

# Treaty Port Society and the Club in Meiji Japan: Clubbism, Athleticism and the Public Sphere

By

Darren Lee Swanson

[darren.swanson@sydney.edu.au](mailto:darren.swanson@sydney.edu.au)

Asian Studies Program

Supervisor: Dr. Lionel Babicz

School of Languages and Cultures

University of Sydney

## Contents

<b>Statement of Originality:</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>Abstract:</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>Introduction:</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>Literature Review:</b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>Locating the Club in the Contemporary Sources:</b> .....	<b>32</b>
<b>Chapter 1:</b> .....	<b>71</b>
<b>Transoceanic Elite and the Emergence of a Club Culture</b> .....	<b>71</b>
<b>in the Foreign Settlements.</b> .....	<b>71</b>
<b>Chapter 2:</b> .....	<b>134</b>
<b>Settler Society and the Club</b> .....	<b>134</b>
<b>I</b> .....	<b>134</b>
<b>II</b> .....	<b>187</b>
<b>Chapter 3:</b> .....	<b>222</b>
<b>Pushing the Boundaries of Extraterritoriality:</b> .....	<b>222</b>
<b>Hunting Clubs and the Settlement.</b> .....	<b>222</b>
<b>Chapter 4:</b> .....	<b>260</b>
<b>Race Clubs and Horse Racing.</b> .....	<b>260</b>
<b>Chapter 5:</b> .....	<b>290</b>
<b>Sportsmanship and the Settlements:</b> .....	<b>290</b>
<b>Sporting Lives and Community Altruism.</b> .....	<b>290</b>
<b>I</b> .....	<b>290</b>
<b>II</b> .....	<b>313</b>
<b>The Beginning of the End: the Clubs after Extraterritoriality:</b> .....	<b>366</b>
<b>Images:</b> .....	<b>389</b>
<b>Bibliography:</b> .....	<b>393</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>368</b>

**Statement of Originality:**

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

\*Authors note: Throughout this volume I make liberal usage of the term 'outwith', purely for no other reason than my upbringing demands it, and purely because there is no other word that is able to convey the same meaning so conveniently.

**Outwith:** *au't'wiθ/preposition* (Scottish)  
outside; beyond. e.g. "*he has lived outwith Scotland for many years*"

**Abstract:**

During the early years of extraterritoriality various foreign clubs and fraternal institutions emerged in Yokohama, and later in Kobe. These institutions variously contributed to the definition, creation and promotion of what may be termed as a civil society, or more specifically what Habermas has referred to as the 'public sphere'. Despite the absence of any single colonial power controlling the administration of the settlements, the fraternal institutions run by a network of transoceanic Euro-American bourgeois came together to fill the gap normally occupied by a military or overseas civil service. Long term residents of these ports operated under what can be construed as local sovereignty, foreign extraterritoriality, and facilitated a tradition of laissez-faire capitalism in the region that had significant consequences on Japan's cultural and economic development as a whole.

During the extraterritorial era, club life became the main cultural activity through which the expatriate community expressed itself, and in turn, dictated the de facto homosocial rules of conduct between the predominantly white male population of the treaty port in the years of extraterritoriality and beyond. Gentleman's clubs and sporting rituals were woven into the fabric of the community on multiple social and economic levels, which helped to recreate familiar European class hierarchies and racial boundaries. Closely aligned with the vernacular press, these institutions pertained to promote international

cooperation, egalitarianism and community altruism by simultaneously bolstering an increasingly isolated bourgeois foreign population which actively sought to separate itself from the wider Japanese community. Additionally, it was via the club, that the leaders of the community expressed their identity and status in what would become the ‘treaty port public sphere’ in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Drawing on archival sources, the English-language press, the Harold S. Williams Collection from the Australian National Library in Canberra, and a number of contemporary accounts from foreign residents, this research will attempt to highlight the key factors in the socio-cultural development of the settlement, such as the emergence of a European club culture and what role it had in the shaping future relationships between the settler population and their Japanese hosts.

### **Acknowledgements:**

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Lionel Babicz for the continuous support of my PhD study and related research. It is largely thanks to him that my plans to forge ahead with this project in Australia became a reality. His guidance and patience have helped me at all times of the research and writing of this thesis.

There are a number of other equally important individuals who have also contributed to the success of this thesis. My Associate Supervisor Prof. Michael Lewis, Dr. Rebecca Sutter, Dr. Matthew Stavros, Dr. Olivier Ansart, Prof. Adrian Vickers, Dr. Yasuko Claremont and all of the staff of the School of Languages and Cultures at the University of Sydney. Dr. Beatrice Trefalt of Monash University also deserves my gratitude for her guidance in helping to introduce me to the above scholars while I was resident in Japan.

Special mention should be given to several important friendships that I made while living in Kobe that helped to inspire this project. Firstly, to Mathias Valdez-Duffau, for encouraging me to take up the research I had abandoned in Japan and pick up where I left off in Australia. Thanks to his friendship and support, I have managed to make a life in Sydney. David Jack, former founder of Kansai Time Out, whose sense of humour, like-mindedness and intimate knowledge of Kobe's foreign past has proved invaluable. Also to Prof. Richard Harrison, of Kobe University, for always agreeing to give me a good reference, no matter how many times I asked. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Timothy Tsu, of Kwansai Gakuin University, for not only his

insightful comments and encouragement, but also for his sound and invaluable advice.

My sincere thanks also goes to Mayumi Shinozaki and the staff of the Asian Collections at the National Library of Australia who gave me access to the archives and research facilities there, making my time in Canberra extremely rewarding and enjoyable. My award of the Japan Study Grant at the library gave my project a much needed boost and allowed me the chance to view material that would have been either time-consuming, or nigh on impossible to find. Without their much needed support it would not be possible to have conducted this research. Similarly, thanks should be given to the Yokohama City Archives, and particularly the Kobe City Archives for their patience and generosity in copying materials, often free of charge, on several occasions.

Thanks should also go to several other scholars in both Scotland and Japan. Takagi Masamitsu's work on Alexander Cameron Sim, as well as his wide knowledge of Kobe foreign community helped to lay the groundwork for what became this project. Hugh Fraser of Aberlour Historical Society in Scotland, also helped find details that, although small, proved to be extremely enlightening in understanding the context of Scottish migrants in Kobe. Finally, Dr. Alan Knox of the University of Aberdeen was also very helpful in exchanging information regarding A. C. Sim's family background. Kayako Maeda of Kobe also provided several much needed references on Kobe's sporting past.

Lastly, my long suffering partner Karin Maeda, has, (mostly) patiently waited for this outcome, helping me search for information I had long convinced myself no longer existed, only to find that it did. Her love and support have been crucial throughout. Likewise, my family, particularly my mother, have supported my research over the last several years with a mixture of confusion and admiration in equal measure. For that I am truly thankful.



In memory of my father, Stuart Swanson (1940-1990)

## **Introduction:**

The image of the European club is one of the most recognisable symbols of Western settlement in nineteenth century East Asia. Treaty ports, the name given to the urban centres that emerged along the coast of China and Japan, were formed specifically to facilitate foreign trade, based on the unequal treaties negotiated forcibly with the Western powers. Neither part of the internal Japanese trading system, nor under the control of a single Western power, societal development in the ports was facilitated by two decisive strategies that remained outside of Japanese control, namely extraterritoriality and loss of tariff autonomy.<sup>1</sup> This arrangement, the established method of Western intervention in East Asia, enticed enterprising foreign merchants with the promise of lucrative profits and the future prospect of access to the wider Japanese market.<sup>2</sup> While these burgeoning cities were undoubtedly significant as ‘zones of contact’<sup>3</sup> between Occident and Orient, the Japanese ports exhibited many of the segregatory characteristics of similar colonial enclaves throughout the region despite operating under markedly different circumstances.

---

<sup>1</sup> Honjo, Y. A. 2003. *Japan's Early Experience of Contract Management in the Treaty Ports*, London. pp. 29

<sup>2</sup> de Goey, F. 2015. Western Merchants in the Foreign Settlements of Japan (c.1850–1890), in Bosma, U. et al. (eds.) *Commodities, Ports and Asian Maritime Trade Since 1750*, Northumbria University. pp. 112

<sup>3</sup> Broeze, F. (eds.) *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from the 16th–20th Centuries*, New South Wales University Press.

Gaining notorious reputations as ‘frontier towns’ in the early days of settlement, residents who had vested interest in the success of the community set about forming associational clubs. These institutions helped to create clear-cut distinctions between those who were deemed respectable and those who were not by setting a schedule and introducing some form of semblance to the metropolises of Western civilisation.<sup>4</sup> Within the ports, the club took centre stage as the social hub of foreign life and discourse, embedding itself into the civic landscape of the modern urban settlement. Ubiquitous mentions of the club as a meeting place in treaty port literature allude to their centrality and importance in the social milieu. Club life represented an oasis of European culture in an alien land, performing a wide number of roles, most notably in later years, reproducing the domestic sphere of the ‘home’, effectively babysitting a young and often malleable Euro-American population.<sup>5</sup>

Despite evading Western colonialism, the social cohesion of the foreign community bore a resemblance to the other peripheral trade centres of Asia that emerged during the colonial period. Demarcations based on race and social status emerged most visibly in the two largest ports, Yokohama and Kobe, where social divisions in the settlements manifested into actual physical segregation on occasion, becoming more pronounced as the years went on.

---

<sup>4</sup> Honjo, Y. A. 2003. pp. 36

<sup>5</sup> See, Rich, P. J. 1991. *Chains of Empire: Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality and Imperial Clubdom*, London; Sinha, M. 2001. Britishness and Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: the Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India, in *Journal of British Studies*, 40, pp. 489-521; Cohen, B. B. 2015. *In the Club: Associational life of Colonial South Asia*, Manchester University Press.

Kobe port is of particular interest in that, during the Meiji era, the city's urban and social space were divided along clearly delineated boundaries, with the concession signalled as 'foreign' and the Japanese area as 'native'.<sup>6</sup> Few works on the settlements have adequately addressed the social divides that existed within the treaty ports, bar mentioning that they were an occasional feature of daily life in the concession.<sup>7</sup> While the actual views of the majority of the white Euro-American residents remain rather difficult to quantify, there seems little doubt from their general mode of life that the predominant world view was akin to Kipling's 'white man's burden'. In her seminal work on the *oyatoi gaikokujin*, *Live Machines* in 1980, Hazel Jones called for renewed interest in the topic of foreign employees in Japan during the Meiji government. However, she conceded that due to much of the documentation regarding these people being destroyed, either by natural disasters or war, gathering data on this subject is generally best done in the native countries of those who were employed.<sup>8</sup> Even nearly forty years after Jones' initial observation, while the career paths of minor 'yatoi' are relatively easy to trace, the deeper aspects of their social lives still remain frustratingly opaque.

While visiting Japan, Rudyard Kipling seemed to take more interest in the lives of the '*outside men*', his term for those British subjects who lived and worked

---

<sup>6</sup> Hearn, L. 1898. *Kokoro*, London. pp. 120-155. Hearn refers to crossing the street into 'native town' akin to crossing the Atlantic.

<sup>7</sup> Leupp, G. P. 2003. *Interracial Intimacy: western men and Japanese women 1593-1900*, London. pp. 180

<sup>8</sup> Jones, H. 1980. *Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan*. Vancouver.

on the fringes of Empire, finding a home propping up the bar of the very institutions frequented by those 'minor yatoi', the club.<sup>9</sup> Few modern scholars have risked dwelling on the fact that concession life prejudiced towards Japanese. This is perhaps a fact that few of the Euro-American residents who lived there would not have disputed. In his colourful description of Yokohama club life in 1892, Kipling haughtily stated that '*it must be prejudiced*'.<sup>10</sup> Kipling's rather patchy summary of the Yokohama club scene was intended to highlight the similarities of British overseas life rather than the uniqueness of the foreign experience in Japan. However, if anything, Kipling's depiction shows that in terms of inclusiveness and integration, Japanese treaty port life was 'business as usual' for the white merchant. For Kipling, the foreigner was 'fighting the good fight' for the benefit of the Japanese, whether they liked it or not. Such attitudes were further evidence that the foreign population, and perhaps white society as a whole in Japan, considered themselves to be the carriers of civilisation and progress, regardless of the fact that it was often civilisation and progress dictated on *their* terms. It was this self-importance or elevated status of the aspiring upper-class individuals who frequented these clubs that brought the scarcely veiled contempt of the locals, of whom Kipling mentioned, upon themselves.

---

<sup>9</sup> Cortazzi, H. 1988. *Kipling's Japan: Collected Writings*, London. pp. 210-216.

<sup>10</sup> Kipling, R. 1892. Letter Two: Our Overseas Men, in Cortazzi, H. 1988. *Kipling's Japan: Collected Writings*, London. pp. 213

However, while there is little doubt that some elements of port society were racist, it is another thing to predict exactly who the affiliations of the white residents in those ports lay with. As Schwartz has observed, pinpointing people's ethnic identities can prove as troublesome as defining their femininity or masculinity.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately few of those minor players in the history of Japan's development would choose to document their thoughts or experiences for future reference. What they did leave behind, however, were the bricks and mortar of their social lives and the minutiae of their meetings, and a lasting impression on the many visitors who *did* document their experiences, for us to glean something of treaty port social structure.

Foreign clubs in Japan took several forms. The most obvious of these were the associational gathering places frequented largely by an emerging, and relatively wealthy, merchant, military and diplomatic class. Freemasonry clubs also, as they were in other locales, were ever present catering to members of the foreign community without the right credentials that would have allowed them access to the more exclusive gentleman's club. Other manifestations of the club evolved around sport and leisure. Hunting being one of the most frequently enjoyed pastimes, until pressures from the Japanese government and dwindling game stocks made the sport increasingly difficult. Additionally, horse racing enjoyed varying degrees of success in all of the ports, eventually spawning a number of copycat races within the wider Japanese public sphere.

---

<sup>11</sup> Schwartz, B. 2012. *The White Man's World: Memories of Empire*, Oxford. pp. 166.

Equestrian games were perhaps the earliest and most influential of the imported Western sports to be introduced into Japan during the Meiji era; its popularity resonating among Japan's imperial household, the race club remained a symbol of status within treaty port society throughout the Meiji era, drawing membership from among the community's most wealthy foreigners.

Other sports, such as cricket, athletics, rowing and football, had intrinsic roles in forming a settlement identity. However, while the prevalence of these clubs is widely attested to by scholars of Japan's foreign settlements, very little has been written regarding their impact in regards to the creation of a treaty port public sphere, not to mention their wider influence on Japanese socio-economic or political development.<sup>12</sup> Therefore the primary question that this thesis will address is **how and why did the various associational institutions, and sporting clubs emerge in Japan's treaty ports, and what role did these institutions have in the formation of a foreign 'civil society' or 'public sphere'.**

### **Defining the Treaty Port Public Sphere:**

Sinha describes the European social club as a unique institution of colonial civil society that operated at the median between both the metropolitan and

---

<sup>12</sup> While there is no shortage of material on foreign involvement in Japanese economic and social history in the Meiji era, James Hoare, in his seminal work on the ports in 1994, argues that compared to the breadth of scholarship on ports such as Shanghai, there is a dearth of similar material concerning the Japanese settlements. Hoare, J. E. 1994. *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*. Folkestone. pp. xiv

indigenous public spheres.<sup>13</sup> It was by virtue of the system of extraterritoriality, the imposed legal system which allowed foreigners to reside within specified pockets of the Japanese mainland, whereby they were subject not to the jurisdiction of Japan's laws and sovereign, but rather to the jurisdiction of their own sovereign state,<sup>14</sup> that provided fertile ground for associational clubs to flourish.

In his seminal study *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* of 1962, Habermas explored how public opinion played a crucial role in relation to representative government in Western Europe. Habermas pinpointed the emergence of a distinct public sphere in the early eighteenth century in the coffeehouses of Britain, premises which were arguably the primogenitors of the first gentleman's clubs.<sup>15</sup> Coffeehouses themselves were products of increased global trade, which brought once exotic commodities into the common market during an era which saw new and unprecedented levels of finance and trade capitalism in Europe, resulting in the creation of a new social order.<sup>16</sup> Emanating from this new social order, clubs and their members were carving out new pathways for the direction of civil society by building a network of reciprocal traditions based on co-operation and a mutual

---

<sup>13</sup> Sinha, M. 2001. pp. 492.

<sup>14</sup> For more on the legal aspects of extraterritoriality in the British context, see: Roberts, C. 2013. *The British Courts and Extra-territoriality in Japan*, Leiden.

<sup>15</sup> Habermas, J. 1962 (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge. pp. 32-34

<sup>16</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 14



understanding that moved away from the economic reliance of local magnates and social superiority.<sup>17</sup>

Club membership effectively acted as a petri dish for '*future society's norms of political equality*'.<sup>18</sup> However, this transformation was far from an egalitarian ideal. For Habermas, the concept of the public sphere was centred around the notion of a virtual community that did not necessarily 'exist' *per se* as a recognisable entity, but that rather the public sphere could consist of private groups of people (the public), who act as conduits between society and the state.<sup>19</sup> Access to the public sphere was/is open, in theory, to all of the citizenry within a community or group when they come together to deal with matters of general interest without being subject to coercion. However, in relation to the period in question, the emergence of eighteenth century Enlightenment ideological conversation and associational tendencies were an essentially bourgeois affair. Clubs and 'clubbable' gentlemen were less obviously bourgeois in the East Asian ports of the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, their origination can be seen, at the very least, as a logical progression of this tradition amongst an aspiring bourgeois overseas civil society.

---

<sup>17</sup> Frankiln, J. M. 2011. *Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794*, Oxford. pp. 197

<sup>18</sup> Habermas, J. 1992. Further Reflections on the Public Sphere, in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Calhoun, C. (eds.) Massachusetts. pp. 423–4

<sup>19</sup> Habermas, J. 1992. pp. 176.

In essence, groups that were once considered private in bourgeois society in the nineteenth century had become increasingly politicised to the point where the private and public realms had become practically indistinguishable. Despite public sphere theory setting off a number of criticisms, Habermas and his critics all operate within the a familiar paradigm characterised by several normative elements encompassed by: the condition of civiness or civility, the conflation of the public sphere with citizenship, and the ideal of widespread egalitarian participation.<sup>20</sup> Habermas assumed, for example, that the public's concern was towards a national economy, contained within a Westphalian state.<sup>21</sup> While his theoretical framework may run into problems while conceptualising publics that fall outside of this sphere, Japan's foreign community was grounded within the Westphalian state model, while throughout the Meiji era the Japanese state itself strove to gain acceptance by Westphalian standards of civilisation in its push towards modernisation. Similarly, while Habermas associated the public with a national media, 'national' communications in the form of a predominantly English language press relayed the news from the dominant powers of the period. Indeed, if we are to speak of a treaty port *literati*, it evolved from private individuals who envisioned themselves as members of a public.<sup>22</sup> In more specific terms, the 'public sphere' in the context of this study refers to the critical debate of a middle-class, and in some cases, landed, settler citizenry in public spaces

---

<sup>20</sup> Adut, A. 2012. A Theory of the Public Sphere, in *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 30., No. 4 (December). pp. 239

<sup>21</sup> Habermas, J. 1989. pp. 14-20

<sup>22</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 41-43

such as the club, the sports ground and the local press which formed the locus of an emerging civil society in the Japanese treaty ports in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Despite the absence of any single colonial power controlling the administration of the settlements, the fraternal institutions, ran by a network of transoceanic Euro-American bourgeoisie, came together, essentially filling the gap normally occupied by a military or overseas civil service. Although having the appearance of a protodemocratic society, the foreign settlements were ultimately at the mercy of a tolerant Japanese government. Municipal Councils, while having some form of limited administrative power, were essentially toothless tigers, effectively taking the form of a civic club.

Nevertheless, the actions of club associated residents reverberated with enough volume as to influence matters as diverse as hunting laws, additional secession of state land to the settlements, the rerouting of railways, not to mention the degree in which European manners and customs were absorbed by the Japanese themselves. Residents who formed bodies that controlled municipal affairs were inevitably involved in some form of associational group, be it racing club, sports club or social club. Sometimes, even all three. Long term residents of these ports operated under what can be construed as local sovereignty, foreign extraterritoriality, and facilitated a tradition of laissez-faire capitalism in the region that had significant consequences on Japan's cultural

and economic development as a whole.<sup>23</sup> While the Japanese escaped the Neo-colonialism that subsumed that of its East Asian neighbours, the residents that made their homes in the ports lived distinctly colonial lifestyles that hinged on white privilege and economic dominance.

During the extraterritorial era, club life became the main cultural activity through which the expatriate community expressed itself and dictated the de facto homosocial rules of conduct between the predominant white male population of the treaty port in the years of extraterritoriality and beyond. Gentleman's clubs and sporting rituals were woven into the very fabric of the community on multiple social and economic levels, which helped to recreate familiar European class and racial boundaries within the confines of the foreign settlements. Closely aligned with the vernacular press, these institutions pertained to promote international cooperation, egalitarianism and community altruism by simultaneously bolstering an increasingly isolated bourgeois foreign population, which in later years, actively sought to separate itself from the wider Japanese community.

Trade and the market had the most definitive influence in the development of port life. Traders and merchants formed the bulk of the Western population that was centred around a common goal of maintaining a healthy flow of

---

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, J. E. 2002. The Bund: Littoral Space of Empire in the Treaty Ports of Asia, in *Social History*, Vol. 27. No 2. pp 132.

goods to and from the settlements. Nevertheless, as lively as these ports were, business in the Japanese settlements always played second fiddle to the more vibrant and dynamic trading hubs of the China coast. As the years progressed, maintaining the privileged status and lifestyle that the foreign community had worked towards became more important than the concept of an open Japanese market. Although never as powerful as they perceived themselves to be, foreign influence impacted the Japanese public sphere through a mixture of consular pressure, and maverick political interference.<sup>24</sup> Leading men in the settlements, with varying degrees of success, lobbied the Japanese government, either individually or via their own consuls for concessions as broad ranging as freedom of movement to hunt wild game to seceding valuable land for the purpose of recreation. In later years, club association even became an opportunity to move within the same circles as, not only the most influential settlers, but also the Japanese elite.

Due to their initial remoteness from the metropole, Japan's treaty ports were often viewed by visitors as lacking in civility. Civil conduct in itself was a trend that shaped much of European society as the rise of the middle classes, along with an emerging bourgeoisie, began to incorporate courtly ideals into a new standard of civilised behaviour.<sup>25</sup> Club association in the ports went from

---

<sup>24</sup> T. B. Glover is perhaps the archetypal foreign interloper during the Meiji era, often hedging his bets whereby he invested in rival factions of the Bakufu and the Chōshū in the early years of settlement in Nagasaki. See: McKay, A. 1993. *Scottish Samurai*, Edinburgh; Gardiner, M. 2007. *At the Edge of Empire: the Life of Thomas Blake Glover*, Edinburgh.

<sup>25</sup> Elias, N. 1982 (1939). *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilization*, Vol. 1, Oxford. pp. 107

essentially being an expression of rank to a more pertinent articulation of earned status. In time, membership to the club, as well as leadership in local government, could be achieved more directly by an individual's success in business. While club association in Europe was initially started by the lower rungs of the aristocracy, men of more humble beginnings in Japan organised themselves by amalgamating otherwise independent actors together under one group affiliation.

European merchants in East Asia were notoriously independent-minded, William Keswick of Jardine & Matheson being a case in point whereby he became the first merchant with boots on the ground in Yokohama, much to the dismay of the British consul, before the port had been officially opened. Men like Keswick belonged to what can best be described as merchant dynasties, families that had been involved in East Asian trade for decades, taking an almost quasi-aristocratic status amongst their fellow residents. In James Clavell's epic tale, *Gai-Jin*, Scottish merchant family, the Struan's, strive to gain influence in the community by securing leadership of the club.<sup>26</sup> By skillfully weaving fact and fiction, Clavell used William Keswick's own exploits as the inspiration for his main protagonist, showing a degree of historical insight that virtually no scholar of the subject has bothered to capitalise on.

---

<sup>26</sup> Clavell, J. 1993. *Gai-Jin*, London.

Merchants were often lone wolves, acting independently and in their own interests. In a region where consular jurisdiction was often seen by merchants as a guideline rather than a rule, cooperation covering a large network of independent vested interests was the key to any kind of social cohesion. Club affiliation brought together the regions prime movers and shakers under the banner of collaboration. In other words, Western business and social networks were the grease which allowed the wheels of settlement society to turn by providing a new kind of forum for cooperation necessary for overseas life.

The very notion of the public sphere in Japan's treaty ports was intrinsically rooted within the club experience. It was an essential feature of a man's intended career path to such an extent that ostracisation could have serious social consequences. Indeed, for a significant portion of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, clubs were the public sphere. In the nineteenth century colonialism had begun anew built on the experience of rule and the construction of cultural difference of the old regimes. Its newness lay in the emergence of a European bourgeois, complete with its contradictions and pretensions in addition to the multitude of advancements in the fields of technology, governmental organisation and ideological accomplishments. As Karl Marx observed, the European bourgeois aspired to be a 'universal class', yet it defined itself along key features and distinctive cultural forms.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Cooper, F & Stoler, A. L. 1997. *Tensions of Empire*, London. pp. 3

In regard to the club as a translational institution framed within the context of global history, it is necessary to understand just how ‘traditional’ institutions were replicated or relocated across geo-cultural space. In what way did these reinterpreted institutions intersect with their new surroundings? Were they modernised, or transformed in any way by positing them in a new locale? How did they interact with the political or social frameworks of their new home? Eisenstadt has suggested that modernisation can habitually lead to a number of responses in regard to the way that societies ‘*interpret different symbolic premises of modernity and different modern institutional patterns and dynamics*’, then it becomes essential that institutions can be viewed with regard to their variability and not merely as a static entity.<sup>28</sup>

Speaking of transnationality, in respect to the treaty port communities, refers to a population that was essentially de-localised, yet retained a certain ideological link to a putative place of origin that was otherwise a thoroughly diasporic collectivity.<sup>29</sup> Within anthropology, the study of transnationalism has grown steadily since the publication of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* in 1983, in which Anderson showed how the historical pursuits of nationalism has shaped current political, social, and economic landscapes. Anderson's imagined community, ‘*is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even*

---

<sup>28</sup> Eisenstadt, S. N. 1987. *Patterns of Modernity*, London. p. 5

<sup>29</sup> Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, University of Minnesota. pp. 172



*hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion*'.<sup>30</sup> The members of this community cross traditionally drawn borders of nationality and the nation-state to gather in non-geographically bound places, which are currently thought of as 'trans-local' places.

Sharing the attributes and identity of different cultures in a non-geographically bound atmosphere makes each member a transnational. However, recent scholarship focusing on the diasporic and multiple communities that existed within the treaty ports of Asia has challenged Anderson's thesis of a single 'imagined community'. Lewis' work on the birth of cosmopolitanism in colonial Penang was, by contrast, quite different to the more conservative reactions towards multiculturalism in British held Rangoon.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, while there were also significant differences between the white populations of East Asia's treaty ports, Japan's port society was the embodiment of Anderson's trans-local space, in which its inhabitants identified with an imagined community networked throughout the colonial public sphere. While expanded trade opportunities were loudly called for by long term residents, the more pragmatic long term plan of the Meiji government effectively circumnavigated their

---

<sup>30</sup> Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London. pp. 6

<sup>31</sup> Lewis, S. L. 2009. Print and Colonial Port Cultures of the Indian Ocean Littoral: Penang and Rangoon, in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 82, No. 2 (297), [Peranakan Chinese in Penang and the Region] (December 2009), pp. 9-24

merchant guests, leaving them with little option but to consolidate their gains by preserving the *status quo* of their privileged lifestyle.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Formation of Treaty Port Civil Society:**

Following on from Habermas' theory of the public sphere, Cain and Hopkins have formally identified Gentlemanly Capitalists as an association of transnational individuals whose livelihoods were closely connected to imperialist expansion and the developing importance of London as a financial centre.<sup>33</sup> During an era of intensive European overseas expansion, nationality and nationalism were concepts that became 'internationalised' by spreading metropolitan ideas and institutions abroad. The key difference as to how these socio-cultural formations emerged and operated lies in the fact that no one hegemonic power could lay claim to the islands of Japan. However, as the most populous group of foreigners within this group were British, the settlement and consequently the nature of the foreign community in Japan's treaty ports remained decidedly anglophile in outlook. The ascent of these individuals, who undoubtedly took their cue from the gentlemanly values of the British aristocracy, and the advent of a club culture in Japan are clearly linked.

---

<sup>32</sup> Hoare, J. 1994. *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: the Uninvited Guests 1858-1899*, Folkestone. pp. xv

<sup>33</sup> Akita, S. (eds). 2002. *Gentlemanly Capitalism, imperialism, and global history*, New York

From the earliest period of foreign settlement in Japan, associational clubs played an active, if not central, role in the creation of a civil society. Club buildings themselves were imposing edifices, meant not only to showcase the wealth of the port itself, but to communicate to the visitor that within its very walls were the conveniences and luxuries of the Western metropole. Recreation and luxury were codified in the buildings very architectural layout; spacious billiard rooms with neighbouring bowling alleys, and the finest European cuisine were only made available to the wealthiest residents and their most distinguished guests.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, port society developed its own sense of business etiquette. Failure to adhere to the narrow rules of treaty port society created friction between long-term residents and the more transient *yatoi* who often considered their status as invited guests above that of the local European population.<sup>35</sup>

Japan's foreign social clubs catered exclusively to the predominantly white population, establishing themselves with surprising efficiency in the very early days of settlement. Parallels with British India give a taste of what life was like for the average clubbable settler in Japan, most noticeably in relation to the differing degrees of separation between settler and Japanese society. Further evidence of the aloofness of foreigners on government contracts in regard to

---

<sup>34</sup> Gower, R. 1885. *Notes on a Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama*, London. pp. 68

<sup>35</sup> Designer and design theorist, Christopher Dresser, was fairly dismissive of the manners and attitudes of his fellow Europeans in the ports and made a point of acknowledging their shortfalls in his monograph. Dresser was fortunate enough to obtain a passport to travel into the Japanese interior, something few foreigners were able to do. Dresser, C. 1882. *Japan, its Architecture, Art and Art-Manufactures*, London. pp. 68

club affiliation is attested to by the Scottish engineer Richard Henry Brunton. While it has been argued that the Japanese always held control in regards to the power relationship between settlers and themselves, foreigners more often than not took a paternalistic view towards the Japanese that often betrayed a colonial mentality. Richard Henry Brunton, who's own memoir of his Japanese experiences, *Schoolmaster to an Empire*, often reads like an egotistical list of achievements rather than an insight to the culture of an emerging nation, is remembered as the 'Father of Japanese Lighthouses'.<sup>36</sup>

While Brunton appears not to have been associated with any of the clubs, bar the Asiatic Society of Japan, of which he was a member, he recalls a comical encounter with the Yokohama Club's president, a one 'Public Spirited Smith' in his memoir.<sup>37</sup> As autocratic as many of the *oyatoi gaikokujin* were, Brunton had made the social faux pas of purchasing a steamer without first consulting with one of the many brokers or 'go-betweens' who facilitated trade between foreign business and the Japanese. In doing so, he had inadvertently slighted the cliquish community who had made a public complaint regarding his conduct to the local press, and had sent tongues wagging in the Club, to which he alludes to as '*a very important institution in Yokohama*'. Brunton,

---

<sup>36</sup> Although never released as an official memoir, Brunton's account of his Japanese career was eventually reprinted in Beauchamp, E. R. (eds) 1991. *Schoolmaster to an Empire: Richard Henry Brunton in Meiji Japan, 1868-1876*, London.

<sup>37</sup> The person in question was more than likely W. H. Smith, a former army officer who became the president of the Yokohama Club and the Assistant Manager of the Grand Hotel. Smith was also responsible for the Bluff Gardens in Yokohama, which were believed to have been the first European style vegetable gardens in Japan. His encounter with Brunton is a clear indication of the class hierarchy that was already forming between European, and perhaps more specifically, the British, population in the ports. For a brief description of Smith's life, see: Williams, H. S. 1958. *Tales of the Foreign Settlements*, Tokyo. pp. 153-156.

however, as an invited technician in the service of the imperial government would have considered himself above such an institution and adroitly informs the reader so.<sup>38</sup> Treaty port life was notoriously insular and an individual's reputation was sacrosanct, so much so that Brunton deemed the affair to be worthy of consular investigation. While such an incident might seem trivial, the encounter was just one example of how much club politics and the emerging treaty port public sphere had on relationships between long-term residents and their perceived diplomatic rivals.

It is from accounts such as the one indicated above that we can glean anything at all about the importance of club culture amongst the early residents of the port. As Huffman has observed, the memoirs and travel writing of the privileged few served as the primary lens through which many Western leaders developed their own particular view of Japan and highlight the lively and often contentious interactions of the foreign community.<sup>39</sup> Often within these narratives there is what has come to be known as the 'imperial gaze', that way of looking upon foreign reality and subordinating it the views own point of view regarding what is the correct or most civilised way of acting.<sup>40</sup> Brunton was a prime example. Such characters cared little for Japanese culture, and were more concerned with bringing the Japanese 'up to

---

<sup>38</sup> Brunton, R, H. Cited from Cortazzi, H (eds) 1991. *Building Japan 1868-1876*, London. pp. 88. See also, *Schoolmaster to an Empire: Richard Henry Brunton in Meiji Japan, 1868-1876*, London.

<sup>39</sup> Huffman, J. 1987. Edward Howard House: in the service of Meiji Japan, in *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 56, no. 2, May. pp. 232.

<sup>40</sup> Said, E. 2003. Blind Imperial Arrogance: vile stereotyping of Arabs by the U.S. Ensures years of turmoil, in *Los Angeles Times*, July 20<sup>th</sup>.

speed'. In this regard the image of Japan, and the Japanese themselves have been subject to a 'colonialism of the mind' in much of the English language accounts of the Meiji era. As the Japanese have never been neatly categorised within the traditional dichotomy of colonised/coloniser, the remarks made by those whom we have come to rely on for our historical image of the Japanese often repeat, even by then, generic 'ooing and aahing' over cherry blossoms and colourful paper lanterns.<sup>41</sup> For a great deal more than a few, observations about Japan and the Japanese were often articulated from the sanctity of the overseas club, with even the Japanese lending their own club, the *Rokumeikan*, to host the Royal Asiatic Society.

Initial club formations were intended to separate government and military men from the merchant classes, however healthy trade in the beginning brought many merchants wealth that allowed them buy their way into a society that would have been out of reach at home.<sup>42</sup> Comfortable, would be the term that best described the average white merchant of the ports. Perceptions of equal status amongst wealthy merchants with government officials often caused resentment, which created with it a general suspicion towards consular staff. Life for the overseas settler was not complete without stories that revolved around the club, a way of life which inevitably reached its colonial apex by the

---

<sup>41</sup> See Elliott, A. 2008. Ito and Isabella in the Contact Zone: interpretation, mimicry and *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, in *Electronic Journal of Japanese Studies*, Article 9, Dec 22<sup>nd</sup>. Minear, R.H. 1980. Orientalism and the Study of Japan, *Journal of Asian Studies* 39, 507-517. Reference to the quaintness of Japanese customs and craft can be found *ad nauseam* in the literature associated with Japan. See also, Chamberlain, B. H. 1971. *Japanese Things, Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan*, London. pp. 203

<sup>42</sup> Hoare, J. E. 1994. *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, Folkestone. pp. 49

late 1930s. Leonard Woolf went as far as describing them as the ‘*centre of British Imperialism*’,<sup>43</sup> and Orwell likewise branded them the ‘*spiritual citadel*’<sup>44</sup> of British power in the colonies. Despite being only one of the ‘great powers’ who vied for control over the Japanese market, the settlements increasingly took on a character similar to other cities in East Asia with a colonial presence.<sup>45</sup>

Just as Darwin had first postulated his own hypotheses in the clubs of St James, overseas clubs became the most likely of forums to escape the burdens of expatriate service, offering their members a conduit to the metropole. The club became a familiar trope in the English literature on the ports. It is both the antithesis of old Japan and the signifier of the new Japan, but with only one thing missing, and that is the Japanese themselves. The traditional view of the club as posited by works such as Orwell’s *Burmese Days*, paints a picture of racial exclusivity or a ‘*Nirvana for which native officials and millionaires pine in vain... the real seat of British power*’.<sup>46</sup>

However, the Orwellian view of overseas service exaggerated greatly the gulf that existed between clubbable colonists and their hosts. For every club that

---

<sup>43</sup> Hunt, R. & Harrison, J. (eds) *The District Officer in India, 1930-1947*, London. pp. 127-8.

<sup>44</sup> Orwell, G. 1934. *Burmese Days*. London. Chapter Two of Orwell’s book begins with a brief description of the club and its importance in the Imperial system.

<sup>45</sup> Former U.S Consul-General, Roy, M. Melbourne wrote of the typically ‘English colonial atmosphere’ of Kobe with its social clubs as late as the 1930s, in 1993. *Conflict and Crises: a Foreign Service story*, University of Press of America.

<sup>46</sup> Orwell, G. 1934. *Burmese Days*, London. Chapter 2 (digital edition)

excluded non-white residents, there were several that opened their doors to them.<sup>47</sup> While it was perhaps the most well-known institutions that exhibited the worst characteristics of colonialism, it would appear that for every extreme example of exclusionism, there were cases of racial and cultural interaction that went against the grain of the traditional view of race as power politics in the colonial sphere.<sup>48</sup> Colonial outposts in the Burmese hill tracts, for example, were often lonely positions where socialising with local populations was encouraged on both sides as a matter of social harmony, if not at least for the sake of the sanity of the foreign official. Therefore, the further away from the gravitational pull of the colonial centre, the less rigid and looser the traditional codes of cultural interaction.

---

<sup>47</sup> Cohen, B. B. 2015. *In the Club: Associational life of Colonial South Asia*, Manchester University Press.

<sup>48</sup> Hunt, R & Harrison, J (eds). 1980. *The District Officer in India, 1930-1947*, London. pp. 126.



## **Literature Review:**

### **Locating the Club in the Contemporary Sources:**

#### **Introduction:**

Primary source material solely concerning the clubs is somewhat thin on the ground. Most of the English language papers in the settlements published the minutes of club meetings, however, these are often little more than financial records or sporting fixtures. Very rarely do they offer any insight into the inner workings of settlement society or the relationship between members. Where they do provide valuable information is by providing the names of those present. This enables a certain amount of detective work to be carried out whereby an examination of other contemporary or modern day sources can reveal the importance of that member, if any, to the success of the settlement and the legacy that they may have left behind.

Archive material, such as settlement newspapers and journals, are as yet not fully available as online resources. A complete catalogue of virtually all of Japan's foreign newspapers can be found in the Yokohama Archives of History, housed in the former British Consulate building in the city. Similarly, in Kobe, a complete record of all of that city's foreign newspapers is available at the Kobe City Archives. While this research has made use of primary sources wherever possible, secondary sources have been used if the primary source

has been unavailable, or inaccessible in the timeframe of writing this research. Special note should also be given to the work of scholars such as Ian Ruxton in his role as transcriber of diplomatic correspondence and diaries of the British diplomat Sir Ernest Satow. This volume makes use of several of Ruxton's compendiums in which he has transcribed lengthy longhand diary entries and correspondence for the convenience of those with an interest in Japanese studies.<sup>49</sup> These extremely detailed works give invaluable insight into the settlement world in a way that would be painstakingly difficult and time-consuming otherwise.

