gov[ernmen]t. I think it was a mistaken step, but try to make the best of it. If you ever come across the British Burma Gazette you will find some interesting reading in the first volume.

I have compiled a Bibliography of Siam, which is now ready for publication, if I can induce the Straits Asiatic Society to let me see the proofs. Otherwise I shall keep it for the present. There are about 250 entries, several containing several separate articles.

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I have had a long and very interesting letter from [A.G.S.] Hawes, who seems to have had a hard time of it on his way to Nyassa [Malawi]. But still it is better than being in the Japanese service.

I hope to hear better news of you when you write next.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

21.

Bangkok

29 January 1887

My dear Aston

I have been owing you a letter for more than a month past. How I envy you passing your winter at Mentone [Menton, French Riviera], when I compare the delicious sea air with the muggy exhalation laden atmosphere of this place.

The archaeologico-geographer Charles Gould from Hongkong left me yesterday, after a ten days sojourn. We talked a great deal about Pinto as you may suppose, and came to the conclusion that though much of his geography was very fanciful, he had really visited most of the countries he describes. The English edition of Pinto is very faulty, the translator having often burked passages that he did not understand.

I have had a good deal of annoyance lately from a lawyer [E.B. Mitchell] and a doctor [Dr. Peter Gowan] in the Siamese service, who have abused me variously in connection with a regulation for the registration of British Subjects modelled upon the system in force in China and Japan. Here it is rather a different question, as the English-born are comparatively few, but we have many thousands of Asiatics who are constantly getting into trouble with the Siamese authorities up country, & it is really important to get them on our books. The lawyer in particular distinguishes himself by maintaining that he is a Siamese subject, and I shall have a great deal of trouble to bring him to book. Last mail I wrote privately asking for leave, and hinting that I should like another post, as this climate will not suit me long. At the present moment I am pretty well, but cannot [letter ends here in mid-sentence. Part of letter missing. Checked at National Archives, March 2, 2007].

Letters from London (1900)

22.

11 Portland Place W. [London]

16 August 1900

My dear Aston,

When I got to the F.O. I found out that what they want is someone on the spot who can report the situation without prejudice and be able to represent H.M.G. in any negotiations that may be required. They think Macdonald ought to recruit after the strain of the past months. So they are providing me with a special kind of commission in lieu of credentials, which I shall be able to act on if on my arrival at Shanghai the situation requires it. Ostensibly I am merely returning to my post [at Tokyo] on the termination of my leave, and there will probably be no public intimation in the papers. This for yourself and Mrs. Aston.

I have written to Foster and told him of your kind offer to look over the remaining proofs; he is abroad, and I have not yet heard in reply.

My boy's address is

Mr. E. Takeda

C/o Rev. Arthur Izard

Slindon rectory

Arundel, and it will be very kind of you and Mrs. Aston to have him for a few days, whenever convenient.

Goodbye. I hope to hear from you now and then

c/o Far Eastern Dept.

Foreign Office

Nothing will efface from my memory the delightful days I have spent with you.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

23.

11 Portland Place W.

23 August 1900

My dear Aston,

Herewith one more sheet, probably the last I shall see. The explanation of "dockt-up" on p.7 was given to me by two naval men, and I felt bound to be content with what they said. Had there been an opportunity I should have consulted the old dictionaries of

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seafaring terms, but I forgot to do it. I quite think it may mean as you say tricing up the corners of the square sails.

We ground at 30 Fathoms ought probably to be we had ground &c., i.e. they found it 30 fathoms on heaving the lead, but I think the print follows the M.S. exactly.

What an extraordinary collection of mistakes and repetitions of the same matter there seems to be in that number of the Asiatic Society. Lay is really too careless. You may imagine what his official work sometimes is.

I see an Asiatic Society has been founded at Söul with Gubbins as President; that will afford him a hobby to relieve the pressure of other work.

I was writing to Cecil Smith to tell him of my departure, and praised X in such a way as to let him see I suspected his authorship. It is a capital letter. My missionary friends I think will mostly agree with it. A.F. King of St. Andrew's mission was here this morning, and I found he approved of Lord Salisbury's speech at the Bicentenary of the S.P.G.

Very many thanks for kindly inviting Eitaro to visit you. I am sure he will be only too delighted.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

Letters from England (1907-09)

24.

13 December 1907 [faint]

Dear Mrs. Aston,

It was very kind of Jessie Hannen to send me her mother's photograph. Will you just send me her address on a post card in order that I may write & thank her.

I came back here about a week ago, and hope to remain without moving till after Christmas. Layard and his wife have been with me for a few days, and now I have the C.W. Campbells from Peking.

My brother and his three children who are at home come to me on December 23rd, and I shall certainly bring him over to see you. I am much distressed at the prospect of losing the Prykes, but they do not move till after Easter. I hope you are both of you better than when I saw you last. It was very refreshing to see your handwriting again.

Yours sincerely,

Ernest Satow

25. 5 April 1908

Beaumont House,

Ottery St. Mary

My dear Aston,

I hope the spring weather suits you, and that you are able to sit out on your verandah. Here I find the North wind entirely forbids anything of that sort. Pray let me know how you are getting on.

I have found a list of daimios in a bluebook of 1863, which gives me what I want. It was published in the Japan Herald of that day, and was probably prepared by Dr. Dickson.

Douglas writes to me that he is to do the Far East from 1871 to 1907 for the Cambridge Modern History, and asks me for the titles of books on Japan. I have advised him to get Griffis' last edition, [Johann Justus] Rein's new edition which brings the modern history down to 1904 and Mounsey's Satsuma rebellion. Can you suggest any really useful books? I have also told him to ask the F.O. for the Confidential print of the period. I am not sure whether he knows German enough to use von Brandt, but in writing about China & Japan it is very useful to compare what foreigners say. I have also recommended to him the United States Diplomatic Correspondence. No other country publishes so fully as the Americans, who seldom conceal anything. I have found

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them very useful for my chapter.

I agree with you that the History of Japan you sent me was done by a Japanese, and that Brinkley merely revised it. I had the Japanese version at Tokio, but have mislaid it. I don't think it helps one much. Katsu Awa's collection of original documents in 3 volumes is very valuable, but it takes a lot of time to read, and make notes. I have not yet got the print of the section on China, which I sent off two months ago. The longer they delay, the better I am pleased, for I don't want to be hurried.

I am going to Oxford on the 23rd for a couple of days, and to Cambridge about the middle of June. I have taken as my subject for the Rede lecture old Hübner's career as Austrian representative in Paris from 1849 to 1859, so that I need not consult the F.O. about what I am going to say.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

26.

26 May 1908

My dear Aston,

I am returning by the post the books you were so good as to lend me. To read again one's own letters to Sir Harry of that stirring time in 1868 made me feel quite young again. I had out my journals and went through the junketings we had with Satsuma men at tea houses in Yedo that summer and autumn. Harris' diary I found very useful; in comparing Japanese accounts of his interviews and discussions I was pleased to find how closely they agreed. Harris is a very interesting person: How cleverly he used the English and French as a bugbear to frighten the Japanese into at last signing the treaty. He and Alcock did not get on well together. One fancies that Harris found it disagreeable to have to play 2nd or 3rd fiddle when England and France came on the scene, and insisted on leading the orchestra to quite a different, and as he thought, a more rowdy tune. The notion that Japan was to be treated like China was very prevalent in those days. I found two of the smaller books very useful in determining the date of the death of the ex-prince of Mito, the enemy of Ii Kamon no Kami. In a day or two I shall have completed a clean copy of the Japanese part of my chapter, but am not certain whether I can send it over for the benefit of your suggestions, as the Cambridge people said they wanted to have it by the end of the month. I must write and ask them. But I should value your observations greatly. It is a good bit longer than I had anticipated, but if they insist on cutting it down, they will have to apply the knife themselves. There is much new in it from Japanese sources that has not been printed before in English, and I

think it would be a pity to lose the opportunity of making it known.

I hope you are well.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

27.

15 June 1908

My dear Aston,

I have at last got the Japan section of my chapter for the Cambridge Modern History into the shape in which I should like it to appear, and I send it to you for the advantage of your critical remarks. It is longer than the number of pages allotted to it, but I do not see how to shorten it without omitting essential incidents. As it is, a great deal has to be passed over in silence, as you will no doubt perceive.

It seems preferable for English readers that words like Kuge [公家 court noble] (which they would pronounce cooje) and daimio should be avoided as far as possible. My brother Sam however wants me to use daimio throughout, where I have put 'feudal lord', and to say 'Shōgun' instead of Tycoon. As he does not know Japanese history, such an expression of opinion ought to have weight, but he nevertheless is not quite so safe a guide on these points as one would be who has never heard anything of that country.

In a separate sheet I have put an alternative account of the political position of the daimiōs in 1853, which I think is rather better than what is given on p. 7 of the M.S. I should be glad to know which you prefer. The separate one is condensed from the account given in an excellent book entitled Bakubatsu-Shi [sic. Bakumatsu-Shi?], written in real historical fashion and published only 10 years ago. Unluckily it ends at present with the death of Ii Kamon no Kami. ²⁸

I have had some strife with the sub-editor of the C.M.H. ²⁹ over the China section, who had treated my M.S. rather carelessly, altering the wording in order to save space, and consequently spoiling the sense. I hope to overcome him in the end.

I enjoyed my lecture giving at Cambridge ³⁰ exceedingly. If possible I shall get the University press to print the lecture, and will inflict a copy on you.

I hope you are getting on well in this fine weather. On the 23rd I go to Oxford to

²⁸ Ii Naosuke, murdered at the Sakuradamon gate of the Imperial Palace in 1860.

²⁹ Cambridge Modern History

³⁰ Satow delivered the annual Rede lecture at the Cambridge University Senate House on June 13, 1908. His title was "An Austrian Diplomatist in the Fifties". He spoke about Baron Joseph Alexander von Hübner.

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receive the D.C.L. [Doctor of Civil Law] and then to the Hague on the 27th or 28th
returning here on the 30th. To leave the garden at this moment, with the strawberries
coming on, is a real privation.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

28. undated

**Part of letter not on microfilm nor in original file. Checked at National Archives,
March 2, 2007.**

...a great interest. In fact, they are trying to come to an agreement on points as to which
the last Peace Conference was at hopeless variance. I begin to doubt however whether it
would be discreet on my part to print anything on these subjects, as I have been so much
behind the scenes, and the Quarterly Editor at any rate would not allow me to write
anonymously. He insisted on preferring that my article on the French Republic in the
next Quarterly should appear with my name.

The F.O. have refused permission to Gubbins to write the Japan chapter for the next
volume of the Cambridge History, on the ground that he is still on active service. If he
had retired, they would not object on condition that they saw it before publication.
Leathes³¹ asked me to suggest some one else. I told him that he might apply to you,
tho' I could not say whether you would be inclined to undertake it. I hope you don't
mind. I also mentioned [F.V.] Dickins to them. Then there is Chamberlain, but I think he
desires to do no more Japanese work. In the last resort I suppose they would have to fall
back on [J.H.] Longford. [R.K.] Douglas, who was to have done it, has given up. He
certainly would not have done it well.

Kind regards to your sister,

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

29.

23 June 1908

My dear Aston,

³¹ Stanley Mordaunt Leathes (1861-1938) became a fellow of Trinity College,
Cambridge and lecturer on history, and was one of the editors of the Cambridge Modern
History.

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Many thanks for your telegram of yesterday afternoon and for your two letters. That from London was particularly interesting.

As to my M.S. I cannot do anything with it till I return here on the 30th, so I hope you will not have hurried through it. [H.W.V.] Temperley for the Editors writes that they cannot give me more than 27 pages, and as in its present state it comes to about 40 it will have to be still further reduced. I think of cutting out the pages about the political and moral condition of Japan, and perhaps the Russians at Tsushima. If you can give me any suggestions as to the places where the knife can be applied, I shall be very grateful.

From Chamberlain I have heard nothing, and am sorry to see that you give such a bad account of him. Perhaps he will send me a line later on. I have not his address, or would write to him. I am off today to Oxford till Friday, then to [London] town for one night, crossing to the Hague on Saturday night.

What glorious weather for the haymakers. I walked on east Hill yesterday afternoon, and heard the 'moan of doves'³² for the first time in my life, and my companion who has lived nearly all her life in the country said it was new to her.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

30.

2 July 1908

My dear Aston,

I am exceedingly obliged to you for taking the trouble to read my M.S. and for the valuable suggestions you have made for its improvement. It is unfortunate that the space allotted for Japan by the Editors is so limited: there were many things, as you say, that might usefully have been touched upon, that have had to be omitted. As it is, the M.S. far exceeds, by about 50% the allotted number of pages; I have been in correspondence with the Editors, who say they regret they cannot concede anything more. So I have cut out the whole description of the political state of Japan, which I am very loath to see disappear, the Tsushima episode and the persecution of the Christians, besides shortening the account of the early attempts at a parliament, and the negotiations between Yedo and Kioto for the approval of the Harris treaty negotiations. I shall send the whole M.S. nevertheless to the Editors, that they may see what their rigid insistence on limits ends in. Even with these sacrifices it is longer than they desire. I shall leave to

³² "The moan of doves in immemorial elms,
And murmuring of innumerable bees" (from Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem *The Princess*)

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them to decide whether daimio and Shōgun shall be preferred to feudal lord and Tycoon.

I got back on Tuesday afternoon, and went yesterday to Dawlish to speak on Socialism. Don't laugh. I was asked to do it.

Slept at Exeter at a friend's house, and came back this morning to put my M.S. on the operating couch. The Cambridge University Press are willing to publish my Rede lecture taking the whole risk on themselves and giving me half profits if there are any, which seems a liberal arrangement.

Yours ever,
Ernest Satow

31.

12 July 1908

My dear Aston,

Revon has sent me also his translation of the Homusubi Norito, which I have read through. As far as his criticisms of my statements go, I daresay he is right, but I should not imagine he makes no mistakes himself. I agree with you that for a Frenchman he knows a good deal, and of that he must have picked up by far the greater part from you, Chamberlain and myself. Perhaps he is not worth answering.

A Japanese who was staying with me at the end of last week – one of the Delegates to the Pan-Anglican – told me that Chamberlain has gone over to Germany.³³ Perhaps that explains why I have not heard from him. I should be distressed at the idea that he could come to England and not trouble to find me out; in fact his coming to see me when he was in England two years ago negatives any such idea. The said informant added that his voice was out of order.

When I have finished my article for the Quarterly on the IIIrd French Republic I hope to read those books you have told me of about the Second Empire, unless I am led off in the direction of the Italian Resorgimento or the Crimean War. There are many interesting subjects that invite study. One of these is modern socialism. I am now reading H.G. Wells' "New Worlds for Old" which gives a very good idea of what this movement aims at. I remember nearly forty years ago startling a lady by saying that the capitalist has replaced the feudal baron of the Middle Ages, and that his turn to be disestablished and mediatized would come next. Since then I have thought little of such subjects. One had something else to do. But I now begin to think that I was right in that apparently revolutionary utterance.

³³ Apparently this was Reverend John Imai who arrived to stay with Satow on July 10, 1908 and left the next day. (Satow's diary, PRO 30/33 16/10)

Eitarō, who has not yet got rid entirely of his tuberculosis has gone back to his farm with his wife – an American girl – and writes hopefully. Last year he made about £400 out of his farm, which cost between £2000 and £3000, so that financially he is doing well. He could not be in a better climate than that of Colorado. Here is a newspaper cutting (I did not receive it from him) which makes one laugh. Pray return it to me some day.³⁴

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

32.

16 July 1908

My dear Aston,

Can you give me Chamberlain's address in London? A Japanese who was staying with me a few days ago told me he had gone over to Germany.

You asked me the other day about a rumour that I had been asked to stand for the Honiton division. I think Tuke said something about it to me, but I had no suggestion of the kind from any authoritative source. Anyhow, I could not afford the expense, and as I shall be 68 by the time the general election arrives I should be too old, even if I desired to go into Parliament; but I do not, being quite contented with my present life.

I have had the proof of my Rede lecture, and when it is published I hope to send you a copy. There seems to be a great likelihood of my chapter on Japan being printed practically intact.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

33.

18 July 1908

My dear Aston,

Very many thanks for letting me see Chamberlain's letter, which containing a message for me, has afforded me much relief. I have noted his address and now return it. Queen Victoria's letters helped me on one point very materially, the Queen's letter to Napoleon III just before the outbreak of the war of 1859. I have bought myself a second hand copy of the three volumes. Hall has just sent me his paper on the Ashikaga laws, which I hope to read. It would be a very good thing if he would translate the Shoku

³⁴ The cutting referred to is not in PRO 30/33 11/3. (File checked at National Archives, March 2, 2007.)

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Nihongi.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

34.

30 July 1908

My dear Aston,

I published the *Kuaiwa Hen* in 1873. The French translation begun by D. Larrien and completed by Perpigna and Fouqué says on the title page that it is a French translation of my book. It was published by them in 1877. If you would like to see the books I will send them over.

Wenckstern³⁵ reprinted Pagès' *Bibliographie Japonaise* as part of his book. Now Pagès is often inaccurate, and I pointed out some of his mistakes in my "Jesuit Mission Press". He also committed numerous involuntary sins of omission, but of these Wenckstern appeared to be quite unconscious, and I think he rather suggested that it is very complete. I have not Wenckstern's book. But I imagine he would have great difficulty in winning an action for libel; the comment was "fair" and he cannot show "malice" on your part.

Gubbins' new edition is certainly an improvement but it does not seem comprehensive enough. For instance, he does not give compounds read by the kun, like that one I asked you about lately. A Japanese staying with me read it as tsudzura which is, I have no doubt, correct.

I am going to have stewed peaches today for lunch, but I cannot sacrifice any of my apples to the cook. We certainly want rain badly.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

35.

2 August 1908

My dear Aston,

Can you tell me where Griffis' *Mikado's Empire* and his *Life of Townsend Harris* are published? I have put both of them down in my bibliography for the Cambridge Modern

³⁵ Friedrich von Wenckstern published *A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* (Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co.) in 1895. The second volume of the bibliography was published by Maruzen in Tokyo in 1907. (from <http://www.oriental.cam.ac.uk/jbib/bibgen.html> accessed December 3, 2006)

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History, but I omitted the place of publication, and the editors want me to insert it.

They are still worrying me to cut the section down to 41 pages, but I shall see the whole in print first. It really is absurd to make difficulties about less than half a dozen pages, and I don't feel inclined to give way. It is a comfort to feel that I have nothing more to do with them, and that Douglas, not I, is going to do China and Japan for the final volume ending with 1895. I do not envy him his task, and hardly think he will do it satisfactorily, at least as regards Japan. For that Gubbins would be a much better choice. He ought to have arrived at home yesterday, and will be staying with a brother of his near Dover.

I have sold my old Japanese colour prints for £375, which is $\frac{3}{4}$ of the value put on them by the dealer, having made this deduction for the benefit of the British Museum, which is eventually to acquire them. But I am contented with the price, never having dreamt that they were of such value.

Allan Shand is coming to me tomorrow for a few days. He is retiring from the management of his bank. And Dickins comes on Tuesday.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

36.

4 August 1908

My dear Aston,

Gubbins' address is

c/o F.C. Gubbins Esq.

Nonington

Dover

The paper on Loochoo [Ryūkyū, Okinawa] reprinted by [James] Summers in the Phoenix as from the "Daily Press" is identical with what is given in Vol. I of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, as read by me in 1872. Howell used to print the papers read before the Society in his daily paper, which probably was called the Daily Press and then again the Weekly Issue of the Japan Times; at least that is as far as my memory goes. I suppose an accurate bibliographer ought to have found this out for himself.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

37.

11 August 1908

My dear Aston,

Many thanks for your article on the Japanese book of divination, which I have read with much interest. The use of the word bushido as early as the 18th century is noteworthy, as most people, among them myself, have thought it was quite a modern neologism.³⁶

Dickins left me yesterday having been here since Tuesday last. He talked incessantly the whole time, and wearied Shand, who was also here, and myself not a little. He is not a very cheerful companion, and has so much fault to find with things, books and men. It is a pity that he has not concentrated himself on one or two subjects, instead of spreading his effort over so wide a field of knowledge. Shand was delightful. I found him very agreeable, and he has read a great deal. His knowledge of the Popes is extraordinary. He retires from his bank on September 30.

I have not been very well lately, and my doctor seems to think it is an ulcerated duodenum. He has put me on bread and milk and other light foods and the results seem likely to be good. But I have to keep very quiet. Fortunately the only engagements I have at present are tea parties, to which one is not obliged to go. I expect my brother Sam's daughter to stay with me shortly to the end of November, a very nice intelligent girl who reads Dante and is studying the Greek Testament. In the latter part of September my brother-in-law Henry Tozer, formerly a don of Exeter College Oxford, is coming. And in October I hope to go for a fortnight to the Reays on Tweedside. Possibly I may go to Italy next spring; as I have no task – work at present I feel free to do a little travelling. This is a superb summer. I have sat out in the garden for many successive days.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

38.

August 13, 1908

My dear Aston,

The accompanying book which seems to be notes of lectures on Shintō by a man named Kume³⁷ may perhaps be of interest to you. It was sent to me by the Rev. John

³⁶ See for example Basil Hall Chamberlain's "Things Japanese".

³⁷ Probably Kume Kunitake (1839-1931) who was the official chronicler of the Iwakura Mission (1871-3) and in 1891 wrote a controversial paper about Shintō.

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Imai. As to Howell's paper I think you were right that it was the Daily Mail. I will try to find out from him. Possibly there may have been a paper at Hongkong of that name, which had reprinted the paper on Loochoo from the "Japan Mail", for Summers is more likely to have received China than Japan newspapers at that time of his life. I have been keeping quite quiet these last two days and that joined to a somewhat strict diet is doing me good.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

39.

16 August 1908

My dear Aston,

I wrote to Howell to ask what the "Daily Press" was. He says it was a Hongkong paper edited by one Murrow, a very able but cantankerous scribe. May it not be that Summers received a cutting only, and assumed that it was printed at Yokohama. I do not remember that any Yokohama paper of that period used to reprint our Asiatic papers from the Japan Mail.

Pray keep Kume's book on Shintō as your own property. It would not be of any use to me, for if I turned my attention to Japanese matters again it would only be to the Tokugawa history.

I am glad to say that I am much better these few days, owing no doubt to the strict diet of comminuted food prescribed by the doctor, who tells me to keep to it for a couple of months more. By the end of that time the habit will have so confirmed itself that I shall scarcely wish to return to solid beef and mutton.

Perhaps young Wilkinson has been appointed a diocesan inspector of Church of England schools. It is the only kind of inspectorate I have heard of.

I have had early apples out of my orchard called Beauty of Bath, a very pleasant fruit, but small.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

40.

13 September 1908

My dear Aston,

I am greatly obliged to you for the information about Hommiōji, which is all I wanted. A man named Gordon-Smith, who came to Japan in my time about ten years ago, asked

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me to look over the proofs of a collection of Japanese tales which A. & C. Black are publishing for him, and I had some difficulty in correcting the spellings of names, as he is not a good scholar. But I have managed to get them nearly all right, and this which you have given me was my last difficulty. In the typewritten copy that came with the proofs it appeared as Homiaju. But I have not got this piece of work off my hands. I sent you a copy of my Rede lecture a few days ago, which I hope may amuse you. It was a pleasure to write it, as I had not to ask the leave of the F.O. to print it, the subject being outside my former employment.

I am very sorry to hear you are suffering from insomnia. The best thing I have ever heard of as a remedy is sulphonel [sic. sulfonyl?], but I would not use it without consulting a doctor. My own health is better, but the last day or two I have had a recurrence of my discomforts, which I attribute to my imprudently eating a raw pear for breakfast. It is difficult to resist the temptation of apples and pears from one's own garden! I cannot recollect whether I told [F.O.] Adams that Susanoo is the God of Storms, it is more likely that he got it from Klaproth, who in a note to his translation of Ōdai Ichiran says "c'est le dieu des vents et des tempêtes".

I have been reading a rather interesting book by Dr. Cunningham on the Growth of English Industry & Commerce, which I borrowed from the London Library. My chapter on China and Japan in the Cambridge Modern History will extend to 64 pages, two thirds of which are Japan. The editors have been much more liberal than their first proposals. I hope to see the last proof in a week's time. I have also seen the proof of an article for the Quarterly on the establishment of the third republic, which may possibly come out in the October number. So now I am a man of leisure.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

41.

17 October 1908

My dear Aston,

It is some time since we exchanged notes about our state of health. I hope you are no longer suffering from insomnia. For my own part, though I am not troubled with much pain, in fact with very little, as long as I remain quite quiet, the doctors I have consulted all agree in attributing it to an ulcer of the duodenum, and have recommended what they call an 'exploratory operation'. So I am going up to town on Monday, to put myself in the hands of Mayo Robson, who is the leading surgeon for such cases, and am to be operated on on Wednesday. Do not trouble to answer this, for I can count on your

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sympathy. I shall take care that you get news from my brother [Sam] of how it goes off.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

42.

5 November 1908

22 [Beaumont] St. W.

My dear Aston,

Very many thanks for your letter. I am making a very satisfactory recovery, and feel every day stronger. It seems likely that I shall be allowed out of bed for an hour or two on Saturday or Sunday, and in a week or so from that I shall be fit to go home. What the surgeons found on opening me up was none of the things the various doctors had suspected, but "adhesions" caused by an inflamed condition of the appendix.³⁸ It is a good thing my own doctor urged an immediate operation, as other wise I should have been languishing at Beaumont on slops and getting no better. I am reading nothing but novels and newspapers, now and then a little poetry out of the Golden Treasury. But it will be pleasant to get back to something of a more solid character.

Don't you think that Dickins imagines the correspondence you and he exchanged after your wife's death was a tacit renewal of old relations? I agree that he behaved very badly about the review, but he has no sense of humour and would not be capable of enjoying a laugh against himself. He stayed with me some time in the summer, and monopolized the conversation so that none of my other guests could get a word in, and you know his foible, omniscience, so that we were rather relieved when he went. He is always in too deadly earnest.

I begin to feel sorry that I gave away to Chamberlain so many of my books when I left Japan because you seem to be constantly finding something interesting in the remains of the collection. I suppose nowadays the ceremonies connected with housebuilding are not much more than setting up a gohei on the ridge pole, and broaching a tub of saké. Have you tried sulphonel as a soporific; it is rather depressing, I find, but very effectual taken a couple of hours in advance.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

³⁸ In Satow's diary for November-December 1908 (PRO 30/33 16/10) he writes: "I had greatly dreaded the operation, and it was a great relief to find that nothing of what the doctors apprehended had been found, neither ulcer of the duodenum, gastritis nor cancer. Bartlett says that an incision was made into the duodenum to see, and then was sown up again. I felt that I had come back from the jaws of death."

43.

1 December 1908

My dear Aston,

I have often been thinking of you, and wishing to write, but I am afraid procrastination has laid hold of me, and your card of yesterday has brought it home to my conscience. I came back [from London] on November 16, was rather fatigued by the journey, and overdid it, so that a couple of days later my temperature went up nearly to 101°. The doctor ordered rest in bed, from which I only escaped yesterday. It still goes up to a little over 99° in the afternoon, but that is nothing serious and is probably only the result of weakness. I hope to get over it in time, and the London surgeon said it would be two or three months before I was quite myself again. As far as the operation goes that was a complete success. I have just been for half an hour's toddle round the garden, which was a great delight.

Here is a Japanese magazine devoted to teaching English which may interest you. Do not trouble to send it back. Hall has no doubt sent you his translation of a French book on Positivist Morals. It is pathetic to see how ardent he still is in the pursuit of his hobby.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

44.

January 27, 1909

My dear Aston,

I am very much relieved to hear you are getting better. Tuke and Gubbins were here last Friday and gave me encouraging news of you. They said you were looking remarkably well. When it gets a little warmer I hope to drive over and see you. My health is excellent, but for what looks like a slight attack of gout, which will no doubt speedily yield to treatment. I have been doing a fair amount of walking lately, and my digestion is in excellent order. Poor old Boyce died after an operation for stone; I had a note from some one who wrote at Ee Yuan his house at Hampton Wick. Just a few days before I had been thinking much about him, as I had not received the usual new year's card, and then suddenly came the news of his death. I have not heard who is going to do the Japan chapter for the Cambridge Modern History. [J.H.] Gubbins could have done it if the F.O. had not stepped in and interfered. I suppose Gubbins told you that [H.] Cockburn is expected to retire from Seoul, and that [John Carey] Hall has been

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recommended by Sir Claude [MacDonald] as his successor, but as Cockburn has still three months' leave to enjoy the announcement will not come yet. It does not seem a very good choice, for Hall is as deaf as a post and his knowledge of Japanese is poor. I am reading everything I can get hold of on the history of Maritime war, with special reference to the attempt of Napoleon to exclude British trade from the [European] continent and of the famous Orders in Council by which we blockaded the coasts of France and her allies. It is an interesting subject, and has links with our work at the Hague the year before last. If you would care to read my article in the Quarterly, I shall be delighted to send it to you. It is hardly fair to inflict one's performances on one's friends, but as you were tolerant of my Rede lecture I think I may even offer this.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

45.

29 January 1909

My dear Aston,

I am very glad to hear you are so much better, and I shall hope to be able to come over and lunch with you, if not next week, the week after next. What I thought was gout the doctor says was nothing of the kind, but merely the result of overstraining the muscles. He tells me I have a varicose vein, and I am wearing an elastic woollen bandage. Whether that is expected to correct it or not I don't know, but it enables me to walk about a little.

I have sent you the Quarterly. Wenckstern is a ridiculous person. His reprinting Pagè's bibliography without corrections is a proof of how little he knows. It is the case that I translated the first four books of the Guashi and that they were published in the Japan Mail about the early seventies. The Japan Society proposed a year or two ago to reprint them, but the project seems to have fallen through. My translation was very bald, and probably contained a good many mistakes, but I have no means of correcting them. I am reading some controversies on maritime law, about which we came to loggerheads with the Americans early last century, and am coming to the conclusion that there is very little law but a good deal of expediency as it appears to the stronger party in these questions. One may talk of international law in peacetime, but in war there is little but the mailed fist to appeal to.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

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46.

6 February 1909

My dear Aston,

I am very glad to hear that my article in the Quarterly has met with your approval. I did not mention de la Gorce [Goree?] in connection with the Mexican expedition, for I have not been able to read him. He is on my list, but I have a quantity of things yet to read in connexion with the two subjects that I think I have mentioned, the Rule of the war of 1756 and the Orders in Council issued by way of retaliation for the Berlin and Milan decrees. I am not able to say when I shall come over to see you, and therefore would be much obliged if you would send on the Quarterly to a friend to whom I had promised it.

Mrs. Hamilton Currey
at Glen Barrahan
Castle Townshend
Co. Cork.

The Faverolles [a breed of chicken] are certainly very good for the table, and not bad layers. My last years birds began to lay in November: at present however I only get about one egg a week from each hen.

It is a pleasure to hear that you have found some books on magic, as it proves to me that you are making progress. I am getting on slowly, but the bandage I wear enables me to walk a little. I am going to town on Monday to dine with the foreign members of the Naval Conference, which seems to be approaching the term of its labours. It owes its being called together partly to a suggestion I made during the Hague Conference, in order to avoid having to discuss questions for which we were not fully prepared. But I have little knowledge of their proceedings nor of the results achieved, except what I read in the newspapers.

I have my brother in law Henry Tozer with me still, and his wife comes back from Teignmouth next week. We have been enjoying fine bracing weather here.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

47.

24 March 1909

My dear Aston,

It seems a very long time since I heard of you, which is no doubt my own fault. The weather lately has either been too cold or too rainy for me to drive over and see you, but

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I want to do it as soon as I can find a nice day for the purpose. My sister Mrs. Tozer & her husband who have been staying with me since the middle of December have now left me, and I feel rather dull. Although he is 80 and not robust, he got into excellent training as a pedestrian, and became able to take as long walks as myself. Gubbins has made up his mind to retire in September, and is to be the lecturer on Japanese at Oxford. His retirement has to be agreed to by the F.O. and then he will officially accept the other thing. I hope it will be a success. If he has one fault it is that of taking too much time over polishing up what he writes. I should expect to find that mixing with Oxford men will quicken his methods of work; he has lived too much alone all these years.

My garden is doing well, the bulbs are coming on bravely, and there is a good promise of flower on the *Prunus triloba*, which last year had absolutely nothing but leaves. I was partly consoled for this by learning that Cunningham had been equally unsuccessful. From my greenhouse I have been having supplies of lovely roses, and I have plenty of violets.

I am still looking at old incidents in International Law, but beyond making notes have not put pen to paper. On the 21st April I am going to speak at a Primrose League meeting at Sidmouth and have to write out my speech. The subject will be "Lords & Commons", a vindication of the hereditary principle as compared with the elective, and probably also Tariff Reform. And I think I shall say something about naval affairs, which seem to be in a bad way.³⁹

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

48.

23 April 1909

My dear Aston,

I am very glad to hear that you are no longer troubled by insomnia, which is a most troublesome thing to get rid of. February was too cold and March too wet for me to come over, I was away at Easter and since then have had people staying with me. It was Chamberlain's brother Henry, the naval man who was with me this week for Primrose League meetings here and at Sidmouth. And on the 27th I am going to town for three weeks to work at the Record Office and to see various people. I am indeed sorry that I

³⁹ Henry Chamberlain, younger brother of Basil Hall Chamberlain, came down to Ottery St. Mary on April 19th and lectured on "Patriotism" to the Primrose League on that day and also on April 21st after Satow gave his talk. (Satow's diary, PRO 30/33 16/10)

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shall be away when you are at Sidmouth. My address there was well received, and the greater part was printed in yesterday's Western Morning News. I devoted my efforts to defending the house of Lords as not more anomalous than the H. of C. quite a reactionary speech, I hope. I daresay the Sidmouth paper will give it in full, as I left a typewritten copy behind for that purpose. The Tylors of Oxford were there, and have been over here to lunch. His memory has become very defective.

I am running up to town today, returning this evening.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

49.

27 May 1909

My dear Aston,

I was truly delighted to see you looking so well yesterday, much better than you have looked for some time past, in fact ever since I saw you in 1906. So I hope the improvement will be maintained, and that when the weather is dry and warm you will be able to come over here for a stay. Probably you would like to make arrangements with the new nurse before you make a move. As I have three spare bedrooms, I can put up your sister and the nurse as well as yourself, and there is a little sitting room next to the drawing room where your sister could work and write her letters. I got back yesterday quite dry in very good time, about two hours, taking it easily. Here is Redesdale's pamphlet, and I am sending you the Royal Asiatic Society's transactions and a photograph taken six years ago.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

50.

May 30, 1909

My dear Aston,

I send you the M.S of my address to the Budleigh Salterton Primrose Leaguers on Tariff Reform. You will say that at the end it winds up with an appeal ad captandum populum.⁴⁰ But do not condemn Tariff Reform on this very incomplete vindication of the theory. There is more to be said on another occasion. It seems to me quite reasonable to raise revenue by taxing manufactured articles that compete with our own, as is done by other nations - and it cannot be shown that they are impoverished thereby. Tea used

⁴⁰ An argument appealing to the gullibility of readers.

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to be taxed much higher than at present. In 1861 a motion to reduce the duty to 1/- a pound was defeated in the house of commons. The Spectator of yesterday has an interesting article, drawn from Bastiat, on Free Trade, but it is not altogether convincing. My argument may be summed up in this way, that if you handicap the clever boys in a class the total amount of learning will be diminished, but no boy will have a better chance of the prize than his competitors. I suppose the answer to this will be that the result will be a dead level of ignorance. But the result of protection is not a dead level of poverty, so the only conclusion I can come to is the old one, than [sic. that?] argument from analogy is weak.

I agree with what you say about Redesdale's pamphlet, it is more brilliant in parts than convincing.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

51.

July 31, 1909

My dear Aston,

I read your paper on the incest tabu with much interest. You seem to me to have completely refuted Messrs. Ellis and Crawley. I shall look forward to your denunciation of Revon: his notion that the norito are magical formulae is ridiculous. No one capable of reading them in the original could entertain such an idea for a moment, unless he gives an entirely new meaning to the word magic. By the way, could not nonsense etymology, such as in Edkins' China's Place in Philology be stretched a little to prove the identity of maji-nai [Japanese: 呪い spell, charm, incantation, mumbo jumbo] and magic. I have often thought it would be amusing to construct a paper on the subject, but have never kept notes. You know my favourite fune [J: 船 boat] and Latin funis a rope, kuro [J: 黒 black] and crow; and doubtless there are many other similar cases. But this is a digression. It seems to be rather a French habit to appropriate other men's work, and to ignore the authors. Rosny was great at that.

When at Bath ten days ago I was shown the Roman baths and the Abbey by a very competent local antiquary named Winwood, and another day a Seend [Wiltshire] resident took Dickins and me to Avebury, the remains of which are extremely interesting. Sir John Lubbock owns a field or two there in justification of the title he took. Wiltshire seems to abound in prehistoric and historic sites. Botanically it is also worth visiting. I saw by the roadside a magnificent wild geranium, pratense, quite worth transplanting to my garden if it were the right time of year. On my way home I had a few minutes at

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Trowbridge, and was able to walk down into Salisbury to see the Cathedral, which is inspiring by its size and the fine situation in a big close. Shand was with me last week for a few days; ⁴¹ I took him to see Sidmouth and Budleigh. The latter is the less sophisticated of the two, and from the golf links one gets a fine view of the coast as far as Beer [where Aston was living]. Our Primrose League fête is at last over & I am once more my own man. Next spring I hope to give up the Secretaryship.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

52.

9 August 1909

My dear Aston

Let me add to the list of nonsense derivations hontō from övrwg[?]. Doubtless there are more. Tanto from the same word in Spanish or Portuguese does not seem quite impossible.

I am rather alarmed at the news that Japan is going to reconstruct the Antung-Mukden railway in spite of Chinese opposition, and that the Japanese War Office says it is quite prepared. What will the army that Yuan Shihkai organized do under the circumstances? If China tries to oppose force, the result can but be her defeat and the loss of Southern Manchuria. [George Ernest] Morrison's telegrams seem to indicate that he is egging on the Chinese government. He used to be pro-Japanese, he is now anti. The interference in politics of newspaper correspondents like Morrison and Harris (in Morocco) is pernicious.

Your suggestion about the names of certain birds in Japanese is excellent. I am beginning to think that the language must have separated from its congeners at a very early stage of development, and that a great part of its etymology is so to speak indigenous and independent of corresponding forms in Korean or the two tartar tongues.

I read the statement somewhere about my having succeeded to the vacancy left by Lafcadio Hearn and was much amused. The writer of the paragraph had apparently never heard of you or Chamberlain or the little German Jew [Karl Adolf Florenz?] who pursues Japanese philology and literature.

Gubbins is preparing 3 lectures on the progress of Japan to be delivered at Oxford in the course of next term. I think they will be good, for he writes well.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

⁴¹ Shand was with Satow from July 22nd to July 26, 1909. (Diary, PRO 30/33 16/11)

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[End of PRO 30/33 11/3]

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to Frederick Victor Dickins & his wife.
February 1877- August 1890. (PRO 30/33 11/5)

Letters from Ernest Mason Satow to F.V. Dickins⁴² and his wife
PRO 30/33 11/5: February 1877 to August 1890 (41 letters)

Sheet of brown paper with writing probably in the hand of Dickins: "Letters from Ernest Satow to F.V. Dickins & his wife, from 1877 to 1915. Some interesting ones among them."

Letters from Japan

1.

["1877?" written in pencil at the top of the letter, probably by Dickins.]

My dear Dickins,

I send you a note in reply to L's [L=J.F. Lowder?] accusation that I was mistaken about sawa. He will see that he has been in too great a hurry.

想山著聞奇集 [Shōzan chomon kishū] is the name of the book on popular superstitions, of which I spoke, there are 5 volumes.

I owe you 60 cents of a yen. But I have ordered a copy of the Kuwawi to be sought out for you, and hope to set things right in that way. Reay come[s] up at the end of the week, unless the weather should continue to be what it is at present.

Your's sincerely

Ernest Satow

February 12

P.S. I think makomo [真菰] must be a sedge. Williams calls the Chinese equiv[alen]t watergrass. If you can find it out, will you kindly add additional footnote.

⁴² Dickins took his medical degrees at London University. In 1859 he qualified as a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and joined the Royal Navy as a ship's surgeon in 1862. From October 1864 to 1 February 1866 he was in charge of the naval sick-quarters in Yokohama. He returned to England in 1866 and on 21 November 1867 was admitted to the Middle Temple. On 10 June 1870 he became a barrister. He returned to Japan late in 1871 and was admitted to practise in the British consular courts. In the *Maria Luz* jurisdiction case he represented the Peruvian captain of the ship. In July 1878 he suffered a breakdown and on 1 January 1879 left Japan for good. Appointed Assistant Registrar of the University of London, 1882; and first Registrar, 1896. Retired in 1901 to live in Seend, Wiltshire where he died in 1915. Japanologist and translator.

See Peter F. Kornicki, 'Frederick Victor Dickins (1838-1915)', pp. 66-77, Chapter 6, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. III, ed. J.E. Hoare, Japan Library, 1999. See also 'Collected Works of Frederick V. Dickins,' introduced by Peter Kornicki, pub. Bristol: Ganesha and Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 1999. 7 vols.

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2.

[“1877 21 Mch” written in pencil at the top of the letter.]

My dear Dickins,

I thank you very much for your kind welcome back to Japan, and sincerely share your hope that we may be able to see more of each other than formerly, at both places. There will, I hope, be many subjects in which we can take a common interest; after all, with some aim to work for, Japan is not an intolerable place to live in; pleasures are fewer than at home, but there are more opportunities for doing useful work. I expect to be in Yokohama in a day or two, and will come to see you at your office.

Believe me,

Your's very sincerely

Ernest Satow

Yedo 21 March 1877

3.

Yedo

4 June 1877

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for the information contained in your note of the 25th, which I should have acknowledged sooner if I could have obtained some information about the exact period of the introduction of 女郎 [jorō] as the equivalent of whore. Of course it does not mean that originally, but rather the contrary, namely young maiden. Ominameshi [女郎花] was written originally ominaheshi, as the Wamiōshō [和名抄] shows. I think that meshi is probably a corruption of beshi for heshi, and that it is not likely to be meshi in the sense of food. This latter meshi I take to be the root of the verb mesu, to summon, or to require the services of, but I have not yet been able to trace it.

I cannot fairly say I am studying botany, but it is impossible not to do so to a certain extent if one wishes to learn ordinary Japanese plants & their native & scientific names, which I am at present partly engaged in doing.⁴³ I think of spending the next few years in collecting materials for a complete Japanese English dictionary on a systematic plan, and wish of course to insert the names of natural history objects as far as they have been

⁴³ Dickins was a competent botanist. “His special interest was ferns, which he collected around Yokohama and at Atami on the neck of the Izu Peninsula between 1863 and 1865, sending both living plants and drawings to Kew, where they were studied by J.D. Hooker. He also collected for Savatier (who named a *Dryopteris* after him) during the latter's residence in Japan.” Peter Barnes in ‘Japan's botanical sunrise: plant exploration around the Meiji Restoration,’ *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* **18(1)**: 117-131 (2001).

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ascertained. My devotion to plants is therefore not pure, but at the same time I should enjoy very much looking at your collection whenever it is convenient to you. After next week I know of no obstacle that could prevent my coming down to Yokohama for the purpose at any time you might name. Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

4.

Yedo

11 July 1877

Dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your emendations to my list of plants, which will be of great use to me.

The enclosed list contains several works in which the Chinese characters have no kana written at their sides. I think it is especially for this class of books and for all newspapers, proclamations and letters that the kind of dictionary which we propose is intended. A student coming across 時雨 in reading by himself would take a long time to find out that it meant shigure. So that we ought to insert all of that sort, as well as the double characters read by their on. [on-yomi] But in reading one comes across things which are different [sic. difficult?] to class at all. Where will you put 折? And there are lots of this [中] kind in the nō 能, of which I have read several lately, noting a large number of characters.

I see from your note that you include makura-kotoba [枕言葉 set expressions, usually of five hiragana characters used in poems] etc. in the plan, but I think it would be difficult to combine Chinese characters & Japanese words in one dictionary. I think we want a book which will enable a man to read Japanese written without kana at the side of the characters; separately from the dictionary like Hepburn's, which is for reading where the character may be disregarded. It is true that materials for both may be collected at the same time. I think that the Satomi Hakkenden [里見八犬伝]⁴⁴ has kana at the side so that it would not be useful for our present scheme. I do not attach much value to the 古言梯: there are better books of the kind. If you could contrive to come here on Sunday or stay over from Saturday till Monday, we might look over my

⁴⁴ Full title: *Nansō Satomi hakkenden*. 南総里見八犬伝 Illustrated historical romance of an allegorical nature published 1814-42 by fiction writer Takizawa Bakin. It describes how the fortunes of a warrior family defeated in the Kakitsu Rebellion (1441) are revived with the aid of eight "dog" warriors. (See Kodansha's *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1993)

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materials and books. After reading a couple more 能 [Nō plays] I must for a while turn away to read the Kokinshū [古今集 poetry collection completed about 905-914] and one or two other books, but after October I think I shall be free to work solely and energetically at the Dictionary of which the basis is the Chinese character. I cannot find my copy of the Karafuto nikki, but you will perhaps not mind sending me yours, when you have put your examples from it together. Pray let me know what I owe you for Savatier's ⁴⁵ volume, and forgive the muddled style of this letter.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

Various Chinese characters [The slip referred to in the second P.S. below? In the original they appear vertically from left to right.]:

日本史略
夏草
春草 M.S.
秋草
冬草
草莽危言
漢史試論
小言
令義解 今體各家文抄

5.

Yedo

September 4 [1877]

My dear Dickins

Many thanks for the plant names which I shall at once set to work to insert, and I will get Keiske to work on the slips with torn corners. The simplest way in applying for a passport is to ask for the provinces of Kōdzuke and Shinano. I think our best route would be to Maebashi in a trap, from which we can easily reach Ikao in less than a day on foot, and from there over to Asamayama and the surrounding plain. Then come back to Takasaki by the Nakasendō or by a pass a little South of the Usui pass and bye-roads. I do not want to return quite so soon as eight days from the time of starting, as I have promised to go back to Ikao to fetch my housekeeper, who is there for the baths. So we

⁴⁵ Paul Amadée Ludovic Savatier, a 19th century French botanist who studied Japanese botany.

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might part at Takasaki if you do not consider this a base desertion. There are coaches from Takasaki to Yedo, in one day, fare 1.40 with extra for luggage over about 30 catties. If you can get away from Yokohama on the preceding evening we might start early on the morning of the 12th, say five o'clock. Your servant can sleep at my house. I do not propose to take any European food, unless you think we ought to have a tin of bacon, and relying on your servant to pay the hotel bills, I shall not have a man with me. I shall not order the trap until I hear definitely from you about date.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

P.S. Do not trouble about sending up the thermometer: we may want it on the journey.

P.S. I enclose a specimen of the slips which I use for noting down words for the dictionary, and would suggest that if you would get some cut of the same size, it would immensely facilitate arrangement afterwards.

6.

Yedo

October 4. ["1877" written in pencil]

My dear Dickins,

I got back last night from Nikkô, having taken boat at Koga, and landed at the Ichikawa ferry about three ri from the Nihonbashi. In the ditches on the roadside I found four aquatic plants, which I cannot make out. Firstly blue, 6 petals, 6 stamens one of which had a black anther[portion of stamen containing pollen], 1 pistil and hastate [triangular, spear-shaped] leaves, abundant; secondly yellow flower, four to five petals, but generally five, edges fringed, five stamens & hairs about them, cordate leaf; thirdly, three petals of pale violet, 3 sepals [divisions or leaves of the calyx], 3 stamens, curious ridged ovary, on long stems, and fourthly a tall flower with pinkish petals in clusters. I could not reach this, as the ditch was too wide. Can you give me any indications of what they are? At Nikkô and on my way there I found little that we had not already collected together, except a rare fern called toko-warabi [蕨 bracken] by the Japanese, whose fruit grows on a separate stalk. I only saw two longer fronds and one fertile. On Nantaizan [Mt. Nantai] I found beech and mountain ash both in fruit, and brought away specimens, as I did of all other trees in any way remarkable. The middle of May seems according to all the answers I received, the best time for botanising there. I have brought back your glasses in safety, and return them with many thanks; they were very useful to me. Shirane is a most interesting volcano, and worth climbing a second time. I could not manage to get to Kôshinzan, as my time was limited, but I did both Oho-manago and

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Nantaizan from Yumoto. I hope to get down to Yokohama to have a talk with you shortly, till then adieu for the present.

Your's very truly,
Ernest Satow

7.

Yedo

8 October 1877

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for the hints to find the plants I asked you about. One is *Ottelia Japonica*, VII. 33 in *Sōmoku Dzusetsu* [草木図説]⁴⁶, the others I hope to find out with the aid of your indications. Next Sunday I am engaged, but I should be delighted to come down any evening during the week and return next morning, if convenient to you. Thursday or Friday would suit me very well. On the following Sunday if you happen to be going anywhere I shall be delighted to accompany you. Is not the marsh beyond Itabashi worth exploring?

I find the following heights

Ikao 2690 feet (mean of three observations)

Pass over to Asamayama

French system 4918

Engl. system 4757

Asamayama 8873

Kusatsu French 4378 4281

English 4045 4212

evening and morning

I cannot explain the discrepancy between the two sets of results. I have not reduced the barometer to zero, as the French system requires, and that may make a small difference, and then, the small English barometer has not been compared with any standard. I must have that done before starting on a new expedition.

Believe me,

Your's very truly,

Ernest Satow

⁴⁶ The *Sōmoku Zusetsu* by Iinuma Yokusai is a 30-volume dictionary about plants. The first twenty volumes were published in 1856-62, and the last ten volumes in 1977. Organised according to the method of Swedish botanist Carl von Linné (1707-78). (*Kojien*)

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8.

["1877?" written in pencil at the top.]

My dear Dickins,

There is a meeting of the Asiatic Society at Yedo on Saturday [October 27, 1877], at which Gubbins' review of the Introduction of Christianity into Japan & China is to be read, and I feel bound to be present, more particularly as I have some new details to communicate. Otherwise I should have enjoyed a trip to Enoshima with you very much. There are at present no patent laws in Japan. I made the enquiry a short time back for Robertson. Certain regulations were issued some years ago, but were afterwards annulled. I should like very much to read your Asamayama diary some time if it is not of a private nature. You seem to have had a troublesome case in the Court and a disagreeable opponent as well as His Honour, who really is the most self-important little snob I ever came across.

I am in no hurry to have the Code words back, for my man will not begin copying the Monzen jibiki till next month, and he will be three or four months employed on that before beginning to classify materials; so take your time over them. If you can get the chronometer I will provide myself with a sextant. Would it be best to write home for one or try at Van Lissa's.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow October 22nd.

9.

["1877?" written in pencil at the top.]

My dear Dickins,

I send you a copy of Itô Keiske's catalogue of the plants in the botanical garden at Ko-ishikawa, from which I have been able to confirm and add to your list of plants. There are one or two in yours which I think are not correct. You gave dôdau as the equiv[alen]t of *Andromeda japonica*, after Savatier, but Itô says that it is the *Asebi* and momi for *Taxus Cuspidata*, which is suwô. *Momi* is, I believe, *Abies firma*. The list of names which you were uncertain about Keiske has taken away with him, and promises the Latin equivalent. Thanks to you the new edition will be rich in plant and tree names, and correct too. I have inserted all Itô's list of conifers under their Latin equivalent. When the printer begins to work I shall send you the proofs so that you may not be responsible for anything that you have not approved.

The enclosed is a note of the expenditure incurred on our joint account at Ikao and

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paid by me, namely 25.764 yen. I cannot make this slip out; it seems to be leatherwort, but I do not see it in the Index to Bentham: would you mind writing both words out quite distinctly for me.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

November 12

P.S. Itô p. 46 gives Sanshiyu for the enclosed cornus officinalis.

10.

["1877?" written in pencil at the top.]

My dear Dickins,

Thanks for Keiske's list and your note upon it, of ferns. I shall only put in those which have common English names, such as bracken and Osmunda. Next Sunday I should like to bring down the dictionary and a few ferns which I cannot make out, if you could spare time; I want to go through some of the botanical terms with you. Let us declare the accounts settled. I find Bentham gives Horsetail for equisetilum[?] & marestalk to a flowering plant. Is the tokusa which one sees in Japanese gardens the same as tsukudzukushi equisetum. What is the English of Callistephus Sinensis, & can you tell me the scientific name of yudzuri-ha an evergreen tree.

Your's very truly

Dec.16 Ernest Satow

11.

["1877?" written in pencil at the top.]

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for the list of plants with your corrections. It is a pity that karatachi is not Osage or angle. Hepburn has Aegle sepiaria: is that right? I am much obliged for the names of our booty of yesterday. But audaciously I venture to ask whether the Orythya may not be edulis: in some of my specimens there are two flowers to a plant. And 3 stamens long to 3 short. Is not the tall white violet we found Viola Reichenbachiana?

About the Hachijō paper. I wish if you have time you would add to it whatever it requires in the way of detailed or omitted facts, and say something about the Flora, and then we might give it to the Asiatic Society as our joint work. ⁴⁷ And I think we ought

⁴⁷ See 'Notes of a Visit to Hachijo in 1878' With Ernest Satow (Paper read on 22 June 1878) *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. 6. pt. 3 (1878), pp. 435-89. Reproduced in 'Collected Works of Frederick V. Dickins,' Vol. 1, pub. Edition Synapse

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to say somewhere that Dickins & Satow were the people who visited the island, on such & such a date: otherwise our information will have the air of having come out of the clouds.

Sanshiyu is a synonym for Yamagumi. The flowers are tiny yellow things in bunches, which appear before the leaves. Cornus[Cornio?] officinalis according to Savatier is l. 5 in the Kuwawi, and Sanshiyu is the second name given there.

Your's very Truly

Ernest Satow Monday evening [No date given.]

12.

["1877" written in pencil at the top.]

My dear Dickins,

I shall be delighted to come down on Sunday, and have a look at the herbarium and some talk about dictionaries. Your plan is an excellent one, and would be worth trying to carry out. Many of the double characters in use in Japanese come from the classics & Chooke's commentary, from which one might quote the original passage. A dictionary which would serve as a working basis has lately been published by a Japanese, and requires little more than rearrangement of the articles: it is founded on Kanghi's 214 radicals, I have collected nearly all the double characters in the Shinritsu Kōrei [*Shinritsu Kōryō*, 新律綱領, Japan's first national code of criminal law promulgated by the Dajōkan, published in February 1871], & shall set to work on its continuation shortly, but from my ignorance of legal terms I find it very difficult to find good equivalents. Might we not do something by combining our labours?

Au revoir, With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins

Believe me,

Your's very sincerely

Ernest Satow

Thursday [No date given.]

13.

["1878" written in pencil at the top.]

My dear Dickins,

Thank you very much for Key's Essays, which I shall read with great interest. Ching and I will have great pleasure in dining with you the night before the steamer sails, and I accept your offer of a bed with many thanks. I will ask Willis today at tiffin to accept

(Tokyo), 1999.

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your invitation. I had no notion that your arm was so constantly painful, as you did not complain about it, but surely the weather was partly to blame for our not getting more plants. That journey round the mountain ought to be done somehow or other. Ching was very glad to get back to comfort, and a dry climate, but for my own part the excursion we made was so delightful that I should have liked to prolong it further. À revoir the night before she sails.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

7 August

14.

Yedo

February 17, 1879.

My dear Dickins,

The dictionary ⁴⁸ is at last completed, & I had the pleasure of sending a copy of it to Bellasis for you, which he promised to forward to your address in Paris by the mail a week ago. Pray let me know whether it has reached you, and whether you find many mistakes. That there are myriads of omissions I know full well, and have already collected several score additional words for the chance of a third edition. You know how retired a life I lead, & that what goes on in Yokohama is out of my range, so forgive me if I am deficient in news. The important matter to us in the legation is the arrival of [John G.] Kennedy [to be Secretary of Legation] in place of [Augustus H.] Mounsey, and the consequent probability that Sir Harry will go home on leave. If he does, I shall have more leisure than at present for various pieces of work on which I am engaged. There are no present signs of Balfour to edit the Japan Mail, which is getting feebler every day and will probably die for want of subscriptions. [Charles] Rickerby is said to have some temporary employment on the Japan Gazette. Everything is very quiet in the political world, but it is said that we have had an unseasonably mild winter and that the crops of rice & wheat will not be up to the average this year; if so, the farmers may give trouble. I hope to learn that you have borne the journey well, and that both Mrs. Dickins and you have enjoyed Italy.

With kind regards to her and love to the children,

Believe me,

⁴⁸ The second edition of E. Satow and Masakata Ishibashi's *English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language*, first published in 1876. (London: Trübner & Co.; Yokohama: Lane, Crawford & Co.)

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Yours very truly
Ernest Satow

15.

Yedo

April 22, 1879

My dear Dickins,

I was delighted to get your letter from Hyeres [Hyères les Palmiers, between St Tropez and Toulon] and to learn that you were safe in Europe again. Of course you must do the Italian trip, but do not go before October: in Florence even it is horribly hot in September, but perhaps Bologna might be tolerable. You would be charmed with the Gallery and the brick churches there, to say nothing of the University buildings and the quaint arcaded streets. Still it is a pity to begin one's Italy at the wrong end, as all people from the north do.

Two of my sisters wrote to me by the last mail that they were going on a trip to the south of France, and I hoped you might perhaps fall in with them, but they are going on to Cannes, Bordighera & San Remo, and as you are to stay at Hyères, there is no chance. Their names are [Margaret Agneta] Allen [1835-1910] & [Augusta Henrietta] Tozer [1839-1910] in case you should after all be in the same place, and they would know you at once by name. I am sorry to find that you have not yet recovered all of your ancient strength, but hope you will be moderate and patient. In Godwin's Life I read the other day how he at a very early period was obliged to limit the number of hours he devoted to literary work, and to go as much as possible into society: which is what you ought to do, but it must be interesting society such as one can talk to. Pray always consider me at your service if you want anything from Japan in the way of books or information that can only be got from learned natives. I shall be very glad to know that you will take interest in the subjects which here take up half my life. What are you doing with the *Sette dei della Felicità*? [Seven Happy Gods, Shichi Fuku Jin 七福神] You promised to translate it for our Society.⁴⁹

Anderson ⁵⁰ is at last coming out with something about Japanese art, but chiefly

⁴⁹ Dickins did fulfil his promise. See 'The Seven Gods of Happiness: Essay on a Portion of the Religious Worship of the Japanese. Translated from the Japanese by Carlo Puini, and from the Italian into English by F. V. Dickins' (Paper read 11 June 1880) *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. 8, pt. 4 (December 1880), pp. 427-61. Reproduced in 'Collected Works of Frederick V. Dickins,' Edition Synapse, 1999.

⁵⁰ Dr W. E. Anderson, employed at the Japanese naval hospital, 1873-80. He was Satow's host in London, 1883-84.

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historical I believe at present. He is going to produce a work on the subject, with lots of illustrations, which will do a great deal to overthrow the current errors. I have undertaken to go through the religious and historical subjects, he does the critical and aesthetic part. Sir Rutherford Alcock has lately published a book called Art and Art-industries which is great rubbish. Among other things he calls the Lime Polygonum aculeatum and says that the moxa ⁵¹ is made of cotton! Borrow the book to laugh over, but do not buy it. For him Mr Jarves is an apostle; he knows of Japanese artists only Hokusai; whom he multiplies or rather subdivides into a whole school. My man is still working at collecting materials for the great Sinico-Japanese Thesaurus, but he has not arranged more than one half; the number of boxes of slips, about 20 inches long, is several tens already. I have lately got hold of a man with many original ideas upon Shintau, an especially about the myths, which he explains in a way that just suits the European sense. We are working through the norito [祝詞 Shinto prayers] together, and intend afterwards to gut the mythological books of all that is interesting in them. He also knows no end of Buddhism. He is the first Japanese of real learning that I ever met. I send your Transactions of the Asiatic Society to Bellasis, and hope he forwards them to you regularly. If you meet W.G. Howell, assure him of my unaltered regard. The debt I owe him for encouraging me to care for music is enormous. Of course it is impossible for us to write frequently to each other: there is not time in this world for general correspondence, but friendship is very feeble if it cannot exist without letters. One of my dearest relations never writes to me at [all] except by accident. You will no doubt see Russell Robertson. Pray stimulate him about getting my name put down as a candidate for the Oriental Club, as he promised to do. I wrote six months ago to him, and have got no answer. If you see old Pagès ⁵² in Paris remember me kindly to him. I envy his collection of Jesuit letters as far as it is permitted to a lover of virtue to be guilty of envy. My warmest regards to Mrs. Dickins: I hope she does not regret Yokohama, better fifty years of Europe than the Chinese cycle of sixty years. If you meet Tennyson do not omit to quote this line and explain it to him.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

⁵¹ moxa: a downy substance from the dried leaves of *Artemisia moxa* etc. burnt on the skin in oriental medicine as a counter-irritant. [Jap. *mogusa* 艾 from *moe kusa*, burning herb]. (Concise Oxford Dictionary)

⁵² Léon Pagès (1814-1886). French scholar. Attached to French mission in China, later an orientalist in Paris. Author of various books, including a French version of a Japanese-Dutch dictionary.

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16.

Yedo

July 25, 1879

My dear Dickins,

I was delighted to get the envelope containing letters from yourself and Mrs. Dickins written in May, with such good accounts. I hope you will not find it necessary to come out here again, for selfish motives apart, I should not wish it for your sakes or those of the children, but you must know all that so much better than I can. As long as we can write to each other now and then, I shall be the gainer by having some one to visit and carry off on continental tours when I next come to Europe: a few months in Spain & Portugal would be most valuable in the book collecting way, and it would be so easy to pick up a fair reading knowledge, which ought always to be supplemented by colloquial. I am at present brushing up my Chinese with an old Chinaman who half belongs to the legation, and I find that the spoken language throws a great deal of light upon the Chinese vocables in Japanese, especially those used in the newspapers. One of my dreams, probably never destined to be realized, is being attached to Peking for a year, so as to get some direct personal knowledge of the country and people, for I am more than ever convinced that no one can be a good scholar in Japanese matters, who does not know enough Chinese history, philosophy and customs to sift out what is of genuine Japanese from what is of Chinese origin. It would not be wise to sacrifice one's European leave to this object, because the latter is absolutely necessary as mental medicine. Summer here seems to do the greatest moral mischief. All the people one knows go into the country for two months, and one is left all that time to get more and more confirmed in habits of depending on oneself for making the day pass, and the difficulty of taking part in social pleasures becomes greater at the end of each succeeding Summer. This is a form of moral disease that nothing can cure but a visit to Europe away from the resources one has created here, so that it is absolutely necessary to practice taking interest in other people and their concerns. Life is by no means irksome here, but it is distinctly more vegetative than in Europe: few people feel the difference, and you see men contentedly staying on here ten years, and still putting off going to Europe. I think I must have already told you of my journey last May to Yamato, which I explored pretty thoroughly and then visited Kauya-san and Kumano. In spite of a great deal of rain, I enjoyed it thoroughly, and having now made acquaintance with the historical sites that lie huddled together within a few miles of Nara in such large numbers, shall in future understand very much better all that I read. My way back lay along the Taukaidau, [Tōkaidō 東海道] which I had not traversed for 12 years. It was

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very little altered, except by the substitution of zhinrikisha [人力車 rickshaw] for kago [駕籠 palanquin]. I am engaged in writing [a] 'guidebook' to my trip, and it will probably appear in the 'Japan Mail', which is now under the editorship of [H.] Gribble. It is a great pity that its owners have identified themselves so much with ultra-advocacy of Japanese interests, even if they be not Japanese themselves indeed, for the defence of English policy ought not to be left to such low creatures as the Herald and Gazette. Chamberlain has joined Hawes and myself in the compilation of the guidebook, and will undertake this city [Yedo]. We have resolved to speak according to the kana, for the sake of consistency, and I am inclined to hope that educated people will more and more see the justice of spelling Japanese in Japanese fashion, instead of treating it as an illiterate dialect of savages which can only be written phonetically. Of course the general public will go on its many diverse ways of spelling, for no one would ever give himself the trouble to learn how Japanese names are really pronounced, and would be consequently unable to apply any phonetic system however perfect. Attacks are made from time to time upon us in the newspapers by people who do not understand any Japanese and consequently are feeble in their arguments. I do not believe for my own part that controversy is of any value about matters of taste or opinion, and just leave them to say what they like. Dr. Rein has proposed to me to join him in producing a large map of Japan and an explanatory volume to be brought out in English & German, the latter of course at Gotha by Perthes, the former somewhere in London, and I have stipulated that the spelling shall be in accordance with the kana as the condition of my assistance. It is too early to get a reply from him, but if he agrees, then the resulting map and volume will do a good deal towards settling the spelling in Germany at least, supposing our work to be sufficiently practical and authoritative in matters of fact. We have not yet decided what we will do about printing our guidebook, but I am very desirous of at least offering it to Murray to form part of his series, and we intend to pay special attention to art, history, legend and religious details, so as to bring it into something like accordance with the plan of most of his. In case we found it necessary to ask some one to correct the proofs, do you think you could find time to do it? I should like to know more about the plan of the book which you propose to bring out about Hokusai [Katsushika Hokusai, 1760-1849 葛飾北斎], before saying yes to your proposal, but in any case you may feel certain of what ever help I can give you in explanation of his [wood]cuts. It would only be necessary for you to send me queries, stating the volume and page of the Manguwa, and I would do my best to get whatever information is procurable. A few days ago I picked up a clean good copy of the Kuwa-wi in a bookshop, which I intend sending to you whenever I can find an

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opportunity. We have had a great deal of excitement lately about cholera and quarantine. The Japanese Govt. declare that cholera of a contagious and malignant type has broken out at Ohozaka [Osaka] and other places, and have established quarantine at Yokohama for ships, and at Mishima and other points on the chain of mountains which surrounds the Yedo plain in order to keep the disease out of the capital. The independent doctors and even some of the employés of the Japse. Govt. (excuse abbreviations) mostly declare it to be nothing more than ordinary summer cholera produced by unwholesome green fruit, dirt, iced water, and the heat. My own belief has always been that the whole thing is got up by them to try how far they can assert their direct authority over foreigners, and that what they call "cholera" is nothing more than what has been common here every season during the hot months. But like "protection" it is a splendid cry, and dazzles the eyes of the people. Bingham is of course more Japanese than the Japanese themselves, and has his reward by being declared the 'best friend of Japan' while England, Englishmen and the English minister are the object of daily attacks in the native press, till at last one begins to think there is something in these allegations. Yet if we look round at Frenchmen and Germans, to say nothing of Japanese, we see them acting quite as much in their own exclusive interest. Rumours are flying around that there will be something like a rupture between China and Japan on the Loochooan [Ryūkyūan, Okinawan] question, and that several members of this Govt. are very bellicose, while the wiser heads are anxious to preserve the peace. If I were a Loochooan, I should feel as they do, that it would be much pleasanter to go on in the old style than to be forcibly civilised by a set of gentlemen from Yedo in badly fitting black coats and white shirts a fortnight old. The Chinese are very unlikely to make it a casus belli [excuse for war], but one thing is quite certain, namely that community of feelings and aims between the two nations is impossible. Treaty Revision makes no progress, and will not as long as the Japanese insist upon making the tariff just as they please. You have no doubt observed Bourke's reply that Sir Harry had been instructed to receive proposals for revising it, which means that England intends to bind the Japanese for another series of years. We have seen notices of Mr. Reed's intention to bring out a book of travel in Japan, which will be rather a hodgepodge. The "Herald" added that [William] Anderson, Brinkley and I had supplied him with materials for chapters on art, history and mythology, but at once contradicted it as far as I was concerned. Anderson and Brinkley have it appears given him a few notes. My corpulent naval friend Ching was here the other day in the "Iron duke", of which he is commander. He was of course very sorry to find you had gone away, especially Mrs. Dickins, the confidante of all his blasted affections. I hope that is not swearing. This time I refrained from taking [him]

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up [Mount] Fughi [Fuji], but kept him a week in the house with plenty to eat and drink, so that he was in a good temper the whole time. It is true I treated him in a shameful manner last time, lugging him up the Hakone pass all in the heat. But I must close for the present. A thousand remembrances to Mrs. Dickins, to whom I shall write in a day or two.

Yours very truly
Ernest Satow

17.

Yedo

October 29, 1879.

My dear Dickins,

I took your letter of July 29th into the country last week in order to answer it, but found that after writing guidebook notes of what I had seen and the usual entries in my journal that I had no energy left to use the pen, and so brought it back unverrichteter Sache [as unfinished business]. My route was in the three provinces on the other side of Yedo Bay, among the celebrated temples, of which the ancient temple of Kadori, Narita and Ko-Minato are the most important. The country being cultivated to an intense degree, there was little or nothing to be done in the way of botanising, but after having been at Yedo all the summer I felt the need of a little exercise. The temperature towards the Pacific is much warmer than at Yedo and Yokohama, which is proved too by the fact that the orange is successfully cultivated on the coast below Chôshi point at the mouth of the Tonegawa. At Narita there are some elaborate carvings of the Five Hundred Rakan [五百羅漢], on six large panels nine feet by four, and on the doors are panels carved with the Chinese Twenty Four Paragons of Filial Piety. It is magnificently surrounded by trees, and the piety of its devotees, chiefly ladies of song and dance, keep it in a constant state of good repair.

You will have heard of course of Sir Harry's sudden departure caused by his wife's illness. He left on the 11th October, and great relief was felt at once. He is an excellent painstaking official, but he did not manage to make himself agreeable either to his colleagues, subordinates or to the Japanese with whom he came in contact. He is what they call an ingrata persona. Of course we all enjoy the leisure produced by his absence, and I hope to get through some work, especially as Aston has returned a few days ago, and there is not work enough to occupy us both. We no longer sit in the Chancery at fixed hours whether there is work or not, which is one of Sir Harry's favourite ways of making one waste time. The report is current here, or rather at Yokohama, that

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Robertson is going to marry Miss Evelyn Cargill as soon as he is free, but there is so much gossip at the "Port" that one does not know what to believe. He is much to be felicitated on having made up his mind to get rid of his Jezabel. I have seen notices of Mr. Pfoundes⁵³ or Pounds' Nippon Institute, and thought it too ambitious altogether. No communications have reached us from it, and I do not expect that any will. You really ought not to give it your countenance. The man is a charlatan and knows nothing. He wrote a Budget of Japanese Notes which were utterly valueless. Aston was asked to join it, but of course refused. I was surprised to see the names of so many people quoted in connection with the affair. I am on the lookout for makimono [scrolls, 巻き物] for you, but as you know, curios are not much in my line, and Bellasis tells me he has an order from you also for the same. We went one day to a shop to look at some, but the owner being out we decided upon nothing. There is little known about Hokusai's life beyond what Anderson has put in his paper on the history of Japanese pictorial art, a preliminary sketch only, wch. [which] you will receive in the Transactions a little altered from the form it took in the "Mail". He and I seriously think of uniting our forces for a book on the whole subject of Japanese art, and to my share falls the recounting of legends and myths from Chinese & Japanese history & religions. Burty has kindly promised to aid us in bringing out a French edition. If you do not intend to translate [Carlo] Puini's *Sette dei della Felicità* pray return it to me, for it was my only copy.⁵⁴ I am afraid I do not know enough of the modern Japanese drama to undertake the article you suggest, and of course am quite ignorant of the Chinese theatre. Chamberlain & I however hope to go to China on a three months visit next year, when we shall see a great deal that will throw light upon our Japanese studies. We are diligently working at Mandarin with this object. I am still collecting materials for the

⁵³ Condor Pfoundes is mentioned in PRO 30/33 5/9. See H.M. Consul at Kobe John Carey Hall's letter to Satow, dated January 8, 1899. Pfoundes, then resident in Kitano-cho, Kobe, had written to Lord Charles Beresford, a British M.P. and naval expert then visiting China and Japan on December 27, 1898 "that very satisfactory arrangements have been made here to welcome your lordship on arrival, and hold a public reception in the large hall of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce building, granted for the purpose." Pfoundes had no authority to write on behalf of Kobe, and denied that he had done so to the *Kobe Chronicle*. Satow was "much amused with the Pfoundes episode and the Kobe Chronicle on him" but had heard nothing from either Beresford or the F.O. about his (Beresford's) mission (letter to Hall, January 6, 1899). On January 31, 1899 Satow told Hall that Pfoundes had written asking him to put him in touch with the Japanese authorities with a view to his becoming a Japanese subject! Satow refused to do this, and Hall was happy about this after being "pestered" by Pfoundes for two weeks on the same topic. See also letter 18 below.

⁵⁴ Dickins did translate Puini's work. See note on Letter 15 above.

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Thesaurus: you are quite right in saying that it ought not to attempt to follow modern developments subsequent to the year 1858. What it should be is a book for scholars and students, not for translators of newspaper articles. I must close this & be off with it to the Legation. With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins,

I remain your's ever,
Ernest Satow

18.

Yedo

February 4, 1880.

My dear Dickins,

My conscience smites me when I look at your two letters of October 10 and the other of December 9, which has just reached me, and reflect on what a long interval has lapsed since I last wrote to you. The fact is that during the last seven weeks of 1879 I was travelling, and since my return have been so busy making notes, and concerting plans with Anderson prior to his departure, that I scarcely found time to write to my own family. I had a very interesting journey round the coasts of Ise and Ki-shiu, then a fortnight divided between Kiyau-to, Nara and Ohosaka, partly in Anderson's company, who will tell you of all the wonderful antiquities we saw there in the way of wooden and bronze images, that are seldom shown, and our discovery of real frescoes, which are extremely rare and ancient subjects, Buddhist of course. Then I went to Nagoya, which is chiefly remarkable for being one of the most flourishing towns in Japan, in spite of the appearance of its ancient lord and his court, then crossed by the S. of Mino into Shinano, through Matsumoto to Zeñ-Kuwanzhi, next over the pass E. of Yatsu-ga-take into Kafu-shiu, and so home by the base of Fuzhi, managing to get back on the 2nd January and so avoid all the wearisome ceremonial of New Year's Day. It was splendid weather the whole time. There was of course little to do in the way of botany. In Kumano I saw azaleas in flower towards the end of November, and a species of Pink growing in the sand close to the shore; also a few tufts of the nokogiri shida that you recollect no doubt was so common in Hachijô. On the W. coast of Koshiu I found that broad leafed plant we dug up on the shore at Hachijô, which seems to be *Criomum*[?] *Asiaticum*, in enormous quantities. But the most beautiful sight was the valley of Arida near Wakayama, the hillsides covered with orange plantations, the ripe fruit producing an effect like the gold in nashiji [梨子地] lacquer, or gold dust on deeper green velvet. The strangest part of it was the shrivelled condition of the leaves caused by the mighty frosts; one wonders how the fruit can ripen. Every available spot is being planted with

orange trees, and the speedy transport to all parts by the Mitsubishi Steamers seems to have given a great impulse to the cultivation. Shinshiu was most delightful: all the mountains covered with snow, and the horizon always perfectly clear. It was as fine as many highly praised parts of Switzerland.

Your paper on transliteration followed me to the country, and as soon as I returned I got it announced for reading [to the Asiatic Society of Japan], but time would not allow of that being done, and it has had to stand over. Meanwhile we are having it printed, so that the reader will be able to do justice to it. Of course you will not expect me to be convinced by it, though I allow that some of the arguments are strong; especially in that of the economy in letters of your system and all other phonetic spellings. Also, for books intended merely to teach colloquial it is certainly the most practical. But for persons who study the written language the kana spelling is the most convenient. Just imagine the difficulty a foreigner would have in reading Shakespeare by the aid of a dictionary compiled by the Speling Reform Asoshiashun (I believe that is their name printed by themselves). Your paper adds however an additional difficulty, because it suggests a system not identical with that of any other adherent of your principles. If I had time and disposition to criticize other people's writings, I could easily point out weak points in Hepburn, Aston, the 2 Drs. Brown, Bramsen, Lyman, Gubbins, McClatchie and everybody else, but I do not think controversy will settle the question, and so leave it alone. I do not believe the Japanese will ever romanize their own language, but if they do, they are likely to adopt some new hybrid alphabet of their own, and not be guided by us. One great difficulty in the way of phonetic spelling is the diversity among you all, which renders it useless for philological purposes. Kana spelling offers far fewer points for difference of opinion, and that is the great argument in its favour. But you will have plenty of supporters, and there will be a lively discussion when your paper is read.

I am delighted to hear that you have begun working up a practice, and suppose you must be in full swing by this time. You must not regret Japan, it is not worth it. To do any thorough work here is impossible, for want of books of reference and fellow-workers. You are far better off with a profession which demands the undivided exercise of your faculties than I am, with a calling that is a sort of gilded idleness, with a certainty that no cautions or efforts would advance me one bit, so that I am driven to play with history, philology and 'isms' and ologies in general, in order not to stagnate. To sink from sharing in the course of events to be one of the sort that live in museums and write handbooks. I believe that I must be labouring under an attack of dyspepsia, which makes me write like this, for life is really quite bearable just now with no Sir

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Harry to plague me about Japanese newspapers.

Anderson went home a fortnight ago by the French mail, the Japanese not offering to keep him, and the people of Guy's Hospital having telegraphed to ask whether he would take an appointment there, I believe of Assistant Consulting Surgeon and Lecturer on or Professor of Anatomy. He was very sorry to leave, but I hope it will turn out better for him than he expects. And then they had both been six years in Japan, which is quite enough at one time. We intend to go on working at the book on art, and hope that the numbers of cheap illustrations we can furnish will induce some publisher to bring it out. We really have first-rate woodcuts and negatives of real value and rarity. There ought to be room for such a book especially as due attention will be paid to pottery marks, which appear to absorb the attention of the polite world just now. I see Pfound(e)s is making himself very prominent in a certain way, though I suppose his circle is limited. You really must put a stop to that ridiculous "Institute" he wants to have established. The fellow is a hideous ignoramus. I hear he told the Society of Arts that porcelain was introduced into Japan by the Portuguese in the 16th century, which is only to be paralleled by the seller of Satsuma faience who some twelve months ago assured the London public that the goods he was offering had been selected by Xavier in 1582, 30 years after the poor man was dead, to be sent as a present from the King of Bungo to the Pope, more than 200 years before any pottery of that description had been produced. You really must discountenance Pounds. Dresser I thought a great humbug, and he consequently disliked me. But if he brings out a book on this country's "Art Industries", as I hear he proposed doing, I shall think it a duty to have a copy. This country has lately produced a rubbishy book by [John Reddie] Black called "Young Japan" consisting of blue book and newspaper cutting and his own experiences of life in the East. Among other delightful things he says "Hideyoshi was called Taiko, which means Great man," only to be equalled by [W.E.] Griffis' etymology of mei-butsum [名物 a special product or attraction] to signify 'eye-strike', gravely given in one of his penny-a-living magazine articles. I am looking forward to Miss [Isabella] Bird's book with eagerness, for it will contain a good deal that I do not know about the interior. Pray send me back "I setti dei della Felicità" if you can lay your hands upon it, for it was the only copy in this part of the world. The same nice little man [Carlo] Puini has just sent me his volume entitled *Il Buddha, Confucio e Lao-tse*. He is most industrious, and really the best of the Continental "Japonistes". What an old fool Pfizmaier⁵⁵ is. He goes on translating Japanese originals without the slightest notion of their contents, and produces the most extraordinary hashes. In a paper which is on the stocks about the

⁵⁵ August Pfizmaier. Author of *Die Reise zu dem Berge Fu-zi*, Vienna, 1880, 82 pp.

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Mongol invasion of Japan I shall take occasion to exhibit some of his most eccentric renderings, which would divert our learned society if it knew anything of the language. [Basil Hall] Chamberlain has translated some of the psalms into archaic Japanese in a most delightful style, just to show the Missionaries what they should aim at. It will be a great occasion when they are read, and everybody will give his views upon the translation of the bible. Or will they resent the interference, and say that laymen have no business with such things. Pryer and Blakiston ⁵⁶ have given us a pretty complete list of Japanese birds for the Transactions ⁵⁷ which will be of great value, I hope. We have lately had a live German Zoologist added to our Tokio society, who speaks very little English, and gives Chamberlain and myself an occasion for talking German, which we prize greatly. Hawes and I are going to publish our guidebook here, instead of offering it to Murray, so that I shall not have to inflict on you the pain of correcting proofs with heretical spelling, but I am not the less grateful to you for being willing to do it for us. Very likely Murray would not have cared to have it, and to tell the truth it is not ready yet. We have still to journey in Kiu-shiu and Shi-koku. The main island is nearly finished, and the chief cities will be, I think, rather an advance upon [W.E.] Griffis' Tokio guide, where all the names of places are translated, sometimes wrongly, as if that could be interesting to anybody, and wherein he calls the head of Kira Kaudzuke no suke a 'gory triumph'. I have thought of an elaborate introduction, full of statistics and condensed information on all subjects, in the Murray style, but have not yet been able to do anything towards it: it can luckily wait till the last. This word reminds me that I am near the end of the sheet, and you will be tired, so I will put off the rest till next time. Congratulations upon the addition to your family: there is nothing in the world so delightful as one's own baby, after the monthly nurse is out of the house. I envy you your chances of buying old books. If you come across anything Spanish or Portuguese about Japan pray buy it for me, unless you want it yourself. Perhaps I had better send you the numbers of *Pages Bibliographie Japonaise* which I already possess, and then you will not be in danger of sending me what I already have.

At present in Portuguese I have only a modern reprint of Pinto and in Spanish Pigueyra, Guzman and Sicardo (nos 142, 87 and 360). I particularly want old editions of [Saint Francis] Xavier's letters in any language at all: any edition in fact earlier than 1800. Burty & Nordenskjöld put me each on the track of a first rate bookseller, and I

⁵⁶ See 'Thomas Wright Blakiston (1832-91)' by Sir Hugh Cortazzi, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. III, Ch. 5, pp. 52-65.

⁵⁷ Blakiston, T.W. and Pryer, H.: *Catalogue of the Birds of Japan* (T.A.S.J. Series 1, Vol.VIII, 1879/80) *Birds of Japan* (Series 1, Vol.X, 1881/82)

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have lately acquired several treasures from them. The godown [warehouse] is getting very full, and I am beginning now to buy Chinese books with the aid of the old teacher. You know how voluminous they are. I suppose you see the Japan Mail, and have observed that [H.] Gribble is no longer editor. He has been relieved by a man named [A.H.] Cole, more of a professional scribbler than Gribble. Fischer [the owner of the Japan Mail in 1878] seems to have disappeared from Yokohama, and I am told that Mr. Watson, who was building a huge mansion on that bit of garden where the big Riō-chiku-tō (I can't for the life of me put my hand on our name for it, but the flowers smell sweetly) grew is up a tree, and owns nothing but debts. But I really must stop. With kind remembrances to Mrs. Dickins

I remain,
Your's ever,
Ernest Satow

19.

Yedo,

August 22, 1880.

My dear Dickins,

It was rather curious, if it be permitted to say so, that your letter of June 30 asking me to get you some specimens of woods for [the Royal Botanic Gardens at] Kew should have arrived just after I had written to Mrs. Dickins joking about Sir J. Hooker's request that I would send him a few logs. However, I do not mind doing for you what I would not do for a stranger and have put the matter in train. Some of the woods are not commercial commodities, as *Ilex*[?] *latifolium* and *Aronia Asiatica*, and I don't think *Diervilla jap.* ever grows big enough. But I will do what I can to satisfy the demand. How came an advocate of economical spelling (or 'literation' as the Tokio Times magnificently called it) to write Guetta when Geta would have done as well and better too? Your taunts about transliteration have stung me to the quick, but nothing shall ever wring a word from me that could add to the victor's triumph.

Thanks for your other letter of May 2, which I ought to have acknowledged long ago, but with the guidebook and Asiatic Transactions to edit and Korean as a new and absorbing study, I have had my hands pretty full. How men can be so weak as to write, print and publish books is a problem in mental pathology that I am unable to solve. As we are both in the same boat, please do not offer any explanation which would not be flattering and satisfactory to us both.

I hope for your own sake that you will not find it necessary to return to this country

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[Japan]. I might add, for that of the children and your wife. For them it is of the utmost importance that they should have English associations, and for her Yokohama is mere isolation. If you find it easier to make money at a local bar [as a barrister], why not make the temporary sacrifice. You will have better health, and be able earlier to enjoy a learned leisure. If you were to put aside your various loves for ten years, they would be quite fresh and willing to receive you when you went back to them. I quite agree with your desire to take a part in politics, and in my humble opinion it is the highest purpose to which a man can devote himself. Far better than spending time over a discussion as to the spelling of the Immortal William's name or the precise meaning of Nirvana. Study is perfectly selfish, politics altruistic in the highest degree (a horrid word, I think). Fancy me an Acting Vice-Consul. Such is the truth. It is quite absurd. I did not know how to register a birth till the constable showed me. Now [I] live in daily terror lest a case should be brought in my court, and I be compelled to sit in judgment. Not having the faintest idea of how to preside. To say nothing of complete ignorance of the law. I have a turbulent British subject named Campbell, who says he has "not received from me that protection which British Consuls are paid and sent abroad to extend to their countrymen." Had it been natural to me to chop logic I should have explained to him that we get our pay after we are sent abroad, and secondly that I do not get any pay at all for being his guardian angel. But being averse to controversy I addressed to him a sweetly civil reply, suggesting that if he were dissatisfied with me he could appeal to my superior officer.

Many thanks for the copy of Puini's book which you sent me. I am afraid you must have had great trouble to procure it. Anderson does not seem to find it very easy to get a publisher, and I am afraid people are not to be moved to enthusiasm about extreme East-Asia. Why do Miss Bird's book & Reed's not come out? They have been advertised for a long time. Oppert's book on Korea has lately reached me. He is an impudent pretender, and most of it is cribbed. You ought to get hold of the reviewer and do the critiques on all the books about this part of the world. They are at present written by my excellent friend [Robert Kennaway] Douglas [1838-1913] of the British Museum, who never sits upon folly or humbug, and has a good word for everybody. This ought not to be.

By the way, have you seen [Johann Justus] Rein's ascent of Fuji in Petermanns Mittheilungen. That would give you all the information you want about Fuji. Hawes and I have not yet got as far in printing the guidebook, or I would send you our notes, bare as they are of interest. I don't intend to write any book at present. There is so much still to be done; and as soon as I get any leisure I shall devote myself entirely to Buddhism,

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of which I know nothing. It will not do to fritter away one's efforts on a dozen of subjects at once, and yet I feel the call to study for myself much stronger than the vocation to teach others (who by the way, do not care to know what you have to tell them). I wish the Asiatic Society [of Japan] were at the bottom of the Sea, and shall be glad when my return to England relieves me of my connection with it. Besides, the thing is getting so antiquated. Moreover, the earlier volumes are full of trash and millions of misprints. I think Anderson is right about the date of Hokusai's death. We went into it very carefully. The date in the 1st vol. of Fu-gaku seems to correspond to 1834. But I think there is no doubt that the 先 (read saki no) means that the artist had "formerly" called himself Hoku-sai. French Feu and [German] Selige would be 故 [ko: deceased, 'the late']. 先 one finds prefixed to titles of persons who still live, having resigned office ex. There is no probability of my going to China, and am no longer particularly keen about it. But I am running on too long, and must say goodbye. I spent a day with Bisset, looking over plants collected on my last journey. Among them was *Diphyllera Grays* on Miyau-kuwau-zan (don't swear), which Savatier had only heard of near Hakodate, rather a find, I imagine. Savatier is more full of misprints than any other book that was ever created. Bisset probably goes to England in September.

Your's very truly,
Ernest Satow

20.

Yedo

January 25, 1881

My dear Dickins,

It is an age since I heard from you, and I begin to fear that some of my letters addressed to Clapham have not reached you, unless you gave particular instructions about having your correspondence forwarded. Not that there was anything of moment in them, but I should not like you to think me negligent. Bellasis sent me the other day a parcel just received from you, containing a copy of your new edition of the *Chiu-shin-gura* [*Chiushingura: The Loyal League* (first published 1875)], and all my guidebooks. It is very good of you to have taken the trouble of returning them to me at this distance, but I am glad to see those old friends again, for there is no book that gives me so much pleasure at odd moments as a Murray [guidebook] in whose company I have travelled. Thank you very much for your own book, which is beautifully got up, and printed in a 'tall' size that delights collectors. I shall be obliged to have a bookshelf made on purpose for it, as it refuses to find room along side ordinary octavos. You will

not be surprised if I say that I have not yet had time to do more than glance through it, but when a little leisure comes it will be the first book I sit down to, as I never had an opportunity of reading the first edition. The papers announce the Hoku-sai of which you wrote some time back. I hope it has been a success. The space which Anderson's projected book on art was to have filled up is becoming rapidly narrower, for I see that Reed's book contains several of the best things in the way of sculpture, and Franks seems lately to have produced something on pottery, which will probably render it unnecessary to do more in that line at present. Brinkley also contemplates publishing something in that way, either in the "Mail" of which he is now at least the editor, or in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society. You know I daresay that I have undertaken to collect the greater part of the materials for giving an account of the motifs of Japanese art, and am working at that for Anderson in my odd leisure, now that the guidebook is finished as far as the writing of it is concerned. There would be some chance of my getting away to Peking for a long stay, if I could only induce Hall to come out, as the F.O. have written to say that I may go as soon as he returns. In the meanwhile I am working steadily at the colloquial [spoken] and official style with the aid of [Sir Thomas] Wade's Book and a Pekingese who is here in Japanese employ as a teacher, and am more than ever convinced that [William George] Aston's dictum that a knowledge of colloquial Chinese is of no use to the student of Japanese is a hasty conclusion. Experience must teach every student of languages, that the knowledge acquired from books and dictionaries is like the knowledge of plants that might be gained in a herbarium, and equally unlike the real thing. And the Japanese do not know the Chinese language thoroughly for that very reason. Certainly no one could understand Japanese unless he had been in the country, spoken the language and lived with the people.

I forget whether I told you Sir Harry [Parkes] had sent me your article in the Quarterly.⁵⁸ It seemed to me rather written against the grain, and it would I daresay have given you much greater pleasure if Reed's book had been one that you could praise. Since then I have seen both books, and read the greater part of Miss [Isabella] Bird's; her account of the Ainos is very interesting, but the missionary chapters do bore one a little. Hawes & I have found valuable material in her trips for our own purposes. Reed's book is dull, and his compilations on Religion and history not worth reading. He seems to have seen very little that ordinary travellers do not see, and to have missed most of the best things in the art way at Kiōto and Nara. A friend sent me Sir Rutherford [Alcock]'s article in the Contemporary, which certainly said as little of the books he was

⁵⁸ 'Recent Travels in Japan', *The Quarterly Review*, vol. 150, no. 300.

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reviewing as possible, but no doubt he is the oracle of London upon Japanese matters. Of news I have little to tell you. A good many people are leaving the employment of the Japanese Government, owing to the latter wishing to contract their expenditure of coin and to economize in various ways. Among others they have got rid of is our ex-student interpreter McCarthy, who clever as he is, turned out a useless bargain to them. We were not sorry to part with him. The De Boinvilles have gone, Morris of the telegraph department is going, half a dozen from the Engineering College, and even [Erwin] Knipping [1844-1922] has received notice that his engagement will not be renewed.⁵⁹ It is a pity to lose such a hardworking industrious man, who some day or other was bound to bring out a good map of Japan, if he could only have found time to travel throughout the country and ascertain the correct names. [A.G.S.] Hawes is still with them at the Naval College, but I never lose an occasion of advising him to make up his mind that they will not always think it necessary to have Englishmen to teach English, and that he would do well to face it, but I fancy that his mother is dependent on him to a great extent, and that he is obliged for her sake to hold on here as long as he can. I should be very sorry to lose him, for there is no man here whom I esteem and like so much, and I have no intimate friends besides. The prospect of getting [Dr. William] Willis [1837-94] back however is something of a reconciliation to the necessity of spending one's life here.

Pray let me hear from you when you have time. In Manchester I suppose you cannot well refrain from taking a profound interest in politics, and I hope you will stick to the Liberal creed, flavoured a little with radical philosophy. With kind remembrances to Mrs. Dickins,

I remain

Your's very sincerely

Ernest Satow

P.S. I have not forgotten the specimens of timber for Sir J. Hooker, and hope to despatch them before long, but you have not replied yet to my letter on the subject.

21.

September 11, 1881

My dear Dickins,

It is nearly three weeks since I came back from a trip into the country, and found your letter of June 9 awaiting me. I imagine we are both more or less guilty of procrastinating,

⁵⁹ Knipping was employed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the Meteorological office in 1882. He issued the first weather forecast in Japan on June 1, 1884.

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and there is a great deal to be said by way of excuse for people who neglect their correspondence, especially if they live in the centre of civilization and are busied from morning to night. How you find time to write at all is a standing wonder to me. I hope the Handbook has reached you, but if not, pray let me know at once, for we particularly desire to have your opinion of it. The trip to Ikao [伊香保 an onsen in Gunma] and Asamayama [浅間山, a three-peak active volcano, 2568m, which erupted in 1783 costing 2,000 lives] which I took with you in 1877 fills up several pages.

You urge upon me undertaking an account of the civilisation of the Japanese up to the modern irruption of foreigners. It is a magnificent idea, but the time has not come for the achievement of such a work. We must do a great deal of collecting and arranging materials, indexing knowledge and dictionary-making before it will be possible to gain a general view of such a vast subject. Besides, I am more inclined to study at present than to write, and would with pleasure give myself up to idling among books. It is the multiplicity of interesting subjects that makes one despair of doing anything. Your conception of an account of their civilization would probably in the end not differ much from my view of what the history ought to be: mine would not, if I ever wrote it, be a chronicle of Mikado and Ministers, but an attempt to trace the development of institutions. But Japan is too far off for anyone to care about her. I must read more ethnology à la Tylor when I am next at home, for it would be little use investigating the customs of this people, unless one could compare them with those of other semi-barbarians. During my recent trip I came across two communities which appear to be what would be called endogamous ⁶⁰. One is a village population of 36 families of hereditary Shintō priests who inhabit Mitake, a little mountain in the valley of the Tama-gawa. I noticed that the young people in particular had much more regular features and a clearer complexion than the average Japanese, and rather an aristocratic, distingué [distinguished] look altogether; and on making inquiries I found that they very seldom intermarry with any other set of people. If they have been doing this for centuries past, would it not tend to produce a marked type, and one physically beautiful. I was not long enough there to find out whether they were intellectually inferior. The other place is Narada, a remote mountain village in Kōshiū [甲州]. It contains 41 households, all of which bear the same surnames, and they only marry among themselves. The type of countenance is peculiar, but among the children I saw some beautiful faces, both as regards features & complexions, far finer than one would expect to find in an upland village, where the food and style of living are one of the poorest description. I saw a good deal of the people and certainly they were far below the

⁶⁰ Endogamous: marrying within their own clan.

average Japanese in intelligence, though that might be the consequence of their isolation in a remote valley. In company with three young fellows I climbed [Mount] Shirane [白根山], which is the highest mountain at the W. border of Kōshiū and measures about 9850 feet. There was no path, and we had to sleep out two nights on the top of the ridge. Fortunately it was fine weather, and we found plenty of *Pinus parviflora* to make a fire of, but the first night we had nothing to eat or drink, as the snow which the guides had expected to find at the point where we first reached the ridge, had all melted, and we could not cook our rice. Next day we were fortunate enough to find plenty at a point further north. The views at sunrise were magnificent, and I saw the whole of the Hida range quite clearly. There were no flowers on Shirane that I had not seen elsewhere, but on Yatsu-ga-take I found a few specimens of a plant that is certainly very uncommon. I enclose a few specimens, and shall be very much obliged if you can help me to get them determined. They were growing on a sunny exposure to the S. about 8000 feet above the sea, on volcanic rock: the colour purple, and the flowers two or three, rising from a circle of fleshy leaves close to the ground, and the height not over 2½ inches. I saw it absolutely no where else, although I climbed several other high mountains, and was always on the lookout for specimens.

I also attempted to do the circuit of Fuji by the path that goes right round about 4000 feet below the summit, climbing up from the West side above the big cave called Shūtō-ana. I did succeed in ascending there, though there is no regular path, and got round as far as No. 5 hut on the Subashiri ascent, but was prevented from going any further by the high wind. On the W. side of Fuji the forest extends far above this path, apparently to 10,000 feet. Where I passed through there were goodsized *Abies Alcockiana*, Larch, Mountain ash, Rhododendron and Alder. You recollect of course how the wood ceased at about the 2nd station on the Suyama side. I came down to Subashiri and walked round the base back to Shūtō-ana, whence I crossed the mountains to Minobu. The whole range that surrounds the base of Fuji on the N. and W. is an extremely closegrained granite, which prevented the lava from getting into the valley of the Fujikawa, except near its mouth, where about 3 ri up you meet lava on the r. bank. Hawes and I started to travel together, but found it much more advantageous to take separate bits of country, and meet for a day or two about once a week. We thoroughly explored the basins of the Ōi-gawa and the Abe-kawa, and the Eastern side of the Shinshiū, besides doing a great deal of work in Kōshiū. How very faulty all the Japanese maps are, even the best, and of course both [R.H.] Brunton's & [Erwin] Knipping's, which which are founded on them. The latter has 12 mistakes in Tōtōmi alone, some of which are misprints, but others errors of his translator. To make a map of

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Japan one must have travelled throughout every part of it. I have never yet met a native who knew anything about the geography of his own country.

Robertson looks quite a new man since he got rid of his incubus [a person or thing that oppresses like a nightmare], and will find life here much happier than before. As acting judge he has a very delightful position, half sinecure, as indeed are most official positions out here now. My own is for one, though the obligation of trying to learn as much as possible about Japan and her neighbours never can cease to be imperative. My plan of going to Peking for a year is very much dislocated by the difficulty of getting my place filled, as [J.C.] Hall has failed me, and will at any rate not get here till mid winter. I am consequently thinking seriously of trying to get leave of absence to visit England in the spring. There is so much that I want to see and hear, and really one stagnates out here, in a small circle of men who for the most part read and think little, and are given to the politics of little Piddlington.

How has your edition of the Fuji Hiaku kei gone off? Pray send me a copy, if you have one to spare. It is perhaps unblushing audacity to make such a request point blank, but you know I am making a library of books about Japan, modern, as well as ancient. The prices of the very old ones are becoming exorbitant, and I cannot help thinking that they are raised because the booksellers know I am buying. Now and then however I get hold of a bargain from some man outside the ring. A few days ago I at last found a copy of the original edition of the Roku mai biôbu, that unlucky little novel that has been translated so often; the price has risen from less than a tempô when it came out to two yen, about 200 times its original cost. The annals of bibliomania in Japan certainly cannot produce a parallel to this. In picture books I have been rather fortunate, in getting some of over 2 centuries, and I have bought quantities of the novels of the second half of the 17th century, which are rather rare. These books cause me a great deal of anxiety, however, on account of the scoundrel bookworms who cannot be kept out by any contrivance, and if I return to England next year, I think I shall bring a lot with me for the sake of the voyage. After all, one is much happier without property, and I feel very much inclined to imitate the behaviour of Shâkyâ Muni [the founder of Buddhism 釈迦牟尼], and become a beggar.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

22.

Yedo,

October 10, 1881

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My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your long and interesting letter of August 17, which reached me three or four days ago. In the first place, let me congratulate you upon the recent addition to your family, which is not yet large enough, I hope, to prevent your taking infinite interest in the last newcomer. I have often thought that many problems in the history of morals and language might be illuminated by careful study of a child's development, for though it learns much by imitation, it also makes its own discoveries. Particularly curious is the way in which it discovers analogies between different things, and having learnt a word employs it in all other similar cases where adults have a separate word for each kind of action. The parents too are well situated for this sort of inquiry, because they can at once recognize the peculiarities which the child has inherited from themselves. But you probably have not sufficient leisure to spend all your day in the nursery, and I expect the womenfolk would fight against their pet being made the object of scientific investigation.

I envy you the quantity of reading in European literature that you are able to do. But it is chiefly because you are in a country where people take interest in such a pursuit that you find it worth while to occupy yourself with it. What one desires in every country is to get into sympathy with some set of people, as one cannot live solely upon the contemplation of one's own ideas, and so it falls out that a man whose tastes are literary reads our classics in Europe, and in Japan devotes himself to Japanese literature. There is of course no question as to the overwhelming superiority of European literature out and out, but here they seem to want [i.e. lack] a setting. I have tried hard to read Greek poets in my early days in the east, and Italian in later years, but the indigenous books were always more to the purpose. It is imperative to understand the ideas of the people among whom you live. When I go back to live in England, I shall shut up all Asiatic books, and pass my time in studying music and the re-presentative arts. What you say about having got back to the true standard of excellence confirms the opinion I have always maintained that any good writing about this country must be done away from it. An author must work for his audience, and there is none worth having, it could only be found in England.

I am looking forward to your article in the *Cornhill* ⁶¹ upon Nichiren [the founder of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism 日蓮], and hope that it will be followed by others. You are in the best possible position now to make use of your knowledge of Japan,

⁶¹ See 'A Japanese Story' *The Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 44, no. 261 (September 1881), pp. 345-54. Reproduced in 'Collected Works of Frederick V. Dickins,' introduced by Peter Kornicki, Edition Synapse, 1999.

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because you have libraries at hand, can consult general works on any subject you wish to treat of, and can readily find out whether one has already preceded you in the same field. And above all, you have a stimulating atmosphere. If you are inclined to entrust your monograph on ferns to the Asiatic Society here, I think it would be gladly accepted, and you can have as many additional author's copies as you like at a fixed rate, besides 25 gratis. Either Bisset or I could see it through the press. We have nothing on Japanese Botany except a short paper by Savatier a great many years ago, and I have long wished to obtain more scientific contributions. The conjunction of you and Dr. Rein with Sir J. Hooker was no doubt the cause of his recent application to the F.O. to have all sorts of extraordinary things presented for him in the lacquer way. We shall do our best, but it will no doubt be remembered that we were not primarily sent out here to know anything about such subjects, and that our widows and children will get no pensions if we die of the lacquer poisoning in the course of our researches. I am glad for one thing of this order, as I can take advantage of the opportunity to send to Kew the specimens of timber you asked me to collect for Sir J. Hooker. Unfortunately I have not been able to procure all the species wanted, because some are extremely rare, and others do not grow sufficiently large, and others again are not used for any practical purpose.

This mail will bring you a copy of our Handbook. I am intensely disgusted that the first went astray. The same fate befell one I had addressed to my mother. You must understand that both Hawes and I send it to you, and had intended it to be a token of our constant mindfulness of you, but some post office thief has evidently been at work, and snapped up the first lot posted. This time I register it to make sure. All the journey you and I took together is there.

You will probably see from the papers that Yokohama has become the theatre of a very extraordinary deadlock in the silk-trade, which threatens to extend to the whole trade of the port. The foreigners seem to be as united and determined as the Japanese, and both parties have uttered so many grave [prave?] 'orts that it will be impossible for either to give way. It does not seem to me to be a question of right and wrong at all, but simply of which can hold out longest. No one can foretell what the result may be, but I am afraid it must end in a checkmate for our people. It is more a political move than anything else, and its promoters belong just to that set of men who have been loudest in the press in urging the govt. to insist on recovering the rights of jurisdiction and levying of duties which as they say they unwisely signed away in 1858. There is of course perfect lack of sympathy between Japanese and foreigners at the ports. The latter come there to buy and sell, but they remain in absolute ignorance of the people they have to deal with, and assume the airs and position of a foreign garrison, say in Zulu-land. It is

quite natural that the Japanese should resent this.

We have I think made a great mistake here in pursuing an unfriendly, harsh policy towards the Govt., the knowledge of which has come to the ears of the common people, and has caused them to look on foreigners in general, and Sir Harry Parkes in particular, as their enemy. You would not credit to what extent he is the bugbear of the Japanese public, and in the popular estimation he occupies much the same position as 'Boney' [Napoleon Bonaparte] with us fifty years ago. It has been going on for the past ten years. I wish you had not taken up the defence of Sir Harry as you have done. No one can deny his great qualities, and his fitness to meet any dangerous crisis. His talents are however thrown away here. There is no analogy at all between the circumstances here and in China, where he learnt his diplomacy. He would do excellently well at Peking, but here he is the square man in the round hole. The Japanese require a diplomatist of the Talleyrand [Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, 1754-1838] type, who would smooth them down and attain his ends at the same time. Everyone knows that argument is not persuasion.

Can I disabuse you of the idea that I want the whole world to spell Japanese orthographically? As far as my own writing is concerned I shall spell jô, jô or jō in popular books, or even jo, but in anything intended for people who wish to know the whole of that monosyllable's history I shall write zhivau or jiyau, or deu as the case may be. Phonetic spelling is a great source of error to philologues, in the case of the Japanese language. The case is different in English, where I expect to become a theoretical convert, though probably none of us will ever in practice go as far as Pitman. But I don't mind spelling catalog or even katalog: or does it look like a reminiscence of Jeames' [?] Diary. Sovran for Sovereign would be a good change. While we are about it, why not abbreviate some of our longer words. 'Circs' would do just as well as circumstances, and I know from experience that it is understood both in speaking and writing. 'Bus' [for Omnibus] and Frisco [for San Francisco] are other examples if we wish to go the whole hog. I have written home for a pamphlet recently published by the Philological Society, and seriously think of joining the Spelling Reform Association.

But it is time this disjointed talk came to an end. In my last I probably told you of my disappointments about Peking, and my idea of going to England next spring on leave. I want very much to see all my friends, and get some new ideas, for the old lot are in the same condition as my shirts, pretty nearly worn out. I therefore hope you will not go to Egypt; and that I shall find you flourishing in Clapham Park with all your tribe. I need not say that if you can justify it to your conscience to print a favourable opinion of our book anywhere we shall be much pleased. Conscious as we are of our shortcomings,

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we like it to be thought that we have committed no gross errors.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins, I remain

Yours very sincerely Ernest Satow

23.

Yedo,

March 7, 1882

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for the copy of your *Fugaku Hiyaku-kei*.⁶² It is very nicely printed and forms a really charming companion volume to the three of pictures. I hope you have not done this work for nothing but the personal satisfaction one feels in accomplishing a work which it seemed imperative some one should do – but I am afraid little literary labour on Japanese subjects has its reward in the shape of solid pudding. Anderson and I have given up the idea of writing a book on Japanese art, at least for the present, and one principal reason is that no publisher could be found to undertake it. A second reason on my own part was my feeling of utter unfitness for such an undertaking. The power of writing what interests other people has been denied me, and my best plan would be to burn all my pens and paper.

I send you a few notes on passages which seem to me not quite exact.

Robertson tells me you are a candidate for the assistant registrar ship of the University of London, and I hope you will be elected. That would take you back to England, where you ought to be, not in Egypt amusing yourself with Arabic. Then I shall have some chance of seeing you when I get home on leave, perhaps in 1883. For the present year I have no chance, as the service is under-manned, and no one can be spared to relieve me. Last December I had a serious touch of congestion of the brain, caused by a chill, and as soon as it was over felt a great desire to go away for a change, but my health has quite returned now, and there is no further necessity I hope for a thorough rest. Official work is not heavy. We have a lull at present in the treaty revision palavers, and all I have to do is to glance at the native newspapers every day, to see how absolutely null they are. Sir Harry is in a conciliatory mood all round, and as Peacock has observed, keeps a vigilant watch over his temper. It is a sign of old age coming on, when it is no longer worth while to fly into a rage about everyday trifles.

You wrote me a letter of December 18th containing a lecture about the foreign community's industrious virtues and the great qualities of my revered chief [Sir Harry

⁶² 'Fugaku Hyaku-kei: or, A Hundred Views of Fuji (Fusiyama) by Hokusai', 1880. (Collected Works of Dickins, Edition Synapse, Vol. 2).

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Parkes], to which I shall not make any reply. I don't agree with you about either topic, and so the less said the better. I am no enthusiastic admirer of the Japanese official class either, though I like the people. I congratulate you on your letter to the Nichi-Nichi Shinbun, which Brinkley published in his paper. There is a great deal in your views which cannot be gainsaid from the European point of view, and the native who feebly attempted to reply was an ass for his pains. Your motto in politics I take to be "the survival of the fittest," but that is the rule for animals and plants, not for human beings with feelings and understandings.

Thanks for the information about the plant I sent you. If I get away this summer I will try to obtain some better specimens. Rein to whom I also gave one or two flowers says it is the same as the common English Butterwort, and Maximowitch had obtained it from Ōshiū. Savatier had no knowledge of it. Since you and Bisset left there is no one who knows anything of plants. Yedo is gradually becoming a desert, & I have only Hawes and Chamberlain left, for the diplomats are in quite a different line of life, and new acquaintances are a bore when one knows they can only last a year or two. A short time ago I sent Sir J. Hooker a few of the specimens of timber he asked for. The rest were either unprocurable in slabs of the required size, or else were merely ornamental trees which one could not afford to cut down merely for the sake of a small piece of wood. Aston, Chamberlain and I are working steadily at Korean and encouraging each other in the study. It presents interesting verbal affinities with old Japanese. By searching here I have made a pretty good collection of books printed in Korea, chiefly Chinese works, but many of them in moveable type, often metallic, which they seem to have used a few years before the art was invented in Europe. As soon as it is printed I will send you a copy of a paper I have written on the subject of printing in Japan: of early examples I have several, the oldest dating from 1248, a block book of course. The earliest type-book is 1597. The British Museum ought to buy my collection.

Changes in the consular service are bringing Hall eventually into my vicinity. He is to be assistant Japanese Secretary vice Aston, who gets a Consulate, - but is now acting at Nagasaki for Troup who has gone home on leave. Wilkinson has become Crown Advocate at Shanghai in place of Hannen, who will at last come here as Judge. Poor old Dohmen is dead (on the voyage home), evidently from softening of the brain, which came on quite suddenly last November. [William] Willis after being here about three months, threw up the appointment of physician to the legation, and has gone home. At this rate he must be nearing Southampton. You no doubt hear direct from Robertson, so I need not say much about him. He appears to like being a judge, and to take life in a placid sort of way.

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Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Dickins and believe me

Your's very sincerely

Ernest Satow

24.

Hakone, 31 August 1882

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your friendly review of our handbook in the "Spectator", copy of which posted by you reached me at the same time as your letter of the 22nd. Hawes has not yet seen it, as we have been separated for the last three weeks in different parts of the country, but he will certainly be very pleased. We should no doubt be very grateful to you for a sketch of the fauna and flora, especially it seems to me the high mountain flora would be of great interest. Something of a sketch of both Shintau & Buddhism was also a part of my original plan for the book, but we feared it might make the volume too bulky, and more geography would have been no drawback. These things I feel I could manage but the history and social state seem to present greater difficulties. It would be 'writing a primer' but to do that one must have the whole subject at one's fingers' ends and my familiarity is much less than with the religious systems. However, when we meet you will very likely show me how it can be done. We hope to be able to set about printing a second edition next year while I am at home: it will contain a good deal of new matter, and above all many corrections. The map too, may be much improved. Expense was the cause of its being so sketchy in the previous edition.

I have just returned from an excursion up Fuji with Sir Harry and his two daughters. We went up and came down by the Suyama route, which you no doubt recollect we ascended together in 1877, but found the path near the top in much worse condition. It took thirteen hours from Suyama to the summit, including all stoppages, and half that time to come down again. The descent into the crater is quite easy from a point close to the huts where we slept. So many ladies have recently ascended that a new etymology has recently suggested itself to me, and that it ought to be Fujin no yama, not as we incorrectly call it Fujinoyama. But to this I don't attach much value.

I was much grieved to hear of the loss of your little child, just at the age when it was most engaging. It is no use trying to offer you my consolations, for such wounds can never be cured.

There is great probability of my being able to come to England on leave at the end of the year, and you may readily imagine with what impatience I look forward to seeing the old country and my friends again. Perhaps by that time you will have moved in

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nearer to your work, and we may be close neighbours for I must have rooms in town.

Believe me,

Your's very sincerely Ernest Satow

Letters from Bangkok

25.