Some additional problems associated with using the clubs as a basis for research on settlement society is that many of the cited works in this thesis make only a passing mention to the clubs, barely giving any other detail other than the fact that they existed in the first place. Most foreign visitors to Japan found the existence of the foreign settlements, replete with their European architecture and cosmopolitan population as an anachronistic side-show that detracted from their overall 'Japanese' experience. In addition to primary source material, this review also highlights mention of the clubs which appear briefly in secondary sources concerned with settlement history or individuals. Therefore, while mention of the clubs tends to be scanty at best, this review

---

<sup>49</sup> This thesis makes use of a number of Ruxton's compiled works of the correspondence of Ernest Satow, including, Ruxton, I. 2002. *Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929) in Tokyo, 1895-1900*, in Cortazzi, H. (eds) *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits Vol. IV*, London; Ruxton, I. C. 2005. *Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900*, London, Lulu Press Inc.; 2007. *The Semi-Official Letters of British Envoy Sir Ernest Satow from Japan and China, 1895-1906*, North Carolina, Edwin Mellen Press.; 2010. *The Diaries of Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900)*, North Carolina, Edwin Mellen Press.

serves as a compendium of the sources which pay particular reference to the clubs, which although not exhaustive, contains possibly the largest collection of reference material concerning the all-male associational gathering places of Japan's foreign settlements.

Though Japan had remained closed to most foreign visitors, the Japan of the European popular imagination had fostered an enigmatic image of the country, and those who had the chance to work and travel there often documented what they saw for prosperity with a privileged fascination still palpable to the modern day reader. However, the enthusiasm for all things Japanese soon wore off for the average settler, replaced instead with an atmosphere of suspicion. Familiar tendencies towards Eurocentrism emerged in the 1880s with tired and jaded criticisms of Japanese trade duplicity becoming more common in the lead up to 1900 and beyond.<sup>50</sup> This mixture of fascination, respect and even derision in equal measure elicited a cross-cultural encounter that was unique in character to anything else within the East Asian colonial sphere.

Perhaps the earliest Japanese encounter of an elite club took place in 1862 with the arrival of the Takenouchi Mission, the first official Japanese embassy visit to Europe. Shibata Takenaka, the head of staff documented as visit to an unspecified club, which left the samurai somewhat baffled by its function.

---

<sup>50</sup> Ernold, E. 1891. pp. 379

Commenting on the club Shibata noted that the organisation, '*were perhaps set up because many officers travel into work from outlying districts, and the cost of renting houses in the city is so high*'.<sup>51</sup> Shibata's reference to officers may allude to the club in question being the Army and Navy Club in London's St James district. If clubs were so exclusive, why bother to showcase them to the visiting Japanese when there were arguably more pressing engagements to attend to? Undoubtedly, the visit was intended to showcase the club as a major civic institution to the visiting Japanese dignitaries, perhaps in the hope that it would encourage them to start a similar institution. The inaugural reception of such a distinguished group involved a number of military top-brass, and the visit was no doubt intended to impress upon the visitors the opulence of the premises, which had only been completed nine years prior to the delegations arrival.<sup>52</sup> It would therefore appear that Japan's first encounter with club culture as a 'way of life', in the sense of the civic role, took place almost as soon as the Japanese had set foot in London.

### **Japanese Clubs:**

Less than forty years later similar Japanese institutions were mushrooming throughout the Tokyo administrative landscape. Perhaps nothing better emphasises the enthusiasm for Western culture during the Meiji era than the ill-fated *Rokumeikan*, or Deer Cry Pavilion. Built by the English architect,

---

<sup>51</sup> Shibata Takenaka, Futsuei Ko, in Numata, J & Matsuzawa, H. (eds) 1974. *Seiyo Kenbunshu, Nihon Shiso Taikei*, vol. 66, c. f. Cobbing, A. 1998. *The Japanese Discovery of Victorian Britain*. London. pp. 92

<sup>52</sup> Dickens, C. Jr. 1879. *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, London.

Josiah Conder, at the behest of the then Foreign Minister, Inoue Kaoru, the *Rokumeikan* became a shining example of Japan's entrance on to the world's stage. The building itself had become a testament to a way of life, a symbol that Japan was now truly modern, and perhaps even 'clubbable'. Designed as a showcase of Meiji progress, the building was intended to impress on foreign dignitaries the scale of the country's level of commitment towards Westernisation. However, as the Meiji administration became increasingly frustrated with the lack of progress towards treaty revision, the building's main backer, Inoue, had fallen from grace. For a decade the fate of the premises seemed uncertain until Conder was once again commissioned this time to renovate the poorly maintained and earthquake ravaged structure as a home for the *Kazoku Kaikan* (Peer's Club) in 1897.<sup>53</sup>

*Kazoku*, (flowery lineage) was the term given to the merger of daimyo and kuge sections of Japanese society at the cusp of the Meiji restoration.<sup>54</sup> Japan's peerage system was similar to, but quite distinct from, the system which existed amongst the British aristocracy until quite recently. In this respect, Japanese peerage was beginning to reflect some of the characteristics and values of European administrations. The emergence of informal institutions such as the *Kazoku Kaikan*, were evidence of a top-down influence of similar institutions that were being replicated from the metropole

---

<sup>53</sup> Watanabe, T. 1996. Josiah Conder's Rokumeikan: Architecture and National Representation in Meiji Japan, in *Art Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 3, Japan 1868-1945: Art, Architecture, and National Identity. pp. 25.

<sup>54</sup> Lebra-Sugiyama, T. 1993. *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Japanese Nobility*, Los Angeles.

in situ in the emerging commercial centres of Japan. Proof then, that the fundamentally European, or even arguably British, concept of the exclusive gentleman's club had penetrated the highest rung of Japanese social life. Prior to this, in 1884 the Tokyo Club was formed whose supporting members were drawn from the imperial household. Membership was intended for both Japanese and foreigner, catering largely high ranking Japanese and foreigners with official standing, the Tokyo Club was a shining example of Japan's willingness to embrace western societal norms.<sup>55</sup>

Unfortunately, mixed membership clubs appear to have been rare. Regardless of being unofficially excluded from foreign clubs, the Japanese appear to have been content to form their own, perhaps even understanding the need for the two communities to be separate as in the case with the *kazouku kaikan*, few Japanese members would be comfortable mixing with foreigners of lower rank. Within Japanese language and culture itself at the time there existed rigid rules regarding *uchi-soto*, or in-group/out-group which in the 1890s were far more pronounced than they are in the twenty first century.

While many of the Sat-Chō leading men had dealings with foreign merchants who had facilitated arming the former rebel clans, attitudes towards foreign traders remained tepid. Many Japanese viewed foreign merchants as opportunistic money grabbers who had gravitated to Japan in search of

---

<sup>55</sup> Cortazzi, H & Webb, G. (eds). 1988. pp. 226

success which had alluded them at home. Commenting on the stereotypical Yokohama clubbable merchant, a Japanese observer, J. Okuda wrote, '*many who would be taken for counter jumpers in Regent Street, pose as merchant princes on the Bluff at Kanagawa. With their Lilliputian races and regattas, their imitative Chambers of Commerce, and their pot-house clubs, they ape the customs, while they ignore the manners of their countrymen at home*'.<sup>56</sup> However, Japanese interpretations of the concept of the club appear to have been more inclusive than those of the foreign community. Perhaps the best example was the Maple Club or *Koyo-kan*, a unique restaurant-cum-club which never failed to impress overseas guests. This purely Japanese institution became a favourite of foreign visitors and gained a reputation for their refinement, elegance, and inclusiveness, accolades which were never bestowed on foreign institutions.<sup>57</sup>

### **Primary Sources and First-hand Accounts of the Settlements:**

Much of the first-hand accounts of the foreign encounter with Japan concern themselves with the classical juxtaposition of Occident vs. Orient. These are generally written by so-called 'globetrotter's', relatively well-off individuals who came to Japan as tourists and then later published their travelogues as factual accounts, and 'on-the-ground' auto-biographical accounts of a life spent in the

---

<sup>56</sup> London and China Express, 25/7/1985, c. f Checkland, O. 1989. pp. 103

<sup>57</sup> Sladen, D. 1895. *The Japs at Home*, London. pp. 220 ; Street, J. 1921. *Mysterious Japan*, Toronto. pp. 131

service of the Meiji government.<sup>58</sup> Within these often voluminous, generally plodding accounts of Japanese culture and religion are short chapters relating to the foreign settlements of Yokohama, and occasionally Kobe and Nagasaki. Many of these foreign writers had the greatest of curiosity and respect for Japanese culture, yet at other times viewed the Japanese and their government with the harshest of criticism, and in many cases derision.<sup>59</sup> A large part of this dichotomy stems from the established ideals of the time concerning progress and the dominance of Western European civilisation, however, many of these accounts offer a window on the emerging social divisions artificially created by the treaty port system; a system which dictated how Asian relations with the West would progress throughout the nineteenth century. While these accounts can be very interesting reading, the focus is generally on Japanese culture, while the foreign settlement is generally viewed as an afterthought or even completely ignored.

However, within some of these travelogues are some valuable insights into the nature of settlement society. We learn, for example, the importance of institutions such as the race club, whereby Yokohama residents '*did not know anything about Japan except pony racing, nor do they wish to, a fact that they soon let*

---

<sup>58</sup> This text makes use of a number of these monographs for their, often scant, descriptions of treaty port society. A few of these include: Griffis, W. E. 1876. *The Mikado's Empire*, London; Holtham, E. G. 1881. *Eight Years in Japan*, London; Scidmore, E. R. 1891. *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*, London; Sladden, D. 1895. *Journeys Among the Gentle Japs*, London; Morris, J. 1895. *Advance Japan*, London; Smith, L. E. 1900. *West and by East*, New York; Street, J. 1921. *Mysterious Japan*, London; Thompson, A. M. 1900? *Japan for a Week (Britain Forever)*, London.

<sup>59</sup> Brunton, R. H. 1991. *Building Japan, 1868-1876*. Sandgate. See also editorials from the *Hiogo News* a Kobe English language newspaper which was strongly anti-Japanese. The newspaper's one-time editor and editor of the *Japan Chronicle*, was also known to be scathingly critical in his criticism of Japan. See, Young, R. 1919. The Foreigner in Japan, in Morton-Cameron, W. H. (eds) *Present-Day Impressions of Japan*, London. pp. 411-412.



you know'.<sup>60</sup> Or similarly that, '*an incredible amount of excitement, truly British, is got up over Oriental horseflesh*'.<sup>61</sup> W. E. Griffins, in his book *The Mikado's Empire* goes on to emphasise the importation of British class prejudice, framing his opinion with the metaphor of '*happy club men*',<sup>62</sup> the merchant class on which the port settlements relied. While such casual mentions give us only fleeting glimpses of the inner workings of settlement society, the ubiquitous club in treaty port literature speaks volumes regarding the power relationships that shaped the East Asian settlement public sphere. Many books written by travelling foreigners, such as Griffith's account above, made specific reference to the clubs, or were often written within the club itself, even mentioning members by name.<sup>63</sup> Clubs were the go-to point of contact for travellers wishing to explore the country, and official guides such as Terry's *Japanese Empire* further emphasised the importance of the club as a '*recognisable necessity in the social and commercial life of the port*' even as late as 1914.<sup>64</sup>

There were several extraterritorial treaty ports at various stages in Japan prior to their abolition in 1899. However the three most important as centres of, not only Western commerce, but also of Western culture, were Yokohama, Kobe

---

<sup>60</sup> c.f. Leupp, G. P. *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women, 1543-1900*. London. pp. 160

<sup>61</sup> Griffins, W. E. 1876. *The Mikado's Empire*, London. pp. 340

<sup>62</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 337

<sup>63</sup> Manthorpe, V. 1986. *Travels in the Lands of the Gods: 1898-1907: the Japan Diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, London. Smith was an Edwardian explorer and naturalist who was based in Kobe for a number of years. It is clear from his diary that he spent much of his time at the Kobe Club. His diary remained unpublished until 1986.

<sup>64</sup> Terry, T. P. 1914. *Terry's Japanese Empire, Including Korea and Formosa, with Chapters on Manchuria, the Trans-Siberian Railway, and the Chief Ocean Routes to Japan*, London. pp. 9

and Nagasaki respectively. From a research point of view, Kobe is often overlooked as a city where both Japanese and foreigner lived in close proximity but rarely mingled to the extent that could be considered anywhere close to being truly international. That is, while there was certainly an ‘international community’, it was one which existed completely separately from its Japanese counterpart, and a community from which the Japanese were often exempt. Settlement life was summed up neatly by Lafcadio Hearn who described Kobe as ‘*an oasis of Occidental life in the vast unknown of the Far East*’.<sup>65</sup>

### **Hearn, Kipling and the Club:**

In terms of professional penmanship with regard to the significance of the clubs we have brief mentions from two of the nineteenth century’s most prominent expatriate writers, Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) and Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). Hearn lived out the remainder of his life in Japan, where he took a Japanese wife. Initially rejecting the foreign sanctuary of the settlements, Hearn would stay for a short while in Kobe where he was guest editor of the *Kobe Chronicle* between 1894-96, while it was under the ownership of the editor Robert Young. Hearn remains perhaps our most neutral commentator on life in Japan during the era in question. Adored by both Western and Japanese audiences, Hearn was an astute observer of the comings and

---

<sup>65</sup> Hearn, L. 1897. *Kokoro: hints and echoes of Japanese Inner Life*. London. pp. 122

goings of the foreign settlement while opting to emerge himself in the intricacies of Japanese life and shunning the sanctuary of the concession. Unfortunately, Hearn's eccentric character meant that he generally avoided the clubs entirely, or certainly would have us believe that this was the case. Speaking of the Tokyo Club, Hearn mentions his fondness for the reading room stating:

*'the Tokyo Club [Rokumeikan] was a great surprise to me. Architecturally and otherwise, it would be a great credit to any city in the world. The reading room is an invaluable advantage. Still I could never accustom myself to that kind of life. It has an occasional high value for me: just to dip into its atmosphere'.<sup>66</sup>*

Here he briefly acknowledges his fondness for club reading rooms, showing another unique aspect of the club, that of a library. Clubs were some of the largest, if not *the* largest, repositories of western literature to be found in Japan in the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup> This in itself was a major draw for prospective members and another link with the metropole.

While Hearn may stand as the antithesis of what would be the atypical 'club man', Rudyard Kipling serves as his clubbable counterpart. Within Kipling's

---

<sup>66</sup> Hearn, L. 1910. *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, New York. pp. 354

<sup>67</sup> The Yokohama United Club was known to house an excellent library and contained the entire back catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society. See, Terry, T. P. 1914. pp. xviii

work on Japan, we see a clearer view of the inner-circle of settlement club society. While Hearn was painfully shy, Kipling was eminently sociable, giving us some of the best existing insights into the club as a way of life for the British expatriate in Japan. In reference to his own colonial insecurity, Kipling includes himself as one of the ‘Outside Men’, those who lived outwith the British Isles, or more importantly, England itself. In a speech given at the Tokyo Club, Kipling paid homage to the men of the ports, who he viewed as belonging to the same cadre of those who could be found in Singapore, Burma or India. For Kipling, the treaty ports were part of an almost homogenous culture of which he himself belonged. Far from seeing himself as an outsider in Yokohama, he identified with *‘the very same type of men as those among whom [he had] been bred and trained’*.<sup>68</sup> Kipling had little interest in Japan or its culture, for him the real interest lay in the stories he could capture from the conversations he shared with his fellow Outside Men propping up the club bar. For it was here, in the ubiquitous Overseas Club that one got *‘to know some little of the life of the community’*.<sup>69</sup> From this homage alone we are given the clearest insight into Yokohama’s social milieu as Kipling describes the diversity of the club membership:

*‘Consuls and judges of the Consular Courts meet men over on leave from the China ports, or it may be Manila, and they all talk tea, silk, banking,*

---

<sup>68</sup> Kipling, R. 1892. Kipling at the Tokyo Club, in *Japan Weekly Mail*, 7/5/1892

<sup>69</sup> Kipling, R. 1892. *Letter Two*, in Cortazzi, H & Webb, G. (eds). 1988. pp. 211

*and the exchange with the fixed residents... Government and gunboats may open a land, but it is the men of the Overseas Club that keep it open'.<sup>70</sup>*

For Kipling, the club represented all that was good concerning the Empire, his glowing eulogy making it impossible for him to hide his own admiration for a group whom he clearly felt kinship with. His adoration for the club did not fail to note that, despite its air of internationalism, theirs was a community which hinged on prejudice.

### **Previous Research on the Japanese Foreign Settlements:**

Up until this point, we have focused on reference material concerning the clubs by those who actually frequented them. Let us turn now to evidence of the clubs which can be found in modern scholarship concerning the ports. What can be referred to as 'classic works' of the genre concerning Japan's treaty ports such as, G. B. Sansom's *The Western World and Japan: A Study in the Interaction of European and Asiatic Cultures* (1949), and Grace Fox's *Britain and Japan: 1858-1883* (1969) give scant reference to any of the social aspects of their citizenry apart from occasional acknowledgment. Indeed, the importance of Yokohama as the largest trading centre stressed in most works generally supersedes the often overlooked cultural and economical significance of Kobe and Nagasaki. A comprehensive PhD thesis by J. E.

---

<sup>70</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 212

Hoare in 1970 and long delayed final publication in 1994, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: the Uninvited Guests 1858 – 1899*, is perhaps the first modern work to undertake a full analysis on the impact of the foreign settlements on Japan's economic development, yet the book devotes less than ten pages regarding the social aspects of the foreign residents and the tensions that existed between the foreign and Japanese residents.

Jones's *Live Machines*, mentioned earlier, still remains a valuable work of reference regarding the role of foreign employees in Japan, but again remains very Tokyo-centric with scant reference to Kobe and its inhabitants. In general, Jones' book is more about the Meiji system that regulated the yatoi scheme than about the specific role of foreigners in the extraterritorial period. However, there are a number of valuable sources in the bibliography which exemplifies the depth of her research on the subject. No doubt due to the seemingly unstoppable rise of Japan's *baburu keiki*, literally 'bubble economy', there was a renewed interest in the Western involvement in Japanese economic success. Former diplomat and academic, Hugh Cortazzi's *Victorians in Japan: In and Out of the Treaty Ports* (1987), Pat Barr's *Deer Cry Pavilion: A Story of Westerners in Japan* (1988), and Olive Checkland's *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1812* (1989), paved the way for a resurgence in scholarship on the expatriate contribution to Japan, and like the work of Williams, the research by these authors offer a comprehensive view of the era and remain valuable reference works due the their mastery of a wide

range of sources, including English language newspapers from the period. Japanese economic dominance almost definitely played a role in the urbane, often humorous style of the above mentioned author's works that makes their research valuable additions to the corpus on expatriate life in Japan. However, each author stops short of anything other than anecdotal homages with very little in the way of critical analysis of the impact that expatriate life had on the Japanese psyche in the lead up to the Pacific War. In general with the above authors, there seems an overall reluctance to tackle the topic of racial segregation or conflict during this era, and for whatever reason, this facet of expatriate life in Japan remains yet to be fully researched.

Each of these authors has published widely on the subject of the foreign experience in recent years. Checkland's essay *The Scots in Meiji Japan* (1985) highlights the important role that Scots engineers, in particular, played in Japan's modernization. Scots were of course in abundance in the treaty ports of Shanghai and Hong Kong. Due to the prominence of Jardine & Matheson, many Scots naturally gravitated towards Japan, and Matheson's own William Keswick was first in line to buy Lot No.1 in Yokohama.<sup>71</sup> Cortazzi also regularly compiles and edits the *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* series, which recently published their eighth, and final, volume. These volumes are invaluable as they represent the work of a wide number of

---

<sup>71</sup> Checkland, O. 1985. The Scots in Meiji Japan, 1868-1912, in Cage, R. A (eds). *The Scots Abroad – Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914*. London. pp. 251-271

scholars that outline the histories of a number of influential figures from British political, cultural and official capacity who made their mark on Japan.<sup>72</sup>

Hazel Jones' *Live Machines* mentioned above, is an excellent study of the *oyatoi gaikokujin* experiment, yet her study generally concerns the higher echelons of the foreign community and provides little detail of the ordinary 'man on the street' as it were of the Meiji and Taisho eras. However, her book and subsequent article *Live Machines Revisited* in 1990 provides a detailed bibliography upon which to base further study. Her mastery of Japanese sources regarding hired hands is perhaps unparalleled to this day and the rich detail in which she analyses the inner workings of the Meiji administration responsible for hiring foreign experts remains as insightful as ever. Essentially, Jones' work tells us more about the development of the Meiji government from fledging democratic government to full blown imperial power. However, Jones highlights the fact that many *yatoi* saw themselves as emissaries of their own national culture and bolstered by high salaries and unrivalled positions of importance, became the victims of their own egos, which ultimately set them at odds with their Japanese employers.<sup>73</sup> Quite often the views concerning status and responsibility were often at polar odds between foreigner and Japanese. While many such instances are documented by Jones, the further ramifications of that these encounters had

---

<sup>72</sup> Cortazzi, H. (eds). 2002. *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Vol. I-VIII*. London.

<sup>73</sup> Jones, H. 1980. *Live Machines*. pp. 81.



in the preceding years when Japanese nationalism began to show itself in a darker light is never fully explored. Neither are the social lives of the various professionals whom the book is based. Apart from the odd mention of drunkenness or the 'club', which we are always told is important, but never why.

Three recent publications have shed some welcome light on the history of Kobe, a city whose foreign history has been long ignored by scholars in favour of the more widely documented Yokohama. The first, by Keiko Tamura, entitled *Forever Foreign: Expatriate Lives in Historical Kobe* (2007) published by the National Library of Australia, deals with the life of Ernest James in detail and highlights the lives of several Kobe residents using material gleaned from the Williams collection. A more detailed account of Williams' life can be found in another article by Tamura.<sup>74</sup>

While Tamura's book is a fascinating insight into the lives of four individual expatriates, there is room for an analysis of how expatriate residents interacted, not just with each other, but with the wider Japanese community as a whole. In the end there remain some fundamental unanswered questions as to what level the expatriate population integrated with the Japanese population in Kobe. Namely, in what way were expatriates in Kobe different to expatriate communities that existed in other countries with a strong European

---

<sup>74</sup> Tamura, K. 2006. Harold Williams and His Japan, in Ackland, M, and Oliver, P. (ed.), *Unexpected Encounters: Neglected Histories behind the Australia-Japan Relationship*, Monash University, pp. 29-47.

influence? Did the same institutions that developed in Kobe operate in similar ways to those in other colonial or semi-colonial contexts? Was there any friction between the two communities and what was the cause? Secondly, Williams as an author and as a resident of Japan maintained an estranged relationship with Japan and the Japanese. While Tamura's book highlights Williams' life and personal exploits, the question of how he perceived the Japanese is never really adequately addressed, perhaps for obvious reasons. As Tamura's book was commissioned by the Australian National Library, the merits of the research lie in the fact that foreigners are portrayed from a Japanese perspective, and therefore, there is perhaps a tendency to focus on the positive aspects of this relationship. While there is no harm in doing so, there is also room for an approach that focuses on the, for want of a better terminology, darker aspects of the often fraught relationships between foreigners and Japanese that existed during this period. Life was evidently not all a bed of roses, as the Pacific War emerged out of not only political maneuvering, but also out of a number of ingrained racial paradigms that had been directed at the Japanese and all Asian peoples for the better part of two hundred years. They were effectively the embodiment of the 'Yellow Peril' that terrified so many Western observers at the dawn of the twentieth century.<sup>75</sup>

Kevin Murphy's *The American Merchant Experience in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (2005), as the title suggests, is predominantly focused on the American

---

<sup>75</sup> Lyman, M. S. 2000. The 'Yellow Peril' Mystique: Origins and Vicissitudes of a Racist Discourse, in *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Summer).

expatriate community in Yokohama, however, he also cites a number of sources that are specific to Kobe. Murphy's approach is primarily concerned with the day-to-day reality of life on the ground in the foreign settlements and offers an intimate and revealing portrait of life in the settlements. Akin to the work of Checkland in its mix of anecdote and scholarship, Murphy attempts to show that the foreign community was at pains to prolong the extraterritoriality system as long as possible, whereby they sought to recreate as much of their own culture in the settlements as a kind of psychological buffer zone to protect themselves from the 'alienness' of life in Japan. Murphy's depiction of life in the settlements is essentially bleak in outlook as it portrays the loneliness of expatriate life and the psychological mechanisms created by the community to help them survive it. Here we see the fundamental need for recreational institutions such as the race course, the cricket ground, and the sports club as essential parts of community existence in order to maintain an element of cultural sanity for the foreign community. Murphy's assertion that the image of success became an important part of foreign life as there was widespread fear that the ending extraterritoriality would bring to an end the halcyon period of the expatriate lifestyle and privileges.<sup>76</sup>

The last and most recent book concerning the formation of the foreign settlement deals specifically with Kobe. *Opening a Window to the West: The Foreign Concession at Kobe Japan, 1868-1899* (2014) by Peter Ennals is a

---

<sup>76</sup> Murphy, K. 2003. *The American Merchant Experience in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Harvard.

welcome addition to the genre. Primarily concerned with ‘place-making’, Ennals looks at the settlement from the perspective of historical geography. Ennals makes good use of the sources previously mentioned as well as the four English language newspapers that were based in Kobe. They are the *Hiogo and Osaka Herald* (1869-75), *Hiogo News* (1868-88), *The Kobe Advertiser and Shipping Register* (1879), and the *Kobe Chronicle* (1897-8). Ennals’ contribution is the first to devote all of its pages specifically to Kobe, however, by focusing on the narrow period of 1868-99, we are told nothing of the foreign community after this period. Primarily concerned with the geopolitical context of the port, the books final chapter gives some detail regarding the social lives of those who resided in the concession, but at a mere fourteen pages, Ennals has little to add that has not already been said previously.<sup>77</sup> He does observe that the Recreation Ground played an important role in port society, but he does not explore to what extent, or to whom that importance lay with. However, he does devote several of those pages to the social clubs, yet offers little in the way of analysing the importance and function of those clubs in community life.

### **Extraterritoriality Case Studies:**

Modern day Kobe is perhaps Japan’s first modern city. Born during the tumultuous years of transition from the Tokugawa feudal system of

---

<sup>77</sup> Ennal, P. 2014. *Opening a Window on the West: The Foreign Concession at Kobe, Japan, 1868-1899*. Toronto.

government to the prosperous and stable years of the Meiji government, Kobe was governed as an extraterritorial enclave along with Japan's other so-called 'treaty ports' until the formal handover of 1899. Generally regarded as a British system that was imposed on many of the colonial trading hubs of South Asia, extraterritoriality was primarily implemented for maximum profit. Treaty ports were essentially tax havens in that imported goods were subject to a reduced tariff, undoubtedly negotiated at the expense of the country in which the port was based. As Japan's bureaucratic structure was similar to that of China, where imported goods were subject to various charges at point of entry and at different stages thereafter, extraterritoriality was hugely attractive to Western traders who had long eyed the potential of the Asian market as the system allowed them to import goods at a reduced tariff at point of entry only. Essentially acting as the gateways into the heart of the country the ports inevitably began to attract not only international traders, but shopkeepers, tradesmen, journalists and a whole myriad of social classes. Similar in make-up, but significantly smaller to China's Shanghai or even the British controlled Hong Kong, the Japanese treaty ports operated under the umbrella of Japanese sovereignty but were essentially bound by Euro-American jurisdiction.

While initially the Western expatriate communities that formed in these cities were often fleeting, in that they were primarily based on short-term trade agendas, there was a gradual formation of a transnational community which

consisted of those who sought a permanent base for themselves and their families that differed from the many other expatriates who were occupied in more liminal roles in the community. More often than not, these communities coalesced around similar frameworks that existed in other parts of the globe in what can be termed the ‘colonial public sphere’,<sup>78</sup> perhaps most recognizably via the replication of the socio-cultural mores of the ‘home’ countries. Kobe was no exception in this regard, and indeed due to the relatively small size of the Kobe settlement, we can examine closely how the social networks of this city evolved around familiar colonial-esque institutions that were formed around the social and cultural divisions that characterised the period. Whereas prior to the *sakoku* era the Japanese were in many ways seen as equals in the racial hierarchy,<sup>79</sup> the clear demarcation of the treaty port along racial lines, as well as the exclusion of Eurasian patrons in the social clubs reveal a more telling representation of racial perceptions of the Japanese among Western residents in the Meiji era. While Japan escaped the colonialism that blighted the wider region in the nineteenth century, it may be argued that under extraterritoriality that it did not escape *entirely*. For much of the last fifty years of the nineteenth century, and beyond, the Japanese were subject to many of the indignities of the ideology of racial discrimination that permeated from the West, while at the same time emulated many of the Wests more

---

<sup>78</sup> Sinha, M. 2001. Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India, in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 4.

<sup>79</sup> Nocentelli, C. 2008. The Erotics of Mercantile Imperialism: Cross-Cultural Requitenedness in the Early Modern Period, in *Journal for Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 134-152. See also Elisonas, J. S. A. 2005. The Evangelic Furnace: Japan’s First Encounter with the West, in de Bary, T, Gluck, C, & Tiedermann, A, E. (eds) *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600-2000*, New York. pp. 152.

regrettable characteristics by eagerly adopting their own colonial policies. However, by successfully adopting the Western bureaucratic model, Japan was able to remove the yoke of Western imperialism that it shouldered, albeit briefly, during the extraterritorial period.

In the years preceding and after negotiating the end of this momentous coup in Japanese international relations, the Japanese radically altered the geopolitical landscape of the region by defeating first the Qing Dynasty of China in order to take control of the Korean Peninsula in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5, and then Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. From this point onward the Japanese continued to develop both economically and militarily at a similar rate to many Western nations that had previously been privy to extraterritorial rights in Japan.<sup>80</sup> Thanks to the swift economic transition from a localised market economy based primarily on agriculture to a fully-fledged industrial economy with a global outlook, the Japanese enjoyed a level of autonomy that was unique among Asian nations during an era of high imperialism. In his book *Legal Imperialism* (2010), Kayaoğlu has stated that because of the willingness to conform to the Western model, Japan experienced relatively minimal meddling from the great powers, providing it a level of security to transform its domestic institutions and develop its economy.<sup>81</sup> He highlights three reasons for this, firstly that associated with

---

<sup>80</sup> Howe, C. 1996. *The Origins of Japanese Trade Supremacy*, New South Wales.

<sup>81</sup> Kayaoğlu, T. 2010. *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China*. University of Washington. pp. 70-71.

what Kipling famously described as the ‘great game’,<sup>82</sup> the power struggle between the British and Russian Empires. Due to the Russian defeat in the Crimea, Russia looked East for a warm harbour in the Pacific in order to consolidate its borders. The further development of the Trans-Siberian Railway was seen as a direct challenge to British supremacy in East Asia as it would allow the quick deployment of Russian troops into the region. The already overstretched British Empire could do little to counter such a move and therefore encouraged the Japanese to strengthen its naval capacity in order to fend off the possibility of Russian advancement.<sup>83</sup> While Britain had little influence other than the role of trusted adviser during this era, the Japanese were nevertheless keen for a military alliance with Britain in order to strengthen its position in the region.

Secondly, while the Germans had previously been less active in pursuing colonial territories than the other European powers, under Kaiser Wilhelm II the Germans entered the region in the 1890s attracted by the prospect of large trade returns that would be gained by access to the Chinese market. Thirdly, the Franco-Russian naval alliance in the region also meant that no single outsider state could lay claim to having any dominance over Japan or the region. While Japan’s surprise victory in the Sino-Japanese conflict of 1895 caused concern amongst the great powers, the abstention of the British

---

<sup>82</sup> Kipling, R. 1901. *Kim*. London.

<sup>83</sup> (Ibid.)



from the Triple Intervention, perhaps hints at the possibility that the British may have been eyeing the possibility of a military alliance at this early juncture as a way of scuppering Russian strategy in the region. Yet in 1895 no concessions were being asked of the Japanese in return for the abolition of extraterritoriality by any of the great powers and the British may have simply wished to remain in a neutral position. Essentially, Western rivals collaborated with each other against the Japanese. Therefore, questions regarding the impact of extraterritoriality on Japanese sovereignty should thus be understood within the framework of Western versus non-Western context rather than a state-centric and strategic one.<sup>84</sup>

As no single state alone held absolute jurisdiction in the treaty ports, a number of Consular Courts were set-up with the specific task of dealing with disputes between overseas nationals and the Japanese. Perhaps the most definitive work on this facet of legal imperialism is Richard Chang's *The Justice of Western Consular Courts in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (1984). Chang states that there was a widespread belief among the Japanese that the consular courts were largely skewed in favour of the foreigners that they served. While there were as many as fifteen of these courts representing mostly Euro-American nations, Chang's study is limited to that of the United States and Great Britain, however, no data is offered regarding the other fourteen. One of the most common problems with researching the expatriate community in

---

<sup>84</sup> Kayaoğlu, T. 2010. pp. 73.

Japan is the absence of sources. War and natural disasters have taken their toll on many of the records of the various consular bodies based in Kobe and beyond, with the exception of the British and the Americans who seem to have been very particular with regards to record-keeping. However, as the prime Occidental power during the period of extraterritoriality, and the most influential player in Japan's development during the Meiji era, Chang's study is primarily focused on the consular proceedings of the British courts. Chang highlights four significantly important cases in which he concludes that the consular courts were indeed 'fair' and that in virtually all of the thirty-five hundred mixed cases involving British, American or Japanese the verdicts remained unchallenged.<sup>85</sup>

While Chang's study is primarily concerned with cases in Yokohama, and specifically concerned with fairness rather than the cross-cultural interactions that that led-up to the disputes in question, a more comprehensive view of the socio-cultural relationship between white Euro-Americans and Asians in the other ports is not offered. A significant case took place in 1886 when a ship sank off the coast of Wakayama. The event became controversial as the British registered vessel the *Normanton* lost all of the Japanese passengers, while the British crew escaped in the lifeboats. Chang asserts that it was widely believed among the Japanese, and reported in the Japanese media, that the British had saved themselves at the expense of the Japanese

---

<sup>85</sup> Chang, T. 1984. *The Justice of Western Consular Courts in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. London.

passengers, highlighting a deep mistrust among the Japanese population that the extraterritorial system was exploitative. There may have been a number of reasons for this. Firstly, the Japanese were generally unfamiliar with Western legal proceedings, and few Japanese had the language skills to fully understand the intricacies of the language associated with the courts. Even intellectuals who were in favour of Westernisation, such as Baba Tatsui, actively promoted the idea of the partiality of the courts as proof of the need for treaty revision. A second and much more pragmatic reason was associated with national pride. The very idea that Japanese justice was not good enough for Westerners was extremely humiliating and a constant reminder that the Japanese were considered inferior in the eyes of the West.<sup>86</sup>

However, the majority of cases that took place in Kobe, for example, were largely civil disputes between traders and suppliers. The fact that three separate studies of the consular courts have been undertaken in the last thirty years, the most recent being Roberts' *British Courts and Extra-Territoriality in Japan* (2013), all of which have concluded that the courts actually worked *in favour* of Japanese interests, suggests that discontent and prejudice in the ports between the two communities stemmed from a different source. Arguably, the system of informal segregation that existed throughout the Meiji era and which continued virtually up until the Second World War, played a

---

<sup>86</sup> Perez, L. G. 1999. *Japan Comes of Age: Mutsu Munemitsu and the Revision of the Unequal Treaties*. Washington.

significant role in creating an atmosphere of suspicion and malcontent amongst the local Japanese population.

### **The Harold S. Williams Collection and Connected Sources:**

As we have already seen, sources that deal exclusively with the club in Japan's treaty ports are next to none. Havel Abend's *Treaty Ports* of 1944 contains detailed descriptions of club life throughout East Asia, specifically mentioning the Kobe Club on a number of occasions which suggests that the author was in some way affiliated with a number of the East Asian clubs. There are really only two works that deal solely with club history, and both are compiled by the Australian historian, author, and former club member, Harold S. Williams. Harold S. Williams OBE (1898-1987) still remains the most widely referenced author in regard to Japan's expatriate community. Throughout his life, Williams had curated an extremely valuable number of rare monographs, which were in many ways intended to replicate the grand libraries of the Kobe club that had once owned obscure copies of travel books containing brief chapters about foreign life in the ports. Indeed, a study based on the club life of Japan's ports would be nigh on impossible without the background research carried out by H. S. Williams.

As Williams bequeathed his entire collection of material on Japan to the National Library in Canberra, this topic of study is, rather ironically, better

tackled in Australia rather than Japan. More importantly, Williams spent his life documenting the history of Western relations with Japan, amassing a collection of rare books, articles, scrapbooks, photos and other papers relating to the history of the settlements, their influence on, and adaptation to, Japanese society.<sup>87</sup> Williams began his journey into historical research in the 1950s when he began writing a series called '*Shades of the Past*', for the *Mainichi Daily News* in 1953. The series ran for over 20 years and during that period the 66 articles were incorporated into four books.<sup>88</sup>

Born in Melbourne in 1898, Williams spent practically all of his adult life in Japan, and more specifically, Kobe. First arriving in Japan as a young medical student on summer vacation in 1919, his initial intention was that of improving his Japanese. Like so many foreigners who choose to settle in Japan, it seems he was sufficiently wooed enough by the country to want to abandon his medical studies and settle permanently. He quickly secured himself a clerk's position at the Scottish silk trading firm Findlay Richardson & Co. in Kobe. While working at the firm, Williams lodged in a boarding house ran by a Mrs. James, mother of Ernest and David James, both of whom were prominent members of the foreign community and members of the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club. It was through the James family that the young Harold became a member of the club and many years later the club's historian.

---

<sup>87</sup> Collins, C. 2000. *Guide to the Papers of Harold S. Williams in the National Library of Australia*, National Library of Australia. pp. iv.

<sup>88</sup> Williams' other books include: *Tales of the Foreign Settlements in Japan* (1958), *Shades of the Past, or Indiscreet Tales of Japan* (1959), and *Foreigners in Mikadoland* (1963).

Williams attests that club life was central to the social lives of the young Kobeites, as many of the foreign community referred to themselves as. In a tight-knit community such as Kobe, learning how to 'fit in' was of paramount importance. As a member of the K. R. & A. C he quickly made a name for himself as a great athlete. He was renowned as a great swimmer, perhaps not surprising considering his Australian upbringing. Indeed his swimming prowess earned him a commendation from the Governor of Hyōgo prefecture for saving two Japanese from drowning off the coast in 1928. Williams was urged by his employers to join the Kobe Club and, in 1932 he became a Freemason. By 1934 he had become the director of Findlay Richardson & Co., however, like so many other foreign residents during the 1930s, life in Japan for the Williams family became ever more precarious and the family was forced to move in 1940. Williams entered the Australian Army upon his arrival back home and, due to his intimate knowledge of Japanese language and culture, quickly secured an intelligence position.