Bangkok

20 March 1884 ⁶³

My dear Dickins,

I had a very pleasant voyage to Singapore, and travelled thither from Suez with Admiral Dowell and his staff, many of whom remembered you; Pearson who was first lieutenant of the "Pelorus" and Row who was a clerk in the Admiral's office in 1864-5. At Singapore I stayed nearly a week and found there the Baynes and the George Dares. The Baynes look very young, and were eagerly anticipating their return to Japan. I never think of that country without the liveliest feelings of regret. One was so happy there in spite of the distance from England, and the travelling in the interior was so delightful. Sometimes I think I was a great fool to leave it simply for promotion, for though this place is tolerable, it is not the same thing, and as yet I have no friends to take the place of those I am cut off from. And every mail hitherto has only brought me letters from Yedo offering me a welcome back there, which circumstances will not allow me to enjoy. Hawes writes that he is perhaps going to get a run home of a few months, which will do him a great deal of good. Poor fellow, he seems to be quite a martyr to asthma, and can no longer sleep in a bed. You will probably hear from him before long.

Bangkok is a very interesting town, and the temples etc. very beautiful architectural objects. The other evening, there was a party at the King's garden, and I thought the view of spires and trees in the moonlight extremely romantic, quite unlike anything I have ever seen elsewhere. Different coloured tiles and bits of pottery and tinsel with which the temples are decorated are very effective. The river is broad and deep, and crowded with large and small native craft. On both sides are ranges of floating houses built on lofty rafts of bamboo. Behind them on the banks here and there are buildings in European style belonging to rich noblemen, and clumps of fine trees. Steamers come right up past the [British] Agency, and the King has a yacht moored right in front of his palace. Small steam launches are perpetually passing and repassing. The Siamese are

⁶³ This letter was first reproduced in *The Satow Siam Papers*, Vol. I, 1884-1885, introduced and edited by Nigel Brailey (The Historical Society, Bangkok, 1997), p. 8.

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people of a gentle demeanour and remind one of the Japanese, though more wanting in grit. Many of them speak English quite well.

The commercial part of the population is nearly all Chinese, who are said to number over a million and a half in the whole country. They mostly take native wives and settle down here for good. Debt slavery seems not to be uncommon, gambling, drinking, and other forms of vice are rampant. Officially I find them pleasant enough to get on with. They seem to be anxious to be on good terms with England, and fear French encroachment. Of the language I have learnt but little: the tones must first be carefully mastered, and then all difficulty is over. The syntax is easy, and resembles in many things that of Chinese, as do some of the words. There are some peculiar facts in phonology, which remind me of Korean peculiarities, especially the inaudible final consonants. The literature, I am told, is of little value.

Nothing has yet reached me from Japan, and I have as yet only the few books I brought from England. Pray do not forget to order Sotheran now and then to send me any new books that you think are worth reading. One sees the reviews, and often wishes one has the books. Tell me something about the new English Dictionary, and whether I ought to have it. I get the Athenaeum, Pall Mall Budget, Punch, Mail, China Express and Nineteenth Century. I should have ordered the "Spectator" too, but its political articles bore me with their air of superlative wisdom. Pray send me now and then through Sotheran any good magazine article that makes a stir. Before long I hope to hear something of the new edition of the Handbook for Japan, and trust it will be favourably reviewed. Some of the Series entitled "English Citizen" would probably be instructive reading; I see the Athenaeum mentions very favourably one by Fred. Pollock on the land laws. Do you see anything of Anderson. I am greatly longing for a line from him.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins

Believe me,

Your's very sincerely

Ernest Satow

26.

Bangkok

11 September 1884 ⁶⁴

My dear Dickins,

I was very glad the other day to see your handwriting again in the shape of a letter dated June 27. What you tell me of Egyptian politics rather provokes than satisfies my

⁶⁴ This letter first appeared in Nigel Brailey (ed.) *Satow Siam Papers*, Volume I.

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curiosity, but if anything comes of your efforts you will no doubt let me know all about it. I quite agree with your views of French politics in the East. They are getting aggressive all round, and Siam as an obstacle to their dream of a huge Indo-Chinese colonial empire feels not a little anxiety. She would doubtless like England to guarantee her territory, but I do not see how this is possible without our assuming a protectorate, which would be exactly what she fears from France, or at all events very like it. The government is so corrupt and there is such an utter absence of liberty and justice that we should be compelled to interfere far more than seems to me advisable. The best policy for the moment seems to be to urge the Siamese to make such reforms as are practicable, and to extend their power over their vassal states. The King is however hampered greatly by the power of two or three families, and is often unable to get his orders obeyed. He must crush them before he can do much in the way of reforming the administration. The courts are very bad, judges underpaid who live upon the fees, and now where foreigners are concerned it is difficult to obtain justice without looking after cases in the same way as we had to in Japan in the old days.

I have found some interesting correspondence between Japan & Siam in the early part of the century, which I mean to translate for our Society in Japan. They seem to be rather hard up for papers, though financially they are in a good condition. [James] Summers⁶⁵ is now corresponding secretary. He is a laborious man, but too fond of maresnests [illusions, illusory discoveries] ever to do much.

You are right no doubt about the Guidebook. The lists of names and minute details are out of place. My article on Buddhism is very unsatisfactory, but I had no time to make it more thorough, and yet it was necessary to say something. I meant to have given some account of Buddhist architecture, but had not sufficient materials at hand. I shall look forward to your review. Hitherto no one has taken any notice of our efforts to make Japan better known, except to sneer at the idea of such a romantic country being mapped out into routes for globe trotters. Please tell Sotheran to send me the German's Fu-sô Chawa; I suspect the author to be Rudolph Lange. I hope you have ordered Murray's Dictionary for me.

I am now trying to get away to Japan, but steamers don't fit. Probably it will be necessary to go to Singapore, which means a loss of a week at least. It always happens too that when one wishes to leave, some piece of business crops up to stop the way, and it [is] worse for me, because I have the Portuguese consulate on my hands beside the

⁶⁵ See Noboru Koyama, 'James Summers, 1828-91: Early Sinologist and Pioneer of Japanese Newspapers in London and English Literature in Japan,' Chapter 3, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. III. (Japan Library, 1999).

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charge of British interests. However, I hope to reach Yokohama early in October, and shall stay long enough to see Hawes if he carries out his original intention of leaving England this month.

The French appear to me to have attacked China on a very slight pretext. I do not think they had any right to demand the surrender of Langson [on the Vietnam-China frontier] without giving due notice, and that the collision which occurred there was their fault. Now they have bombarded Keelung and Fuchow, and are supposed to be meditating further operations of the same kind. China is utterly defenceless. As every one must have foreseen, nearly all the crews jumped overboard from the gunboats, and the destruction of the arsenal was both easy and inglorious.

The despatch of Lords Northbrook and Wolseley to Egypt means, I hope, that England is going to act with decision in that country. Surely it must be evident to all, that we must govern Egypt for an indefinite, or rather an undefined, period. If we do not put down our foot strongly, war with France will be the ultimate consequence.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins, believe me

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

27.

Bangkok

13 February 1885

My dear Dickins,

Your long and interesting letter of December 26 reached me a day or two ago. At the moment I have not time to answer it at length, but your Japanese literary projects interest me greatly, especially the *Taketori*.⁶⁶ You of course know that Severini has published an Italian version, and Lange a German one in the *Transactions of the German Asiatic Society of Japan*, which last was translated into English and published in the *Japan Mail*. Besides the 2 vol. edition you have with a preface signed Iriye Masayoshi, there is a very good one in 5 vols.: I send you therefore my copy, and beg you to accept it. It may be of some use in elucidating the difficult passages. How far is your other edition, the Iriye one, imperfect? I have a complete copy, which is very much at your service.

I am afraid that it would be beyond me to write anything about the state of Japanese Society at the date of its composition. Your suggestion about a paper on Japanese

⁶⁶ See Dickins's translation of *Taketori no Okina Monogatari* (The Old Bamboo-Hewer's Story), *Collected Works of Dickins*, Vol. 3.

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relations with Siam I have already anticipated, but the result is promised to the Asiatic Society of Japan, to whom I read a part when in Tokio last October. When that is quite finished I shall probably work at a new edition of the Kwaiwa hen.

Most of my books have gone to Chamberlain, Walters and Troup, as it was hopeless to think of using them. Of the remainder I keep those on history and one or two subjects, and the rest I shall offer to [Robert Kennaway] Douglas for the [British] Museum. He will select what he wants, and what the B.M. already has will be at your disposition if you care to have them.

You have scarcely yet heard of Hawes' appointment as Consul to Nyassa [Malawi].
⁶⁷ He is to be in London about the time this reaches you.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

28.

Bangkok

26 June 1885

My dear Dickins,

Taking advantage of your kind proposal to give some of my books houseroom, though I should have been equally well contented if you had been willing to accept them as your own property, I send you eight cases, on which I have paid the freight to London. Please let me know what expenses you incur in connection with them. They are a somewhat miscellaneous lot, but you will find some curious things. I enclose a bill of lading and hope to send a catalogue by next mail. Botanical, historical, geographical and picture books remain. Of these I can only expect to use the second lot here, and if you could take them in I would send you the others. The ravages made here by insects are

⁶⁷ Albert George Sidney Hawes served in the Royal Marines from December 1859 to February 1869. From January 1871 to January 1884 he was in the Japanese Service. During this time he was awarded 4th class Order of the Rising Sun and 3rd class Order of the Sacred Treasure. From January 1885 until the end of 1887 Hawes was Consul for the territories of the African Kings and Chiefs in the districts adjacent to Lake Nyasa/Malawi. He was on special duties in Zanzibar from December 1888 to June 1889. Between the 4th and 29th of April 1889 he was acting Consul and Consul General. In October 1889 Hawes was appointed Consul for the Society Islands (residence at Tahiti). In July 1894 he was promoted to Commissioner and Consul General, Sandwich Islands and Dependencies. In June 1895 he was Agent and Consul General. Hawes died on August 6th 1897 at Hito. With Satow Hawes published 'A handbook for travellers in central and northern Japan'. Yokohama: Japan Mail Office, 1875.
(http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/rcs_photographers/entry.php?id=235 accessed July 28, 2004)

truly deplorable.

Hawes writes to me that he is on the eve of concluding an arrangement with you for publishing a third edition of the Handbook. I hope it will come off, though I can hardly wish it for your sake. The proof correcting will be a formidable business. Early this year I ran my pen through a great deal that might be omitted, and sent the volume to Hawes, with some corrections and additions, but he had already left Japan, and I do not know whether they have reached him.

I am doing nothing regular just now, for thinking over my daily work prevents my taking any strong interest in other things. For that reason it would give me great pleasure if I could see my way to retiring. The climate does not suit me and the place is odious. The constant companionship of an old friend like Willis is however an advantage that compensates for many things, and my relations would be greatly disappointed if I were to give up. I shall have to bide my time I expect.

So the country has got rid of Mr. Gladstone and his disharmonious Cabinet at last. Lord Salisbury's taking the Foreign Office along with the Premiership is a token of better things. It is time to recognize that England cannot be well cared for on the old lines of dissociation from the politics of the rest of the world. I do not pretend to be a conservative, but I think we have lost a good deal of late. The Afghanistan imbroglio is a legacy from past generations, which cannot be set right in the tenure of power of a single government. "Party" is the curse of England, and things will never go well until we get rid of it, but I begin to despair of that in our time.

I am glad to see your name again on the committee list of the Asiatic Society, and hope you will find time to do something for Japan.

Have you any idea who writes to the papers over the signature of "Sinensis"? It may be [Robert K.] Douglas.

There was in the Pall Mall an interesting article narrating Sir Harry [Parkes]'s account of his capture at Peking by a lady, whom I suspect of being Miss [Isabella] Bird; perhaps you may know. It is certainly very well done.

I have recently reviewed Braun's Japanese Folktales. It is a little pretentious, leaves out a good many common stories, and tells many that are worth nothing. If he had known more, he would not have turned up his nose at the written versions. It is certain that these stories are much more transmitted by books, especially by the M.S. copies in the circulating libraries than by oral tradition. Nearly all [A.B.] Mitford's tales belong to this class. I regret I never tried to make a collection of them, but they are difficult to get. For old Mr. Malan I once procured several.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to Frederick Victor Dickins & his wife.
February 1877- August 1890. (PRO 30/33 11/5)

Believe me

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

29.

Singapore

27 August 1885

My dear Dickins,

Thanks for your post card inquiring after my health. I had been troubled with a swollen knee-joint, which had laid me up on the sofa for several weeks, but it is now quite well, and my activity completely restored.

I am at work on a bibliography of works relating to Siam and am anxious to get a list of papers, if any, contributed to the Linnean and Zoological Societies. Can you help me with this. If it were necessary to pay any one to go through the Transactions of those Societies, and copy titles of such papers, with date of publication, I would willingly bear the expense. I have made great progress with my list, and it is to be published in the Transactions of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S. [Royal Asiatic Society]

I see the latter parent Society is in want of a Secretary, and hope they will give the post to poor Holt, who would probably do very well for the position. But it is probably already decided.

Has the B.M. [British Museum] sent you the duplicate copies of Japanese books which they were to hand over to you?

I have had a pleasant time lately in Moulmain and Rangoon. We are 'limitrophe' [adjacent, sharing a border] with them in Siam and it was necessary that I should become acquainted personally with the men at the head of affairs there. British Burma is wonderfully prosperous, and pays better than any other British possession. The natives seem to be superior to any other inhabitants of Indo-China. I went up to Toungoo on the frontier towards Mandalay by the recently opened railway. There I found in the market modern pottery marked in the same way and with the same design as the prehistoric pottery in Japanese dolmens.

I shall be back in Bangkok about a week hence.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

30.

Bangkok

Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to Frederick Victor Dickins & his wife.
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5 November 1885

My dear Dickins,

I owe you many thanks for your three letters of August 7th, September 11 and October 2nd. As soon as I get a chequebook or perhaps earlier I will send you what the cost of landing my books has been. I am greatly obliged to you for taking care of them for me.

Hawes has written to me a letter from Guillimane about the Handbook; he was under the impression that you were willing to undertake the bringing out of a third edition, paying the cost of production and that afterwards the profits if any were to be divided. To this sort of arrangement I had no objection, as it freed me from all responsibility. I have always said to him with respect to a third edition that I could not incur any expense on account of it. I hope therefore that you will not put the book in the printer's hands under the circumstances, as in your letter of October 2 you say you could not incur any risk.

I quite appreciate your generosity in taking on your shoulders the trouble of seeing the book through the press, for I know full well what the correction of proofs and the compilation of an index involves in the way of actual labour. I am afraid Hawes has omitted to show you the letters I wrote to him declining to take any part in or incur any responsibility for this third edition. After my transfer to this place I gave up all idea of having anything to do with the book, tho' I did take advantage of my visit to Nikkō last year to make a few corrections and additions. The maps in the second edition are so bad that I think it would be a great mistake to reproduce them.

Chamberlain will no doubt have written to you that Kelly & Co. [of Yokohama] think any mention of a third edition at present would be injurious to the book, which is not going off so fast as was expected. Thus far about business.

We are greatly excited here about the prospect of the King of Burmah being called to account for his recent doings. It seems that Lord Dufferin has 'carte blanche' given him, and that annexation is probable. That will greatly extend our borders in the direction of China and Siam, and give employment to a considerable quantity of English capital. It may even render possible the fulfilment of the Colquhoun railway scheme. A large number of Burmese traders in Siam will be brought under our jurisdiction, and the unfortunate Siamese Govt. will suffer in diminution of their authority. I wish they exercised it more wisely while they have it. The country does not seem to make any real progress, or if it does, the rate of progress is so slow that residents who have been here for ten and twenty years are not able to detect it. One wishes for a little of the patriotic spirit of the Japanese.

There is a certain amount of European culture, that is to say many of the royal princes

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and chief officials understand English, and steam and the telegraph have been largely introduced. But there are no signs of any improvements in the law or administration, and the country is afflicted with slavery, forced labour and polygamy. I am not afraid however of its being annexed by France, at least as far as one can see at present, for she has her hands full in Tonquin, and our commercial interests are too large for us to quietly see her pass under another rule. My French colleague however tries to pick quarrels with them which may be utilized at some future day for the extortion of contracts & concessions which are regarded as evidence of 'influence'. But it comes to very little in the end, and I do not believe in the success of such a system.

There was an article in the Pall Mall recently by 'An old Resident' in Japan, on the diplomatic ring at Tokyo, of which I suspect Beadon to be the author, though it is not written with the asperity which formerly characterized him. Can you tell me who the author really was.

I shall probably leave on a tour to the Laos provinces in the north about a fortnight hence, so you must not be surprised if you do not hear from me for a couple of months. It is a three weeks journey to Chiengmai by boat and elephant, and about the same time down the Meping back to Bangkok.⁶⁸ The only drawback will be that the telegraph is not yet in working order.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

31.

Bangkok

29 November 1885

My dear Dickins,

As you were so good as to give houseroom to some of my books, I trust you will not mind taking a few more under your roof. With the exception of those named on the enclosed piece of paper, these I now send are in the lists previously sent.

By last mail, I got your letter of October 16, telling me that you proposed putting the Guidebook in the hands of Trübner & Co. As you know, I am not really entitled to any voice in the matter, having said to Hawes that I undertake no responsibility, and will concur beforehand in anything he does with that understanding. Trübner & Co. I have not found agreeable people to deal with. I would only note that the maps of the first of the first [sic. "of the first" repeated] edition will need some additions to fit it for the

⁶⁸ See 'A Diplomat in Siam' by Ernest Satow C.M.G., introduced and edited by Nigel Brailey (Orchid Press, Thailand, 1994; revised 2000)

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third, as we have put in a number of new routes not marked on them.

Many thanks for the promised assistance for my Siamese bibliography. As to the R.G.S. [Royal Geographical Society] I have written to ask Keltie to do it for me. I have the R.G.S. catalogues, and only need titles of papers in their Transactions which I daresay he will get for me.

On the 2 December I shall be on my way to the Shan states, and will bear in mind your inquiry about tattooing. In the meanwhile you will find some information on the subject in Bock's "Temples and Elephants." I expect to be away a couple of months. It is rather a bore to be out of reach of the telegraph for so long, especially at the present moment when so much of an interesting nature is going on with regard to Burmah & Siam.

Nothing wld. [would] surprise me less than to find that the French declared their intention to 'protect' the Laos of the Mekong valley. They will want 'compensation' like the Servians. But the information I shall obtain about the northern Laos will be my compensation for sacrificing so much other news.

The foreign community of Bangkok was much disturbed a few days ago by a case of cholera in their midst. It was a very sudden affair. The poor man was well at one o'clock and dead at half past eight in the evening. It is not the usual time of year for such events, and the alarm is all the greater. Perhaps I escape it by going away, but there are dangers of fever or dysentery to be encountered in travelling which redress the balance.

I am reading Seeley's Life of Stein, a somewhat dry book, essentially German, but full of useful ideas. With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins, Believe me

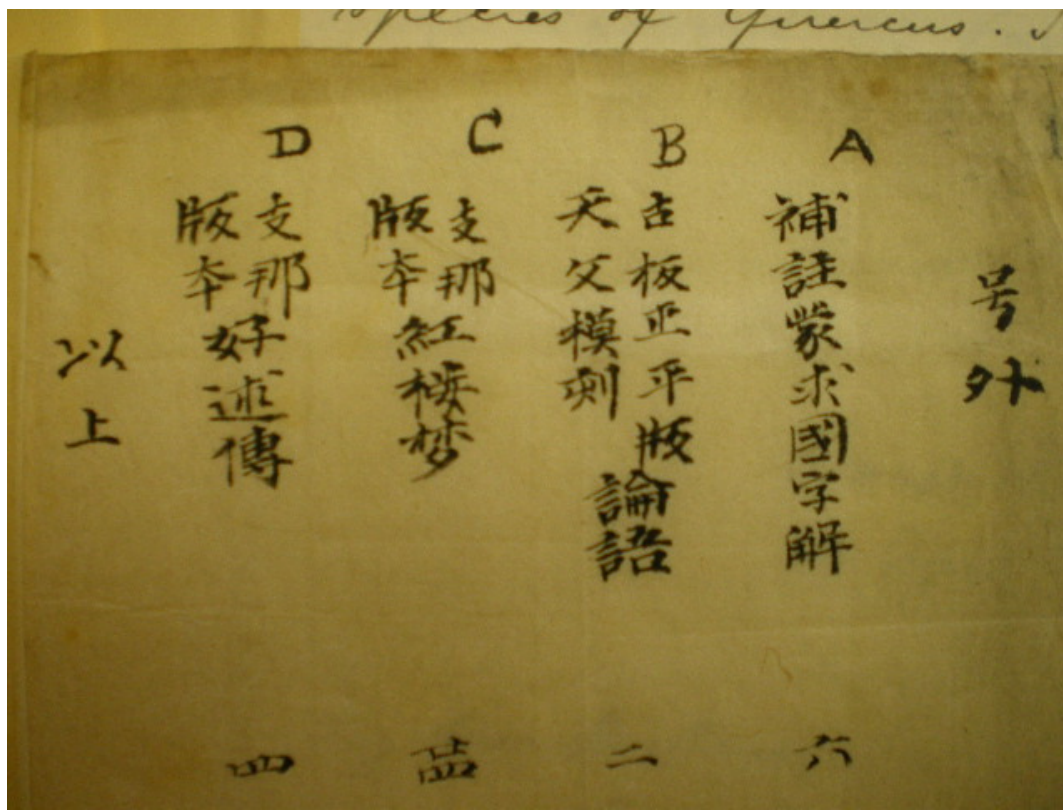
Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

List of Japanese kanji characters (See next page for two photographs.)

号外。。。以上

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四	五	二	六
川說	川說	經書	隨筆
未詳	未詳	支那古 代，撰 未詳	天保五 年撰 西曆一 千七百 零七年
未詳	未詳	支那孔夫 子，其 又，問答	支那 人 未詳
未詳	未詳	近來中 和刻 西曆一千 八百零 六年	英永七 年 西曆一 千七百 零七年 百七十八 年 譯解 東湖洪 岡
未詳但之迹 年版本	未詳但之迹 年，版本	天父年中版 西曆一千五 百廿二年	明治三年版 西曆一千八 百七十年

32.

Bangkok

4 April 1886

My dear Dickins,

I am greatly obliged for all that you have done for me in connexion with Siamese bibliography, and particularly for the references to scientific publications. As for works of the history and travel genres, I think my list is already pretty complete, and the same with regard to language, so I shall send it forthwith to the Secy. of the Straits Asiatic Society at Singapore, hoping that Providence will find some one to read the proofs.

In your first which was dated 19th Nov. you ask my opinion about Burmah. Now that it has actually been annexed, there is no use in lamenting the step, but looking at the Bluebook I cannot but feel that the anti-annexational [Sir Charles Edward] Bernard ⁶⁹, was in the right. It wld. [would] have been easy to establish a protectorate giving us just as much influence as we needed to keep out the French, and it would have cost us less. The English people no longer content themselves with territories they can make use of themselves; they have begun to 'collectionner' [make collections of] tropical countries for the benefit of Asiatics, chiefly Chinese and Klings who flock together whenever the easygoing colonial official sets up business. For the colonial man is quite a different sort from the Indian official, much less of a benevolent despot, not as to benevolence, but as to despotism.

It is about four weeks since I returned from my journey up country. It was a highly varied experience, and gave me a knowledge of the country that I could not have acquired by years of residence at Bangkok. Of course I kept a pretty minute journal, but it would be inconvenient to publish it, and in fact it would need a good deal of work to put it in shape. I visited some old ruined temples which as yet are quite unknown to Europeans, but could not stay long enough to make them out thoroughly. The northern country is much pleasanter to live in than the delta, but people accuse it of being more malarious. On the mountains near Chiengmai, at about 3000 feet above the sea, grows a species of pine, probably the same as P. Kasya in Burma, and at least four species of Quercus [Guercus?]. I brought away cones and acorns, but am not within reach of a botanist who would identify them for me. Some of the trees have magnificent red flowers which during the winter season blaze on the plains and river banks. Most of the trees about Chiengmai, with the exception of the oaks & pine appear to be deciduous, and it is rather an unexpected sight to find the forests almost bare. Bock's account in

⁶⁹ Sir Charles Bernard was Chief Commissioner of Burma twice: 2 July 1880- 2 March 1883 and 25 September 1886 – 12 March 1887.

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"Temples & Elephants", though inexact in details, is on the whole a fair picture of the country and people. What he says about tattooing is confirmed by everyone whom I have asked. But the custom is said not to be natural to the Thai race; the Siamese and Eastern Laos do not practice it to any extent, while among the northern Laos and Shans, who have at different periods of their history been subjected by the Burmese, it is universal. The conclusion is that the fashion was introduced by the Burmese. There is no need for me to warn you against confounding the inhabitants of Burma with the Burmese, who are only a dominant race now said to be rapidly diminishing. The energetic ones are the Peguans or Talaings.

I will try to send you something in ivory from here, but if I cannot find a curio of that sort, you will I daresay like something else characteristic. The Siamese themselves are not great as artisans. It is an agricultural and boating people. They make red pottery unglazed of a coarse kind and bronze Buddhas greatly inferior to the ancient specimens. I have begun at last to study Siamese, and am reading the history. It is an easy language but the words are uncouth.

Your's very truly
Ernest Satow

A Letter from Satow on leave in Japan

33.

Nikkô

29 July 1886

My dear Dickins,

You will possibly be surprised to find me dating again from Japan, but it is only temporary. I was seriously ill at the end of May, in consequence of my journey to Chiangmai, and had to take sick leave. Japan being the most accessible place for a refit, I came here, and am now staying with the Plunketts. It is my destiny to return to Bangkok at the beginning of September, and I trust it will be accomplished.

My visit here has quite convinced me of one thing, namely, that the idea of bringing out a third edition of the Guidebook without extensive alterations would utterly ruin its reputation. Owing to the extension of railways, the construction of new roads in every part of the country, and the building of hotels in the foreign style, nearly all that sort of information has to be changed. It is quite impossible to find out all that has been done in this way without going over a great deal of the ground covered by the book. Two years ago I made some additions and corrections for this place [Nikkô], and now I find there

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are more. The same at Hakone, Ikao, etc. I do not see how the thing can be done, unless a man can be found in Japan to take over the book, and completely re-edit it. He would be entitled to put his name to it, and to have all the profits, such as they might prove to be. As a piece of literary property I regard it as having no value, not even as much as £100.

Fortunately there is no hurry at present. Kelly & Co. have 302 copies unsold, and we may safely calculate that these will take two years from the present time to run off. Before that time both Hawes and myself may be in England; I certainly shall be – and we can talk the matter over, which will be more satisfactory than any amount of correspondence.

I trust you have not incurred any responsibility as yet on behalf of a third edition or expended any labour on the preparation of the “copy”. I will write to Hawes my views on the subject, and try to dissuade him from attempting to go on with it. It would be an injustice to both of us to allow our names to appear as the authors of an edition which would be so far behind the times.

I hope things are going smoothly with you and that you find plenty of occupation for your pen.

Chamberlain has recently brought out a capital little grammar of the written language and a romanized reader, based upon the entire ignoring of the Chinese character. It is in the nature of an experiment, which perhaps may take long to attain a successful result, and the road by which that will finally be reached seems more likely to be the extension of English teaching in schools. Our language is to be taught all over the country in the middle, and perhaps also in the primary schools.

I see no signs of Japan going backward. On the contrary, now that England has taken her by the hand in the matter of Treaty Revision we may look for a consolidation of friendly feeling between the two countries which cannot but tend to further progress. The people who without *connaissance de cause* talk so much of Japan going ahead too fast are not worth listening to. They do not understand the facts which lie at the bottom of it all, and unable to comprehend what is passing before their eyes, take refuge in sceptical criticism.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins, believe me,

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

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Two Letters from England

34.

3 Airlie Gardens W.

2 October 1888

My dear Dickins,

I should have been delighted to come down to you on Sunday next, but am prevented by an engagement to join my people at Chislehurst, and stay over Sunday with them. I am sorry not to see you at Hawes' dinner on Thursday. However for next week I have at present no engagement, and can come down any day that you may name. I think the ordinary membership of the Army and Navy would suit me, and as far as using the no. of another person, I am allowed to use my aunt's. But abroad that is not quite so convenient, as the number seems to change. So if you can do it for me without giving yourself any great trouble I should be really very much obliged.

Palgrave's death is very sudden and unexpected. It creates a vacancy in South America, but I have no prospect of being his successor. Still it may possibly make an opening for me somewhere else. At the present however I am quite contented, nay even desirous, to go back to Bangkok, having a scheme in my head which I hope to put into execution, and when it is all fairly launched, I shall consider my work there closed.

By the way, if you will have me any day next week, it would probably be easier for me to get to Richmond from Addison Road than from Waterloo, which is a long way from here.

Your's very truly

Ernest Satow

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35.

3 Airlie Gardens

Friday evening ["1888" written in pencil]

My dear Dickins,

I am very glad to have the promise of an opportunity of saying goodbye to you. If it had been possible I would have come to you, but Anderson has kept me very much a prisoner, and only unavoidable necessity takes me upstairs in any house. Will you come on Tuesday at 4.30.

You did not send me a copy of your Taketori [Monogatari], but I shall be much pleased to possess it. New views of grammar are always interesting to me. Chamberlain sent me his, and I had quite a merry day over it: he is so fond of a bit of sly fun; and then his conversations are really very idiomatic and truly Japanese. Aston's book is more severe. It has its merits, and the bits of colloquial at the end are very good examples, but it is dry.

Au revoir.

Your's very sincerely

Ernest Satow

Letters from Uruguay

36.

British Legation,
Montevideo [printed letterhead]
7 July 1889

Dear Mrs. Dickins.

I have kept your letter of April 9th, partly as a reminder to write to you from here, and lo, two months have passed by without this purpose being accomplished. The last three months of my stay in England were not all joy, for much of it was spent on a sofa looking out at those dreary houses in Campden Hill, but at least I got them to take me out in a Bath chair, which was an intense delight. And then I had to leave without saying goodbye to more than a very few friends, the most accessible. We had a pleasant three weeks voyage out here, avoiding Rio on account of the yellow fever, and came here at the beginning of winter, but such a sunny blue-skied winter, as I have never seen; for there is no frost as in Japan, and the south west wind from the Andes is far more invigorating than those icy breezes that blow down the cone of Asama yama. Climate here is most delicious, but the country uninteresting, a green series of never ending modulations, where the only existing trees have been planted by man, dreary leagues of open grassland, with hardly a sign of habitation. But the city, built on a promontory jutting out into the River Plate, is very pleasant, streets chiefly at right angles, of low two storied houses, where you have the choice of sun or shady side as your taste or prudence dictates. Up to the present I have been living in lodgings; my nieces and I have one sitting room in common, which is not altogether suited to my humour. I cannot be myself unless alone for some hours in the day; self-ish in the extreme, but inveterate habit cannot be got rid of. I am quite cured of my lameness, and there is work to do here which suits my taste, so that for the present I would not change for England, dearly as I love the old country and all that it affords. I have been over at Buenos Aires and do not like it. The whole population is sordid and given up to gain, honest and dishonest; the streets narrow, dirty and crowded, the country as flat as a table and even duller than in Uruguay. I trust they will never send me there.

You are quite wrong in supposing that I consider marriage spoils men. On the contrary, I find several who are the better for it, and I know others who would have been far happier had they been able to manage to find wives before it was too late. But one of our common friends would I believe have been better without the particular wife who has fallen to his lot. It is so long that I have not been able to have a real talk with you,

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that I believe we know each others outside only. That time I dined with you and your husband in Richmond I was greatly tempted to let myself go, and say what I really believe about the problems that are disturbing every body in these days, but was afraid. Perhaps you do not remember that you said something about our not being allowed to entertain the old beliefs. I ought then at once to have said that they are the only ones that a thinking being can hold, and the wisest thing we can do is to use the forms that have come down to us from the past, without presumptuously fancying that we individually can make better. That is the best form which approves itself to the majority of one's own countrymen and women, and the more one studies it, the more one sees how grand and how catholic it is, fitted for babes as well as for full-grown men.

Science has taught us much, but it has not yet supplied us with an adequate motive for choosing between good and evil, between self and not-self. If one must have a merely human guide, I prefer a poet, Tennyson or Browning. Do you know [Browning's] "A Death in the Desert," [1864] and "Easter Day"[1850] ? "Vastness" and [Tennyson's]"The Ancient Sage"? ⁷⁰ And do you also know well the *Imitatio*? To the last, the whole of which I have copied out in Japanese with my own hand ⁷¹, to Newman's *Apologia* and Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* I owe much, to an apparently sudden conviction, everything. If one finds a treasure, the natural impulse is to share it.

Love to your husband, and believe me

Your's very sincerely

Ernest Satow

37.

Montevideo,

September 20, 1889.

⁷⁰ "For nothing worthy proving can be proven,
Nor yet disproven: wherefore thou be wise,
Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt."

(*The Ancient Sage*, 1885, l.66. By Alfred, Lord Tennyson, 1809-92.)

⁷¹ "The Imitation of Christ" by Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471). This spiritual book was first issued anonymously in 1418. In *Sir Ernest Satow: A Memoir* by B. M. Allen (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1933) it is claimed that reading the *Imitatio* in the original Latin at an Oxford library in 1888 first led Satow to believe in God. (p. 93.); also that while in Montevideo (1889-93) he wrote out a complete translation of the work into Japanese (p. 142). The reference in this letter confirms this last point, though who did the translation is not stated. See also references to the *Imitatio* in letters 38 and 39 below.

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for the excellent portrait of yourself and the letter which accompanied it. You will have thought me very negligent in letter writing. But I have less time than formerly, partly owing to my being without a consul at present; partly to having a couple of nieces and consequently more society, and then a new language to learn. Luckily my studies in the history of the Jesuit missions involve reading a certain amount of Spanish, so I can kill two birds with one stone.

The winter is over and gone. Today a hot wind is blowing down from the north, which will bring forward the vegetation rapidly. It is accompanied with much dust, which people grumble at, but at what do they not grumble. The surface being light friable soil, we alternate between deep mud and clouds of dust, as in North China. In the city there are pavements, after the old London manner before wood and asphate, but somewhat behind that, and they have been relaying a portion over which a couple of inches of mud has been spread with the usual result.

You know this part of the world from personal inspection and Darwin. Round Montevideo things have changed a little since his time. There is a good deal of agriculture, vine & olive culture, and immense numbers of Eucalyptus have been planted within the last 25 years, so that up to the Santa Lucia River the country is fairly wooded. Beyond, it is still the old rolling grass land dotted very sparsely with shepherds' huts [sic. huts?] and flocks of sheep & cattle. The only trees there are the so-called 'monte' along the beds of the rivers. I cannot tell you much of the natural history, for my time has been spent chiefly in the town. I recognized a red oxalis, a yellow crocus, and verbenas, and saw some so-called guinea pigs when last in the country.

We are on the eve of a presidential election, and speculation is rife. Those who like strong government are for a military man, while the speculators put the pot on a lawyer who holds the office of minister of the interior, and from being so poor four years ago as to be unable to pay his bill at the restaurant, is now one of the very wealthy. I have no idea at all how it will turn out, but everyone seems to agree in thinking that there will be no row. The place is indeed very flourishing, imports and exports increasing, the population increasing faster than the accommodation, and more money being invested every day. Montevideo is fortunate to have a gold currency, unlike the Argentine which has paper in excess to such an extent that the dollar is at 229; that is a gold dollar is worth 2.29 paper. Three months ago it was only 160. Over-confidence in their future and the rush of immigrants and public plunder on an extensive scale have been the causes. The River Plate is no place for English speaking emigrants. They have to

encounter the competition of soberer and more frugal Spaniards, Italians and Basques. You will have seen that a Congress of American Republics is to take place at Washington next month, on the initiative of the U.S. which wants to establish a Zollverein [customs union] and supplant Europe in the trade of these countries. But unless I greatly mistake, the Spanish speaking peoples have no love for an Anglo-Saxon Hegemony, and prefer the countries from whom they get money and manufactured goods in exchange for hides and jerkie beef, and who are far enough off to be unable to interfere, while the U.S. would be inclined to domineer, if they got the chance.

The [Treaty Revision] negotiations with Japan present a curious spectacle. Here you have the Americans, Germans and Russians going in for the abolition of extraterritoriality, before the codes are completed, and in the face of hostile comments on the drafts of those codes by Japanese lawyers, England I imagine about to follow suit at the leading of [Captain Francis] Brinkley, [H.S.] Palmer & the "Times". I hear from Japan that the native press is beginning to sound the alarm, because it dreads the admission of Europeans into the interior on equal terms. Brinkley says as little about this reaction as possible, but he cannot entirely ignore it. He is Inouye Kaoru in an English dress, not Japan. I am out of the swim altogether, but I feel pretty sure that our best policy is to be consistent, and to continue to say 'Show us first your codes'. We have been saying that for the past twenty years, and it is weak to abandon that principle because Herbert Bismarck ⁷² has played us false [i.e. betrayed us]. But I am afraid you don't agree with me, if it is the case that you have written a letter to the papers urging the conclusion of a Treaty on the Ōkuma [Shigenobu] lines.

I was greatly grieved to receive the news of poor old [Francis Ottiwell] Adams' death: not very long before I had a letter from him, written on the eve of his departure for Switzerland. He was a staunch friend to me from the beginning, and we kept up a constant correspondence. I shall miss him greatly, and so will many others.⁷³

⁷² Herbert von Bismarck (1849-1904). Son of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. Secretary of State in the German foreign office 1886-90, he resigned when Kaiser Wilhelm II secured his father's resignation.

⁷³ Sir Francis Ottiwell Adams, K.C.M.G., C.B. After being Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, appointed Secretary of Legation in Japan, January 6, 1868. Acting Chargé d'Affaires at Yedo (Tokyo) from May 23, 1871 to May 25, 1872 (in the absence of Parkes) and in charge of Austro-Hungarian interests. Later Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, 1881. Signed the International Copyright at Berne, September 9, 1886. Retired May 1, 1888 and died at Grindelwald on July 20, 1889. (See more in F.O. List, 1890.) Author of *The History of Japan: from the earliest period to the present time*, published in London by H.S. King, 1875.

Adams and Satow travelled together on the *Kōshū Kaidō* in January 1872 (Diary).

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It seems a pity Mrs. Robertson should return so soon re infectâ, but she is probably not fitted for the work, which requires either great geniality or great intellectual capacity allied to a spirit of self-devotion. How they will all say 'I told you so' to her!

Chamberlain has recently sent me a copy of his most excellent and admirable book for teaching Japanese colloquial. The road has certainly been made easy for the beginner. But for that very reason he will less often reach the goal than in the days when one had to learn that "a bowknot is easy to untie" and "a copper mine is called dōzan [銅山]", and Medhurst's vocabulary were the only helps.

I am working at a paper for the Asiatic Society of Japan on a document I found last year at Rome, and when that is sent off shall begin to read steadily. Can you find out for me any pretty voluminous history of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians giving an account of their missions in Japan. There is probably no work exclusively devoted in each case to the missions in that country. I mean something on the scale of the *Historia Societatis Jesu* [History of the Society of Jesus].

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins

Believe me

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

38.

Montevideo,

8 November 1889.

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Your letter of the 26th August has lain in my drawer unanswered all this time, because I could not get a quiet evening to myself for the purpose. We have had to give a good many parties and people were staying in the house. But I am afraid of getting into dilatory habits in this country, and will therefore try to give you an account of what I mean as best I may. And as you started in life among dissenters [nonconformists] as I did you will understand much better what I have felt than anyone who has not had the same experience.

I began with what I call nursery theology, that is to say the teachings of an ignorant nurse chiefly, family prayers, Sundays a day of dullness and two visits to chapel after a certain age, parents really devout, but not able to see what passed in the minds of their children – what parents can. The crudest notions were the result. At the age of about

Satow was elected to the St. James's Club with the help of Adams and Mitford (Diary, June 10, 1879).

thirteen I had an argument with a schoolfellow about free will and predestination, which I frankly maintained were to me irreconcilable. What his arguments were I do not recall, and as they made no impression on me, it does not much matter. I need hardly say that religious exercises were in the highest degree irksome to me. Voluntarily I would never have read a single book that in any way touched on religion. I certainly had no doubts, as one understands that expression, but my teaching had led me to the conclusion that being as I knew myself wicked and unconverted, I felt sure that hell was my portion. In short my state was that of a rebel. Then, at the age of seventeen I began reading Bain, Hamilton and John Stuart Mill for my degree, and was consequently shortly persuaded that the greatest good of the greatest number or utilitarianism was the origin as well as the sanction of all morality, and I began also to disbelieve in miracles. It seems to me that the human mind must be naturally so constituted as to follow out the principles it has adopted to their logical extremes. And my favourite study being mathematics, I began to think that in them was the only certain truth.

Then when a little over eighteen I left England and went to the East. A worse school for a half-educated boy could not be found, though probably South America may be no better. When I got to Japan I found a state of society such as you can hardly conceive from your own experience of the place. All my associates were men a good deal older than myself, except poor Russell Robertson, who left very soon. I do not think a single one of them had any religious belief, or if he had, considered himself bound to act up to it. Very shortly I fell into their way of life, which was only tolerable if one could get rid of all religion. I think it was a conversation with some Japanese when I was about one and twenty that finally convinced me that there was nothing in it. I had some time before ceased to go to church. I now read Paine's Age of Reason and some famous attacks of Voltaire on Christianity & more of John Stuart Mill. Besides this, my whole time and thoughts were devoted to the study of Japanese, with the one selfish object of distinguishing myself. I became a complete egotist and an infidel.

It was on my second visit to Japan that I became acquainted with Herbert Spencer's works, the theory of evolution, the dogma of the Unknowable and the theory of historic growth of opinions in morals. That was a distinct improvement upon Mill and Bain. Also I began to study Buddhism and Shintō. [Sir Edward Burnett] Tylor's theory of Animism⁷⁴ was what finally convinced me that there was no God. It seems to me quite

⁷⁴ See E.B. Tylor's "Primitive Culture", 1871 (reprinted 1970). Animism is the belief that a spirit or divinity resides within every object, controlling its existence and influencing human life and events in the natural world. Tylor regarded animism as the most primitive stage in the evolution of religion.

incredible now that I should have been so easily induced to hold such opinions, except that they suited me.

In 1875 and 1876 I was again at home [in England], and suffered a personal grief that as I well remember made me wish that there were a God to whom I might pray for relief from my misery. But there was my punishment for denying him, I could not even believe when I most wanted to.

That time, I mean after I went back, I was older, and had come to see by practice that pure egotism and the pursuit of one's own ends was a failure. And Buddhism seemed to me to be a great help with its apparently admirable theory of self-renunciation; getting rid of self for the sake of the repose of self. And during those few years I did a good deal of work for other people, and even gave money for charitable objects, though oddly enough it seemed to me that I had no justification for doing so. You see I was trying all this time to work out the purification of my 'self' by my own efforts, as far as I was conscious of the nature of the process that was going on in me. I had become devoted to art, music, nature, fine scenery, everything that was beautiful stirred my heart, and made me more and more detest and despise myself by contrast. All that was noble and great in men, even the sentence uttered by the Oxford martyr, take courage brother we are this day lighting a candle that by God's grace shall never be put out, such things as these seemed to me worthy of all love and admiration. And still I was a materialist, believing that mind was only a function of matter, a tune played on a musical instrument that came to an end when the bow ceased to touch the strings. I used sometimes to have a talk with excellent old Doctor [James Curtis] Hepburn, could see how happy Christians were in their belief, and envy them. How they got it was a mystery, as it had been from my childhood onwards.

Then in 1884 I went to Siam, and for the first time in my life had to perform duties which could only be successfully performed if one were ready to sacrifice all one's personal wishes and feelings; to refrain on every occasion from indulging anger, to answer rude letters with courtesy, to see one's motives misconstrued without being able to defend them. Only complete self-sacrifice was at all practicable. Those three years and a half were very useful as discipline.

Then I came home again, still a materialist, still uncured of my selfishness, still my own victim.

At Oxford in 1887 I made the acquaintance of Thomas à Kempis in Japanese with bits of Latin here and there. The first words "Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris sed habebit lumen vitae. He who follows me walks not in darkness, but shall have the light of life" stuck in my memory, and followed me about as I walked backwards and

forwards under the elm trees between the Bodleian [Library] and the house where I was staying. And still I did not understand them.

I went to Rome and worked at the same sort of books in the libraries there. My chief companions were Roman Catholics and I verily believed that I might have joined them if I had remained a few months longer. I read these old Japanese catechisms, and more than ever became enthusiastic about the Jesuit missionaries; if one could only have believed as they did. However I went away, to Lisbon and then home, still unchanged.

In June last year I went down to Malvern. I remember walking on the hills there, and comparing the views from the beacon [Worcestershire beacon]. On one side a wide fertile plain stretching away into the far distance, on the other a mass of low tumbled hills. The former in my judgment was the more beautiful, and when I came to ask myself why, it was clear that the joy over the benefits conferred and a sort of dim feeling of gratitude for them was at the bottom of it. There too I read Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua*, and admired the honest belief of the man, his evident conviction about things which seemed to me quite incredible; and also Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, which at any rate seemed plausible as I thought. There was nothing in that which I could not entirely subscribe to, especially what he says about spiritual death and the difficulty of the degenerate spirit being brought back to a healthy condition. Did I not know from my own experience how hopeless was the attainment of moral perfection? Before this I had read somewhere in Siam Herbert Spencer's *Data of Ethics*, & agreed to every word he said about the rule of life. But then why should any one obey it. With no God, only an Unknowable, a blind force, and certainly no continuation of consciousness after the dissolution of the body, in short no Christianity as I imagined it to myself from my 'nursery theology', there was nothing to compel obedience.

Before this too I had read *Flatland*⁷⁵, which to a nonscientific reader is sufficiently convincing of the possibility of a state of existence above our world of three dimensions and I was fond of saying to myself and others that if there were a First cause, it must be as far removed from our notions of intelligence as four dimensions is above three.

This book gives an account of a world which has only length and breadth, not height; in which all sentient beings live in a plane. But certain phenomena which the supposed author, himself a flat, describes, and which to him are inexplicable you yourself reading

⁷⁵ *Flatland: a romance of many dimensions*, by Edwin A. Abbot (1838-1926), a Square, Pubd. 1884.

it, see to be due to the interference of spherical and other bodies, passing through it. And arguing by analogy, it is at least tenable that the spiritual world may be to us as we are to the flatlanders.

On my way back I came up with a relation who is a clergyman, and a very good man. I talked to him about a favourite project of mine of sending English missionaries to Siam, to convert the Siamese to Christianity, which I had sense enough to see would do them at least a great deal of good. He received my suggestion with coldness, and we relapsed into silence.

I began to feel that this was because I was not a Christian, and had therefore no right to interest myself in such matters. And then as I looked at him I said to myself there is a man who I know is not a fool at all, and he believes. He believes that the world was made by a Superior Intelligence, and I don't. Then I looked out on the fields and the woods, and thought how beautiful they were, and then again into myself, at myself thinking about these things and I thought of the marvellous power of thought possessed by human beings; and was it really possible that all this should have come into existence without an Intelligent Will having ordered it. Then I saw quite clearly for the first time in my life that it was so, and was filled with horror at the idea that I should have all these years denied my creator and seemed to have escaped from the very brink of an abyss. It was like coming to life again, for surely the greatest offence his creature could commit was to wilfully deny his existence and so cut himself off from life. That indeed was spiritual death. And now what was there to do. Surely without theorising about the origin of right and wrong, the Will of the Creator must be the only law. And clearly the thing was to try and find that will, by giving up one's own to him, and not wishing anything for one's self. There is the whole law, and now I can feel happy again. Nothing can harm me now, whatever happens.

I must stop here tonight; it is too long already.

You will see that this of necessity worked a complete revolution in me, changing the whole foundation of all my thoughts and beliefs. For nearly five and twenty years I had been a complete heathen. I did not possess a Bible or a Prayer book. The first thing was to get them, and begin to study them in secret. For having read a great deal on the negative side, and nothing on the other; and being convinced that all the millions of men in past times who had believed were neither fools nor imposters, it would be best to go to them for instruction, I mean to the writings of their teachers. It never occurred to me to be guilty of the vanity of thinking out a new religion of my own. I would range myself with the believers, no matter in what words or forms they wrapped up their belief: the fundamental principles were the same. Nor did it seem natural to me to go

back to the sect in which I had been educated. My only desire was to take part in an act of public worship and confess myself a sinner. You cannot think how consoling were the words of the absolution. It did not matter in the least whether some thought that the priest had the power of forgiving sins, or not. I had no time to think of that. The assurance was enough.

Very soon after I went down into the country, to a house where there were a number of F.D. Maurice's books. I spent the whole time reading them, for at first the Bible was too perplexed [confusing] a maze for me, and all the doubts used to come back. So I shut it up for a while. The *Imitatio* was my chief companion. I wandered about the fields and lanes, thinking of nothing else, but not daring to say anything to even my dearest relations, for fear I should find that they did not really believe as I did. That was one of my greatest troubles. I could not conceive that anyone really believed, because I had never heard or seen it put in that way before. Once or twice the thought arose in my mind that this might after all be a mere projection from one's own thinking faculty, with no objective reality corresponding, but I was relieved from this dread by finding that I could no longer not believe. At last I told one of my sisters and my mother of the treasure I had found. Always after these disclosures I seemed to have given away and lost part of it, and I learnt from that that it is better not to be lavish of such confidences, even to sympathizers. After a few weeks I got a Greek Testament and a commentary, from which I learnt for the first time how the objections of anti-Christian writers are met. You see I had never been fair to the subject at the outset of my disbelieving. I wanted only to hear the side which would help me in that. Then I came across the passage where Job says "I had heard of thee with the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee, wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes." That was it really. As a child I had heard all these things with the outer ear and received them as notional beliefs, but they never subjugated my will, or elicited my gratitude. So many fragments of the bible now came back to my memory like living truths, and I saw what they really signified for the first time. It was like discovering a mine of precious stones.

At first I had been so occupied with the thought of the sin of denying God which I had committed that its magnitude eclipsed everything else, and as I felt that by my entire surrender I had at least gained forgiveness, otherwise this light that had redeemed me from spiritual death would not have been given, so I felt nothing but joy and no grief over other sins. But later on when I began to review my past life and to condemn numberless actions that had been prompted only by self-seeking, some of them quite irreparable acts, I became correspondingly depressed. So that the tears of joy I had first shed turned to tears of bitter repentance, and of consciousness that nothing could ever

undo them. However much I might give up my own will for the future I could not wash out the past. And that was my preparation for receiving thankfully the doctrine of Atonement. I do not think I was long however in receiving that of the divinity of Christ. His own language, which spoke to my heart in a way that was quite irresistible, and the belief of the Apostles convinced me of that. But some of the articles of the creed, as the miraculous conception & the resurrection of the dead were really difficulties. As I have said, I was willing to become a learner of anyone who could teach me, and at last I ventured to write to the Bishop of Japan, the only clergyman whom I knew except the brother-in-law I have before mentioned, and he referred me to a friend of his who lived in London. I went to him with dread. Do you know what it is to approach a man with a confession, fearing that he will reject you and drive you from him with harsh condemnation. The first time I went he was [away] from home, and I turned from the door with intense relief. The next time he opened the door to me. He was not at all the venerable old man I had expected to find, but one a few years younger than myself, and a high churchman to judge by his dress. What gave me the necessary courage I do not know, but I managed to tell him nearly everything, oh no – not nearly, in my past life, and all my conceited philosophical wisdom. It was a great relief. He said some prayers with me, gave me an excellent manual of church doctrine, and engaged to take me under his instruction, in order that I might be confirmed if possible [in the Anglican faith] before I went back to Japan. My first idea had been that I ought to make some kind of public profession to all who knew me, particularly those whom my example or conversation might have influenced, that I renounced all my former opinions and utterly abhorred them; and I really thought that such a heathen as I ought to be baptized again, only I found that it was not possible. So after securing the consent of my mother I prepared myself with this clergyman's aid for confirmation as the next best thing. But when the time came I saw that it was better not to say anything about it to any but my own relations. Last of all I learnt that after confirmation I ought to take Holy Communion, of which I had great fear, because you know how the Dissenters interpret the words "eat and drink unworthily." However I trusted to him entirely, especially after telling everything to my brother-in-law. I was confirmed in St. Paul's about the end of October and two days later took the Holy Communion for the first time in a private chapel attached to my instructor's house. Now after that I have not much left to tell, because it has been an unintermitting period of study to know more and endeavour to use the only means of getting [the] better of one's evil inclinations, with many ups & downs, cold fits and trouble, such as fall to the lot of every one. There is only one thing that seems worth mentioning: for a long time I could not pray at all. I mean for nearly

three months, I could only remain in inarticulate joy mingled with grief and gratitude. I have had many difficulties, I mean with things that I could not reconcile together, especially if I began to theorize on my own account or to observe the conduct of other people: but I have learnt to trouble myself less and less about what I do not understand, and to leave the spiritual affairs of my neighbours and their doings alone. But when I heard you say that evening "We are not allowed to believe the old beliefs any more" I fancied that you might be really wanting a word of encouragement which I ought to speak, and it rather lay as a burden on my conscience until I ventured to write my last letter to you. And if I have wearied you with this long tale, or if worse I have said anything in it which should have the effect of turning you away from the only path which leads to the hope of happiness, I am unpardonable. Only I think that if people when they have religious difficulties of any degree of magnitude could only find the courage to go to someone who by his profession is or should be able to give help, and confess it all, if we laymen were not so afraid of our clergymen it would be better for us all.

I think also that we need not trouble ourselves about high church and low church, dissent, or Romanism, good sermons or bad, Gregorian chants or candles. To some the sign of the cross may be symbolical of much. It is enough however to try to learn the truth, by prayer, by reading, by meditation. It is not necessary in order to have the comfort of Communion that we should entirely comprehend the nature of a mystery which many good and earnest men have spent their lives in trying to define without succeeding to their satisfaction. One should above all never read anything controversial, for controversy is essentially of an un Christian temper. We may however safely say to ourselves, what is old is not necessarily false, and I at least am only a humble learner. I will wait till I get more light. It is better to conform to forms and words that have the sanction of antiquity, than to dwell upon difficulties in them which we cannot quite understand; rather to agree where we can, than to make much of things we do not agree on with others. Of one thing I feel certain, that men who have lived a holy life are likely to see more and better in spiritual things than I do, and I will trust to what they tell me, having got far enough to understand and believe a great deal and being hopeful of further progress. I infer this is very much your way of looking at things, as you say "the best thing is to accept it as fully as one can and to be patient with what irks one." Yes, patience is what one needs.

I do believe in a hereafter: that is I believe that Christ spoke the words attributed to him in which he clearly promises it; and that 'eternal life' is in truth to know that God is, and to be wholly devoted to him, with the heart, souls and mind; that on the contrary if I

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had continued to deny him wilfully as I was doing, that was eternal death. But in precisely what form the resurrection of the body will take place I do not think I am likely to know. I am content to leave myself wholly in his hands if he will deign to guide me and help me to do his will.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

39.

Montevideo,

April 4, 1890.

My dear Dickins,

Your kind letter of January 4th has remained a long time unanswered. When it came I was rather depressed in spirits by domestic matters, and since then I have also had influenza, a peculiar illness the like of which I never experienced before. It left me weak in body and full of headaches, which have only just left me. I could neither think nor read nor write, only sleep. However, now I rejoice to fancy myself convalescent.

The first part of your letter shall be answered last, if indeed I can find anything to say on it. I enclose your note on books relating to Japan. Of Cerqueira's *Manuale casuum conscientiae* I have never been able to trace a copy, and the earliest note of it I have found is in Alegambe's *Bibl: Scriptor: Soc: Jesu*. The *De morte* [] martyr: is Pagès no. 99, and I have an Italian version of it, printed at Rome in 1607. The Portuguese original which Pagès makes out to be a printed book is MS: I have seen it with these eyes at Lisbon. I have also a Flemish version. The *Lett: ad Cl: Aquavivam* of 1613 I do not possess. It is 107 in Pagès. Nicolàs Antonio I fortunately possess: it is the envy of my Spanish colleague & his secretary. I don't think I sent you a copy of my *Jesuit Mission Press in Japan* [privately printed, 1888]. I wish you would go to [antiquarian bookseller Bernard] Quaritch one day and tell him to give you a copy on my account. It might interest & amuse you, especially the extracts from the old Jesuit version of the *Fables of Aesop*. The translation of the *Imitatio* I copied out entirely when at Oxford. Part of it I transcribed into Japanese script and sent out to Japan to a missionary, but his people found the style too old-fashioned. So at their request I tried my hand at a new version of Bk. IV, but how it has turned out I do not yet know.