Williams was involved in the enquiry into the Cowra Breakout, an incident in which 1000 Japanese POWs attempted to escape an Australian POW camp in 1944. 234 Japanese and 4 Australian soldiers lost their lives in the attempt with another 108 injured. In 1945 Williams was sent to Japan by the Australian Army to work in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Australian War Crimes Section, attached the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers in Tokyo. While he was at this post Williams

carried out a number of assignments, including an investigation into the sinking of the POW transport ship the *Montevideo Maru*. In 1949 Williams was discharged from the army and returned to Kobe with his family, receiving an offer of employment from his old friend Ernest James.

Tamura stipulates that the Kobe foreign community could be seen as the last phase of the colonial settlements that flourished in many parts of the British Empire. Her afterthought on the lives of the residents highlights the reasons these expatriates chose to stay in Japan and how they interacted, not only with each other, but with the wider Japanese society around them. The author also highlights that there is nothing unique about the formation of expatriate societies, of which the clubs may be included. However, the power relationships that existed between those two societies was quite different, something that is not explored in Tamura's study. One cannot argue, for example, that the power relationship that exists now between the expatriate Chinese communities in North America were formed on an equal set of relationships similar to those that existed between Asian countries and Western settler societies. Indeed, in many cases it seems to be the 'elephant in the room', regarding much of the current work on foreigners in Japan.

Undoubtedly, due to his war time experiences, there is an occasional undercurrent of bitterness towards the Japanese reflected in the kind of material that Williams compiled. Within William's own network, the work of

David Henry James, himself a long standing Kobe resident, carries within it a deep resentment of Japanese treatment of foreign POWs.<sup>89</sup> However, much of Williams' writing was intended for a populist audience. Nevertheless, his writing style and content is similar to several authors on the foreign experience in Japan, Pat Barr<sup>90</sup> and W. G. Beasley.<sup>91</sup> Like these other 'classics' there is a somewhat jovial narrative to be found in much of the early research concerning the primarily British expatriate experience of whom Williams was a contemporary. Unfortunately, Williams' publications have not enjoyed the longevity of the above authors, and perhaps for the reason explained previously, his work is becoming increasingly difficult to find. Authors such as Cortazzi,<sup>92</sup> however, regularly use his material, and his status as a leading authority on the foreign experience in Japan cannot be disputed. While it may be easy to dismiss Williams' books as 'non-academic' in their treatment of foreigners in Japan, authors such as Williams and others of his generation should be credited for doing the 'leg-work' in terms of compiling a large body of information concerning foreigners in Japan, all the while leaving the reader with very little analysis of the role of the foreigner in Japan. What this research has attempted to do is to re-present the information that Williams gathered on the clubs in a manner which is more suited to academic analysis. Although

---

<sup>89</sup> James, D. H. 1951. *The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*, London. James was also an accomplished journalist and author, and it is clear from his correspondence with Williams that the older man was a major source of material for Williams' own work on the settlements.

<sup>90</sup> See, Barr, P. 1967. *The Coming of the Barbarians*, 1968 *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, London.

<sup>91</sup> Beasley, W. G. 1968. *The Modern History of Japan*, London.

<sup>92</sup> Cortazzi, H. 1987. *Victorians in Japan: in and around the treaty ports*, London. This volume by Cortazzi relies heavily on Williams' work for its descriptions of Kobe port.



Williams himself wrote two books devoted entirely to Kobe's club life, neither of those books can really be considered an evaluation of the role of the club in settlement society per se. Rather, they were first and foremost intended as documents for preserving club history for posterity, and secondly to enlighten contemporary members as to the importance of their club's stature within the development of the port itself.

Williams' true feelings about Japan and the Japanese remain elusive. One elderly resident of Kobe who knew Williams personally stated quite casually that, '*Williams hated the Japanese. He could never forgive them for the war*'.<sup>93</sup> His relationship with the country was clearly complex. A case in point was Williams' reaction to the state reception of the mother of the Japanese pilot of the mini-sub attack on Sydney Harbour during WWII. Williams had intended to criticise the Australian government for the lavish reception that she had received upon her arrival. In the letter he states, '*quite obviously I could never be happy in Australia anymore. I could never love the Japanese as much as the Australians do, all for the sake of trade*'.<sup>94</sup> Interestingly, the letter was never sent. However, it reveals that Williams was a conflicted individual never really able to find his place in either Australian or Japanese society. Others have described him as a difficult man who was fiercely protective of his role as Kobe's resident historian and chronicler of the foreign community. In this

---

<sup>93</sup> Interview with David Jack founder of *Kansai Time Out* magazine. 2010.

<sup>94</sup> Williams, H. S. 1968. Midget Submarine Raid on Sydney Harbour 1942: Visit to Australia of Mother of Crew Member 1968, Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia, MS/6681/2/34/2112.

respect, it could be said that Williams was in love, not with Japan, but rather with the foreign settlements. Like many of the foreigners who lived within the old foreign settlements before WWII, adjusting to life after the war and the changes that came with it were undoubtedly a challenge for him.

Ultimately, Williams' decision to bequeath his collection to Canberra is never really fully answered by Tamura. While Williams was correctly concerned with the prospect of frequent natural disasters in Japan, the decision appears to have been one based upon bitter feelings and deep mistrust towards the Japanese. When reading Williams it is important to remember that he was a man of his time, brought up during an era of 'white Australia' and prone to commentary regarding race and ethnicity that seem casually reckless by today's standards. Indeed Williams evoked many of the qualities of the 'frigid Australian' referred to by O'Lincoln in his treatment regarding Australian Imperialism in the years during and after the Pacific War.<sup>95</sup> However, Williams clearly had a connection with Japan, especially in regard to the foreign settlements, which he himself had spent the majority of his adult life being a part of.

### **Clubs and the Gap in Treaty Port Case Studies:**

---

<sup>95</sup> O'Lincoln. 2009. Whose Liberty? Australian Imperialism and the Pacific War, in *Marxist Interventions*, vol 1. (Electronic Journal). Australian National University.

This study seeks to illuminate the significance of the club as a cultural mainstay of the ports and its importance in the formation of a settlement identity. At this juncture, it is important to briefly explain the limits of this study. By the fact that this thesis is centred around the clubs that were formed by the Euro-American population of the ports, apart from a limited number of select Japanese sources, the majority of this research is based upon the surviving documentary evidence available in English. Additionally, this text does not cover the history of the German clubs and institutions that emerged during the same time-frame. The result, therefore, is a view of the treaty ports seen through a primarily Anglophone lens. Needless to say, there is room for an expanded study of the clubs which could include not only a Japanese perspective but also a history of the clubs formed and frequented primarily by Japanese nationals.

Until such developments take place, this study is intended to shed light on the long neglected influence of the club in the contemporary literature regarding the treaty ports and their residents. While the historical context of this study takes place primarily in Japan, its story has dual significance for those interested in the history of Japan's reconnection with the wider world, and also for those interested in the migratory settlement patterns of Anglo-European populations. Furthermore, the story of the club is invariably linked with the spread of imperialism and the trade monopolies that went with it. As Japan has had its own experience with colonialism and empire, this has tended to overshadow the impact of the relatively small and short lived encounter that it had with the New Imperialism of the West. Therefore, this study aspires to go some way towards gaining an understanding of just how

much the socio-economic dynamics at play in the settlements had upon relationships with their Japanese hosts.

As we have seen, there is no shortage of material on the history of the Japan's treaty ports. Within the genre in itself, there are less and less phenomena left associated with the ports that have not already been explored. One of the most noticeable absences, at least in English, are case studies which deal exclusively with either Japan's non-Caucasian or non-Asian foreign population in the settlements. We know very little, for example, of the settlement's black populations yet references to black residents in the local press and depictions in periodicals such as the *Japan Punch* give clear indications that they occupied various roles from musicians to bar owners. Gallicchio's 2002 *The African American Encounter with China and Japan: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895—1945*, has gone some way towards redressing the balance, however, there is still room for an exclusive Japanese study. Similarly, there is a significant gender imbalance in regard to the historical literature of the ports. Despite there being few foreign women in the early years of settlement, a comprehensive study by Leupp in 2003, *Interracial Intimacy: western men and Japanese women 1593-1900*, covers the mixed relationships of both men and women in Japan. Nevertheless, a more comprehensive study on the role of Western women in the settlements would be a welcome addition to the field. Unfortunately, as the two minority groups mentioned above were barred from most club environments, this study analyses the associational lives of the predominantly white male residents of

the settlement who held club membership.

In recent years there has been renewed interest in the club as a social phenomenon in contemporary scholarship. Perhaps the most recent study *In the Club: Associational life of Colonial South Asia*, by Benjamin Cohen, published in 2015, has shed new light on the significance of the clubs in relation to the British Empire. Crucially, Cohen highlights the role of the club as a conduit which allowed its members access to not only a valuable business and trading network within their city and country of residence, but also to a global network of reciprocal institutions which formed part of a set of 'transnational imperial linkages'.<sup>96</sup> However, Cohen's work focuses explicitly on the contexts of race, class, and gender in relation to South Asian colonial life, with very little reference being made to the club phenomena in the context of the wider British colonial public sphere.

Barbara Black's 2013 *A room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland*, is another fascinating insight, this time into the world of London clubdom, and offers a comprehensive history of the rise of club culture and associational networks in that city. Black's study does well to argue the influence that London's most famous clubs had on not only the formation of the Victorian gentleman but also the way in which club politics mirrored and perhaps even shaped the political character of the British government itself. However, while the book gives a wide overview of the variety of institutions available to London's clubbable gentlemen, the book falls short of examining how their apparent influence on domestic cultural and

---

<sup>96</sup> Cohen, 2015. Pp. 68.

political life extended outside of the British Isles in the colonial realm. While this thesis will not dispute the fact that Britain's domestic clubs lay the groundwork for the replication of metropolitan social life in an overseas context, Cohen has shown that the imperial clubs operated under distinctly different circumstances despite simultaneously displaying many of the same characteristics of their London counterparts.

Two other significant works with a focus on clubs in an imperial context are Sinha's 2001 *Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India*, and Rich's 1991 *Chains of Empire: English public schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom*. Sinha's work on the British club's in India has been influential in positing the concept of the 'colonial public sphere' within the discourse of British post-colonial historiography in the twenty first century, and is widely cited in the work of the above authors, including in this text. However, her position that the clubs in India could be singled out for their 'whiteness'<sup>97</sup> has shown that the role of the club was significant in the formation of British imperial persona in relation to non-whites in India. In this sense the club went on to reinforce the essentially racist consolidation of British colonial power in India. Yet fundamentally, unlike the perceived class hierarchies that controlled access to the London clubs, the British power and influence in the region stemmed firstly from the overarching imperial administration and much less so from the associational institutions that were formed in unison with it.

Essentially, Sinha's work delves deeply into the inner workings of India's Anglo-

---

<sup>97</sup> Sinha, 2001. pp. 505.

Indian community in a way which cannot be replicated amongst such a small foreign population in Japan that was neither colonial in character nor entirely British. Rich's *Chains of Empire* also contains ambiguity concerning the role of the club outwith its imperial context. In the end, the books approach is perhaps far too ambitious in trying to amplify the scope and power of the imperial system, particularly the public schools, on a disparate population spread throughout the British Empire. In a country such as Japan that was subject to multiple influences from an equal number of regions, that influence becomes far less tenuous, and therefore much more problematic to apply a similar deduction.

While the work of the above authors shows that there has been extensive research on the clubs in their original form in metropolitan London and in Imperial India, a similar scale study on the clubs of East Asia has yet to be written. Although it is clear that there are marked similarities with the clubs that formed in other locales in colonial or semi-colonial contexts, the political autonomy of the Japanese government meant that the club and its members operated in entirely different circumstances. The intention of this volume is to act as a complementary case study of a particular aspect of treaty port life that has been long overdue for more detailed analysis.

**Chapter 1:**  
**Transoceanic Elite and the Emergence of a Club Culture**  
**in the Foreign Settlements.**

**Introduction:**

Akin to virtually all of the foreign settlements in East Asia and beyond, a club culture emerged in nearly all of Japan's treaty ports in the early years of settlement. Both Kobe and Yokohama had extremely active social scenes beginning in the 1860s, carrying on virtually uninterrupted, until the outbreak of the Pacific War, and continuing where they had left off, albeit without the same sparkle as they had previously. Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki boasted several clubs each, with many sporting and social affairs on offer that drew patronage from all walks of foreign life in the settlements.<sup>98</sup> These clubs in themselves were testament to Japan's re-engagement with the west, and some, which are still in existence, remain arguably the oldest surviving links to Japan's extraterritorial past.

Gradually, as the old treaty ports demographics have ebbed and flowed due to varying political and economic circumstances, these institutions have gone through many transitional periods to the point where they are now facing a crisis of survival and the possibility of disappearing forever. Perhaps

---

<sup>98</sup> Unfortunately, source material for the Nagasaki clubs is somewhat scarce, therefore this study is primarily concerned with the Yokohama and Kobe institutions as these are perhaps the most thoroughly documented in historical literature.



appearing rather anachronistic in today's Japan, they remain a reminder, if a somewhat distant one, of the great impact that Japan's western residents had during the Meiji era. Sadly, due to Japan being one of the most seismically active regions on the planet, the surviving architecture of the old settlements grows smaller each decade.<sup>99</sup>

The once grand facades of the Yokohama and Kobe clubs have followed the same fate as much of Japan's pre-war architecture, and nostalgia buffs may be disappointed to find that the once grand edifices of Kobe and Yokohama's famous clubs have long disappeared, replaced due to both the ravages of war and damage from earthquakes, the clubs now exude little of their former glory. However, these institutions were once the beating heart of the pre-war foreign community. Membership was encouraged, but not compulsory. Having said that, opting out of any kind of social activity involving the clubs was virtually social suicide for any foreign national who moved in business circles in the city before, and perhaps even after, WWII.<sup>100</sup>

At one time an integral part of the overseas working lifestyle in Japan, these clubs were havens for western residents who wished to socialise with the

---

<sup>99</sup> Kobe city has been particularly ruthless with its pre-war architecture in recent years, demolishing several historic, yet neglected buildings in recent years. To counter this, a mixture of grass-roots support for maintaining historic areas, such as Shioya in the city's south, and an increased market for older buildings for use as wedding chapels in Kobe's Kitano-cho, have saved several historic residences from the wrecking ball. See, [Demolished] Koderia Residence in Kobe, Nov. 31 2011, <http://japanpropertycentral.com/2011/11/demolished-the-koderia-residence-kobe/>, Ari Morimoto, manager of the Guggenheim House, has campaigned against further demolition in the Shioya area of Kobe.

<sup>100</sup> Williams, H. Reminisces of the Kobe Club.

‘international’ crowd and partake in the regular sporting activities on offer at the club. This function has changed little since their inception, with today’s clubs existing as before on the periphery of Japanese society, where they have remained for the better part of one hundred and forty years. As the cultures of the world’s most developed economies become increasingly homogenous, the foreign community in Kobe is perhaps less visibly ‘foreign’ than it was previously, and few would argue that present day Yokohama is anymore distinct than Japan’s other mega-cities, although fragments of the old foreign settlement still draw in tourists.<sup>101</sup>

Both Yokohama and Kobe have suffered greatly from natural disasters, not to mention being virtually levelled during the firebombing of WWII, with the original settlement of Yokohama being virtually wiped out by fire in 1866 only to suffer devastation once more in the aftermath of the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923.<sup>102</sup> Kobe too has an equally tragic past, suffering a number of cataclysmic disasters<sup>103</sup> since the city’s inception in 1869, and most recently during the tragic Great Hashin Earthquake of 1995. As a result of the earthquake, the foreign consulates that had for over one hundred and thirty years been based in Kobe decamped to Osaka. Kobe’s foreign population thereafter diminished significantly, and some might argue that the city has

---

<sup>101</sup> For information regarding Kobe’s historic Kitano district see: <http://kobe-ijinkan.net>

<sup>102</sup> Poole, O. M. 1968. *The Death of Old Yokohama*, New York.

<sup>103</sup> In 1871 the newly built settlement was devastated by a typhoon and has been prone to the effects of extreme weather ever since. Disaster struck again in 1938 when a catastrophic flood destroyed a quarter of a million homes in the city. *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 6, 1938.

never fully recovered. With fewer international residents, the appeal of the foreign club to Japan's foreign population has lost its once coveted status. This chapter is divided into six sections. The first tracks the spread of the foreign club, from their metropolitan origins to the outer reaches of the British Empire. The second and third focus on the connection between the club and an emerging mercantile middle class with links to both the financial centres of Europe and the newly established treaty ports of Asia. The fourth examines how club rituals were created to invoke a sense of common identity in the settlements. Section five briefly outlines the influence that foreign clubs had on the creation of similar Japanese institutions. Finally, the sixth section will explore how the club became integral to the new social mores that the Japanese were adopting in their push towards Westernisation.

### **The Club Phenomenon in Asia:**

Club formation in Japan was not a random event, but rather a continuation of an already well established tradition of homosociality that existed throughout the colonial public sphere. A variety of associational societies had already been transplanted from an urban British setting to South Asia as early as the late 1700s and continued until the end of the colonial era. Yet the archetypal gentleman's club is perhaps one of the most pervasive representations of British colonial social life. So much so that Leonard Woolf once described the club as *'the centre and symbol of British Imperialism... with its cult of exclusiveness,*

*superiority and isolation*'. It was membership, that unattainable rung on the social ladder, that Orwell's Veraswami strove to attain, neatly summing up the duplicity of the empire project: development of the country but not of the native.<sup>104</sup> While a fictive account of colonial Burmese life, Orwell's depiction of the club was perhaps depressingly accurate in summing up that typically such places were exemplified by their very whiteness in a way that was meant to signify a sense of national or cultural greatness.<sup>105</sup>

However, a recent study on the Indian settler clubs by Benjamin Cohen has shown that the traditional world-view of colonial clubland as an exclusively white enclave is in some way incorrect.<sup>106</sup> In actual fact very few Indian clubs excluded Indian's as members, however, and perhaps most importantly, the most exclusive clubs definitely did. Such was the case throughout Asia, and with smaller white populations in the Far East came a more diluted form of racial superiority. Kobe's sizeable Indian community for example, was not welcome at the self-styled 'international' Kobe Club, whose unwritten rule excluded 'Eurasians', forcing them to establish their own institution in the early 1900s.<sup>107</sup> Despite this snub, the adjacent Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club seemingly made no distinction regarding race, seemingly because team

---

<sup>104</sup> Rai, A. 1983. Colonial Fictions: Orwell's 'Burmese Days', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 18, No. 5, pp. 47-52.

<sup>105</sup> Black, B. 2013. *A Room of His Own: Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland*, Ohio University Press. pp. 155.

<sup>106</sup> Cohen, B. B. 2015. *In the Club: Associational life of Colonial South Asia*, Manchester University Press.

<sup>107</sup> The Oriental Club was established in 1904, changing its name to the India Club in 1913. See, Green, N. 2013. Shared infrastructures, informational asymmetries: Persians and Indians in Japan, c.1890–1930, in *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 414-435.

sports required larger numbers of capable men. Yet the few surviving photographs of the club men give little indication of an ethnically mixed community. Yet this in itself highlights the complexities of interaction between not only settler and Japanese communities, but also the racial and class divisions within Kobe's settler society. While colonial Anglo-Indian settler society was beginning to soften its attitudes towards some form of racial integration, East Asian white society<sup>108</sup> was demarcating racial boundaries through the very fabric of the city in the urban development of the settlement itself. The club thus became the white man's temple in Asia, complete with its own codes of ritual in which local adepts had to skillfully navigate to get ahead. In East Asian settler society clubbability, one's suitability for membership of the club, was a coveted honour and worn like a badge of pride. As P. J. Rich has noted, settler society learned its rituals at school, rehearsed them in the clubs, and put them to good use in running the colonies.<sup>109</sup>

Firstly, it is necessary to provide some background detail into how the club culture phenomenon rose to such prominence within Britain's domestic metropolitan public sphere. Britain's rapid industrial growth in the eighteenth century was intrinsically linked with the emergence of various associational

---

<sup>108</sup> Pan-East Asian white identities never emerged in the same way as in colonial India, where prior to the census of 1911 after which the term 'Anglo-Indian' became synonymous with Indians of mixed ethnicity, Anglo-Indian referred to Britons born in India. In the East Asian ports, settlers tended to identify more with their own communities, with terms like *Shanghaiander* or *Kobeite* denoting their allegiance to their treaty port. Moore, J. G. 1988. Indians in Eastern Australia, in Jump, J (eds). *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>109</sup> Rich, P. J. *Chains of Empire: English public schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom*, London. pp. 169.

groups and voluntary societies as wealthier citizens gravitated to the new centres of financial activity in the 1700s. As a result, clubs and societies became increasingly accepted as part of the cultural fabric of the country's larger cities as they gradually took on the role as agents for a new kind of public discourse. What had previously been a cliquish, small scale affair of private meetings in venues across cities like London, or Edinburgh had evolved into a much larger, and internationally connected enterprise by the nineteenth century.

But what was the appeal of belonging to such a tradition? How did these clubs evolve from fairly low-key social gatherings in the early 1800s, to highly codified institutions complete with brand identity by the turn of the nineteenth century? The answer is inextricably linked with western, particularly British, colonialism in Asia and the global spread of Euro-American centred finance. European imperialism in the eighteenth century saw what Peter Clark has framed as the 'export of public sociability' which brought the previously domestic institutions of Enlightenment era Britain into the colonial realm. Thus, essentially laying the foundations of European urban development as well as the ideological frameworks that would make the second wave of nineteenth century imperialism possible.<sup>110</sup> In addition to this, empowered minority ethnic groups within the British sphere facilitated the overseas expansion of British statehood in transplanting this system of public sociability abroad. Scottish,

---

<sup>110</sup> Clark, P. 2000. *British Clubs and Societies, 1500-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford. pp. 420-429.

and Irish, promotion of Freemasonry in eighteenth century London was instrumental in its spread abroad, and similarly Scottish enthusiasm for recreating typically British societies and associational gatherings in Asia went some way towards the 'socialisation' of empire.<sup>111</sup> The great leap in social mobility of Britain's emerging middle-class in the nineteenth century was one of the few redeeming features of British imperialism in that membership of colonial clubs gave their patrons access to a lifestyle that was very much out of reach in the domestic sphere.

Scots in particular were extremely active in imperial service in India due to the large numbers who were drawn to the colony either as military men or by the various other opportunities for social mobility that the empire project offered. Whereas in the previous century Scots had been denied access to the lucrative markets that its merchants had always eyed from afar, the opportunities made available to them via British colonisation of India resulted in a flood of applications to the East India Company. By 1771, less than a generation after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, Scots made up over a half of the East India Company's staff with many more taking up colonial administration, military and merchant trading roles. In contrast to permanent migration to locales like the Americas and Australia, these men tended to be emigrants rather than immigrants, sojourners or 'career' migrants whose

---

<sup>111</sup> See, Harland-Jacobs, J. 1999. "Hands across the Sea": The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World, in *Geographical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 2, Oceans Connect, pp. 237-253, and Buettner, E. 2002. Haggis in the Raj: Private and Public Celebrations of Scottishness in Late Imperial India, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 81, No. 212, Part 2, pp. 212-239.

intentions were to use the avenues offered by empire for their own personal advancement.<sup>112</sup>

Characterised by the ‘get rich quick’ mentality, the goal of temporary migration lay in the hope that a fortune could be made in order to secure an advancement in social mobility upon the return home. Such motives would become more common during the Empire’s heyday, drawing emigrants from all backgrounds of British life. Although opportunities in Asia eventually drew men from diverse backgrounds, the majority of early Scots emigrants to India hailed from the country’s foremost families and emerging middle-classes, students of the Scottish Enlightenment who took with them a wealth of educational and occupational skills.

Embedded within this skill set were multiple cultural, economic and professional networks that provided a link between emigrants not only in Asia, but also with home. In the cities of Bombay and Madras, temporary migrants were in a sense grounding themselves culturally while abroad by maintaining and replicating the most contemporary ideas and associations of the British state. As a result a two way flow of migration began to emerge whereby colonial networks could draw new blood to the colony by a system of ‘send and receive’. Societies and dining clubs emerged as a means of establishing recognisable British cultural norms in the colony, as well as providing spaces

---

<sup>112</sup> Mackillop, A. 2006. Europeans, Britons and Scots: Scottish Sojourning Networks and Identities in Asia, c. 1700-1815, in McCarthy, A (eds), *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identity Since the Eighteenth Century*, London. pp. 19.



for the already pre-existing networks of those arriving, offering a kind of safety net for those initiating their first forage into the East.<sup>113</sup>

While previously military men like the Duke of Wellington had once been dismissive of clubs as unprincipled dens of iniquity, he, along with the Scottish administrator of the East India Company went on to found the Oriental Club in St James in 1824. Yet even prior to this, other high ranking Scots in the service of Empire were avid club members. Australia's 'founding father' Lachlan Macquarie was inaugurated into the Freemasons in Bombay during his stationing there in 1793 and was an active member of the Sans Souci Club, one of the earliest overseas clubs in India founded in 1785.<sup>114</sup> Other Scots colonial administrators, such as Bombay Governor Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Chief Judge of Bombay, Sir James MacKintosh, were instrumental in forming clubs like the Highland Society and the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in the 1830s.<sup>115</sup> It was largely due the convivial gatherings by the likes of individuals already mentioned that led to the spread and popularity of the club phenomenon in Asia. In Bombay alone there were as many as thirteen clubs formed between 1785 and 1865.

Here we see the established business networks of a peripheral country like Scotland, essentially replacing the traditional hierarchies of wealth and status

---

<sup>113</sup> Sheppard, S. T. 1916. *The Byculla Club, 1833-1916: A History*, Bombay.

<sup>114</sup> Page, A. 2009. Enlightenment, Empire and Lachlan Macquaries' Journey Through Persia and Russia, in *History Australia*, Volume 6, Number 3. pp. 73. See also, Macquarie, L. 1792. *Journal No. 2: 26 March 1792 - 28 December 1794*, ML Ref: A768 pp. 161-174. Mitchell Library Sydney.

<sup>115</sup> Sheppard, S. T. 1916.

that already existed in the metropolitan centre of the United Kingdom in an East Asian context. While previously London, with its close ties to the southern English universities had dominated both political and business life at home, the new imperial avenues of trade provided greater social mobility to an emerging elite from other parts of Britain. A quick scan of the street names in Britain's other eastern colonial enclaves, such as Hong Kong, give a taste of where these men came from. Aberdeen St, Elgin St, MacDonald Rd, and Arbuthnot Rd all within a five minute walk of the original location of the Hong Kong Club are just a few of the Scottish names that pepper the city and give a hint of how influential the settlement's Scottish residents were. Scottish shipping and industry became the dominant force in British interests from Burma to Shanghai, with Scots merchants belonging to their own cadre that was in many ways similar but distinctly different to that of their southern English counterparts. Having found entry into London's civil society barred except for a select few, a new class of men now sought to replicate the institutions that had made the empire possible abroad.

Rather than being an extension of the already established social networks of the clubs of St James, Scots in East Asia were using their new found wealth and status, gained largely through the illicit yet rampant trade in opium, to create their own versions of the bourgeois institutions which already existed in London. Scottish companies such as Jardine Mathieson & Co., Gibb Livingston & Co., and the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company

(P&O) had a virtual stranglehold on trade in Hong Kong and Shanghai, acted in ways similar to that of Britain's elitist institutions by recruiting or employing traders from within their predominantly Scottish networks.<sup>116</sup> All of these companies could trace their origins back to the East India Company to some extent, and the networks forged in India became the catalysts which facilitated the growth of East Asia.

As such it was outside of the British sphere of influence where the role of the overseas club came into its own. These newly emerging business networks which were based on fraternal ties of association proved to be extremely successful, often taking on characteristics and autonomy akin to that of an independent state. Jardine, Matheson & Co. were reeled in by the British government on a number of occasions in their early years, and likewise the Scottish based African Lakes Corporation, in what is now Malawi, had eyes on taking more formal political control of Central Africa in the 1880s.<sup>117</sup> What this shows is that clubbism had a dynamic role in the creation of new trade networks throughout the globe, and should not be viewed in separation to each other, but rather as another branch of the same tree.

Outwith the empire, prudent business acumen had replaced any notions of hierarchy or status as the world entered into a new era of capitalist dominated

---

<sup>116</sup> See, Devine, T. M. 2012. *Scotland's Empire, Edinburgh*; Fry, M. 2001. *The Scottish Empire, Edinburgh*.

<sup>117</sup> Glass, B. 2014. *Scottish Nation at Empire's End, New York*. pp. 27

markets. In cities like Shanghai, a new class of ‘merchant prince’ was emerging as European men looked east for their fortune. General Sir George Bonham, who actively engaged with the emerging class of wealthy merchants whose prosperity and new found status allowed them new opportunities within the colony’s political development. While gunboat diplomacy kept treaty port’s open, they were nothing without the merchants who were the port’s reason d’être. By choosing fifteen unofficial Justices of the Peace from the merchant community to be his special advisors, Bonham thus created a virtual, untitled commercial aristocracy characterised by its varying levels of access to Government House in the colony. It seems more than likely that such a strategy almost certainly stemmed from the bottom up, nevertheless, Bonham had essentially opened the door for the emergence of a mercantile class of residents in the colony. This format became increasingly imitated in less exalted circles, until society within the colony splintered into various cliques and sets.<sup>118</sup>

Overseas clubs were merely replicas of an already tried and tested process of urbanising the colonies. Associational institutions of a wide variety mushroomed throughout Asia as they sought to replicate the social life of the metropolitan centres of the British homeland, and in some cases amplifying the old class and racial discrimination of the home country by a considerable

---

<sup>118</sup> Pope-Hennessy, J. 1969. *Half Crown Colony: a Hong Kong Notebook*, London. pp. 48.

degree.<sup>119</sup> Membership numbers were often pitifully small, with some clubs in remote parts of British India having only a few members.<sup>120</sup> While the clubs in the larger urban centres of empire helped to integrate newcomers or welcome visitors, the strength of their membership was largely irrelevant as they were bricks and mortar proof of association or identification with metropolitan civilisation.<sup>121</sup>

Even from the very early days of empire, societal gatherings had an important social function. As Cannadine has observed, there was a great deal of showmanship behind the British Empire in that many of the social structures that it presented abroad were merely a projection of the perceived realities of the unequal society that was widely believed to have existed in the metropolis.<sup>122</sup> Clubbism was, in effect, presenting the sameness and similarities of the domestic sphere as it was about the emphasis of the elevation of western civilisation over that of all others. Essentially, clubs were intended to prepare men for domestic life. Concubinage had long been a feature of early settlement life. However, by the 1870s, as foreign resident numbers increased in the ports, bringing with them the more stringent and

---

<sup>119</sup> Most overseas clubs were at best apathetic concerning the admission of non-white members, although there were some exceptions. India's Bengal Club and Madras's Cosmopolitan Club, which in itself was formed by local elites excluded from the European Club. See, Cohen, B. B. 2015. *In the Club: Associational life of Colonial South Asia*, Manchester University Press. The Shanghai Club was notoriously exclusive and few, if any, non-white members had the privilege of membership. See Shaw, R. 1973. *Sin City*, London. British journalist Robert Shaw's somewhat sleazy, but frank, account of Shanghai nightlife offers a candid viewpoint of the expatriate British social ladder.

<sup>120</sup> Clark, P. 2000. pp. 394.

<sup>121</sup> (*Ibid.*), pp. 428.

<sup>122</sup> Cannadine, D. 2001. *Ornamentalism*, London. pp. xix.

conservative manner and custom of the home countries, such lifestyles began to appear increasingly inappropriate.<sup>123</sup> East Asian settlements had notorious reputations as havens of vice. While the majority of men indulged in inter-racial couplings, 'going native' in nineteenth century Japan, like India before it, had its social consequences. However, while there were similarities with the rest of Asia in connection to mixed relationships, European writers from Voltaire to Marx had singled-out the Japanese for their *whiteness*, in regard to their manner, customs and ingenuity.<sup>124</sup>

As such, pinpointing exactly where racial perceptions of the Japanese fell in regard to their foreign guests is often vague. Intermarriage with Japanese women was widespread, at a time when interracial liaisons in India and China were viewed with suspicion as racial weakness, yet the lack of western women in the ports made partnerships with Japanese women inevitable. However, for British naval officer Henry Craven St. John relationships with the 'aborigines' of Kobe were equally damaging to both foreigner and Japanese, commenting, '*the foreign merchant... who is necessarily a European, shows wonderful aptitude to take to the very habits and customs of the natives, which are so preached about and condemned by the missionary*'.<sup>125</sup> From this we can assume that while there were clear demarcations between foreign and native in the port, there were also similar divisions amongst foreigners themselves

---

<sup>123</sup> Bickers, R. 2011. *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914*, London. (electronic edition.)

<sup>124</sup> Keevak, M. 2011. *Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking*, Princeton University. pp. 47

<sup>125</sup> St. John, C. H. 1880. *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Nippon*, Edinburgh. pp. 218

regarding interaction and integration with the Japanese.<sup>126</sup> Either way, gender relations between foreign men and Japanese women were anything but equal, and for every successful marriage, there were countless other examples where foreign men reneged on their responsibilities as fathers.<sup>127</sup> For residents such as St. John, sporting excursions and the club may have been necessary for maintaining links with a distant domestic culture, in effect preserving his cultural and racial purity, as well as ensuring the moral compass of the young bachelors in the ports remained true.

What differentiated the overseas clubs from their domestic counterparts was that they were formed by a new overseas bourgeois in the process of carving out their own niches in areas often, as is the case with Japan, in locales which were beyond the scope and control of any imperial administration. In many ways more than recreational centres, clubs acted as signifiers of exclusiveness emphasising the corporate identity of the overseas European.<sup>128</sup> As a burgeoning middle class began to willingly take up the challenges and opportunities that empire presented, the replication of club life in far off locales facilitated the business and social networks that formed the very foundations of the imperial administrations that governed them. However, Japan's foreign community had no duty towards empire in any specific way

---

<sup>126</sup> Many high profile foreigners had Japanese wives, T. B. Glover married Tsuru Awajiya in the 1870s, and likewise Ernest Satow broke with diplomatic tradition taking a Japanese wife, Takeda Kane.

<sup>127</sup> Murphy K. 1994. *Neither Out Far nor in Deep: The American Merchant Experience in Nineteenth Century Japan*, Maryland. pp. 158

<sup>128</sup> Rich, P. J. 1991. pp. 172

other than the success of foreign trade.

For the development of a treaty port society the club was an imperative anchoring function. For a small community of men living far from the larger centres of foreign influence in the region there was a tendency to succumb to the various vices that were frowned upon in Victorian culture. Isolation often led to drunkenness as alcoholism was a frequent problem among those in overseas service. While the club may not have promoted temperance, it grounded its members in a common purpose providing a greater sense of social censure.<sup>129</sup> Alcoholism, a common problem in all societies, was made all the more common in the ports due to lack of dependable clean water supplies in the early decades.<sup>130</sup> Beer and spirits were mistakenly used as thirst quenchers by many seamen, fearful of poisoning themselves with local the water. This seeming penchant amongst sailors for alcohol was supposedly the reason that mariners, of all ranks, were barred membership of the Kobe Club.<sup>131</sup>

Club life was offered as an antidote to the loneliness of exile overseas, while at the same time offering bachelors some form of substitute for domestic life. In this respect there was also a romanticism attached to them, as exemplified in the works of Kipling, where the club gave him some of his most

---

<sup>129</sup> (*Ibid.*). pp. 167.

<sup>130</sup> Yokohama had its own Abstinence society and a Temperance Hall, both aimed at helping ween susceptible seamen from the lure of alcohol in the ports. See Japan Weekly Mail, Nov. 24th and Nov. 11th 1876.

<sup>131</sup> Williams, H. S. 1975. *The Kobe Club*, Kobe.



characteristic themes such as brotherhood, work and male productivity.<sup>132</sup> All of this which was embodied in the club gave its members a sense of camaraderie and purpose.

Institutions that emerged in Japan within the same timeframe can be viewed as satellites of western metropole society whereby among their varied roles as places of amusement and relaxation, they were also used as arenas for the propagation of western hegemonic ideologies.<sup>133</sup> Clubs foregrounded racial and cultural distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’, constructing a paradigm of exclusive white superiority, while simultaneously projecting a paternalistic attitude towards the Japanese whom the British in particular wished to fashion in their own image. While this statement might seem rather bold in its implications, it was the creation of an essentially European public sphere which formed the fundamental component of sociopolitical organisation in the ports, where the decisions of civic life were formed and in turn put into practice.<sup>134</sup> Colonial clubland was centred on Victorian notions of race which could be whittled down to those who were eligible and those who were not. As Black has noted, clubs bolstered ideas concerning masculine self-development in the public sphere formed by imperial fraternalism, making them instrumental to empire, in an era where empire was concomitant with

---

<sup>132</sup> Black, B. 2013. pp. 159.

<sup>133</sup> (Ibid)

<sup>134</sup> Castells, M. 2008. The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 16, Public Diplomacy in a Changing World, (March) pp. 78-93. pp. 98.

progress.<sup>135</sup> Many of Japan's richest foreigners were committed clubmen, and it was through their tight knit social network that the 'New Japan' took shape. These were the men who sat on the Municipal Councils, men who ran the settlement, men who controlled trade, built the railways, and ultimately guided, or at least heavily influenced Japanese industry and politics throughout the Meiji era.

### **The Club and Metropolitan Society:**

While dining at the Kobe Club, British traveler, sportsman and naturalist Richard Gordon-Smith had a chance encounter with two of his fellow old boys from Cheltenham College. Half a world away from Victorian London in Kobe, yet within the walls of the club it may as well seem like he had never left.<sup>136</sup> Such was the incestuous environment of the global club network at the end of the nineteenth century. With a reputation for being largely associated with Britain's upper classes, club culture can in many ways be viewed, as given emphasis by Gordon-Smith's encounter, as an extension of the British public school system, giving meaning to the now familiar term of '*old boy network*' - the passport to the higher echelons of British society.<sup>137</sup> '*Old boy*' was what a young man became after leaving a public school, and from that point onwards

---

<sup>135</sup> Black, B. 2013. pp. 164

<sup>136</sup> Gordon-Smith, R. 1986. *The Japan Diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, London. pp. 64.

<sup>137</sup> The work of P. J. Rich (1991), particularly his trilogy concerning the interrelatedness of the English public school system and the nature of imperialism explores this connection in great detail, but is generally confined to the British colonial experience.

owed an allegiance not only to his alma mater but also to his fellow old boys. By the mid-nineteenth century the old boy tradition had become so pervasive that it had, through varying degrees of formality, become a thoroughly British institution forever creating a suspicion of the upper classes connections with exclusive societies. Old boy networks had enormous reach throughout global business, as well as social networks.

Few would argue that attendance levels of elitist schools in Britain by many of the country's governing politicians has fueled the belief that the British parliament is run by what was once described as an educational plutocracy.<sup>138</sup> Current British government connections with the Bullingdon Club, an elitist Oxford University dining club known for its boisterous reputation, well known for its wealthy membership which often includes the aristocracy, has revived this assertion in recent years. With a reputation of over two hundred years, the club started life as a hunting and cricket club, attested to by the clubs symbol, further illustrating that special bond that has always existed between sportsmanship and the British establishment.<sup>139</sup> Fraternalism, the hunt and sporting traditions became an almost holy trinity amongst the overseas bourgeois and a triptych which would form the basis of foreign clubdom in Japan. Accordingly, it becomes clear why the image of the club has become

---

<sup>138</sup> Heald, T. 1983. *Networks: who we know and how we use them*, London. pp. 16. Heald's study of the 'old boy network' correlation between government and the the elitist public schools is today more relevant than ever with the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, and the London Mayor, Boris Johnson both being 'Old Etonians' and former members of the now infamous Bullingdon Club.