I do not think there can be much among my Japanese books in your care beyond the *通航一覽* [*Tsūkō ichiran*; table of intercourse] relating to English intercourse with Japan, and I am not even sure that it is among them. It is so long since the cases were

packed that I quite forget what their contents are. But you are welcome to anything you can find therein.

I sympathize greatly with you in the matter of being asked to tell people offhand what is the motif of a netsuke or a picture. It is a branch of knowledge entirely by itself, it means familiarity with all the *nō* to begin with, all popular Japanese history and storybooks, Buddhism, and Chinese myths of all kinds. It is unreasonable to expect anyone to have all this at his fingers ends. Anderson seems to me to know more of these subjects than anyone else. The [A.J.] Duffield you mention must be the translator of Don Quixote; I don't know his book about South America. What you tell me of it accords very closely with what one observes here of the so-called Republics. I think the low state of political morality may be traced to two causes in the main: firstly, the so-called Republican form of Govt. which is the doctrine of selfishness reduced to a system and governed by no moral laws, and secondly the fact that the colonies out of which these republics developed were founded in greed & murder. But this is an immense subject, and I have not studied it sufficiently. Only that the history of all these colonies shows from the very beginning the same tendency to quarrel over the plunder that has produced the repeated revolutions of this century displayed itself among governors and under officials. The history of Paraguay is a good example. That unfortunate country never had peace, except in that portion which was ruled by the Jesuits. Wire fencing and standing armies seem at the moment to have rendered gaucho raids and civil wars practically impossible, but who can tell. The war between Chili and Peru was of the same character as their civil wars, bloodthirsty brigandage.

But to go back to the first part of your letter, which interested me very deeply. For myself I do not claim to have solved all the difficulties that have presented themselves to thinkers from the beginning when by their own intellect they attempted to solve the riddle of the universe. Nor do I think a complete solution can be possible to creatures with a limited range of vision like ourselves. The more I fix my thoughts on the greatness, the infinite wonder of the world we live in, physical and moral, the more I shrink from the attempt. I can only bow down and confess my own impotence. But I am humbly trying to learn what I can, and believe that some progress is possible. Only as a mere learner I am afraid to speculate. All I want is a rule to live by, and a Sanction for that rule to be constantly present to my mind. I have not found that in the doctrines of the Evolutionary school. Agnosticism for me resulted in practical Atheism. One must make a venture, courageously; not the reason alone, but the will must move, and the emotions working with them. I doubt whether words can ever be sufficiently the same to any two men, for them to persuade each other with of the truth of what they believe.

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Only now and then one finds that the record of another man's experience seems to accord in a wonderful way with one's own. But to know that one must read them. Then I do not believe it possible to consider spiritual questions without a bias. One has a wish to believe or a wish not to. You cannot put yourself outside and say I will consider whether the message of Christ is a true one or not.

There is one point however on which I think you must, excuse me for saying it, be in error, namely that, "if we are Protestants we must accept the mysteries of faith contained in the Bible." It seems to be an undoubted historical fact that the church existed before the New Testament, or every part of it was written. The gospels one must study with this feeling, that they are records to help the memory of people who already had a belief and a worship; and the epistles with regard to their historical sequence and the versions which brought them forth. It is only some of the dissenting sects who say the bible and nothing more. And consequently the New Testament is by no means a book for one who is beginning to learn to be a Christian. Only, the more he reads it and ponders over it, the less he will be disturbed by apparent discrepancies and the more he will find it to be coherent. Most people, men and women, who have thrown over Christianity, have done so to a great extent because they know no more than what the limited, literal, intellect of a child or boy can take in or understand. And then we read far more into Christian literature than apologetics. Our bias leads us in that direction.

These are only my ideas. I am not fit to teach or help others. That can only be done if it can be done from man to man, by those who have devoted their lives to these questions. The theory of private judgment breaks down as soon as you put it into practice. I would as soon think of curing my spiritual diseases by my own unaided ignorance, as I would of prescribing for myself if I had typhoid fever. In the one case as well as in the other I put myself in the hands of a trained physician. And just as there are quacks and men of enlightenment in medicine and surgery, so there are in spiritual science. One has to find out the wisest and best, and put faith in him. You soon find out whether his medicines do you any good.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

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p. 159 Note written apparently by Dickins?

Louis Carqueria 16 years chief of Jesuits at N-saki. 1552-1614. 'Manuale casuum conscientiae' Transl'd into Jap. De morte glor. 6. mart. q. ann. 1604 in Jap. pro. fid. passi sunt.

Both above printed Naga. 1605? Or latter at Rome?

De Morte glor. Melch. Brigandoni et Damiani Colci[?] qui ann. 1605 laudem ob causam (pro. fid.) occisi sunt. Lett. Ad. Claud. Aquavivam generalem prepositum ann. 1615. Pagès 107. There is a lot ab. 日本 in Antonio Biblioth. hispana nova. also of course Alegambe Bibl. script. Soc. Jesu. But you know all about these N Murevo.

P.S. Among your books here are there any do you think likely to be useful in regard to my English in Japan.

40.

Montevideo,

3 May 1890

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

It did not much surprise me that you took some time to answer my letter, partly because your husband wrote me a very long one in reply, which I should greatly like to show you, and partly because I know from experience how reluctant one is to put pen to paper on these subjects, except when in the mood. For the thousand and one disturbances of daily life prevent any sustained thinking and systematic reading is for most people quite out of the question. But it is enough if the desire and feeling of necessity exist. One's daily work mostly for the benefit of others comes first of all, before the cultivation of one's own spirit. After an interval of three months it becomes difficult sometimes to remember what one has written, and yet there are some pages in your letter on which I should like to offer an observation. You and I having been brought up outside the Church of England probably look on many things from the same standpoint. I have not been able to feel much sympathy with the symbolism and ritual details to which some churchmen seem to attach so much importance, but I endeavour to conquer my impatience. Here at Easter in the churches they exhibit a lifesize figure of the dead Christ lying on a bier, and the people go to kiss the limbs. That is not our way, but yet I can quite understand that very act of kneeling down and kissing to be the natural expression of the intensest love, gratitude and devotion. I see in our own church men prostrate themselves on going up to receive the communion: I can understand that too. The sign of the cross to many must be more than a mere idle ceremony, and even

the changing of the stole of the officiating clergyman at different seasons may have its use. I think one should have respect for the feelings, sayings and actions of others; to find out by sympathy what it all means to them rather than jeer. As for the opinions of outsiders, by which word I take it you mean unbelievers, that I hold is not to be much regarded. And I agree with you that it is horrible to see good men going to law about ritual. But that comes of the inevitable fact that even good men and devout Christians are not yet perfect. And also I think that one must be slow to accuse people of making a cloak of religion. I am quite sure from my own experience that the old form of heresy which seemed to say that provided a man were a true believer, he might do pretty much as he liked is not dead: that a large number are Manichaeans of a sort who think that so long as the spirit is pure, the body may do as it likes: and that in proportion to the sincerity of devotion is the danger of slipping in conduct. However, the requirement of unbelievers that Christians shall be consistent is a sort of testimony to an unconscious belief in its truth.

When I was a child, the sect I belonged to observed neither Christmas Day nor Good Friday; as for Easter, they never spoke of it. Every practice & observation of the Anglican church was condemned. And yet one cannot see any reason why these three periods at least should not be remembered and celebrated as they come round annually: can you imagine a man ever forgetting the day on which his eyes were opened. At any rate, I think what St. Paul says in the 14th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans is very applicable to all these questions.

Certainly parents have a difficult task with their children's religious education; children are so apt to put hard questions; and even if one did not find them hard to answer to a grown up person who understands what figurative language is, the young are so literal-minded that one cannot make them understand. Most of us – men at least – start in life with no more than what they have been taught in the nursery or at school. And they find that what they have been taught on Divine authority to regard as sinful is very pleasant. So that when they are told by men a little older & perhaps cleverer than themselves that there is no such thing as sin, that God is too good to punish them for yielding to their natural impulses, or that he has set the thing going and we are not responsible for the action of Laws of nature, they accept such teaching greedily. They shut up their bibles and prayer books, give up going to church and are consequently entirely ignorant of what the teachers of religion really say & mean.

I know all three men you mention, but not so well as you do. Science does not of itself seem to make men happy & contented. It is a satisfaction to no one to have persuaded himself that he is on the same spiritual level as the animals; the last thing I

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remember in that line was that mind is a function of matter, a kind of higher electricity
Palabras.

The sudden conviction that came to me in the train as I told you that the human spirit, with the wonderful capacities of every kind manifested by its intellectual part and its ardent aspirations after the good & holy, must have proceeded from an Existence greater and higher than itself, was not really sudden. Looking back, I can see that for many years past I had been undergoing a kind of education, that there was an ideal before me, which as long as I tried to attain it by my own efforts, as constantly eluded me; if I did a good action, I found myself asking the question, who are you to do that? You are not obliged to do it, you ought to be intelligently selfish if you are consistent. First of all it was the love of the beautiful in nature and art that grew upon me till it became almost a passion, and tears would come into my eyes when I gazed on a fine prospect or heard delicious music; and after that I began to love great deeds of heroism, of endurance as well as action. Particularly I remember the effect produced on me by that passage in [James Anthony] Froude [1818-94, author of *A History of England*] where he quotes the speech of Ridley to Latimer at the stake in Oxford. Also I saw how perfectly happy and also truly good were some Christians, and I wondered what was the secret difference that enabled them to believe what I could not. And most of all, the absolute necessity of extirpating in myself all ambition, love of distinction and resentment of insults and injuries if I would successfully perform the public duties laid upon me. That worked upon me very strongly. I only tell you these details to show that whatever I thought at the time, I am now quite certain that the process was a gradual one. You know that you may cool down a strong solution of some salt without its solidifying, and then if you give it a sudden jerk it crystallizes. I fancy that the so-called sudden conversions are like that.

As to becoming a Roman Catholic: I am not afraid. I do not know enough, and feel no call in that direction. Here am I an Englishman, brought up as a Protestant, with a Book of Common Prayer that contains all I want for daily help & guidance. Why should I go elsewhere. But if I were in a Roman Catholic country and had no church of my own, I would I have no doubt go to mass and take the host, believing that the efficacy of the sacrament is not affected by scholastic theories about transubstantiation. I could not do this in a dissenting chapel because they would not admit me. But this is wearying you. I only hope that some day we may talk face to face, instead of across thousands of miles of sea. Believe me

Yours very sincerely
Ernest Satow

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P.S. What you need is a clergyman whom you can trust for help.

41.

Montevideo.

August 15, 1890

My dear Dickins,

Chamberlain has written to me from Japan that in conjunction with a Mr. W.B. Mason, he is going to bring out an abridged guidebook of Japan, based in part on what Hawes & I did. As I am anxious to afford him all possible help, I write to ask you in case the matter prepared by Hawes for a third edition should still be with you, to send it to Chamberlain; as I am certain that Hawes will agree to their proposals I am writing to him at the same time, but Tahiti is so far out of the world, that I don't at all know when he is likely to receive my letter. There are steamers to New Zealand which touch at Rio, and I am going to send a duplicate by that route.

The River Plate is getting deeper and deeper into the financial mire. I do not at all like the optimistic tone of the "Times" correspondent letters from Buenos Aires. It is a great error to encourage these people in discounting their future. They are already far too much disposed to pursue the course of the heir who ruins himself by postobits before he comes into his property. The recent revolution may have put an honest set of men in power, but it will take a long series of years to repay the immense debt which the premium on gold means. I see it is daily rising again, and before long we shall see it at 300 as before. Here things are just as bad. There has been great dishonesty in the administration of the National Bank which six weeks ago had to cease paying its notes in gold, and I don't see how the situation is to be remedied. What these people need is ordinary honesty, and nothing can give that to them. Barings must feel very uncomfortable. It is openly said here that they have lent so much in the River Plate that they must go on lending more in order not to lose all. I do not think President [Julio] Herrera [y Obes] will long retain power.⁷⁶ He lives a most disreputable life; keeps two or three mistresses, spends money on actresses and never pays his most ordinary debts.

I have been instructed from home to write a trade report. None has appeared since [Satow's predecessor in Siam and Uruguay, W. Gifford] Palgrave's in 1887, which caused very nasty remarks to be made about him in some of the papers, notably "Truth". I shall find it difficult to steer clear of ticklish subjects. Politics, trade & finance are here so closely linked together, that if one tells the truth about one of these subjects, one is sure to provoke hostility.

⁷⁶ President Herrera y Obes remained in power in Uruguay 1890-94.

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Things do not seem to be going well in Japan, even by the accounts of that suborned [i.e. government-controlled] journal the "Japan Mail". A strong antiforeign feeling has manifested itself lately, and Treaty Revision seems as far from realization as ever. For twenty years it has now been a subject of discussion, and everyone has failed. Each time concessions are obtained from European Powers, and each time the Japanese after nearly concluding the negotiations, turn round and say that public feeling will not allow them to sign. In Europe you seem to be getting on better. Our arrangement with Germany was an excellent piece of work, and I am glad to see that a treaty has been signed with Portugal. If only the Bulgarian and Egyptian questions could be settled, Europe might look forward to some years of peace. What a fiasco [U.S. Secretary of State James Gillespie] Blaine's Pan American congress [1889-90] turned out. The South Americans have as little liking for the United States, as they have for England. Their trade with Europe is very valuable to them, and they will not give it up for 'les beaux yeux' of the Norte-Americanos. I am able now to conduct my business affairs in Spanish, and am quite contented with Montevideo. It would not suit me to move to any other post in South America, and I hope to be left alone for a long time to come.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins

Believe me

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

[End of PRO 30/33 11/5.]

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PRO 30/33 11/6: January 29, 1891 to December 6, 1905 (42 letters)

Letters from Uruguay (except No. 2)

1.

British Legation, Montevideo. [printed]

29 January 1891

My dear Dickins,

Thanks for your letter of November 2, in which you say you had sent off guide book material to Chamberlain; I have already heard from him that he had received a parcel ticket for it; also that [John] Murray is willing to include it in his series of handbooks. ⁷⁷ Chamberlain is so thorough in all he undertakes (except his "Things Japanese," as to which I quite agree with your estimate) that it is sure to be a great improvement on the 2nd edition; the maps I understand are to be particularly carefully done.

I think I have read somewhere about the proposed revival of the Oriental Translation Fund, and you ask me whether I have any ideas as to what Japanese books might be selected. The Yengishiki [延喜式] I don't think would do at all, for apart from the Norito [祝詞], it is merely a compilation of the direst administrative regulations. The Nihonguashi [日本外史 published 1829] is also very dry, and to complete the translation I was printing years ago in the "Japan Mail" would be quite beyond me now. I did the Taira, Minamoto and Hōjō: it is of course very difficult to get a copy; I have only one. The Nihongi requires a great deal of scholarship; I am not sure that Chamberlain has not some idea of a selection (for the Sacred Books of the East). But my own preference would be in favour of either the Manyō (in prose) ⁷⁸ or the Genji Monogatari. You know a so-called translation of the latter was published by a Japanese ⁷⁹, but I believe it is neither accurate nor complete. Beyond these books there seems to be very little in Japanese worthy of attention.

You are I think perfectly justified by all the facts in taking no interest in South American Republics. They are political and social failures, as far as I can see at present.

⁷⁷ In 1884 John Murray had published *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* by Ernest Satow and Lt. A.G.S. Hawes in London, first published in 1881 by Kelly & Co., Yokohama.

⁷⁸ See the footnote on *Man'yōshū* below.

⁷⁹ Suematsu Kenchō (1855-1920), a graduate of Cambridge University. His most famous translation was of part of Murasaki Shikibu's classic novel *Genji Monogatari*. This was the first English translation, predating those by Arthur Waley (6 vols. 1925-32), Edward Seidensticker (1978) and Royall Tyler (2002). It was published by Trübner of London in 1882 as *Genji Monogatari, the most celebrated of the classical Japanese Romances*, and is still available today in paperback (Tuttle, 2000).

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What may be evolved from them in the future is difficult to foresee. It does not seem that the lavish importation of foreign capital, and the accompanying corruption of the governing classes can produce any good. As far as my reading goes, the want of homogeneity in the inhabitants of each & every one of these republics tends to foment the disposition to domestic dissension which has become the normal condition of nearly all. And even Chile which we were told had enjoyed internal peace for fifty years, and was the most civilized of all (it produced one great writer Andres Bello) has now gone in for a quarrel of the most "transcendental" character, as they say in these parts.

I think we must be coming near the end of the world.

Of course every intelligent man wherever he is will study what he finds nearest to his hand, have you not a principle of 'economy' in biology & physics the "path of least resistance"? I have no doubt therefore that if you lived in the River Plate, little attraction as there is in the subject, you would naturally study the history of this continent from Columbus downwards, as your main occupation after the day's bread and cheese were obtained, and the rest of the time as you still do you would spend in making excursions into the literature of mankind in general. But I really don't know why you should lament, or pile epithets on your own devoted head, simply because you have followed your own bent. It is what most people do.

Perhaps, but very perhaps, I may come home this summer for a couple of months. The great difficulty is what to do with one's house and servants; as for selling one's furniture and then bringing out a fresh lot, that is too troublesome and too expensive. But I should very much like to come to England to get a few fresh ideas; the domestic production is limited. How many people except Simeon Stylites, are there who can supply their own needs. Books I don't want: they are vanity and vexation of spirit for the most part. I should like to say, if I dared, that no book printed in this century was worth reading, but then my conscience reproaches me with ingratitude to Tennyson and Browning. As for all the French novels that have ever been written, they might as well be sunk at the bottom of the sea, as far as I care. That's flat heresy, I know, but one likes to express a strong opinion now and then, simply in order to prove to oneself that it is still there.

Have you heard from [A.G.S.] Hawes since he went to Tahiti. I have not had a single line from there.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins I remain yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

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2.

Ulverston House

Sidmouth

December 15, 1891

My dear Dickins,

I did indeed hear of what had befallen you, but the information came to me in such a way that I thought myself in a manner bound to keep silence about it. But it was told to me because my informant knew that I took a great interest in whatever happens to you. If I have not hitherto expressed my sincere sympathy you will I am sure not attribute it to indifference. Last time we met I thought you [were] looking ill and harassed, and thought you had been overworking yourself. But I am overjoyed to hear that the operation performed by Anderson has been a success and that you are feeling so much better in health. I had intended to come and see you Saturday week, but understood from Anderson that you were not likely to be at the University. Is not your want of inclination for intellectual pursuits to be rather looked upon as a normal condition under the circumstances. I have noticed this in other men recovering from a serious illness, the emptiness of many of one's pursuits then strikes one with a previously unknown force, and one finds in poets and philosophers and perhaps in a book like the *Imitatio*⁸⁰ what is more in harmony with one's needs and more consoling. In such cases too something has happened like what Browning describes in that wonderful Epistle of Karshish. You have not allowed your aesthetic faculties to become atrophied as Darwin did, but I should think you would find your intellect glad to have a turn to the other side of your nature. I hope I am not preaching to you. But to me it is dreadful that you should not be happy, in spite of everything, or at least comforted. I shall come round to Burlington House on Saturday morning on the chance of finding you there. My short holiday in England has not satisfied me, for it has been divided up in such a manner that I have scarcely been able to see my friends.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

⁸⁰ "The Imitation of Christ" by Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471). This spiritual book was first issued anonymously in 1418. In *Sir Ernest Satow: A Memoir* by B. M. Allen (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1933) it is claimed that reading the *Imitatio* in the original Latin at an Oxford library in 1888 first led Satow to believe in God. (p. 93.); also that while in Montevideo (1889-93) he wrote out a complete translation of the work into Japanese (p. 142).

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3.

Montevideo

March 15, 1892

My dear Dickins,

By the same post I hope you will receive a copy of my translation of the first four volumes of the Nihon Gwaishi, for it will go in the F.O. bag that takes this letter. You will observe here and there little bits of red paper stuck on the pages of print: these are 不審紙 [queries] of a Japanese friend of mine, long since dead, who was good enough to compare the translation with the original and point out the errors. But his notes I no longer possess. The bits of paper will however show you on what shoals I touched. Do what you like with these volumes, and regard them as your own.

Did I tell you that I had been to see R.G. Watson formerly of the legation in Japan, who has completely lost his sight within the last year or so. That of one eye was always defective. The wonder is that a man still continues to take an interest in life, and to keep up his spirits at all under such a privation. But his friends go to see him and write to him, and that cheers him up. Well, you know perhaps that he published two volumes of a History of South America under the Spaniards and Portuguese, bringing it down to 1810. And he has handed over to me the M.S. of the continuation, South America since the independence, to do what I like with it, since he is unable, owing to his calamity, to work on it any longer. His idea is that I should continue it down to the latest dates, & find a publisher. I undertook to read it when I got out here, and to let him know what I thought of his proposition. On this I am engaged at present, & it occupies a good deal of my spare time. It is very natural & reasonable to occupy oneself with the history of the country one lives in, and I had already been reading and making notes about the River Plate, so that to a certain extent this subject falls in with my inclinations.

If you can do it without giving yourself any very great trouble, will you send me a few titles of any books published in European languages, relating to the modern history of South America; they would chiefly be Spanish, French or English. Watson of course had a collection of such books, but he parted with them when his book was finished. Books printed in South America I can of course procure here. I don't ask you to send me any books at present, but solely titles; because I rather fear making a collection. The end always is that one overflows with books, and then the difficulty is to find recipients for them. What a piece of good fortune e.g. to find anyone in Aston's position, pleased to have them for his own use. The Bodleian [Library, Oxford University] is to have the major part of my books on Siam, and the rest I have written to Rhys Davids to offer to the R.A.S. [Royal Asiatic Society]. To Bodley I have also offered all my books on

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Buddhism in foreign languages, but what to do with those in English I know not. Can you find any one who would like to have them; they are not more than a dozen volumes at the outside.

I was very sorry to hear from Mrs. Dickins of the sad misfortune that has befallen poor Mrs. Robertson. If she could have thrown herself into some kind of active work this would very likely not have happened. It was in the hope that she would find a congenial sphere of labour that I rejoiced at her going out to join the Bishop's mission in Japan. Other women in a position like her own manage to interest themselves in good works, like Mrs. Kirkes for instance. But a mind that broods exclusively on its own griefs is apt to run off the tracks. I hope however that she will recover, and that it will prove to be nothing more than a case of melancholia.

I hope you are well and full of occupation. A little more sunshine and England would be a perfect country to live in. Here we have such an abundance, that we could afford to export a share, if the philosophers would only find out how to pack it. We enjoy Prof. Crooke's ideal climate, sun all day and the rain at night, so as not to interfere with the growth of our corn and cabbages. Has he not been writing in the Fortnightly about the improvement of English climate by electricity? Why not take a lesson from Nature.

Come and pay me a visit next long.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

4. Montevideo

July 30, 1892

My dear Dickins,

I suppose it was a "coincidence" that brought me a letter from you just after I had sent off one to your wife complaining that you did not write. Some people are very subject to have things of this kind happen to them, as for instance a Swiss Doctor here, who sometimes treats me. He is homeopath and hypnotist. But this is what happened one day: he had a son ill of heart disease. The boy declared that he was tormented by an intense desire for something he knew to be perfectly unattainable (now mark this, it was in mid-winter of South America). The Dr. pressed him to disclose the name of the object: No, dearest Father no, it is impossible. But my beloved son, only tell me and I will fly to the end of the earth in its search. Ah no, father, I cannot put you to such trouble. After bandying compliments a while longer the boy confesses that he is dying for some fresh cherries. This is a fruit that does not ripen in Montevideo, at least, in midwinter. Papa is in agony of distress seeing the futility of the longing, descends the

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stairs to the street door where – (I wish I had come to the turning of the page) he nearly overturned a friend carrying a plate full of fresh cherries !, which had just arrived from Bordeaux in the refrigerator of the French packet, and being a rare fruit the friend, who was the agent I think, had hastened to bring them to the invalid. Explain this story if you can! Don't call it a mere 'coincidence'. And don't deny its veracity.

But this is by the way. I am greatly obliged to you for giving the Buddhist books a home on your shelves, pending their transference to the University Library. I have put them all into a box (with the exception of Rhys Davis' little book which I still keep) together with various others on eastern subjects that will be more useful to Europe than to South America, and am sending them to you carriage paid by the steamer that carries this letter, to wit, the Royal Mail Str. "Magdalena". You will do with all the contents of the box as you please, and then I shall be pleased also.

Your letter is full of topics of interest, all of which invite reply. In primio you must not suppose, and indeed I am sure you do not, that South America is a paradise of blameless politicians, and that England, or Europe, has the monopoly of dishonesty in that particular branch of human activity. On the contrary, we here are in the habit of drawing comparisons which leave us in a position of very great inferiority; no real patriotism or love of man is suppose[d] to animate the rulers; the whole business is merely a question of loaves and fishes, to be extracted from the pockets of the hardworking and thrifty foreign helots, or from the over trustful small investor in Europe, for division among the sons of the soil. I do not at all admire political methods in England, but they are less corrupt than in the River Plate, just as society is better. If you were to pass a few months here, not as a visitor but as a resident, you would go back to England with gratitude in your heart for having been born there and made a citizen of the only nation that understands the theory of political virtue, and tries to practice it.

I have read your papers on the establishment of a Professorial University with great interest, and hope that something of the kind you advocate may come out of all the discussion that has now proceeded for some years. The so-called Albert or Gresham University seemed to be as absurd as its name. There can only be one name appropriate – "University of London." The body that at present goes by that name, though I am one of its graduates, I have no interest in whatever. It is not the examination or the degree accorded as its result that makes a man what he is, but the teaching he has received. I should like to do away with all the so-called Private Students or "self-tuition" men, and make attendance on lectures (of the German kind) a sine qua non. Degrees are rubbish in themselves.

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Your letter alarmed me greatly at the beginning when you spoke of your wife's illness, but the end, which told me she was convalescent relieved my anxiety. It would have been a serious matter indeed if it had turned out to be typhoid. That would have taken away all the pleasure you get from your delightful position overlooking the "Thames". I think I can see it now, those splendid trees stretching down the grassy hillside, and the patches of silver appearing between them. What you say about the pleasure Nature gives you is exactly what I feel, and the more I contemplate with my bodily eyes the trees, plants, insects, birds, animals, their wonderful structure and the never-ending variety, the more I am delighted and ravished. There is a story of Tennyson on his knees by the side of a slow brook in Cambridgeshire after long gazing saying to himself "What an imagination God must have." How inexpressibly grateful one ought to be for being permitted to taste all this beauty, and not only the beauty of nature but the glorious performances of man in art, poetry and music.

Like yourself I have had much to grieve over this year, first the death of my favourite sister, then that of a dear friend, whose loss has left a household desolate, and the joy departed in the same manner from three other houses where I often went. As you truly say "If I had only myself to consider, I would willingly sleep." The burden of life sometimes seems too heavy to bear, the responsibility for one's own thoughts, words and deeds so enormous, one would be glad to be relieved of it.

"The high Muse answers wherefore grieve

Thy brethren with a fruitless tear

Abide a little longer here

And thou shalt take a nobler leave"

But I envy you. I have not within a distance of 5000 miles a single soul that loves me.

Yours ever sincerely

Ernest Satow

5.

Montevideo

December 22, 1892

My dear Dickins,

I am extremely grieved at what you tell me of the loss you have had, and I can sympathize very sincerely with you because at the beginning of this year I too lost a sister whom I loved beyond any body else on earth. It occurred three weeks after I had parted from her in perfect health when I started for South America, and for some time I felt absolutely crushed but when I came to read the letters of her husband then I felt how

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insignificant and poor my grief was by the side of his. The only comfort for him is the confident expectation of a reunion on the other side of the grave. If there were not, what a ghastly mockery it all would be. The very sins and crimes of man seem to me inexplicable unless he is immortal. That is a curious idea of one of those Japanese preachers that as a man's happiness is in this life, so will it be hereafter, by which I think he meant not abundance of prosperity, but contented submission to one's lot, not apathy or lazy acquiescence but that contentment which is joy. A Christian would I suppose put it as perfect harmony of the man's will with the Will of God, doing and receiving as he pleases, yes – contentedly; there is no other word for it, and that is the foundation on which the future "life" is built. One always flies to "In Memoriam" for the fittest words in which to put one's thoughts on the subject, but the most comforting of all these poems is the preface to them.

I had begun to write this letter during my last hour before closing the bag when I was interrupted by a visitor, and then by a subordinate who wanted a despatch written about his outfit allowance. So there is scarcely any time left. Your letter of the 16th September finished nearly a month later speaks of the funeral of Tennyson and your fondness for his poetry: I too agree with you that I could much more easily do without Browning, if it were a question of sacrificing one of the pair and expunging his works from the archives of universal poetry. There are hundreds of passages and lines in Tennyson that will always form part of the common speech of Englishmen. He can therefore never die. Of [Robert] Browning [1812-89] one can hardly affirm so much. But half a dozen I should beg hard to keep: the Death in the Desert, Christmas Eve and Easter Day, the Epistle of Karshish, Cleon, Saul. I have seen a Mr. William Watson mentioned as a possible poet laureate. Do you know anything of his poems. Lately the Spanish papers had a telegram that he had gone mad. I hope it is not true. The few specimens of his work I had seen pleased me greatly. Pray read Coventry Patmore's "Unknown Eros." My Siam Journal you may remember is going to be published in the "Arrow" an English magazine shortly to be published in Buenos Aires. So that I shall no longer have to keep the rather bulky MS. [manuscript] on my shelves.

Have you seen that poor R[obert] G.[rant] Watson [Chargé d'Affaires at Edo, May 1872 – March 1873] is dead. He was ailing rather when I saw him last winter, and was then stone blind. I have his MS. of the History of South America since the Independence but I am afraid it is scarcely far enough elaborated for publication. It wants to be brought down to the present day which would need a wider knowledge of the different countries than one can gain from sitting down in Monte Video. Some people say we are on the eve of great and stirring events in this part of the world, but I have my doubts.

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Exaggeration is a very general habit among Spanish speaking politicians, and I have seldom seen their prophecies accomplished.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and believe me
ever yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

6.

British Legation, Montevideo. [printed]

June 11, 1893

My dear Dickins,

I am very sorry to discover that I have kept your letter of March 12th two months without attempting to answer it. Do you remember the contents of the first part of it, about the immortality of the soul, and the struggle between faith and reason. Also you speak of the apparent similarity between people who have the belief and those who are without it, in their conduct and aims. These are subjects so difficult, I will not say to write about, but to write about persuasively or convincingly that I thought I would put your letter away till I was in a mood for it. But was any man ever convinced by an argument? If you will persuade, you must often be indifferent to the success of your effort, for the mind is so sensitive to an attempt to change its ideas, that at the first approach of an opponent thought it stiffens and rolls up either for combat or defence. And as I was not convinced by any person making an attack upon my scepticism, I do not venture to believe that I could convince another. There is one thing however I should like to say, namely that to a sincere Christian in his most earnest moments the dread that his words or actions may seem to others none the better for his belief, that he may be a stumbling-block to others, must be almost overwhelming. Supposing his words and actions always to be perfectly pure in intention, what hope is there that the world will so judge them. The world will certainly judge them to be prompted by some self seeking motive. For no one can judge fairly who cannot also sympathize, and when you already sympathize you begin to agree, and then there is no more judging. But as no one who believes in Christianity is perfect, or thinks himself so even, for it seems a historical fact that the men whom the world has recognized as saints often believed themselves to be desperate sinners, how is it possible that the belief by itself should make that complete difference. One cannot either expect that believing Christians should go out of the world and form a special society of their own. They have to live in it; wear the same hats and bonnets as other people, dine out even and give dinners, go to the theatre perhaps, vote at elections, contradict those who differ from them, shut their

purses against unfortunate beggars, use strong language on occasion. They may love painting, poetry, scenery, lawn tennis and billiards, even take part in family quarrels. So that I cannot see that one ought to be surprised at their often looking like other people on the outside. And it is [a] very natural inference to suppose that their belief is very shallow, not influencing their conduct. You know perhaps that I have been a complete [religious] sceptic like yourself, worse I think. How I came round to gradually doubt the truth of my own unbelief is a long story, and I have no wish to indulge in autobiographical details. The process now that I look back on it occupied years, but the crisis was instantaneous. In a moment it became clear to me that God was as real as myself, and absolutely entitled to all my obedience of thought and will. Yet, as up to that moment I had disbelieved in Him and did not see how any one else could believe, for a time I was under a great anxiety that after all I was alone in my belief. The fact that a change had occurred in myself did not apparently correspond to any difference in other people credited with being believers. But after a time I did find out two people, whom I had known for some time, and had a low and perhaps jealous opinion of, who not only were sincere Christians (for one is now dead), but earnestly trying all their utmost to live up to their belief, in reliance on help from without. So then I got a lesson that my previous judgments of people were of no value at all. I don't think that men are what we judge them to be, and even of professed unbelievers I think they are often not aware of how much they really believe before they can get up and make a denial; and that just as the man who stood by Stephen & held the clothes of those who stoned him became the most ardent of the apostles, so the most violent detesters of Christianity are – unknown to themselves – virtually acknowledging what they oppose. But to go back to the question of the immortality of the soul, or even of its existence, so long as one is conscious of his own existence, whether he calls himself a soul or not, there is a 'me'. Now even if that came to an end at death, that would not necessarily do away with the belief in God. And the latter is I think of vital importance; the other is subsidiary. Let a man believe in God and fix his thoughts on Him, and time will clear up to him everything else that he need know.

Not to weary you with much writing on a subject which a man probably does best to think out by himself, I will bring this to an end. You have a keen intellect, but I don't think you always admit what it tells you. Don't be angry, or I will keep a secret from you. That secret is that you need not take the trouble of answering this in a letter directed to Montevideo, it probably will not reach me. I rather hope to be on my way to England before this letter arrives at Southampton.

A few days ago I had a telegram from Lord Rosebery offering me a very agreeable

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change, so good indeed that I tremble with apprehension lest it should not be realized; a change that brings me into contact with European politics, and will enable me to pay annual visits to England during the summer. If it comes about, you will have already seen it in the papers, I imagine. My successor's name has not yet reached me, that is why I feel a certain degree of uncertainty.

Pater's book on Plato is one of the first I hope to read when I get some leisure. Pearson on national characteristics we have ordered for our reading club, but I shall have no opportunity of seeing it till I am in England. I read much Dumas for the sake of my French.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and warmest congratulations to Ethel. A month after you receive this I hope to shake you both by the hand.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

P.S. 12 June. A telegram received today obliges me to leave without delay, so I travel by the same steamer that carries this letter. We shall meet much earlier therefore than I had the expectation, but I can only spend a few days in England, as I am to be at Tangier before the end of July.

Three Letters from England

7.

Westminster Palace Hotel

July 12 1893

My dear Dickins,

I return herewith the article about Siebold and Godai Saisuke's ⁸¹ letter. In the former there is a curious mistranslation of 帝國 [teikoku] which after all is merely the Japanese rendering for our term 'empire'. I knew Godai well. He was one of two prisoners who elected to remain on board the British Squadron at Kagoshima rather than return to the shore after the burning of the steamers we took there (1863). Terashima Munenori ⁸² whom you must have known was the other. Godai was a member of the first gov[ernment] formed at Kyoto in 1868, and I think was in the Foreign Dept. but he

⁸¹ Godai Tomoatsu 五代友厚 (1835-85). Early Meiji entrepreneur from Satsuma. Active in Osaka, founded the Osaka Chamber of Commerce. Member of the Satsuma group of nineteen students which travelled to England in 1865.

⁸² Terashima Munenori 寺島宗則 (1832-93). Politician and diplomat from Satsuma. Member of the Satsuma group of 1865.

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soon left politics and went into business with capital furnished by the Govt. He died some half a dozen or so years ago at Osaka, where he had an indigo factory that turned out badly.

I don't think the rōnin [masterless samurai, 浪人] had any legal status as such. I fancy as you say they were treated as commoners. Heimin [commoner 平民] as far as I recollect is a post-revolution term [established 1869, abolished in 1947]. I don't remember that there were any inter-class fights on any scale during the Tokugawa period: any disturbances of the peace would have been put down in a summary manner I fancy. But I have no positive knowledge of the matter. I entirely agree with your view that the Tokugawa régime was ready to break down and dissolve, and that the arrival of the foreigner was what you describe it to be, the touch that shook the mass into crystals.

I am to go out on the 21st by the P & O steamer to Gibraltar, where I hope to arrive on the 25th reaching Tangier the same day.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

8.

18 Norham Gardens

Oxford

July 24, 1893

My dear Dickins,

With regard to [Edward Howard] House's ⁸³ letter in the *Pall Mall Budget*, there is no doubt on my mind that it is a tissue of grossest perversions.

The first charge : I was in England from the beginning of 1869 to end of 1870, & do not know whether Sir H[arry] P[arkes] wrote the letter spoken of. My belief however is that it was a question of people landing from their house boats at steps opposite to their

⁸³ Edward Howard House (1836-1901). American journalist, arrived in Japan in 1871 to teach at the Kaisei Gakkō, a forerunner of Tokyo University. Popular with the Japanese, especially Ōkuma Shigenobu. In 1873 he resigned and accompanied the Japanese army to Taiwan as a war correspondent in 1874. Founded and edited the *Tokio Times* with a Japanese government subsidy, 1877-80. He supported Japan on treaty revision and foreign policy, and was decorated and pensioned by the Japanese government for his services. See James L. Huffman, *A Yankee in Meiji Japan: The Crusading Journalist Edward H. House*, pub. Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

“House also criticized the minister [Parkes] in British journals such as the *Pall Mall Budget*, as well as in his communications with political leaders – and in the process stirred up considerable heat. *The Japan Weekly Mail*, in particular, took House to task no fewer than three times during July of 1881.” (Huffman, p. 169)

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houses along the bund & that Sir Harry said he would protect them.

Secondly There was an export duty on coal. The supplies of all kinds for ships' use were free. Steamers used coal for burning, sailing ships for cooking. The Japanese Custom House at Nagasaki was troublesome & vexatious, & tried to make every ship that took coal pay duty. To simplify matters Sir Harry agreed that coal put on board steamers shld. be free, and on board sailing vessels should pay duty. This was arranged by an 'exchange of notes.' Sir Harry as usual published a notification informing B.S. [British Subjects] At that time there were no steam colliers. But afterwards. people began to export coal in steamers for sale elsewhere. The Japanese to my knowledge never proposed to Sir Harry a new arrangement, nor did he to them. The relations after 1872 were somewhat strained (he was absent fr. midsummer 1871 to about the end of 1872 I think), and House, we thought, was put up by the Japanese to make allegations they did not dare to make openly.

The high minister of state mentioned is I believe Itō [Hirobumi]: but the assertion that he was thrown on the ground etc. is all a lie. I was not present, but I think Sir Harry did touch his queue, or his hair, and use loud language in the presence of Russell Robertson, to whom he said afterwards that he was sorry to have to do these things, & that Robertson & the rest of us had to do the conciliatory part. I don't at all defend Sir Harry's manner with the Japse. ; it used to cause great pain to all those who worked under him, but other great men have been queer tempered & there are plenty of stories abt. Napoleon I, Wellington, Lord Stratford de Redclyffe etc. etc.

I think Mr. Iriga's [?] assertions are a little exaggerated. I don't think consular jurisdiction perfect, but the complete surrender of it is a thorny subject. England at any rate has spared no trouble or expense to perfect her administration of justice in both China & Japan.

Yours very truly

Ernest Satow

I shall be here till abt. the 2nd Aug.

9.

Oxford

August 21, 1893

My dear Dickins,

I answer as well as I can the queries enclosed in your letter of the 17th [see below, after letter]. But as I write from memory, suddenly consulted, you must appraise the accuracy accordingly. When I get to Tangier and have my books and papers unpacked I

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will try to do better. I leave London on the 24th by the "Clyde". The F.O. people despatch a bag every Thursday afternoon, I believe, and that is safer, I think, than the general post.

It is not the custom with the F.O. to print despatches as parliamentary papers, unless asked for by a member; and it may be that papers have already been "laid" of a later date than the time you are enquiring about. In that case it might be difficult to recur to a previous period. But it is quite possible that if you wrote to Lord Rosebery, stating your object, he might give you access to the despatches written by Sir Harry [Parkes] during that period. Also, if that should fail, I feel pretty sure that somewhere among Sir Harry's papers would be found the rough drafts of all the despp. [despatches] he wrote during those years, for he had copies made [by Satow and others] for the Chancery, and kept his own "roughs", as used to be the custom.

It would be pleasanter, of course, to have Lord Rosebery's sanction.

Sir Harry's life was entirely occupied by his duties as British representative. There was hardly any other side to it. He lived in and for his work, and contributed more than any other foreigner to making the history of Japan during that period. Even when the Japanese were not apparently asking his advice, they were greatly influenced by his criticisms on their proceedings. His is the most commanding figure of that period. But to present him you must describe the events amid which he moved.

I have been laid up here with lumbago of an acute kind for the last week, and have been deprived of the pleasure I should otherwise have had in going to the Radcliffe library and reading in some of the new books. Pearson's work of which you speak seems a dreary one, if one may judge by the magazine article on it by Llewellyn Davies. Still I would look at it for your sake if I had time. Balfour Stewart and Tait I read not long ago, and thought it very ingenious.

What I take it lies at the root of a great deal of agnosticism is the Protestant theory of the Bible which cannot stand against criticism and science and the nearer men get to the Catholic belief about the church, the more they are in accordance with facts and common sense.

I am looking forward with something of eagerness to Tangier, and all the new subjects it will introduce me to. By the way, can you tell me whether Lane's Arabic Dict[ionary] is complete? I see there is an Arabic Spanish Dicty. of the Moorish dialect sold in Tangier, wch. sounds likely to be useful.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

[Queries from Dickins]

1. Question abt. Treaty Revision & revival of the topic. Will think over this, and answer it later on.
2. From 1873 onwards the attitude of the Japanese towards Sir Harry was one of mistrust, and I don't think they consulted him about any matter, whether domestic or foreign. In the Formosa business they went altogether contrary to his advice offered, also in the negotiations for a treaty with China, and they negotiated a tariff autonomy treaty with the United States behind his back.
3. The minister accompanied often by a secretary of legation, always by one or two of his official interpreters and the officer commanding the escort used to ride in a sort of solemn procession for three or four miles through the city to the private residence of a member of the Gorōjū. There was always a Japanese mounted guard in attendance, as well as the legation escort of Military train (afterwds. replaced by mounted police from England). At the entrance of the house the Minr. was met by Commissioners for Foreign Affairs [gaikoku bugyō] and minor officials, who ushered him into a long room where he was received by three or four of the Gorōjū, sometimes a Wakadoshiyori or two, and two or three metsukes. A double row of the black lacquered tables lined the opposite side of the room. The right row on entering was given to the Minister and his suite, the left was occupied by the Gorōjū, Wakadoshiyori, ōmetsuke in chairs, and the gaikokubugiō and metsuke on stools. The Japanese native interpreters were on the matted floor between the rows of tables. That was in the beginning of Sir Harry's time, when the interpreting still went on partly in Dutch. Huge black lacquered tobaco-bon [trays?] were served, various cups of tea, sponge cake etc. a talk usually lasted three hours, and ended in nothing. As time went on the formality diminished. After the revolution there was never any formality at all. Sir Harry went to the Gaimushō [Foreign Office] with [Alexander] Siebold, Aston or myself, and the Minister had a man with him to take notes.
4. I do not remember whether any one was ever condemned for the murder of Hirosawa Hiōsuke.
5. The only murder I can now recall of a foreigner by people not of the samurai class was of a man named Hoey, who was killed in his bed at No. 20 about 1868, by, it was thought, a servant. The chief motive in most cases was to embroil the Shōgunate, yet it may sometimes have been partly dislike of foreigners as foreigners. If I recollect rightly, the discontent of Shimadzu Saburō at the failure of some negotiations in Yedo was the origin of the ill-temper that led to the Richardson murder [Namamugi Incident]. You recollect the party was in the act of turning when

it was attacked. House is not a trustworthy witness. The Kinsei shi riaku is better.

6. The translation of the Treaty of 1858 had 女王 [joō] for Queen. I pointed out to Sir H. that according to Japanese usage this was restricted to a granddaughter (or something like that) of the Mikado, & that 皇帝 [kōtei] was the only title we could admit as applicable to her. The Mikado's Govt. had accepted our view long before the affair of Hoshi Tōru, who by inadvertence had used it in a letter to [Russell] Robertson. The excuse given was that the Japanese document was only a translation of the English letter which accompanied it. This was doubtless true. I rather fancy Lowder drafted the English, and he backed up Hoshi, who stuck out, declared no apology was needed, and I rather think preferred to resign. When I get to Tangier I will see whether I have any files of the paper abt. the incident. Can you tell me the date.

Of course Hoshi was wrong, and if he had been properly managed would very likely have said 女王 was a clerical error, and sent a copy to be substituted. It was not intentional in the first instance. Then he got his back up, and so did we.

Letters from Morocco

10.

Tangier.

14 September 1893.

My dear Dickins,

I have been quite carried back to those old times by reading the letters you have sent me. In case you should decide on publishing them, I have enclosed in brackets the parts that I should like to leave out, and the one dated 19 August should be left out altogether.

Komatsu ⁸⁴ was (alas he died very soon after) one of the most charming Japanese I ever met. Splendid eyes, rather a large mouth, with fine teeth, a man of good birth and breeding. Ōkubo Ichizō ⁸⁵ was the Minister assassinated in (I think) 77. Inouye Iwami was a Satsuma man whom I liked very much; he was lost in the "Rover" off the coast of Yezo [Hokkaido] in September that year, when we went Russian-hunting in the "Rattler" and the "Duplex" fetched us away (vide Adams). Nakai Kōzō was in 1886 appointed prefect of Ōtsu, a great friend of ours. He was distinguished in that attack

⁸⁴ Komatsu Tatewaki 小松帯刀 (1835-1870) of Satsuma who concluded the alliance with Chōshū in 1866.

⁸⁵ Ōkubo Toshimichi 大久保利通 (1830-1878) of Satsuma.

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on Sir Harry at Kiōto. Kawada Kannoke[?] I no longer remember, but he must have been a confidential adviser of the Tokugawa family. Katsu is K. Rintarō, also K. Awa no kami, whom you will find in Adams, he is still alive. We were always very friendly. Tsumaji was I think one of the Tokugawa metsuke. Takeda Kō-un-sai was a famous leader of Mito men, anti-Tokugawa, who made an attempt at rebellion about 1864 or 5 I think: he is mentioned in the Kinse shi riaku. Kurimoto Aki no kami had been one of the gai-koku bugiō [commissioner of foreign affairs 外国奉行], originally a doctor. Ohara, Hashimoto & Yotsutsutsuji were three incompetent kuge [court nobles 公家]. Kawakatsu Ōmi no kami was a Tokugawa gaikoku bugiō, chiefly employed for educational matters, & early went over to the Mikado's side. Shimadzudani was a young kugé who had been appointed gov. of Hakodate. Between 1865 and 1868 Sir Harry always warned the Tycoon's people not to proceed to extremities agst. Chōshiū, for he knew they would only get beaten, and the country be thrown into confusion. The Fr[ench] legation on the contrary were always egging them on to exert their authority and nip the daimiō movement in the bud. I don't think anything in particular was done to the 老中 [rōjū]& 若年寄 [wakadoshiyori]; they were simply deprived of their fiefs, but ultimately they got something I think in the way of pensions, like the other daimiōs.

I got here on the 29th and am living in the legation house, the lower part of which is admirably well furnished. But the upper part has to be furnished by the minister. Euan-Smith's things are still in the house, and very much in the way. My own have not yet arrived. I sleep on a camp-bed. What most inconveniences me is that I cannot yet arrange my books. But two big cases are nearly finished, and in a day or two I shall be the owner or rather occupier of a library-room.

This place is truly eastern. Sea and sky splendid. About sunset you see the most beautiful opal reflections. The view from my house is very fine over the bay to the Spanish coast, and towards the town extremely picturesque. The riding is very good, and one gets the sweetest tempered Arab horses. I have seen the Aubrey Hunts at lunch; they seem to be much liked here. The society is of course very restricted. Colleagues on the whole pleasant, but half are away, and I have yet to make their acquaintance. My work is of the familiar old kind, such as one used to have in Japan in the sixties [1860s]. It goes on all day, but I hope at least to keep Sunday free. To throw off all official cares once a week is a great relief to me. If only the day were twenty four hours instead of twelve, and one's energies as fresh at bedtime as they are at dawn!

The mosquitoes are driving me wild. I must go to bed.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

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P.S. I send you a sketch of Sir Harry by young [Raymond de B.M.] Layard. ⁸⁶

11.

Tangier

8 October 1893

My dear Dickins,

One of the questions contained in your letter of August 17 which I had left till I should get here was about the Treaty revision question: whether it was dormant from Iwakura's return in 1873 till 1879. I think it lay quietly at the bottom of men's minds until Sir Harry went to England in 1879. Then the Japanese began to think they had a good opportunity [while Parkes was away], and the question was revived. Some of the colleagues (esp. Roquette the Frenchman and Eisendecker the German), were in favour of a conference in Europe. This would have given them a pleasant holiday. The Japanese repres'ves in Europe also favoured this idea. But the leaders of the Govt. were not disposed to give carte blanche to the comparatively young men who represented them in Europe, and most of the European govts. were against the idea. So it was decided to hold a conference at Tōkyō. The first meeting was before Sir Harry returned. I think he was altogether against the endeavour to revise. I recollect earnestly begging him to take the lead, as he had done in 1868, and settle the matter; but he was too sceptical about the possibility of making any concessions, and took the critical and obstructive (not in a bad sense) side.

I shall be very greatly interested in the book, & if you send me any proofs, will read them with care and diligence. Will you kindly find out for me the title and price of any good botanical book that would be of help for the flora of Morocco. My doctor is interested in the subject, and I should like to potter at it myself in leisure moments.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins

Believe me

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

12.

Tangier

12 October 1893

My dear Dickins,

The end of the Shimo-no-seki indemnity was this. During some years we, and, as far

⁸⁶ This sketch is not in the file with the original letter. Checked on March 6, 2007.

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as I remember, all the Powers gave up the interest and postponed urging payment of the principal, in consideration of Japan constructing lighthouses. At last the Japanese got tired of the indemnity being made use of to screw out of them concessions in which they took no interest, and resolved to pay us off which they did; we were thenceforth deprived of a very useful lever. But the dates I cannot tell you, they have fallen out of my memory. England, France and Holland retained their share; U.S. returned theirs, minus certain indemnities paid to the "Pembroke" and perhaps to the U.S. navy for expenses out of pocket, also minus the interest.

I do not remember the date of the transfer of the Post Office. Our objection was chiefly on the ground that we did not see the justice of Japan, who paid nothing for sea transport being admitted into the Postal Union. Her home post did not concern us, and we were quite satisfied with the existing arrangements for the Foreign Post. You know of course that many small powers, by entering the postal union, manage to get their interior post paid for by the postages they levy on the letters to foreign countries, and that they legislate in such a way as to exonerate themselves from all expenditure on the seaborne mail. Uruguay for instance levies double the postage that we do (5d to Europe for a single rate) & forces the mail steamers to carry her bags for nothing.

Gubbins is wrong in calling taka revenue: it was the assessment; the revenue was usually much less. There is no doubt that whatever Iyeyasu may have left in the way of a political testament the document that goes by that name is not his. It was probably a 'pious fraud' of the 2nd or 3rd generation of the Tokugawa Shōguns. The original has never been discovered, but it (the copies) was in the hands of the Rōjū.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

13.

British Legation, Tangier. [printed]

2 November, 1893

My dear Dickins,

Very many thanks for your welcome letter of the 18th October, which with the Spicilegium reached me yesterday by F.O. Bag. I enclose a post office order for eight shillings. It will be some time I fear before I shall be able to amuse myself with collecting either on the heights of the Atlas [mountains] or the depths of the desert. To say nothing of the state of my knee, which will prevent my using horse exercise for some time to come, this country is in a state that will render travelling in out of the way regions little better than a dream until Islam comes to an end.

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I should not have said anything about reading over your proofs had you not, as I fancied, mentioned an idea you had of sending them to me for that purpose. But I shall read the book with great interest when it reaches me. It will be like growing young again. Those years from '62 to '69 were the most interesting portion of my life; then I lived. Now I seem to vegetate. The sketch of your discussion with the Japanese legation is extremely interesting, I should like to say amusing if I might use that word of talking of such grave, serious people.

What the Japanese, and I suppose the Turaman [Turanian?] race generally fail in is – humour; that quality of mind in which the best of Englishmen are supreme, which saves them from the ridiculous belief – that little Piddington is the universe and its affairs of importance only limited by infinity.

In reply to your query about the Bateren [伴天連 / 破天連 missionary priests, from Portuguese] having had any *arrière pensée* [thought in the back of their minds] of conquest in the 16th century, I should say that as far as I have read the letters & writings of Jesuits and Franciscans I have not been able to discover any trace of such an idea. To me they seem to be the most transparent souls that ever work in the cause of religion. But there seem to be some grounds for thinking that the Spaniards of Manila & perhaps Mexico entertained such notions before they had any direct relations of Japan: and that the Japanese who captured that Spanish galleon which put into Tosa [on Shikoku] about 1596 thought so I have no doubt whatever. You can find it all in the III vol. of *Chronica de la provincia di San Gregorio Magno* by San Antonio. But whatever the Spaniards may have dreamt of at one time, I am quite sure that they must have given up the notion as soon as they saw what the Japanese were made of.

I have always thought that the Japanese are as little capable of being subdued by an European Power as are the people of the Riff [Rif, North Morocco], who were never conquered even by the Romans. Yours ever

Ernest Satow

14.

British Legation, Tangier. [printed]

24 November, 1893

My dear Dickins,

In sending off the proof to you by yesterday morning's post, I was obliged to let it go without adding a word or two in reply to yours of the 16th. I am very sorry that I cannot tell you anything about the value of the Koku of rice before 1859. Except that according to a passage in the introduction to section on Yedo in the 2nd edit. of the Guidebook, it

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was 7.4 koku to a riō early in the 17th century.

During the past 6 weeks I have been laid up with my knee, and cannot easily move about to make search of any kind. I spotted one or two misprints. As to translations by Lowder or Enslie I never saw the originals of those documents, and cannot say anything as to exactness. They were probably done through a teacher reading & explaining, but must be fairly correct.

'Quietism' if you will excuse me for saying so is a peculiar form of Christian mysticism, first taught I think by that [Miguel de] Molinos [1640-1697?] who is much talked of by [Quaker Joseph Henry] Shorthouse [1834-1903] in John Inglesant, and not therefore applicable, except by a violent metaphor to the Japanese at the period mentioned. Would it not be possible to find some other word that would better represent the sleeping-beauty-of-the-wood like condition of the country.

I am reading an interesting book "Pagine di Storia contemporanea" by L. Chiala on the history of Franco-Italian relations from 1858-1892 [published at Turin and Rome, 1892-3]. There was a short review of it in the "Times" lately.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins,

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

15.

Tangier,

27 November 1893

My dear Dickins,

I send you back your proofs with one or two corrections of no great importance. [Alexander] Siebold ⁸⁷ is certainly quite right in what he says of Roches' intrigue to 'nobble' the Tycoon. But he was not properly in touch with political affairs. We had neither axes to grind nor concessions to exploit, and were better able to judge, as men always are when their interests are not involved. I sympathize with you in that love of completeness which leads you to wish you could read all those books that throw a new

⁸⁷ Alexander Georg Gustav von Siebold (1846-1911). Eldest son of Philipp Franz von Siebold. Came to Japan in 1859. Provisionally appointed Supernumerary Interpreter to H.M. Legation at Yedo, April 19, 1862. On board H.M.S. Euryalus at bombardment of Kagoshima, 1863. Appointed Interpreter for the Japanese Language, April 1, 1865. Accompanied Prince Tokugawa Mimitaiho from Japan to Paris in February 1867. Appointed Interpreter and Translator to the Legation at Yedo on January 1, 1868. Resigned August 8, 1870. (F.O. List, 1917) Employed by Japanese government in negotiations and missions overseas, 1870-1887.

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light upon the history of the time, which after all is a much more interesting topic than the share one man [Parkes] had in it all. I am surprised to find how few of Sir Harry's own letters seem to be attainable. To me they are very readable. What other minister ever took so much trouble to keep subordinates informed as he did, just look at his letters to old Flowers ⁸⁸, on whom surely they were thrown away.