<sup>139</sup> Noakes, A. 1954. *Sportsman in a Landscape*, London. pp. 116.

such a pertinent symbol of elitism and privilege and ergo a distinctly British phenomenon.

British affinity for social institutions, clubs or societies is by no means unique, however the globe-spanning networks of the British Empire are worthy of attention as many of these institutions can be traced back to single metropolitan origins. Nonetheless, as Sinha has correctly noted, societal clubs in the international context cannot be merely confined to British culture, and could easily adhere to a wider European tradition with similar enthusiasm for clubs and societies existing in much of Western Europe.<sup>140</sup> However, Clark has shown that while associational societies were a feature of Western European cultural life, the British model of independent collective sociability actually influenced the continent and not vice versa.<sup>141</sup> Bearing this in mind, it would appear that clubs frequented by German residents in Japan's treaty ports, as Yokohama's Club Germania (1863), and Kobe's Club Concordia (1868), which were both long standing institutions within both communities, developed along the British model of overseas clubdom.<sup>142</sup> Both clubs were founded by German merchants and patronised by members who had arrived in Japan along similar trajectories to those of their British counterparts.

---

<sup>140</sup> Sinha, M. 2001. *Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India*, in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 490

<sup>141</sup> Clark, P. 2000. pp. 19.

<sup>142</sup> Anon. 1933. *Kobe - Premier Port of Japan*, Kobe & Osaka Press, pp. 106, *Yokohama Gazette Semi-Centennial*, 1909, pp. 58.

That these clubs took on a character that might be *seen* as British from the outset was perhaps inevitable, since the British Empire had set the benchmark for the urban development of the ports across East Asia. Recent scholarship has shown that British expatriates in East Asia did in fact organise themselves along specific networking pathways whereby they sought to, not only create professional roles for favoured members belonging to their own cadre, but also created environments which consciously facilitated and maintained cultural, educational and professional links with home. While pioneer merchants in the Japanese ports came from a diverse range of backgrounds, most of these men were coming to Japan with the weight of already established networks in East Asia behind them.<sup>143</sup> Essentially, these networks were then supplanted to Japan swiftly, and rather efficiently, whereby various men of standing came together to form associations that offered them not only a link to their own culture, but also a link highlighting their importance as one of the key building blocks in the formation of a civil society in the early settlements.

All of these clubs, in one form or another, owed their origins to the seventeenth-century London coffeehouses; places where individuals could hold public gatherings and talk in an environment with an air of confidentiality.

Anywhere in the world that the British established themselves, the creation of

---

<sup>143</sup> T. B. Glover arrived in Nagasaki in 1859 as an assistant to fellow Scot K. R. MacKenzie. Both men were representatives of Jardine, Matheson & Co. The Glover family went on to become one of Japan's most prominent trading families with links to nearly every foreign vested interest in Japan. As the largest trading company in Japan, Jardine, Matheson & Co.'s presence in the country opened the door for merchants like Glover who in turn developed similar networks of their own. See, McKay, A. 1993. *Scottish Samurai*, Edinburgh, pp. 14.

some kind of private space for social gathering was of the highest priority.<sup>144</sup>

At the beginning of the eighteenth century London had become the largest city in Europe and a financial powerhouse. Trade, rather than industry or agriculture, was the driving force behind this growth. By 1815, Britain's Industrial Revolution and dominance of the world's seas saw the country's economy increasingly focused on the city of London as a central switchboard to direct the flows of commercial exchange.<sup>145</sup>

In order to handle such growth a vast administrative workforce was born, raising income, and creating a new kind of society whose livelihood hinged on the orchestration of empire. Catering to this new demographic were a host of institutions which provided among other things, temporary accommodation, valuable expertise and information regarding the inner workings and management of colonial economies.<sup>146</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century the area of St James's in London had so many clubs that it earned the nickname 'clubland', a moniker which has survived to the present day. It is easy to see why, with so many long established clubs like the East India United Service Club (both 1815), the Athenaeum (1824), the Reform (1836), and many others all situated within a short walk of each other. These establishments were a new trend in urban development, creating locations that were both social and professional at the same time, and within close

---

<sup>144</sup> Sinha, M. 2001.

<sup>145</sup> King, A. 1990. *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalisation of London*, London. pp. 74

<sup>146</sup> (*ibid.*) pp. 77

proximity of financial and political centres. While Westminster is where all the political decisions are agreed, they are discussed thoroughly, and privately, in St James before and after.

Therefore, the rise of clubs, coincided with the growth of empire, which needed to enlarge its ruling class. In this way, clubs became an integral part of the imperial system, with empire becoming synonymous with progress in Victorian Britain.<sup>147</sup> Club's such as those already mentioned, had a crucial social function in the development of an 'international' civil society in Japan in that they were the staging ground for an essential public masculinity which signified the dominance of increasingly codified and homogenous Western civility.<sup>148</sup> As Britain's colonial empire expanded, so too did its economy, offering increased opportunities for a burgeoning middle class who took up the task of empire in earnest. Metropolitan clubs essentially vetted those who were eligible for the task through membership and by maintaining the male network culture that was crucial to the empire project.

### **The Rise of a New Transoceanic Elite:**

'Structural power' was the moniker Susan Strange gave to the case of the United Kingdom and the United States in her historical analysis of these two

---

<sup>147</sup> Black, B. 2013. pp. 164

<sup>148</sup> (Ibid). pp. 150.

countries and their roles in the shaping of a Modern World System.<sup>149</sup> Strange defines structural power as the power ‘*to decide how things shall be done, the power to shape frameworks within which states relate to each other, relate to people, or relate to the market or corporate enterprises*’.<sup>150</sup> She adds that structural power ‘*means rather more than the power to set the agenda of discussion or to design*’.<sup>151</sup> Strange’s definition was formulated around the theory that the structural power could effectively exert its influence upon a global scale irrespective of territories. In this respect, Britain’s role as the premier European colonial power in the nineteenth century allowed it to exert influence over, not only its formal colonial territories but also towards other European powers and non-European independent powers, such as Japan. Even prior to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, the British had long promoted the notion of a strong industrial Japan that would help to keep the wheels of intra-Asian trade turning. Shigeru Akita has referred to this as ‘*complementarity*’, which was crucial to the accelerated rise of Japan as a commercial nation, as a unique feature of the relationship between the ‘structural powers’ and Japan.<sup>152</sup> However, Japan’s rapid dominance of the region in the coming decades made the presence of an equally dominant Euro-American business network ultimately untenable.

---

<sup>149</sup> Strange, S. 1988. *States and Markets*, London.

<sup>150</sup> Strange, S. 1988. pp. 25.

<sup>151</sup> (*Ibid*)

<sup>152</sup> Akita, S. 1996. ‘Gentlemanly Capitalism’, intra-Asian trade and Japanese Industrialisation at the turn of the last century, in *Japan Forum*, 8:1, pp. 51-65.



It should be remembered that in Japan the Euro-American influence was effectively maneuvered by a relatively small percentage of the national populations and as such the social aspects of their influence was exerted through many channels. Fundamentally, there tends to be a significant gap between the economic and social histories of Japan as previous studies have largely focused on the changes that took place within a context of human geography and economic policy. There were many foreign actors involved in Japan's modernisation, France and Germany, in particular were instrumental in advising the Japanese during the reformation of their education system.<sup>153</sup> Prussian and British involvement in the army and navy also brought the Japanese military in line in time for them to be of huge importance during the put down of the Boxer Rebellion in China by the turn of the century. This pattern would continue throughout the Meiji era until the Japanese had gained sufficient expertise to handle their own affairs in business and industry. However, British involvement in Japanese business development was centred on the commercial growth of the Japanese nation. While from the outset the foreign settlements were 'international' in their demographic, the core business interests of Kobe and Yokohama were dominated by Britain, America and Germany respectively. Often with the former in collusion with the latter.

While *Rangaku* or Dutch Studies, had prepared the Japanese *intellectually* for

---

<sup>153</sup> The Japanese employed a whole host of foreign 'experts' during the Meiji era. For more on the German and French influence on the Meiji era education system, see Zha, Q. 2004. Foreign Influences on Japanese and Chinese Higher Education, in *Higher Education Perspectives*, Vol 1, No 1, pp. 1-15.

its reunion with the West, nothing could have prepared them for how much ground they would need to cover in order to catch up with the West in terms of industrial advancement. Cain and Hopkins have employed the term Gentlemanly Capitalism to describe what they see as the process of international gentrification, which helped to establish a common pattern of social and cultural behaviour amongst the upper-class of Britain's imperial possessions. As Britain grew as an economic power, so too did the power and influence of an already entrenched group of elite society that had existed prior to the era of imperial expansion overseas. This elite society was bound by a common goal that transcended the boundaries of the British homeland. Effectively, what emerged was a global imperial elite that broke free of the traditional notion of gentrification being synonymous with land ownership. However, the status of landed gentry remained largely intact and indeed could arguably be considered as the initial social model from which the new transoceanic elite based themselves upon. Throughout the British Empire the elite were drawn together by a common purpose and adhered to similar set of cultural and behavioural codes of practice. Even though many of these social groups were divided geographically and operated in differing contexts, they nevertheless followed distinctly similar lifestyles, displayed many of the same characteristics, and developed a number of interests and associations that transcended local and regional frontiers. Social-networking formed a crucial role within this development and the replication of a club culture is perhaps one of the most identifiable forms of association that emerged during this

period.

In regard to Japan's largest treaty ports Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki, several anglophile orientated clubs emerged soon after their establishment as trading ports. In this era social pursuits as well as socialising were a byproduct of the exportation of Euro-American market capitalism. Initially these were primarily hunting clubs, equestrian clubs, sporting and business networking clubs, overseas replicas of their domestic counterparts. More often than not, they were formed by an association of, for want of a better term, 'Gentlemanly Capitalists', merchants, officers and other self-made men who by various economic and political circumstances had found a home in Japan. The key difference as to how these clubs were formed and operated lies in the fact that no one hegemonic power laid claim to the islands of Japan, however, as the most populous group of foreigners within this group were British, the clubs and consequently the characteristic developments of the Japan's foreign settlements took on decidedly anglophile appearance.

While often appearing from the outset as a homogenous society, foreign populations in Japan have always existed. The Chinese, Koreans, Portuguese, Dutch and English all had their own enclaves respectively in the years prior to the *sakoku* period. What made the situation different during the years of extraterritoriality was that whereas previously, representatives of foreign governments or trading houses had lived and interacted autonomously

with the Japanese; in the late 1800s, each foreign power continued to remain autonomous, but on this occasion a community was formed under the rubric of 'internationalism'. Subsequently, the Japanese were presented by a peculiar challenge during the years of extraterritoriality whereby in an age of high imperialism the Japanese now found themselves on the receiving end of imperialism without fully experiencing the humiliation of colonialism proper. This in itself would affect Japan profoundly as the fledgling Japanese nation developed it found itself in many ways betwixt and between a coloniser and colonised country. Only after the outcome of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, a conflict where the Japanese had been regarded as the underdogs, did Western perceptions shift, and Japan's worth as a 'Great Power' finally become indisputable.

Elsewhere around the globe, rapid growth of the new industrial economies emerging in Europe and North America was accompanied by large scale trade and investment and a closer bond between economic and emerging economic regions, which allowed for the first time the notion of a truly 'global' economy. It was during this era that the world entered the first phase of globalisation in the years directly after the opening of Japan until the end of WW II. Cain and Hopkins<sup>154</sup> have argued that it was during this period of intense European overseas expansion that 'internationalised' a growing sense of nationality and nationalism by spreading metropolitan ideas and institutions abroad.

---

<sup>154</sup> Cain & Hopkins, 2001.

For the past three centuries world economic, political and cultural forces have been major factors in the shaping of cities. In his book *'Urbanism Colonialism and the World Economy'*<sup>155</sup>, King has argued that the historical context of contemporary global restructuring must be recognised if present-day urban and regional change, as also the class, cultural, racial and economic composition of cities are to be understood. Colonial cities (or colonial-esque in regards to Japan's treaty ports during the years of extraterritoriality) were major links between core and peripheral economies. King has termed these cities 'global pivots of change' that were instrumental in creating the space in which today's capitalist economy operates<sup>156</sup>. If we take Japan's ports as our example, the social, the racial and the spatial were all embodied in explicit linguistic and conceptual forms: the 'international hospital', 'recreational ground', 'foreign club', 'Indian club', 'native town', etc. are but a few examples. Mapping a settlement in such a way essentially embodied the empire in miniature with the foreign legation at the pinnacle.

Club architecture in the ports was on show for all to see with the club building, as was the case with the Shanghai and Hong Kong Club's, occupying the most conspicuous locations on the bluff, that promontory intended to showcase the power of western civility. Shanghai's British Club was the most

---

<sup>155</sup> For a detailed study of the 'core and periphery' theory of the Asian treaty ports see King, A. D. 1990. *Urbanism and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*, London.

<sup>156</sup> King, A. D. 2001. pp. 5-7

exclusive club, known for its notoriously clannish membership policy, regularly denying access to even the highest profile Shanghai residents. By 1910 the club's premises had been deemed no longer fit for purpose and a lavish new structure done in the Beaux-Arts style replaced the original building in 1910. Greek statues and an opulent marble staircase adorned the new premises. Members could wile away the hours in the club library or billiard room, while above them forty rooms catered to visiting guests or provided accommodation for members. This establishment was quite literally the 'ace of clubs'.

Treaty ports throughout Asia followed a similar development pattern. A symbiosis of Euro-American ideology and Eastern trade, these cities functioned as a means of engaging with and extracting wealth from previously untapped markets. Treaty ports presented the visitor with a familiar landscape that was easily comprehensible only a short while after landing. Generally consisting of a bund, a zone marked out for foreign residence, a customs house, a handful of *hongs*,<sup>157</sup> and a club.<sup>158</sup> Treaty ports were characterised by their convenience. Shanghai and Yokohama in particular developed from the bund backwards, resulting in sprawling unplanned narrow streets which hindered proper development and planning in future years.<sup>159</sup> However, the locations of importance rarely shifted from their original location and

---

<sup>157</sup> Hong was Cantonese term that entered into the English lexicon in the 1800s meaning 'foreign commercial establishment'. The term was also used to refer to foreign business in Japan.

<sup>158</sup> Bickers, R. 2015. *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914*, London.

<sup>159</sup> See, Deinison, E. & Yu Ren, G. 2006. *Building Shanghai*, London; Blum, P. C. 1963. *Yokohama in 1872*, Tokyo.

essentially the ports were two cities, one foreign and the other native. Kobe, being the latest port in terms of development benefitted from the mistakes made in Yokohama. Initially Kobe was far smaller both in terms of population and trade, however, the city soon became part of a triangular trade network between Shanghai and Yokohama, and its wide well planned streets meant that it was known amongst local residents as the ‘model settlement’, a term which had been coined by Shanghailanders regarding their own settlement.<sup>160</sup>

Taylor’s work on the treaty port system has shown that there were far more to these cities than merely import/export statistics and diplomatic maneuvers. More than anything, the treaty port system represented a social system of exclusion and exploitation that was unique in the imperialist movement of the Western powers during the mid to late 19th century. Along with the treaty port system came specific concepts of regarding space and power, and these concepts were transferred onto the coastal ports of Asia<sup>161</sup>. The construction and design of these ports were dominated by Western settler communities. Initially evolving from nothing more than a beachside camp, their development into megacities within the space of two centuries is nothing short of an economic marvel. Clubs and the social networks that emerged along with them essentially aided and strengthened what was already a creation of the Western social and economic system in Asia. All the treaty ports of Asia

---

<sup>160</sup> Williams, H. S. 1958. *Tales of the Foreign Settlements*, Tokyo. pp. 62.

<sup>161</sup> Taylor, J. E. 2002. The Bund: Littoral Space of Empire in the Treaty Ports of Asia, in *Social History*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (May), pp. 125-142.

shared one thing in common, which was essentially, the remoulding of Asian civilisation along Western lines.

The 'bund' became feature that characterised the treaty port. Originating from the Hindi बांध (baandh), meaning embankment, the term was one of many loan words from the Indian sub-continent (tiffin, chit, boy, godown) that encapsulated the colonial era.<sup>162</sup> The formation of various mercantile embankments throughout Asia were an architectural phenomena that facilitated the dominance of European trade in the region, arguably kick starting the periods of immense growth that would follow.<sup>163</sup> Perhaps one of the most instantly recognisable of these is the Shanghai Bund with its grand promenade along the Huangpu River.<sup>164</sup> In the nineteen thirties when most of Europe and North America were struggling with the crippling economic woes brought on by the depression, Shanghai was, by stark contrast, a booming metropolis. If New York, Paris, London symbolised the glamour of the Western world, the East Asian tripartite of Shanghai, Kobe, Yokohama represented its equally decadent counterpart. These days the Yokohama and Kobe bunds are largely obscured by a double decker expressway and a variety of other tall buildings, however, in its heyday the Kobe Bund once earned it the reputation as Japan's 'Premier Port' and was the main rival to the other 'bund', often out

---

<sup>162</sup> Bickers, R. 1992. *Changing British Attitudes to China and the Chinese, 1928-1931*, University of London. pp. 101. Bickers mentions these terms in respect to Shanghai society, however, they were used throughout East and South East Asian settler communities.

<sup>163</sup> Warr, A. 2007. *Shanghai Architecture*. Sydney.

<sup>164</sup> Taylor, 2002. pp. 125-128.



performing Yokohama in trade and industry.<sup>165</sup>

Extraterritoriality in Japan operated in many ways similar to China's 'open door policy' of the early twentieth century. Overall the system differed greatly from the key aspects that defined colonies, nevertheless, the approach was close enough to colonialism for it to be described in such terms as 'semi-colonialism' or 'semi-imperialism', however, the Japanese experience of extraterritoriality is unique in the fact that the Japanese themselves negotiated their way out of the arrangement over a fairly limited timeframe of barely half a century. However, the fact remains that during the extraterritoriality period, which lasted until 1899, the Japanese were not considered players in the Great Game. The treaty port itself could be summed up in simple terms as, an area that operated under local sovereignty, foreign extraterritoriality, and were derived from *laissez-faire* capitalism, all of which had profound effects on the way the ports were spatially arranged. The treaty port often took the form of a quadripartite division of European colonial power.<sup>166</sup> For example:

- 1: A governor general or equivalent body that held power;
- 2: Law courts or like bodies that held judicial power;
- 3: The military (representing military power); and
- 4: The church (representing spiritual power).

---

<sup>165</sup> *Kobe: the Premier Port of Japan, 65 years of Progress in Trade, Industry, Commerce and Shipping, 1868-1933*, specially issued in commemoration of the first Port Festival (Minato Matsuri) on November 7-8 1933.

<sup>166</sup> Taylor (2002) has highlighted Lee and Lau's hypothesis in the above article. It should be noted that this quadripartite division of European colonial power uses the Chinese treaty ports as its example.

This divisional system was often then supplanted onto the city's spatial layout with these four categories often materialising along architectural lines within the city. For example:

- 1: Executive power in the form of a governor's residence;
- 2: Military Parade Ground;
- 3: Court buildings; and
- 4: Churches or a cathedral.

While the above explanation refers to the situation in China, the development of the urban layout in Japan's ports were quite different. In place of a military parade ground, there was the recreation ground. Recreation grounds in Yokohama and Kobe became the focal points of foreign life, particularly in Kobe whose ground was negotiated between the foreign community and the Japanese government with the help of Ito Hirobumi. The whole concept of the ground was the creation of a recreation space for foreign residents and Japanese for perpetuity.<sup>167</sup> Markedly different from the segregated race courses of Shanghai and even Yokohama. Spaces such as these played a crucial role in the introduction of modern Western sports, such as, football, rugby and cricket, into Japan.<sup>168</sup>

---

<sup>167</sup> Williams, H. S. 1969. *The Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club: the first 100 years*, Kobe.

<sup>168</sup> Tanada, S. 1988. 'Diffusion into the Orient: the introduction of western sports in Kobe, Japan', in the *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 5: 3, pp. 372-376.

Yet a similar pattern emerged in Yokohama and Kobe, as had been increasingly obvious in the China settlements that of gradual segregation towards consolidated areas of foreign privilege and dominance. Hong Kong had its Peak, high in the hills behind the city and off limits to the ‘natives’. Climate was often the excuse as was the case with Simla, the Indian Hill station in Delhi where British elite escaped the heat. That settlement had all the characteristics of a British village, becoming almost completely white in the early 1900s, even trying unsuccessfully to ban Indian settlement until this became politically untenable in the 1910s and 20s.<sup>169</sup> In Hong Kong’s Peak, however, segregation became law in 1902. Areas such as this were ‘social physical spaces’ that helped maintain the social structure and social behaviour of British culture in the colonies. Amid fear of increased cultural contact with increasingly bourgeois native populations and rising economic competitiveness, such spaces were attempts to preserve status and social structure of the elite Euro-American community.<sup>170</sup>

Similarly, Japan’s foreigners consolidated themselves in the hills behind the settlements, demarcating not only boundaries between business and private life, but along the racial lines that separated them from the Japanese urban areas. To Western eyes in the nineteenth century, the Japanese had many

---

<sup>169</sup> Nightingale, C. H. 2012. *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*, University of Chicago. pp. 133.

<sup>170</sup> Carrol, J. M. 2005. *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials*, London. pp. 91.

qualities to be admired. Parallels between imperial tradition were lauded, as were material culture and aesthetics. However, familiar colonial perceptions regarding personal character and Japanese aspirations towards equal footing with the West occupied much of the foreign English language press in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>171</sup> In the foreign press, the Japanese were to be admired for their tenacity in *aspiring* to be more European-like in their manner, customs and affairs of state, but achieving equal status was viewed and promoted, as being beyond them. These publications represented the interests of editors/proprietors and of the small community of Westerners in Japan whose attitudes and prejudices mirrored those of middle-class Victorian Britain. Exceptions to this rule were, of course, regular contributors to the newspaper letters pages, nevertheless, outspoken opposition to the Japanese government did have the effect of arousing a nationalist reaction.<sup>172</sup>

By the middle of the 1880s Japan's economic outlook had plateaued for the foreign population. Gone were the days where fortunes could be made, and a once ignorant native population were now a trade-savvy force to be reckoned with. A threat basically, and for this reason the foreign community, particularly in Kobe, became increasingly insular in maintaining its own traditions when surrounded by a fast developing country that it could no longer control.

---

<sup>171</sup> Fält, O. K. 2015. The Racial Image of the Japanese in the Western Press Published in Japan, 1861-1881, in Kowner, R. & Demel, W. (eds) *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia: Interactions, Nationalism, Gender and Lineage*, Leiden. pp. 109-113.

<sup>172</sup> Fält, O. K. 1990. *The Clash of Interests: The Transformation Of Japan In 1861-1881 In The Eyes Of The Local Anglo-Saxon Press*, Oulu. pp. 361

Relations became even more estranged in the 1880s as an increasingly vocal press, in Kobe in particular, entrenched itself along a path of criticism and opposition to Japanese policy and politics. This resulted in some foreign newspapers becoming subsidised by the Japanese government in order that sympathetic viewpoints could be promoted to counteract the wider hostility of the foreign press. Despite the fact that there were over thirty foreign papers, journals and periodicals published in several languages throughout the extraterritorial period, the press was dominated by English language publications that inevitably pandered to a British bias, reflecting the dominance of British business interests in the ports.<sup>173</sup> Treaty revision, or more specifically the cause against revision, took up much of the pages of the British-led press, which was essentially the mouthpiece of the club. Several editors, if not all, were ardent clubmen or had Freemason<sup>174</sup> connections, and it was in these locales where much of treaty port public opinion was formed and articulated.<sup>175</sup>

The prominence and pervasiveness of these kinds of institutions during this era should not be overlooked. In his bleak account of colonial life in Burma,

---

<sup>173</sup> Hoare, J. 1994. *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: the Uninvited Guests 1858-1899*, Folkestone, pp. 149.

<sup>174</sup> J. R. Black, owner of the *Japan Gazette* became a Freemason while residing in Kobe, and Black's son, John Jnr. became president of the Kobe Club. For more on the Black family, see: McArthur, I. 2013. *Henry Black: On Stage in Meiji Japan*, Monash University.

<sup>175</sup> The interconnectedness of the various social groups in the ports reveals much about the migration of British subjects in the East Asian public sphere. Horatio Nelson Lay, one-time owner of the *Tokio Times*, was at one point the British Vice Consul in Shanghai, and would later become notorious for defrauding the Japanese government of one million pounds sterling during his mismanagement of the Japanese railways. Lay also had familial ties with E. H. Hunter of Osaka Iron Works and a prominent Freemason.

Orwell stated that, '*when one looked at the Club, one looked at the real centre of the town... the European Club is the spiritual citadel, the real seat of British power*'.<sup>176</sup>

While the political context of Orwell's story was quite different to that of Japan, the sentiment regarding the clubs remains the same. Often what appeared from the outset as little more than an extension of a public school atmosphere was actually the kind of environment where deals were made, information was exchanged and where reputations could be made or even ruined. As Rich has stated, the clubs reinforced the *real politick* of imperialism.<sup>177</sup>

The formation of the settlements themselves also mirrored the urban layout of metropolitan cities like London. Commercial architecture dominated the settlement cityscape. Customs houses, club houses, foreign hotels and Freemason's lodges dominated the Kobe settlement in the 1870s. It is also worthy of note that the building of a church was something of a late development in Kobe reinforcing Orwell's statement concerning the club as the 'spiritual home' of the foreign community. In fact, in Kobe, the Freemasons were the first to establish an institution some time before a proper church was established.<sup>178</sup> Similarly, the Kobe Club was situated at the end of the Recreation Ground, a large stretch of land used for foreign sports, and was in walking distance to the Customs House near American Hatoba. St James' in

---

<sup>176</sup> Orwell, G. 1934: 14, *Burmese Days*, London.

<sup>177</sup> Rich, P. J. 1991: 151. *Chains of Empire: English public schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom*, London.

<sup>178</sup> Black, J. R. 1881. *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo*, London.

the heart of London's Clubland is famed for its close proximity to the financial district, therefore, it should be of no surprise that the clubs in nearly all of East Asia's treaty ports occupied a similar strategic position.

In regard to Japan's settlements, the positioning of these institutions should replace the church and military parade ground as familiar categories that were replicable among the treaty ports. If we take the previous quadripartite model as our example, the case of Japan's foreign ports might look something like this:

- 1: Extraterritorial Authority/ Foreign Municipal Council;
- 2: Parade Ground/ Recreation Ground, Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club;
- 3: Judicial Authority/ Municipal Court or Consular Courts;
- 4: Moral Authority/ the club;

It should be borne in mind that the population of Kobe in the early years of the settlement barely exceeded two hundred inhabitants. Many of those inhabitants split their time between their own line of employment and an official or semi-official role in the community. A. C. Sim, founder of the K. R. & A. C, is listed as a druggist in the *Chronicle and Directory of Japan, China and Philippines* in 1870, however, he was also Vice President of the Municipal

Council and Chief Fireman for the settlement.<sup>179</sup> In the first year of its conception, the club had as many as thirty members, one sixth of the foreign population at the time.

### **Ritual and the Club:**

Why did these clubs form with such regularity? There are several reasons. Firstly, the late 1800s were markedly different from the first half of the century whereby the imperial powers of Europe had acted with more or less impunity throughout the globe. Ever increasing needs for untapped markets led to was for the first time a truly global economy. This brought with it never before seen levels of increased migration, which brought with it all of the social and cultural mechanisms of the core to the periphery.<sup>180</sup> While the vast Indian subcontinent drew all walks of life from the British Isles, Japan's foreign population was based on a disproportionate number of *oyatoi*, highly trained and educated individuals schooled in the imperial system with some stemming from an upper-class or middle-class background.<sup>181</sup>

While the upper-stratum of the foreign community was dominated by high-

---

<sup>179</sup> For an account of the life and exploits of A. C. Sim, see Takagi, M. 1996 ハイカラ神戸を創った男 A.C シムの市民生活、スポーツ、ボランティア活動, Kobe.

<sup>180</sup> Darwin, J. 2002. Globalism and Imperialism: the Global Context of British Power, 1830-1960, pp. 43-64, in Akita, S (eds) *Gentlemanly Capitalism, Imperialism and Global History*, London.

<sup>181</sup> For a discussion of the employment of foreigners in Japan, see Jones, H. J. 1968. 'The Formulation of the Meiji Government Policy Toward the Employment of Foreigners', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 23, No. 1-2, pp. 9-30



ranking consular officials, industrialists and wealthy trading magnates, there were also a significant number of traders, tradesmen and seamen all from diverse social backgrounds. This concentrated mix of nationalities and classes living together in confined territories often led to the demarcation of boundaries and the allocation of space along racial and class lines. In Kobe, the foreign settlement was clearly defined from the 'native town' by 'Division Street', and one must assume that those living beyond that boundary were in the eyes of the elite as being beyond the pale. Since the extraterritoriality system existed in all the treaty ports in China and Japan, all foreigners living in those ports were not subject to the laws of the land, but rather to the jurisdiction of their own national consular courts. Crime was often rife, and early accounts show that attacks and robberies were frequent, causing many residents to carry a pistol for protection<sup>182</sup>. It was, therefore, somewhat inevitable that society among the port began to stratify along class lines to those of Europe, reverting to a certain 'clannishness' by forming institutions that catered for those who considered themselves to be of a higher moral standard.

A second reason for the emergence of a club culture was that of ritualism. The age of European imperialism was laden with ritualistic exercises deemed necessary for the swift propagation of Christian civilisation. Ritualism was woven into the invented traditions and myths surrounding the spread of

---

<sup>182</sup> Barr, P. 1965. *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, London. pp. 197. For references to pistol carrying residents see *Hiogo News*, Jan 19<sup>th</sup> 1870.

imperialism everywhere in Europe and could be found among the various institutions that emerged among the upper-strata of European society. A Mason arriving in a hostile environment, for example, as Yokohama or Kobe would have been to many, would have quickly sought the assurance that fellow members were there to watch his back, provide much needed business advice, and perhaps most commonly, an offer of employment. The ritual aspect of the Masonic rites also served as comforting practice for its members in that, by participating in these rites, they were able to form a connective memory to their home nation.<sup>183</sup> In Somerset Maugham's short story set in Kobe, a young hopeful employee falls foul of an older, wealthier businessman's challenge to undertake a life-threatening swim for a promise of a clerk's position, drowning in the effort.<sup>184</sup> Although fictional, the incident has an air of the initiation ceremonies and rituals associated with the public schools and Freemasonry. Rich has argued that a persuasive ritualism could be found among various societies, whether masonic or otherwise allowed their practitioners a significant sway to manipulate the country and the Empire. Similarly sports and athleticism were ritualistic acts in the process of indoctrination of the imperial mindset, thus, sport in school and in an imperial context, such as the club, became ritualistic exercises.<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>183</sup> Harland-Jacobs, J. 1999: 245 in 'Hands Across the Sea: The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World', in *Geographical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 2. pp. 237-253.

<sup>184</sup> For reference to this particular short story, see 'A Friend in Need', in Maugham, S. 1935. *First Person Singular*, London.

<sup>185</sup> Rich, P. J. 1991. *Chains of Empire: English public schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality and Imperial Clubdom*, London. pp. 190-194.

In her work on the social activities of Scottish communities in British India, Buettner suggests that the social clubs that emerged acted as rituals of solidarity, comprising of symbolism and practices that were created in order to unite those involved by invoking a common identity.<sup>186</sup> This was only possible as the actors involved in carrying out these rituals were familiar with them because they were connected to those cultural traditions, regardless of whether they were invented or otherwise, by the very fact that they belonged to that particular culture. These rituals became embedded in colonial society and were replicated ad infinitum as Europeans sought to replicate their own forms of society wherever they were based. Cannadine has suggested that in an essentially static age, unchanging ritual may remain deliberately unaltered so as to give the impression of continuity, community and comfort, despite overwhelming contextual evidence to the contrary.<sup>187</sup>

### **Club Formation in Japan:**

Complete records for the birth of Japan's foreign clubs are rather spartan, thus dating their exact formation can be somewhat problematic. As Japan's nearest neighbour, the development of the Chinese treaty ports had a significant influence on the social and spatial development of cities like Yokohama and Kobe. Nearly all of the merchants arriving in Yokohama after the port's official

---

<sup>186</sup> Buettner, E. 2002. Haggis in the Raj: private and public celebrations of Scottishness in late imperial India, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 212, part 2 (Oct). pp. 227.

<sup>187</sup> Cannadine, D. 1983. Context, Performance and the Meaning of Ritual: the British monarchy, in Hobsbawm, E & Ranger, T. (eds) *Invention of Tradition*, London. pp. 108.

opening were coming from the already established foreign enclaves of Shanghai and Hong Kong.

Yokohama's two earliest clubs were the United Club and Club Germania, both founded in 1863, the same year in which the Shanghai Club was officially founded.<sup>188</sup> Anglo-German social and business collaboration would prove to be a key feature of all the East Asian treaty ports<sup>189</sup> during the Meiji era. In Japan both communities remained close, but tended to socialise separately until the outbreak of WWI. Yokohama, which opened in 1859, was the largest hub of foreign activity followed by the smaller Nagasaki settlement in southern Kyushu. Kobe was something of a late starter, opening in 1868, but soon outgrew Nagasaki in size and importance. While the settlements on the East China coast acted as a benchmark for how Japan's concessions would evolve, there were several distinct differences in Japan's experience with extraterritoriality and consequently, how this would affect the Euro-American settler communities that would take root there.

Extraterritoriality went far beyond the Dejima system, the artificial island created specifically for the VOC in the 1600s. The new agreement first entered into with the US, soon included the Netherlands, Russia, France and Britain under the bilateral Ansei Treaties of 1858. These treaties, which

---

<sup>188</sup> The official date for the Shanghai Club's formation was 1863. However, earlier clubs and societies almost certainly existed before this.

<sup>189</sup> Bickers, R. 2015. *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devil's in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914*, London.

effectively ignored Japan's sovereignty in regard to jurisdiction over foreigners, denied tariff autonomy, and the inability to block further privileges for not just one, but all the favoured nations, meant that this had become Dejima times a hundred. Despite the concessions that the Japanese had been forced to grant to the foreign powers, the treaty port system was still oppressively restrictive in regard to foreign mobility within Japanese shores. While foreigners could out-gun their overseers if need be, however, the main tenet of the foreign presence in the country, was that of peaceable trade, or certainly as peaceable as possible. However, the merchant community routinely pressured the British and French consuls to approve military action in order to protect the interests of the foreign community on several occasions in the early 1860s.<sup>190</sup>

In the early days of settlement there was often conflict between official British policy line and commercial interests of the British mercantile community. One case in point was the community reaction to the murder of Charles Lennox Richardson in 1862. As Yokohama's first high profile murder victim, Richardson was already a wealthy man by the time he reached Yokohama, having made his fortune in the lucrative trade in opium before de-camping to Japan for what would be for him, one last sojourn in the East. Richardson was part of a riding party who had encroached upon the retinue of a Satsuma daimyō on horseback on the Tōkaidō Road. Conflicting accounts by members

---

<sup>190</sup> Denney, J, W. 2011. *Respect and Consideration*, Leicester. pp. 43-53

of the group make pinpointing what exactly caused the incident difficult to clarify. However, it appears that Richardson, who was accustomed to treating Asians as subordinates, was partly to blame for his own death at the hands of overzealous samurai.<sup>191</sup> Richardson's murder went some way towards a more cautionary approach in interactions with Japanese authority, however, as George Smith, Bishop of Hong Kong noted, Europeans and Americans continued to '*demean themselves with the air of a superior and conquering race even in countries where they are largely tolerated by the governing powers*'.<sup>192</sup>

In the days after his death a delegation of members of the Yokohama community consisting of officials, military men, and merchants from the 'treaty nations' held a 'sacredly secret' meeting in which the British Captain Vyse rallied the assembled group towards a military response to the murder. Vyse of course, along with the other members present had no jurisdiction to do so, and was also in direct contradiction with the advice and orders of the British Consul General, and superior officer, Edward St. John Neale.<sup>193</sup> Pressure to remove Neale by the mercantile community afterwards was proof of a growing sense of perceived power by the merchants, who saw themselves as the indispensable grease that kept the settlement wheels turning, showing evidence of an emerging class distinction between mercantile and diplomatic foreigners, something that would prove to be a feature of settlement society in

---

<sup>191</sup> Denney, J. W. 2011. pp. 78

<sup>192</sup> Smith, G. 1861. Ten Weeks in Japan, London. pp. 238

<sup>193</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 105

the early decades of extraterritoriality. Neale was subsequently denied membership of the club, presumably a club whose membership consisted of the conspirators who wished to usurp his authority. Neale it seemed was no longer a member of the communal clique forming between the members of the 'club' of the European powers. For the conspirators, the Japanese had gone a step too far in killing a 'member' of their group and club consensus was to take the Japanese down a peg, a course of action which was never taken, seeing Neale's judgement vindicated at home but which in Japan made him a social pariah amongst his peers. Similar thinking would manifest itself after Japan's defeat of the mighty Qing dynasty in 1894. Then too, the old European club of imperial powers, this time Britain aside, joined in unison to deny Japan entry into their hallowed club.

### **The Reinterpretation of Western Civil Society in the Meiji Era:**

Many of the traders who had set up shop in the Kobe settlement were of humble beginnings; self-made men, no doubt, with gentlemanly aspirations.

While Japan was never incorporated into any foreign imperial body in any formal capacity, during the period of extraterritoriality (1853-1899), the foreign communities of Japan's treaty ports were effectively autonomous regions governed by their own laws and not subject to Japanese jurisdiction. Consular courts were set up to ensure that foreigners were protected by the umbrella of their own country's laws. This included the many Chinese in the ports who

were protected, to a point, by British law.<sup>194</sup>

While quite distinct from colonialism, the system did impinge on the sovereignty of Japan, in a way reminiscent of what has been termed as informal imperialism. The Chinese situation in the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century is a typical example of an 'informal empire' in relation to the other Asian countries, such as British India, which fell into the more concrete example of 'formal empire' with regard to its relationship to Britain. In regard to Japan, Akita has argued that the British overseas influence stemmed not only from traditional hold over its formal and informal empires, but perhaps more specifically to the global network of the financial hub of the City of London and its influence on the financial sectors of the capitalist world-economy.<sup>195</sup>

Specialists in Anglo-Japanese relations, such as Ian Nish, have posited that after the signing of an alliance with Japan in 1902, the British considered the Japanese a trusted ally rather than as part of the British informal empire.<sup>196</sup> This theory, however, does evoke the opinion that before this agreement, Japan was essentially viewed as falling within the grey area of the formal and informal imperial sphere by the British. Japanese protestations regarding a

---

<sup>194</sup> Chinese could call on the representation of British law due to the existence of the British Supreme Court in Shanghai, however this only extended so far. If a Chinese murdered a Japanese citizen, for instance, representation would be refused. See Smith, G. *Ten Weeks in Japan*, London.

<sup>195</sup> Akita, S. (eds). 2002. *Gentlemanly Capitalism, Imperialism, and Global history*, New York.