Can't you come out and pay me a visit for a change of air to get rid of your cold. I can see you are not well, and are much worried by this book.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

16.

British Legation, Tangier. [printed]

21 January 1894

My dear Dickins,

I am afraid you will think I have neglected you, but time here is rarer than at any post where I have hitherto been stationed, and it is as much as I can do to get through my official work and certain indispensable social duties. By this time the Life of Sir Harry ought to be out; there was a preparatory paragraph in the Athenaeum a short time ago, but I have not seen it advertised, so perhaps there is still some delay.

How I should like to see Layard's clever pen & ink sketch [sent by Satow – see p.s. to letter no. 10 above] in it as one of a series of portraits. I see you put me a question about kan shiu rok: I have no doubt your conjecture of kan is right; in that case would it not be 含愁錄. You must be glad to have got this piece of work off your hands. As you say, up to 1871 it was interesting, after that exceedingly dull. When one looks at the old blue books one wonders that so much importance should or could have been attached to us by [sic. by us to?] such trifles. Perhaps that is the end of life – to learn how unimportant it is. As for doing what one likes – the older one grows, the less one can please one's self, but perhaps also the desire to please one's self diminishes. Do you not find in looking back, especially after you became a husband and a father you pleased yourself less. To say one does not mind this change would be humbug – one feels it very much: - but it must be a preparation I think for giving up at last even life with resignation if not with content. I hope your influenza has gone away. The other day I had a rather

⁸⁸ Marcus Octavius Flowers. Appointed Interpreter at Kanagawa, February 19, 1861. Promoted to Vice-Consul at Yokohama, April 1, 1864. Transferred to Nagasaki as Consul, 1866. Again Consul at Nagasaki, 1868-77. Consul at Hiogo and Osaka, April 1, 1877. Retired on a pension, March 24, 1882. Died at Eastbourne, January 28, 1894. (F.O. List, 1895)

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interesting man staying with me who had been compelled to come south after a fourth attack. This was Charles Gore of Lux Mundi fame, a very gay and amusing companion, and interesting to talk to on deeper matters than most of one's companions here. By the way have you seen Coventry Patmore's ⁸⁹ *Religio Poetae*: half of it seems to me admirable; the second half must have been added for bulk as your bookbinder sometimes adds a number of blank pages to a precious thin pamphlet that you want covered.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

17.

Tangier

8 March 1894

My dear Dickins,

I am ashamed to find that I have kept your letter of 29 January a whole month without reply. But then – in the interval I have written to Mrs. Dickins, so perhaps that will serve as an extenuation of the fault. Cannon announcing the beginning of Ramadan are at this moment being fired off amid the hurrahs of an excited populace. Having lived in Egypt you probably know much more about Mohammedan [Islamic] customs than I do, and the effect of fasting upon servants. I have a few people dining with me tonight, and I am not quite at my ease. It is said they get out of temper towards evening. If that is so when they are in town, and can rest a good deal during the day, how much worse must it be at night in the case of people who are travelling in the interior like some friends of mine. They had been here all the winter throughout the fine weather, and now that the heat is coming on they have suddenly started on a journey to Fez.

You asked me to give you my opinion about a "Times" correspondent for Japan. I quite agree with you that [John] Milne is the best man. He is independent, has plenty of brains and can write well enough. He takes a humorous view of things. ⁹⁰ You may have heard that Brinkley contemplates giving up the "Mail" and going in for the curio business with a New York dealer named Deakin. That is what I hear from Chamberlain. Brinkley is far too pro-Japanese. The health of Chamberlain is not good enough, and I am not sure that his judgment can be trusted, I mean that he has his likes and dislikes,

⁸⁹ Coventry Patmore (1823-1896). Poet, born in Woodford, Essex.

⁹⁰ John Milne (1850-1913) came to Japan in 1876 at the invitation of the Japanese government to teach mining and seismology at the Imperial College of Engineering, later part of the Imperial University of Tokyo. Returned to England with a Japanese wife in 1895.

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and is very much of the literary man, which is not the first requisite for a correspondent.

I shall be much interested in Sir Harry's Life. As you are so good as to say you will send me a copy, all that is necessary is to address it to the Western Dept. F.O. with a request that it may be put in the bag. What is Verlaine's "Sagesse"? You call it a psychological puzzle: is it after the manner of Rochefoucauld. I have been reading Alexander Smith's "Dreamthorpe", very interesting essays. Do you know them?

We believe our little international difficulty to be at last settled satisfactorily to Spain, and consequently to everybody else. It has been a hard piece of work. But I have written very few despatches about it, and there is scarcely any material for a blue book. Most of the work here is done by telegraph.

How long will the Govt. go on without a dissolution? Surely Labouchere and some of the extreme radicals will rebel. I am sorry we lose Lord Rosebery from the F.O.: he was an excellent chief, and in politics straightforward. I suppose few people will lament long over poor old Mr. Gladstone. How I wish you were here to go out botanizing with me. The flowers are 'rich and rare', and no one seems to know anything about them.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

18.

Tangier

17 March 1894

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for the copy of Sir Harry's Life ⁹¹ you have so kindly sent me. I was away at Gibraltar during the last three days, and have not yet done more than glance at it here and there. I have however read enough to feel certain that the book will be greatly appreciated by everyone in the Far East who knew Sir Harry, and it is no unworthy monument of a man who without any doubt achieved more than any other half dozen put together of the men who have represented England in that part of the world. A second copy reached me early in the week, so now I have two, and think of presenting one to the Garrison Library at Gibraltar. I have also to thank you for the Abdruck [offprint] of Dening on modern Japanese literature and your remarks on the same. Partly I agree with you, partly I do not. The latter however simply because I think the romanization movement is for the present to be regarded as unlikely to succeed, in the

⁹¹ The Life of Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., (F.V. Dickins with Stanley Lane-Poole), 1894, 2 vols. Vol. I: Consul in China; Vol. II: Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan. ('Collected Works of Dickins', Vols. 4 & 5.)

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face of the reaction that is going on against much that is European. [Archdeacon] Shaw, whom I saw three days ago as he passed Gibraltar in the P. & O. steamer "Rome" says the movement is practically defunct, Chinese learning is an absolute sine qua non for every young Japanese aspiring to a leading position, and the Society (Romaji Kai having ceased to exist) has returned to writing Tokio. But at the same time he deplors the fact, on account of the mental narrowness which must result.

I will write again soon. In the meantime let me warmly congratulate you on the satisfactory termination of your work, and the handsome shape in which it is presented to the world by the publishers.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

19.

Fez

18 April 1895

My dear Dickins,

I have just been re reading your interesting letter of September 23, more than six months old, but your writing is not like that of most people, which fades with the occasion that gave it birth. Your foresight with respect to the results of the Chinese-Japanese conflict has turned out entirely accurate, utter defeat of the former, annexation of Formosa, independence of Corea, alarm of the Spaniards for the Philippines (on which I see Dupuy de Lôme⁹² has been writing an article) and securing to Japan the hegemony of Eastern Asia. By the last telegrams that have reached me I learn that the Southern part of Manchuria with Port Arthur, and an indemnity of 400 million yen are the further terms. Germany must be proud of her pupil. The ideas that impelled Bismarck to expel Austria from the German confederation and to make war on France, and the methods of [Helmuth von] Moltke [1800-91] and the German staff have been thoroughly understood and acted upon. The question remains, is the Japanese nation able to carry out the whole of the magnificent programme, is there a sufficient stock of physical strength in reserve to meet the huge demands that will be made upon it. Or are they like the Portuguese of the Early Discovery period, who

⁹² Enrique Dupuy de Lôme (1851-1904) Born in Valencia, Spain, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme came from a family of French origin who settled in Spain. After completing his legal studies at the University of Madrid in 1872, Dupuy de Lôme entered diplomatic service. During the following years he served in a variety of posts including Japan, Belgium, Uruguay, Argentina, the United States, Germany, and Italy. In 1892 he was named Spanish Minister to the United States.

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undertook a gigantic enterprise under the special stimulus imparted to them by one man, and having met with one great disaster, the slaughter of the flower of their fighting caste at Alcaçar-el-Quivir, fell at once into nothingness in which they have for ever after remained. During my residence in Japan I never had the belief that Japan would get beyond a third or fourth rate position; the people seemed to be too much mere imitators, and wanting in bottom. Of one thing however I have never had any doubt, the chivalrous courage of the samurai class. But I suppose it to be confined to them. The resources of Japan also seemed very small in comparison with those of a first-rate power; she had no iron or coal to speak of. To beat the Chinese is easy, it is like cutting through a mouldy cheese: any one could do that. Neat organization is another thing one credited the Japanese with; they have patience and the bureaucratic spirit. They have had a great success where it was to be expected of them that they could not fail. But do not people like Brinkley and other newspaper correspondents take them a little too seriously? That is the question I want answered. And if the Russians object to the cession of Manchuria and the perpetual supremacy of the Japanese in Corea, will the latter be able to maintain their policy; in short, if Russia, which seems inclined to object, translates her objections into words, what will be the result? I cannot imagine our taking sides in such a quarrel. After all the Russians are Europeans, and au fond [at bottom] have the same ideals as ourselves, so why should we in such a case espouse the Japanese cause. On the other hand is there any reason to believe that Russia has begun to desist from her great ambition of forcing a way to the sea at Constantinople [now Istanbul] or on the Indian Ocean, which should make us wish to further her in checking the Japanese tide of victory, and that too in order to bolster up the reign of corruption and obscurantisme [sic.] that prevails in China.

It must be an anxious time for the people in Downing Street, and they must find it rather difficult to decide on a policy. The questions in dispute with France sink into insignificance in comparison with what is going on in Eastern Asia. I hope before long we may have some opportunity of discussing this and many other questions which interest us in common. In the meantime, regarding the Richardson episode [Namamugi Incident], I can perhaps communicate to you my own impressions of what happened, as I reached Japan a few days before it happened, and kept a diary of what I saw and heard. It was undoubtedly a turning point in the history of Japan. On another point touched on in your letter, whether the events of 1868 constituted a Restoration or a Revolution, I am inclined to agree with your view that it is the latter that is most characteristic of the period, though the other was what the leading men of the time preferred to use as their watchword. But when you think of the transfer of power from one class to another

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below it, and of property also, it is difficult to say there was not a revolution. Who are the leading men now? They were simple ordinary samurai, [侍] without rank or income. However, I daresay you will agree with me that not much importance is to be attached to a name. Only this is certain, that to the lips of those of us who were eyewitnesses of what went on, the word 'revolution' came spontaneously, never the other, till it was adopted out of courtesy to the Japanese, in the same way as Tokio has been substituted for Yedo and Emperor for Mikado in European mouths, because the Japanese liked that better.

My stay here is I am thankful to say drawing to a close. The difficulties of transacting business are very great, all the more so because we cannot apply any pressure. My predecessor exhausted that possibility. When I came here that was the line taken at the Court. 'Why do anything for the Englishman? Send him about his business. The English Govt. did nothing against us for the way in which we sent his predecessor back to Tangier with nothing settled, so you need not mind what you do.' Then my interpreter fell ill, and I had no one who could read documents for me or prepare translations with knowledge of the way in which phrases were turned. But luckily for me there is an Englishman at the Court, who has tact and knowledge of the Court people, and of colloquial Arabic, who took the place of my interpreter, and he has acted for me throughout, as well as for the Moors. What I call "a non-conductor of ill-temper". These are things I do not say to everyone, but to you I can tell them, and your experience of the East is enough to let you see how important they are. The interpreter is a much more important person than most people think, and his post requires high qualifications of various kinds, but most of all tact and self-abnegation. But for this man, who had proved a true friend to English interests, my mission here must have proved a complete failure; whereas, as far as one can judge, it has turned out the contrary.

I hope now to be able to leave the day after tomorrow, and I shall get leave, I hope, some time next month, when I have put the finishing touches at Tangier to what I have done here. The weather, if nothing else had been in the way, would have prevented my starting earlier, for we have had a wet winter and spring, such as has not been known for years.

Of all the books you mentioned in your letter, the only one I have been able to procure was the "Prisoner of Zenda", a very enthralling story [by Anthony Hope]. What a change seems to have come over English novel writing. People seem to require this sort of mental food so much more highly spiced than before. Now and then a new book has reached me, such as "Church's Life & Letters", and Hutton's "Land". But my principal reading has been books on Morocco, of which I have been able to procure a

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considerable quantity, both old and new from a man in Paris, with the "Divina Commedia" [by Dante] and a volume or two of Tennyson for refreshment. Church is right I think when he says that a man's appreciation of the Paradiso is the true test of a Dante-lover. It is a wonderful piece of work, and the more I read it, the more I am struck with the genius that could treat such a subject without becoming tedious or monotonous. On the contrary it is in the "Paradiso" that Dante's imagination most shows its power. One other book I forgot to mention, the "Vie de S. François d'Assise" [Life of St. Francis of Assisi] by a French Protestant, a perfect model of what such a biography should be.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins, believe me,

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

20.

British Legation, Tangier. [printed]

17 May 1895

My dear Dickins,

I have delayed answering your two letters of April 29 and 30, because I was hoping to be able to tell you that shortly I should be on my way to England. But things have turned out quite contrary to my expectations, and I still have no idea when I shall leave Tangier. Your former letter touched me very deeply, both for your grief, and because it revived the memory of my own loss, twenty one years ago, when I too was bereft of a kind and most loving father, who was the greatest friend I then had on earth. These are indeed wounds that no time can heal. But they are to my mind a proof of things not seen. All the pains and distress of mankind, even their sins, no less than their capabilities, seem to me convincing proofs that they are not merely evanescent phenomena like a tune played on a violin, and that this world is not the end of conscious beings.

After I had begun this letter, I was interrupted by a telegram [received on May 17, 1895 – see diary] to say that my appointment to Tokio was arranged, and so I must unsay the uncertainty I spoke of. As soon as I can arrange to leave I shall be on my way to London within a week's time, so that in a few days after you get this letter I shall, I hope, arrive in England. My first resting place will be the Westminster Palace Hotel, and if not there my whereabouts will be known at the F.O. Pardon me if I don't at once come to see you, for I shall have much to do, and the whirl of London is at first very trying to a man arriving from a peaceful spot like this, where the only sounds are the wind and sea, and the air is full of the fragrance of flowers.

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Your long letter about Eastern matters interested me greatly, but I have no time to say anything in extenso about it, or to give you any information about the Richardson affair [Namamugi Incident, 生麦事件 of 1862]. In my journal [diary] of that time I have some notes, but they are those of a boy of 19, who was not behind the scenes. The fact most vividly impressed on my memory is [Dr. William] Willis' riding out by himself ahead of all the other people, along the Tokaido to the American consulate where the wounded were lying, running the gauntlet of the Satsuma samurai, some of whom had perhaps been engaged in the attack. The fact that he was not molested seems to show that a general slaughter of all foreigners who might present themselves was not in the mind of [the Satsuma daimyō] Shimadzu Saburo's followers, and that the murder of Richardson was due to some unlucky blunder on both sides. What I heard at the time was that in turning his horse round, being close to Shimadzu Saburō's kago [palanquin], he in some way came in contact with it, perhaps with the end of the pole. But I should not like to affirm that this was really what happened, and brought down on the party the wrath of the samurai.

However this and much else we can talk over if you care when we meet, which I hope may be soon.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

A Letter from England

21.

Westminster Palace Hotel

30 May 1895

My dear Dickins,

Just a line to thank Mrs. Dickins and yourself for your very kind congratulations. I have been hoping to make time to come and see you, but have been pulled hither & thither since my arrival on Monday last. But on Saturday morning I hope to be able to get to the University buildings about eleven. I should like to write each of you a long letter, and tell you all I think and feel about this business. I am very "mixed", and so perhaps I had better say nothing about it. But having been hoping for a good long leave to rest and play about, it is rather vexatious to have to hurry off at once, with no time even to see and talk to my friends. On Saturday I go to Tunbridge Wells, and after paying some short visits return to town on June 18th when I shall be at Tallant's Hotel, North Audley Street till the 26th or 27th, the day on which I leave Liverpool.

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Anderson has told me of his intended marriage. I think a man is more or less ashamed of himself when he finds it possible to console himself in that way for a bitter loss, and does not like to talk much about it. To have a second husband or wife must be as great a wrench as changing one's religion. O fickle, inconstant man: the satirist was wrong when he said your sex was varying and changeful.

My dear Dickins your letter of the 21st made me tremble at the awful responsibility before me. I hope it may turn out less alarming when one gets face to face with the problem. At this distance I have no means of forming an opinion. The English press has said something that will do harm in Japan about the "Yellow Peril". I am not afraid of that however.

Au revoir, yours ever

Ernest Satow

Letters from Japan

22.

Chiūzenji

Nikkō.

August 21, 1895

My dear Dickins,

The mail of a day or two ago brought me your note of July 1, proposing a meeting, but I was already on my way to New York when it was written. The Prime Minister did not think any gain would result from my waiting until he had time to inform himself about Japanese affairs after the result of the elections was declared, and preferred that I should start at once. Otherwise it would have given me the greatest pleasure to come down and see you and Mrs. Dickins at Richmond. I had a very good passage out and got to Yokohama 28 July. My time has since been a good deal occupied, and after my audience of the Mikado a series of official visits had to be paid, so that I became free only a few days ago. Then I went to Miyanoshita for a couple of days, where I saw Chamberlain, looking very well in every way except as regards his eyes, from which he gets very imperfect service.

Yesterday I came here to a small house on the bank of the Lake [Chūzenji] which I have taken till the end of September. I forget whether you know the place. It is very small and quiet. The only other foreigners who have houses here are Gutschmid, the Lowthers, the Kirkwoods, and a German savant name unknown. The scenery is much prettier than that of Hakone; as the hills are covered with forest, it is higher, and not

more rainy. Very probably I shall fix my residence here during the summer months for the rest of my stay in this country.

Tokio being empty at this season, I have had few opportunities of conversing with Japanese or foreigners and have seen very little. But it seems to me there is much greater activity in various directions, and that the nation is waking up in earnest. When one thinks of the immense effort needed to transform a whole people, mentally, socially, politically and economically, one easily makes allowance for incomplete success and fluctuations in energy. I have no doubt that there is a widespread desire to bring themselves in every way up to the highest European level, and a constant effort to realize this ideal. When we reflect how much it costs ourselves in self-denial and nerve-power to persist in the pursuit of what we know to be best, against all our ingrained tendencies and prejudices, we can form some notion of what Japan is paying as the price of progress. Of anything like reaction towards the past one sees hardly a sign, and I do not think there is any reason to doubt that the country will continue to make solid progress. At the same time, perhaps as an inevitable consequence, there is a growing feeling of "Japan for the Japanese first of all", foreigners to occupy a place here only on the same terms as Japanese in foreign countries, and this will no doubt work [cause] a good deal of discomfort to the old established members of the foreign community, who have never fitted in with Japanese ideas or felt any sympathy with the Japanese people.

Whether I shall find time to do any work on Japanese subjects remains to be seen. My books are not yet in order, and Aston is going to send me a selection of native historical works which will arrive some time during the autumn.⁹³ When I get them all together I shall then see what I can do. I fear greatly that there is not enough energy left in me to carry on studies at the same time as I do my official work and perform social duties. But any leisure I may secure will be devoted to the Christian Century.

I shall hope to hear of your doings whenever you have time to write. At the present moment I picture you to myself basking in the sun on a down in Sark. It is a great element in one's enjoyment of life to be at home and in Europe. Here one is quite out of the world, much more even than in South America.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins I remain

Ever yours

Ernest Satow

⁹³ On June 11, 1895 Satow was with Aston at Beer, and "Picked out and marked in catalogue a certain quantity of Japanese historical and botanical books." (Satow's diary 1895, Ruxton, 2003, p.3)

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23.

Tokio

9 October 1895

My dear Dickins,

Your letter of August 2 has been in my possession for some time, but the photographs only arrived today. I will send on the group and one portrait of you to Inaba [Masanao], keeping one for Chamberlain against his return to Tokio, as he has started on a journey, and retain the third for myself. It is an excellent likeness, and I prefer it to one in your wig which I have had several years. I have been looking for a letter from the Val d'Anniviers, but the mails are now very irregular, as part come by way of America, part by Singapore.

The newspapers here know very little of what goes on in diplomacy, but I may tell you in confidence that the result of the war is to leave the Japanese with Formosa, the chance of some money from China, and the burden of increasing her army and navy considerably. Corea I anticipate will be another Morocco, a rotten fruit which no one may touch and which will be carefully propped up lest it should fall into someone's hands of whom the others would be jealous to the point of fighting.

I am very glad that H.M.G. have put their foot down in China, and will not allow missionaries' murders to go unpunished. They have Treaty rights which it is our duty as a civilized nation to uphold, and the proposal to expunge the article giving them the right to teach Christianity is unpractical. England and America would never stand it, in spite of the arguments against missionary work put forward by a few people. The opposition in China to missionaries is another form of jōi [anti-foreign sentiment 攘夷].

I am settling down, but have as yet found no leisure for anything but official work and the host of calls that have to be returned.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins I am

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

24.

Atami

January 3, 1896.

My dear Dickins,

Very many thanks for your most interesting letter begun in Switzerland and ended at home on October 6. With what you say about China and Japan, the justification of the

late war, the necessity of teaching Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and the character of the two peoples I most heartily agree. On the missionary question we think very nearly alike, but I do not share the view that preaching Christianity in China is on all fours with the propaganda of Buddhism or Mohammedanism in England. That can only be held by those who regard all religions as equally true or equally false, and my conviction is that there is one true and the others 'elements of this world' at best, like all the philosophies, attempts at finding out the truth by one's own intellectual efforts. The whole earth is covered with their ruins.

I believe [John Harington] Gubbins has something on the stocks about the Tokugawa administration, which in due time will appear in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.⁹⁴ Whether the account of Tokugawa laws of which the publication was begun in the TT [Transactions] will ever be completed seems doubtful, but I think it would not be difficult to obtain the materials from which it was compiled. From a judge of the Supreme Court whose acquaintance I lately made I can get the names of various historical and antiquarian collections that have been printed. He is himself much interested in these questions, and seems to be working at them. By a curious coincidence he lives in the house I formerly inhabited at the Ushigome gate. I will keep this subject in mind, and write again.

I have sketched out the first half of my first chapter [of] an account of the foundation of the Society of Jesus and of the religious character of Loyola, but I want to go thro' the whole of his letters and make some extracts to show what the man really was. The second part of the chapter will be Xavier, & his life & character to the day of his landing at Kagoshima.

In chapter 2 I want to present a picture of Japan as it was in the middle of the 16th century, showing its political divisions and giving a short account of the origin of various daimiates, also the state of Buddhism at that period, and of material civilizations. This will necessarily be based on Japanese materials, which I must now proceed to collect. Some historical works I have already got from Aston, and the rest I must obtain from native friends. For every investigation of this sort a student is far more favourably situated now than he was when you and I were here together. From Chapter III onwards I shall tell the story of the Jesuits, up to the end of the century when the Spanish Franciscans arrived from Manila. A sad chapter will be that on the quarrels between the two orders. The martyrdoms will be a fine subject. All this will take time but if I am left

⁹⁴ J.H. Gubbins, *Laws of the Tokugawa Period* (Transactions of the ASJ, Series 1, Vol.XXVI, 1898)
Some Features of Tokugawa Administration (Series 1, Vol.L, 1922).

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in peace in Japan for the next two or three years I hope to accomplish it, by putting on one side all other attractive studies.

I have seen your young friend Inaba Masanao, and liked him very much. I shall try and get him to dinner one of these days. G. Kowaki has not yet presented himself, but I shall be pleased to make his acquaintance.

I was here [in Atami 熱海] for a very [few] days between Christmas and New Year⁹⁵, and made my way back to Tokio by Numadzu. There is a delightful bit of pine clad coast on the western neck of the Idzu Peninsula, a 7 hours' walk from here, and I took it en route. No other spot in Japan that I have seen is half so attractive, and it affords a most agreeable refuge from the frosts and biting N.W. winds of Tokio at this time of year. Of course I had to go back for the New Year reception, and have to be at Tokio again on the 6th for a luncheon at the Palace. Atami is troublesome to reach. Yesterday being rainy it took our party twelve hours from door to door, so I shall probably not come here again.

Chamberlain is at Miyanoshita for the moment, but intends to leave for England in February, to make a considerable stay at home. I have seen much less of him than I desired, for he is seldom in Tokio, and is much occupied with literary work. His Luchuan [Ryukyuan, Okinawan] Grammar is an admirable piece of work.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and believe me

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

25.

26 April 1896.

My dear Dickins,

I have heard with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction of your appointment as Registrar [of the University of London], and send you my very hearty congratulations. The work will I hope be to your taste, and that your new position will also be the means of your being able to carry out your own ideas.

Aston's translation of the Nihongi, Vol. I, reached me the other day. It is a capital piece of work. It is a subject for legitimate pride that this and the Kojiki have been Englished by us, before any other Europeans.

I had Lord & Lady Spencer staying with me recently on their way to Canada. Particularly pleasant and unaffected people. I had much talk with her about books and libraries.

⁹⁵ See Satow's diary, December 26-31, 1895. (Ruxton, 2003, pp. 48-49)

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Tomorrow I start for a short run to Kōbe, Ozaka and Kiōto. The two former are said to have developed enormously of late years, while Kiōto has hardly changed. The journey by rail will be delightful.

What rows seem to be going on in Africa. All the doing of that madcap Jameson and of the "Napoleon" of Africa. The expedition to Dongola will it is to be hoped turn out a success. In this part of the world Russia is doing all the running. Our principal aim and object is that the peace of the East should not again be unnecessarily disturbed. Nor do I think it will. Japan will not be ready for a long time to come, and Europe has no idea of being put into the background by an Eastern Asiatic Power.

Recently [on April 18, 1896 – see diary] I went to a concert of European music performed by Japanese. The sweetness of the singers was quite astonishing. The instrumental music was mainly very accurate, but wanted fire and feeling.

The Japanese are decorative not artistic.

I shall take a volume of the Dante you gave me as a travelling companion.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

26.

British Legation, Tokyo [embossed]

9 September 1896

My dear Dickins,

For some time past, having seen in the papers that you have been appointed [first ever] Registrar of the University [of London], I have been wanting to write and offer my sincere congratulations, but I beg you to believe that they are not the less hearty because they are tardy. I feel that I am a wretch for having put it off for so long. This new appointment will I hope relieve you of a good deal of tiresome work and make you very comfortable in other ways.

Part of this summer I have spent at Chiūzenji, two weeks there and one in town, writing my mail and transacting odds and ends of business. I have built myself a house on the shore of the lake opposite to Nantaizan [Mt. Nantai] in a position which commands a lovely view of Shiranesan [Mt. Shirane] and the lesser ranges in front. Mrs. Bishop [Isabella Bird] who is writing her book on Corea has been staying with me, and I find her a most interesting companion. We do a great deal of boating, and it will surprise you to learn that she is very fond of taking an oar. There are five other Legations established there, German, French, Russian, Austrian and Belgian, and a

pretty hotel has been built. But with the exception of the German Secretary they are all far off, the nearest being half an hour's walk from me. I am making a garden in which are to be collected as many as possible of the ferns and flowers indigenous to the region. Otherwise I can find time to do but little, and my book on the Missions hangs fire sadly. There is so much to read in connection with my proper work, history and diplomatic memoirs, that I cannot give consecutive attention to the Jesuits. Still, it goes on slowly, and may some day get itself finished, if I could only get rid of official work.

Itō has recently resigned, and his rivals are trying to form a new ministry, which they find a difficult job. Rumour varies from day to day. Just now Matsugata [Matsukata Masayoshi] is the favourite, which is said to mean Ōkuma at the Foreign Department. But such a Cabinet cannot last. Men who can face the Chambers and make some sort of speech are an absolute necessity; the Cabinet cannot get on without a majority in the lower house. The old idea of clan government and the new one of government by party are striving for the mastery, and who can doubt that the victory will ultimately rest with the latter. The Constitution is on the German model, but in the end our system is likely to prevail, for the Hohenzollern temper is quite wanting in high places, and the sovereign must come to be a constitutional monarch. It would not surprise me to hear that Itō was discovered to be indispensable, and that he had been sent for again. And in the interests of this country I am convinced that this is highly desirable, for foreign affairs require a politic head, such as the Chōshiū clan alone can produce.

I am reading the *Convito* ["The Banquet" by Dante Alighieri]. A recent article in the *Quarterly* is making me incline towards the view that the *Vita Nuova* is an allegory, and Beatrice the personification of *θεολογία* [Theologia], not the scientific theology, but the one central fact on which it is based. And the few allusions to her in the *Convito* appear to confirm this view. What a misfortune that book was not finished, or that at any rate we have only a fragment. Of course I know this theory is no new one, and I have hitherto been romantically angry with those who maintained [it]; but reading the *Vita Nuova* by its light, I see how very much more probable it looks on the whole.

What a remarkable progress Li Hung-chang has been making through Europe. His reception in London seems on the whole to have [been] dignified on our side, and the speeches at the dinner of the China Association were worthy of the occasion. The effect in this country must be mortifying. They sent an Imperial Prince and a Marshal of the Empire, but no one took any notice of them, and they came back post haste, unable to sustain the humiliation of being looked on as inferior to the people they had beaten in war. I suppose they would say *le Japon ne boude pas elle se recueille*. [Japan is not sulking, she is regrouping.] Somehow or other they do not inspire respect or liking

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except with certain men who have been subjected to the influence of native women. On the other hand, no one who lives in China (except the missionaries) seems to like the Chinese. Mrs. Bishop says that her experience is that missionaries over there have a much higher opinion of the native than here in Japan, and she is a good observer quite divorced of bias or prejudice. I imagine the great virtue of these people is patriotism, of the Chinese I suppose commercial honesty.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

27.

British legation, Tokyo [embossed]

23 February 1897

My dear Dickins,

I have had your letter of November 2 by me a most unconscionable time. Surely your Chinese theory of three souls is pretty universal, Dante denies it, Browning supports it, the R.C. theologians stand upon it, and it must be as old as the Greeks. There is one 'consciousness' which inhabits the three alternatively, sometimes seems to lie spread across the border line of a pair, which accounts for a good deal.

You say that certain small voices often tell you something that satisfies your heart but does not convince your understanding. Perhaps when we chuck the latter piece of cargo overboard we shall see better than we do now. Life is educating us towards this end, if we can only live long enough. As for the Higher Criticism, it is based upon a gigantic major premise: "What I don't know ain't knowledge" to quote the fictitious [Benjamin] Jowett, or in other words I am not to believe what is not within the limits of my own experience. It is not worth while to fash oneself [agonise] about these questions. Life is too short for all 'knowledge' to be acquired, and what we have crammed ourselves with here, all the 'ologies', histories, literature and philosophy will be absolute trash where we are going. Let us live our lives cheerfully and thankfully as long as they last, and then pass into the light.

I hope to come home in the summer, if the F.O. will let me. The routine work is killing me mentally, and I must come back to a higher civilization. Chamberlain's hatred of everything European except Wagner's music is incomprehensible to me, as is his preference for Japan. He is fitted for something much better. In a few days he is starting as we hear, so I shall just see him.

To come down to sublunar things, you will not have had the patience to read the

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Carew trial.⁹⁶ In the verbatim reports it forms an octavo volume of a few hundred pages. The only person unconcerned was the prisoner [Edith Carew]. Mowat and Troup and Wilkinson were quite worn out by the long tension of feeling. You can imagine what it must be for a man for the first time in his life to pronounce a sentence of death: Just say the words out loud and see how you feel them. And for the whole community who knew both the poisoned and the poisoner, and dined, played, walked, bicycled, danced with one or the other. The cases we read in papers are no more to us than a story out of a book, but here is some one out of their own daily life. It was horrible. For me I had the comfort of never having seen her before the trial, and him I had seen but [only] twice. But it was a great relief that a way could be found out of issuing a warrant for execution.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

28.

Tokio

15 June 1899

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your paper on the Origins of the Japanese State, which I have read with very great interest. It is the most suggestive writing on Japan that I have seen for a long time, the only good thing on Japanese history that any one has ever written.

Your article in the Athenaeum on Aston's book [*The History of Japanese Literature*, Kelly & Walsh, Yokohama, 1899] gave me much pleasure. His summary of Japanese Literature is in many places very entertaining, and a great part of it quite new, particularly what he says of the Tokugawa period. Summed up all together what a very poor show Japanese literature makes. Yet it had I suppose the whole stock of China to draw from. Compared with the early German and Anglosaxon literature, is it not inferior? notwithstanding a higher state of material civilisation, more lasting peace and greater, far greater, numbers of population.

It is long since we wrote to each other. Let us not accuse nor excuse. But I have been idle in the matter of letter writing compared with former days. For one thing I have more official work, read more and have been occupied with a thing for the Hakluyt

⁹⁶ For an account in English of the trial of Edith Carew for the murder of her husband Walter, see Molly Whittington-Egan, *Murder on the Bluff: The Carew Poisoning Case* (Glasgow: Neil Wilson Publishing, 1996).

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Society⁹⁷ and a compilation on Japanese Cultivation of the Bamboo.⁹⁸ I ought to say Bamboos, for with the well established varieties there must be well nigh upon forty sorts recognized, at least by florists. But the florist is misleading. How many things have got classed as Japanese merely because they were found at a gardener's without looking further to see what part of the country they grew wild in. Even Matsumura's catalogue does not, I am convinced, distinguish aright between indigenous and imported Species. Not even is Sargent in his Forest Flora always right. Nothing will persuade me that *nogi* and *Kōyamaki* are indigenous here.

Some of the young trees I brought back two years ago are doing well, others have completely failed. *Pinus Excelsa*, Scotch fir, *Pina* [*Picea?*] *pungens glauca*, *Prunus Pisardi* and *Escalonia floribunda* are a great success, also *Buddleya globosa*, a rather ugly thing with fine foliage. At Chiuzenji I am gradually getting together the local mountain plants.

We are on the eve of the change of jurisdiction, and hope things will go smoothly. The opposition of the foreign community, as was to be expected, has greatly diminished. I feel that the Japanese on their part will try to make things go smoothly. How far the sturdy Englishman will fall in with this tendency I cannot say. Probably years will be needed to get rid of the effects of the foreign settlement system, which was merely a more liberal kind of *Decima* [*Dejima/Deshima* 出島], resembling in its results the 'salt unplumbed, estranging sea'. The tendency in all parts of the world is to eliminate the middleman, witness the decay of the English mercantile communities at Lisbon and in the River Plate. A less independent class of Englishmen will succeed those who have lived under extra-territoriality. I always was struck with the great difference between the Englishman who had his head high in China and Japan, and the inferior set of men who had to fall in with the ways of South American Spaniards. I do not blame H.M.G. for the Treaties they led the way in making, for I am convinced that the old system was becoming daily more and more unworkable. But I regret its necessity. Still, I have greater hopes of the permeation of Japan by European ideas than one would have ever entertained in respect of the vast mass of the Russian Empire. American and English thought readily finds response in the minds of the rising Japanese youth. It will be "Japan for the Japanese" of course, but where is it not so. England is perhaps the only

⁹⁷ *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*. Edited from contemporary records by Sir Ernest Satow. Printed for the Hakluyt Society by the Bedford Press, London, 1900.

⁹⁸ On June 21, 1899 Satow read a paper on 'The Cultivation of Bamboos in Japan' to the Asiatic Society, later published in the *Transactions*, Vol. 27, Part 3, 1899. It was mainly a translation from Japanese with a foreword by Satow.

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country where the foreigner gets fair play, and perhaps that is because of the Englishman's sense of his own superiority.

I am reading Peel's letters with much interest, and have been recently delighted with Lavengro. What a clever, though long winded book that is of Bodley's [George Henry Borrow's?]. Have you read anything of Lebon's writings on social evolution. They are rather clever, but padded.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins, Believe me

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

Letters from China

29.

British Legation, Peking [printed]

17 March 1901.

My dear Dickins,

I am delighted to see that the C.B. [Companion of the Bath] has been conferred upon you, and offer you my very heartiest congratulations. There is no decoration which to my mind is more worth having.

Peking does not approve upon acquaintance. There was little or no rain last summer, and the dust, at all times bad, is more than usually plentiful. So one seldom goes outside the legation compound, which thanks to the events of the past summer [the siege of the Legation quarter during the Boxer Rebellion] is now as large as one could possibly wish. A city deserted by its government, occupied by foreign troops of every nationality, and disfigured by ruined buildings and piles of brickbats could never be an agreeable place of residence. I hope my stay here will not be prolonged, though I cannot say I have any prospect of getting away. The negotiations are very tedious, owing to the necessity of consulting so many colleagues and governments, and those portions which have to be arranged in Europe do not seem to get themselves settled a whit more expeditiously [sic. expeditiously?] than what we have to determine on the spot.

Spring is now beginning, and I am looking forward eagerly to the signs of opening vegetation that I may know what are the trees and shrubs I have been living amongst for the past five months. I was at the Summer Palace last Sunday, a very beautiful place close to the western hills, about two hours drive from the house. Last time I saw it, in 1862, it was a ruin, but it has since been almost completely restored. [Sir Ignatius Valentine] Chirol [1852-1929] of the "Times" is here just now, and will doubtless write some more of his interesting and intelligent letters.

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Yours ever

Ernest Satow

30.

British Legation, Peking [printed]

23 June 1901

My dear Dickins,

You did not give me your new address when you wrote at the end of March, so I must take my chance of this reaching you. You are quite right to retire while there is daylight, and I feel sure you will return to all your hobbies with increased zest, after having had to work at other uninteresting things for so long. I shall be curious to see where you settle down, and am ready to bet that it will be somewhere within easy reach of [London] town, so that you can easily run up for the day to see your literary and scientific friends and interview editors and publishers.

Am I wrong in thinking the review of Saris in the Athenaeum was from your pen? Whoever the writer was I owe him a debt of gratitude for the way in which he spoke of myself and my work.

We have it would seem got as much as we want from the Chinese in the way of reparation, and our troops are being withdrawn. They will all be out of Peking by the end of August, the Germans, French and Japanese as well as our own, leaving about 10,000 men at Tientsin and along the railway, and a couple of thousand as legation guards here. I am very glad the negotiations in common are approaching their termination, for it has been weary work. The soldiers got tired of doing nothing, and there were quarrels from time to time between the rank and file of different nationalities, which caused a little worry: but I am told it was much worse in Crete. Eleven Powers with widely different interests have been kept together with great difficulty, and we have all had to give way to each other on various points. So no one will be contented, least of all the China Association. I suppose I must go on here a year or two longer, but like you I long to have rest from labour, to settle down somewhere in the country with books and a garden, and to spend my winters on the Riviera.

Very kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and believe me,

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

31.

British Legation, Peking [printed]

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15 December 1901

My dear Dickins,

I have been a sadly bad correspondent to you of late, but when you went away from Downe Terrace you forgot to give me your new address and it was only through [R.K.] Douglas that I learnt it. Your letter of May 18 accompanied me on my recent voyage to the South, but not having your address with me, I could not write with any certainty of being able to reach you.

The account of your pilgrimage to Fulham Church was extremely interesting and I wish I had had it for my book, just to retrieve the general dulness [sic] of that performance. Your review in the "Athenaeum" gave me great pleasure, for I thought I recognized the friendly hand that wrote it.

Since the date of your letter we have got out of rough into comparatively smooth water, and are now resting on our oars. Everything is waiting for the return of the court [to Peking from Xian]. Concessions, Manchuria, and the rest of it. Commercial negotiations I am glad to say have been taken out of my hands and entrusted to a special commission, with which I have little to do. Thus I have had leisure to visit Canton and make a voyage up the Yangtze, and to read a few books. Hongkong I found much improved since I saw it last fifteen years ago. The ridge of the Peak [on Hongkong island] is now covered with houses perched in all sorts of inaccessible places, a great deal of land has been reclaimed from the sea, and magnificent buildings put up which completely dwarf what you remember of the place. I went up to Canton in a very comfortable river steamer lit with the electric light, and stayed on the Shameen [Shamian island] which is the prettiest bit of Anglo-Chinese life that can be imagined. The trees planted less than forty years ago have grown into forest giants. The place is going ahead too, as are all the ports on the Yangtze: I landed at Nanking and wondered at the vast extent of wall enclosing so small a town. Hankow bids fair to rival Tientsin, and the opening of the railway to Peking, which may be expected in a couple of years will give it a fresh spurt. I don't think you have ever seen Peking, so that you will feel less wonder at the railway now running up to the very side of the Chien mên under the Tartar wall, part of which, a mile long, now belongs to the Legation quarter. I have not read [Sir Robert] Hart on China. He has just been made a "Junior Guardian of the Heir-apparent", which people say is without precedent for a foreigner. He seems as fresh as a daisy and likely to last still for years.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and believe me

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

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32.

British Legation, Peking

26 January 1902

My dear Dickins,

The "Times" atlas shows Melksham, so that I have an approximate idea of your present whereabouts [Seend, Wiltshire]. Going so far from London is greatly to be applauded, for nothing is so dreadful to contemplate as the constant temptation to rush up to town to do some shopping. How I envy you to have earned your right to retire and cultivate the muses, and 'faire votre âme'. Because in spite of what people may say, that cannot be done at all as it should rightly be done in the midst of the sea of this world. Your account of your surroundings is most alluring, and I shall feel it a duty to come down and bestow my dulness [sic] upon you whenever I next get to England. Also I can think of little else but following your example, and in church this morning I am afraid I thought more of that than of the sermon. Still that is better than cogitating over the weekday's work. My present notion is of Lyme Regis near the sea, warm and moist enough doubtless for bamboos, and oleanders. The summer of next year ought to set me free.

Should your son Fred [later "Freddy"] turn up in Peking, he can be sure of a welcome for the sake of his parents, so please tell him if he has any thoughts of visiting this dull capital to write to me beforehand without hesitation, and say when I am to expect him.

In what you say about politics, especially as affecting this country I mostly agree. Certainly I am not for putting any trust in Germany. On the other hand I don't believe in trying to come to an understanding with Russia. After having put as many obstacles in her way as possible for fifty years, a sudden volte-face would be a blunder. Besides, it would be a constant source of disappointment. Their ways are not ours, and we cannot walk together. I agree with you that we have treated China badly, and am angry with Germany for having begun the game at Kiaochou [in 1897]. The pot was broken into shards [fragments] before I came here, and remending it is a long task. Could I stop in China ten years I might perhaps do something, but I am too old for that. My successor should be a man of five and forty, not a day more.

The disappearance of Li Hung-chang [who died in 1901] is I think a good thing for us, and if Providence were to take the Emperor away, so that the Empress-Dowager [Tzu Hsi 1835-1908] could proclaim herself regent and have foreign ministers accredited to her, things would go much better. We are too much committed unluckily to bolstering

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up that young gentleman, who if one can judge from his appearance is completely effete. Russia and France are her enthusiastic supporters, and we are out in the cold.

Of the books you mention I shall write for Haselfoot's Divina Commedia. Garnett's Essays must by this time be almost starting from London to me. I don't think I care to read about the Utilitarians, even tho' Leslie Stephen is their master of ceremonies; I detest them and all their works. I am reading Anatole Leroy Beaulieu on Russia when I have a spare hour to myself.

Are you going to write your ideas about Christian belief. The more you do, the less you will be satisfied. You cannot impart your results of life experience to other people: it is like talking to a deaf man about organ music or the Kreutzer sonata, or to a blind man about the beauty of the outer world. Still it is an entrancing subject, and does one good to think of. The more leisure one has for that the better. Pondering, pondering, with a devout longing for more light brings us to the end at last. Perhaps you will end by being a Catholic, not in open avowal, but in secret sympathy. For though they are higher than Anglicans in theory, I don't believe they are better in practice. Have you read Houston Chamberlain's *Grundlagen des XIXten Jahrhunderts*.⁹⁹ It is an interesting & curious book, but too long. I wonder no one has yet translated it. Some day he too I think will become an unavowed Catholic. There is no halfway house, the *via media* [middle way] fails you at last. Yet I love many of those who try to walk on it, but their guidebooks are unsatisfactory. The best thing to my mind ever done by 'uninspired' man [is] the last Canto of the *Paradiso* [by Dante]: After that there is no more to be said.

Very kind regards to your wife and daughter, and believe me yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

⁹⁹ Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927). Son of Admiral William Charles Chamberlain and Eliza (daughter of Captain Basil Hall, R.N.). H.S. Chamberlain was the youngest brother of Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) the Japanologist and friend of Satow. Houston was an Anglo-German publicist (especially of Richard Wagner), playwright, cultural critic and Aryan race theorist. His most important work *Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1899) was republished in English as *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, (Bodley Head, 1912) with an introduction by the first Lord Redesdale (A.B. Mitford) written at Batsford Park on January 8, 1909. Scandalously, Houston Chamberlain took German citizenship in 1916, wrote anti-British propaganda and met Adolf Hitler, an admirer of his work, in 1923. His works later influenced the Nazi movement, and possibly also Unity Valkyrie Mitford, a granddaughter of the first Lord Redesdale, who was obsessed with Hitler and met him many times in the 1930s. (See also Yuzo Ota, *Basil Hall Chamberlain: Portrait of a Japanologist*, Japan Library, 1998 for correspondence between Basil Hall and Houston Chamberlain.)

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A letter from Italy

33.

Hotel Bristol

San Remo

9 March 1903

My dear Dickins,

I cannot answer your first question about the Kaimiō [Buddhist names given to the dead, 戒名] or Buddhist monuments, as it is a point to which I have never given my attention.

As to any distinction between regulars & seculars in Japanese Buddhism I do not think it exists, nor anything analogous.

I do not know of any distinction between 寺 [tera] and 院 [in], except that a 寺 may have 院 attached to it, and I don't remember any case of the converse. The Chion at Kiōto is an example of a big temple bearing the title of 院. An examination of the Kiōto Meisho and a few other books of the sort would enable you to satisfy yourself on this point, I fancy. I believe the Japanese use the compound 寺院 [jiin] in speaking of Buddhist temples in general.

I fear I do not take the interest I ought to in psychology. Dante and modern international history are the subjects that occupy me most. I have been getting excellent lessons in Italian literature while I have been here, and this week am to have three lectures on modern Italian history from 1815.

What a pity you cannot come to Rome. I go there on the 15 for the inside of a week and expect to get home about the 25th. When I arrive I am going to ask you for a youngish professor of physics to go out to China for the new Peking University, but cannot write more precisely at present as I have left the paper of terms & conditions in London.

The photographs of your house and garden inspire me with a keen desire to pay you a visit, but at this moment I cannot say when I shall be free. My leave is up on 17 June, but I should hope to manage it some time before the end of June, if any date is likely to be equally convenient to you. I have got great benefit from my stay here, and am in excellent training thanks to constant walking and climbing.

My address at Rome up to the 22nd will be c/o Rev. Dr. Nevin, 58 Via Napoli.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Three letters from England

34.

Queen Anne's Mansions S.W. [printed]

27 March 1903

My dear Dickins,

In a letter from San Remo [the previous letter] I said I was going to ask your assistance in obtaining for the Peking University a professor of Physics and Chemistry, and having got to my papers I now enclose the draft of a contract given me by K. Tsêng, whose letter I also enclose.

\$400 a month at the present rate of exchange is equivalent to about £31 a month, the dollar being as near as possible 1s.7d. It may of course go lower.

My impression is that Duncan Campbell would be a better person to discuss arrangements with than the Chinese Minister, as he would understand the requirements of an Englishman much better.

I shall be very grateful for your help in this matter, about which the writer of the enclosed has been telegraphing from Peking, so they evidently mean business.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

P.S. I have the Chinese version of the draft contract here, and will send it on if you desire to see it. E.S.

35.

Queen Anne's Mansions. S.W.

27 March 1903

My dear Dickins,

Your letter of March 16 reached me at Rome, and I at once asked Dr. Nevin to ask about the kind of accommodation you require there for yourself and Mrs. Dickins and the learned Italian to read Dante and Poliziano with you. Of course I said you had fixed no date for your proposed visit to Rome.

He took a note of your requirements, and promised to write to me as soon as he had found the right man. I do not yet know what my movements will be, but I am probably fixed here all April. On the 2nd I am to have an operation performed on my right hand for Dupuytren's contractions¹⁰⁰ which will disable me from using it I anticipate for

¹⁰⁰ Dupuytren's contracture is a thickening of deep tissue (fascia) which passes from the palm into the fingers. Shortening of this tissue causes "bands" which pull the fingers

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about a fortnight. For anything pressing I shall be able to get the help of an amanuensis [scribe].

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

36.

Queen Anne's Mansions. S.W.

30 March 1903

My dear Dickins,

J.D. Campbell's office is somewhere in Victoria Street close by here, but I do not know it; perhaps you could find it in the London Directory.

What you say about the difficulty of getting a suitable man for the small salary offered is no more than I expected. But I fancy the Chinese want an Englishman, not a German or a Japanese for this post. I am going to be at 17 Upper Wimpole Street from tomorrow night till Friday or Saturday, and if you can spare time to come and see me there I should be very grateful. It is dull work staying indoors when one is not ill.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Letters from China

37.

British Legation, Peking [printed]

29 November 1903

My dear Dickins,

I hope you will not think I have been unmindful because you have not heard from me before this, but this is still a very busy place, and when my day's work is over I am not often in the mood to sit down and inflict my tediousness on my friends. Today is Sunday, one of comparative leisure.

I had a very interesting visit to Simla [the summer capital of the British government in India until 1947], where I spent a week with the Viceroy [George Nathaniel Curzon, 1859-1925] discussing various matters of business. As you can readily suppose with a

into the palm. The cause of this is unknown but it tends to run in families. The condition is progressive and the only treatment is surgery. If untreated, the fingers will be gradually pulled into the palm.

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frontier between India and China extending from the Pamirs [mountains on the north west border of India] right away to the Mekong [river], there are many points where India and the Peking legation have to work together. I was much pleased with all I saw of him and his wife, and think he is, as nearly everyone says, the best Viceroy India has had for a long time.

From there I went to Calcutta, where I saw a very interesting series of portraits of succeeding Governors General. Among these the most striking were those of Warren Hastings when holding that office, and Lord Canning whom George Curzon resembles remarkably, and Sir Wm. Jones as a boy by Reynolds. I was not able to see the famous portrait at Moorshedabad said to be that of Madame Talleyrand. One day I spent at the botanical gardens with that excellent fellow Prain ¹⁰¹ [later at Kew, see PRO 30/33 11/7], who writes that he has just been up to Khambajong on the inner border of Thibet. Some one has sent me a panorama of the spot, from which I gather that though lofty the country is much flatter than one would expect and not difficult for an army. I hope to hear in a few days that the expedition is on its way to Gyantse. Have you ever read Markham's account of Boyle and Manning's visits to Thibet? It is exceedingly interesting. We have lent one of the brightest of our young consular fellows to accompany the expedition, Wilton by name. I think that this time we shall settle the Thibetan hash for them.

From Calcutta I went down to Rangoon and stayed there a few days. It was not an interesting time of year, and there was but little to see in the gardens. R. is a damp uncomfortable place, and I was glad to get onto the old beat again at Penang, where I caught a very comfortable P. & O. [Peninsular & Oriental] steamer, and so came on to Shanghai. I suppose you don't go much to the dinners of the China Association. They are Shanghai incarnate. It is well enough to have an association to protect the interests of commerce, but the Shanghai landers go beyond and want to direct the policy of England. I admit that this is a natural ambition, under the circumstances, but it is not a success. The municipal council is run by J.P. Bland ¹⁰², who is also Times

¹⁰¹ Sir David Prain (1857-1944). He joined the Indian Medical Service in 1885, and in 1887 obtained a post more to his liking as Curator of Herbarium, Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta. Director, 1898-1905. Director, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 1905-22. (Ray Desmond, *Kew: The History of the Royal Botanic Gardens*, London: Harvill Press, 1995).

¹⁰² John Ottway Percy Bland (1863-1945). He was G.E. Morrison's deputy as Times correspondent. With E. Backhouse he was the co-author of *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking: From the 16th to the 20th Century* (1910, revised 1914. Republished by the University of the Pacific, 2003.)

correspondent. Our old friend Bayne is chairman of the council, as constitutional President of the little republic, and Bland is his energetic Prime Minister, endowed with a sharpened pen. They think nothing of 'taking on' the representatives of all the Powers, and mock at "diplomatic susceptibilities." They are a handful! It was Shanghai that in 1900 persuaded the F.O. to land troops at Shanghai, and so open the way for the French and Germans. We could not get them out again without great difficulty, and the result was that instead of being able to go on giving out that the Yangtze was our peculiar share of interest, the French and Germans edged themselves in for a share. I had a confidential talk with the local committee of the Association, at which it was agreed that no notes should be taken. A few weeks later, after I got to Peking, the whole thing appeared in a native Japanese newspaper, of all places. Luckily it was a good deal distorted, and no one could say for certain what was my part and what that of the committee. I shall not easily be caught again.

From Shanghai I came on to Weihaiwei, discussed the situation with [the new commander of the China station Admiral Sir Cyprian] Bridge ¹⁰³, saw Lockhart, and finally landed at [the port of] Chingwangtao, glad to find myself ashore again in N. China after so long & varied a journey.

I have had a visit in Peking from a young botanist named S.T. Dunn ¹⁰⁴, formerly private secretary to Thiselton-Dyer ¹⁰⁵ at Kew, and now Ford's successor ¹⁰⁶ as head of botanical matters at Hongkong. He, his wife and I made a delightful excursion one day through the city and to the florists' gardens outside, where we re-discovered (for Bretschneider ¹⁰⁷ had found it out before) that the Chinese graft chrysanthemums on to

¹⁰³ See Satow's diary for August 16, 1903. "The Admiral [Bridge] came on board in the forenoon and we had some talk. He says the Japanese sent for Trowbridge to the Naval Department, and remarked on the paucity of first-class cruisers in the British squadron...He considers that our people at home have not played the game as regards the Japanese alliance, and ought to have done much more... We both agree that it would be very bad policy to allow Russia to crush Japan..."

¹⁰⁴ S.T. Dunn was Superintendent of the Botanical and Forestry Department of Hong Kong, 1903-10.

¹⁰⁵ Sir William Turner Thiselton-Dyer (1843-1928). Botanist and director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, England.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Ford, Superintendent of Government Gardens at Hong Kong.

¹⁰⁷ Emil Vasilievich Bretschneider (1833-1901), physician to the Russian Legation at Peking from 1866 to 1884, is chiefly remembered for his landmark works on Chinese historical geography and botany. Major arboretums throughout the world, such as Kew, the Arnold Arboretum and the botanical gardens in Paris and St Petersburg were the major beneficiaries of Dr Bretschneider's botanical explorations in the area surrounding Beijing. (See *History of European Botanical Discoveries in China* by Emile V. Bretschneider, With a new introduction by Kerrie L. MacPherson, University of Hong

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a species of Artemisia that grows wild all about the place. This trick appears to be unknown to the Japanese.

Whether there is going to be war between Japan & Russia I cannot tell you. Before you get this it will be settled one way or the other. But I do not think a lasting peace can be patched up without its being first thoroughly broken.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and believe me,

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

38.

British Legation, Peking

24 June 1904

My dear Dickins,

As long as war does not come within one's own borders, one takes it very quietly. Here in Peking we play the part of interested spectators merely, some on the Russian, some on the Japanese side. I do not venture to predict the final outcome of the whole business. A great deal must depend on the ability of the Japanese to capture Port Arthur, for if they succeed in that the whole *raison d'être* of the presence of Russia in Manchuria is gone. If there is a power in Eastern Asia strong enough to forbid the open sea to Russia, she may as well go back to her own steppes. I confess I had no expectation that the Japanese would be so successful on land as they have been. In three important battles they have defeated the enemy and taken guns and prisoners. It must be acknowledged that the Russians fight obstinately, and withdraw only when further resistance would mean a massacre.

I have not even seen Brinkley's book. Eight volumes on Japan and four on China would be a terrible undertaking. I have read several reviews, one – I feel convinced yours – in the *Athenaeum*. He needs to get a little farther away from his principal subject. As he has not been far away from the Far East for thirty five years, his criteria must be necessarily false. Of China he cannot know much beyond porcelain and pictures. He has always seemed to me to have a false conception of the value of Japanese art. Look for instance at Heinemann's recent "Great Masters". Where in China or Japan could you find anything fit to put alongside of such a selection as that?