<sup>196</sup> Nish, I. 1966. *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance: The Diplomacy of Two Island Empires 1894-1907*, London.



speedy end to the system were divided British and American opinion, with the British minister, Harry Parkes in particular proving obstinate in his approval of the great leaps by the Meiji government at the Tokyo Conference on treaty revision in 1882.<sup>197</sup> While the British government clearly benefitted from maintaining the status quo of the extraterritorial system, in 1894, Japan and Britain signed a treaty eliminating consular jurisdiction and revised the tariff rates (Japan would wait until 1911, however, for full tariff autonomy). Other countries soon followed in Britain's wake, yet Japan was still regarded as a relatively weak country prior to the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894.<sup>198</sup> Such a skirting of Japan's legal sovereignty was basically akin to legal imperialism, as Japan would again face humiliation after being forced to capitulate territory it had legitimately won from China after the Triple Intervention by Russia, France and Germany in 1895.<sup>199</sup>

Partly because of its extended period of self-isolation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Japanese found themselves occupying, what might be termed as the 'Goldilocks zone' of the geopolitical landscape by the late 1800s. In this sense, Japan was deemed as neither 'not too warm' nor 'not too cold' in terms of development, and the relatively short period of extraterritoriality that it endured was seen as a sufficient amount of time to

---

<sup>197</sup> Cortazzi, H. 2005. *Collected Writings*, London. pp. 56

<sup>198</sup> Perez, Louis G. 2000. *Japan Comes of Age: Mutsu Munemitsu and the Revision of the Unequal Treaties*. London.

<sup>199</sup> Kayaoglu, T. 2007. *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China*. London.

bring her standards up to those viewed as acceptable to the eyes of the West. The astonishing speed whereby the Japanese changed, from a feudal society with an agrarian economy to a modern industrial nation, is perhaps one of the greatest success stories in economic development in the past two hundred years.

Japan's reinvention of itself and reinterpretation of Western civility had a huge role to play in how the country now wished to be perceived by the outside world. War prints of the 1894 conflict show the Chinese as cowering Orientals next to the staunchly Western appearance of the Japanese, moustaches clipped and uniforms immaculately pressed. While many had previously mocked the Japanese for aping Western dress and manners, this was a self-conscious image that had taken several decades to perfect. Whereas the transoceanic elite and gentlemanly 'way of doing' had been centuries in the making in the West, and Japanese efforts towards incorporating Western manner and customs were greeted with mixed responses. As such, Japanese high society lurched somewhat awkwardly onto the path of westernisation. Western style buildings began to house newly formed ministries and proponents of the Western way, like Mori Arinori, even went as far as suggesting that English replace Japanese as the national language.<sup>200</sup>

Central to this new adopted ideology were the founding of various clubs which

---

<sup>200</sup> Cobbing, A. 1998. *The Japanese Discovery of Victorian Britain*. London.

catered to Japan's new elite. What these clubs symbolise, in the Japanese context, was a conscious distancing of traditional Confucian philosophy by those favouring a stronger adoption of almost anything Western deemed to be of any value to the Meiji enlightenment. Ardents of this new philosophy, such as Inoue Kaoru, commissioned the British architect, Josiah Conder, to design Tokyo's grandest club in order to convince visiting dignitaries that the Japanese were worthy of joining that most exclusive club of imperial nations. The building itself had become a testament to a way of life, a symbol that Japan was now truly modern, and perhaps even 'clubbable'. Whilst stationed in London during his term as Japanese Minister, Mori Arinori became a close confidante of Herbert Spencer, dining regularly together at one of St James's premier clubs, the Athenaeum. As a diplomat, Arinori's position gave him automatic membership and the club became the pinnacle of his social life during his stay in the city.<sup>201</sup> It was arguably in this atmosphere where Arinori honed his political beliefs, undoubtedly influenced by Spencer regarding the reorganisation of Japan's civil service.<sup>202</sup>

By the 1880s club culture had become rooted in Japanese civil society, even penetrating gender boundaries on a level that rivalled or even surpassed that of their European or American contemporaries. Admittedly, many of these clubs, such as the Rōmaji Club which advocated the use of Romanised script; the Ladies Etiquette Club and the Women's Association of Western Coiffures,

---

<sup>201</sup> Checkland, O. 1989. *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, London. pp. 128-130.

<sup>202</sup> (*Ibid.*)

leaned heavily towards the notion spreading the doctrines of westernisation to every facet of Japanese life. This aside, while such association much seem trivial by today's standards of women's liberation, societies such as those mentioned were examples of the emerging liberal attitudes that characterised the era.<sup>203</sup>

Widespread fads promoting westernisation were not without purpose. The Twenty Days Club, formed in 1876, lasted ten years. Its sole purpose being to bring together young men Army and Navy officers of the Chōshū together. However, the club was disbanded on the grounds of appearing too partisan.<sup>204</sup> Treaty revision was seen as a national goal that united the country, and which a willing public duly embraced. However, when the seeds of their effort did not bear fruit, public opinion quickly soured towards an establishment that was seen as pandering towards the West. Hirobumi's government was dubbed 'the dancing cabinet' after staging an opulent ball at the *Rokumeikan* in 1887, where Japanese nobles dressed in elaborate costumes in what widely regarded as a public relations disaster. From this date onwards the embrace of all things western lost much of its momentum to a broader conservative counter reaction towards foreign customs and manners.<sup>205</sup> The *Rokumeikan* would become a symbol of Meiji excess, ridiculed by many Japanese as

---

<sup>203</sup> Copeland, R. L. 2000. *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, Hawaii. pp. 19.

<sup>204</sup> *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 27/2/1886

<sup>205</sup> Barr, P. 1968. *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, London. pp. 179.

shameless pandering towards a disinterested West.<sup>206</sup> Japanese couples in full European garb failed to impress Pierre Lotti who dismissed the spectacle as a '*monkey show*'.<sup>207</sup>

Conservative backlash aside, there remained an appetite for club association amongst Japanese high society and club-like institutions mushroomed throughout the Tokyo administrative landscape in the years that followed. Conder would also go on to design the Mitsui Club, commissioned soon after the business leaders Mitsui and Iwasaki (Mitsubishi) had achieved *kazoku* status after the Sino-Japanese War of 1896.<sup>208</sup> Japanese clubs also exhibited an international flavour that was often altogether lacking in the more exclusive clubs of the foreign settlements. Tokyo metropolitan society became increasingly 'international' in the final decades of the nineteenth century in terms of social structure. 1880 saw the creation of the Kojunsha Club, an association which catered to Keio University alumni, created by Fukuzawa Yukichi after a visit to Britain. The Kojunsha Club was specifically designed emulate the London club scene and to foster discussion and a mature approach to politics, effectively becoming a place where members could form bonds of trust, to network and share information.<sup>209</sup> Soon after the Tokyo Club was formed in 1884, again with a similar purpose, members to this club

---

<sup>206</sup> Enthusiasm for the Tokyo Club in the *Rokumeikan* was often criticised in the foreign press as being fairly weak, at which point the *Japan Weekly Mail* commented that the club, '*cannot be called eminently successful*'. 6/2/1886.

<sup>207</sup> Buruma, I. 2003. *Inventing Japan: 1853-1964*, London. pp 46.

<sup>208</sup> Lebra-Sugiyama, T. 1993. *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Japanese Nobility*, Los Angeles. pp. 46.

<sup>209</sup> MacFarlane, A. 2002. *The Making of the Modern World: Visions from the West and East*, London. pp. 268.

generally stemmed from Japan's highest ranking families, most notably the Imperial household, as well as the country's wealthiest foreigners.<sup>210</sup> Tokyo's clubs were accessible to most foreign travellers virtually by virtue of them being from overseas. A well connected foreigner could easily find a way to dine at the Tokyo Club amid the country's financiers, foreign naval officers and military attachés.<sup>211</sup> A key feature of these clubs was reciprocity. Being a member of one prestigious club guaranteed a member certain privileges with other clubs which were held in affiliation.

Some clubs even became tourist attractions, such as Tokyo's Maple Club or *Koyo-kwan*. Here a visitor could mingle with an international crowd of officers, merchants or students in the atmosphere of a sprawling traditional Japanese style building. Known for its excellent restaurant, members could wile away the hours with their fellows or guests while being entertained by dancing girls.<sup>212</sup> Kobe resident and naturalist, Richard Gordon Smith, was mesmerised by the elegance of Tokyo's Maple Club, commenting, '*there is nothing to see and yet there is everything to see. So clean and so absolutely artistic in every detail that you are left in wonder and to wonder to yourself, are you the civilized Briton, really civilized at all? What is your house or your club in comparison to this?*'<sup>213</sup> Clearly, Japanese interpretations of British metropolitan clubland were perhaps more

---

<sup>210</sup> Cortazzi, H. 1988. *Kipling's Japan: Collected Writings*, London. pp. 226.

<sup>211</sup> Swanson, B. (eds). 2012. *A Plain Sailor in China: The Life of and Times of Cdr. I.V. Gillis, USN*, Annapolis. Chapter. 3

<sup>212</sup> Lloyd, A. 1909. *Every-Day Japan: Written After Twenty-Five Years Residence and Work in the Country*. London. pp. 295-6

<sup>213</sup> Gordon-Smith, R. 1898. *Travels in the Lands of the Gods*, London. pp. 34.

in line with contemporary British modernity, and by contrast it was foreign club association in the settlements that had remained static and parochial. Meiji intellectuals, such as Fukuzawa, had seen the value of the club as a forum for political discussion marked by its independence from the sphere of central government. In contrast to British club culture, Japan's associational clubs had a degree of transparency that was often lacking in metropolitan London. This is perhaps demonstrated by the active role that women had in promoting their own institutions as well as the mixed gatherings at the Rokumeikan. While class and status played a role in both countries, it is quite clear that Japanese club aficionados were keen to socialise with foreigners as equals, a courtesy that, sadly, was often not reciprocated by those living in the settlements.

### **Conclusions:**

Cain and Hopkins<sup>214</sup> have employed the term Gentlemanly Capitalism to describe what they see as the process of international gentrification, which helped to establish a common pattern of social and cultural behaviour amongst the upper-class of Britain's imperial possessions. As Britain grew as an economic power, so too did the power and influence of an already entrenched group of elite society that had existed prior to the era of imperial expansion overseas. This elite society was bound by a common goal that transcended the boundaries of the British homeland. Effectively, what

---

<sup>214</sup> Cain, P. J & Hopkins, A. G. 1987. Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1945, in *The Economic History Review*, NS, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Feb), pp. 1-26.

emerged was a global imperial elite that broke free of the traditional notion of gentrification being synonymous with land ownership. The status of landed gentry remained largely intact and indeed could arguably be considered as the initial social model from which the new transoceanic elite based themselves upon. Throughout the British Empire the elite were drawn together by a common purpose and adhered to similar set of cultural and behavioural codes of practice. Even though many of these social groups were divided geographically and operated in differing contexts, they nevertheless followed distinctly similar lifestyles, displayed many of the same characteristics, and developed a number of interests and associations that transcended local and regional frontiers<sup>215</sup>. During the period throughout the British colonial territories, class structure was both mirrored and distorted in relation to the homeland. Thus, the imperial British hierarchy was viewed as the prime model for society amongst its subjects, and the reinforcement of British metropolitan hierarchies overseas was considered the norm<sup>216</sup>.

In relation to the foreign community residing in Kobe and the other former treaty ports of Japan, it is a fair assumption to presume that the English-print media played a crucial role in terms of promotion and standardisation of

---

<sup>215</sup> Bowen, H. V. 2002, in *Gentlemanly Capitalism and the Making of a Global British Empire: Some Connections and Contexts, 1688-1815*, in Akita, S (eds) *Gentlemanly Capitalism, Imperialism and Global History*, London. pp. 33

<sup>216</sup> Cannadine, D. 1998, in *Class in Britain*, London. pp. 64



European manners and practices.<sup>217</sup> In general, most of the pioneers who were willing to risk their lives in search of profit in an inhospitable environment, as Japan was at that time, came to Japan convinced of the intellectual, moral and spiritual superiority of what they thought of, not as their 'culture', but rather their '*civilisation*'. There were also widely held beliefs among many concerning the superiority of their 'race', as ideas concerning the hierarchy of the races were gaining popularity throughout the Western scientific world in the latter half of the nineteenth century<sup>218</sup>.

This kind of racial superiority was expressed in a variety of ways, perhaps most notably through the agreement of extraterritoriality, which was seen as a national humiliation to many Japanese<sup>219</sup>, but also through the exclusionary policies of the clubs that were based on similarly racial lines<sup>220</sup>. Indeed, there was even a point when the Kobe Club considered passing a motion to exclude Japanese membership, eventually bowing to British consular pressure to abandon the idea. As Barr has noted, Japan was never colonised, but the

---

<sup>217</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the role of the English language press in Japan's treaty ports, see Fält, O. K. 1988. 'Image of Japan in Foreign Newspapers Published in Japan Before the Meiji Restoration', in Nish, I. (eds) *Contemporary Writing on Japan*, Paul Norbury Publications.

<sup>218</sup> Dunch, R. 2002: 310, in *Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity*, in *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Oct). pp. 301-325.

<sup>219</sup> Perez, L. G. 2000.

<sup>220</sup> The Kobe Club was in all sense and purpose a 'whites' only club. The clubs entrance policy was unashamedly classist and racist, with the unofficial rule being, no mariners, no Eurasians and no shopkeepers. There were very few Japanese members, and those who were generally held high positions in government, business or industry. A similar discussion on the racial exclusiveness of the clubs can be found in Sinha (2001). As late as the 1970s the Shioya Country Club and Estate proudly advertised that the institution was Kansai's only exclusive 'Caucasian' residence. Papers of the Harold S. Williams MS6681/1/114 (Shioya). National Library of Australia

foreigners that resided there were imperialists for all that.<sup>221</sup> Social-networking formed a crucial role within this development and the replication of a club culture is perhaps one of the most identifiable forms of association that emerged during this period.

Despite the fact that Japan was an independent power, these institutions were virtually identical to the similar institutions that emerged throughout the British Empire and were formed by an association of, to use Cain & Hopkins' term, Gentlemanly Capitalists. Similarly, the dominant voice of the treaty ports in Japan, as in China, was British. While the Chinese represented the bulk of the foreign population in the Japanese treaty ports, the British remained the most vocal and largest of the non-Asian of the foreign groups until WWI. They were the biggest bankers and the main traders. British Shipping commanded the coastal trade. The foreign press was for the most-part British owned and edited. The British consular establishment was the most well established and efficient, therefore, they were also the main exploiters of the extraterritoriality system<sup>222</sup>.

The emergence of an elite society fostered an alliance of mutual benefit forged between representatives of landowners, and the heads of trading and

---

<sup>221</sup> Barr, 1965: 245

<sup>222</sup> Hoare, J. 1999. Treaty Ports, Treaty Revision: Delusions of Grandeur?, in *The Revision of Japan's Early Commercial Treaties*, The Suntory Centre, November, 1999. pp. 18.

financial institutions<sup>223</sup>. These Gentlemanly Capitalists were at the very heart of the expansionist process, most notably in the increasingly powerful financial service sector of London in the nineteenth century. It should therefore come as no surprise that coinciding with the rise of London as an international financial hub, we see the emergence of a network of elite social clubs that came into being as a direct result of the formation of the financial sector, and whose premises were within walking distance from the London stock exchange.

If we are to take Cain & Hopkins' terminology as a given, gentlemanly capitalists were responsible for the propagation of a whole set of social mores that went hand in hand with overseas European expansion and the 'westernisation' that accompanied it. In the case of Japan, this relationship would last largely unchanged until the end of extraterritoriality in 1899. However, Japan has simultaneously occupied the roles similar to those of colonised and coloniser through the interaction with Western nations, and later in its actions towards neighbouring Asian countries.<sup>224</sup> Through the establishment of institutions such as the European Club, the Japanese were introduced to a Western society that was modelled along rigid social hierarchies. Emulation of western practices was even actively encouraged under the new government. The Imperial family were the first to set an

---

<sup>223</sup> Cain & Hopkins, 1987.

<sup>224</sup> Nishihara, D. 2005: 244, in Said, Orientalism, and Japan, in *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, No. 25, *Edward Said and Critical Decolonization*, pp. 241-253.

example by releasing a portrait of the Emperor in western attire, and leading figures such as Mori Arinori were key proponents of all things western, from personal grooming to the adoption of the English language for state affairs.<sup>225</sup> By deploying new often imported, social knowledge and models of social relationships, the new middle-class in Japan towards the end of the nineteenth century helped to create a new dialogue in order to tackle the national and social problems of the day. Even though this new middle-class constituted a politically unified body, they nevertheless formed a crucial role in the shaping of public opinion and helped influence the governing system of the new Japan.<sup>226</sup>

Were those who formed the elite society in Kobe 'gentlemanly capitalists'? The question as much as the term itself remains somewhat ambiguous. Certainly there were those among Kobe and Yokohama society who fitted the bill. However, there were also a number of individuals who were perhaps shaped by the distinct political differences that set Japan apart from the traditional colonial spheres. Above all, Japan remained sovereign, and as such, the foreign residents who chose to remain for any length of time to try and shape and manipulate the nature of the country's economic, social and political life, were in turn shaped by their relation to Japan. Despite the diversity of membership at the clubs in Japan, there remained something

---

<sup>225</sup> Esenbel, S. 1994: 157-158, in *The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks During the 19<sup>th</sup> c.*, in *Japan Review*, 5, pp. 145-185.

<sup>226</sup> Ambaras, D. R. 1998. Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle-Class in Japan, 1895-1912, in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1. (Winter). pp. 1-33.

distinctly Anglophile about their set-up giving them a characteristic reminiscent of similar institutions that existed wherever the British had any political or economic influence. In this respect, the European club was an institution that emerged virtually as a direct result of imperialist expansion, and as such, they can be found in any country that has had a history of economic or social interaction with the British Empire. These clubs acted as institutions that represented the metropole of the home nation in the peripheral society of whichever country they happened to be in. In this sense, the clubs can be seen as satellites of Western metropole society whereby among their varied roles as places of amusement and relaxation, they were also used as arenas for the propagation of Western hegemonic ideologies. The European club, therefore, emerged in Japan at precisely the time when a new European public world of politics and economics was being consolidated in Meiji era Japan and in many other spheres of European influence.

European elites, it has been argued, were 'processed'<sup>227</sup> for domestic and social life in the overseas community. Effectively forming a network of communities that were replicated along similar lines both culturally and spatially, foreign clubs served as a training ground for how representatives of their society were expected to behave. By 1932 there were as many as 24 foreign clubs and institutions operating in Kobe alone.<sup>228</sup> Interport sporting

---

<sup>227</sup> Sinha, M. 2001.

<sup>228</sup> Anon. 1933. *Kobe - the Premier Port of Japan: issued in commemoration of the first port festival*, Kobe.

competitions were a yearly event in most calendars in the clubs of Kobe, Yokohama and Shanghai helping maintain bonds that transcended formal business dealings, and contemporary accounts allude that they were highly regarded events that were sources of enormous pride.<sup>229</sup>

Just as in other communities where clubs emerged, these institutions served as a way of incorporating Europeans abroad into a new political and social order. However, just as the Anglo-Indian community was separated from the native society, so too was the foreign community in Kobe. While Japan appears to have not been so racially segregated as the colonial spheres of India or Africa, the Japanese and Western residents rarely mixed in a social setting that could be called cosmopolitan. Hearn's description of crossing the concession line as being akin to, '*crossing the Pacific Ocean, which is much less wide than the differences between the races*',<sup>230</sup> hints that internationalism was the ideal but not the norm.

---

<sup>229</sup> Black, J. R. 1881. *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo*, London. Williams, H. S. Anon. 1933. *Kobe: the Premier Port of Japan, 65 years of progress in trade, industry, commerce and shipping, 1868-1933*. 1970. *The Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club*, Kobe.

<sup>230</sup> Hearn, L. 1896. *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life*, Boston.

## **Chapter 2:** **Settler Society and the Club.**

### **I**

#### **Introduction:**

Clearly, the formation of associational clubs was not unique to the Japanese treaty ports. While the previous chapter outlined their development and influence upon the Japanese socio-cultural environment throughout the late 1800s, this chapter sheds light on the individuals who frequented them. Divided into two sections, the main focus of section (I) is concerned with the evidence we have for the importance of the club to settler society in the literature of nineteenth century sojourners, diplomats, engineers and other visitors. Within this literature, we can identify the different channels taken by new arrivals to the port whereby residents sought to align themselves with particularly influential sections of treaty port society. Moving on from this, we explore the abstract concept of ‘clubbability’, the factors that combined to make a resident of the settlements ‘clubbable’, or in other words, worthy of club membership. Being clubbable was commensurate with gentlemanly character, and our final sections show how, through various measures facilitated by club membership, elite sections of settlement society began increasingly distancing themselves from the wider Japanese populace.

Moving on from this theme, section (II) examines the influence of the British in port society. While the ports were home to a diverse number of nationalities, British residents numbered almost three quarters of the white population up until the Great War. This section illustrates that despite consisting of a group of individuals from diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, outside observers had a tendency to clarify settlement society as ‘English’ in character. This common perception was no doubt fuelled by the virtual Anglophone domination of the settlement social scene, which included the foreign press, and was countered only by the presence of the Germans who had their own club. Nevertheless, some affluent foreign merchants certainly aped the mannerisms and demeanour similar to those of the British gentry. This section argues that the increased insularity of Kobe’s English speaking ‘international’ community contributed greatly toward a sense of anti-foreign feeling amongst the local Japanese population who increasingly viewed the extraterritorial system, and those who facilitated it, as a national insult.

### **Foreign Life Under the Treaty Ports System:**

Reminiscing about the early decades of treaty port Yokohama, the founder of the settlements oldest club commented that in the late 1860s, ‘*Society*’ was in *its embryonic stage*’.<sup>231</sup> Women in the port could be counted on the fingers of both hands and the bustling merchant community had earned itself a

---

<sup>231</sup> Mollison, J. P. 1909. The Social Life of Yokohama in the Early Days, in *Japan Gazette Yokohama Semi-Centennial*, Yokohama. pp. 41



reputation as a bawdy and often dangerous frontier town. Merchants jostled with two-sworded samurai, whalers, sealers, and a variety of seamen hailing from all over the globe, even as far away as the Pacific Islands.<sup>232</sup> Gradually, as port life became for want of a better term, more ‘civilised’, those with a vested interest in the economic success of the ports sought to distance themselves from what they viewed as the more transient elements of settlement society. Yokohama resident W. H. Griffis observed that, ‘*the predominating culture, thought, manners, dress and household economy in Yokohama, as in all Eastern ports, is English*’.<sup>233</sup> Associational clubs were the biggest social occasion for the average resident of Japan’s treaty ports. Primarily men, and occasionally, their wives, became members of a privileged, semi-colonial society who enjoyed a flourishing club scene, along with cheaply abundant servants that provided near total isolation in their daily business from the broader realities of Japanese life.

Such a lifestyle was based on the privileged status which rested on the tariff structure and the continuation of the extraterritorial system.<sup>234</sup> In the absence of any single colonial power controlling the administration of the settlements, the fraternal institutions that were run by a network of transoceanic Euro-American bourgeois came together to fill the gap normally occupied by a military or overseas civil service. Existing in the extraterritorial grey area

---

<sup>232</sup> Williams, H. S. Papers of Harold S. Williams. MS6681/2/74-79 (Yokohama). National Library of Australia.

<sup>233</sup> Griffis, W. H. 1876. *The Mikados Empire*, London. pp. 341

<sup>234</sup> Murphy, K. 1993. *Neither Out too Far Nor in too Deep: The American Merchant Experience in Japan, 1859-1899*, University of Maryland. pp. 22.

between the Japanese state and that of the Western diplomatic realm, clubmen organised themselves under the banner of trade, conviviality and camaraderie, creating institutions which sealed trade and business alliances behind closed doors, privy only to a select few within their own circle of trust. As this culture of association evolved, long term residents of these ports began to operate under local sovereignty, foreign extraterritoriality, facilitated by a tradition of laissez-faire capitalism in the region that had significant consequences on Japan's cultural and economic development as a whole.<sup>235</sup>

The clubbable elite of treaty port society were at the cusp of a new era in Japanese social and political life. Japan in the Meiji era had gone through an intense transitional phase from feudal society to modern nation state in an effort to create a sense of nationhood, which would both bring stability to the country and instill a sense of pride and loyalty amongst its citizens.<sup>236</sup> However, as Suganami has observed, the transition was not taken willingly, but was rather imposed on the Japanese who had to deal with wholly foreign and new methods of business formality, entirely new concepts of social institutions, and international relations.<sup>237</sup> Within this new cultural and political framework existed a community of outsiders through whom Japan received much of its experience of and communication with the West. It has been

---

<sup>235</sup> Taylor, J. E. 2002. The Bund: Littoral Space of Empire in the Treaty Ports of Asia, in *Social History*, Vol. 27. No 2. pp 132.

<sup>236</sup> Guth, M. E. C. 1996. Japan 1868-1945: Art, Architecture, and National Identity, in *Art Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 3, Japan 1868-1945: Art, Architecture, and National Identity (Autumn, 1996), pp. 197.

<sup>237</sup> Suganami, H. 1984. Japan's Entry into International Society, in Bull, H. and Watson, A. (eds) *The Expansion of International Society*, pp. 185-199. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

argued that throughout the nineteenth century, what we have come to know as ‘international society’ was heavily imbued with a set of cooperative norms which facilitated the transition in status of a state from ‘non-civilised’ to ‘civilised’ in order to gain entry into European International Society.<sup>238</sup> Bearing this in mind, the positioning of the club as the main community forum within the treaty port public sphere becomes clearer. In this respect the club phenomena was in itself an unconscious addition to the package of cooperative norms that accompanied the other measures which facilitated the transition of Japanese social and political life. As we have already seen, the club life of settler society in Japan differed little from that of the other ports of foreign activity in East Asia.

This is to say that social clubs provided the foreign community with a sense of purpose, whereby their premises became assembly points that allowed members the opportunity to develop a sense of pride and community that was ultimately constricted by contemporary Japanese politics. A network of expatriate clubs and associations became the mechanism through which the foreign community expressed itself culturally and dictated the de facto homosocial rules of conduct between the predominant white male population of the treaty port in the years of extraterritoriality and beyond. Gentleman’s clubs were woven into the fabric of the community on multiple social and economic levels by recreating familiar European class and racial boundaries,

---

<sup>238</sup> Gong, H. 1984. China’s Entry into International Society, in Bull, H & Watson, A (eds) *The Expansion of International Society*, London.

yet at the same time, some clubs promoted international cooperation, egalitarianism and community altruism.<sup>239</sup>

If we take Kobe as our example, a foreign resident had a choice of three institutions in the late 1800s, the Kobe Club, the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club, or the Hiogo & Osaka Lodge Freemasons. The Kobe Club was the most exclusive, generally home to members of the merchant and financial community; the K. R. & A. C. was perhaps the most egalitarian club which welcomed members from all nationalities as long as they took an interest in sport; and finally a Masonic Lodge catering to residents of all classes who were registered Freemasons. Membership of each of these bodies relied entirely on a person's standing in the community or perceived class. A Freemason might be eligible for the sports club but not the more exclusive gentleman's club, however a member of the gentleman's club might be a member of all three.

Club life prepared settlers in East Asia for various life and career paths, helping members of the community integrating into an unfamiliar society with new sets of rules and business etiquette as well as a shielding them from an equally unfamiliar native society, often potentially hostile, with an infinite number of perplexing and fascinating cultural differences of its own. Just as in

---

<sup>239</sup> Perhaps the single best example of this kind of club in Japan was the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club. Initially just a sports club, the disaster relief efforts spearheaded by the club's founders saw the club become a *shadan hojin*, a status similar to that of an NPO, where the activities of the club are considered to be in the public interest.

Europe, members affiliated with different fraternal institutions were well placed to become successful in their chosen business field, privy to networks and information often at the highest levels of government, and well positioned to enjoy a standard of living that many would have envied in their homelands.<sup>240</sup>

Upon arrival in Yokohama and Kobe foreign visitors could find European-style hotels with adjacent billiard and bowling saloons as well as a number of other less salubrious grog shops in the back streets of Native Town. Virtually cocooned from the outside world for often weeks at a time, settlers busied themselves with club life, horse and boat racing, hunting and a variety of other social occasions. Japanese servants could be readily acquired to assist settlers as *bettos*, basically grooms for horses, or as more menial ‘boys’, the general term given to most servants. Early treaty port life was unashamedly chauvinistic due to the low female populations in the first decades of extraterritoriality, making the creation of male-only social activities as an inescapable necessity. The ever present threat of alcoholism led to moderate temperance being supervised by fellow peers, becoming one of the prime reasons for the need of a designated club.

Ports, by their very nature, have always relied on large numbers of sea traffic which brought with them hordes of sailors, who by tradition have always been

---

<sup>240</sup> David Henry James, president of the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club, counted Genera Nogi, Lord Northcliffe and Sun-Yat Sen amongst some of his acquaintances, which even included members of the Imperial household. James was also published a number of articles of the Kobe Chronicle and was an author in his own right. See Chapter 6 this volume and also, James, D. H. 1951. *Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*, London.

heavy drinkers while in port. Public drunkenness amongst sailors was a common complaint among the more respectable treaty port residents, and as Dower has suggested, more than a few traders and visiting seamen fell short of being exemplary goodwill ambassadors. A law unto themselves, foreign sailors often clashed with seamen from elsewhere in the region in deadly knife fights where several deaths were the common outcome.<sup>241</sup>

Asia's treaty ports could never be portrayed as shining examples of moral rectitude, however, Yokohama in particular, quickly gained a reputation as the 'Wild East' with one quarter of the settlement affectionately known as '*Bloodtown*'.<sup>242</sup> By 1865 the settlement had five hotels, twenty-five grog shops and an unrecorded number of brothels. Less than half a decade after the port had opened the settlement perfectly embodied the contrasting aspects of sobriety and vice, wealth and squalor that so characterised the treaty ports of East Asia.<sup>243</sup> Isolation, the great fear of overseas service, was less of a problem for settlers in East Asia, with the decline of a man's moral character being the real threat. '*The East, alas!*' wrote Hugh Clifford, '*has too often had the power to debase the moral standard of the white men who have settled in it*'.<sup>244</sup>

---

<sup>241</sup> Mayers, W. F. (et al.) 1867. *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan: a complete guides to the open ports of those countries, together with Peking, Yedo, Hong Kong and Macao*, London. pp. 104

<sup>242</sup> Dower, J. W. 2008. *Yokohama Boomtown*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

<sup>243</sup> Dulles, F. R. 1965. *Yankees and Samurai: America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan: 1791-1900*, New York. pp. 78

<sup>244</sup> Clifford, H. 1906. *Heroes of Exile*, London. pp. 5

This degeneration might take one of several forms: ‘barbarism’, ‘loafing’ or ‘going native’. Loafing meant the loss of self-esteem where a man could quickly succumb to the very real threat of alcoholism, and nothing redeeming was perceived by ‘going native’, which usually meant taking an Asian mistress, something which most Westerners in Japan indulged in, showing the very different attitudes towards Japanese couplings to those that existed elsewhere in East Asia.<sup>245</sup>

It is therefore no surprise that more respectable members of treaty port society sought the refuge of their own social club, not merely to differentiate themselves from the rougher elements of the port, but also as a means of grounding themselves in the standards, of their own societies, or at least as close as they could possibly replicate them. As the years progressed, a picture emerges of a community that was anxious to prove its level of civility, as the residents of the settlements strove to convey that, despite being on the periphery of the European imperial enclaves, theirs was a society equal to that of any European metropolitan centre. As most of port society was made up of self-made men, emulating the familiar trappings of an upper class life became symbols of success in the open ports.

Costs were cheap in the early days, and a merchant earning two-hundred and fifty yen a month could live a life of luxury. Servants were affordable,

---

<sup>245</sup> Leupp, G. P. 2003. *Interracial Intimacy: western men and Japanese women 1593-1900*, London.

champagne sales unusually high, and a person's standing in the community could be buoyed by the measure of their hospitality.<sup>246</sup> Dinner parties were held *ad nauseam* with one Yokohama resident bemoaning, '*dinner is the test of success in life [in the settlements]*'.<sup>247</sup> To the outsider, port society often appeared gauche, and residents of the foreign settlements were self-consciously aware of how their community was perceived by the outside world. Visitors to the ports generally painted the residents in a poor light, with one commenting that, '*it is the fashion to gush about Japan. Everyone does so, except the Europeans who live there*'.<sup>248</sup> Japan was after all, little more than an exotic outpost for many Europeans in the late 1800s, and the foreign community had developed what could be termed as a 'treaty port cringe' in their sensitivity to the barb of B. I. J., being 'born in Japan'.<sup>249</sup>

Clubs had multiple purposes, they were agents for forwarding mail, spaces for private and business introductions, arenas for the exchange of crucial information, and perhaps most importantly, schools for survival, teaching new arrivals the best habits for surviving overseas life.<sup>250</sup> Lafcadio Hearn once confided to a close colleague that he did not care for treaty port residents, '*because they are never happy unless they are in evening dress, and I abhor evening*

---

<sup>246</sup> Checkland, O. 2003. *Japan and Britain After 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges*, London. pp. 10

<sup>247</sup> Griffis, W. H. 1876. pp. 341

<sup>248</sup> Braham, J. J. 1918. *The Surgeon's Log: impressions of the Far East*, London. pp. 118

<sup>249</sup> Williams, H. S. 1958. *Tales of the Foreign Settlements*, Tokyo. pp. 25

<sup>250</sup> Rich, P. J. 1991. *Chains of Empire: English Public Schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom*, London. pp. 170



*dress*'.<sup>251</sup> As Lafcadio Hearn observed, British residents in East Asia in particular were more likely to dress in evening suits ten times more often than they would at home. This predilection towards maintaining seemingly archaic customs abroad became the central theme of Somerset Maugham's 1924 *The Outstation*, where the central character Warburton routinely dresses for dinner despite being the only Englishman for hundreds of miles in colonial Borneo.<sup>252</sup> Such was the pretense of a luxurious or well-to-do lifestyle among the treaty port residents during Hearn's term as a guest editor of the Kobe Chronicle in the late 1890s.

For Hearn to single out this particular trait which provoked his ire, we can surmise that, from Kobe to Borneo, club life had become entrenched in the lives of the average treaty port resident. But how can we discern what impact the abstract notion of 'clubbability' had as a value in the treaty port arena of the Meiji era? What were the reasons for the clubs popularity and why was membership so central to the success of treaty port life? 'Clubbable' was how Dr. Johnson described his eventual biographer, the Scotsman James Boswell, with the word thereafter embedded in the English lexicon to be used as a badge of distinction upon bearer. To be clubbable, is to be fit to be a member of a club, whereby the member does not merely get something out of the club but also contributes to it.<sup>253</sup>

---

<sup>251</sup> Foxwell, E. 1908. Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn, in Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London, Vol. VII, Seventeenth Session, 1907-1908. Part I. pp. 71

<sup>252</sup> Maugham, S. 1924. *The Outstation*, London.

<sup>253</sup> Darwin, B. 1943. *British Clubs*, London. pp. 2.

This reciprocal give-and-take relationship with the club, particularly, but not exclusively, in the overseas context, acted as a cultural comfort blanket for Western expatriate residents throughout wider Asia. Reciprocity was a key feature of club privilege, and one of the prime rationales behind their establishment overseas. Membership of one elite club generally guaranteed a members acceptance at another, giving patrons access to an almost unbroken network of worldwide institutions that stretched around the globe. Members of the Yokohama Club, for instance, were affiliated with sister institutions in China and India where they could enjoy all the privileges on offer thanks to the reciprocal agreement that existed between them.<sup>254</sup> New arrivals to the ports were drawn into a network of organisations that enlarged their social circle of acquaintances and promoted a sense of civic identity among the community.

A vibrant social scene was pivotal in keeping all overseas Europeans entertained throughout the colonial public sphere, and Japan was to be no different. Kobe and Yokohama, the two main centres of foreign trade, became renowned throughout the globe as centres of sociality, where the daily pattern of life treaty port life revolved around the club and maintaining a set of exclusively guarded networks. Days started late and finished early. Socialising at the club took up most evenings whereas weekends were devoted to the popular recreational sports of the day, such as hunting, cricket, rowing or

---

<sup>254</sup> Finck, H. T. 1895. *Lotos-time in Japan*, New York. pp. 15

horse racing. In such a way, club life had become synonymous with home life, essentially replicating the domestic sphere of the West, while effectively shielding members from having to deal with, what they perceived as, their less sophisticated hosts. Yokohama and Kobe's success as trading ports brought them international fame which attracted tourists from around the globe as well as drawing the attention of an array of vaunted European writers and artists.<sup>255</sup>

The concept of the club itself became a corporate brand identity, an emblem of exclusiveness. Membership to the right institution could serve a man well throughout his life by giving him a professional identity, earning him the respect and affiliation of an elite peer group. By presenting oneself as clubbable, treaty port residents were setting themselves apart from non-Europeans in a temporary refuge where the corporate identity of the overseas European was institutionalised and ritualised.<sup>256</sup> Examining the clubs via the literature associated with Japan's treaty ports brings into sharp focus the many channels through which empire, politics, and commercial expansion affected the transformation of Japan, but perhaps more importantly, the flaws in the relationship between both foreign and Japanese that were allowed to go unchecked for decades.

---

<sup>255</sup> Pierre Loti, Lafcadio Hearn and Rudyard Kipling are perhaps the three most famous writers to take an interest in Japan, each staying for extended periods in the country.

<sup>256</sup> Stockwell, A. J. 1982. *The White Man's Burden and Brown Humanity: Colonialism and Ethnicity in British Malaya*, in *Southeast Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 48

### **Gauging Clubbability:**

Clubbability in its British context was gradually validating the changes in social status that were taking place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where the many social arrangements, social relations, and social participation were being directly transferred to the world of empire. The clubs with their rigid social demarcations of worthiness or unworthiness of membership were easily transported to the colonies where the same rules that applied to social status were now shifted to that of racial status. In this regard the clubs were the successor of the English public school system whereby members were 'schooled' for various career paths within a particularly British context, as the influence of the metropole expanded its reach to the colonies, club life became synonymous with imperial service.<sup>257</sup>

Although widespread, club membership numbers were never huge. Yet neither was the public school population of Britain. What matters most was that, just as with the public schools, club membership was drawn from the ranks that held political, economic and social power and therefore their causality in the development of Western capitalism and economic dominance in the region makes their development as a phenomena worth documenting.<sup>258</sup> Passengers arriving by boat up the Huangpu River to the Shanghai bund were greeted by the looming skyline of the Shanghai Club at

---

<sup>257</sup> Black, B. 2012. pp. 148

<sup>258</sup> Rich, P. 1991. pp. 181

one end and the largest bank and Customs House at the other, leaving little doubt as to where the centres of power lay within the settlement itself.<sup>259</sup>

Mercantile success of port cities like Kobe and Yokohama led to their popularity as tourist destinations for those seeking their own Oriental adventure. What were initially dangerous outposts for the few Western merchants and sailors who were willing to base themselves at the edge of Asia, had been transformed by the 1880s had made them attractive locales in which to live. Although quite distinct from the hill stations of the British Raj,<sup>260</sup> Japan's treaty ports exhibited many similarities to such environs where class and race became the central criteria for acceptance in an often rigidly caste driven community. Elsewhere in the colonial public sphere of East Asia's treaty ports, the social distance created by exclusive white clubs, informal cliques, and disdain for Europeans who married Asians, allowed most Europeans to avoid thinking about the contradictions between modernisation and racial ideology of colonial society. Instead, racial ideology was articulated in the club and legitimated the vast inequality in economic terms between Europeans and Asians.

The position of the Western male in Japan had radically changed by the 1860s. While previously the Dutch had been hemmed in by Japanese wary of

---

<sup>259</sup> Clifford, N. R. 1991. *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese revolution of the 1920s*, London. pp. 71

<sup>260</sup> Kennedy, D. K. 1996. *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj*, University of California.

the costs involved in regard to inter-cultural exposure with Europeans, nineteenth century treaty port residents behaved with an impunity and confidence backed up by consular jurisdiction. Prominent merchants and official representatives found themselves actively involved in a number of roles and activities. Most of the settlements high profile businessmen belonged to the Chamber of Commerce, of which a few would then be on the board of the Municipal Council, the Club committee, and many more involved themselves in the various sporting activities popular at the time. Clubs and clubmen were at the very heart of the nineteenth century notions regarding power, class, and urban space.<sup>261</sup> They were in effect, carving out their own mini-imperial enclaves that, thanks to the benefits of the unfair system of extraterritoriality, allowed them to live affluent and often semi-autonomous lifestyles.<sup>262</sup>

The foreign presence in Japan was widely hated, at best tolerated, where attitudes reminiscent of the colonial mindset of the nineteenth century began to take a superior and condescending stance towards the Japanese in relation to Europeans.<sup>263</sup> As Western life in the settlements became more entrenched, the arrogance and general social exclusiveness of the foreign trading, banking

---

<sup>261</sup> Milne-Smith, A. 2011. *London Clubland: a Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late Victorian Britain*, London. pp. 3

<sup>262</sup> Wirgman poked fun at the laziness of the foreign community who were more occupied with extracurricular activities than with business in the port, *The Japan Punch*, vol. 2. pp. 168. The Keswick branch of the Jardine dynasty in China regularly headed the board of the Shanghai Municipal Council, which in its early years was dominated by Scots, giving rise to the moniker Shanghailanders, an amalgamation of Shanghai and Highlander. Hann, J. H. 1984. *The Shanghai Municipal Council, 1850-1865*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch, vol. 24

<sup>263</sup> Leupp, G. P. 2003. pp. 127

and official classes in Japan drove a wedge between the two communities that resulted in significant changes throughout Japanese society, giving rise to what some contemporary authors have referred to as a psychological inferiority complex amongst the Japanese.<sup>264</sup> Yet, conversely, Japan and the Japanese maintained an enigmatic status in the eyes of the Euro-American community, and the success of the treaty port system itself paved the way for a new burgeoning tourism market catering to middle-class ‘globetrotters’.<sup>265</sup>

However, the extraterritorial settler was neither a colonist nor a tourist, and if an inferiority complex existed, it stemmed largely from the Japanese intellectual elite who saw both the settler and Japan’s march toward Enlightenment as a necessary evil.<sup>266</sup> There were, of course, a myriad of individuals who were in Japan for a similar myriad of reasons. Unfortunately, merchant traders were not keen diarists, and their true thoughts on matters such as imperialism, race or even spirituality remain wholly unknown to us. Evidence of the centrality of the club as a social mechanism and its influence are exhibited in the ubiquity of mentions regarding them in virtually every contemporary account of the settlements. Yet it was due to that very same exclusivity, which has resulted in much of the details about their true social function being hidden, as these mentions are often only two to three lines in length, or a maximum of a page or two. Thankfully there are enough detailed

---

<sup>264</sup> Abend, H. E. 1944. *Treaty Ports*, New York. pp. 176; Steadman, J. 1969. *The Myth of Asia*, New York. pp. 35

<sup>265</sup> The term ‘globetrotter’ initially appears to have been a derogatory term in the late nineteenth century, and may even have entered the English lexicon via the Japanese foreign settlements. Foreign trade facilitated the rise of Japan as a tourist destination, which spawned a number of travelogues between 1860-1930.

<sup>266</sup> Irokawa, D. 1985. *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton. pp. 74-75

accounts of the clubs that when combined with other contemporary sources, a picture of a cliquish, often unashamedly parochial business community emerges. Writing in the early 1900s, North China Herald Correspondent George Murray perfectly summed up the Kobe settler community *vis-a-vis* the Japanese in two words, '*petty; comfortable*'.<sup>267</sup>

While the clubs remained exclusive to an extent, what emerges regarding status in settlement society in Japan involved a mixture of official standing, as in diplomatic postings and individual merit. Many men chose to settle permanently in Japan in what would appear to be a mixture of both solid commitment to the country's development and the more tangible reasons of familial ties with Japanese spouses. However, those who did commit to Japanese life more often than not lived distinctly Western lifestyles, even sending their half-Japanese children to school abroad.<sup>268</sup> Rather than developing a cordial relationship throughout the forty odd years of extraterritoriality, the evidence suggests that business rivalry between foreigners and Japanese deteriorated dramatically in the years after 1900.<sup>269</sup>

However, throughout British Asia the Japanese were generally exempt from the usual disdain in which fraternisation and intimate relationships were

---

<sup>267</sup> Murray, G. T. 1906. *The Land of the Tatami*, Shanghai. pp. 9

<sup>268</sup> Frank M. Jonas of Kobe had a Japanese mother and an English father, but was schooled in Scotland. Yet, by contrast, Scottish lighthouse-keeper Joseph Dick lived a distinctly Japanese lifestyle, taking a Japanese wife with whom he had two children after separating with his Scottish wife and family in 1875. Harold S. Williams Papers, National Library of Australia (MS6681/3/14+26)

<sup>269</sup> Young, R. 1919. The Foreigner in Japan, in Morton-Cameron, W. H. (eds) *Present-Day Impressions of Japan*, London. pp. 411-412.



looked upon in relation to other ethnicities. In racially charged Shanghai for example, in the British controlled police force, a relationship with a Japanese woman was deemed acceptable, to a point, yet a similar arrangement with a Russian or Chinese was considered less so.<sup>270</sup> Such ambiguity towards racial mixing is evident in the demographic records of the treaty port populations. Reports inevitably fail to record the numbers of Chinese resident in the ports, despite the fact that they vastly outnumbered the western residents. Neither do they include the wives or children nor the number of residents who were involved in the so-called permanent or impermanent ‘marriages’ that took place between Japanese or Chinese women.<sup>271</sup>

Mixed relationships in Japan were widespread long before their penetration into contemporary popular culture of the day à la Puccini’s *Madama Butterfly*. Puccini no doubt borrowing the title from the infamous Butterfly Game, an arrangement concocted by Japanese go-betweens to find suitable matches for foreigners with young brides. Such marriages were perfectly legal but often short, sometimes for as little as two years, after which the marriage would be annulled once the foreign suitor returned home.<sup>272</sup> Prejudices of the day on both sides of the cultural divide created difficulties for mixed couplings, which may have led to marriages remaining ‘unofficial’ in the eyes of either foreign or

---

<sup>270</sup> Bickers, R. 2004. *Empire Made Me: an Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*, London. (digital edition)

<sup>271</sup> Ennals, P. 2014. *Opening a Window to the West: the foreign concession at Kobe, 1868-1899*, Toronto. pp.

147

<sup>272</sup> Barr, P. 1989. *The Deer Cry Pavilion: a story of westerners in Japan*, London. pp. 185

Japanese law.<sup>273</sup> Yet it appears that such ‘arrangements’ were extremely common, perhaps more so with those less concerned about their own social standing in the business community or with the many transient residents who passed through the ports.<sup>274</sup> Soldiers had many ‘comfortable arrangements’ with Japanese women as observed by J. J. Mahlmann who commented on the many mothers who lined the streets sobbing with the children of the British and French soldiers in Yokohama in 1875.<sup>275</sup> Similarly, the lack of Western women was still common enough in the 1890s when Henry Finck visited Yokohama commenting that, ‘*club life plays a very prominent role in Yokohama, partly owing to the fact that so many of the residents have no family ties*’.<sup>276</sup>

However, while interracial marriages were common in the settlements, the offspring of those relationships suffered some degree of discrimination, most notably from the so-called ‘international’ community. A young British student interpreter, John Twizell Wawn, was chastised by Ernest Satow for having a relationship with a ‘Eurasian’ woman, the daughter of, according to Satow, ‘*a Japanese of no particular reputation and a vulgar Englishwoman*’. Apparently without any irony, as Satow was himself married to a Japanese woman, he complained that, ‘*it would be most undesirable that any man who may eventually*

---

<sup>273</sup> Some of the earliest mixed marriages between foreigners and Japanese were surprisingly between British women and Japanese men who had been exchange students in Britain. See, Noboru, K. 2002. Three Meiji Marriages between Japanese Men and English Women, in Cortazzi, H. (eds.) *Britain and Japan, Biographical Portraits Volume IV*, London. pp. 383-396.

<sup>274</sup> St. John, C. H. 1880. *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Nippon*, Edinburgh. pp. 218.

<sup>275</sup> Mahlmann, J. J. 1918. *Reminiscences of an Ancient Mariner*, Yokohama. pp. 123-124

<sup>276</sup> Finck, H. T. 1895. pp. 15

*become consul; should marry a woman who is also a Japanese subject*'.<sup>277</sup> The entire exchange suggests Satow's own relationship with a Japanese woman had been a hindrance to his career, as he was never able to officially consummate the marriage under British law. Yet contrary to Satow's disdain for mixed marriages, his own appears to have been a happy one.<sup>278</sup> Surprisingly, in some cases, foreign, or children from a mixed relationship suffered less discrimination amongst their Japanese classmates at school. Suggesting that, towards the end of the Meiji era at least, attitudes towards internationalism were more receptive among younger Japanese than previously thought.<sup>279</sup> Satow's objections seem bizarre given his own situation, however, Wawn's subsequent blackballing from the Kobe Club soon after suggests that the interpreter paid little heed to his superiors advice.

British Consul J. C. Hall attributed the blackballing to the fact that Hall himself was Wawn's proposer. Hall describes, '*a very bad spirit at the [Kobe] Club*', showing that despite the political clout of being Consul, his standing in the community relied heavily upon cooperation with those in the merchant community.<sup>280</sup> The reason for the blackballing is not specified in Hall's correspondence. However, it was more than likely related to the fact that tariffs were to be normalised throughout the country a year later in 1899,

---

<sup>277</sup> Ruxton, I. C. 2007. *The Semi-Official Letters of British Envoy Sir Ernest Satow from Japan and China, 1895-1906*, North Carolina. pp. 77

<sup>278</sup> Ruxton, I. C. pp. 2010. *The Diaries of Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900)*, North Carolina. pp. xix

<sup>279</sup> McDonald, H. 2014. *A War of Words: the man who talked 4000 Japanese into surrender*, University of Queensland.

<sup>280</sup> Ruxton, I. C. 2005. *Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900*, London. pp. 406

suggesting there was still widespread disapproval amongst the merchant community with regard to the ending of the extraterritorial system. Most merchants feared the end of their fragile trade monopolies and favoured the continuation of a system that shielded their affluent lifestyles. In this case memories concerning business honesty were extremely short. In addition, many businessmen were quick to criticise Japanese trade duplicity,<sup>281</sup> all the while forgetting the role that merchants had in almost bankrupting the Japanese by buying their gold, weight for weight with silver, an action which nearly brought the country to its knees in the 1870s.<sup>282</sup> If there was any truth to the accusation of trade duplicity, the Japanese had learned from the best.

Blackballing at the clubs clearly had a political motive, and a similar case involving the Belgian Consul at the Yokohama United Club suggests that such action was routinely exercised to pressure diplomatic staff in the settlements. Just how effective this measure was is difficult to quantify. However, being denied access to the club would have meant being outside of the loop in terms of the key business and financial arrangements that were taking place. Animosity towards consular staff can be traced to the very earliest days of settlement which suggests that such behaviour had virtually become part of port politics by the 1890s.<sup>283</sup> The overall impression is given that the mercantile community used this tactic to block unpopular officials gaining

---

<sup>281</sup> Cray, O. 1904. *Japan and its Regeneration*, New York. pp. 29; Mattock, A. T. 1911. *Japan for a Week (Britain Forever)*, London.

<sup>282</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 112

<sup>283</sup> Jones, F. C. 1931. *Extraterritoriality in Japan and Other Diplomatic Relations*, London. pp. 54.

access to worthwhile information in an age where communications were still largely done face to face.

Settlement society could often be rigidly complex in relation to class and ethnicity. In regard to the Kobe Club much social injustice was done due to the exclusion of the unspecified racial category of ‘Eurasians’.<sup>284</sup> This inevitably included children born of mixed marriages, where even white members of society who were born in Japan found themselves ineligible for membership unless their fathers were high-ranking members.<sup>285</sup>

Single men involved in commercial activity were often expected to take a Japanese ‘wife’, with the relationship benefitting both the wife’s family economically and the merchant, by providing him lucrative business links of association through the wife’s family.<sup>286</sup> On the subject of interracial marriages and social standing, what was deemed acceptable and what was not is extremely difficult to clarify. Marriages recognised under British law, for example, required wives to become British citizens, and virtual prisoners in their own country as they would have been confined to life within the foreign settlement. Conversely, couplings that fell short of this arrangement tended to be recognised only in Japan, making them easier to walk away from, meaning they were often sham marriages set up for business reasons only. As

---

<sup>284</sup> ‘Eurasian’ was a term in wide use throughout British Asia. Neither European nor Asian, individuals classed as such tended to occupy a distinct social limbo. See, Yap, F. 2011. Eurasians in British Asia during the Second World War, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 21, Issue 4, pp. 485-505

<sup>285</sup> Williams, H. S. 1975. *The Kobe Club*, Kobe. pp. 228-239, Abend, H. E. 1944. pp. 183

<sup>286</sup> Leffingwell, A. 1892. *Rambles Through Japan Without a Guide*, London. pp. 8

foreigners were unable to buy land, this inconvenience could be circumnavigated via marriage with a Japanese. A case involving foreigners wishing to secure land on the summit of Mt. Rokko in 1899 shows that they appear to have done so in their wives names to sidestep the embargo on foreigners obtaining property in the region.<sup>287</sup> Again, this proves that cries of ‘duplicity’ were more often the pot calling the kettle black.

How the children of these marriages fared is also difficult to pinpoint. Seemingly, the term ‘Eurasian’ was an incredibly loose term which appears to have had as much to do with social status as it did with racial categorisation. In colonial Singapore for example, the European Singapore Cricket Club was exclusively white, while the Singapore Recreation Club catered to the Eurasian population.<sup>288</sup> By the 1890s many merchants had committed themselves to a live out their lives in Japan as many had Japanese spouses and Japanese children. Commenting in 1892 Albert Leffingwell stated that:

*‘the intermingling in commercial relations of Occidental and Oriental races seems everywhere in Asia to create a new theory of morals. What would be regarded decidedly wrong at home looks right enough in Asia... [in Yokohama] a new race is growing up, corresponding with the Eurasian of British India.’<sup>289</sup>*

---

<sup>287</sup> Ruxton, I. C. 2005. pp. 405

<sup>288</sup> Yap, F. 2011. pp. 487

<sup>289</sup> Leffingwell, A. 1892. pp. 8

However, by striving to protect their tariff rights foreigners had effectively boxed themselves into a corner. Forbidden from entering into partnerships with their Japanese equivalents, foreign firms were gradually being edged by competing Japanese firms, a situation which continued until only the largest and most well-established firms were left.<sup>290</sup> Only a decade before Leffingwell wrote the above statement the U.S had passed the Chinese Exclusion Act effectively barring Chinese from settling there.

However, Eurasians in some contexts were seen as embodying the best of both worlds, often balancing on the tightrope between prejudice and privilege.<sup>291</sup> Their exclusion from the clubs is all the more puzzling as it appears to contradict the development of settlement society itself. Shunned by the city's most exclusive club, Kobe's growing Indian population formed their own in 1904, known as the Oriental Club, later becoming the Indian Club in 1913. By 1910 the Kobe Club was now being touted as a British Club (inclusive of all nationalities) presumably in juxtaposition to the Concordia which was listed merely as German.<sup>292</sup> Rather than consolidating a sense of an international community by 1900, what appears to have taken place was

---

<sup>290</sup> Erhold, E. 1891. *Seas and Lands*, New York. pp. 388

<sup>291</sup> Teng, E. J. 2013. *Eurasian: Mixed Identities in the United States, China, and Hong Kong, 1842–1943*, University of California Press. pp. 5

<sup>292</sup> Anon. 1910. *The Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c: With which are Incorporated "The China Directory" and "The Hong Kong List for the Far East"*, Hong Kong. pp. 647

the stratification of society along more increasingly national or political allegiances.

British heel-dragging in regard to treaty revision in the 1880s had driven the Japanese to seek closer consul with Germany as Britain routinely hesitated on treaty revision in spite of French, German, Russian and U. S advancements towards fairer trade relations.<sup>293</sup> Yet despite the military alliance between Britain and Japan in 1902, signed rather ironically in what would later become the Lansdowne Club, and its renewal in 1905 and 1911, the Alliance was viewed as a superficial agreement in the eyes of the local English language press.<sup>294</sup> Proof that it was indeed a shallow friendship was shown in 1919 when Britain, forced by its obligation to Australia, voted in unison with the United States in rejecting Japan's bid for racial equality at Versaille in 1919. Foreign lifestyles in Japan no doubt played their part, ultimately contributing to a continued mood of disillusionment with the West amongst the Japanese.<sup>295</sup>

In relation to mixed relationships with the Japanese, there were undeniably many men who cared little regarding the official viewpoints of the British establishment. It was often the case that wives were openly acknowledged in Japan but kept from public knowledge in the West.<sup>296</sup> Bachelor lifestyles, however, were persuasively encouraged by British and American firms who

---

<sup>293</sup> Ernold, E. 1891. pp. 383

<sup>294</sup> *Japan Chronicle, Jubilee Number 1918*

<sup>295</sup> Shimazu, N. 1999. *Japan, Race, and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919*, London.

<sup>296</sup> Checkland, O. 1989. *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*, University of Glasgow. Pp. 101



forbade their young staff to marry young. The International Banking Corporation was just one among many of the foreign businesses who actively dissuaded their white employees from marrying until they had reached the grade of accountant, usually requiring more than a decade of service.<sup>297</sup> Those who bucked the trend inevitably blew any chances of promotion and this unwritten rule was just one of the many ways the younger 'griffins' life-paths were guided by the older 'hands' in the treaty ports.

Brothels were, of course, everywhere, and Kobe, in particular, had a number of establishments which catered to western clientele only, with Japanese being excluded. However, the club also provided another less well-documented service by hosting events that catered to the 'China Coasters', travelling prostitutes, usually European or American, who plied their trade through the network of trading ports with Yokohama and Kobe being their final port of call. As sexual disease was rife, these women acquired a reputation for cleanliness and apparently many made small fortunes through attending various organised club balls and regattas.<sup>298</sup> The method behind this rather arcane and controlling system forced younger employees to seek companionship at the club, inevitably chaired by the very same captains of industry who discouraged their personnel from engaging in any form of independent lifestyle.

---

<sup>297</sup> Abend, H. E. 1944. pp. 177

<sup>298</sup> (*Ibid.*). pp. 178-179.

Clubbability in this sense was all about maintaining a loop of continuous reciprocal relationships between the firm, and the club; the foundation of which formulated the very concept of the treaty port itself. Maintaining a sociable lifestyle was of paramount importance to young white members of the merchant community and any deviation from this practice was seen not only as a sign of stinginess, or unsociability but a failure to conform to the establishment line. Extraterritoriality was, after all, built on fragile foundations and any show of nonconformity would have been regarded as having serious consequences concerning the legitimacy of western dominance in the region.<sup>299</sup> If the banks and merchant firms represented western economic and business power, the club was the corporate face of western social power. In this regard, settlement life for the clubbable resident adhered to a rigid minimum standard of living, particularly for entertaining, applying to virtually all of the senior members of the professional white community from consular officials to bank managers and the heads of import and export houses. Failure to maintain the standards that resulted in a loss of 'face', one of the few Eastern concepts that were wholeheartedly adopted by the leaders of the foreign community which applied as strictly to them as it did to the Japanese.<sup>300</sup>

---

<sup>299</sup> One example was view towards learning the language. Although there were many foreigners who excelled in the Japanese language, showing any interest in gaining a proficiency in an Asian language outwith any professional capacity was viewed with suspicion in some circles. See, Clifford, N. R. 1991. *Spoilt children of empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese revolution of the 1920s*, London.

<sup>300</sup> Abend, H. E. 1944. pp. 182. An example of the pressures surrounding losing 'face' in settlement society was the suicide of prominent businessman and Freemason, Edward Charles Kirby. See Chap. 5.

Thus, the traditional, and often ubiquitous ‘club’ of the white European imperial realm, previously the haven for the colonial elite, had now become common ground for a broader middle-class of settler society.<sup>301</sup> However, a glimpse into just how settlement society replicated similar British class-conscious cliques was observed by American orientalist and teacher William Elliot Griffis. Griffis was scathingly critical of what he perceived as the importation of traditional English class divisions, commenting:

*‘Be it known that a great gulf is fixed, socially and commercially, between the two castes, and the difference is mountainous. With us, a shopkeeper is a man and a brother; in Yokohama, in the eye of the clubs, and with the elect of wealth, fashions and the professions, he is but a heathen and a publican. Advertising, the use of a sign-board, and such-like improprieties, are evidences of low caste, and consign the offender to the outer darkness, far away from happy club men and select visitors. This relic of English caste traditions, rank, and class worship is not so strong as formerly, but it is sufficiently potent to cause many a bitter pang and many heart-burnings to those who first experience it in their new residence in the East.’<sup>302</sup>*

East Asian markets had already been sewn up in the early decades of the treaty ports, and most of the larger firms had bases or agents throughout the

---

<sup>301</sup> Sinha, M. 2001. Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: the Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India, in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4, At Home in the Empire, October, pp. 489-521.

<sup>302</sup> Griffis, W, E. 1876. *Mikado’s Empire: personal experiences, observations, and studies in Japan, 1870-1874*, New York. pp. 337

centres of European and American trade. New arrivals, therefore, found themselves on the receiving end of a fiercely protective cabal of merchant trading houses hostile towards any new business that may have chipped away their fragile monopoly in the region. Griffis' viewpoint shows clearly the dichotomy between colony and metropole with regard to the British population. In Japan this fairly small yet economically significant group was beginning to show signs of commonality with their colonial counterparts elsewhere in the British Empire at precisely the time when London was continually professing the ideals of social and racial inclusion.<sup>303</sup> In the treaty port, relationships with the Japanese were far from reciprocal. Japan's settler population took their cue from the colonial public sphere in their day to day dealings with the natives. Servants regularly felt the boot or cane of those who saw themselves as the master of the relationship, with the British in particular gaining a reputation amongst Japanese employees as tyrants.<sup>304</sup>

Communication between foreigner and Japanese was apparently often physical, and paints a poor picture of the behaviour and manners of the foreign population. In 1901, naturalist Richard Gordon Smith made a note in his diary that his interpreter did not take the beating he gave him well, showing even after the abolition of extraterritoriality, foreigners still behaved with an

---

<sup>303</sup> Schwartz, B. 2011. *White Man's World*, Oxford. pp. 109

<sup>304</sup> Griffis, W. E. 1876. pp. 342; In 1863 T. B. Glover was charged by the Nagasaki Governor for nearly beating a Japanese messenger to 'near death'. Although widely heralded as one of Japan's most influential foreign hands, Glover had a reputation for violence against his Japanese labourers. Showing that Griffis' testimony appears to a fair representation of events. See Gardiner, M. 2008. *At the Edge of Empire: the Life of Thomas Blake Glover*, London. pp. 52.

arrogance and impunity that did little to foster notions of equality and internationalism.<sup>305</sup> Language difficulties remained constant barrier in regards to business dealings throughout the extraterritorial period. Language acquisition in the early decades was very much a one way process, with the Japanese taking up the burden in earnest. The lack of any fluency on the part of foreigners was put down to there being no available teaching materials or teachers. While this is no doubt true to some extent, foreign interest in learning Japanese, at least amongst English speakers, was generally found wanting.<sup>306</sup> Most left the task to missionaries and diplomatic staff, with day-to-day business dealings being arranged through Chinese compradors. Fluent in Japanese, they acted as go-betweens between the foreign merchant houses and their Japanese counterparts. This inefficient and convoluted way of doing business carried on well into the 1880s until new generations savvy in both business practices and languages, began replacing the no longer needed foreign merchants and clerks.<sup>307</sup> However, a crude lingua franca known as ‘Yokohamaese’ did exist, which appears to have had a direct connection with treaty port club life.

### **Bishop Homoco and the Yokohama Dialect:**

---

<sup>305</sup> Gordon Smith, R. 1986. *Travels in the Land of the Gods: the Japan Diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, London.

<sup>306</sup> Nish, I. 2002. *Collected Writings of Richard Storry*, Surrey. pp. 336

<sup>307</sup> Griffis, W. E. 1876. pp. 338; *The Japan Weekly Mail* of June 9th 1888 mentions the inroads made by native merchants in rural areas as they tried to usurp the trade monopoly of the foreign merchants. The Mail goes on to defend the merchant’s expertise and right to trade in Japan.

The language of treaty port clubbdom was almost exclusively English or German. Club biographer, H. S. Williams attested that club affiliation amongst residents was generally decided by whichever club represented the national interests of their home country. Scandinavian, and Dutch residents most often choosing to patronise the German club, whilst other Europeans and Americans tended to frequent the ‘international’ club frequented by the British residents.<sup>308</sup> Just how well the majority of foreign residents could communicate in Japanese is difficult to ascertain. However, the club appears to have played a role in the promotion of a basic form of Japanese that covered the essential language needs and wants of residents. Most merchants picked up a smattering of pidgin Japanese known as the Yokohama dialect, and a quick glance at the stock phrases within the thin, widely circulated pamphlet published in 1879 under the pseudonym of Bishop of Homoco gives an insight of the power relationships of the day. Much of the drills in the phrasebook dealt with numbers, commands for servants, or useful phrases for tourists, such as *‘I wish to see some nice small curios’* (*your a shee cheese eye curio high kin*); *‘send it to the Grand Hotel’* (*knee jew ban hotel maro maro your a shee*).<sup>309</sup>

---

<sup>308</sup> Williams, H. S. 1975. *The Kobe Club*, Kobe.

<sup>309</sup> Atkinson, H. (Homoco, Bishop of, pseudonym) 1879. *Revised and Enarged Edition of Exercises in the Yokohama Dialect*, Yokohama. (National Library of Australia copy also contains notes on the history of the book by H. S. Williams.)

The fictional author, the Bishop, was surely intended as a cheap jibe at the serious Japanese scholarship undertaken by foreign missionaries.<sup>310</sup> Although intended as a shared joke among foreign residents, the book succeeded in becoming quite popular, remaining one of the favourite dictionaries amongst the foreign residents due to its comical yet functional translations. The dialect bore some resemblance to modern Japanese. However a number of Malay words, such as ‘jiggy-jig’, meaning ‘quickly’, and other seafaring phrases of unknown origin made up a lingua franca commonly referred to at the time as *Yokohamaese*, giving a sense of the melting pot culture of the daily interactions of the port.<sup>311</sup> Described by Basil Hall Chamberlain as a patios, ‘*even serving as the vehicle for grave commercial transactions at the open ports*’, the book was later lauded by Japanese linguist Dr. Ichikawa in *Bungei Shinju* magazine, who admired the text’s accessibility.<sup>312</sup>

Bishop Homoco was the pseudonym of Hoffman Atkinson, a clerk in the employ of Smith, Baker & Co., a firm which represented the Guardian Insurance Company.<sup>313</sup> The dialogue was of course intended for those who did not have the time or serious inclination for Japanese study, and the books many dedications may confuse modern day readers. Both dedications, the first to the Orientalist Max Muller, whose library of rare books was tragically lost in the 1923 earthquake, and the second to John Grigor of the Hong Kong

---

<sup>310</sup> Dr. J. Hepburn seems one of the most likely candidates for the butt of this joke as his dictionary of 1867 became the most popular.

<sup>311</sup> Chamberlain, B. H. 1908. *Things Japanese*, London. pp. 368

<sup>312</sup> Atkinson, H. (Homoco, Bishop of, pseudonym) 1879. (See notes by H. S. Williams in NLA copy).

<sup>313</sup> (*Ibid.*)

Shanghai Banking Corporation, remain somewhat obscure. German born Muller was a well-known clubman during his time in Britain, his adopted country. Drawn to Muller's outspoken teachings on religion and language, the scholar was regularly approached by a number of societies and clubs wishing to have him speak or join as a member.<sup>314</sup> Later, in the 1880s, Muller would go on to attract controversy in Scotland while he was a guest lecturer at both Glasgow and Edinburgh University, where his outspoken views against Christianity struck a chord with proponents of Freemasonry.<sup>315</sup>

Prior to his position as manager of the Hong Kong Shanghai Bank in Yokohama, John Grigor, a Scot, was a manager of the Bank of Hindustan.<sup>316</sup> Both Muller and Grigor were purportedly well-versed in the Yokohama dialect, suggesting the likelihood of a Freemasonry or club connection. The high proportion of Masonic graves in Japan's settlements suggests that the journals publication may have been a joke between clubmen or masons. However, this remains merely conjectural, and is offered here as a possible reason for the inclusion of two seemingly unconnected men on the books front page. Just as much of the humour of the *Japan Punch* is lost to the modern reader,<sup>317</sup> we may never know the meaning of the many 'in-jokes' contained in the edition. However, we can glean some, which inevitably points to a Yokohama clubland connection.

---

<sup>314</sup> Muller, G. A. 1903. *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Muller, Vol. 1*, London. pp. 276

<sup>315</sup> (*Ibid.*)

<sup>316</sup> Anon. 1879. *The Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, and the Philippines*, Hong Kong. pp. 131

<sup>317</sup> Munson, T. S. 2012. *The Periodical Press in Treaty-Port Japan: Conflicting Reports from Yokohama, 1861-1870*, Leiden. pp. pp. 93



Another clue that makes a club connection seem likely lies in the author's pseudonym. Homoco (Honmoku/本牧) was the infamous Yokohama 'gay-quarter', or red light district, to use a more modern terminology. Within the confines of this area normal boundaries between class and race evaporated. Merchants mixed with sailors, seamen from every part of the globe filled the many grog shops that lined the streets and listened to music performed by African-American performers.<sup>318</sup> The 'Bishop', may also be a humorous reference to the Bishop of Hong Kong who famously wrote of Yokohama's foreign population as, '*Californian adventurers, Portuguese desperadoes, runaway sailors, piratical outlaws and the moral refuse of European nations*'.<sup>319</sup> Descriptions such as this gave the early port a reputation that was deeply humiliating to the residents of the port who perceived themselves as respectable businessmen. Similar comments made by the British Consul-General Rutherford Alcock resulted in a diplomatic rift between clubmen and consular staff which was never forgotten.<sup>320</sup>

However, 'the Bishop' was most likely in reference to the nickname of a Yokohama auctioneer, F. A. Cope who also ran either a brothel or a grog shop in the district. New arrivals to the port often went through a kind of initiation

---

<sup>318</sup> Blum, P. 1963. *Yokohama in 1872*, Tokyo. There is as yet still no definitive study on non-white westerners in the foreign settlements. However, an etching of a Yokohama street in Blum's volume clearly shows several black men on horseback. Evidence that the ports were far more ethnically mixed than has previously been acknowledged.

<sup>319</sup> Smith, G. 1861. *10 Weeks in Japan*, London. pp. 263

<sup>320</sup> See Chapter 3.

whereby they were taken to see ‘the Bishop’ to visit the well-established brothels catering to foreign residents. One of these premises was also used as the headquarters of the Yokohama Riding Society, further hinting at some sort of club affiliation which involved a ritual initiation.<sup>321</sup> Such ‘behind the scenes’ rituals were deciding factors in gauging a newcomers clubbability, and affirmation of Rich’s thesis that the club was a substitute for the school, whereby members were educated for entry into the inner workings of port society. Club houses with their imposing edifices and spaces for pageantry were themselves manifestations of a collective mentality of a new middle-class bourgeois cadre engendering a sense of *communitas* in a far off locale.<sup>322</sup>

Despite the books seemingly light-hearted approach, and the number of humorous references contained within the first few pages, residents in the settlements appear to have found it to be of great use. Even as late as the 1930s Williams recalled his Scottish supervisor at A. Cameron & Co. in Kobe counting from ‘*stoats*’ to ‘*coconuts*’ over the phone in heavily accented Japanese, showing that the inefficient and naive dialect was still in use as a lingua franca even then.<sup>323</sup> Amongst the treaty port clubmen, the book had become indispensable further bolstering the possibility that the publication had a club connection through which its popularity was maintained. Furthermore,

---

<sup>321</sup> Atkinson, H. (Homoco, Bishop of, seud) 1879. (See notes by H. S. Williams in NLA copy).

<sup>322</sup> Rich, P. J. 1991. pp. 33

<sup>323</sup> H. S. Williams recalls being advised to join the club by his employer, A. Cameron & Co. upon arrival in Kobe in the 1920s. (Ibid.) Stoats would be the literal translation of the phonetics of ‘*hitotsu*’ and ‘*kokonotsu*’.

as Murphy has correctly noted the contrast between the diligences in language study by foreign missionaries to the casual non-interested approach of merchants highlights one of the fundamental flaws of the mercantile community. Expressions of Western cultural superiority are never difficult to find in the literature relating to the treaty port, least of all in the English vernacular press. However, missionaries actively sought to engage with the Japanese on their own level. The majority of merchants by comparison showed, through their lack of interest in forming communicative bonds based on social equality, a profound cultural insularity and even disdain for anything Japanese.<sup>324</sup>

### **Insularity of the Foreign Settlers:**

Morais has attributed this insularity as being in part due to the perception that the settler community in Japan saw themselves belonging to the ‘ethnic network’ that spanned the treaty ports of East and South East Asia.<sup>325</sup> Speaking of the English-speaking communities of the East, academic and Eastern sojourner Douglas Sladen observed that, ‘*anything duller or narrower... is difficult to imagine*’.<sup>326</sup> Due largely to the spread of the British Empire, whose channels many of those traversed before finally settling in Japan, white settlers around the globe had become increasingly preoccupied with

---

<sup>324</sup> Murphy, K. 1993. pp. 353

<sup>325</sup> Morais, I. 2014. Darwinism, Freemasonry and Print Culture: the Construction of Identity of the Macanese Colonial Elites in the late Nineteenth Century, in Wei, G. C. X (eds) *Macao: the Formation of a Global City*, London. pp. 54.

<sup>326</sup> Sladen, D. 1904. *More Queer Things About Japan*, London. pp. 4

replicating the layered, and complex hierarchies of the societies from which they had migrated from. While many colonial societies were agricultural, the settler communities in the Japanese ports were almost entirely urban, mirroring the metropole of the colonial public sphere.<sup>327</sup>

What emerged in cities such as Kobe and Yokohama was a hybridisation of Euro-American civility. Club formations became a necessary part of the modern metropolis, where failure to have a premises within which a white male could effectively touch base with civilisation would have been sure-fire sign that the settlement was a complete back-water. In this respect the club gave the settlement an air of respectability where club architecture, location, and rules of conduct were all deeply codified within treaty port society. In addition to this, business was generally a slow affair in the 1860s and early 70s before the widespread usage of telegraph communications, meaning nearly everyone in the community had ample time to socialise and hunt.<sup>328</sup> Therefore the speed upon which club associations were formed in Japan is hardly surprising, as they became the catalyst for promoting the port as a legitimate trading hub worthy of the prospect of long-term investment.

Within the settlement the rules governing how new arrivals made their introductions followed their own specific code of conduct. Upon arrival, a newcomer had to take the initiative in this matter, or else choose to live

---

<sup>327</sup> Cannadine, D. 2002. *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their empire*, London. pp. 28.

<sup>328</sup> Munson, T. S. 2013. *The Periodical Press in Treaty-Port Japan*, Leiden. pp 105

outwith the settlement in the Native Town, a grievous faux pas for any visitor with official standing. Calling cards were dropped off to all significant members of authority in the legation, as well as local bank and business leaders. In his memoir *Eight Years in Japan*, railway engineer Edmund Holtham describes leaving his card on the rack at Osaka Club in the 1870s.<sup>329</sup> Failure to do so would have genuine consequences that in the most severe cases would have resulted in a blackballing and subsequent barrier from the settlements inner sanctum by becoming a *persona non grata*.<sup>330</sup>

The premise that most residents clung to, was that Japan was being ‘schooled’ in the western system, but it is doubtful that the clubs were in any way for the benefit of the Japanese populous. In many ways, the club was the scaffolding that provided stability to an otherwise shaky affirmation of cultural superiority. While several scholars dealing with clubs in a British Imperial context have put forward the notion that the clubs eschewed something quintessentially ‘British’,<sup>331</sup> the appearance of virtually identical German institutions in Japan during the same period point to a wider European phenomenon that transcended national boundaries, and instead points to a wider transnational phenomenon as expatriate communities became increasingly urbane in a progressively globalised world.

---

<sup>329</sup> Holtham, E. G. 1883. *Eight Years in Japan*, London. pp. 10

<sup>330</sup> Abend, H. E. 1944. *Treaty Ports*, New York. pp. 203

<sup>331</sup> Sinha, M. 2001; Rich, P. J. 1991.

While the realm of global trade began eclipsing familiar categorisations of nation and nationality, giving rise to newer, liminal transnational identities, the prominence of the overseas British nationals in virtually every corner of the globe helped disseminate developing theories of expatriate selfhood.<sup>332</sup> Japan's overseas workforce took with them a ready-made lifestyle that borrowed little from, yet forcibly thrust itself upon, the Japanese. As the overseas community gradually formed a sense of self via a thriving and prolific English language print industry, it increasingly began to see itself as a separate 'imagined community'<sup>333</sup> that gradually set itself apart from the Japanese community through a combination of Print Capitalism and social exclusivity. Therefore, the club clearly had a didactic purpose in that participation in the ritual of 'the club' was enacted for the benefit of onlookers, namely visitors to the port and the international treaty port community.

### **The Emergence of a Treaty Port Bourgeois:**

Kobe foreign settlement, even though a relatively small community, never over 500 foreigners, had a thriving club scene, offering residents and visitors a choice of several establishments. The two main clubs were the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club and the Kobe Club, being only a few hundred yards from the harbour. Japan would have been a daunting prospect for a novice traveller,

---

<sup>332</sup> Kipling, R. 1900. *From Sea to Sea*, London. Kipling's journey is facilitated by various stops at clubs throughout Asia.

<sup>333</sup> Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities*, New York. Chap. 6

and the sight of Kobe with its European facade and prominent club, would have been instantly recognisable symbols of European civility. Yet far from being the havens of elite, which they were fast becoming in Victorian London, foreign clubs in Japan were frequented and formed by self-made men intent on maintaining the settlements invented traditions.