One of the questions that has recently given me a great deal of work is the Chinese

Kong, Bristol: Ganesha Publishing, 2002)

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emigration to the Transvaal.¹⁰⁸ From the outset the regulations under which the labourers are to work offended the national pride of Chinese officials. I warned H.M.G. of this, and they did not like it. But they went on with the scheme, and finally a convention was signed in London, which bears the names of Lord Lansdowne and the Chinese Minister. Obviously it is not their work. McCartney was the real negotiator on the Chinese side, and it is needless to say that he has got the better of our people. I am myself very much in sympathy with the opposition to this scheme, and sympathize with Chinese officials who dislike to see their countrymen treated as the blacks are in South Africa. I have reason to believe also that H.M.G. are not enthusiastic and that they have only taken the matter up to please Lord Milner.

I am staying at my country cottage, grilling in the heat of the day, enjoying the cool evenings in the light of the full moon, and keeping an observant eye on the processes of Chinese agriculture as practiced in my immediate neighbourhood. My trees are making good progress, particularly willows and *Catalpa Bungeana*. *Herculia platanifolia* is also doing well, and *Sophora japonica*, which is a Chinese, not Japanese tree. I had hoped to do some botanical collecting, but have not the time.

Have you read Sorel's *Revolution Française*. It is an excellent book, but voluminous.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and your daughter,

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

39.

British Legation, Peking

22 July 1904

My dear Dickins,

I was much interested in your letter of May 31. Although we have not seen much of each other since we parted in Japan many years ago, I do not for my part feel that we have drifted far apart, and in some things we are certainly nearer than we were then. As the years go on, old friendships increase in value as they decrease in number owing to the sickle of Time which harvests incessantly. Happily I have not had any losses of that kind in recent years, except Dear old [commander of the China and Japan squadrons

¹⁰⁸ See Winston Churchill's speech on October 6, 1905 in Manchester in which he describes the experiment to introduce Chinese labour to the Transvaal as a "disastrous failure". (Robert Rhodes James (ed.), *Churchill Speaks 1897-1963: Collected Speeches in Peace & War*, Windward, 1981.)

Admiral Sir Alexander] Buller, and Anderson.¹⁰⁹

As to the Japanese, they are no doubt a very capable race, and they are a new nation, which is much in their favour. Whatever the outcome of this war may be, they will for a long time hold an important position in the world, and particularly in the Far East. Even if they are beaten, they cannot be suppressed. In some ways I think their career is likely to resemble that of the Russians, with this difference that they cannot become a continental Power. They have adopted an alien civilization, and turned it to account, after the manner of Peter¹¹⁰. The differences however are great. They are a democratic nation, not an autocracy.

Of the Chinese intellect it is impossible not to have a high opinion, but their moral qualities are below the par of leading nations. There is no honesty or patriotism among officials, and there is no military capacity, except the virtue of stubborn courage. The Japanese, who know them as well as any one does, despair of their future. Look how for ages they have been accustomed to submit to the rule of a foreign warlike race, which has not really amalgamated with the nation. At least this has been the case with the Manchus, and probably was so with the Golden Horde and the Mongols. Strange to say among the Manchus are some men of great ability and attractive personality. Colossal ignorance of the outer world is still the characteristic of both Chinese and Manchus. So I don't think I can agree with you that a few reforms are all that are needed to start China on a career like that of Japan.

The press in China has certainly developed considerably during the past four years, and I give a good deal of attention to it. With much ignorance in places, it is on the whole fairly well informed, and takes a patriotic view of public affairs. It must be admitted however that the best of them are published at Shanghai, with more or less assistance or direction from Europeans and Americans. They are one and all against the "indentured labourer" for South Africa mines business, and have woke[n] up to the necessity of keeping the remaining railways and mines in Chinese hands. Unluckily for

¹⁰⁹ Professor William Anderson, FRCS who had been a medical doctor in Japan in the 1870s died on 27 October 1900 (*Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Volume III, published by Japan Library in 1999, edited by J. E. Hoare, Ch. 7, p. 85 and endnote 16). Anderson was elected the first chairman of the Japan Society of London in 1891.

¹¹⁰ Peter the Great (Peter I) of Russia, (1672-1725). Crowned Tsar in 1682 and became Emperor in 1721. When his brother Ivan with whom he ruled jointly died in 1696, Peter remained monarch and engineered a series of reforms that were to put Russia among the major European powers. Peter opened Russia to the West. He invited the best European engineers, shipbuilders, architects, craftsmen and merchants to come to Russia. Hundreds of Russians were sent to Europe to get the best education and learn different arts and crafts.

the success of this policy no Chinese capitalist has any confidence in the government, which is unable to raise a penny for either branch of industry. I thought the "Times" article on [Sir Robert] Hart's scheme for reforming the provincial administration and collecting the land tax was unfair. There is a strong prejudice against him on the part of a good many people, chiefly because he still remains at the head of the Customs in spite of endeavours to get him to retire. His figures of the possible revenue from a properly estimated land tax were not intended to be exact. He only wanted to offer an inducement to the government to reform the local administration, and the millions of taels he held before their eyes were the jam that was to induce them to swallow the medicine. His memorial was composed in Chinese and then put into English. That of course made it less convincing. One fact in its favour is that Yüan Shihkai, while denying the accuracy of his [Hart's] figures is in favour of the way in which he proposes to collect the tax. Yüan with all his faults is the best man China has at the present moment. Chang Chih-tung is an eloquent old ass, unstable as water. His services in keeping things quiet in 1900 have been greatly exaggerated, for he only followed in the wake of [the governor of Liangjiang] Liu Kun-yi.

I am delighted to hear that you are getting on with the M.Y.S. [Man Yō Shū 万葉集]¹¹¹ which is perhaps the most interesting of all the old monuments of Japanese literature. The specimen you give me from the Nihongi beginning Okitsu mo ha is curiously bald. Your translation seems to me to quite hit off the meaning. If there had not been so many subjects that attracted one's attention in Japan, the M.Y.S. would have been my favourite study from a philological point of view, and I had begun indexing it as the foundation of a dictionary. But what became of my slips I do not remember. Since 1883 I have had to give up all Japanese subjects, almost entirely, and now [James] Murdoch has taken away the very *raison d'être* of my library. I have only once seen him. He was then living in Tokio, teaching in some school and writing articles for the Kōbe Chronicle, especially on the Spencerian philosophy. Then he seems to have migrated to Kagoshima. He has had good Japanese assistance in the preparation of his book, such assistance as was not formerly available – for there is now in Japan a school of history which has been trained in German methods by [Professor Dr. Ludwig] Riess.¹¹²

¹¹¹ *Man'yōshū* (万葉集 *Man'yōshū*) or *Anthology of a Myriad Leaves* was the first great Japanese poetry anthology, probably compiled by the poet Otomo no Yakamochi around 759 A.D. The anthology features *chōka* (long poems) and *tanka* (short poems of 31 syllables) etc. It is written using a syllabary called *man'yo-gana*, in which Chinese characters serve as phonetic symbols of syllables rather than of words.

¹¹² Dr. Ludwig Riess (1861-1928). Ph.D. in British history at Berlin University. Came to Japan in 1887 to teach at the Imperial University, Tokyo Left in 1902 after laying the

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Murdoch's book ¹¹³ I cannot read; it offends my ideas of what is good English and gentlemanlike feeling almost on every page. The facts no doubt are correct, but the criticism of action and character marred by hideous prejudice.

Of the books you mention I am afraid Aristophanes and the Athenian drama are beyond me. I have seen reviews of Dowden's Browning and Collins' Shakespearian Studies, but do not think I shall read them, as I do not know the two poets intimately enough. As a rule I had rather know what a poet says, than what other people think about him, though I must confess to having read the fat volume on Browning by the ex-clergyman who has also written on Tennyson. Shame on me to forget his name. Sir John Moore's Diary I have ordered, as it fits in with other books I have been reading. This letter is written from my cottage, whither I have been driven by 'summer trouble', and I brought the Georgics with me to read in a completely agricultural setting. My daily walk is among fields of grain and vegetable patches. The variety of things cultivated for the Peking market and for the sustenance of the peasant is truly astonishing. Then I keep an eye on trees, and the uses to which they are put, diligently making notes. But whether they will ever come to anything is another question. A swarm of bees settled in my willows the other day, but we were not successful in our endeavours to entice them into a temporary hive, and after two days they departed. It seems that north of Peking, near Kupei kou, there are regular bee keepers. In Japan it was quite unknown, which is curious, seeing how much the agriculture of that country owes to China; but they have no sheep either, and there are no asses. What a host of plants have been called Japonica that were introduced there from China. Botanizing I have no time for, and would not lead to much if I had, for the Peking plain and surrounding mountains must have been pretty well explored by Bretschneider.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and believe me,

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

foundations of the study of history in Japan. An expert on the English factory at Hirado, he lectured on this topic to the Asiatic Society of Japan on November 23, 1898.

¹¹³ *A History of Japan during the Century of early foreign Intercourse (1542-1651)* by James Murdoch, M.A. in collaboration with Isoh Yamagata (Kobe, Japan: published at the office of the Kobe Chronicle, 1903). James Murdoch (1856-1921) later - in 1912 - published another volume dealing with Japanese history up to 1542, and his three-volume history of Japan up to 1868 first appeared in 1926, after his death. It totalled more than 2,300 pages. A planned fourth volume on the Meiji era was never published. See the biographical sketch of Murdoch in the third volume, probably by Joseph Henry Longford who revised and edited Volume III until his death in 1925.

40.

British Legation, Peking

27 January 1905

My dear Dickins,

I have left your letter of October a long time in my box of unanswered letters, but you will acknowledge no doubt that you are yourself not the best of punctual correspondents. I do not reproach you, knowing how far short of the ideal I come myself, owing mainly to the file of daily drudgery which unfits me for anything else, and it is only after the departure of the F.O. bag that I ever feel the inclination to write. And I have nothing of interest to tell you about.

Of the war you learn much more than I could tell you, for as always the "Times" is better informed than any one else. You will have seen Morrison's telegram despatched after his return from Port Arthur. I quite agree with [Captain F.] Brinkley, for once, that the honours of the siege belong to the Japanese, who have achieved a wonderful exploit in forcing the surrender of a place so strongly defended by nature and art, when it was still well provided with fuels, food and ammunition. No words can express the opinion held by European officers of the entire incompetence of the Russian navy. The military prestige of the Russian army was a bladder which the Japanese have pricked as they foretold they would. A big battle is apparently impending near Moukden ¹¹⁴, on which

¹¹⁴ The Battle of Mukden. Japanese victory over the Russians during the Russo-Japanese War, February–March 1905, outside Mukden (now called Shenyang), capital city of Manchuria. This was the last major battle of the war – the Russian defeat finally persuaded the tsar to accept US mediation in June 1905. After the battle of Liaoyang in September 1904, the Russians fell back to a defensive line some 80 km/50 miles long on the River Sha Ho, south of Mukden. The Japanese and Russian armies faced each other for some months along this line while the siege of Port Arthur was brought to an end, after which the Japanese began reinforcing their line preparatory to an attack. A fresh Japanese army, the 5th, worked its way through the mountains to the west of Mukden and began attacking the Russian left flank on 20 February. The main attack against the centre of the Russian line began on 27 February, while the Japanese 4th Army appeared on the Russian right flank, forcing the two ends of the Russian defensive line to curve backwards. Fighting was bitter, but it soon became apparent to the Russians that the two Japanese flanking armies would encircle the city. The Russians began a general retreat in a series of hard-fought rearguard actions, which soon deteriorated into a total collapse; Mukden was evacuated by 10 March and the Russians fell back to the north. Russian casualties were 26,500 killed, about the same number wounded, and 40,000 taken prisoner. The Japanese lost 41,000 killed and wounded. (from Hutchinson's Online Encyclopedia at <http://www.tiscali.co.uk/reference/encyclopaedia/hutchinson/m0009814.html>, accessed May 9, 1904)

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[a] larger number of men are ranged against each other than in any other recorded in history. It will cost the lives of many men before either side gives way. The Germans and French are beginning to be apprehensive of what may happen to them later on, and are praying for a Japanese defeat. From an excellent source I hear that the former egged on the Japanese to declare war, not of course that their counsels had any share in bringing about the event, but they expected Japan to be snuffed out, and then they would have had as free a hand in Shantung and Chihli [provinces] as Russia in Manchuria. Their disappointment at the way things have gone hitherto is naturally great. And not only that, but the policy of 1895, which they were the loudest in advocating, has been torn to pieces by the capture of Port Arthur. They try to make out that they love Japan, and the Japanese accept their blandishments, but without forgetting the conduct of Germany in 1895. Then, after effusively congratulating them [through the German minister in Tokyo, Freiherr von Gutschmid] on their victory over China, the Germans turned round suddenly and were foremost in robbing them of its fruits [through the Triple Intervention, *Sangokukanshō*, 三国干涉 April 23, 1895].

The Germans are busily fortifying the hills around Kiaochou [occupied by Germany in 1898], for which 2½ million of marks are allowed in the next budget, but the local German paper says this is utterly insufficient. Of course no Power could possibly resist an attack by Japan, unless it was strong enough to command the sea, so that fortifying a place like Kiaochou cannot be of very great use. I do not see how Germany can afford to keep in the Far East a fleet of iron clads [battleships] strong enough to act against Japan, and the enterprise in Shantung, which looked so promising at first, will probably be found to have been a political blunder.

There is no doubt in my mind that this part of the world is going to be the scene of important events for some decades to come, and that the centre of political interest will be removed here from Constantinople [Istanbul]. The rise of Japan has as completely upset our equilibrium as a new planet the size of Mars [the planet of war] would derange the solar system.

I often think in the hours of tiredness after work of some peaceful retreat in England like yours, and of the delightful position on your ridge. The walk we took to Steeple Ashton [Wiltshire, four miles from Seend where Dickins lived] is quite fresh in my memory, an indelible picture.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

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41.

British Legation, Peking

17 July 1905

My dear Dickins,

I have to thank you for two most interesting letters of March 28 and April 22, the first about Japan and her uprising, the second about Greece. The achievements of Japan are marvellous, and have astonished all but a very few clear-sighted soldiers and sailors. And now we are coming to the diplomatic arena, where no doubt they will hold their own as well as they have done on land and at sea. But I cannot write much on this subject today, for I am still weak from an attack of diarrhoea and prostrated by the heat. Also I am sitting on a verandah high above the Peking plain with green fields in the foreground and a beautiful range of mountains blue with the shadows cast by fleecy clouds and perfectly clear in outline, all of which prevents thoughts; one can only absorb through the senses. My purpose today is merely to thank you for those two letters, which I have read two or three times from beginning to end. If you do not often write, when you take up the pen it is to give your friends of your best, and you deserve their gratitude. I shall not accuse you ever of being a bad correspondent any more than one could say of a woman that she was a bad mother because she did not give birth to a fine child more than once in the twelve months. I envy you your visit to Greece and the sensations of pure delight at seeing on the spot what one only knows in books. Some day I shall hope to see Athens, but not so profitably as you have done for I am so ignorant of it all. The cycle I have spent in Cathay has been my aesthetic ruin, but still I can say with truth that I would rather possess a single Tanagra [a town in Greece] statuette or a sculptured head in Parian marble [white lychnite from Paros used e.g. in the Venus de Milo in the Louvre, Paris] than all the blue and white China and monochrome bottles and vases, all the gold lacquer boxes, ivory carvings and sword guards that were ever collected together from the Far East. How civilised people who dwell in England can devote so much time and labour as they do to describing in minute detail the ornamentation and colouring of Chinese porcelain is a perfect marvel, still more wonderful that they should give such prices as they did at the Huth sale ¹¹⁵, absolutely out of all proportion for works that are more grotesque than pleasing to the eyes. Then think of the extraordinary craze that lately seized our people for coloured prints (both Japanese and English), quaint perhaps and amusing specimens of human weakness, but not artistic in the slightest degree.

¹¹⁵ Henry Huth (1815-1878) was a banker and book collector. His son Alfred Henry Huth bequeathed many books to the British Library in 1903.

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I am getting rather tired of Peking, and am hoping that my tenure of this post, which according to regulation expires on October 26 [Satow reached China on September 29, 1900] will not be renewed. Then I shall feel that I have earned my repose, and shall lose no time in returning to England. If they keep me on, it can only be for a couple of years at the outside, for it is not right to keep a man of over sixty at such continuous dull monotonous unpleasant work. I may not love the Chinese, but it always seems to me that they have been most unjustly treated and still are by the Powers, and I would like to have no more share in it. In no other post have I ever been called on to advocate wrong causes and to enforce unjust claims. Our relations with China have been vitiated from the beginning, going so far back as the opium smuggling business at Canton in the old days before treaties began. Foreigners in this country denounce what they call 'anti-foreign' feeling. They do not reflect that they are themselves provocatively 'Anti-Chinese'.

So it would be a relief to get rid of this function. Against the Chinese as far as my personal relations go I have nothing to say. The people are friendly and the officials pleasant in non-official intercourse, my Servants faultless except my gardeners who cannot be persuaded to extirpate the weeds in the lawn at Peking. But of the China Association and the Shanghai municipal council and various other bodies I desire to hear no more. I shall blot out the five years of China, but for the pleasant people I have known in Peking.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

42.

British Legation, Peking

6 December 1905

My dear Dickins,

Your observations on the peace and the conduct of the war in your letters of August 30 & September 22 appear to me on the whole just. One or two remarks occur to me. All of us here and Morrison of the "Times" included said from the first that Japan would be unable to exact an indemnity from Russia, as she was not in possession of territory of sufficient importance. [Russian finance minister Sergei Yul'evich] Witte [1849-1915] was willing to pay something for the restoration [to Russia] of the northern half of Sagalien [Sakalin], but the Emperor was inexorable. The demand for the surrender of the interned ships was I think justified as a protest against this quite novel practice of letting beaten ships take refuge in a neutral port close to the fighting area, instead of

being turned out to take their chance. The proposal to limit Russian naval forces in the Far East was also a declaration of principle. If Japan had not put forward these demands [at Portsmouth] she would have got less than she finally obtained. She wanted peace, the [Russian] Emperor and the war party did not. Witte agreed to the most important points, i.e. surrender of the Liaotung Peninsula, the control of Corea passing into Japanese hands and the cession of half the Manchurian railway. He expected the Japanese to hold out on the indemnity and the cession of Sagalien, and to gain for Russia the appearance of being reasonable, and in order to throw the odium of continuing the war on Japan, he gave way on the first lot of demands. Then the Japanese instead of resisting, gave way, and Witte could not withdraw what he had already conceded. To that extent Japanese diplomacy succeeded.

[Theodore] Roosevelt [1858-1919, U.S. President 1901-09] played a great part in bringing about the peace, and put as much pressure on the [Russian] Emperor as he did on Japan. To him great credit is due. ¹¹⁶

Japan was getting hard up for men, arms, ammunition and money, and to continue the war till Vladivostok was taken would have cost her too much. Russia was exhausted as far as money goes, and she had suffered constant defeats. Moreover the internal state of the Empire was threatening. Doubtless Witte and the others thought that if peace came they would be able to turn their attention to the restoration of autocracy. In this expectation they appear to have been disappointed.

Japanese transport was not adequate to the forward movement of such a huge army after [the battle of] Moukden; they had to pay enormously for the carts of the country and their own were insufficient.

I think the Russians would have continued the war rather than give up the northern half of Sagalien, which commands the mouth of the Amur [river]. Its cession to Japan would have meant their eventual repulse from the shores of the Pacific. They are no nearer now to that than they were in 1854, half a century ago.

The policy of the Far eastern triplike [Russia, Germany and France] has received a severe blow in the Japanese conquest of the Liaotung Peninsula. I give the world ten years of peace in this part of the world. During that time Japan will recoup her losses [in men and material], and be ready to begin again.

The other night at a big dinner given by [Japan's representative at the Treaty of Portsmouth] Komura [Jutarō, 1855-1911 小村 寿太郎] to the diplomats, one of them was asking his neighbours at table what was the net result of the war. Various answers

¹¹⁶ Of course Britain was an ally of Japan by the alliance of 1902, so she was not in a position to broker a peace settlement. The U.S.A. was neutral.

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were given. I said "A surprise and a disappointment". But the best was: "China & Russia get constitutions." China is waking up, but many troubles are yet before her, and people are not confident that any good will come out of the present activity. Love of money, fear of responsibility and face-saving are the dominant motives of the official world. Perhaps long after you and I are in our graves improvements may slowly be attained. China's best course would be to take Japan's example to heart, and frankly to rely on her counsels, but her pride seems to forbid this.

Your criticism of [Basil Hall] Chamberlain's mental attitude seems just. His great defect is an inclination to hate rather than love the spiritual. Having become a Catholic for a time in order to free himself from an incubus, he has thrown it off completely and become more aggressively agnostic than ever. His tone throughout "Things Japanese" is that of a mocking spirit. I ought not to say so much of a friend, but he distresses me greatly in that way, and always has.

I hope to be in England in June next, and then to have a good look about me before settling down – but not in London.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

End of PRO 30/33 11/6.

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April 1906 – August 1918. (PRO 30/33 11/7)

PRO 30/33 11/7: April 28, 1906 – August 18, 1918 (82 letters)

1.

British Legation, Peking

28 April, 1906

My dear Dickins,

At last I am able to get away, and am leaving by train for Hankow [a treaty port and rail terminus on the Yangtze] on the 4th May. As I intend to spend some ten or twelve days in Japan I shall hardly reach England before the end of June, and shall hope to see you not long after that.

Your letter of February 8 interested me very greatly. Why should you regret that it becomes increasingly hard to do real work. Surely when a man has reached the sixties he may repose and enjoy his accumulated results and the produce of other men's work. You strove hard as long as you were in harness, and you have a mens conscia recti. My ideal is to leave work to younger men, to enjoy the blessings of life as long as it is left to me, to sit in a garden and read books written by other men. My ambition if I ever had any large measure of it is quite dead. But I cannot write much today, for I have a great deal to finish before I go, and farewell visits to make. So au revoir.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

2.

93 Jermyn Street, SW

21 July 1906

My dear Dickins,

Your letter of June 25 was delivered to me with many others when I got home on the 12th and since then I have been busy devising a plan for establishing myself in England in a home of my own. I am just on the point of taking a furnished house at Sidmouth [on the South Devon coast] for six months that will give me time to look about, and find a permanent abode to my liking. To meet with exactly what one wants would be unexampled good fortune, but I am I hope easy to content, provided there is something of a garden and a good-sized room for books. I expect to get possession on the 3rd, and shall hardly stir from Sidmouth before October, except to pay a short visit to Mitford [at Batsford, Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire] to see his garden, towards which I contributed seeds of *Pinus Bungeana* the white barked pine of N. China. I am still on

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leave of absence and [J.N.] Jordan ¹¹⁷ is going out to take charge [at Peking]. For my own part I think they would have done well to leave affairs in the hands of Carnegie the Councillor of Legation and C.W. Campbell the Chinese Secretary who are quite competent to do the work, but they decided otherwise. I presume that Jordan will succeed me when I retire in October.

I have just been reading your Athenaeum review of the reprint of [Engelbert] Kaempfer[*'s History of Japan, 1727-28*]. From one point of view a literal reprint is interesting, especially where there is a scarcity of the original book; but I think the book would have been more useful to the general reader if it had been properly edited and Kaempfer's mistakes corrected. Perhaps he would need too much annotation, and there would be a danger of his text disappearing altogether.

I wonder when we shall meet. As my youngest brother ["Sam" – Samuel Augustus Mason Satow, born 1847] is coming to stay with me the greater part of August and September, I shall be there nearly all the time, with the exception I have mentioned. Perhaps you could spare a few days in October to come and spend with me, even though my books and things are still packed up, and there be nothing to show you. Don't fancy [imagine] that I am going to write about Japanese modern history, nor about China either. J.C. Hall wants me to be president of a China Society, based on the model of [Arthur] Diosy's institution [the Japan Society, founded 1891]; another man wants to convert me into an honorary professor of Japanese. Neither proposal at all fits in with my plans for spending the remainder of my earthly existence. If I can I will go with you to Aston's next year; that will tempt me. Another time I might perhaps go to Spain. Still, I am inclined to think that once I am installed in a house of my own, with all my books around me and a garden at hand, I shall not want to go gadding about the earth's surface any more.

With kind regards to Mrs. Dickins, I am

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

¹¹⁷ Jordan, Rt. Hon. Sir John (Newell), P.C. 1915; G.C.M.G. 1920; K.C.B. 1909. Born 1852, County Down, Ireland. Married Annie Howe of Co. Down, 1885. Queen's College, Belfast, 1st class honours. Appointed student interpreter in China, 1876. Assistant Chinese Secretary at Peking, 1889. Chinese Secretary, 1891. Consul-General in Corea, 1896-98. Chargé d'Affaires, 1898-1901. H.B.M. Minister Resident at Court of Corea, 1901-06. H.B.M. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Resident at Peking, 1906-20. Died September 1925. (abstracted from *Who Was Who*, 1916-1928, p. 567)

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3.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth [in embossed letters]

5 August 1906

My dear Dickins,

I came down here the day before yesterday. At present I am in the throes of organization. The cook, a very plain one, tells my housekeeper that she must leave if I have people staying in the house, and as my youngest brother with his wife and two of their children are coming to me for a month on the 15th, I must at once take steps to fill her place.

It has rained a good deal these two days, but I have managed to have some walks, mostly up and down hill, for which this place affords facilities. I was in the House of Lords on the 1st and heard part of the Education bill debate. It filled me with despair. But now I have read the speech of [John Percival] the bishop of Hereford, I begin to think the amendments he recommended and one or two more suggested by the Spectator may be accepted by the H[ouse] of C[ommons]. In that case there will be a prospect of peace.

I have read your review of Mitford's book [The Garter Mission, 1906], but not the book itself as he has promised to send me a copy when the new issue is ready. You probably know that it is partly intended to remove the unpleasantness caused by Ian Hamilton's indiscretions. Your journey into France sounds as if it would be pleasant, and I hope you will be back early in October, free to come and pay me a visit.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

4.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth [embossed]

27 August 1906

My dear Dickins,

In Saturday's Athenaeum I read a review of [J.?] Morris' last book on Japan [*Makers of Japan*, 1906?], and think someone has confounded Okubō Ichizō the Satsuma man, with Okubō Ichirō the Hatamoto who was a prominent servant of the Shōgun about 1867 & 1868. I knew them both. Ichirō was the older man by a good deal, and a scholar; that Ichizō was given to writing poetry I never heard: it was not an act in which the Satsuma men excelled.

Perhaps what you say about the Japanese is all true. Their auto-bureaucracy is very unattractive. But I cannot help thinking that the individualism and unwillingness to

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submit to any kind of discipline that characterize the English people is also a grave defect. Though on the whole I hold England and its people to be on a far higher plane of moral civilization than Japan and the Japanese.

Many thanks for your congratulations on the P.C. [Privy Counsellorship]. I value it much more than anything else that could have been given me. It was the King's own idea, not that of my official superiors: they are rather grudging in the matter of honours.

Can you come and spend a few days with me after the 5 October? It would be very pleasant to have some talks and walks on the moors about here, and we could go over and see Aston [at the nearby small town of Beer].

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

5.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth [embossed]

23 September 1906

My dear Dickins,

I am very glad to hear that you have enjoyed your travels in France, for your letter of the 2nd from Poitiers gave a very gloomy picture of your frame of mind. Tomorrow I am going away till 6 October. Can you come to me on the 8th? I shall have staying with me Frank Norris, an S.P.G. missionary from North China, who has been chaplain at Peking for some years, was through the Siege of the Legations, and is a very charming fellow.

I think [Lord] Redesdale [A.B. Mitford] would be very flattered if you sent him a copy of your book, which I am looking forward to with eagerness. While you are here we will go over to Beer and see Aston. I am afraid he is rather depressed by the loss of his mother, who died two or three weeks ago at the age of 85. Congratulations on your young gunner's appointment; it must be a great pleasure to you that he is getting on so well.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

6.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth

29 September 1906

My dear Dickins,

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I cannot recollect anything definite about Millard ¹¹⁸, but I read his book on my way across the Pacific, and was immensely amused by it. My impression is that he was one of that crowd of newspapermen who went to Japan at the outbreak of the [Russo-Japanese] war, and were disappointed at not being able to get to the front as quickly and as easily as they had expected. I don't think he has been a resident in the Far East all the time he speaks of.

I am very glad to hear you will come on the 8th. Please let me know beforehand by what train to expect you. There is a good one from Exeter to Sidmouth at 4.40, arriving at 5.38, but how you get from Seend [in Wiltshire] to Exeter [in Devon] I do not know.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

7.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth

15 October 1906.

My dear Dickins,

I enjoyed your visit very greatly, and am very pleased that you liked Norris. The attraction was therefore a mutual one, as I have since heard from him. I have not seen Nagaoka's book, but surmise that it is in some measure based on a work in Japanese by a man named Watanabe ¹¹⁹ of whom I used to see a good deal when I was last living in Tokio. Some time or other I may ask you to lend it to me, but at present I am pretty well provided, and I rather shun anything which might tempt me to use my pen about Japanese matters. It would I am sure prove difficult to avoid making use of knowledge acquired in consequence of my official position at Tokio; and that is a thing that is strictly forbidden to diplomatists since [Sir Horace] Rumbold's escapade – though, as far as I can see, no such restriction has been enacted in the case of consuls. Perhaps diplomatists are more liable to the temptation of publishing their reminiscences. One cannot help thinking they do more harm than good. This strikes me forcibly in reading Rose's "Development of Modern European Nations". Poor old Sir Henry Elliott, who is still alive and in possession of his faculties, comes in for some hard knocks. I don't

¹¹⁸ Thomas F. Millard was Asian correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune during the Russo-Japanese War. Later he authored *The End of Extraterritoriality in China*.

¹¹⁹ Probably Watanabe Hiromoto (Kōki). (1848-1901). Member of the Iwakura Mission, 1871-73. Head of Gakushūin, governor of Tokyo prefecture and President of the Imperial University of Tokyo. He is mentioned several times in Satow's Tokyo diaries, 1895-1900. See especially July 11, 1896. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 110).

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think I have had [Prof. Michel] Revon's Shintōisme, at any rate I have not read it. I fancy he goes out of his way to criticize Aston: he is a law professor, comparatively young, who was teaching in the Tokio University between 1895 and 1900. While there he produced a book on Hokusai, and another on International Arbitration. He can hardly have had the leisure to become a scholar in the Japanese language, but he has I believe obtained some sort of professorship at the Collège de France on the strength of what he knows, and I gave him some help at his request in the way of a testimonial.¹²⁰

Many thanks for the name of the Guernsey Lily. It is a good thing it has been changed, for how can anyone guess whether the second syllable of Nerine is long or short.

The Japanese name of the pink Amaryllis that grows at the foundation of my house and is so abundant in all the gardens here is Ha mizu hana mizu, which is much more compendious than any possible English equivalent. I don't believe any botanist calls it the Belladonna Lily.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

8.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth

23 October 1906.

My dear Dickins,

I am very sorry I cannot come over to go with you and Mrs. Dickins to the concert, and to stay over Sunday. But I have engagements here on Friday and Saturday and on Monday I must go to Exeter to see the agents about a house which is on the market which I want to buy. Otherwise I should have been delighted to come. I am going to town for a few days on the 6th to the China dinner, and hope to arrange with my eldest sister [Margaret Allen née Satow, 1835-1910] to pay me a visit. I am going on the shelf very shortly, and as I have the house only till the end of January am anxious to secure something of a nest which I can get into by that time. I am longing to unpack my books and things.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

¹²⁰ Michel Revon (1867-1947). French. Law professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo and adviser to the Ministry of Justice, in Japan 1893-99. On March 2, 1897 Revon brought a copy of his thesis on Hokusai to Satow. (Ruxton, 2003, p. 166).

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9.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth

November 22, 1906.

My dear Dickins,

I am much obliged to you for the suggestion that I should join the Athenaeum Club under the rule which dispenses with the ballot in certain cases, and it has much that is attractive about it. There would be a good many congenial spirits to be met there, and the library would be a great advantage. But I should like to wait a bit before saying yes.

I have given up all my clubs except the Travellers, where I know a good many men of the F.O. and diplomacy, and I don't want to cut myself adrift from them. Redesdale too wants me to withdraw my resignation of the Marlborough Club membership, but I don't see my way to staying on there; at the same time it would be difficult to explain to him why I deserted his bantling [child, infant] (he is chairman of the committee) and attached myself to a bigger bird. I don't think I shall be much in London, for the country attracts me much more, and life seems likely to be quite full enough without frequent visits to Babylon. So please let my name not be mentioned, at least at present.

It is very kind of you to say what you do about my retirement. My health would not have allowed me to stay on at Peking, and the F.O. have not offered me anything else. After forty five years abroad and at the age of sixty three it seemed better to come home than to leave my bones in China. I am quite contented as I find myself, and have plenty of occupation. Liberty to think and act as one is inclined is as you say better than high office.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

10.

Salcombe House, Sidmouth

14 January 1907

My dear Dickins,

Very many thanks for the trouble you have taken to find out how the matter of Watanabe's book stands. I shall now be able to write back to him and tranquillize his mind. I read Norris' article. It is as you say rather thin. Probably he did it only to oblige the editor, who is a cousin of his.

Of Lafcadio's writings I know very little, having only read Kokoro. In the preface to one of his books he says foreigners had corrupted Japanese morality, which is a

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ridiculous misstatement. I read no further. It appears to me that he exaggerated Japanese virtues, and saw their mental and social qualities through a misty [i.e. clouded by sentiment] pair of subjective spectacles, and that his writing is like that of the man who did "The Soul of a people", romantic but untrue. I never met Lafcadio Hearn, who used to keep aloof from foreign society. But of his style one must say that it is excellent as literature.

It is the case that I have been appointed a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague. It is an honour. There is probably little or no work to be done. Of course I am very pleased, and so are my people [family]. The other man recently appointed was Lord Selby, and the third is Sir Edward Fry. It is very flattering to be bracketed with such men as these.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

11.

Royal York Hotel, Sidmouth

17 February 1907

My dear Dickins,

I read your review of Lafcadio Hearn's Life, and thought it excellent. The book I have not seen. I entirely agree with you about his style, it is perfect, but his [subject] matter is unconvincing. Many Japanese I like very much, but for all that I cannot bring myself to believe that they are equal to the European – I mean taking the best of both. Still there is much in them to admire, particularly their indifference to wealth, and their capacity for self-devotion. I am free to confess that the Japanese nation has achieved far more than I had ever thought possible up to 1895. But on going there then I found that they had woke up with great energy out of the listlessness which was the characteristic of all of them in former days. I think they have a great deal of the painstaking plodding character of the German, little of the brilliancy of the French mind or the fine gold of the English genius at its best.

I shall not leave this hotel before the 28th and expect to be some days at Ottery [St. Mary] in the vicar's house before getting into my own.

My second boy in Japan [Takeda Hisayoshi, 1883-1972 武田久吉] who is still devoted to botany and has a gift for botanical drawing writes that he has been appointed a lecturer at the agricultural college in Sapporo; he is to compile a flora of Yezo [蝦夷 the old name for Hokkaidō] besides giving instruction in German and English. He is just twenty four. I wish I had been able to get him to England for a time, but I doubt his

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coming here while his mother [Takeda Kane, 1853-1932 武田兼] lives. The other ["Alfred T. Satow" or Takeda Eitarō, 1880-1926 武田栄太郎], who is 27, is farming in Colorado. He finds the open air life much better for his health than poring over books.
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I went over to see Aston a few days ago, and found him looking very well. From there [Beer] I walked back through Branscombe, a matter of seven miles, quite a delightful part of the country.

Have you read the Indiscreet Letters from Peking? It is a shameless book. Putnam Weale's real name is Simpson – he was one of the worst looters after the relief of the Legations.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

12.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary [in embossed letters]

10 November 1907

My dear Dickins,

I am very sorry to hear that you have had influenza, and have not quite got rid of the effects. You will find what I said on missions in China in the report given in the "Times" of 1 November of the meeting at the Albert Hall. I was not present, but wrote a letter, which was read at the meeting and printed in full. I got back three weeks ago, and have been busy ever since, renewing relations with my neighbours and making notes for my chapter on China etc. in Europe for the Cambridge Modern History. It is a very tiresome piece of work, involving as it does the perusal of about thirty [? Illegible] volumes of bluebooks, and anything else I can get hold of. A rather interesting book that has lately come out is Sergeant's Anglo-Chinese Commerce and diplomacy which treats the whole period very well, without going too much into detail as [Alexander] Michie did.

I was at Beer a few days ago, and found Mrs. Aston still very much of an invalid, though on the mend. He looks rather worn, as he well may be after all the anxiety he has passed through.

¹²¹ The Takeda family letters and other documents are held at the Yokohama Archives of History, and have been catalogued. They amount to some 2,200 items, including letters from Satow to his wife and sons. Most of the letters are in Japanese. For the first part of the catalogue, see 中武 香奈美 Nakatake Kanami, 武田家旧蔵アーネスト・サトウ関係資料目録 (1) Takeda-ke Kyūzō A-nesuto Satō Kankei Shiryō Mokuroku (1), in 横浜開港資料館紀要第21号, Bulletin of the Yokohama Archives of History No. 21 (March, 2003).

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I am off to Scotland on the 14th for a fortnight to stay with the Reays in the [Walter] Scott country, which will be very pleasant if the weather is fine.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and believe me

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

13.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary [embossed]

19 January 1908

My dear Dickins,

Your vision of a tour in Greece is very alluring, and with a companion like yourself thoroughly steeped in Greek literature would be delightful in the highest degree. But I am afraid you must not reckon on me. I am very anxious to spend as much of this year in my garden as I can manage, and do not think I can tear myself away for what would be a journey of six weeks or two months; and also I have a quantity of work unfinished. I have done the China portion of my chapter on the Far East for the Cambridge Modern History, which amounts to rather more than half, and I doubt greatly whether I shall be through with it before the end of March; and then after that there is a review article on another subject to finish.

Very many thanks for your kind offer of slides, and for the slides of Japanese xylographs [engravings on wood]. But what shall I do with the latter? They seem to me only fit for exhibition to people what have had some practice in looking at Japanese drawings, and I doubt whether the youngsters of the boys' club or the more mature audience of the C.E.T.S. would understand them. I gave the former a talk about Morocco and the others and exhibition of N. China slides. Neither of the sets were what I should have chosen, and the Moorish ones were very badly explained. Perhaps some day, if you have time, you would not mind looking out for some 50 of the coloured slides from Japan. We have an acetylene lamp and it does fairly well.

The crossing of our letters was very curious, particularly your writing to me on the very subject that I was asking you about. Surely there is something in telepathy, though the explanations of the phenomenon may be wrong. My own theory is that it is "this muddy vesture of decay"¹²² that prevents our knowing a great deal more of each others thoughts than we do. I should be inclined to suspect that there is no such thing in

¹²² W. Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, Lorenzo to Jessica: "Such harmony is in immortal souls; But whilst this muddy vesture of decay Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it."

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reality as the dissipation of force or thought, though it may become so expanded and thinned out as to require a very sensitive receiver to catch it. We are not sensitive enough. I don't think I have ever read [Frank] Podmore's book, but I have seen cases of hyperaesthesia [excessive sensitivity] which set me thinking. But I don't puzzle my brain about this or any other question unduly, for I am contented with just the amount of knowledge or ignorance that is intended for me, in the conviction that as far as I am concerned I have nothing to grumble about – not even the weather. I have looked at the slides. They are wonderfully well done, and would be quite legible with a magnifying glass. I hope Aston will come to me to stop for a week or two; it will give his sister time to put the house in order, and he can go back to it to begin a new life.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

14.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

February 16, 1908

My dear Dickins,

Thank you very much for the charming reprint of your translation of the Hojoki [*Ho-jo-ki: Notes from a Ten-Foot Square Hut*, jointly translated with Minamata Kumagusu, published 1907]. It reminds me in a way of [The Rubaiyat of] Omar Khayyam but without the scepticism and pessimism of [Edward] Fitzgerald. I agree with you that there is nothing more charming in the Far East than the 'simple life', such as even now you may see it in the neighbourhood of Kiōto.

I know [George Ernest] Morrison ¹²³ and his book very well. Since he has seen more of missionaries and their work he has repented of what he wrote in the Australian in China [1895], and tried to buy up all the copies of the final edition, to suppress them. But the publishers, who had bought the copyright, were too much for him, and brought out a new edition without consulting him, or giving him an opportunity of revising it. I have been several times asked to speak for the S.P.G. [Society for the Propagation of the Gospel] but I always decline now unless it is a request from a personal friend, for I said nearly all I had to say on that subject more than a year ago at Cambridge, and besides I dislike public speaking. But once or twice instead of going to a meeting I have written them a letter in which I urge that the Chinese are a people with an ancient civilization

¹²³ George Ernest Morrison (1862–1920), doctor of medicine, adventurous traveller and journalist, became resident correspondent of *The Times*, London, at Peking in 1897, and political adviser to the President of China from 1912 to 1920.

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that it behoves us to take account of, that the R.C. [Roman Catholics] were there two centuries before us and we ought not to be surprised if they look on us as intruders; that missionaries ought to abstain from intervention on behalf of their converts. That is all I wish now to say on the subject. But I support missionaries because I believe in Christianity for all men, not exclusively for Aryan races. Putnam Weale I do not read; he is not a respectable person. I had not answered the letter in which you kindly offered me lantern slides, because I wished to talk the matter over with the curate who looks after the boys' club, and as he has been away I have not been able to get hold of him. I think it would be some time in March that I should wish to borrow some, and when I have seen my curate I will write again. The book Human Bullets [A Soldier's Story of the Russo-Japanese War, by Tadayoshi Sakurai, 1906] you mention is very remarkable, and I have recommended it to several people. As you say, it is destitute of geniality; the Japanese in fact has no humour – he is far too serious. Often I have noticed that when Japanese tried to be humorous they were merely rude.

I have found among books I bought when in Tokio from '95 to 1900 a quantity of excellent material about the modern history from 1853, of which I shall be able to make use for my chapter on the Far East, but it will be a mere sketch that I shall be able to give. On the Foreign side the American diplomatic papers are most useful, far fuller than our blue books – but I have the confidential printed papers [“Confidential Print”] which are very complete. Unluckily Alcock was very diffuse. Parkes' despatches are excellent. I fear Prothero will grumble when he sees what my M.S. runs to, but I must leave excision to the editors. I don't think I will ever undertake again to write under limitations as to space.

Yours very sincerely
Ernest Satow

15.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

15 March 1908

My dear Dickins,

I am sending back the lantern slides, which I had kept in the hope of being able to arrange an exhibition of them to the Boys' Club, in which case I should have asked you to be so good as to lend me some of your other Japan slides as well. But I was away for a week at the beginning of the month, and I find that the winter season is coming to an end, after which the club shuts up till the autumn. Perhaps when that time arrives I may ask you to let me have a selection of slides.

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I went to town to appear before the Treasury Committee on the Study of Oriental Languages.¹²⁴ I told them that in my opinion professorships of Chinese and Japanese history, philology, literature, philosophy and religions might be usefully established, if they could obtain the right sort of men for such chairs, but I deprecated establishing chairs before the men to fill them had been secured. Colloquial Japanese I thought might be taught in England, by a teacher not by a professor – but I did not advocate trying to teach tone languages like Chinese and Siamese. Those could only, in my opinion, be learnt in the places where they are spoken. I also threw some doubt upon the teaching of Pekingese mandarin, as it is not so widely diffused as southern mandarin.

I look on what Hillier is doing in the way of teaching Pekingese as like cutting blocks with a razor. It is quite a fluke their getting such a first rate speaker of colloquial, and they cannot reckon on a continuance of such first rate men for a mere teacher's post. Whether Hillier is capable of filling the chair of a professor I don't know. I said I did not suppose a professor of either Chinese or Japanese subjects would have many hearers, but it was worth while, if they could get the competent men, to have some one in England to whom people who want to know about history, philosophy, religions etc. of the Far East could go for sound information.

Beyond [James] Legge [1815-97] I do not know that we have ever had a professor of Chinese in England who was thoroughly versed in his subject, though I fancy Parker is pretty good, at least on historical questions. Of Bullock's acquirements I know nothing at all, but imagine him to have been an ordinary consul. I ought to have mentioned [Sir Thomas] Wade [1818-95] along with Legge, for he certainly was a learned man. About [Herbert] Giles [1845-1935] I have very serious doubts, and the men in the China consular service have no high opinion of his scholarship.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Satow appeared on the sixth day of session of the Committee appointed by the Treasury to consider the organization of Oriental Studies in London (February 27, 1908) at the University of London, South Kensington. Lord Reay as Chairman, Lord Redesdale (A.B. Mitford), Sir Alfred C. Lyall, Sir Thomas Raleigh and Mr. A. R. Guest were present. P.J. Hartog was Secretary.

See the Report of the Committee published in 1909 (H.M.S.O. Cmd. 4560), usually called 'The Reay Report'. Satow's evidence is on pp. 69-77 of the Minutes of Evidence. Satow told the committee that there were four Englishmen who might be professor of Japanese. He seems to have been thinking of Aston, Chamberlain, Dickins and Gubbins – in that order. Satow continued: "Unless you can get one of those four men, I should not consider it was worthwhile to establish a professorship of Japanese in England. Get your man, and then establish your professorship."

¹²⁵ Herbert Allen Giles (1845-1935). Diplomat in China, 1867-92. Succeeded Sir Thomas Wade as professor of Chinese at Cambridge University, 1897-1932. He modified the romanization system of his predecessor and used it in his Chinese--English

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I am going away tomorrow for a week to Birmingham to stay with the Bishop. I am anxious to know his views about [Liberal statesman and President of the Board of Education Reginald] McKenna's Education bill. As far as I can learn in this neighbourhood, the treatment accorded to our school parishes is altogether uncalled for, as there are no nonconformists to make trouble. But the bill of 1902 also did them a great deal of harm, and caused an enormous addition to the rates. Instead of each parish paying for its own requirements, the rate is collected all over the country, and much unnecessary expenditure has resulted. In one parish I know of where a voluntary rate yielding £27 was sufficient for all purposes, the total collected is now £107, of which £39 goes to the general fund. And it is not a rich parish either. They seem to me to have framed the bill without due regard to local conditions and requirements.

Yours sincerely,
Ernest Satow

16.

[Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary]

March 29, 1908

My dear Dickins,

I had no idea that [Basil Hall] Chamberlain was on his way home, for I have not heard from him since he wrote me a few lines on his last voyage out to Japan. It will be very pleasant to see him again, if he can be induced to come down into the country. I doubt very much his remaining permanently in this country, for the climate does not suit him and his eyesight is so bad that he depends upon other people to read to him. If a professorship of Japanese is established in consequence of the report of Reay's Committee [see letter no. XV above] Chamberlain would be a very suitable man to fill the chair, but I don't know whether he would care for such a position. I wish he were not so anti everything English.

I am reading a collection of political papers made by Katsu Awa no Kami ¹²⁶ which throw a great deal of light upon Japanese foreign politics. They go back to the early forties and come down to 1868. I can only utilize a small portion of their contents for my Cambridge Modern History chapter, but they are the most useful material I have. Do

Dictionary (1892), establishing it as the preferred transliteration system in English-speaking countries, known as Wade-Giles, until the introduction of pinyin in 1979.

¹²⁶ Katsu Kaishū (1823-99). Privy councillor. Helped found the Japanese navy. Satow received these papers from Katsu ("a big book in 3 vols.") on August 10, 1895. (Satow's diary, Ruxton, 2003, p.13)

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you happen to possess a Japanese list of daimios of the [18]50's or 60's; three small volumes called 大成武鑑. [*Taiseibukan*. A *bukan* is a directory of samurai officialdom.] I want very much to borrow one for a few weeks.

I was at the Frys last Sunday, and on Thursday they are to be here for a couple of nights, coming from Torquay where they now are for their health. They are a delightful old couple, and their talk very interesting.

Yours Sincerely
Ernest Satow

17.

[Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary]

17 April 1908

My dear Dickins,

In your letter of the 5th you mentioned the volume of the Waseda History containing the Tokugawa Bakufu Jidai. It seems probable that it might help me to correct my account of the political constitution, which must begin my chapter on Japan, and if so, will you kindly lend it to me. I shall bear in mind what you say about asking the editors to have a few copies printed off for me to lend or give away. I am very anxious to see proofs of the chapter on China, which they have had now more than two months in their hands. I congratulate you on having got rid of reviewing books on Japan for the Athenaeum. As you suggest, you know too much. I don't think I should be interested in the account of the development of Japan written for consumption by foreigners. If it were prepared for Japanese readers, like Shimada's *Kaikoku Shimatsu* [開国始末, "The Full Story of the Opening of the Country", published in 1888], which is a real history, the case would be otherwise. When I have done this contribution for the Cambridge people, like you I shall turn aside from Japan, and read modern history, that of Italy for choice.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

18.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

20 July 1908

My dear Dickins,

Very many thanks for your brochure on Japanese dolmens and for your letter, both of which I have read with great interest. The illustrations are excellent, and recall some of

the articles which I saw thirty years ago in Kōdzuke.¹²⁷ Probably the idea of such burial places was brought over [from the Asian mainland] by the immigrants who colonized Idzumo, but where did they get the idea from if there are none in Turaman [Turanian?] Asia. Did it come from Southern India, when the Aryans invading the Peninsula from Afghanistan drove a wedge between what now are classed as Dravidians and Turamans [Turadians?], and sent the latter wandering to the North and East.

I am distressed at your account of [W.G.] Howell, but his lamentations over his lost opportunities have been constant for many years past. It is a great source of regret to me that I have not been able to go down to Blackheath to see him since my return to England. And he is not able to come to me. R.T. Johnson is a man whom I have seen something of when he was at Weihaiwei. He is one of the most brilliant of the Hong Kong cadets in recent years, the other being Clements, a nephew of Cecil Smith. The book ought to be worth reading. As regards the treatment of China by the West, I confess that there have been grave faults on our side as well as on theirs. The assumption of superiority by them, which has hardly yet passed away, was most exasperating. On the other hand I think our treatment of the opium question seems to me quite indefensible, until within the past two years. If it had been possible within the limits assigned to me by the editors of the Cambridge Modern History I should like to have shown how the disputes which led to the war of 1839-48 were caused by Palmerston's¹²⁸ airy 'insouciance', and the mistaken notion that the Chinese question had only a commercial side. The abolition of the East India Company's monopoly of the tea trade was dictated not by statesmanship but by the greed of Manchester and Liverpool. The Company had complete control over the private merchants as well as over its own servants. This was destroyed, and nothing put in its place. To work extraterritoriality with justice to the Chinese required a very powerful control over the English resident in the hands of the English official, which was never given. Even now the municipalities we have established at various ports are not under proper control, and the International Settlement at Shanghai is a monster worse than Frankenstein's.

¹²⁷ See Ernest Satow, 'Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke', Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (T.A.S.J.), Vol. 8, Part 3, 1880. Satow read his paper to the Society on April 13, 1880.

¹²⁸ Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865). English Whig-Liberal statesman. His long career, including many years as British foreign secretary (1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51) and prime minister (1855-58, 1859-65), made him a symbol of British nationalism. He said that Britain had no permanent allies, only permanent interests. He was popular as "the most English minister who ever governed England" and a powerful advocate of gunboat diplomacy.

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My lecture at Cambridge ¹²⁹ on [Josef Alexander Freiherr von] Hübner's diplomatic career at Paris between 1849 and 1859 is being printed by the Cambridge University press, and when it comes out I shall beg your acceptance of a copy. I knew the old gentleman well, and liked him hugely. His journal at Milan in 1848 throws a great deal of light on the Italian movement, and his Paris diary is delightful. I have just finished the rough draft of an article for the Quarterly on the establishment of the Third Republic, which ends with the resignation of MacMahon. When I get it off my hands I propose to devote my leisure to the study of the Italian movement. One must have something to do.

I am very glad to hear of the honour done you by the French Government. You cannot have any hesitation about accepting it.

Can you come and stop with me any time in August before the 27th? I expect Fulford, the Consul-general from Mukden and Allan Shand ¹³⁰, date not yet fixed. I have plenty of room for all.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

You must come for a week at least.

19.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

24 July 1908

My dear Dickins,

[A.A.] Shand is coming to me on the 28th till the following Monday, and the Fulfords on August 3 for two or three days. I hope sincerely you will be able to come to me at least during part of that time, on whatever day may be convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,

Ernest Satow

20.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

¹²⁹ Satow delivered the annual Rede lecture in the Senate House at Cambridge University on June 13, 1908. It was published under the title *An Austrian Diplomat in the Fifties*, C.U.P., 1908. Satow, F.O. Adams and Hübner dined with Iwakura Tomomi on September 11, 1871 (Satow's diary).

¹³⁰ See Olive Checkland, 'Alexander Allan Shand, 1844-1930 – a Banker the Japanese could trust', pp. 65-78, Ch. 5, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. II, Japan Library, 1997.

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17 October 1908

My dear Dickins,

I send you herewith a copy of my chapter on China and Japan.¹³¹ The latter I never could have completed without the aid of the books you were so good as to lend me. Please bear in mind that I have been writing in fetters [chains], and that in the China portion the sub-editor altered my language in several places. I got your letter of the 14th, but expect you are back at home by this time. The result of the examination of my condition by my own doctor, a very good man at Glasgow and another at Exeter was to advise an exploratory operation, and I am going up to town on Monday to be operated on by Mayo [Mays?] Robson, who I am told is the most skilful operator in this class of cases.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

21.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

18 November 1908

My dear Dickins,

Very many thanks for your kind letter of the 16th. I came home the day before yesterday, and am just beginning to get over the fatigue of the journey. Since returning here I have learnt from my doctor, to whom Mayo Robson wrote fully, that the cause of the trouble was the adhesion of the omentum to the pylorus above and to the appendix below. This accounts for the doctors having supposed the cause to be high up, tho' they imagined it to be everything but that. I may now hope they tell me to recover my usual strength in two or three months time. Just now I feel rather a wreck, but later on I shall be very pleased if you will come and spend a few days with me.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins,

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

22.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

24 January 1909

¹³¹ The Far East, 1815-1871. (1) China and Her Intercourse with Western Powers (2) Japan. *Cambridge Modern History. The Growth of Nationalities.* 1909.

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My dear Dickins,

Some time ago you kindly said you would come over and pay me a visit as soon as I was well enough. Now that I am convalescent can you be persuaded to come and stay for a few days whenever you are free. The only engagement I have is for February 4, which is a pretty long way ahead. You will find here my brother in law Henry [Fanshawe] Tozer, who like yourself is a Greek Scholar, and a student of Dante. My sister [Augusta Henrietta Tozer, née Satow] may possibly be here too; but I think she proposes to pay a visit to some relations at Teignmouth if the weather becomes mild enough for her to travel.

I am actually putting on flesh and weigh half a stone more than before the operation.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

P.S. Please thank Mrs. Dickins for her interesting letter, written a few Sundays ago. It had no other date than that of the day. E.S.

23.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

12 February 1909

My dear Dickins,

Very many thanks for the remaining volumes of Mme. Adam. I am already nearly through the first which is very curious and amusing. What an eccentric family they were, but how very natural. Also I am much obliged for the card about certain botanical books from Mr. Scott.

I had a very agreeable evening last Monday with the Naval Conference, and found myself at dinner next to a very agreeable Italian. Sir Ed. Fry was there, looking as fresh as a daisy. But from all I was told I gather there are several points on which agreement will be difficult, notably the definition of contraband of war. Our people, having summoned the conference, are of course anxious that it should not be a failure, and I rather think are more inclined to make concessions than the majority of men not connected with the conference would be.

I think of making an effort to get the F.O. to allow all their papers up to 1815 to be published. It would be greatly to our credit, I mean the credit of English statesmen of the Napoleonic period, if everything were known. But they are difficult to move.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

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24.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

21 February 1909

My dear Dickins,

It would have given me very great pleasure to hear that you were going to write the chapter on Japan that [editor of the Cambridge Modern History Stanley Mordaunt] Leathes asked you for, but confess I am not surprised at your declining, for 15 pages is not half enough to enable a comprehensible account to be given of all that has gone on during the past 37 years [since 1862] in the Far East. It would require a volume to itself. I am much afraid that it will not be well done. You would at any rate have made it interesting, and your success with Parkes's life is a guarantee that it would have been treated in a broad and philosophical manner.