While the two main clubs in Yokohama and Kobe were formed by a conglomeration of diplomats, traders and military personnel, records remain scant concerning the other associations that may have existed in the same period. British doctor William Willis informs us that there was an exclusive club for official personnel in Yokohama established in 1863, the Yokohama United Services Club, which was intended to be the Yokohama branch of the St James club of the same name. In response to this merchants formed their own club, the Yokohama Club (186?) whose premises excluded '*officers in Her Majesty's employ*', evidence alone that cracks between the relationship between merchants and consular staff were already wide.<sup>334</sup> Despite early rivalries, in later years the two appear to have amalgamated under the banner of the Yokohama United Club.<sup>335</sup>

As stated earlier, many non-professional foreigners, drawn from other colonial centres and ports with foreign influence were among the first to set up shop in the Japan's settlements. One such individual M. Dutronquoy, a Frenchman,

---

<sup>334</sup> Cortazzi, H. (eds) 1985. pp. 57

<sup>335</sup> Black, J. R. 1883. Young Japan, Vol. I, London. pp. 279

arrived in Kobe via the Australian goldfields. Dutronquoy was known as a frontier druggist, one of several in Kobe port which perhaps explains why he threw his lot in as an hotelier soon after his arrival. Little is known about the Dutronquoy family, however, it was in his hotel in which the first club gatherings were arranged.<sup>336</sup> Perhaps Dutronquoy would have agreed with J. A. Froude that in Melbourne it was, '*English life all over again: nothing strange, nothing exotic, nothing new or original*', and therefore chose a new life with new opportunities in Japan.<sup>337</sup> British colonial life, while remarkably similar to the British homeland, was taking on a life of its own by the mid-nineteenth century. From Toronto to Sydney, British life was being codified and articulated in new ways and on scales never previously seen as British settlers increasingly set about replicating the ordered and hierarchical society that many perceived that existed in Britain.<sup>338</sup> Viewed from afar by an emerging aspiring middle class, eager to replicate their new success and status abroad, gentleman's clubs were one of the great codifiers of British Imperialism, part and parcel of the civilising process. Perhaps a man like Dutronquoy was ineligible for membership in Australia, or perhaps he was an avid clubman, we may never know. Like many other Kobeites, he had lived briefly in Hong Kong and elsewhere in China, most likely Shanghai, before finally settling on Japan with his son who helped him run his business.

---

<sup>336</sup> H. S. Williams Papers, National Library of Australia, MS6681/3/1 (Dutronquoy.)

<sup>337</sup> C. f. Briggs, A. 1965. *Victorian Cities*, London. pp. 300.

<sup>338</sup> Cannadine, D. 2002. *Ornamentalism*, London. pp. 28-34.



Kobe was a blank slate in 1868 when the settlement was established. Similar to other settler societies elsewhere in the region the empty land provided by the Japanese for the settlement afforded plenty opportunity for the replication of metropolitan landed society overseas. Free from the constrictions of any domineering administration, except the ultimate power of the Japanese government, the settlements took on a character that incorporated much of what was already taking place across the East China Sea. According to adverts in the local *Hiogo & Osaka News* for 1869, Dutronquoy's club also doubled as a bowling and billiard saloon, this being the only form of entertainment aside from the race course that was available to the early settlers. It appears that his establishment was the most respectable, and therefore it became the most popular in the community finally becoming known as the International Club. The reason behind its popularity may have been down to the talents of Duntronquoy as a chef. Holding true to his country's reputation as the centre for European gastronomic excellence, the dinners served in his establishment proved to be the most hearty, and perhaps most importantly in an age where dysentery and typhoid were rampant, the most hygienically prepared.<sup>339</sup>

Dutronquoy & Son's were host to another club whose members referred to it as the Union Club, in February of 1869, but this appears to have been replaced, or renamed the International Club in April of the same year. A

---

<sup>339</sup> *H. S. Williams Papers*, National Library of Australia, MS6681/3/1 (Dutronquoy.)

meeting held Duntronquoy's on the 20th of April 1899 was attended by the British, French, Italian, and U. S Consul's, as well as the editor of the local newspaper the Hiogo & Osaka News, an American named Mr. Wainright agreed to form an association (The Club) which would occupy the adjacent allotment of Duntronquoy's at #32 the Concession, which was then in Native Town, to a larger and more permanent address on lot #79 in a grander building with a more prestigious address.<sup>340</sup> Division Street became the Rubicon, literally a dividing line between those who were employed or in the employ of merchants of the Concession, and the retailers and tradesmen outside it in Native Town. Williams's notes that the demarcation of where one set up business was jokingly referred to as 'two blackballs', which separated those who were socially eligible for membership of the Kobe Club and those who were not.

Here Japan's foreign community had no obligation to anyone but itself, yet obligation to the traditions of the club were articulated and inculcated by vague notions of loyalty and an esprit de corps towards the club itself rather than the statutes and objects of the club.<sup>341</sup> Club membership in the overseas context was almost tactile in its significance to the social status of an individual during an era when class identity could make or break a man's success. They were, in effect, creating their own standards of class and hierarchy on the periphery of the colonial sphere.

---

<sup>340</sup> Williams, H. S. 1980. *The Kobe Club*, Kobe.

<sup>341</sup> Hobsbawm, E. J. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*, New York. pp. 11

Members of Yokohama and Kobe's most exclusive clubs, the Union Club and the Kobe Club, were an international crowd to a point, however from 1880 to 1920 every president of the Kobe Club was a British citizen. British, German and American business were the 'big three', and while relationships were generally cordial prior to the WWI, the dominance of British interest in the club suggest that socially, port society had begun to stratify along national allegiances by the turn of the century. Just where the Japanese were in this colonial hierarchy would prove problematic to many Westerners, particularly as large swathes of Asia, indeed everywhere except Japan, were now officially under the boot of Euro-American colonialism. This is perhaps most clearly summed up by the observation of Rudyard Kipling who commented that, '*the Japanese isn't a native, he isn't a sahib either*'.<sup>342</sup> Similarly, that most well-known Japanophile Basil Hall Chamberlain pithily stated that, '*the foreign employee is the creator of the New Japan*', echoing the sentiments of many of those foreign employees by adding that, '*while Japanese progress has been so often and so rapturously expatiated upon, the agents of that change have been almost uniformly overlooked*'.<sup>343</sup>

Chamberlain goes on to chastise the globe-trotting tourists eager to sample Japan's exotic delights all the while carefully body-swerving the very

---

<sup>342</sup> Kipling, R. 1988. *Kipling's Japan: collected writings*, edited by Cortazzi, H. & Webb, G, London. pp. 54.

<sup>343</sup> Chamberlain, B. H. 1908. *Japanese Things, Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan*, London. pp. 200.

foreigners whose role in the country had made their visit possible at all. Chamberlain states that, *'there is nothing picturesque in the foreign employee... with his club, and his tennis-ground and his brick house and wife's piano... he strikes a false note'*. The foreign presence was for many tourists a jarring anachronism to Japan's exotic otherness, and the mention of the club and tennis court elucidate this anachronism better than any other example. For Chamberlain, who no doubt himself frequented both, the pairing of club and sports ground were quintessentially European cultural signifiers. What were once public school and old boy network references had now come to signify European, or depending on one's perspective, Anglophone civilisation.

Maintaining strong social networking links helped to galvanise an already pre-existing transnational identity whose principal form of social interaction involved some kind of club activity. Metropolitan clubs in London such as the Oriental, the East India, the Calcutta and Madras, all give passers-by little doubt at the success of British imperialism, and their replication abroad was an affirmation of that success. Transnationalism in relation to Japan's treaty port communities refers to a population that was essentially de-localised, yet retained certain ideological links to a putative place of origin that was a thoroughly diasporic collectivity.<sup>344</sup> These residents, many of whom were leaders of the community, used the club as a means of becoming more favourably situated. Club identity was part of a wider conscious affiliation to an

---

<sup>344</sup> Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, University of Minnesota. pp. 175

‘imagined community’ in the Andersonian sense, where Europeans in the East, facilitated by a healthy media industry, efficient postal and regular shipping services, along with a host of other technical and cultural links with the other ports of Asia, created a community based on the social and linguistic culture of a distant metropole.<sup>345</sup> Elite clubs in the East were essentially throwing their lot in with the established order, effectively buying in to the same social structure.<sup>346</sup> Thus, white settlement throughout China and Japan took on a remarkably similar societal character to that of the metropole with values based on fraternity, and whose ‘members’ were identifiable by adhering to the same manner and customs that separated the ‘us’ from the ‘them’.

Even the clubhouses that settler communities frequented became transnational spaces in that they were ultimately much more than the mere physical spaces that they occupied. Likened to the British public school, the club too came with a set of rigid social conventions about who could sit where and who could be admitted, in some ways a reminder of public school social hierarchy. The new Kobe Club building, completed in 1890 by A. N. Hansell,<sup>347</sup> was a massive two-storey red brick colonial-style mansion that became a Kobe landmark. The building replaced the Old Union Club

---

<sup>345</sup> Anderson, B. 1983. pp. 6

<sup>346</sup> Rich, P. J. 1990. pp. 146

<sup>347</sup> Alexander Nelson Hansell was a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the only other member being Josiah Conder. Hansell designed many buildings in the Kansai region, most notably the Science Hall of Doshisha University, the Kobe Club and the Club Concordia. 大型本. 2015. 外国人居留地と神戸—神戸開港 150 年によせて, Kobe.

incorporating the bowling alley, the first of its kind in Japan. Though much smaller in size, the Kobe Club mirrored much of the luxurious setting of the Shanghai Club, imitating the bigger club's infamous Long Bar to become the longest bar in Japan. It included a palatial billiard room, reportedly the finest in the East, with nine full size British tables each replete with their own attendant, or 'boy', for keeping score. Other rooms included a card room, conversation room, and a fine library stocked with many rare books which was tragically lost during the fire-bombing of WWII. Unwritten rules of the club dictated spatially where a member was and was not allowed to sit or stand. Taipan's, the Chinese term for business chairman adopted into treaty port English, gathered at one end of the bar with the rest of the space divvied up according to a member's status within the merchant community.<sup>348</sup> Club historian H. S. Williams recalls the club room interior was '*larger than any church in Kobe*', where its congregation regularly gathered, even on a Sunday.

People in these spaces became aware of them through a series of complex social channels to the extent that the community became a collection of physical and created spaces, of which the Concession itself was one. As stated previously, many of those arriving in the Japanese ports already belonged to a wider network of settler communities that formed a link throughout Asia. By the 1860s, the development of the Suez Canal vastly shortened travel times, resulting in cheaper fares which allowed a much

---

<sup>348</sup> Williams, H. S. 1975. pp. 31

broader section of European and American society to take advantage of the trade networks consolidated by imperialism.

However, the exclusiveness of club life in the ports often resulted in the exclusion of a large sub-set of settlement society. Missionaries, seamen, small businessmen, travellers and those with a genuine interest in Japanese culture, rarely sought sanctuary in the club. Even distinguished female guests like the travel writer Isabella Bird give only a passing mention to the club, an institution she would have been excluded from, except under special circumstances.<sup>349</sup>

North China Herald correspondent George Murray was privileged enough only to see the Kobe Club gardens, and fully aware of the social restrictions of Shanghai society, took with a grain of salt the affirmation that '*the better class of Japanese*' were admitted entry.<sup>350</sup>

The Hiogo News proudly announced that Yokohama Governor, Mune Munemitsu, had been unanimously elected a member of the Yokohama United Club in the winter of 1871. However the impression given was that Japanese members were few and the governor may have been the only one at that time.<sup>351</sup> Occasional ballroom dances or celebrations were held with the intention of bridging the foreign and Japanese communities, however, these occasions were rare in the early years of settlement and all but a handful of

---

<sup>349</sup> Bird, I. 1880. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Edinburgh.

<sup>350</sup> Murray, G. T. 1906. pp. 13

<sup>351</sup> *Hiogo News*, 1/11/1871

Japanese dignitaries attended them.<sup>352</sup> However, initial enthusiasm for Japanese patronage soon gave way to a more guarded apathetic attitude. Tensions between British merchants and their consuls widened further when the British Vice Consul, J. H. Longford openly criticised the British population in Japan for refusing to hire Japanese staff, something that their competitors were increasingly doing.<sup>353</sup> For much of the early Meiji era, the twain rarely met in convivial company, and the foreign clubs, as the main social draw for the settlement's white population, contributed greatly to the narrow viewpoints and harsh criticisms of Japanese government policies in the years after extraterritoriality. There were occasional instances of genuine cooperation, however these were more often highlighted due to their rarity, rather than their frequency.<sup>354</sup>

As with everything, there were exceptions to the rules, however they generally applied only to exceptional people. Membership of the Shanghai Club, for example, was open to the most successful members of the city's Baghdadi Jewish community, however, the invitation was not open to less well-off Jewish merchants. By contrast, membership was easily obtained by junior British employees. Similar concessions were made in Yokohama and Kobe for wealthy Japanese merchants and dignitaries, however, most Japanese as a

---

<sup>352</sup> Melbourne based English journalist J. H. Brooke wrote a number of serials for the *Melbourne Argus* regarding Japan between August 22nd and October 28th 1867. Initially he stayed at the Yokohama United Club for one pound a day. He describes a ball held at the club attended by 150 people, nearly all foreigners and 'a few Japanese dignitaries'.

<sup>353</sup> *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 18/12/1886

<sup>354</sup> The Japan Weekly Mail noted in 1887 'for the first time in the history of the Treaty Settlements in this empire', a cooperative effort between the Japanese and foreign population of Nagasaki was successful in welcoming the Emperor. 31/12/1887



rule remained ineligible. The more Anglophone a prospective member chose to be, as in the case of the Sassoons, who anglicised their names, abandoned Judaeo-Arabic for English, and generally adopted the style and mannerisms of English gentlemen, the higher up the social ladder they were able to climb.<sup>355</sup>

As Cohen has observed, the notions of colonial exceptionalism and white privilege remained porous to different degrees depending entirely on context and individual.<sup>356</sup> Likewise, masculinity in the context of an overseas gentleman had as much to do with racial, class, religious, and national differences as it had to do with gender differences.<sup>357</sup> What initially seemed as a progressive step by members blocking a motion to exclude Japanese membership, quickly gave way to a more discreet form of racial exclusion when sixty members of the Kobe Club forced the Club Committee to withdraw a motion limiting membership to, *'foreigners residing in Japan'*. However, Consul John Carey Hall later admitted in a letter to Ernest Satow in 1898 that despite the fact that members balked at explicitly excluding Japanese from membership, few if any were likely to support the admission of Japanese candidates for election. For, as Hall eloquently put it, this was evidence

---

<sup>355</sup> Betto, C. 2000. Marginal Westerners in Shanghai: the Baghdadi Jewish Community, in Bickers, R & Henriot, C (eds) *New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842-1953*, Manchester.

<sup>356</sup> Cohen, B. B. 2015. *In the Club: Associational Life in South Asia*, Manchester University. pp. 2

<sup>357</sup> Sinha, M. 1995. *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate' Bengali in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Manchester.

enough that it would, *'take some time yet to blunt the edge of race prejudice in this port'*.<sup>358</sup>

However, for foreigners residing in the ports, the very notion of any meaningful social intercourse between Japanese and foreigners was nigh on impossible. While the popularity of Herbert Spencer in Japan may have gone some way towards keeping the two communities cordial but distant, Spencer even going as far as advising the Japanese to keep foreigners at arm's length at all costs,<sup>359</sup> there was a widely held belief amongst foreigners that finding any kind of commonality between the two communities was a fruitless endeavour.<sup>360</sup> Commenting on the perceived barriers separating the foreign and Japanese communities Doshisha Theologian Sidney Gulick spoke of a *'moral chasm separating the social life of the Occident from that of the Orient'* which effectively prevented the possibility of any kind of successful integration. For Gulick, the difficulties of maintaining any kind of social integration between the two communities was summed up as an occasion where they could, *'hobnob together, [however] the intimacy is shallow and short-lived'*.<sup>361</sup>

Yet there is evidence to suggest that it was impossible, or at least highly impractical, for the club to remain totally exclusive. Hyogo Governor Ichizo Hattori and Kobe Mayor Fusajiro Kashima's presence in a group photo at the

---

<sup>358</sup> Ruxton, I. C. 2005. pp. 341

<sup>359</sup> Herbert Spencer's Advice to Japan, in *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* (NSW: 1851-1904), 22/02/1904

<sup>360</sup> See, Ritchie, D. 1994. *The Honorable Visitors*, Tokyo. pp. 85. During his sojourn to Japan, Pierre Loti claimed that, 'we have nothing in common with these people'.

<sup>361</sup> Gullick, S. L. 1903. *Evolution of the Japanese, social and psychic*, New York. pp. 431

Kobe Club commemorating the end of hostilities in 1918, under a banner of international flags including the *Kyokujitsu-ki* Rising Sun flag show the changing power balances after WWI.<sup>362</sup> The legitimacy of Western claims towards superiority in any context whether business or social were now in tatters.<sup>363</sup> Although settlement society was stratified along, not only racial lines, but also those related to economic and class status, who qualified or who were exempt from this categorisation constantly shifted. However, the Kobe and Yokohama Clubs clearly represented and catered for the parochial business cliques of the foreign elite.

By contrast, Japanese clubs, which were still only frequented by a select few in the 1880s, appear to have shown a commendably inclusive attitude towards the notion of a truly ‘international’ club atmosphere. A meeting was held in the Rokumeikan in 1886 whereby it was proposed that the rules be altered to allow one foreigner to become a Vice President of the club, taking a seat next to the most high-ranking members of government and even the imperial household.<sup>364</sup> In venues like the Tokyo Club, *oyatoi* and prominent merchants regularly dined with their Japanese employers and business partners in the many Japanese clubs that had become commonplace by the 1890s. In 1901 a dinner was held at the Mitsui Club in honour of the Scottish railway engineer John MacDonald, where he received the Order of the Rising Sun and Order of the ‘Mirror’(?) from the Emperor as he was the last foreign railway engineer to

---

<sup>362</sup> See. Figure 2.

<sup>363</sup> *H. S. Williams Papers*, National Library of Australia, MS6681/2/83 (Kobe Club.)

<sup>364</sup> *Japan Weekly Mail*, 6/3/1886

leave the Great Eastern Railway.<sup>365</sup> This in itself was a telling reminder that the Japanese were open to reciprocal club membership a great deal more than their foreign guests. While the main clubs of the ports remained for the most part white European enclaves, it is difficult to clarify which of their members were open to further integration with the Japanese community.

## II

### **The British Influence in the Ports:**

Residents of the treaty ports were an anathema to Lafcadio Hearn who once wrote, *'I can't like the New Japan... to my mind all that was great and noble and true was Old Japan'*. He was equally dismissive of the treaty ports themselves stating, *'Kobe does not seem to me Japan at all; I hate it'*. Hearn is perhaps not the best commentator with which to base any assumptions concerning the western immigrant community. According to those who knew him he could be exceptionally shy, even to the point of ducking out of restaurant windows to avoid unwanted conversations with other foreigners.<sup>366</sup> However, his brief position as a guest editor of the Kobe Chronicle in 1894, where he produced over eighty editorials for the paper, are revealing in the sense that they are

---

<sup>365</sup> Japanese Honours for Scottish Engineer, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 25/03/1901

<sup>366</sup> Foxwell, E. 1908. Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London, Vol. VII, Seventeenth Session, 1907-1908. Part I. pp. 76

written with rapier wit as well as portraying a rare perspective of the situation at hand that took an outsider such as Hearn to portray. His description of crossing the concession line as being akin to, '*crossing the Pacific Ocean, which is much less wide than the differences between the races*',<sup>367</sup> hints that the internationalism spouted by the treaty port press was the ideal in the settlement, but not the norm.

It should therefore come as no surprise that in Hearn's first editorial for the paper he makes casual reference to the 'club', most probably the Kobe Club, and other familiar haunts of the Western population in his rant against opportunistic *kuruma-ya*.<sup>368</sup> Alas, Hearn's crippling shyness, according to the Chronicle's editor, Robert Young, himself a keen club man, kept him separate from the usual haunts of his fellow Europeans. Speaking of Kobe's various institutions Hearn explicitly states, '*I take infinite care to avoid the vicinity of clubs*'.<sup>369</sup> Indeed, what Hearn does not tell us about the foreign community, actually tells us a great deal about them. Hearn was a maverick, a rebel who deliberately positioned himself against the grain of the average international resident. Hearn arrived in Japan at time when foreigners could pontificate over the demerits of Oriental society while at the same time line their pockets with yen provided by the very administration that they held in contempt. Hearn was

---

<sup>367</sup> Hearn, L. 1896. *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life*, Boston.

<sup>368</sup> *Kuruma-ya* was the common term for a rickshaw driver. The Kurumaya Question, in the *Kobe Chronicle*, Oct 11th, 1894.

<sup>369</sup> Hearn, L. 1906. *The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn, Vol II*, London. pp. 376.

in Japan to teach, but also to learn and perhaps seek his own path toward Enlightenment.

Unfortunately, unlike Rudyard Kipling, who seemed drawn to the new Japan of Kobe and Yokohama with its ‘ugly’ American architecture and at ease propping up the bars of the overseas clubs; Hearn found inspiration by isolating himself in what he perceived to be the ‘old’ Japan. Kipling, on the other hand, was eminently clubbable, perfectly at home among the hallowed halls of the *Rokumeikan*, the confident air of superiority in the writings of his second Japanese sojourn almost surely owe their origins to club conversation.<sup>370</sup> Despite the two men being reciprocal admirers, we literally only see ‘glimpses of the tendencies’<sup>371</sup> of the foreign community in Hearn’s work. However, Japan’s foreign community exhibited characteristics that were distinctly more ‘Kipling’ than ‘Hearn’. Hearn sought solace outside of the foreign community, effectively losing himself in Japan’s interior where he could immerse himself entirely in Japanese culture. Kipling, by contrast, was far more at home surrounded by the trappings of Western life, regardless if it was in the foreign settlement, or the newly built edifices of ‘New Japan’. Kipling, the consummate clubman, clearly evidenced in his glowing ode to the men of the Overseas Club, summed up perfectly the idiosyncrasies of the Yokohama foreign community who embodied perfectly what he envisaged as the ‘white

---

<sup>370</sup> Cortazzi, H & Webb, G. (eds). 1988. *Kipling’s Japan: Collected writings*, London. pp. 210

<sup>371</sup> Hearn’s chapter ‘A Glimpse of Tendencies’ in his *Kokoro* of 1894 was a ruthless deconstruction of port society as seen by the eyes of Hearn. If anything, Hearn’s observations were a telling prediction of the where Japan’s relationship with the West was heading.

man's burden'. For Kipling the men of the club were behind the '*spirit of the age*', the real men upon whose shoulders Japan's success rested.<sup>372</sup>

Many in the foreign community felt that they were the harbingers of light for the Japanese. What we can glean from Hearn regarding the relationship between the two communities was that there was a brewing contempt of foreigners amongst the Japanese that had never really abated since the days of *sonnō jōi*. Indeed Hearn goes as far to state that, '*there never had been any really good feeling between foreigner and Japanese in the open ports*'.<sup>373</sup> Hearn's confidante, a fellow Imperial University professor, Ernest Foxwell, commented that the English (*sic*) treaty port residents in particular were even more insular than their fellow subjects back on home soil. Easy to gauge, they conformed to the familiar imperial stalwart stereotype. Foxwell sums up the treaty port communities thus: '*they [the English] fence themselves round with a hedge of English customs, prejudices, traditions; and they would themselves admit that they have no particular aptitude for seeing good points in the Japanese*'<sup>374</sup>.

His distinctive use of the term 'the English' in reference to all British subjects in general hints at a wider phenomenon that existed outside the British public sphere. Throughout the Victorian era the idea of an intrinsically middle-class *Englishness* became increasingly associated with an identifiably

---

<sup>372</sup> Cortazzi, H & Webb, G. (eds). 1988. pp. 215

<sup>373</sup> Hearn, 1906. pp. 376.

<sup>374</sup> Foxwell, 1908. pp. 71.

entrepreneurial ethos focused on capital and competition. That is to say that as the nineteenth century progressed, a professional class emerged which progressively moved away from serving the interests of other classes, and instead focused on a social ideal centred around notions of individual advancement.<sup>375</sup> Settler society in Japan became increasingly articulated towards an individualist middle-class identity, moving as far as possible from metropolitan state interference as was feasibly possible. However, such a life was only possible through the continuation of the extraterritorial system through which the mercantile community could extend their privileged lifestyle indefinitely.

Despite the fact that Japan's re-engagement with the West was instigated by the North Americans, the absence of large numbers of U.S citizens due to the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861-65, allowed the British to develop a foothold in Japan from a very early period. By the time Kobe port had been opened in 1869 the number of British nationals to U.S nationals was double, a trend that continued right up until the outbreak of WWII.<sup>376</sup> Japan was home to a diverse range of British subjects in the Meiji era, which included the Irish at that juncture, yet the regional identities of Scotland, Wales and Ireland were rarely expressed explicitly in written accounts. Even Hearn spoke of 'Englishmen', as though he included himself in this category, and his friend

---

<sup>375</sup> Goodland, M. E. 2000. A Middle Class Cut in Two, in *ELH*, Vol. 67, No. 1. pp. 148

<sup>376</sup> In 1869 the number was U.K: 64, U.S: 38. By 1920 it was 451, 222 respectively. See, Tai, R. 2013. *Gaikokujin Kyoryuchi to Kobe*, Kobe. pp. 79.



Foxwell too credits Hearn as being a great ‘Englishman’ despite the fact that Hearn was many things *but* English.<sup>377</sup> However, Hearn does acknowledge that Kobe was populated by both ‘*Englishmen and Scotchmen*’,<sup>378</sup> a fact that few writers acknowledge given the high proportion of Scottish merchants and seamen that resided in the ports. Checkland has correctly observed that Scots in Japan were numerous and intriguingly conspicuous, which could be said about virtually every port in the Far East.<sup>379</sup> Neighbouring Shanghai’s British population was dominated by Scots, who founded one of the earliest St Andrews Societies in the East in 1865 with over 700 members by 1912.<sup>380</sup>

Scotland experienced massive intellectual migration to the south of England in the eighteenth century, a trend which continued as they went on to embrace the various colonial projects of the British Empire in the nineteenth. Scots were among East Asia’s wealthiest foreigners, largely due to the trading links nurtured by merchant and shipping giants Jardine & Matheson and MacKinnon MacKenzie & Co. whose networks throughout Asia opened the flood gates for a number of smaller Scottish firms to access its vast market.<sup>381</sup>

Scots dominated the banking industry in China and Japan, and most

---

<sup>377</sup> Greece, Ireland, the United States and even Japan, all claim him as their own yet Hearn himself seems unconcerned with the troublesome subject of national identity. Perhaps to confound anyone who wished to assert upon him one particular national background, he adopted a Japanese name and lifestyle that set him apart from his contemporaries.

<sup>378</sup> Island, E. (eds). 1910. *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, London. pp. 401

<sup>379</sup> Checkland, O. 1989. *Britain’s Encounter with Meiji Japan*, University of Glasgow. pp. 96.

<sup>380</sup> Dennison, E. & Ren, G. Y. (eds) 2006. *Building Shanghai*, West Sussex. pp. 67

<sup>381</sup> Latham, A. J. H. & Kawakatsu, H. (eds). 2009. *Intra-Asian Trade and Industrialization: Essays in Memory of Yasukichi Yasuba*, New York. pp. 215

American firms had one or two Scottish employees.<sup>382</sup> Naturally, with such influence in the region there were cries of nepotism, with Shanghai policeman Maurice Tinkler commenting as late as 1929 that '*Jews and Scotchmen are the curse of this town*'.<sup>383</sup>

However, those looking for a pronounced sense of Scottish identity in the ports may be sadly disappointed. It would appear that in the East Asian port, regional identities were put on the back burner in favour of a southern English facade. Nevertheless, St Andrews Societies existed in all three of Japan's main ports of commerce. Basil Hall Chamberlain asserted that dancing parties never became popular until the 1880s, yet a St Andrews Ball was held in the Masonic Hall in Kobe and several other 'grand balls', both by the St Andrews Society and the Hiogo and Osaka Lodge Freemasons continued yearly throughout the 1870s.<sup>384</sup> St Andrews societies and annual balls appeared throughout the British colonial public sphere in the 1800s. However, their appearance in Japan in the early 70s appears to predate settlements such as Hong Kong and Shanghai, which had larger Scottish populations.<sup>385</sup> The Japan Punch's satirical dig at such events in 1874 poked fun of the settlement's Scots, betraying a certain degree of metropolitan superiority that may have led to national identities being showcased less frequently.

---

<sup>382</sup> Abend, H. E. 1944. pp. 195

<sup>383</sup> Bickers, R. 2004. *Empire Made Me: and Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*, London. (digital edition)

<sup>384</sup> Papers of the Harold S. Williams, National Library of Australia. MS6681/2/41 (Freemasonry)

<sup>385</sup> Regal, J. 2004. *The Genius of Mr. Punch: Life in Yokohama's foreign settlement, Charles Wirgman and the Japan Punch, 1862-1887*. Tokyo. pp. 88

Nevertheless, despite their smaller populations, non-English British nationals impacted Japan during the formative years of the Meiji era in ways in which their English cousins often failed to. Irishman and official in the British Consul in Japan, Joseph Henry Longford, made a significant contribution to Japanese studies, becoming King's College's first Professor of Japanese, a post he held until 1916; Thomas Blake Glover, now popularly known as the 'Scottish Samurai' after the publication of Alistair MacKay's<sup>386</sup> book of the same name, has enjoyed a renaissance in recent years as evidence of his statecraft at the highest level of Japanese politics has only relatively recently gained recognition in his homeland; fellow Scot Henry Dyer is considered one of the founding fathers of Japan's Western-style technical education system and was Principal of the Imperial College of Engineering while resident in the country; Richard Henry Brunton, the man who oversaw the design and construction of much of the country's first large scale engineering projects as well as the Japan Lights, the country's first modern lighthouses, also hailed from Aberdeen, Scotland. Yet nearly all of these men are routinely referred to as Englishmen, often by their own hand, which betray little of their national origins. Scots too, however, could be equally critical of the treaty port English. Scottish missionary William Gray Dixon complained of '*immiscible Englishmen - the worst of John Bull*', whom he credited as the chief cause of the estranged relationships between foreigner and Japanese in convivial company.<sup>387</sup>

---

<sup>386</sup> McKay, A. 1993.

<sup>387</sup> Dixon, W. G. 1882. *Land of the Morning*, Edinburgh. pp. 169

Kipling too seems almost desperate to be English and revels in his status as an expatriate Briton, perhaps exhibiting some of the insecurity of being born an Anglo-Indian.<sup>388</sup> Similarly, treaty port society had its own insecurities concerning whether it was as sophisticated as its European or perhaps more specifically, English counterpart. This is clearly evident by the fact that young foreign men adopted an Oxbridge accent in Kobe, regardless of British nationality, and the transnational English terms such as tiffin and griffin were in common usage.<sup>389</sup> This suggests a number of factors were at play. That either being/appearing English, or speaking on behalf of the English, was a way of aligning oneself with a particular mindset, in this case Queen, country, Empire. Renunciation of which would soon result in being blackballed.<sup>390</sup> Membership of club England would be revoked. Therefore by adopting the traditions and practices of the English elite, overseas British citizens could use their new found wealth and status in the Far East to buy into the kind of lifestyle that had previously been beyond their reach. Adoption of such a status did of course have its attractions.

A foreigner could enjoy a standard of living in Japan that made many of them blasé towards luxuries that they would have been unlikely to have access to in their home countries. On his first visit to Kobe in 1889, Kipling, who was then

---

<sup>388</sup> Moore-Gilbert, B. J. 1986. *Kipling and 'Orientalism'*. London.

<sup>389</sup> Tiffin, was a term commonly used in British India, meaning a light meal. A griffin referred to a new-comer to the East. Young employees, such as H.S. Williams, would have been classed as such in the 1920s.

<sup>390</sup> Blackballing is the term used for excluding club members by ballot.

unknown and a tourist himself, lodged at the Oriental Hotel, of whose menu and service he lavished praise upon in his travelogue piece for *The Pioneer*:

*'His is a house where you can dine. He does not merely feed you. His coffee is the coffee of the beautiful France. For tea he gives you Peliti cakes (but better) and the vin ordinaire which is compris, is good. Excellent Monsieur and Madame Begeux! If the "Pioneer" were a medium for puffs, I would write a leading article upon your potato salad, your beefsteaks, your fried fish, and your staff of highly trained Japanese servants in blue tights, who looked like so many small Hamlets without the velvet cloak, and who obeyed the unspoken wish. No, it should be a poem — a ballad of good living. I have eaten curries of the rarest at the Oriental at Penang, the turtle steaks of Raffles's at Singapur still live in my regretful memory, and they gave me chicken liver and sucking-pig in the Victoria at Hong-Kong which I will always extol. But the Oriental at Kobé was better than all three. Remember this, and so shall you who come after slide round a quarter of the world upon a sleek and contented stomach.'*<sup>391</sup>

Kobe's inclusion among Kipling's list of British possessions of East and South East Asia is noteworthy. Clearly for Kipling, there was little to distinguish Kobe from any other colonial possession, especially when it came to satisfying the

---

<sup>391</sup> Kipling, R. 1889. *From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel, Part 1*, London. pp. 368-69.

delicate palate of a member of the Beefsteak Club.<sup>392</sup> Kipling's visit did much to raise the city's, as well as the Oriental Hotel's, profile. Travellers to Japan were seduced by the excellent service and resplendent luxury of the Japanese mail steamers operated by the *Nippon Yusen Kaisha*. By 1899, the city of Kobe had earned a position of a mainstay for budding Western tourists with one commenting, '*Kobe is a camping ground for a good number of Europeans, and the volume of trade done by them is considerable. The Club is a capital institution where I saw none but Europeans*'.<sup>393</sup> Few tourists in this era made it very far into the 'interior', as it was often labelled and very few made it past the usual haunts of Miyanoshita where the Fujiya and Naraya hotels welcomed the now steady flow of Western guests.

What this shows was that there was an increasing number of foreign 'haunts', not just for residents, but now also for the international visitors. What had become popularised by the foreign community, was now being trumpeted as the 'traditional' to the influx of foreign tourists. They were in fact maintaining their already beaten paths and channeling visitors through their already established network of institutions that had now become signifiers of what constituted their civil society. By the end of the century, the foreign population was increasingly being forced out of the Japanese market, by an increasingly

---

<sup>392</sup> The Beefsteak Club, of which Kipling was a member, was an ancient club formed in 1705. Beefsteaks, and more importantly, eating them, became symbols of patriotic, and more specifically, Whig concepts of liberty and affluence.

<sup>393</sup> Le Couteur, W. 1899. *To Nippon, the Land of the Rising Sun, by the N. Y. K: Guide book to Japan*, Sydney. pp. 96.

internationally savvy local population. One visitor summed up the foreign community as such: *'There are two kinds of 'western' mercantile firms who find their business slipping out of their unprogressive hands as they lounge and swap stories the 'the club' or else writers for foreign language publications - many of them mere journalistic beach-combers'*.<sup>394</sup> By the turn of the century, foreigners had done the job of marginalising themselves for the Japanese. They were now beginning to look increasingly anachronistic in the 'New Japan'.

### **Extraterritoriality and the Emergence of an 'International Community':**

The parochial nature of society in the ports owed itself to the peculiarities of extraterritorial legislation. Largely shielded from interference from the Japanese administration, the port communities dealt almost exclusively through their own consuls who bore the brunt of criticisms from an often disgruntled and increasingly entitled merchant class. As was the case elsewhere in the colonial public sphere, those who imagined themselves to be representatives of the frontier often behaved in a belligerent manner towards those who in their eyes represented the metropole government. Britain's Opium Wars in China had marked a turning point in East Asian relations with the West, and European ideas regarding what constituted as 'civilisation' would prove disastrous for the traditional world order.<sup>395</sup> First established in

---

<sup>394</sup> Clarke, J. 1918. *Japan at First Hand*, London. pp. 24

<sup>395</sup> Gong, G. 1984. 174

the ports of East Asia after the wars, this system was replicated by western traders working as representatives of their governments, often lobbying against domestic policy in favour of infringement on sovereign territories. Trading posts were established all the way up the China coast, becoming so effective that the same model would be introduced into Japan after Perry's arrival. Established in the years between 1858-1869, extraterritoriality in Japan remained largely unchanged for the next thirty three years until concessions were finally agreed upon to wind down the system in 1894.

Complex consular administrations were formed to by the major 'power' states in most of the zones where foreign residents were based in order to tackle all kinds of legal cases between the Japanese and their foreign guests. Due to the comprador system, most settlers opted for some degree of self-seclusion from the wider Japanese state. Extraterritoriality effectively resulted in two different communities growing in unison, one almost entirely Western, the other almost entirely Japanese. Caught in between were the Chinese and marginal Westerners whose presence was regarded less than favourably by the mercantile community as riding the coat-tails of their legitimate trading efforts. Most of these Westerners were considered transient foreigners, seamen, small businessmen, bar and brothel owners, as well as the ne'er-do-



wells or beachcombers who gravitated towards the ports hoping for a change of luck.<sup>396</sup>

Merchant firms employed many of their clerks from outside the settlements, usually from overseas or from the families of the other established ports. Few if any of the staff in the employ of a merchant firm would have arrived unsolicited. Cash was rarely needed and a new employee could attain everything they needed quickly via the chit system, whereby they were billed at the end of the month. Chits were generally honoured and regarded as a measure of an individual's respectability. Failure to stay on top of one's chits resulted in a loss of face, however, the rise in prices by the early 1890s meant that only foreign residents with ties to reputable firms and wealthy tourists could afford to use the system.<sup>397</sup> Less well connected foreigners often racked up debts resulting in their expulsion from the settlement by their consul. Connected clubmen could perhaps gain a second chance, but there was little respite for destitute foreigners. As such settlement society was rather ruthlessly divided by those eligible for the club and those who were not, resulting in a yawning chasm between mercantile society and those beneath them.<sup>398</sup>

---

<sup>396</sup> H. S. Williams routinely uses these phrases to describe poorer treaty port residents which suggest the terms formed part of the lexicon of treaty port English.

<sup>397</sup> Brownell, C. L. 1904. *The Heart of Japan*, London. pp. 104-9

<sup>398</sup> Murphy, K. 1993. pp. 86

All foreigners, however, could freely relocate to the treaty ports safe in the knowledge that they would be under the protection of their representative governments. Regular sea traffic in and out of the ports meant that this section of society was often in constant flux, and Murphy's study goes some way to recognising the plight of several documented destitute individuals in Yokohama, shining light on a section of treaty port society that has otherwise been neglected. Kobe too had its fair share of destitute foreigners, and the large number of poorly made wooden crosses, some whose names have now worn away in the foreign cemetery are testament to that fact.<sup>399</sup> From the writings of Kipling and Hearn, perhaps the only writers to have any interest in this subsection of port society, we can glean a brief, albeit very narrow, view of Yokohama's underbelly. Kipling's seminal 1892 poem *Rhyme of the Three Sealers*, give's a strong indication that Kipling frequented the haunts mentioned in the poem and may even have been a friend or acquaintance of those mentioned within it.<sup>400</sup> Similarly, Hearn mentions his friendship with Carey a mulatto hotelier in Yokohama, highlighting that settlement society was diverse and full of character, but alas, any insight into this character has been lost or forgotten.<sup>401</sup> Native Town's, as they were known, acted as the Rubicon between respectable settler society and the rest of the foreign contingent in the ports. Foreign crime in these areas was often a cause of embarrassment for other members of the community China and Japan had a reciprocal

---

<sup>399</sup> Williams, H. S. 1978. *The Foreign Cemeteries of Kobe and Osaka*, Kobe.