I have read four volumes of Mme. Adam. She is exceedingly interesting, and her account of the years that intervened between the Danish war and 1870 shows that there were plenty of men who foresaw what Bismarck was preparing, and what the inevitable result would be. But the French politicians who were more bent on cutting each others throats than in defending their country from the dangers that threatened it. I thing [sic. think?] the Empress Eugenie was the evil genius of Napoleon III.

I have made a note of the two books you mention, and shall read them when I can get time. But at present I am engrossed in such questions as "free ships make free goods", about which there is a great deal to read. I am going to town [London] for the first half of May, and hope to read some of the F.O. correspondence at the Record Office about the Napoleonic and revolutionary period. I should like to print the papers relating to the peace of Amiens, if they could be got into a manageable compass. Oscar Browning's volume of the Whitworth correspondence was most interesting.¹³²

Yours sincerely,

Ernest Satow

25.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

20 March 1909

My dear Dickins,

Thank you for your letter. I was deeply grieved to learn of the death of dear old

¹³² *England and Napoleon in 1803: Being the Despatches of Lord Whitworth and others*, Oscar Browning, published by the Royal Historical Society, 1st edition, London, 1877.

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Bliss ¹³³, whom I had known intimately for over twenty years. Only a few days before, I had received a letter from him saying that he had a cold, but was able to go to the archives to work, and was just on the point of writing to him. His letters were always delightful and are among those that I have kept. He was to have come here again this summer. I shall never cease to deplore his loss.

My brother in law [Henry F. Tozer] is still with me, but goes home to Oxford next week, whither my sister [Augusta] has preceded him. Then I shall be alone till the end of the week, when I expect a F.O. colleague of the Peace Conference for a few days.

I ought to have written when returning Mme. Adam to thank you for the loan of a most interesting book. I wish I had known of it when writing my article on the Third Republic.

The present crisis in regard to ship-building closely resembles what took place in France just before 1870, when the opponents of Napoleon III refused to him the increase in the army he asked for. But it is the people in power with us who are prevented from doing their duty by the radical and Socialist members. The theory of Sir John [Tomlinson] Brunner [1842-1919, co-founder of Brunner Mond Co. the forerunner of I.C.I., and Member of Parliament] and others that if we were willing to give up the capture of enemy merchant ships and their cargos, all other powers would cease to build men-of-war [warships] is in flat contradiction to the facts, and when Keir-Hardie ¹³⁴ says as he did the other day that in 1907 Germany proposed at the Hague to give up capture of enemy property at sea he is stating an untruth. If belligerents would agree not to annex conquered territory or to exact indemnities which come out of private pockets

¹³³ William Henry Bliss (1835-1909), B.C.L., D.D. Bliss was a great Victorian scholar, who represented the Public Records Office for many years in the Vatican Archives, Rome. Educated at Winchester and Magdalen College, Oxford. Ordained 1865. Became Catholic 1869. Assistant at the Bodleian Library, Oxford until 1877 when he accepted an offer from the PRO to research in Rome. He was mainly employed in searching the medieval Papal Registers in order to extract references to all dealings between the Papacy and Great Britain and Ireland. Publications include *Calendar of The Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to British Isles* – of which he solely edited Vols. I and II (1894-5). He became a leading light in the English community in Rome and, by 1886, he was English Tutor to the young Victor Emmanuel, heir to the Italian throne. W.H. Bliss also worked in Stockholm, 1881-3 (see PRO 31/13/8). Died March 9, 1909.

¹³⁴ James Keir Hardie (1856-1915). Born in Lanarkshire, Scotland as the illegitimate son of Mary Keir, he rose to become the first leader of the Labour party, 1899-1910. He is remembered for his pacifism, which inspired him in his attempt to organise a national strike in opposition to World War I, and for his support of women's suffrage, an unpopular view to hold at the time.

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there might be some reason in renouncing belligerent rights at sea, not otherwise.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

26.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

4 April 1909

My dear Dickins,

Coquelle has arrived back safely. I read the obituary notice of dear old [W.H.] Bliss in the Athenaeum with much satisfaction. His family I think are fairly well off, for he had some money of his own besides what he drew from the Record Office, so it is hardly a case for a civil list pension for the widow. His letters were amongst the most interesting I used to receive.¹³⁵

Your idea as to the object of Germany's fleet is I think the true one; it is to be strong enough to prevent us from interfering with her designs. But her schemes might become of such a kind as to necessitate our intervention, and in order to prevent that she would not hesitate to attack us if she caught us napping. The Hague pronouncement regarding the declaration of war did not lay down that there should be any interval between a declaration and the commencement of hostilities, and it was quite well understood by everyone who took part in the discussion that the two acts might be practically instantaneous. I am sure the present government are guilty of neglect of duty in regard to the construction of Dreadnoughts, which are the only ships that can lie in line of battle.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

27.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

June 4, 1909

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your kind invitation to the Bath Pageant on July 21. I shall be delighted to accept and suppose I had better come over on the 20th to Seend. If you are able to arrange a trip to Avebury and Stonehenge it will be very pleasant. I shall be very glad to see Mrs. Dickins again; it is years since we met.

¹³⁵ See for example the letter from Bliss to Satow, 1 September 1908, in PRO 30/33 12/3. (Correspondence – General).

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H. Chamberlain's lecture here and at Sidmouth two days later was highly appreciated by the audiences, and it really was very good. Since Gubbins' appointment came out I have not heard from him, but I suppose it is all right, and he will retire from the public service.¹³⁶ No doubt it is a wrench for any man to give up his active life and live quietly in England, and requires a good deal of philosophy in order to keep a contented mind.

The Budget makes to me the difference of a suit of clothes only, as my pension is treated as "earned" income. The burdens on "undeveloped" land and on "ungotten minerals" appear to me ridiculous and altogether unjustifiable. An import duty of 10% on manufacturing would be far preferable and would not be felt. The whisky and beer taxes I think I do not object to on principle, but the "Development Grant" is a dangerous thing, and the sacrifice of the old Sinking Fund is bad finance. Govt. departments no doubt would like to have a few millions to play with, independently of real Parliamentary control. We are gradually sacrificing all our liberties to the demon of State Interference. Life is getting to be less worth living in England than it was.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

28.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

9 June 1909

My dear Dickins,

Have you seen the book by [French scholar and translator] André Mévil which goes with this to you? It is very well done, and will not take you long to read.

Can you tell me by what route and what train to reach Seend in July? You have made the journey, and perhaps may remember the details I ask for.

I have been reading a very interesting book by Richard Waddington, "Louis XV et Le Renversement des Alliances" [published in 1896], being an introduction to his history of the Seven Years War. And now I am reading the volumes of Frederick's political

¹³⁶ John Harrington Gubbins retired on a pension on September 10, 1909. (F.O. List, 1930). "At the instance of Lord Curzon, at that time chancellor of Oxford University who may have been approached by Satow, he was made 'Lecturer in Japanese at the University of Oxford'." (Ian Nish, 'John Harrington Gubbins, 1852-1929', Ch. 8, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. II (Japan Library, 1997). Gubbins' book *The Progress of Japan 1853-71* (Clarendon Press) came out in 1911, based on six lectures given at the University. However, the number of students declined and in 1912 the University ended the appointment, to the disappointment of Gubbins himself.

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correspondence dealing with the "Silesian Loan" and the negotiations between him and the Government of George II which led to that war. He writes odd French.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

29.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

14 June 1909

My dear Dickins,

I greatly like your proposal that I should come to you on Monday 19th July, and see something of Bath with you, after lunching at your club. If it is possible to get Mr. Winwood too, it will be a great pleasure. So I accept provisionally. I use that word because on the 29th we have a Primrose League ¹³⁷ fête at Sir John Kennaway's place, and as I am secretary of the local 'habitation' a great deal of work devolves on me in connexion with it, so that I may possibly have to come home the day after we go to the pageant, giving up Avebury and Stonehenge. The latter I have seen once in my life, but it would have been a great pleasure to see it again.

I am much interested in what you say about Bismarck. From the German point of view all that he did against France was perfectly justifiable, and France needed a lesson. But Algeciras and Casablanca showed what German policy can be when it is directed by smaller men. I was much pleased with the award of the arbitrators in the latter affair.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

30.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

June 17 [1909]

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your letter of the 15th, proposing that I should come to you in the week preceding the pageant. If it suits you I should like to come on Friday July 16th. Then if that is a convenient day for you we might do Bath together as proposed in your letter of the 13th. I will think about bringing [my manservant Honma] Saburō. Of late I have gone about by myself [?which is – letter corner torn] more suited to my circumstances. Wells and Glastonbury I shall see this month, for I am going to stop with

¹³⁷ Winston Spencer Churchill's first political speech was given to the Primrose League at Claverton Down, Bath on July 26, 1897. (*My Early Life*, W.S. Churchill, p. 206).

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Bishop Stirling (who is a Canon of Wells [Cathedral]) for the pageant, but perhaps we might do them together. A second visit is never thrown away. From Wells I go to the Frys for a couple of nights, and then back to Exeter for the grand jury. I should certainly like to see Avebury under your guidance if it were possible.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

31.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

19 June 1909

My dear Dickins,

I have noted in my pocket book the 16th July, and hope to be with you at Bath by 1.10. It will be a great pleasure to meet Mr. Winwood, of whom I have heard so much from Henry Tozer. If I can, I will bring Saburō. But what shall I do with him between 1.10 and 4.35? He is no good at sight seeing.

I am sorry to say that I could not possibly manage to join you in the Congrès Préhistorique excursion, for I must be here on July 29th for the Primrose League fête, of which I am the miserable secretary and have also promised to join a Committee to inspect the grounds where it is to be held, on the 26th. I wish I knew more of the real France. But if I ever get across the Channel again, it will be for the purpose of reading in French and German archives. Yet I can hardly hope to do that, for I have not yet finished with the [Public] Record Office. Working there in any but warm weather is very comfortless, and when it is warm one wants to be in the country, with one's flowers.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

32.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

24 July 1909

My dear Dickins,

It may interest you to know how I fared on Thursday. Firstly, the bearded par(d)son in the compartment which bore me to Trowbridge proved very talkative. He asked your name and who you were, having apparently seen you at the wedding on Tuesday, and my name. His own is Keating. It turned out that we had a common acquaintance in the person of a former Curate of Ottery.

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At Trowbridge I had time to walk into the town and take a look at the outside of the church, but I could not get inside as the gates of the churchyard were closed. I noticed one or two fine stone mansions in the centre of the town. At Salisbury I walked to the Cathedral, entering the close by a gate on the N.W. side, and admired its colossal proportions, and was much impressed by the interior. Then I went back and joined the train in which Shand travelled. It was almost full of members of the London Teachers' Association, and I had to walk from one end to the other to find a seat. However, there was nothing very much to grumble at, and we got here quite comfortably, though a little late. Yesterday we made an excursion to Budleigh Salterton, and had a fine view of the coast from this side of Sidmouth as far as Charmouth.

I must thank you again for a very pleasant time with you, which will be full of interesting memories of places, persons and multifarious topics. I find myself in a whirl of business connected with our approaching Primrose League fête, so must cut this short. I am sending by parcel post Shadwell's translation of the Earthly Paradise of Dante, so that you will have in your hands a pledge for the ultimate restoration to you of *Les Mémoires d'Outre tombe*.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dickins and your daughter, and also to the Bells and Mackays next time you happen to meet them.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

33.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

29 August 1909 [Note in margin by Dickins? "ans Sept. 1"]

My dear Dickins,

Shadwell and your note on his translation reached me safely. He has since translated the rest of the Purgatory, which has been published, and I believe is at work on the Paradiso.

Can you tell me who writes in the Athenaeum upon modern French history? He seems to have a very wide and accurate knowledge of the details, and to be looked on by Ollivier himself as a critic of importance.

[John Harington] Gubbins paid me a visit from the 12th to the 19th, and we had much talk about modern Japanese politics, of which he probably knows more than anyone. He is employed on the preparation of the introductory lectures to be delivered next term at Oxford, and I read one of them in MS. It seemed to me excellent. It remains to be seen whether he will get any pupils. But it is evident that in Scotland there are students of the

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language, for he has been asked by Aberdeen, Glasgow & Edinburgh universities to examine candidates. Possibly in the course of time there may be a numerous group of Japanese scholars in this country. It will be easier then to get a school of Chinese, and it is more attractive for that reason. The use of Kana in combination with character immensely facilitates study, and modern Japanese authors are helpful. I don't think any Chinaman has yet acquired European methods, and there is very little to be got out of the old-fashioned Chinese authors, unless anyone should think it worth while to pursue Confucian philosophy with the aid of the commentators.

[Joseph Henry] Longford is doing the chapter for the Cambridge modern history, and [Robert Kennaway] Douglas has written the Chinese portion. Soldiers or rather a soldier, Major Maurice has done the two [Japanese] wars against China [1894-95] and Russia [1904-05], and very well too. Douglas' work is poor, and shows signs of age. I am reading little but the political correspondence of Frederick the Great; it is absorbing; the political and mental ancestor of [Kaiser] William II.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

34.

Lynton Cottage Hotel ¹³⁸

Lynton [Devon]

4 September 1909

My dear Dickins,

Do you know this part of the country? I came here on the 1st, with Canon and Mrs. Pryke of Exeter, for a fortnight. It is all very much up and down hill, but the coast is beautiful and so are the deep valleys lined with dense woods and boisterous streams rushing over rocks below. At this moment it is not quite full of people, so the season is perhaps beginning to be over. Hydrangeas and fuchsias grow luxuriantly in the private gardens, and the richness of the vegetation is remarkable.

Your view of the Franco-German question in 1870 is interesting, but I don't think I quite agree that Bismarck did not plot a war with France. It was necessary for his policy of constituting a United Germany. Do you know Bismarck's autobiography. Unless you adopt the view of Holland Rose[?] that they are dictated by senile vanity, I think you

¹³⁸ Lynton Cottage Hotel, Lynton, Devon EX35 6ED. The hotel was originally built as a private house in 1810, and converted in 1892. In fact Satow handwrote the address on his embossed Ottery notepaper.

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will allow that he did his best to bring about a war at the most convenient moment. Whether it could have been avoided in the end seems to me doubtful, just as I doubt whether we can escape a war with Germany for the dominion [control] of the seas. It may be put off for a time, but Germany will seize the most convenient occasion. Suppose we have to defend Hong Kong one day against Japan: then will be Germany's chance. Had she possessed her present fleet in 1899, there would have been war over the detention of German steamers carrying contraband of war for the Boers.

I am reading some correspondence between Thouvenal and Grammont entitled "Le Secret de l'Empereur" in 1860-62, and am struck with Grammont's great ability and resourcefulness. If his policy had succeeded the evacuation of Rome would have taken place in 1860, and France would have got rid of an incubus. The Empress Eugenie was the cause of much of the French disasters, beginning with Mexico.

I have not read much of Chateaubriand, and am still in the 1st volume. It is only the evenings that I can give to reading, and for the past three weeks these have been occupied by guests in the house. But he is a delightful writer, and I have greatly enjoyed the history of his childhood. During the winter I shall I hope have more leisure.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

35.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

26 October 1909

My dear Dickins,

Your account of St. Columb Minor [near Newquay in North Cornwall] is very attractive, and I feel as if I must go there some day. But this is not the time of year to travel about the country, and especially not for visiting places on a coast facing north.

The other day after hearing some delightful music at Birmingham (Schubert's unfinished symphony, Beethoven's Eroica and Berlioz' Faust among a number) I spent a week at Oxford with the Tozers. He told me [he] had met you recently at the Winwoods and was pleased to have come across you again. I saw Gubbins and his wife, who have taken a house, No. 6 Bradmore Road. He was busy preparing his lectures, of which he is to deliver two this term. One could wish he was not so anxious about the whole business, but I daresay he will get accustomed to his surroundings in the course of time. It is unfortunate for a man who is not exactly of a sunny temperament that he should be living in a damp misty place like Oxford. He has three delightful little girls and his wife is as nice as ever. I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of [Charles Harding]

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Firth [1857-1936], the Regius Professor of Modern History, a very pleasant man and obliging, from whom I got the names of several useful books. I envied him his library, full of white painted book cases arranged so that the light from a side window shot along and illuminated the titles of books. N.B. a north light. In the Bodleian [Library] I found a book on Frederick the Great that is not in the London Library, which contained some information I have been pining after for months, so my visit to Oxford was not quite thrown away. Have you see[n] Jackson's translation of the Convito, reviewed lately in the Athenaeum (I am told A.J. Butler is believed to do Dante reviews for it), in which it was said that there was only one previous translation. Now I have long possessed two, not very good it must be said. Jackson's Tozer speaks highly of. I read the first Tractate and liked it greatly. I had recently read a great portion of it in the delicious little copy you gave me years ago, and the translation struck me as very well done, readable English which so many of such things are not. When I see you next we will have a good talk about German designs. In the meantime have you heard that the reason why [Sir] Donald Currie [1825-1909, shipping magnate] did not get a peerage was that he carried contraband of war to the Boers.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

36.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

10 November 1909

My dear Dickins,

I have kept your Chateaubriand nearly six months, and feel that I must return it, although I have not found time to read more than part of vol. 1, having been fully engaged with Frederick the Great's Political Correspondence in many volumes. He is a very curious personage, impulsive like the present German Emperor [Kaiser Wilhelm II]. When at Oxford lately I made the acquaintance of Firth, the Regius Professor. He told me he did not know of any student who devotes himself to Frederick. It seems time that some one rewrote that period, for Carlyle's extravaganza is out of date, useless as a book of reference, and much more in the way of documents has been printed since he wrote.

I had [J.H.] Gubbins with me at the end of last week: he is busy with his lectures, of which one was delivered at the end of last month, the second comes off tomorrow. I was up in town for a couple of days before that, when the 'cold snap' occurred, and was glad to get back to the country, where bad weather is so much easier to withstand. I have

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been trying to negotiate with the owner of this house for a long lease, but we could not come to terms, as he and his mother wanted to reserve the right of giving me notice at the end of 7 years. So I have made up my mind to go at Ladyday 1911 and am looking about for something else. There are a good number of houses for sale or letting in this part of the county [Devon] and I shall not have to go far away from here. I think it will be possible to find a less exposed situation, where I shall be able to sit more in the open air, as do some of my neighbours. In this garden it is not possible to have tea in the garden except in the height of hot weather, and there is no protection from the wind.

So it seems almost certain that the Budget will be hung up by the [House of] Lords until a general election can be had. In spite of the "Nation" I do not feel sure that the country will be much disturbed at their action. There is a curious article in that paper by Temperley ¹³⁹, a don of Peterhouse [Cambridge], who has a curious theory about the House of Commons as a body which, while representing the country is to be independent of the wishes of the people. One ought to read the papers belonging to the other side in politics; it is not agreeable, but doubtless instructive.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

37.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

December 9, 1909

My dear Dickins,

I am greatly interested to hear that Braham is going to act at Peking as correspondent of the 'Times'. From all that I have heard I believe him to be a very able man. I do not know whether [George Ernest] Morrison [1862-1920] is leaving Peking for good, or whether he is merely taking a holiday, and should be glad to hear, if Braham can tell you what is becoming of Morrison.

I have not made a calculation of what will have to be paid on my estate under the present Budget, but obviously to insure against it would be a very heavy tax, and I could not afford it. The system of taking so large a slice out of an inheritance each time, without reference to the length of the interval is very unjust, and as you say amounts to confiscation. Of course penniless men like Lloyd George and Winston Churchill can

¹³⁹ Dr. Harold William Vazeille Temperley wrote the entry on Satow in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1922-30). He was co-editor with G.P. Gooch of *British Documents on the Origin of the War, 1898-1914* (H.M.S.O. 1926). See also John D. Fair, *Harold Temperley: A Scholar and Romantic in the Public Realm, 1879-1939* (Newark, Delaware, 1992).

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have no sympathy with the owners of property.

Would you like to read [French statesman André] Tardieu's "Le Prince Bülow"
[Calmann-Lévy, published in 1909]. If so I will send it to you. It is very interesting,
particularly the extracts of Bülow's speeches.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

38.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

2 January 1910

My dear Dickins,

I read to Tozer, who is just now staying with me, that part of your letter in which you explain German policy as that of a parvenu, not sure, and so, jealous of his reception in the world. He entirely agreed, and so do I very heartily.

My second son, Takeda Hisayoshi the botanist, is coming to England to study some time in March or April. He writes to me that he met I[saac] B[ayley] Balfour of Edinburgh at Sapporo, who advised him to enter himself at the Imperial College of Science and Technology at South Kensington, and gave him letters of introduction to D.J. Farmer and Dr. P. Groom, also to Prain of Kew. I have written to the secretary of the College in question, asking for a syllabus, or whatever it is called, of lectures, but I should be grateful for your opinion [as the former Registrar of the University of London and a botanist] as to the value of the teaching he is likely to get there. Of course he will be able to work at Kew. He is bringing home a paper he has done on the Lycopodium, Selagiellias and Isoetes of the Kuriles and Japanese Sagalien, which will shortly be, if it has not by this time been, published in the Tokyo Botanical Magazine. What would you advise about lodgings where he could also board? There must be one would think such places, either in South Kensington, or in Bayswater; the latter would probably be a healthier situation.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

39.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

7 January 1910

My dear Dickins,

I am very much obliged to you for taking so much thought on behalf of Takeda's

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botanical studies, and what you say about the advantage of Kew seems to have great weight. In fact I had myself thought it would be the right place for him, especially as I know the present director and it was only because of I.B. Balfour's having suggested the Kensington establishment to him that I entertained that idea. And certainly Richmond would be a pleasant place for him to live in. I am sending you a copy of a report on the plants of Quelpart [Cheju island in the East China Sea] which he wrote in conjunction with another Japanese botanical worker, it is the only piece of his work on which I can lay my hands at this moment. But I have seen specimens of his botanical drawing which were very well executed. I imagine that systematic botany and the identification of newly discovered species in Japan have formed his principal occupation hitherto, and I should almost think that for the present, and until the whole of Japan and Corea have been ransacked, those are the branches to which a botanist in the Far East could most usefully devote himself. When he comes over I should like him to have the advantage of a talk with you, so that he may profit by your advice and your knowledge of the scientific world.

I read to Tozer the passage about Strabo [the Greek historian, geographer and philosopher, 63 B.C.- 24 A.D.] from your letter; and he was much gratified at the terms in which you mentioned his book. He seems very well, can take plenty of exercise, and reads a good deal, especially his old favourites.

The "Times" contained a very pleasantly written notice of Bishop [William] Awdry [1842-1910, named Bishop of Southampton in 1895, Osaka in June 1896, and South Tokyo in 1897], who was a charming man, beautiful to look at and of a saintly character. It was cancer of the kidneys. I saw him after the operation eighteen months ago, when he had been told of the incurable condition he was in, and never have I come in contact with such a cheerful personality. His wife is an admirable woman, and highly gifted.

I quite well remember Captain Dickins in Japan. He must be a distant member of your family.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

40.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

25 January 1910

My dear Dickins,

I am greatly pleased to find you are of opinion that Kew will be the place for Takeda. At any rate it will be good for him to go there as a beginning, and then he will find out

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what his needs are. He is to leave Tokio about the end of February, and as he comes by Nippon Yūsen Kaisha can hardly be in England before the 15th or 20th April. I shall be greatly obliged if you will kindly get one of your Richmond friends to look out for lodgings. I don't think I can afford to give him more than £150 a year, or £200 at the very outside, for I have many other calls upon me, and have to practise rigid economy. I expect to go up to town to meet him, and if you are thinking of being there in April I should greatly like to visit Kew and Richmond with you. I want to see Prain again.

I hope you will get your man in; we want every seat we can possibly get. Torquay was rather a disappointment; lost to the Unionists by only 11 votes. Our polling day is Friday. Shand's views of Tariff Reform are very old-orthodox, but I try to persuade him that free imports and a large foreign trade are naturally what bankers prefer, as they make more out of exchange that way. I am inclined myself to believe that internal trade is more important than foreign, but there are no statistics such as the Custom house supplies, and so people fancy the latter is all important.

Where do you stay when you go to town? I have recently stopped at Garlants' Hotel in Suffolk street when up for a few days only, taking my meals at the Travellers. If we were in town at the same time, it would be pleasant to be together.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

41.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

11 February 1910

My Dear Dickins,

The dictionary of cursive Chinese I reviewed for the R.A.S. [Royal Asiatic Society] was sent to me from their library, and I had to return it to them, but I am sure Miss Hughes would be only too pleased to lend it to you. I am very sorry I have not a copy which I could send to you. Your own dictionary I should like to see some day; as you say the difficulty for one who does not already know the running hand is to count the strokes, but when he knows how to do that he needs no dictionary. It reminds one of reading Arabic without the points. If one knows enough Arabic to do that, the points are unnecessary. The Dutchman's book is quite useless.

I have not read the Fifty Years of Japan [introduced by Ōkuma Shigenobu], and I resisted the offer of the Japan Society to let me have a copy at less than the publishing price. The English version I have a notion does not follow the original very closely, and that Huish has doctored it.

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I have R.K. Douglas with me for a day or two. He is terribly aged, almost palsied, but not deaf.

That number of the Quarterly must be very interesting. Stephen Reynolds is a literary man who for some years past has lived with a fisherman's family at Sidmouth, and shares their life in every respect. He wrote a book about it all called "A Poor Man's Cottage", which I will send you if you like. Your letter is full of interest, but I must not delay to go to the post and take Douglas to look at a house here which is to let. But Chamberlain's desire that you should read Nietzsche is very characteristic. If he could have remained in the bosom of the R.C. church he would have been much happier, but I am afraid his temperament is restless and discontented. Nietzsche will not help a man to live a better life, which is what one needs to do, and to me it seems that apart from Christian doctrine and frank and full acceptance of it, at whatever risk, there is no other guide to be found.

My young botanist [Takeda Hisayoshi] will get to England April 28. I am quite prepared to give him £200 a year while he is in Europe.

Yours sincerely,
Ernest Satow

42.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

14 March 1910

My dear Dickins,

Here are a special number of the Tokio Botanical Magazine on [本造学者 *honzōgakusha*, medical botanist] Ono Ranzan [小野蘭山 1729-1810], and one containing my young botanist's list of Northern lycopodiaceae etc. which you may be interested to see. I should like to have the latter back, to send to Prain as a sort of testimonial to show what the author [Takeda Hisayoshi] is capable of. Whether he will prefer Kew to the London College of Science I have not yet heard, but I hope he will choose Kew. He is not due in England before April 28.

I have been reading the report on the Poor Law, and am now going through it again. It is exceedingly interesting, and perhaps the best part is a note by a man named Nunn on the combination at Hampstead of all agencies of every kind who have to do with the poor, educational, guardians, dispensaries, churches, chapels, Friendly Societies &c. But it has taken nine years to bring about this happy state of things, and one fancies that Hampstead must have some very exceptional workers. I heard Mrs. Sydney [sic.

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Sidney] Webb [née Beatrice Potter] lecture at Exeter on the minority report ¹⁴⁰, and was not convinced. The scheme is a dazzling one, and I fear impracticable at present. There are according to her own admission a large number of excellent people among the guardians, and how they are to be brought into any new scheme without their feelings being much hurt is what does not appear. We are on the point of having the elections for guardians, and I am being nominated for one. It appears that there will be no contest, so I may expect to attain the object of my ambitions.

I am still unsettled as to my future home. The only thing certain is that it will not be here. I have some hopes of being able to arrange to take a lease of a very suitable house at Sidmouth. I had actually offered to buy a house halfway between Axminster and Seaton, but the owner declined my offer, which I have now definitely withdrawn.

We are I supposed threatened with another general election about the middle of May, which will be a great nuisance, and to candidates a terrible expense. There was a good deal of bribery in several Devonshire constituencies, but no one has ventured to incur the unpopularity which would be entailed by an election petition. Both sides it seems were guilty.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

43.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

24 March 1910

My dear Dickins,

I have heard from Takeda [Hisayoshi] a few days ago that he would rather like to study at the Imperial College at first because he thinks he wants knowledge of general botany. What this means I do not quite understand; perhaps it may be that he wants to give his attention to something else than systematic botany. His steamer is due in London on April 28, so I am going up on the 25th to 50 Jermyn Street, where I have engaged rooms for him and myself. If you are likely to be in town then I should greatly like to go down to Kew with you, and we might perhaps look at the lodgings at

¹⁴⁰ In 1905 the government established a Royal Commission to look into "the working of the laws relating to the relief of poor persons in the United Kingdom". Beatrice Webb was asked to serve as a member of the commission and her husband assisted with collecting the data on how the system was working. Beatrice disagreed with most of the members on the Royal Commission and together with Sidney Webb wrote and published a Minority Report. The Liberal government headed by Herbert Asquith accepted the Majority Report and rejected the advice given by the Webbs.

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Richmond of which you speak. He says he has letters of introduction to J.G. Baker and W.G. Hemsley from Ito Keisuke's grandson, but it would be very nice for him if he could be personally introduced by you.

What you tell me of your father's opinion of the Poor Law is very interesting. From what I read in the Report and from what I hear in this place of the way in which the local charities are distributed, it seems that a great many paupers are created by doles and private gifts of money.

I hope the course of baths you are going through will do you good, and perhaps you will be inclined by way of nach Kur [German: after spa treatment] to come and spend a week or two with me. There are not many neighbours here, but Sidmouth is close at hand, where there are plenty, and it is a very pleasant place to spend an afternoon at. I am very sorry to hear that Bayne is so ill; he is a good fellow.

The local people have nominated me for Guardian, and also for the Urban Council, and for both there will be a contest. My election to the former seems not unlikely, but the latter is very doubtful, and I shall not be sorry if I am not among the chosen. It would greatly interest me to see the practical working of the Poor Law and of the recent circular from the Local Government Board, though it could only be for a year, as I am likely to migrate to Sidmouth.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

44.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

18 April 1910

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your letters of the 13th and 16th, and for Scott's enclosed, which will be very useful. It would be very kind if you would write to Oliver about Takeda and the fees at University College. I hope Takeda will choose wisely for himself. If we could take him to Kew and let him see what the place is, perhaps he might fall in love with it. I will ask for you at the Athenaeum on the 27th or 28th on the chance of finding you in. I shall be at 50 Jermyn Street.

Yesterday I spent with Tuke at Farway. We had a pleasant walk through one of his woods, the ground carpeted with primroses, some bluebells just opening, and quantities of very fine wood anemone. I must try to get some of the latter from [sic. for?] my garden. What I suppose is orchis maculata is already blossoming on railway embankments near here, and I saw some by the roadside near Farway. Tuke's indoor

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occupation is Japanese colour prints, about which he knows a great deal; outside he is a sportsman and busy landlord, member of rural council and guardian, so that although he lives in a very isolated spot he has plenty to do.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

45.

27 January 1911

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary [The front page is framed in black, and the address is printed, not embossed.]

My dear Dickins,

I was much interested by the contents of your letter of yesterday. In the article which is to follow in April I show to some extent how warfare by sea must necessarily differ from warfare on land. That in particular there is no contraband of war except at sea, which creates an unfair disadvantage to an island power. That the assertion that private property is immune in land warfare is untrue, and is not borne out by the regulations for the conduct of war on land framed by the Hague Conference of 1899 and amended by that of 1907. I do not discuss the effect of the Declaration of London, as it has already been dealt in an article in a previous number in the Quarterly, and I don't think I ought to take up the cudgels against it publicly, as the F.O. communicated the papers to me from time to time while the Maritime Conference was sitting. But to my mind it has grave defects. If the capture of "private property" is to be given up, contraband of war ought to be abolished, and also blockade. The three are different forms of war on commerce, and must stand or fall together. But were we to give them up, then we should be reduced to gladiatorial combats between war-fleets, which for an island state would be an ineffectual way of making war.

I came to Exeter on Wednesday to take the chair at a Navy League ¹⁴¹ meeting, and the Western Morning News of yesterday has a full report of what I said. Tonight I am to be one of the speakers at a meeting of the National Service League, at which Lord Portsmouth, the Bishop of Exeter and Lord Devon will also speak. On Monday I am sitting on the grand jury and return home on Tuesday to superintend moving my books

¹⁴¹ The Navy League was founded on December 11, 1894 at the Westminster Palace Hotel after Henry Spenser Wilkinson wrote a series of articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Other countries followed suit. In 1914 it had over 100,000 members. It was a pressure group on behalf of the navy.
(See http://www.royalnavalmuseum.org/library/factsheets/navy_league.htm , accessed 23/7/04.)

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into the enlarged library. When the house is in proper order I hope you will be able to come and look at it.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

46.

[Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary]

21 September '11

My dear Dickins,

It is a long time that I have had your last letter lying on my table. You said in your last that you would give some lectures at Bristol [University] upon the Christian Century in Japan, and that your theory of the cause of exclusion is that it was due to the Tokugawa [shogunate] feeling that Christianity was inconsistent with their overlordship. That is also my view. The daimios who had adopted Christianity in Kiushiu and Chiūgoku will I think be found to have been later on adversaries of Hideyoshi, and afterwards supporters of his son against Iyeyasu. You no doubt have [James] Murdoch's book on the period, if not Gubbins could lend it to you. I don't like the style, nor the anti-Christian tone, but it contains a great deal of new information.

You wrote to me did you not, about [Sir John W.] Fortescue's British Statesmen of the Great War [1793-1814]. I was so much attracted by what I heard of the book that I bought a copy and have been reading it. On the whole I think he judges them rightly from the point of view of the soldier, and I am more inclined to this opinion because he evidently has seen a great deal more of the inside of history during the period than most of his critics who write for reviews are likely to have done. Perhaps his language may sometimes be regarded as a little too strong, but I don't think he uses bad English. Anyhow I am glad to have the volume on my shelves. I am now reading Ollivier's new volume, and a new (the 6th) edition of Scartazzini's commentary on the Divina Commedia, by Van[n]utelli, which seems as good as any of its predecessors – I mean, a good deal better than any of them. It is a wonder that in Italy they can print a volume of 1170 pages and sell it for 4½ lire, but I have been told that labour is particularly cheap there.

The attempt at a railway strike has occurred since we last exchanged letters. What seems astonishing is that so few people have opened their eyes to the fact that by permitting a few thousand men to suddenly paralyse the means of transport throughout the country, we have raised up for ourselves a most dangerous Frankenstein. Claud Hamilton's evidence before the commission a few days ago was the first plain utterance

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of this alarming truth. If the Union officials are to be recognized as the only lawful representatives of the railway workers, they will be as powerful as an army of foreign enemies who had managed to land and seize the railways, with the additional advantage of having the law on their side. It seems to me that a good deal of intricate & difficult legislation will be required in order to put railway matters on a proper footing. But I hope no attempt will be made to nationalize them: that would merely mean the finding of berths, large and small, for so many thousands of the present cabinet's supporters. Anything rather than that.

I spent the first fortnight of this month near Heytor with the Prykes, and enjoyed myself immensely. The moor was close at hand, and to walk for miles on the springy turf was a great delight. There are also plenty of good carriage excursions to be had. I think I would rather go to the Moor than to Switzerland. With the exception of a single morning we had brilliant weather the whole time. As soon as I got back to the haunts of men I must needs offer hospitality to the microbe of cold in the head, which has kept me in doors for three days. But I daresay the worst is over now.

What a blessing parliament is not sitting.

Yours ever sincerely

Ernest Satow

47.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

24 October 1911

My dear Dickins,

I have a quantity of books about the Christian Century [in Japan], annual letters of the Jesuits and histories like [Pierre François Xavier de] Charlevoix [1682-1761], [Jean] Crasset [1618-92] (in French), [Daniello] Bartoli [1608-85] in Italian, [Léon] Pagès in French. I have not come across instructions from the General of the Jesuits, and don't think there is anything of the kind in print, except the Constitutories of the order. Of the Pope I believe I have copies of some briefs and so forth, in reply to addresses from the Christians. If you would like to come and rummage among my books, pray name your own time. I shall be away from home tomorrow night only: if your stay here were to coincide with any of my engagements, I daresay you would not mind that, as you would be occupied with books. I have day engagements (only) 30 & 31 Oct, 3 & 4, 11, 14, 15, 16 of November.

I have no slides, and do not know whether I have any Japanese books with

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illustrations. Perhaps I have a printed account of Shimabara ¹⁴² but do not recollect. In one book (Spanish) I have a fine engraving of the martyrdom of the Franciscans at Nagasaki in 1596. I have been at Oxford last week to attend the funeral of my brother-in-law Arthur [John] Allen [husband of Margaret Agneta], a retired stockbroker, and I stayed with [Henry F.] Tozer, who was as talkative as ever. Gubbins also I saw and had much talk with; his lectures are I believe coming out this week. While there I read the English translation of [August] Fournier's Napoleon, a very interesting book with a good deal that was new to me about N's machinations in Corsica when he was quite a young man. The translation [by Anne Elizabeth Adams] is not well done, and it is a pity [H.A.L.] Fisher ¹⁴³ was induced to let it go out under the shadow of his name [as author of the introduction] without carefully revising it. I must go and post this, and defer replying more fully to your letter of the 20th.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

48.

[Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary]

28 October 1911

My dear Dickins,

I have nine volumes of Epistolae et Instructiones of Loyola, and 7 volumes of a delightful edition of his letters in Spanish, among which are some to Xavier when the latter was in the Far East. Your Hida no Takumi with Hokusai illustrations ought to be a great success – there has been a dearth of books on Japan lately. Your list of books you are going to read excites my envy. Against it I can only put the 4th volume of Pastor's Die Pápste [The Popes] and Nielsen's Papacy in the 19th century. I think I mentioned Fournier's Life of Napoleon in its English dress.

From the purely Chinese point of view I am inclined to hope the movement for the expulsion of the Manchus may succeed. Their system of leaving to the provinces almost

¹⁴² The Shimabara Uprising (Shimabara no Ran, 島原の乱). Peasant uprising (*ikki* 一揆) that broke out on December 11, 1837 in the over-taxed Shimabara domain, now part of Nagasaki prefecture, Kyushu. The shogunate viewed the rebellion as Christian-inspired, but it was rather hopes for escape from poverty, famine, heavy taxation and religious persecution which drove the rebellion. It was led by Amakusa Shirō, 1622?-38). After the siege of Hara castle on the Shimabara peninsula, 37,000 people were massacred. (Abridged from *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, Kodansha, 1993).

¹⁴³ H.A.L. Fisher wrote *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship – Germany* (Cambridge U.P., 1903)

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complete autonomy as long as they sent up their quotas of revenue to Peking to provide for the Palace pleasures and the payment of a horde of idle useless effect Manchu so-called soldiers prevented the country developing its full strength, and left it a prey to the invading Westerner. A Federal republic might be much better. But for the western powers the present chaos in Chinese government is of course more profitable. I heard several months ago that a rebellion of the drilled troops was likely to take place. I agree with you that neither in Japan nor in China did the common folk dislike foreigners. But our claim to equality with the rulers of both countries was no doubt offensive to them, and they naturally hated consular jurisdiction.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

P.S. When are you coming to me?

49.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

November 5, 1911

My dear Dickins,

I am very pleased to find that you will come to me on Monday the 13th. You call it the 14th, but I conceive you mean the 13th. If you leave Bath by the 12.20 [train], you get to Sidmouth Junction at 3.27, and I would send a carriage to meet you there. If you take the 2.23 from Bath, you get to Ottery at 5.22. Please let me know which it will be. On the 17th I have coming to me two men whom you will like to meet: MacLeod, the Consul at Fez, and Rev. F.J. Copeland who is organizing Sec'y for S.P.G. [Society for the Propagation of the Gospel] in Devon, and also knows Morocco, wch. [which] is the reason for his being invited.

You will find a few interesting passages about Japan in Loyola's Letters, and I am sure you will be pleased with the vol. [volume] of Xavier's Letters in the Monumenta Historica S.J. I have got out the notes I made about M.S.S. [manuscripts] at Rome. As I shall be in Exeter all Tuesday and Wednesday (during the day) you will have plenty of time to eviscerate books.

I think the review in the "Times" must be by Redesdale. You seem to conjecture that it may be a lady; but I cannot conceive who she can be. It seems as if the writer had known [Léon] Roches as well as Sir Harry [Parkes], so he must have been in Japan before 1868, when Roches departed on the failure of his policy. I suppose the title was invented by Cannon, the manager of the Clarendon Press. Adams' "History of Japan" was so named by his publisher, who made him prefix that very jejune sketch of early

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Japanese history. Gubbins of course did not know Roches, and would not be able to find out most of the secret history of their rivalry: for the F.O. refused to let him see the confidentially printed correspondence. It is true that we helped Sat-chō-to [the Satsuma and Chōshū alliance] with advice, but they would probably have done just as much without our counsels, and nothing we could have said or done would have affected the course of events.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

50.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

25 November 1911

My dear Dickins,

If you have not yet heard it, you will be grieved to know that [William George] Aston [1841-1911] died last Wednesday evening. On the previous Friday he complained of pain and the doctors gave him morphia. After that he remained in a sort of stupor and seemed not to recognize anyone, but the end came quite peacefully and without pain. As you perhaps know he had two brothers besides the sister who lived with him since his wife's death. He has left all his affairs in perfect order. I believe the funeral is to be on Monday and I have made arrangements to go over.

It is vol. II of the Life of Parkes which I have been deprived of by the man to whom I lent it years ago. If you are able to get a copy for me from MacMillan I shall be very grateful. I gave your message to MacLeod and Copeland, they left me this morning. I hope your lectures will be a great success, and that you will get them printed. When I come across the Fortnightly Review I will read Belfort Bax's ¹⁴⁴ article. Meanwhile it is comforting to see that [Home Secretary Reginald] McKenna ¹⁴⁵ has plainly told a female deputation [of suffragettes] that he is decidedly against them.

¹⁴⁴ Ernest Belfort Bax (1854-1926). Educated as a Nonconformist like Satow, a freelance journalist and Socialist. Wrote *The Religion of Socialism* (1887) and *Ethics of Socialism* (1889). After 1894 he concentrated on his career as a barrister.

¹⁴⁵ Reginald McKenna (1863-1943). Educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Graduated in mathematics in 1885. Member of the Liberal party. In Henry Campbell-Bannerman's government in 1905 he was first appointed Secretary to the Treasury, then President of the Board of Education (1907-08), First Lord of the Admiralty (1908-11), Home Secretary (1911-15) and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1915-16) under Herbert Asquith. In 1918 he lost his seat in the general election and became chairman of the Midland Bank.

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The secret articles between England and France about Morocco are interesting, but no doubt they had leaked out, their substance at least, long ago. I am looking forward to [Foreign Secretary 1905-16, Sir Edward] Grey's speech on Morocco with a certain amount of apprehension. The anti-British party in Germany will make it a peg on which to hang fresh denunciations of England, no matter how conciliatorily it may be worded. The entente with Germany, committees have achieved nothing, but like the Peace Society in 1854 have merely misled the Germans into believing that we could be easily hoodwinked.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

51.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

January 31, 1912

My dear Dickins,

Your letter of today has greatly relieved my mind, for since I last heard from you I had been in a state of constant anxiety. I am indeed glad to hear that you are so much better, and hope it will not be long before you are quite yourself again. Very many thanks for the syllabus of your lectures, which will be very interesting. I only wish I could hear them myself, or read them. There is no one who could do such historical writing as well as yourself, both because you have the command of your pen and a philosophical mind to direct it. I remember the pleasure I derived from reading what you wrote about the early history of Japan, and the evolution of the Mikado from a sort of superior chieftain. But how far the Japanese have got from that stage.

Tozer left me on the 23rd. He was in very good condition, and the day before he went spent over two hours in walking to the top of East Hill and part of the way along it.

Chinese bonds seem to maintain their price fairly, and yours are I suppose secured on the Customs. I am rather sanguine about the prospects of a settlement. [J.O.P.] Bland I see has been lecturing to some ladies on the impossibility of the Chinese getting on without a 'Dragon throne', but if they expel the Manchu dynasty, and that seems almost inevitable, one does not see where they are to get another, and I am inclined to agree with Mrs. Archie Little, who says the Chinese by their habit of local village government, are fitted for a republic. That is the view I put before [Sir Thomas] Sanderson [1841-1925] not long ago, and also before Walter King, but the latter won't hear of it. I read your notice of Gubbins' book in the Journal of the R.A.S. [Royal Asiatic Society] and think it ought to compensate him for the review in the "Times". I forgot to ask

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Redesdale [A.B. Mitford] when I saw him on the 12th whether he was the writer of it.

I have not seen Ward's book yet, for I do not subscribe to any circulating Library, and must wait till it is remaindered, or second hand copies come on the market. I am reading Warre Cornish's History of the Church of England in the XIX century [8 vols., published 1900], an excellent compendium but rather dry.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

52.

10 April 1912

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary [As for no. 45 above, the front page is framed in black and the address is printed, not embossed.]

My dear Dickins,

I am looking forward with great pleasure to your arrival on the 20th, and hope you will send me a post card to say by what train I may expect you at the station here. I hope you will be able to make a prolonged stay, for Henry Tozer is coming on the 22nd to remain at least three weeks. Hisayoshi goes on the 22nd, and my brother Sam on the 24th returns to his work.

I am reading an excellent book on Unemployment by H.W. [W.H.] Beveridge ¹⁴⁶, who is now the head of the Labour Exchange.

The enclosed is a paper of questions being circulated in this diocese with regard to child labour and the subsequent callings [trades, professions etc.] adopted by children who have left school for good. To these I have added in M.S. some additional particulars. If you had time to get answers to these questions from your local head-teacher, they would be very valuable to me.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

53.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

14 May 1912

My dear Dickins,

¹⁴⁶ William Henry Beveridge (1879-1963). Educated at Charterhouse and Balliol College, Oxford. Director of Labour Exchanges 1909-16. The Beveridge Report produced in 1941-2 proposed a social system 'from the cradle to the grave' and became the blueprint for welfare state legislation, 1944-48.

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It is a long time since I have heard anything of you, and I am wondering how you are, whether you are feeling better and stronger. Pray write me a line, just to give me your news, only a line, to reassure me.

[Basil Hall] Chamberlain in writing to me not long ago recommended to me the *Souvenirs entomologiques* of [Jean-Henri] Fabre. So I got several volumes from the London Library, and found to my dismay that there are ten volumes, full of names of insects that I don't know, and the new Bellows' dictionary does not contain. Thereupon I wrote to ask which were the volumes he wished me to read (mainly on account of their comments on Darwinism), and he has sent me a list of passages. They are truly remarkable. I have never met with any book which records such a long series of patient observations and experiments. I will not conceal my joy at finding a naturalist who does not believe in gradual transformation of lower into higher types, nor in 'accidental' variations, nor the influence of environment, nor in mimicry, and therefore I have welcomed Fabre. For my own disposition for several years has been antagonistic to the sort of Darwinism that is popular. I remember at Peking shocking our chaplain, a very excellent and altogether delightful fellow, by saying that I did not believe in the evolution of species. He was as shocked as if I had avowed myself a heretic or a papist. Then again, recently in reading a little book of Dean Inge's ¹⁴⁷ I came across the mention of some essays by Edward Carpenter, entitled *Civilization, its cause and cure*, and so I borrowed that too from the London Library. Carpenter likewise criticizes evolution, and prefers what he calls 'exfoliation', and says [it] is the doctrine of Lamarck. That is a very pleasing theory. It seems to resemble what I hear spoken of as 'Creative-evolution'. I have not read Bergson, because I am told he is very difficult, and I have no time to study enigmas. No doubt you know all about these books and their authors, and have made up your mind about their value.

Recently I have been reviewing books on China for the Athenaeum, but am much inclined to throw it up. It takes a great deal of time, as I am not practised in this sort of work. I have to read through a book very carefully, make notes, write a sketch at full length then cut out as much as I can to reduce the product to a manageable size, perhaps send for other works to consult, and all this means perhaps a whole week given up to the task, and the interruption of what I may happen to be engaged upon. And the pay is insignificant. On one occasion they sent me for review a book so feeble and foolish that I wrote back and said it was not worthy of notice in a periodical of the Athenaeum's

¹⁴⁷ Dean William Ralph Inge (1860-1954). English religious leader and author. "The Gloomy Dean" was Divinity professor at Oxford, 1907-11. Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London 1911-34.

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importance. I should have had to point out a number of errors, and utterly condemn the whole thing as rubbish; and as I had just cut up a book of that arch-quack [Archibald Ross] Colquhoun on China, I did not wish to let it be thought that the Athenaeum's critic hadn't a good word for anyone. I am glad to say the editor did not insist on getting a review of that book. I am sure you must sometimes have felt that work of this kind was scarcely worth doing.

I am going up to town on Thursday, and shall spend Sunday at Adlestrop [in Gloucestershire, hometown of Lionel Berners Cholmondeley, British legation chaplain at Tokyo 1902-21¹⁴⁸] near Chipping Norton. And then on the 25th I go to Walter King at Donhead near Tisbury [in Wiltshire] for a few days. The country is looking beautiful, but we sadly want rain. If you feel inclined to come and spend a week or two with me in the beginning of June, it would give me much pleasure.

I am reading [Thomas Babington] Macaulay's History [of England, 5 vols. 1848-61] again after many years. What a magnificent rhetorician he is. Being reminded that he was accused of having perverted the facts with regard to Wm. [William] Penn [see Chapter IV]. I sent for W.E. Forster's pamphlet and a little book by one John Paget, a barrister, refuting his statements from his own references. It was truly an 'eye-opener'.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

54.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

28 July 1912

My dear Dickins,

Very many thanks for sending me the magazine containing the report on the China trade for 1911 and the financial history of the Chinese revolution. I had always been of the opinion that a republic was the more likely result of the revolution than a limited monarchy, 1° because the aim of the movement was the expulsion of the Manchu dynasty, and there was no native family to take its place, 2° because a limited monarchy is an idea that no Chinese could easily take in, 3° because the idea of local autonomy and self-government is familiar to the whole people. It was at the end of November last that I wrote this to [Sir Thomas] Sanderson.

[Richard Simpson] Gundry's view does not surprise me. It is the same as [J.O.P.] Bland's, who has, I see, an article on the Chinese revolution in the recent number of the

¹⁴⁸ See Hamish Ion's chapter on Cholmondeley in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. II.

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Edinburgh [Review]. They have little sympathy with the Chinese people, and one might fairly say they were steeped in Shanghai prejudice. It looks certainly as if the British government, which means a few F.O. men, had at first been inclined to back the Manchus, and that about January they changed their mind, but we shall never know what induced them to do this. I at least have had no communication with them. It would be interesting to have [British minister in Peking John N.] Jordan's comments on the references to his action which are scattered through Rea's article. I agree very much with all you say in your letter, but I think the banks are quite right to refuse bringing out a loan unless some power of supervision is accorded. And as that would mean a foreign power of intervention in Chinese affairs that would be prejudicial to national independence, the Chinese were right, I hold, in declining to borrow on such terms. So the only thing is for China to work out her own salvation. As you say a settled political constitution and government is what is wanted. As it took some time in Japan, so it would be unreasonable to expect such a vast policy to be worked out in China in a few months.

I hope you may be able to go to Harrogate and to gain much good from the treatment. Mrs. Bayne's death I saw announced. To think of her being 70!

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

55.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

July 25 [1912]

[This is a note, not a letter]

This is a number of a Republican weekly that they send me. It has a quite reasonable article on 'Anti-foreignism in China'. I send it to you because it illustrates what Rea says of the intelligent way in which the Republican party have carried on newspaper propoganda in support of their policy. It may go into the Waste Paper Basket when you have looked at it.

56.

Middlecote [Middlecott?]

Ilsington ["near Newton Abbot" – apparently added by Dickins?]

5 August 1912

My dear Dickins,

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It would have given me much pleasure to go with you to see aviation next Sunday, but you see I am away from home. With my brother Sam I am staying here on the Moor till the 15th walking and hunting for plants. There are several good pieces of bog within a mile or two. After I return home I have various engagements which will keep me there so I am afraid a later date would also be difficult for me. I regret this all the more because I should have liked greatly to get a glimpse of you and have some talk about China. Last Thursday's Times had a communicated article urging the necessity of a dictatorship, which from certain indications I conjecture to be the handiwork of J.O.P. Bland. Ecclesiastics say 'a fool's voice is known by a multitude of words'. I should not exactly call him a fool, but the quotation is the nearest I can find. He does overflow with his pen, when a quarter of what he writes would suffice to make his opinion known. Can any good thing come out of Shanghai?

Walter Scott, Foreign Subeditor of the Times is here. We are pleased for [G.E.] Morrison's sake that he has got what is doubtless a well-paid billet, but we don't quite see what sort of advice on political matters he will be capable of giving. His rôle is that of a correspondent who has a remarkable talent for putting two and two together and extracting the truth from the conversation of diplomatists. Takeda's appointment as demonstrator seems to show that he has done well during the past two years at the College of Science and it ought to help him to get a good billet when he returns to Japan. He has done a thesis on *Welwitschia* [a rare plant first discovered in Namibia by Friedrich Welwitsch, 1806-72] for his diploma, and a popular paper on the botany of Japan which seems quite good. It is to be published in some sort of botanical magazine next month or in October.

I hope you will come back from Harrogate thoroughly restored, and perhaps then I may be able to persuade you to pay me a visit in September when Tozer comes. I shall also have an intelligent niece who loves books from September 17th.

We are enjoying the bracing air greatly in spite of adverse weather.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

57.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

15 September 1912

My dear Dickins,

I am very sorry to hear from you that your stay at Harrogate does not seem to have done you much good, but I hope your conjecture that the benefit may become manifest

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later on will be realized. It generally is the case, I think, that the result comes out during the Nachkur [period after spa treatment]. As long as you are under régime you cannot feel quite comfortable. You must have enjoyed seeing the interesting places in the neighbourhood.

The harakiri [ritual suicide] of [General] Nogi [Maresuke] and his wife is a reversal to paganism, even to the old notion that when the Mikado died retainers had to be immolated at the tomb which is going back to before A.D. 645. I agree with you that the Japanese dislike our system, but they find many things in it, besides the art of warfare, of which they see the utility. But the belief that man is placed here [in this world] to perform his part, and that he has no right or duty to quit the post before he is called has never been sufficiently explained to them; and I almost doubt whether any missionary, much less a native Christian, would venture to proclaim it. Nogi & his wife had lost their two sons, and life must have been a continuous burden to them. With us suicide seldom seems to have any but a despicable motive, seldom can it be regarded as a brave act. I find it difficult to place myself at the point of view which can induce a man in bodily and mental health to rip himself up with a sharp blade and let out his bowels. The woman in such cases I believe applies the knife to her throat only. Whether the Chinese like western civilization any better is very doubtful. But they admit the convenience of its material side. I almost think that they will appreciate European ideas of law and justice, and the theory of representative government must also appeal to them. The fact of the Confucian philosophy shows how superior they are mentally to the Japanese on the intellectual side. I have just reviewed for the Athenaeum two books on the revolution in China, which I fear will hardly content the editor, for there is too much politics in what I have written.

Have you seen Andrew Lang's book on English Literature? ¹⁴⁹ It might be described as 'breezy' and there are many witty turns [of phrase] scattered over its pages. I love to read what another man thinks of such favourites of mine as Addison & Steele. It would be an admirable book if it included the very text of each composition that he praises, much in the fashion of Chambers' Cyclopaedia of English literature, one of the books I most prize. I did not read the whole of [Dr. E.A.] Schäfer's address [as President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science], but I am much interested in your criticism of it. Whenever any chemist or physicist produces living protoplasm from dead matter, your "coarse matter", then we may believe, but not till then. Till then I retain my belief in the words of the Nicene creed, maker of heaven and earth, and all

¹⁴⁹ Andrew Lang (1844-1912). His *History of English Literature* was published in 1912.

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things visible and invisible, the qualities of numbers, mathematics in general, music, and other forms of beauty, joy, peace and love, all such invisible things which one does not see in matter.

I am going to the Reays near Galashiels on the 26th performing the journey in one long day instead of breaking it, as I have done before, at Leeds on the way out and Birmingham on the way home; and I hope to be back here by the 10th or 11th October. They generally have some interesting people staying with them, and the surroundings are pleasant. You have no doubt had an intimation from old James Troup ¹⁵⁰ that he has taken another wife to himself, rather a belated affair one would think.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

58.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

12 October 1912

My dear Dickins,

Your letter of the 8th reached me in the morning of the day before yesterday, just as I was starting south from Galashiels, and yesterday I could not find a moment to answer it. I am very glad to hear that you contemplate the possibility of paying Ottery a visit, and I shall be very glad to see you whenever you are so disposed. Just now we are having glorious autumn weather, and the country looks beautiful. You would be your own master here, and go in and out just as you liked. Never mind your little troubles, everyone has them as he gets on in life.

I shall be at home till Christmas except from November 1 to 7. Tozer came down from Oxford yesterday for a change of air: he does not seem quite as vigorous as he was.

What you say about China is interesting. Yuan [Shih-kai, 1859-1916] is undoubtedly a strong man, but is not the only one who could rule the situation. There is one named Huang Hsing who is much spoken about. Of Sun Yatsen [1866-1925] I unfortunately

¹⁵⁰ James Troup (1840-1925), M.A. of Aberdeen University, was appointed student interpreter in Japan, August 31, 1863. Promoted Consul at Nagasaki, April 1, 1877. Transferred to Hiogo and Osaka, April 1, 1882; and to Yokohama, June 23, 1888. Was a British delegate on the Tariff Commission appointed for negotiation of the Supplementary Convention with Japan of July 16, 1895. Promoted Consul-General for Kanagawa, and also to be Assistant Judge of H.M. Court in Japan, November 18, 1896. Retired on a pension, April 1, 1898. (F.O. List, 1921)

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have no knowledge, but he must be a persistent fellow, has gifts of organization and would appeal to all that is good in his countrymen. The weekly republican journal continues to reach me, and gives one I fancy a fair picture of passing events. I should like greatly to discuss the situation with you. What are called the 'gentry' 紳士 [J: *shinshi*, gentlemen] are the dominating class, and seem to furnish the elements of an oligarchy. Under the imperial regime they exercised a great deal of influence in provincial affairs. It was they who organized the revolt in Szechuan & elsewhere against the policy of centralizing the railway administration in Peking. I hardly think it possible to resuscitate the empire. Eunuchs it seems were the ruin of the Mings, if one can trust [Cambridge Professor of Chinese, Herbert Allen] Giles' little volume "China and the Manchus". He is somewhat inaccurate, e.g. he talks of a man who 'made himself a eunuch' and became the 'paramour' of an empress under the Mings, which seems physically difficult. But on the whole it is a useful compilation. The Athenaeum have taken to sending me also books on Japan, which are no part of my agreement with them, so I shall just take my time about reviewing them. I have not yet acquired the skill which enables a man to gut a book and write an article in a few hours.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

59.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

21 November 1912

My dear Dickins,

I am extremely glad to hear that you are able to come to me, and the sooner the better. I should be very pleased to see you on Thursday the 28th if that suits you, and to stay as long as you like. Only, on Monday the 2nd I have to go for the afternoon to Salisbury by a 12.4 train from here, returning about 8.30 p.m. The following week Thursday 5th December would suit me equally well, only on Tuesday the 10th I have to go off to Cambridge for a couple of nights.¹⁵¹ After that I have no engagements. So I leave the choice to you, only I say that the sooner you come the better I shall like it. If you come

¹⁵¹ See Satow's diary, PRO 30/3317/1. He dined at Trinity College on December 10th, and on the next day inspected the Japanese books which the University had bought for just £250 from Aston's executors. They included many which Satow had given to Aston in 1892. See P. F. Kornicki, 'William George Aston (1841-1911)' in *Britain and Japan 1859-1991* ed. Cortazzi and Daniels, (London and New York: Routledge, 1991). Satow also saw the Wade collection of Chinese books which he thought must be very valuable. He returned to Ottery on December 12th.

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on Wednesday the 27th I shall like it still better. You shall do as you like in or out of the house, and I shall be able to take you for a run in a motor car when the weather is fine.

I have not seen any fuller memoir of [Capt. Francis] Brinkley [1841-1912] than what appeared in the "Times". As you perhaps know I did not trust him. Who wrote the "Times" notice I cannot imagine. As you say, it was the work of an ignorant person.

I have [J.O.P.] Bland's recent book on China to review. It is too wordy and prolix to please me.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

60.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

January 13, 1913

My dear Dickins,

I am afraid that I omitted to acknowledge the safe arrival of *Pagès Religion Chrétienne au Japon* which you posted to me about the same time as your letter of December 9. Pray pardon my neglect. You mentioned in that having read vol 2 of [William F.] Monypenny's *Disraeli* and your disagreement with Lord Cromer's criticism of Dizzy's career. Monypenny I have not yet seen, but I quite agree with you that Lord Cromer's paper is full of prejudice of the narrowest class, a thorough Whig who cannot see any good in a political opponent; and I rather wonder at Strachey thinking it worth while to reprint as a shilling pamphlet. No doubt he had asked C. [Cromer] to review the book, and was therefore obliged to publish whatever C. gave him, whether he liked it or not. During the last two or three weeks I have been occupied with a reply to Lord Avebury's article on *Private Property at Sea in time of war*, which appeared in *December XIX Century*. Mine will be published there in February. As I went into the question a couple of years ago in the *Quarterly* I had some difficulty in avoiding mere repetition of what I had said before, but fancy that I have succeeded fairly well. To make such a pothor [fuss] about enemy ships and cargoes, while sanctioning annexation of territory and the exaction of war indemnities reminds one of the parable of the mote [speck] in my brother's eye and the beam in my own. To say nothing of the miseries inflicted on the inhabitants of an invaded country – and of the destruction of life when armies or fleets meet in combat. Now my article is off my hands I feel a free man again.

Recurring to *Disraeli*, is not the contrast between his early and stormy years and his statesmanlike conduct when he got into power closely paralleled by the career of Chatham?

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Yours ever

Ernest Satow

61.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

4. March 1913

My dear Dickins,

It is shameful on my part to have left your letter of January 30 so long unanswered. Not that I have not constantly thought of you, and resolved to write as soon as I returned from Exeter, where business of one sort and another so frequently takes me – and then, after I get home again I am often so tired, that it seems impossible to bestow my tediousness upon you. I wish I had leisure to read the best classics from time to time as you do; even if I could not construe a Greek play I might make my way through Virgil or even Lucretius. I have however read a great part of Ollivier's recent volume, all but the battles. It was a pity that he believed a liberal empire to be possible, or that he should with his republican principles have consented to serve Napoleon III. I daresay that the repellent manner you mention was a very strong factor against him. But his real difficulty, it seems to me, was the inveterate habit of Napoleon of negotiating behind the back of his Prime Minister, sometimes also behind that of his Foreign Minister. You remember how he treated Walewski. The Empress too seems to have been untrustworthy; he almost hints at it, though professing perfect loyalty to her.

Your observation on Bodley's Essays (which I have not seen) are most interesting. We have handed political power over to the most ignorant classes. Internally I think the state of the English people is on the whole greatly better than in the 18th century, but what we have gained on that side we have lost in foreign affairs, including the spirit of national defence against possible enemies. I have read an interesting volume "Johnson and his Circle" in the Home University Library, and a very amusing and clever one by Chesterton on Victorian Literature. Otherwise my reading is chiefly about Frederick the Great in German and English. Having finished [W.] Oncken I am about to embark on [Reinhold] Koser. [William F.] Reddaway [Fellow & lecturer, King's College, Cambridge] on Frederick the Great [published 1904] is good, useful as a summary and as a book of reference for dates. I can never remember which battles Frederick won and which he lost.

Tomorrow I am off to Oxford, having received a telegram to say that Henry Tozer is "seriously ill." What that precisely means I shall not know till I get there, but I fear the worst. He was to have come to stay with me for a few weeks on Monday next.

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Yours ever

Ernest Satow

62.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

25 April 1913

My dear Dickins,

I was very pleased to get your letter, and by it. In fact I had been thinking constantly of writing to ask how you are, but had been prevented by a certain difficulty in writing, having had an operation for Dupuytren's contractions [see Satow's letter no. 35 dated 27 March 1903 in PRO 30/33 11/6 above] performed on my right hand. It is the little finger, now enveloped in a splint and much lint, apt to get in the way and smudge the paper, but it is getting daily better, and I hope will be quite well in another fortnight.

What will be the future course of this madness of a few women I do not like to think. To give the vote to such women [the suffragettes] would be like the letting out of water, a violent agitation for further development, probably a crusade against the men in every department of life; for that giving them the vote would restore them to a sane condition of mind is scarcely conceivable. And candidates who now pander to the lowest class of agitators would transfer their blandishments to the female side of the hustings. The reasonable women might be in a majority, but they are not vocal, and the shrieking sisterhood would carry the elections. For with female suffrage will come adult enfranchisement, and the men will be in the minority. Most of these poor fools, who have been led astray by Mrs. Pankhurst & Co. are not of the class who would be entitled to vote under any scheme of limitation, and they would go on burning houses and destroying letters, perhaps in using explosives. The only thing is to stand firm and refuse the vote to all and sundry. Another thing that causes me anxiety is the official attitude towards national service. And also the ignorant self-satisfaction of [President of the Local Government Board] John Burns [1858-1943] about rural housing. The bad cottages are owned by small and impecunious people, who can't afford to put them in repair. The rural councils will certainly not build cottages to replace them, for it would send the rates up one does not know by how much. The big landowners have built all the cottages needed for the labourers on their farms, at a great expense. They cannot be expected to build for the non-agricultural rural population. I have been elected to the Urban Council here, ¹⁵² but do not expect to be able to exercise any influence, of the

¹⁵² See Satow's diary for April 17, 1913: "In the afternoon annual meeting of Urban District Council to elect Chairman and committees. H. G. Luxton and I were nominated

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others six are farmers, two shopkeepers. All the farmers care for is to have fairly good roads and to keep down the rates. Perhaps things may turn out better than I expect: we shall see next week, when the council meets for the first time for business.

Tozer was with me for a month, and went home a fortnight ago. He is sadly aged in mind as well as body. I hardly expect he will be able to come here again, unless he will consent to be taken care of on the way, for he can't look after himself. He spent most of his time here dozing in a chair. It is very sad to see such a wreck. Hisayoshi is going on a short visit to Japan in June to see his mother, but comes back in September to take up work again at the College of Science for another year at an increased salary: after that he will spend a short time on the continent, and then go home for good about two years hence. I have told him to send you a paper he has printed on the vegetation of Japan.

I am going away from May 8 to 13, and if after that you would spend a week or two with me it would be very agreeable. The right time of year too for the country. There is nothing more beautiful than the fresh green of the young elm leaves.

My reading is not Greek, alas, I wish I could. I am occupied with Carlyle's Frederick the Great, a German named [Reinhold] Koser on the same subject, Boswell, and for pure relaxation "Far from the Madding Crowd". Carlyle is very quaint and amusing; one wonders how it is possible to put him into German. Nelson is publishing the French translation of Pickwick, which must be a tour de force. The two volumes of the Home University Library you praise I shall get. Bailly's Johnson & Chesterton's Victorian Literature in the same series are very amusing. I wish the scientific volumes were so too; but I find them far too abstract, & demanding a previous knowledge of detail that I don't possess.

Now pray come for the second half of May; you shall do just as you like here.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

63.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

June 29, 1913

My dear Dickins,

for chairman, but I said I should be an inefficient chairman on account of total inexperience and I intended to vote for Luxton. So he was elected unanimously; and Badcock vice-chairman. I was put on Finance, Town and Building committees, also Fire Brigade, Sanitary and Bathing."

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I was very sorry to hear at the beginning of last month that you did not feel equal to leaving home, and hope that the fine weather we have been enjoying lately may have done you some good. Gubbins told me he was going to pay you a visit, but I have not heard from him since, and am not quite sure now of his whereabouts.

R. de B. Layard ¹⁵³ and all his family have been with me on a visit since last Monday: the younger girl [Joyce], a child of eight, is delightful. He is trying to retire. They went over one day to Sidmouth to see W.B. Walter [formerly of Jardine Matheson Co., Japan] and his wife, who are in a furnished house there. Walter is in a bad way, palsied, and they talk of its being creeping paralysis; but mentally all there and cheerful, able to move about a little. You saw the notice of poor [R.K.] Douglas' death I suppose. It had no doubt been a gradual decay, also palsy. I fancy his wife must be rather badly off: there was only one daughter at home, all the other children out in the world, and doing well.

If you have read the Life & Correspondence of Lord Hardwicke, pray tell me what you think of it. My reading lately has been mostly Carlyle's Frederick the Great, which I found immensely interesting: his description of the battles is excellent, and the plans very good. I want to read him again in the German translation, just to see how they have managed to transfuse his peculiar style, but the London Library has not got it, so I shall probably have to buy it. Alongside of Carlyle I have been reading Koser, and I have [Alfred Ritter von] Arneht's Maria Theresia on hand too. Now that I have sold all my books on Japan (except the Thunberg's Flora Japonica you gave me and one other early botanical book) I can afford to buy a few moderns. The books altogether fetched £677 and a few odd shillings, which is very nearly what they cost me, so that the result is quite satisfactory. ¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Raymond de Burgh Money Layard (1859-1941) was Acting Consul at Tamsui (Formosa) in 1896. He was promoted to Consul for Hakodate and Niigata, to reside at Hakodate, December 28, 1896. (F.O. List of 1897). Satow was godfather to the Layards' eldest daughter, Christobel. Layard received the Coronation Medal in 1911 and was made a C.M.G. on June 3, 1913. He retired on a pension on August 21, 1913. He was employed in the War Trade Intelligence Department from 1917 to 1919 as Assistant Editor of the Official History of the Blockade. Died at Budleigh Salterton, Devon on September 19, 1941. (F. O. List, 1942)

¹⁵⁴ Satow's diary entries on his book sale. On January 22, 1913 Satow "Began packing collection of books on Japan to go to Sotheby's for sale." On January 28th he "Sent off a box of Japanese books to the Cambridge University Library, including Hokusai's Mangwa and a magnificent copy of the Tōkaidō Meisho Dzuye. Yesterday dispatched to Sotheby and Wilkinson six cases containing my collection of books on Japan, with the Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, and various other books belonging to the period when I was interested in geographical exploration, for sale." On June 25th "Sothebys

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Tozer is coming to me for a fortnight on the 9th July. I am afraid he is not very well; his throat troubles him a good deal, but I believe it is nothing more than phlegm.

The Government bill amending the Insurance Act does not seem likely to diminish its unpopularity. Its compulsory provisions, the cost of administration & one or two other things are bad.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

64.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

26 July 1913

My dear Dickins,

Gubbins has sent me this article, with a request that I would post it on to you. I have read it with great interest and have no criticism to offer.

Henry Tozer left me yesterday to return to Oxford. He got some good from the air and surroundings, and the only thing one notices is the gradual weakening of memory, not surprising in a man of eighty four.

On August 20th I am going to the Frys [at Failand, North Somerset, near Bristol] for a week, and on September 5 to Scotland to stay with the Reays for about a fortnight.¹⁵⁵ Otherwise I expect to be at home for the rest of the year, so if at any time you felt more able to leave your home, it would give me great pleasure to see you here.

I have got Bright's Life by Trevelyan, and was pleased with it on the whole. In some of his speeches there is a good deal of the demagogue, and of course his Quaker bringing up [upbringing] made him dislike Bishops. I have ordered the standard German translation of Carlyle's Frederick the Great, and expect to find much pleasure in reading it. At the present moment I am reading Lockhart's "Life of Scott" and have just received The Writing of English in the Home University Library.

Gubbins writes that J.C. Hall has lost his wife. Some time ago she had a stroke, which greatly disfigured her, so that she could no longer appear in Society. And [Erwin] Baelz he says is very ill; he will be a great loss, one of the most amiable men I ever met.

Yours ever
Ernest Satow

write that the gross amount my books fetched was £ 677. 13. 6 a very good result, better by far than I had expected. I had offered Quaritch two years ago to accept £ 400 clear!"

¹⁵⁵ See Satow's diary, September 5-17, 1913. At Gloucester Satow got a through carriage to Edinburgh. On the way home Saburō got lost, having got into the wrong coach at Carlisle. He stayed a night in Bath and rejoined Satow at Ottery the next day.

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65.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

1 October 1913

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your letter, giving me an account of your health, and I am glad to learn that the careful treatment you have given yourself has produced signs of amendment. It will give me great pleasure to see you here, whenever you are disposed to give me a few days of your company. The 4 & 5 November are the only days I know of at present that I shall have to be away from home [at the Diocesan Conference in Exeter – see diary], unless I add also November 27 when I am due at Reading for a night [to chair a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel – see diary].

Here is a copy of the paper I have prepared for the Church Congress. It will not escape your penetration that the definitions of civilized nations and of international law given are rather of a circular form. But that part will be suppressed in reading. As only fifteen minutes are allowed to each reader of a paper, about one half has to be cut out, which is rather vexatious. But it can't be helped.

I recently read Tolstoy's "Sonate à Kreutzer": what a horrid book.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

66.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

17 November 1913

My dear Dickins,

I am greatly obliged to you for your address to the Bible Class, which gave much pleasure to read. One fancies that one would like to hold a Bible class one's self. I should begin with the Collect for the second Sunday in Advent, and then I should let the class read on and on, not stopping at the difficulties but passing on, with the firm conviction that if one has a heartfelt desire to know the truth, it will come nearer and nearer though it may not all be cleared up, yet enough to live by. And that is the great thing. If the class knew some Greek and could read the original so much the better. If not after a reading of the revised version I would give them Weymouth's New Testament in Modern English and Farrar's paraphrases of St. Paul's epistles in his Life of the Apostle. And I would not allow any "argufying". I think the Collects in the [Book of] Common Prayer, particularly those for the Sundays after Trinity contain a complete system of Divinity. They are worth knowing by heart. Nearly every one is quite clear in

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itself. I am glad to know what you believe about the Bible and about the use of going to Church.

About Plato also I agree with you, and wish I had time to devote myself to him. As I haven't I have lately taken again to Dante, and am halfway through the Purgatorio, at the rate of one or two Cantos a day. I still go on reading Arne's Maria Theresia and am also engaged in getting through Les Misérables, skipping the chapters that have nothing to do with the story. For the moment I have left Jean Valjean carrying wounded Marius through the sewers.

Your list of books to read is captivating. No doubt you have already added to it the Life of Lord Clarendon. I hear "The Land of the Blue Gown", by a man who went to China to collect plants, well spoken of.

I send you our Housing Report to the Diocesan Congress, which perhaps will interest you. The only thing to do at present is to make owners put their cottages in decent repair. Many of them could easily afford the expense.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

67.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

28 December 1913

My dear Dickins,

I sympathize with you very sincerely in the loss of your brother. The older one grows the more one feels these things. I have never got over the death of my father forty years ago [Hans David Christopher Satow, 1801-74], but if he had lived till now he would have been 112 years old, which one could not desire for any one. Three years ago I lost the last of my sisters [Augusta, 1839-1910]. Her husband Henry Tozer still survives, but life cannot offer him much joy for his memory has gone and his power of walking is diminishing. He came here on the 23rd, and in spite of the long journey [from Oxford] and many hours spent waiting at Exeter, he did not seem to feel it. I have three brothers left, but see much of only one of them [Sam, born 1847], the Master of the Supreme Court, who shares with me the inexhaustible love of gardening. Takeda is also here for Christmas: he was inquiring for you, which shows that your kindness to him when he came over was not thrown away on an ingrate. He is doing well at the College of Science, this being his second year as demonstrator in physiological botany.

I have not read Labouchere's Life, but have read that of Lord Lyons, which seemed badly done, and Clarendon's, which interested me more, especially his time at Madrid

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during the Christino-Carlist wars. The best thing in the book are the letters of Emily Eden. I must try to get hold of Basil Williams' life of Chatham, and shall put on my list of books to be read The Journal you mention of Rudolph Apponyi. I am still reading Arneth's Maria Theresia, after which I have Schäfer's Siebenjähriger Krieg [Seven Years War]. The Pilgrimage of British Farming by A.D. Hall, reprinted from the "Times" is worth getting, also the report of Department of Agriculture & Fisheries upon migration from the rural districts, price 4d. The causes are so various that it does not seem possible to remove them by legislation. Small holdings cannot do much to increase the production of corn & wheat. I am studying the rate book of this district to find out how many owners of land there are, and what size the holdings are. There is a far larger number of well-to-do men who farm their own land than I had at all expected to find, and an incredibly large number of persons who own a field or two which they rent to the farmers. I should like to see the same thing done for a whole county; what all the people who write and speak about the land question seem to need is precise knowledge of facts.

My friend Mrs. [Emma] Sturges with whom I went to hear an oratorio at Bath 3 winters ago is now established there at 21 Henrietta St. I hear that Winwoods' daughter Anna is engaged to be married. May the coming year be a pleasant one to you.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

68.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

4 August 1914

My dear Dickins,

Many thanks for your interesting letter of the 2nd. As you say, it is a racial war between Slave and Teuton. The efforts all the Great Powers have been making for some years past to increase their fighting strength were bound to end in war some time or other. When I was in London last week I saw several F.O. men, but got no light from them on the pending struggle. ¹⁵⁶ Only it seemed that they rather inclined to doubt the

¹⁵⁶ On July 21, 1914 Satow went up to London from Ottery with Gubbins by train. The next day he dined with the Redesdales at 1 Kensington Court. William Cockerell of the F.O. and Dr. Morrison of Peking were fellow guests. On July 25th Satow "Lunched at the [Travellers] Club, and spoke to Nicolson about the Diplomatist's Guide which I have undertaken to write for Oppenheim's series. He says there will be no difficulty about my getting information from the F.O. about points of diplomatic etiquette." On July 28th he "Lunched at the Club with Stephen Leech who is now Envoy Extraordinary and

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truth of Austria's assertions about Servia. They were the pretext, not the cause of the war. You will have read Sir Edward Grey's statement in the H. of C. last night. It seems obvious that we must do all we can to prevent Germany swallowing up Belgium. I have always said that Belgium and Holland are the glacis of our fortress of which the Channel and southern part of the North Sea are the moat. From a political point of view it seems to me that we must fight to prevent the glacis being occupied by a German host. We are not at war, but I apprehend we soon shall be. The announcement that if the German fleet enters the Channel or passes through the North Sea to attack the coasts and shipping of France, our fleet will afford all possible protection reminds me of the notice delivered at Petersburg in January 1854 that the English and French fleets would occupy the Black Sea and invite Russian men of war to return to Sevastopol; that was followed by the withdrawal of the Russian ambassadors from London and Paris, but did not give rise to a Russian declaration of war. On this occasion the intimation has been made in a much more courteous and gentle manner, and taken by itself might not lead to war with Germany. But her ultimatum to Belgium, followed as it evidently was by our sending troops to support the Belgian refusal must have that result. My gardener says: "The Germans have asked for it, and I hope she will get more than she wants."

I must read that book of [Henry Wickham] Steed's about the Hapsburg monarchy. At present I am deep in Basil Williams' Life of Pitt, which I like very much. With what you say about Houston Chamberlain's book, I am very much in agreement. It is too diffuse and wordy. I looked at Butler's History of the Reform Bill, but soon put it down; it seemed to be on too extensive a scale. He is I believe a son of the Master of Trinity [College, Cambridge]. I shall be glad to make the acquaintance of Harvey Bergne. His uncle of the F.O. I knew very well, and also Lady Bergne, the latter from her childhood.

Takeda is going in the autumn to Birmingham to study freshwater Algae under [Professor G.S.] West [died 1919], and does not return to Japan till next spring, but I am sure he would be very glad to come and have a talk with you. His present address is:

12 Alwyn Avenue

Chiswick

W.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

Minister Plenipotentiary in Cuba and had a talk with [Eyre] Crowe after. Hisayoshi dined with me. Came to the opinion that if there is war we shall not be able to keep out of it." The next day he returned to Ottery. (Satow's diary)

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69.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

10 February 1915

My dear Dickins,

Pray send me a line to say how you are. It is three months at least since I have heard from you, some time early in November. I have myself been on the whole well, excepting a cold at the end of January, which pulled me down somewhat. But I have quite got over its effects. The Clarendon Press have undertaken to publish my book on the Silesian Loan and Frederick the Great. They sent me a specimen page, which looks very neat, but I have not yet had any proofs. Longmans were to have published it, but when the war broke out they said it could not be taken in hand under existing circumstances. So I asked them to cancel the contract, which they readily consented to do. I am glad it is to go to the Oxford people, who will provide better paper and print than I could have expected from Longmans. I have finished seven chapters of a book on Diplomatic Practice which [Lassa F.L.] Oppenheim¹⁵⁷ of Cambridge asked me to do¹⁵⁸, and I hope to have the whole complete by the end of the year. J.C. Hall is to do one on consular practice for the same series, but I have not heard what progress he has made.

You saw I daresay that J.J. Keswick¹⁵⁹ died not very long ago. He was a good

¹⁵⁷ Lassa Francis Lawrence Oppenheim (b. March 30, 1858 -- d. Oct. 7, 1919) German jurist and teacher of law best known for his Positivist approach to international law. Oppenheim moved from Basel, Switzerland to join the faculty of the newly organized London School of Economics and Political Science in 1895. In 1908 he became Whewell professor of international law at Cambridge. His most important book is *International Law: A Treatise*, 2 vol. (1905-06), in which he elaborated an international jurisprudence based on specific agreements and customs among nations rather than on theoretical prescriptions. Although he emphasized the supremacy of national laws and national sovereignty over international law, he came, during and after World War I, to believe in the necessity of the League of Nations. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th edition)

¹⁵⁸ The first mention in Satow's diary is on February 3, 1914. "Prof. Oppenheim asks me to write a manual of diplomacy, i.e. a monograph on the position, rights and duties of the diplomatic envoy,.." Satow wrote to Oppenheim consenting on the same day. They discussed the matter in Cambridge on March 10th. On February 1, 1915 Satow sent the first six chapters to Oppenheim. On July 14, 1916 he sent the list of contents to Oppenheim. Various revisions were suggested by the latter and adopted by Satow.

¹⁵⁹ James Johnstone Keswick, younger brother of William Keswick (1835-1912) the founder of Jardine's in Japan. On the latter see Ch. 10, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. IV, by J.E. Hoare.

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fellow, and his wife will feel his loss severely. Of Basil Chamberlain I have heard nothing since the war broke out. His brother Houston has been severely criticised in the papers for his pro-German views, but as he is married to one of Wagner's daughters and has lived among Germans so long, it is no wonder that he should side with them. Basil too is very anti-English, but I don't know that he is pro anybody. Henry looks on both of his brothers as "cranks", and is very outspoken about them. I don't write to you about the war, and seldom talk of it, for talking cannot help. But I do all I can by way of assisting various funds, especially for the regiments connected with this county.

My reading lately has chiefly been the novels of Alarcon, most delightful stories, which I got over from Madrid, and I have one of Juan Valera's in hand now. Before that I had been attracted again to Spanish by Villa Urrutia's [diplomat and historian Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, 1850-1935] volumes on the relations between England and Spain during the Peninsula war. It is a most entertaining book, full of English and Spanish scandal, rather in the style of Creevey's memoirs. Of more serious cast is C. von Noorden's *Geschichte des Spanischen Erbfolge Krieges* [History of the Spanish War of Succession]. He is I take it an Austrian. There is a great deal about English politics in it, far more detail than I have ever found in any English book. Lord Stanhope is very poor in comparison with him. I received from America a short time ago a very well written sketch of Anglo-American relations during the last hundred years, produced in connexion with the intended celebration of the Centenary of the Treaty of Ghent. It is interesting to find from him how often U.S. internal politics produced an untoward influence on their attitude towards us. I have also read two excellent historical monographs by a Frenchman named Driault on Napoleon's Italian and Oriental policy. Also Stuart Reid's *Life & Letters of Lord Durham*, a much neglected but very able man. It contains a complete vindication of his policy in Canada. You like Chateaubriand I know. I have recently read his "Congrès de Verone", a piece of political autobiography of considerable importance. He seems to have detested George Canning, and I daresay the feeling was deserved. There are very few English politicians, except Peel and Gladstone for whom one can feel much respect.

Yesterday at Sidmouth I met Mrs. Joe Chamberlain, a very charming woman, with an immense knowledge of political affairs. No wonder he was struck with her. Living in a dead-alive society like that of Ottery it is an immense pleasure to meet some one who can talk well, and understands international politics.

Now do spare me a little time to tell me about yourself.

Yours ever

Ernest Satow

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70.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

July 18, 1915

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Thank you very much for your postscript. Your husband's letter was so cheerful that one would imagine there was nothing the matter with him. I am very sorry to hear that he has so much to try him in the physical way, but as long as the mind holds out, life is still acceptable. His condition is ever so much better than that of my old brother in law of Oxford, Henry Tozer, whose mental faculties are quite clouded, while his bodily powers seem to be unabated. It is a sorrowful spectacle for those who knew him ten years ago, when he had just completed his translation of the Divina Commedia. I hope none of your eleven have lost their lives. The wounded seem to be wonderfully cheerful: I suppose it is because they are grateful to have got off with their lives. The other day I saw a convoy that had just arrived at Exeter by Red Cross train: they were all smiling as they lay on their stretchers. It is those who by sex or age are condemned to have no share in the fighting who feel the seriousness of the conflict. Several of my nieces are working, one in Holland looking after Belgian refugees, and one is going shortly to Paris to help serve out refreshments to men leaving for the front. A third is 2nd [in command] in a hospital at Oxford. This is the good side of the war, that it has found work for thousands of young women whose lives seemed to them dull because of apparently little use.

I am very well, and busy with my Urban Council and a variety of other jobs, suitable for a man who was seventy two the other day [on June 30, 1915], including a book on diplomatic practice that makes slow progress. What lovely weather. If it lasts till we get the harvest in how thankful we shall all be. I hope the Croftons will not move away again. Perhaps it is an old soldier's habit, which cannot be cured. Thank you ever so much for writing.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

71.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

August 15, 1915

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

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The news you send me in your letter of yesterday has grieved me very deeply. ¹⁶⁰ I fear my dear old friend is suffering a great deal of pain and discomfort. To have recourse to morphia is a very trying thing, but one hopes the pain will lessen. You and your daughter must be full of anxiety. I hope Freddy will escape the German shells. I have full confidence in those who are directly [sic. directing?] our military affairs, and do not feel inclined to complain because of the slow progress we make. Only a year since the war began, and from the beginning one felt that it might last for three. That we have no news from the Dardanelles is encouraging. I cannot understand people who say that we are not taking our share of the war, when we have sent such a huge army to the Dardanelles, at least 150,000 men with all their equipment and a fleet besides; and I don't believe that our allies take that view at all, in spite of what exciteable persons write to the newspapers. Today registration is going on all over the country. If the same spirit animates the people and the enumerators elsewhere as it does at this little place, all will go smoothly, and the results will certainly be very useful. Only the croakers will be disappointed. I suppose it is part of the English temperament to look on the black side and not to keep their depressed feelings to oneself, just as the people get up in the morning to complain of the weather and try to make everyone else unhappy.

If you can spare a moment when your husband begins to feel more comfortable, I should be grateful for a line on a post card. ¹⁶¹

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

72.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

April 11, 1916

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Thank you very much for your letter and for giving me your new address. I hope you will find it comfortable. Your husband took me once to Devizes, and I thought it looked an interesting town, with a fine open space in the centre, and that curious monument to the memory of the woman who was struck dead with a lie in her mouth. The clergyman you speak of must be a son of the Tredway Clarks who live at Bath. They are C.M.S.

¹⁶⁰ On August 15th Satow noted: "Mrs. Dickins writes that he had an operation of colostomy on the 13th, in consequence of a malignant growth in the bowel; afraid to attempt its removal, the surgeon decided on the minor operation, to prolong his life. I am afraid it looks very serious." (Satow's diary)

¹⁶¹ On August 17, 1915: "Mrs. Dickins writes that he had a sudden heart failure about 9 am yesterday, and left them without the slightest struggle." (Satow's diary)

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[Church Missionary Society] people, which means Evangelical and consequently one is not surprised at their anti-Roman sentiments. I know some truly good evangelicals, but long to discover what the real secret belief is that they hold. I suppose neither they nor high churchmen nor any of us really knows what the whole of our belief is. You are fortunate however in being able to hear a good sermon when you go to his church. That is a pleasure I seldom enjoy. But other people here seem to like the local clergyman better than I do. Perhaps it is because I see a good deal of him out of the pulpit, and cannot get over the idea that his sermon is preached as a professional duty and not because he has something to say that he must tell us. I hope Freddy's wife and child will not go to India under present circumstances. The sea route round to Port Said is far too dangerous. One hopes that before long we shall catch more of the German submarines and put a stop to their murderous activities. But just now it is perhaps wiser to stay on land. I am very sorry to hear of young Mr. Crofton's death. It will be a great grief to them.

You know what a long correspondence your husband and I had. Letters from him were always of the greatest interest, and I have a large collection of them ¹⁶². Few men wrote so well, and poured out thought so freely. For years past I have kept all that came, and now have put them together in a separate bundle. Redesdale's book [*Memories*, 1915] is certainly interesting, especially the Japan part, in which he tells a good deal that has never been told before about our doings at the time of the revolution of 1868. ¹⁶³ But there is too much of the book except for very omnivorous readers. And Oh! Why did he put in that portrait of himself with his hat stuck on one side in that devil may care attitude. What he writes about the late King is excellent.

Yours very sincerely
Ernest Satow

73.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

June 8, 1916

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Your kind letter reached me just as I was starting for Oxford to attend Henry Tozer's funeral, and I took it with me in the hope of being able to answer it while there; but I found there was so much to do, being one of the executors, that no time was left to me,

¹⁶² Many are preserved in the Satow papers at PRO 30/33 11/4 (March 1904 – December 1920).

¹⁶³ See *Mitford's Japan: Memories & Recollections 1866-1906*, edited and introduced by Hugh Cortazzi, revised edition, Japan Library, 2002.

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and I have only got home again this afternoon. For the last eighteen months his mind was very confused, and it got worse and worse towards the end, so that if the names of any of the family were mentioned to him he replied that he did not know such a person. My youngest brother, Sam, went to see him not long ago, but he did not recognize him at all. But for all that, I do not think he felt unhappy about himself: in fact I think he was quite unconscious that his powers were failing him. Probably he had quite forgotten that at one time he had been a diligent student and had written several books. One of the best things he ever did was a volume of notes to the Divina Commedia. His old college decided to have the funeral service partly conducted in their chapel, and the late Rector of Exeter, Dr. Jackson came down all the way from Kendal to take part in it.

I am very glad you liked Mrs. Stallard. She and her husband [Rev. Leonard B. Stallard] are both charming. I suppose she will soon be in Ottery again to look after her young family.

My health continues to be quite good, and I have lately taken up the study of Russian, which is very interesting. It is a very curious language altogether. I should not have attempted it, had I not wanted to get at the meaning of some Russian diplomatic documents that I recently came across. Once one has mastered the alphabet and got a general idea of the grammar, one can find out a great deal with the mere aid of a dictionary, of which there are several good ones. ¹⁶⁴

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

74.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

August 2, 1916

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Your letter is full of poignant interest. But still all the family must be proud of the gallant cousins and nephews they have lost. Of Guy Dickins I naturally heard most, for my old brother in law Henry Tozer knew all about his work at Athens and afterwards at St. John's College [Oxford]. It will be many many years before the sorrows caused by

¹⁶⁴ On March 24, 1916 Satow "Wrote out the Russian Court Ceremonial for dip[lomat]s." On April 26th "Two Russian dictionaries arrived from Hatchards." Thereafter he seems to have studied Russian intensively through 1916-18. On February 26, 1918 Satow "Received the Russian original of [Tolstoy's] War & Peace from Petersburg, given me by [my German cousin] Lisinka, forwarded by Frank Lindley through the [diplomatic] bag. It does not look difficult." (Satow's diary)

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this war begin to heal up, a century perhaps before they are forgotten. The spirit of the Spartan mother is strong among people who have been brought up on the classical tradition, which no amount of science, botany, zoology, chemistry, electricity, mathematics can ever replace. I have in my mind's eye two well-known men of science, who are examples to be avoided. Nothing but Greece and Rome can provide antidotes, the thoughts of men are more precious than scientific formulae. Perhaps you may have known Archdeacon Shaw who was a missionary at Tokio when you were in Japan. He was a dear friend of mine. His eldest son was killed at the front on July 1: I had known him from his childhood and saw a great deal of him when I was in China, where he had an engineering appointment. Up To the present I have not lost any of my name. One nephew is in command of a submarine and may any day be sent on a hazardous expedition, another is a private in a marching regiment, and is about to be sent off with a draft to a London regiment; another is a sergeant, who came from South Africa. A grandnephew is with Smuts in East Africa (his name is Allen), and a second cousin is a captain in the Chesters.

The hot weather tries me a little, but it will not last more than a few weeks, and then my energies will revive. I have just sent off to Longmans [publishers] the MS. of a book on diplomacy which has occupied me during the past two years, and am now taking a rest, until the proofs begin to arrive. It is the last thing of the sort that I shall ever do. At my age it is right to repose.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

75.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

December 24, 1916

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Very many thanks for your kind wishes for the New Year and remembrances from Ethel. I hope you will be able to see some of your grandchildren after the great rush of Christmas travelling: and also many returns of your birthday. I had no idea you could count up so many years, having in my own mind put you down as much younger. After seventy we all begin to be proud of having attained so great an age. I am now older than my father was when he died. If he had lived till now he would have been nearly a hundred and sixteen.

I have escaped the epidemic of influenza which is rife here. But hitherto I have never taken the infection, and I have been well all through the autumn. My book on diplomacy

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is nearly ready to go to press, and the printers are constantly bombarding me with proofs. It may possibly be ready for publication in March. I am studying Horace, trying to master Russian, and do a bit of Greek now and then; those will be my occupations in leisure hours henceforth, for I have no plans for any other writing. "Reminiscences" are not in my line, though it is the usual thing for old men to fancy that other people will be interested in their story. And sometimes such a book is a great success. Of Redesdale's there have been eight or nine editions, and everyone seems to be reading it.

I am going to plow up part of my field below the garden and plant potatoes, so as to do my share towards increasing the food supply of the nations [rations?], and to be independent of the grocer from whom I get them. It won't look pretty, but one ought not to think of that in these times. I have started a meatless day once a week, and butter my bread with margarine, of which our friend Admiral White is a great advocate. There does not seem to be anything more to do in the way of household economies.

My brother Sam comes to me on the 27th for the rest of his vacation, so I shall not be alone for the New Year.

With kind regards

Believe me

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

76.

Ottery St. Mary

Good Friday [1917]

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

It was very kind of you to send me the account of Freddy's visit to the Arthur Wilkins', and I sent it on to her elder sister Mrs. Lawrence Satow at Sidmouth. I had also heard from my niece at Lahore that she had seen Freddy, and was much pleased to receive his call. But they will not see much of each other I fear, as the Wilkins are going, or have gone, to another station Horhiapur[?].

I was much interested in all the news you gave me, but sorry to hear that Thiselton Dyer is a confirmed invalid. He is only one month younger than myself. The other day I had a first attack of influenza, which rather alarmed me, but I have quite got over it I hope, and am able again to take my usual walks. Poor Thomson I think it was his second wife. We have not met since many years at a luncheon he gave in the City as a farewell to Osborn on going out to West Africa. [A.A.] Shand and two of his daughters came down here a fortnight ago house hunting. He is retiring from Parr's Bank, and

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wishes to leave London. They looked at a house at Honiton, only 5 or 6 miles from here, which I hoped he would have taken, but in the end their choice fell on one at Chudleigh not far from Newton Abbot, and less accessible from here. But whether they take it or not depends I believe on whether they are able to let the house at Norwood. What lovely weather we have been having for this time of year. Last Sunday it was so warm that I took tea on the verandah and afterwards sat there with a book for some time. We have had the traditional peck of March dust and then yesterday morning a bountiful rain which quickened the growth of the small seeds. The spring is coming on fast, and one feels that midsummer is close at hand. I wish time did not go so fast.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

77.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

May 20, 1917

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 12th and for your kind congratulations on the publication of my book. The Times review was quite a good one. Here is one from the Cambridge Magazine, which I am told is run by the Union of Democratic Control. There was one in the New Europe of May 10, which I cannot send you, as it has gone to Gubbins, and I have heard of one in the New Statesman, also quizzing the author on his subject, but that I have not been able to see. I am not contemplating another book. My reminiscences if truthful would be heavily censored by the F.O. and I laid them aside many years ago, after having brought them down to 1867. I am writing an article on German infractions of the Hague Conventions of 1907 for the New East, a review lately started at Tokio under the auspices of Lord Burnham and St. Loe Strachey, but I cannot complete it for want of a list of hospital ships that the Germans have torpedoed. Also a review of a book by A.J.R. Marriott on the Eastern Question. My time is partly taken up with helping in a Food Economy Crusade, and the collection of medicinal herbs for the Herb growing association, especially dandelions, which are very abundant here; next month will come the turn of foxglove leaves, which are pretty common here. It is a movement that deserves to be supported. 50 or 60 years ago local herbalists flourished, but now they have all gone.

I was very sorry to see that the Redesdale property [Batsford] is to be sold, but probably there are incumbrances and portions for the younger sons and daughters which render the matter a necessity. Bertie Mitford spent a great deal of money on his house

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and garden. The latter cost him £10,000 he told me, and the house £80,000, out of a quarter of a million left by the old Lord Redesdale who was chairman of House of Lords Committees for so long. The rentroll of the estate was about £17,000, net £11,000. So there was plenty of money there at the outset. But he never denied himself anything that took his fancy.

I am very sorry to hear of the repeated losses among the younger members of your family: one is afraid to ask what the casualties have been in the recent fighting. Still there seems reason to believe that they have been far below those of the Germans. Two nephews of mine are in the fighting forces in France, one (a doctor) is in Egypt or Palestine; so far they do not seem to have been hurt. A fourth commands a submarine somewhere in the Baltic. That seems to be a dangerous service. On land it is said that the infantry comes first as a perilous branch, then the air, the cavalry, the field artillery, last of all the big guns and howitzers. The airmen seem to be extraordinarily daring and fearless, mostly young fellows probably under five and twenty, who mind nothing. Gubbins' second boy Colin ¹⁶⁵ has been promoted Captain, and hopes to get the command of his battery before long: he has gained the Military Cross. G's eldest, after going back to Canada, where his bad knee was successfully operated on, enlisted again and is in France. I am very sorry to hear that Anderson's boy has lost his life, and that Thisleton Dyer's health is bad.

Can you help me to a list of the torpedoed Hospital ships. I am making inquiries in every direction, and two days ago boldly wrote to Admiral Jellicoe for it, but possibly he may be too busy to attend to my request with promptitude, and I want to get my article off this week if possible.

Yours sincerely
Ernest Satow

78.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary

December 1, 1917

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

It was very kind of you to inquire about the Satow whose name was in the list of casualties. There were two nephews at the front. The only one I know to have been wounded was Geoffrey Satow of a London Regiment. It was only a slight wound in the head, and was already healed before we saw the announcement. I was much interested

¹⁶⁵ On Major-General Colin Gubbins (1896-1976) see Peter Wilkinson & Joan Bright Astley, *Gubbins & SOE*, Pen & Sword, 1993.

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to hear all about the doings of your sons and daughters. The R.G.A. [Royal Garrison Artillery] I'm told has charge of the heavy guns at the front, but I trust you will feel no anxiety about him, as the big guns are of course a good deal to the rear of the actual fighting line. I am grieved to hear of the loss of another nephew of yours. The Australians are the most intrepid fighters, and it is difficult to restrain their ardour. They have done nobly.

A niece of mine, Mrs. Arthur Wilkin, whose husband is in the Indian Police, lives at Lahore, and I hope Freddy will make their acquaintance, as the son of a very very old friend of mine. Their house is in the Jail Road, not a very inviting name.

Of spiritism I cannot say that I know much. Oliver Lodge's story, of which I have read reviews, did not have any convincing effect on my mind. But I am sending you a little book by Dr. Paterson-Smyth called the Gospel of the Hereafter which I hope may comfort you, as it has me. I would like it to be in the hands of every Sunday school teacher.

Lady Redesdale has given me a copy of his "Further Memories" and when it comes back from the friends to whom I have lent or promised it, I will send it to you. Most of the contents is very interesting. I had not seen Redesdale since just before the war broke out, but we often exchanged letters. My own book on diplomacy has a continuously steady sale, and I am collecting materials for a second edition should I live a few years longer. But as I am well on in my 75th year, I cannot count on many more, though my health is quite good, and I am still able to take good long walks, especially in bracing weather. It has been very mild here lately, at which one cannot but rejoice. I have given up meat eating and a 2lb. loaf lasts me ten days, but I make it up with potatoes and vegetables of which the garden furnishes an ample supply.

With kind regards

Yours ever sincerely

Ernest Satow

79.

Beaumont

Ottery St. Mary [hand-written]

February 12, 1918

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Very many thanks for your letter of January 16, which ought to have been acknowledged long ago. But it got hidden under other papers, and for the past week I have been confined to my bed, and have today come down for the first time, I hope in a

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state of convalescence though at present I still feel rather weak. I noticed the announcement of Mrs. Lockhart's death at the patriarchal age of 94. When I was a student at Peking in 1862 I knew Dr. [William] Lockhart [1811-96 of the London Missionary Society] well, for he used to hold a service for us youngsters on Sunday evenings. Mrs. Lockhart was however not there, and I never made her acquaintance, nor do I think I saw him after his return to England. I hope your two sons are content with their different kinds of work. A different sort of work for government fell to my share last summer. I finished it by September, and then had to wait some time for proofs. Those I have now had in slip and now am looking forward to seeing the sheets some day or other. It will not be published, nor will my name be attached to it, so I confess I have not much interest left in my job. But if my book on diplomacy ever comes to a second edition I shall be able to work into it some of the stuff I utilized in writing this booklet.¹⁶⁶ My book is about half sold out. It has been well reviewed in France, Switzerland and America. My principal occupation at present is the extension of my potager [French: vegetable garden]. Last year I raised about four tons of potatoes, and hope to do better this summer, besides various kinds of vegetables. And I have undertaken to give some seedlings to allotment holders who have no greenhouses in which they can raise them. What a different life we are all of us leading now.

Yours very sincerely
Ernest Satow

80.

Ottery St. Mary [hand-written]

3 March 1918

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

You will probably like to keep Miss Ewart's very interesting letter, so I return it to you. Her father was perhaps Military Attaché at Paris, and the ambassador at the date she speaks of was Lord Cowley. What a beautiful and clear handwriting for an old lady of her age! I am glad to say that I have quite recovered, but expect to have to take a good deal of care both as to exercise and diet. I had been living as a vegetarian, and my doctor has bidden me to eat meat again and to take a little wine. I can't remember having met Miss Ewart in town; it may have been at some tea party once when I was at

¹⁶⁶ See Ian Nish, 'John Harrington Gubbins, 1852-1929' in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits* Volume II, Ch. 8, pp. 116-7: "In 1917 John Gubbins was invited to write one of the government handbooks on Japan in preparation for the forthcoming peace conference. Satow was also involved in the writing of one of these booklets...The authors gave their services on a voluntary and unpaid basis."

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home on leave from China or Japan.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

81.

Ottery St. Mary

May 26, 1918

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

There was a detachment of the 67th Regiment at Yokohama for some years, and it must have been in 1865 or 1866 that your husband met Major Pollard's father. It is so long ago that I cannot be certain of having met the father, especially as I was much wrapped up then in my Japanese studies. I am very sorry to hear that Freddy is suffering from rheumatics & lumbago. It is evidently time for him to come home on leave; he has been out there too long. We are hoping that my nephew Lawrence Satow who has been doing transport work in Egypt for the past two years may get a month's leave, which he greatly needs. He and his wife, who is also a niece of mine, live at Sidmouth, and in normal times I of course see a good deal of them. The arrest of Valera and the rest of those conspirators is a good thing, and the statement of the evidence against them published in yesterday's papers is quite convincing. Probably they will not be hung or shot, but some of them will get long sentences of penal servitude. The clemency shown to them last year has had no effect. I don't anticipate any uprising in Ireland, and the nationalists will have to dissociate themselves from Sin Fein. The latter will entirely lose the sympathy of America.

How fast the year is running away! The beds which a short time ago were full of crocuses and other spring flowers are now untidy masses of withered leaves, the cherry trees have shed their blossoms, and the foliage of the elms are already wearing their deep summer green. Autumn and winter will soon be here again, and the doubt arises in my mind whether I shall see another spring. But the prospect does not make me melancholy, except that I feel my former strength departing. Shall I have time to finish the work I am engaged on? If not, the world will scarcely be the poorer. But I should like to live long enough to see peace again, and the triumph of freedom and humanity over cruelty, tyranny and bad faith.

Yours sincerely

Ernest Satow

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82.

Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary [embossed]

August 18, 1918

Dear Mrs. Dickins,

Very many thanks for your most interesting letter of just a month ago. It is disgraceful of me to have left it so long unanswered. Last week I had A.A. Shand with me, and we talked a great deal about old days in Japan and old friends there, not omitting as you may suppose to speak of your husband's great learning and abilities. He has settled at Chudleigh, not far from Newton Abbot on the other side of Exeter, with his four daughters. [See Letter no. 76 above.] They are not, however, always at home. The youngest, Winifred, works at St. Dunstan's Hostel for blinded soldiers. The second, Ida, seems to be his right hand, and I hear most of her. It is unlucky that the trains do not allow of my getting there and back in a day, which prevents my seeing as much of him as I should wish.

We do not seem to have had any cases of the new influenza here, and altogether the health of the district is unusually good, owing doubtless to the fine weather, which promises to be good for the harvest. Nearly all the wheat is cut, and most of it carried. They have even begun to eat barley, which comes last of all. My potatoes look well, and I have such an abundance of green stuff that I am able to give of my surplus to the Fruit and Vegetable Association recently started in Devon for supplying parts of the country, like South Wales, where they cannot grow enough for the needs of the dense population.

My nephew in Egypt has not been able to get leave of absence, as the man who was to have taken his place is in hospital recovering from the effects of an operation. But we hope to see him here before long.

I am glad to be able to tell you that I am quite well, and am making progress in Russian and Dutch. Russian I take to be at least six times as difficult as any other European language. What carries one on is the curiosity to find out what the next word will turn out to mean. My book is Tolstoy's War and Peace, which is most interesting. The Dutch author is dull.

Yours very sincerely

Ernest Satow

[End of PRO 30/33 11/7]

Appendix One: A Brief Note on Satow's Collections of Japanese Books

These are now broadly distributed as follows:

- 1) Cambridge University Library has approximately 10,000 items (c. 3,000 titles) donated by Satow, either through Aston or directly.

“In later years Satow gave away a great many of his books, some to [Basil Hall] Chamberlain but the greater part to Aston in 1892 in order to provide Aston with the materials for his research after his retirement in England. In 1911 Aston offered, with Satow’s approval, his collection of Japanese books to Cambridge University. He died before the arrangements could be completed, but they were bought from his executors shortly afterwards for £250, which the University rightly considered a very moderate sum.”

P. F. Kornicki, ‘William George Aston (1841-1911)’ in Cortazzi and Daniels (ed.), *Britain and Japan 1859-1991* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991).

- 2) The British Library (formerly the British Museum Library) has approximately 1,200 volumes, of which 1044 were acquired in 1884-85. Of these 938 volumes were purchased from Satow for £300 in 1884 prior to his leaving for Siam (Thailand), and 106 were donated by Satow in 1885. Others were given by Satow to Dickins, Chamberlain, Watters and Troup. The collections of William Anderson (purchased in 1894) and Thomas Watters (purchased in 1906) both contained some ex-Satow books.

- 3) The Bodleian Library (Oxford University) has 328 Buddhist texts donated by Satow from his library in 1908.

(With thanks to librarians of each institution: N. Koyama, H. Todd and I. Tytler respectively.)

Appendix Two: Biographical Details of W.G. Aston

Apart from the sources mentioned in the Select Bibliography below, the following sources are available on Aston's life: Foreign Office List 1912 (the year after his death); obituary in the *Times* (November 27, 1911); Dictionary of National Biography Supplement (1901-11); and *Who Was Who*, 1897-1915. See also Peter Kornicki, 'Aston, Cambridge and Korea' on the East Asia Institute website at Cambridge University: <http://www.eai.cam.ac.uk/Aston-and-Korea.pdf>

The DNB Supplement entry was written by Joseph Henry Longford and is worth quoting in full:

ASTON, WILLIAM GEORGE (1841-1911), Japanese scholar, born near Londonderry on 9 April 1841, was son of George Robert Aston, minister of the Unitarian Church of Ireland and schoolmaster. Receiving early education from his father, he matriculated at Queen's College, Belfast, 1859, and after a distinguished career as a student, graduated in the Queen's University of Ireland, B.A. in 1862 and M.A. in 1863, on both occasions being gold medallist in classics and taking honours also in modern languages and literature. In 1890 he was made by the Queen's University hon. D. Litt.

In 1864 Aston was appointed student interpreter in the British Consular Service in Japan, and in the autumn joined the staff of the British legation at Yedo (Tokio), where (Sir) Ernest Satow was already filling a like position.

Aston's official career extended over twenty-five highly interesting years in the history of Japan and Korea. Sir Harry Parkes [q.v.] became envoy at Yedo in 1865, and it was largely on the advice of Aston and Satow, based on the result of their historical researches, that Parkes supported the revolutionary movement in Japan in 1868, and unlike the diplomatic representatives of other western powers hastened to acknowledge the new government of the emperor. From 1875 to 1880 Aston was assistant Japanese secretary of the British Legation at Tokio, and from 1880 to 1883 consul at Hiogo. He prepared the way for the first British treaty with Korea, which was signed on 26 Nov. 1883, and from 1884 to 1886 was British consul-general in Korea. He was the first European consular officer to reside in Söul, and he was present through the early troubles that marked Korea's first entry into the world, including the sanguinary émeute at the capital in 1884. From 1886 to 1889 Aston was Japanese secretary of the British legation at Tokio.

From his first arrival in Japan Aston rapidly turned to advantage his linguistic aptitudes, which proved of value in his official work and eventually gave him a high

reputation as a Japanese scholar. When he reached Japan, scarcely half a dozen Europeans had succeeded in acquiring a practical knowledge of the language. There was hardly a phrase book; there were no dictionaries, and no elementary grammar either for Europeans or for Japanese students, grammar being ignored in the Japanese school and college curriculum, and left entirely to philologists, whose works (few in number) were too abstruse for study by any but the most advanced students. Not until ten years after Aston's arrival was the first attempt at a grammar on European models published by the educational department of the imperial government. Aston in the interval not only acquired a complete, accurate, and eloquent command of the spoken language, and a facility of using the written language, which is different from the spoken in essential characteristics, but he compiled grammars (1869 and 1872) of both the spoken and written Japanese languages on the European method, and on lines of scientific philology. Aston's grammars were superseded by the more comprehensive works of Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain on 'Colloquial Japanese' (1888) and 'The Study of Japanese Writing' (1899), but Aston led the way in the arduous task. Later he extended his studies into Chinese and Korean philology, and was the first among either European or Asiatic scholars to show the affinity of the Korean and Japanese languages.

At the same time Aston was an original and exhaustive investigator of the history, religion, political system, and literature of Japan. He was the first European to complete a literal translation of the Nihongi, the 'Ancient Chronicles of Japan' (1896); this work and Professor Chamberlain's translation of the Kojiki, the Ancient Records, form the original authority for the mythology and history of ancient Japan. The original is written in the most abstruse style, and Aston for the purpose of his translation, which though literal is graceful and simple, had to consult hundreds of explanatory volumes by native commentators, as well as the Chinese classics.

His subsequent works on 'Japanese Literature' (1899) and on 'Shinto' (1905), the indigenous religion of Japan, became recognised text books; they have been translated into Japanese and are used and quoted by leading native scholars in Japan. Aston also wrote on historical and philological subjects in the 'Transactions' of the Asiatic Society of Japan, the Japan Society, and the Royal Asiatic Society of London. According to Dr. Haga, professor of literature in Tokio University, Aston's literary exertions, combined with those of Satow and Chamberlain, generated that thorough understanding of the Japanese by the English which culminated in the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902.

On retiring from Japan on a pension in 1889, Aston was made C.M.G. Thenceforward he resided at Beer, South Devon, where he died on 22 Nov. 1911. He had long suffered from pulmonary trouble, but ill-health never diminished his geniality.

He married in 1871 Janet, daughter of R. Smith of Belfast; she predeceased him, without issue. His unique collection of Japanese native books, numbering some 9500 volumes and including many rare block printed editions, was acquired for Cambridge University library in January 1912.

[The Times, 23 Nov. 1911, 2 Feb. 1912; Foreign Office List; Who's Who, 1911; personal knowledge.]

J.H.L.

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