<sup>400</sup> Poole, O. M. 1968. *The Death of Old Yokohama*, London. pp. 3

<sup>401</sup> Island, E. (eds). 1910. pp. 311

agreement allowing their citizens to fall under the jurisdiction of each other's courts, the heavy handedness in regards to treatment of Chinese nationals by the Japanese authorities, was viewed as reason enough to maintain the status quo of the extraterritorial system by the Euro-American residents.<sup>402</sup>

Shanghai was governed by a municipal form of government which would later become the model for the Japanese ports. Kobe was deemed the most successful of the Japanese municipal governments as there was a stronger sense of foreign control of how the settlement had developed. Yokohama by contrast had been created *by the Japanese for* foreigners.<sup>403</sup> Council members were elected largely from the mercantile community, three in total, along with several foreign consuls from Britain, the U. S, France and Russia. A Japanese member was also present and became the main go-between for the council and the Meiji government.<sup>404</sup>

Questions have to be raised concerning the representation of these councils as familiar faces appear in various formal roles in several of Japan's treaty ports. Both the President and Vice President of the first Municipal Council were merchants who were already involved on a financial basis with the Nagasaki merchant T. B. Glover. Scotsman Kenneth Ross MacKenzie who was active throughout Shanghai, Nagasaki, Yokohama and Kobe was

---

<sup>402</sup> Hoare, J. E. 1977. The Chinese in the Japanese Treaty Ports: the unknown majority, in Daniels G and Lowe, P (eds) *History and International Relations*, London.

<sup>403</sup> Ennals, P. 2014. pp. 42

<sup>404</sup> *Japan Chronicle, Jubilee Number*. 1918. pp. 21

business partner and close friend of T. B. Glover, and President J. F Bauduin was the agent for the Netherlands Trading Company who were also one of Glover's biggest financial backers.<sup>405</sup> Glover already had significant sway both economically and politically and was close friend of Hyogo's first governor Ito Hirobumi. Clearly conflicts of interest were not taken into account in 1868. However, there seems little doubt that settlement life was riddled with cronyism at every level. Although the Municipal Council had several foreign consular officials as members, it was the merchants who held the senior positions which clearly shows that the mercantile community perhaps held more sway with the Meiji government in their ability to bypass consular officials in key business dealings with their own connections within the Japanese government. For men like Ito Hirobumi, such an arrangement was a win-win situation as contracts and land holdings could be divvied amongst men who had been key financial backers of the Meiji oligarchy during the restoration.

When viewed in this light it is easier to see how through a fragile trade monopoly held by Western residents, they were able to consolidate their position by creating a civil society based on widespread co-operation between countries that, outside of Japan, engaged in ardent rivalry. Arguably, trade relations came first in the establishment of ports like Kobe and Yokohama, which operated in many ways as a replication of the Vienna System in East

---

<sup>405</sup> McKay, A. 1993. *The Scottish Samurai*, Edinburgh.

Asia. This meant that for the most part treaty ports essentially mirrored European economic life, and as most states in Western Europe were continually negotiating and signing treaties, through which most of these nations were interlocked within the same international system.<sup>406</sup> Indeed, several countries who had treaties with Japan may even have had as little as one person representing their interests in the whole country.

Quite often these people did not even belong to those countries that they were chosen to represent. Again we see the familiar face of Kenneth Ross MacKenzie, the Scottish trader who had been a proficient opium smuggler during the years of the Opium Wars, temporarily served as acting French Consul as well as a formal role on the Kobe Municipal Council, while his fellow countryman and business partner, Thomas Glover, was acting consul for the Portuguese.<sup>407</sup> This practice was not uncommon, and as late as the 1930s a Kobe born British citizen, Ernest James, was the Swedish Consul General, complete with diplomatic uniform.<sup>408</sup>

More importantly, Japan had at that time only recently removed itself from its *sakoku* mindset. It was not until the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 that the term *kokusai shakai*, or international society, was used when referring to Japan's

---

<sup>406</sup> Auslin, M. R. 2004. *Negotiating With Imperialism*, London. pp. 152-3.

<sup>407</sup> See, McKay, A. 1993. *The Scottish Samurai*, Chapter Three for more information regarding the role of early traders and their roles representing countries which at the time had no citizens of their own in the Japanese ports.

<sup>408</sup> Tamura, K. 2008. *Forever Foreign*, National Library of Australia.

relationship with the rest of the world.<sup>409</sup> Being exempt from this system, while at the same time being asked to conform to it, no doubt fueled much of the anti-foreign feeling towards treaty revision among the working-class population in the ports. This in turn often took shape around incidents that, in Japanese eyes, represented what was taking place on a national level.

Elsewhere in East Asia, foreign enclaves such as Hong Kong, Shanghai and were becoming progressively more insulated as the bourgeoisie Western populations led ever more increasingly affluent lifestyles that were out of the reach of the average East Asian resident. The typical Shanghai or Hong Kong Briton, or any other foreigner for that matter, had little meaningful interaction with the local Chinese population bar those employed in the service industry.<sup>410</sup> Similarly, in cities like Yokohama and Kobe, acculturation was seen as something that should be done by the Japanese, and never the other way round. Most houses had an amah, a cook, or at the very least a housemaid, allowing most foreigners to enjoy a lifestyle that would for many have been out of reach in their homeland. However, a disgruntled Kobe resident felt the need to complain to a local newspaper concerning the lack of quality servants in Japan only to be rebuffed by an equally irate Japanese reader who reminded them that the Japanese were not as servile as their

---

<sup>409</sup> Suzuki, S. 2005. Japan's Socialization into Janus-Faced European International Society, in *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 11, 1, pp. 140.

<sup>410</sup> Betta, C. 2000. pp. 46.

continental cousins.<sup>411</sup> Such a rebuttal is further evidence that settler lifestyles and increasing Japanese confidence in the international arena were showing the beginnings of the end for foreign privilege on Japanese soil.

Maintaining this status quo was also crucial in influencing Japanese government policy with respect to the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 in which Japan ended the reciprocal agreement with China leading the way for the Japanese to exert the kind of power over her neighbour that she herself had been subjected to under the extraterritorial system. Strategically, the Japanese had worked tirelessly to negotiate their way out of extraterritoriality before finally reaching its objective and regaining full autonomy in 1899. Indeed, Japan's triumph in this regard was crucial in shaping how Western colonial - particularly British, as it was they who delayed the ending of extraterritoriality the longest - powers dealt with Asian states in regard to the concept of sovereignty. In this way, Confucian order was gradually superseded in East Asia by the European powers as traditional systems based on tributary relations were replaced by European merchant trading heavily skewed in favour of Western interests.<sup>412</sup>

### **Extraterritorial Legislation:**

---

<sup>411</sup> *Japan Chronicle*, 1899/7/33

<sup>412</sup> Gong, G. 1984. pp. 174.

What made extraterritoriality so appealing for Western states, and ultimately so galling to countries like China and Japan, was the fact that legislation or reform of any kind that would affect the economic or social well-being of Western citizens had to first be approved by all of the Western powers. This could become an incredibly long and laborious process, and one which required a level of understanding of not just one legal system, but the legal system of every country involved. The result was of dual benefit for Western governments as the process allowed the importation Western legal forms into Japan, but also influenced the reforms and legislation that Japan put forward.<sup>413</sup> In this regard, Western states were sculpting a new legal system in Japan of their own image and having the Japanese complicit in the arrangement to boot. As it stood, extraterritoriality was deemed a necessary evil by the Western diplomats as they argued that they compensated for the inefficiency and partiality of the Japanese judicial system which was regarded as barbaric by local foreign residents. Yet conversely the Japanese viewed foreign privilege with similar distaste, and there was widespread belief that the extraterritorial courts were skewed in favour of foreigners. An extensive study of the justice of the extraterritorial courts by Richard T. Chang<sup>414</sup> revealed that the courts were in fact impartial in their treatment of cases regarding both Japanese and foreign residents yet there remained a widespread belief

---

<sup>413</sup> Badie, B. 2000. *The Imported State*, London.

<sup>414</sup> Chang, R. T. 1984. *The Justice of the Western Consular Courts in Nineteenth Century Japan*, London.



among the Japanese that they were on the receiving end of poor decision making in the consular court.

Consequently, treaty revision had by the mid-1870s become a central issue to every articulate Japanese citizen as not only a moral, but also as a political crusade. The populace were now fired-up by intellectuals who were conflicted by either a drive towards Westernisation or a return to traditional values.<sup>415</sup>

The Japanese had now shifted from a narrow self-absorbed worldview to one based on an acutely international perspective fueled by increased fact-finding excursions abroad and an increasing number of ryugakusei or exchange students studying in Western universities.<sup>416</sup> More and more politically minded Japanese were beginning to discover that the liberalism being preached by Western intellectuals that they admired was being denied them in their own country. This coupled with the perceived slight of every treaty revision knock back contributed to a growing anti-foreign sentiment in the ports. Yet foreigners who had any grievances with any Japanese had to take their case to the Japanese courts, and the large majority of court cases that took place in Kobe were concerned with business or maritime issues.

Occasional interest was garnered by cases of slander or personal issues between business adversaries. However, on the whole, relationships between

---

<sup>415</sup> See, de Bary, T, Gluck, C, & Keene, D. 2001. *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. Columbia University Press.

<sup>416</sup> Cobbing, A. 1998. *The Japanese Discovery of Victorian Britain: early travel encounters in the Far West*, London.

Japanese and foreigner remained cordial, yet distinctly distant, something which is made plainly clear in the contemporary accounts of port residents such as Lafcadio Hearn and the journalist Robert Young. Similarly, it is largely from the editorials of the English vernacular press that we gain any kind of understanding of the social make-up of the foreign community. One case involving a British Irish lawyer who complained of a caricature in circulation depicting him as a potato farmer give a flavour of the mundane day-to-day proceedings of the courts as an example of the general insular nature of the foreign community.<sup>417</sup> In extraterritorial era Yokohama or Kobe, a man's reputation was paramount, and any defamation of a person's character would have had disastrous consequences both socially and financially.

The historical record in Kobe paints a conflicting view of how foreigners viewed Japanese law during extraterritoriality. In 1871 one of the lengthiest descriptions in the British Consular Court record gives details of what appears to have been a case of vigilantism by a group of prominent local Western residents against three Chinese coolies.<sup>418</sup> Several British and American residents forcibly broke into a godown<sup>419</sup> used by Chinese labourers as accommodation and attacked them. The British and American men mistakenly believed the Chinese were operating a gambling den, something which was

---

<sup>417</sup> *Japan Chronicle, Jubilee number*, 1918

<sup>418</sup> Coolie was a term in widespread usage in Southern and East Asia and usually referred to unskilled Indian or Chinese labourers. The word is thought to be of Tamil, kuli, or Gujarati, koli, origin.

<sup>419</sup> The term was widely used in India and East Asia for warehouse. Stemming from the Portuguese word *godão*, meaning store.

considered illegal under Japanese law, yet it is unclear whether it was illegal within the confines of the settlement itself. After assaulting the three Chinese men with clubs and an attack dog, one man was thrown down a flight of stairs and another lost his queue, the long ponytail haircut, as it was ripped from his head. The three men then dragged the unfortunate Chinese to the Japanese police outwith the settlement.<sup>420</sup> The motivation for the assault seems unclear. On one hand it shows the almost brazen lawlessness of the settlement as the attack was conducted by ringleaders Arthur Hasketh Groom, then a representative for Glover and Co., and one of the city's most influential clubmen, and Edward Fischer, a high ranking Freemason within the Hiogo & Osaka Masonic Lodge.<sup>421</sup> Another accomplice was H. C. Cobden, the then superintendent for the Municipal Council, who was also an employee of Fischer. Again, the interconnectedness of these individuals with club affiliations and power in local affairs make it clear that positions relating to municipal administration were intrinsically linked with club leadership. As gambling was illegal there seems to have been a willingness, albeit misguided, to bring the alleged gamblers within the writ of Japanese law despite the so-called offence occurring within the foreign enclave. If anything, the affair seems to indicate a general grievance towards the Chinese, who were an invaluable asset to the smooth running of the settlement as go-

---

<sup>420</sup> *British Consular Court Record* 1871-5. Hyogo Prefectural Library, Kobe.

<sup>421</sup> In 1879 the *Japan Weekly Mail* of Sept. 24th list Edward Fischer as becoming Master of the Hiogo & Osaka Lodge in 1873. An article that appeared in the MacPherson, T. D's. 2005. *Year Book of the Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland 2005*, mentions Fischer, along with several other leading Masons in Kobe as being an influential moderniser during the Meiji era. Directories show Fischer as the proprietor of Edward Fischer & Co., and list him as an insurance agent for several offices in Canton, Hong Kong and Scotland.

betweeners or compradors, while at the same time were viewed with suspicion and jealousy by the white residents of the port.

The attack, therefore, highlights the precariousness of the Western resident's position in Japan. Hemmed in to the treaty port by a controlling Japanese state and reliant on a group, the Chinese, whom they classed as inferior 'Celestials', led the white residents to express their authority in the most base and undignified manner. Chinese middle-men were essential to foreign merchant trade in the ports as they were generally far more conversant in Japanese due to their shared knowledge of Chinese characters and East Asian business practices. It should therefore come as no surprise that the resultant court case was attended in large numbers by not only Westerners, but also by the Chinese who formed the largest portion of the port's demographic and in the early days before Chinese consular representation in the ports, went to the British courts to settle disputes. Due to overwhelming evidence against the British defendants, a heavy fine and the threat of imprisonment was imposed. The case was tried by the British Vice-Consul and ex-Chief of Justice for the Shanghai Settlement, H. S. Wilkinson, and according to the memoir of British Consul John Carey Hall, the case went some way towards instilling respect for British justice among the Chinese community, especially after the American involved escaped with a nominal fine

from his own country's court.<sup>422</sup> This in itself contradicts the opinion of American residents such as Arthur Collins Maclay and W. E. Griffis who prided themselves in the higher moral standards of their own section of the foreign community.<sup>423</sup> Nevertheless, the affair was another case of club men using their local influence to usurp consular jurisdiction, only to be ultimately held account by it. Such was the constant toing and froing between a semi-autonomous, often overzealous foreign community and an often mistrusted consular body.

This took place less than a year before the Japanese were to lobby the foreign powers regarding treaty revision in 1872. Here the case is significant in the fact that Western residents, business and justice of the courts, all had to be seen adhering to a coherent and fair judicial system that provided the scaffolding around which extraterritoriality was held in place. Any event which called into question the legitimacy of Western legal imperialism ergo had serious implications for the multinational foreign presence in the ports, but also the fragile hold which powers, such as Britain had elsewhere in East Asia. News travelled fast in the shipping centres of East Asia and such a case could have had potential far reaching consequences diplomatically. Further still, Chinese residents in the port out-numbered their Euro-American counterparts by a ratio of three to one. The Western presence in the port at the time was

---

<sup>422</sup> Hall, J. C. 1918. *Japan Chronicle*, Jubilee Edition.

<sup>423</sup> Maclay, A. C. 1889. *A Budget of Letters from Japan: reminiscences of work and travel in Japan*, New York. pp. 189

little over two hundred and fifty of mostly European origin. Western control in the port had to be seen as the most beneficial option for the smooth transition of trade; something that the Japanese population was increasingly beginning to question in the early years of the Meiji era.

### **Anti-foreign Feeling: Causes and Responses:**

The foreign presence in Japan was deeply resented by most of the native population from the very beginning, and while much of the antipathy towards foreigners stemmed from the political motives of Euro-American powers, the behaviour of foreign residents towards their Japanese hosts did little to assuage the situation. In reality, insecurities regarding their own safety in a hostile region often led to questionable treatment of lower class Japanese by a merchant population who looked to the China ports for their moral compass. With few merchants being anywhere near conversant in even the most basic of Japanese terms, some residents, like the British Vice Consul Dr. Willis, observed that more often than not, British merchants tended to let their hands and booted feet do the talking.<sup>424</sup> Average Japanese were treated and in general looked upon by the foreign population as second class citizens. This in itself probably did more than anything to stoke the already brooding resentment of foreign privilege in the country. Most merchants were seemingly

---

<sup>424</sup> Cortazzi, H. (eds) 1985. *Dr Willis in Japan: 1862-1877: British Medical Pioneer*, London. pp. 34, See also, Maclay, A. C. 1889. 'Three types of Englishman' in which he lays down a withering attack on the parochial anti-American nature of the British community. pp. 146

dismissive of the paradox that they relied on diplomatic and consular officials for their protection, yet were often critical and overly vocal of those same officials who did not support their occasionally dubious self-interest. This often led to merchants acting for their own gain against the will of the consul, and even on occasion ignoring diplomatic protocol completely.<sup>425</sup>

Conversely, consuls generally looked upon the merchant classes with disdain echoing the class divisions that existed in Europe, and perhaps more specifically, the class structures of Britain. In their view, their actions impeded the development of an arrangement with the Japanese that would benefit all British interests in East Asia, and not the narrow needs of merely a few. Despite the fact that racial segregation across the British colonies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a common occurrence, the official government policy continued to promote the ideals of racial inclusion and harmony. In the metropole, opinion was divided, resulting in a complicated, contingent, and ultimately irresolvable dialectic of exclusion and inclusion. But to white colonials who believed themselves to be at the forefront racial struggle, public men in London could seem ill informed and lacking in experience of frontier realities.<sup>426</sup>

Those abroad imagined themselves to be on the frontier and this could in many cases cause division between those ‘on the ground’ and the officials

---

<sup>425</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>426</sup> Schwarz, B. 2011. *The White Man's World*. Oxford. pp. 109.

representing the metropole. Diplomats were also responsible for propagating the notorious reputation of Japan's Western merchant classes, often referring to them as the moral refuse of Europe or worse, projecting an outward air of superiority and class sensibility; all the while inwardly harbouring jealousy at the merchants quick and easy profits and, and in some cases, their ability to move within Japanese political circles that were beyond their reach. Early examples of this dichotomy were the relationship between the merchant community in Japan and the consular officials who represented them. One example which illustrates this appears in Ernest Satow's own diary regarding a meeting with Thomas Blake Glover in the Tokyo Club. Then a business advisor to Mitsubishi, Glover informs Satow that he has arranged for Iwasaki Yanosuke, the then Governor of the Bank of Japan, to call on Satow regarding a vote of no confidence in the Diet. Satow appears to resent the power wielded by the older merchant but grudgingly accepts the state of affairs.<sup>427</sup> Such ideological tensions between settlers and officials, while never officially articulated by the Western expatriate community, were subtle enough to add to the multitude of white identities that emerged at the tail end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the evolution of any kind of white identity in Japan was essentially chastised by 1900 with the end of extraterritoriality and the advent of the Russo-Japanese War, as politicians in Europe began to be

---

<sup>427</sup> Satow, E. pp. 254-5 263



increasingly fearful of the threat posed by ‘Asiatics’ on their colonial possessions.<sup>428</sup>

How such a divisive relationship evolved between merchant and diplomats during the years of extraterritoriality has never been adequately addressed by scholars of the treaty ports. However, if one looks at the divergence in relation to the fraternal organisations which each group frequented, the reasons become clearer. A British military garrison had been stationed in Yokohama since its conception as an open port. Anti-Foreign feeling was rife in the early days of the Yokohama settlement and random acts of violence could bubble to the surface at any given moment. Foreign residents, particularly the British, felt that their own officials did not represent their interests, while the representatives of the British state in Japan generally took a cool view of those whose actions they viewed as a hindrance to the development of cordial relations with the Japanese.<sup>429</sup> Nevertheless, attacks from *joi* party samurai in the years between 1860 and 1868 were frequent and often brutal, with the attack on eleven French sailors in Sakai being one of the most infamous incidents in during the treaty port era.<sup>430</sup>

---

<sup>428</sup> Schwarz, B. 2011. pp. 110.

<sup>429</sup> Cortazzi, H. 1985. *Dr Willis in Japan: British Medical Pioneer, 1862-1877*, London. pp. 17.

<sup>430</sup> Delegates from the British Legation were attacked in Kyoto by several ronin samurai in March 1868, and in the same month, Bizen and Tosa samurai were responsible for unprovoked attacks on foreigners in Kobe and Sakai during the same time period. See also Chapter One.

The 1870s were generally a calm decade for Japanese and foreign relations, however, anti-foreign feeling reared its ugly head once again during the Normanton Incident of 1886 when a British Mail ship ran aground and sank off the coast of Wakayama resulting in the loss of twenty five Japanese passengers. What made the case notorious was the fact that the ship's white crew was able to escape claiming in the resulting court case that the Japanese passengers were unable to understand their instructions to abandon ship. After several attempts the Captain, John William Drake, claimed he was left with little option but to save himself and the crew as the Japanese had refused his repeated attempts to communicate the severity of the situation. Naturally, the survival of every single European onboard and the abandonment of every non-Western member, there were eighteen Indian and Chinese crew also onboard, painted a picture of Europeans as callous and racist towards non-whites. The fact that the surviving crew were rescued by local Japanese fishermen further stoked the outrage that was brewing before the trial took place.<sup>431</sup>

However, there seems to have been little in the way of injustice towards Japanese on a local level that would have caused or contributed to anti-foreign feeling. Yet it existed. We know this from the particularly frank writings of the editor of the *Kobe/Japan Weekly Chronicle*, Robert Young in the years after extraterritoriality and of the casual observations of the paper's guest

---

<sup>431</sup> Masahiro, T. 1990. Normanton Incident, in *The Comprehensive National History Reference*, Vol. 11. Nita - Hi. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

editor, Lafcadio Hearn. Young never missed an opportunity, particularly in his later years, to communicate his growing concerns that the Japanese were increasingly hostile towards foreign business in the treaty ports, seeing them as usurpers of business and profits that should rightfully, in their eyes, be in the hands of Japanese.<sup>432</sup>

Yet it was also in 1897, on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee that Joseph Chamberlain was calling for increased representation for British colonial subjects at the same time as the idea of a formal alliance with the Empire of Japan was being canvassed. In many ways there were clearly distinctions between expectation and reality regarding notions of how relationships with non-white societies should evolve that differed vastly between the metropole and the supposed periphery. However, those who chose to live on the periphery did so for a reason, and those reasons are not always entirely clear. What was the draw, for example, of a young Scot from a highland village, or a ship's pilot from the north Welsh coast, to the very edges of Empire? Japan was not a haven for the well-heeled gentry. Most of those who chose to settle were more often than not of fairly humble backgrounds. Was the choice of Japan, which lay outwith the imperial sphere, a statement of maverick internationalism? Was this in itself an expression of dissatisfaction with colonial politics?

---

<sup>432</sup> Young, R. 1919. The Foreigner in Japan, in Morton-Cameron, W. H. (eds) *Present-Day Impressions of Japan*, London. pp. 411-412.

Lafcadio Hearn was perhaps *the* quintessential Western maverick of his day. By examining his writings, it is possible to gain an insight into the mindset of the foreign settlement. Hearn was astute enough to discern that growing tensions were on the horizon between the foreign and Japanese communities with the presence of Western merchants who '*assumed the tone of princes and the insolence of conquerors...as employers they were usually harsh, and sometimes brutal*' (the above court case being an example to Hearn's testimony).<sup>433</sup> Little wonder then that behind the thin veneer of 'internationalism' which the community purported to promote, lay a simmering anger among local Japanese regarding the status of Westerners in the ports.

Hearn also states that the majority of the English press, themselves intrinsically linked with the club culture of the ports, were '*anti-Japanese*' and lobbied an opinion that was representative of the majority of the foreign population. The open backing of China by the foreign press during the Sino-Japanese war also caused tit-for-tat sensationalism amongst the Japanese journals regarding the scandalous behaviour, true or otherwise, of the port residents.<sup>434</sup> The *Osaka Ji-Ji* in particular preyed upon Japanese fears and paranoia regarding Western exoticness and barbarism in the decades prior to

---

<sup>433</sup> Hearn, L. 1896. *Kokoro*, London. pp. 70.

<sup>434</sup> (*Ibid*).

WWII, which were in turn regularly translated and reprinted by the *Japan Chronicle*.<sup>435</sup> Summing up the foreign community Douglas Sladen wrote:

*'The merchant has suffered by Japanese trade-duplicity, and hates the name of the Japanese so badly that he cannot enjoy anything in the country. In his business he hardly meets them, but transacts everything through a Chinese sheriff, or comprador. In his house his wife has the same feud over again, because the Japanese servant refuses to understand the orders he does not wish to obey, though he is willing to serve you well, if you let him take the bit by his teeth, and let his entire family take bits of another kind in their teeth. The merchant's aim is to be as English as possible. He goes in for English sports, and entertains his friends with English meals; so that if you are tired of tennis, and there is no fiftieth-rate play going on in the improvised theatre, you have nothing to do but buy photographs, unless you can afford to buy curios from the English shops. If you once get into the hands of the resident grumbler, there is nothing for you to do but get out of Japan. Yokohama had a good club, with an excellent library, and a recreation ground, where the residents met and played tennis; but it had only a single resident who could write Japanese, and very few who could speak it any better [than the tourist]... but when you go to Japan you cannot see much of people who spend most of their time trying to persuade you that*

---

<sup>435</sup> *Japan Chronicle*, 09/05/1929

*there is nothing worth seeing in the country. It makes you feel as if you had made a mistake in going there.*<sup>436</sup>

From the above quote, we can see from Sladen's criticism of the foreign population shows that little had changed since the days of extraterritoriality, whereby the majority of foreign residents completely rejected Japanese culture in favour of a more 'internationally' socially acceptable transnational 'English' culture. Here Sladen is explicitly using the term 'English' to represent 'colonial' life. Japan's British community in particular were deeply insecure of their status as overseas nationals, and Sladen's comments clearly indicate that in order for the British community to be accepted outside of Japan, they had to replicate, or at least be seen to be replicating, the normative facets of a British middle or upper class existence.

For the expatriate Briton, internationalism meant leading by example, even if the example was never meant to be attainable for the average Japanese. Epitomising the *lassiez faire* attitudes that permeated British Victorian thought in the late 1890s. Many decried the loss of the 'good old days' of the settlement but few could hide the fact that through tireless negotiation, Japanese legislators and government ministers had eked away all of the benefits away from foreign life with the Euro-American community becoming increasingly marginalised and ultimately powerless. By marginalising

---

<sup>436</sup> Sladen, D. 1904. *Queer Things About Japan*, London. pp. 314-315.

themselves, the foreign community had effectively backed itself into a corner by the 1890s. Political developments at home had moved ahead of their own way of life which had more in common with Bangalore than London. By striving to maintain their parochial lifestyle, foreigners had singled themselves out as a threat in the eyes of the local Japanese population, products of the gunboat diplomatic era and evidence of the unfair advantage that the West had taken for its own benefit in East Asia.<sup>437</sup>

**Chapter 3:**  
**Pushing the Boundaries of Extraterritoriality:**  
**Hunting Clubs and the Settlement.**

**Introduction:**

In the early days of settlement, the club was invariably linked with the life of a sportsman. Hunting, or recreational shooting, was arguably the first sport in the treaty ports of Japan to be taken up in earnest. With mail steamers only being a bi-monthly occurrence in the early days of the port, the foreign residents had plenty of time on their hands to occupy their time with various leisure pursuits. Ports such as Yokohama, and later Kobe, were as yet undeveloped and large numbers of game wildlife could be had for the avid hunter. While information concerning the earliest shooting clubs is rather

---

<sup>437</sup> Hoare, J. E. 1994

sparse, their formation was indicative of a more turbulent period in treaty port history. Foreign merchants during the early days of settlement could be subject to unprovoked attacks due to Japanese political instability, and the frontier-like atmosphere of port life naturally called for high levels of gun ownership for protection. Yokohama had two shooting clubs in the early 1860s, one Swiss and the other representing all other nationalities. Both clubs appear to have been reliant, as with the emergence of Freemasonry in Japan, on the large number of foreign troops stationed there. After the departure of troops in the 1870s the popularity of the clubs waned.<sup>438</sup> Hunting, however, remained a feature of foreign life throughout the Meiji era, despite various measures taken by the Japanese authorities to limit such activity.

During the early years of settlement game was in abundance, largely undisturbed and to all intents and purposes, unhindered due to the lack of any significant Japanese hunting culture.<sup>439</sup> Nevertheless, careless mismanagement of game wildlife and rampant over shooting had significant impact on the local environment. Recreational shooting came to the fore in nineteenth century Britain as new ideas concerning society's engagement with the landscape pervaded all aspects of cultural life. While previously an activity that was reserved for the aristocracy, hunting was gradually repositioned as a sporting pastime amongst an increasingly bourgeois overseas middle-class

---

<sup>438</sup> Hoare, J. E. 1994. *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, Folkestone. pp. 41.

<sup>439</sup> Moss, M. 1863. *Seizure by the Japanese of Mr. Moss and His Treatment by the Consul General*. London. pp. 4.



which bolstered, amongst other things, notions of gentlemanly character, manliness, and ultimately ideas concerning racial superiority and European colonialism.<sup>440</sup> The following chapter explores the role of the hunt in treaty port life and how this activity, having initially gone on unchecked, sent the foreign population on a collision course between themselves and a Japanese administration seeking to restrict foreign mobility to the confines of the settlement boundary. While most hunters went about unmolested, the arrest of the British hunter Michael Moss in the early 1860s would go on to shape the nature of the relationship between the merchant class and their foreign diplomatic counterparts for years to come, contributing greatly towards the emergence of a settlement identity.

### **Hunting and the Gentlemanly Ideal in Meiji Japan:**

Although perhaps not necessarily thought of as a sport by today's standards, hunting was rooted within the gentlemanly ideal of 'manly sports' in the nineteenth century. Hunting had become a 'cult' among the emerging and aspiring middle-classes of Victorian Britain, and expressed itself in a variety of different cultural manifestations, be it art, literature or architecture. The Victorian fascination with display and ornamentation lent itself perfectly to the hunting traditions of taxidermy and trophy display.<sup>441</sup> Private residences and

---

<sup>440</sup> MacKenzie, J. 1988. *Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism*, London. 21-2.

<sup>441</sup> Cannadine, D. 2002. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, London.

the gender exclusive male sanctums of the clubhouse weren't complete without the ostentatious display of half a dozen exotic heads of wild animals from the far reaches of the globe placed strategically in the billiard or smoking rooms. By the end of the nineteenth century, collection and display of rare wildlife had become synonymous with the social mobility of upper-class tourism. The essential 'must-have' for the adventurous traveller of the day, hunting expeditions were only of value if the sportsman had proof of his kill, such as a mounted head. Overseas service, hunting skill, social status and 'manly' pursuits, combined with a keen interest in the natural world were all an expression of European dominance of the natural world. Knowledge, display and classification of flora and fauna were themselves expressions of imperialism which bolstered the perceptions of racial superiority with white Europeans topping the pyramid of racial evolution.<sup>442</sup>

This ideology, which was also prevalent in other European centres with a colonial outlook, was disseminated around the globe in much the same way as we have seen earlier with the spread of an urbane club culture aided by colonial administrators, imperial soldiers and professional and recreational hunters. Traveller's accounts of the hunt became a regular feature of early treaty port literature. However, the limitations on hunting and movement outwith the settlement ultimately reveal the character of the relationship emerging between Japan and the West. Hunting accounts such as *Notes and*

---

<sup>442</sup> MacKenzie, J. 1988. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism*, London. pp. 26-37

*Sketches from the Wild Coast of Nippon* written in 1880, for example, laments the passing of the ‘Old Japan’, complete with its quant culture and customs which is increasingly under threat by the encroaching ‘new’ culture of the foreign settlement. Here the hunter is both observer, and complicit in the destruction of the old order. As Peckham has elicited, hunting narratives in the treaty ports demonstrate not only how residents of the settlements perceived East Asians, but also how the environment they described enabled westerners to see themselves.<sup>443</sup> Ultimately, these accounts pontificate on the role of Japan as an emerging power in her own right.<sup>444</sup>

In the nineteenth century one of the main attractions of the American West and colonial Australia for white Europeans was the opportunity for any class of man to gain access to a seemingly unlimited quota of wildlife for the hunt. Coupled with this, colonialism in the Americas, South Asia and Australasia had done much to expand Western knowledge of the environment in the nineteenth century. This knowledge was articulated in a number of ways through worldwide scientific networks that promoted the wider understanding of the natural world through pursuits such as collecting and documenting the

---

<sup>443</sup> Peckham, R. 2014. *Game of Empires: Hunting in Treaty-Port China*, in Beattie, J, Mellilo, E. and O’Gorman, E.(eds), *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire*, New York and London, pp. 202-232

<sup>444</sup> See Moss, M. 1863. *Seizure by the Japanese of Mr. Moss and His Treatment by the Consul General*. London; Holtham, E. G. 1883. *Eight Years in Japan, Work, Travel, and Recreation*, London; Craddock, C. 1889. *Sporting Notes on the Far East*, London; Dyce, C. M. 1906. *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years’ Residence in The Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, London. Each of these accounts of life in Japan contains detailed passages concerning game hunting in Japan and Shanghai.

natural environment.<sup>445</sup> As European expansionism aided a deeper understanding of nature as a conceptual entity, domination of the natural world became a central characteristic of nineteenth century colonial thought. Hunting not only helped to establish this notion of domination but further bolstered the idea of Victorian British masculinity.<sup>446</sup>

Such ideas were not exclusively rooted to Victorian Britain, however as a cultural giant, British schools of thought had a wide reach throughout Euro-American sphere of influence. Despite this cultural impact, perhaps the earliest case of game hunting by foreigners in Japan occurred in 1854 when American officers of the U.S.S Powhatan, Commodore Perry's ship, conducted a hunting expedition somewhere in the vicinity of Yokohama and Edo. This in itself was a direct contradiction of the terms agreed to by Perry, in which article ten specifically forbade the shooting of birds.<sup>447</sup> Similar agreements were also made by the other powers not to fire weapons within the harbours, as in traditional salutes<sup>448</sup>, yet there appears to have been a direct attempt by foreigners to push the boundaries of these agreements and even to completely ignore them. The American party of the Powhatan were apprehended by a group of samurai who attempted to order them back to their

---

<sup>445</sup> Sramek, J. 2006. "Face Him Like a Briton": Tiger Hunting, Imperialism, and British Masculinity in Colonial India, in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4. pp. 661.

<sup>446</sup> MacKenzie, J. 1988. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism*, London. pp. 17-23.

<sup>447</sup> Hawks, F. L. 2005. *Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan: Narrative of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*, London. pp. 457.

<sup>448</sup> Beasley, W. G. 1951. *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan, 1834*. London. pp. 128

ship, and the refusal of the officers to do so resulted in the first diplomatic incident concerning foreigners and game hunting in Japan.<sup>449</sup> As we shall see, it would not be the last.

As the social makeup of the East Asian ports were predominantly British, it is no surprise that many of the new arrivals to the ports were the cultural progenitors of hunting for sport in the region. East Asian ports like Shanghai and to a certain extent those of Japan, became well known for their abundant game, which was always within easy reach of the settlement. Due to differences in climate and the lack of restrictions in place regarding hunting quotas, shooting seasons tended to be longer in East Asia than in other countries, providing avid hunters with year round game and plenty of anecdotal tales for the burgeoning market in East Asian travelogues. In addition, the absence of a recreational shooting tradition in East Asia for hunting birdlife meant that the hunter could often bag significant numbers of game over a relatively small area. A number of travelogues pay particular attention to game numbers and British Consul General Rutherford Alcock stated that hunters could '*shoot pheasant, snipe, teal, and wild-fowl without stint*',<sup>450</sup> a comment that perhaps betrays Alcock's own interest in hunting in the settlement despite official agreement stating otherwise.

---

<sup>449</sup> Ranzan, D. A, Walter, J. A, & McDonough, J. J. 2013. *With Commodore Perry to Japan: The Journal of William Speiden Jr.. 1852-1855*. Annapolis. pp. 128.

<sup>450</sup> Alcock, R. 1863. *The Capital of the Tycoon*, London. pp. 272.

Such descriptions were, of course, intended to amaze and played on the European public's imagination of the new world as a place of abundance. Descriptions of the profusion of game were, of course, intended to entice entrepreneurial spirit toward the settlements, as much as they contributed towards elevating the status of the author in having seen it with their own eyes. An affluent lifestyle, or at least the perception of one, was part of the draw of an overseas life. In cities such as Shanghai, hunting expeditions by chartered boat with a Chinese crew were well within the budget of the average resident, and would have been a seemingly impossible luxury for most in their home-countries.<sup>451</sup> A life in the Orient offered a man of mediocre social standing at home, endless possibilities for self-improvement echoed in the philosophy of Samuel Smiles in his eponymous *Self-Help*, published in 1859.

Recreational shooting was, therefore, the ultimate pleasure pastime for any aspiring middle-class male, and the attraction of an untapped source of seemingly endless game would have made an attractive prospect for anyone considering a life in the Far East. As with much of the cultural development of the Japanese treaty ports, the Chinese ports acted as a benchmark for civil and civic life, and the popularity of hunting in China perhaps made it inevitable that hunting would be imported with as much enthusiasm. After the capitulation of China in Britain's Opium War, foreigners were allowed access to the Chinese mainland, which most settlers took advantage of. Japanese

---

<sup>451</sup> Dyce, C. M. 1906. *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in The Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, London. pp. 127

officials, however, would prove far more proactive in hemming in foreign settlers keen on replicating their Chinese privileges on Japanese soil.

### **To Hunt or not to Hunt: the Case of Michael Moss:**

Hunting began in earnest in 1859 in Yokohama, and was one of the most popular pastimes of the foreign residents throughout the extraterritorial period.<sup>452</sup> Although technically illegal, during the early months of the opening of the settlement, recreational shooting carried on unchecked until it was brought to the attention of the foreign consuls by officials of the *bakumatsu*, who politely, yet firmly, asked the British Consul to curb the growing enthusiasm for the hunt. Yokohama merchant Michael Moss described it as the principal amusement among the foreign residents, and towards the tail end of 1859, the British Consul Capt. Vyse, issued a notification informing the residents that shooting would be suspended until further notice.<sup>453</sup>

Yet rather than ceasing altogether, foreign residents merely took a short break, and shooting resumed a little after a year with mixed reactions from the Japanese officials. What was a harmless sporting pastime in the eyes of the foreign community soon became a full blown diplomatic incident with the arrest and trial of Michael Moss in 1860. The Moss case can perhaps be

---

<sup>452</sup> Poole, O. M. 1968. *The Death of Old Yokohama: In the Great Japanese Earthquake of 1923*. London.

<sup>453</sup> Moss, M. 1863. pp. 5.

summed up as an early example of Japan's self-assertion in exercising and maintaining her sovereign position as an independent state in dealing with encroaching, and potentially threatening imperialist powers. Merchants of the Far East were well known for continually pushing the boundaries of consular agreements between Japan and the West, and shooting quickly became a bone of contention between the Japanese administration and the settlers. In the early 1860s an edict stipulated that shooting game was strictly prohibited within ten *ri*, basically thirty miles, of the imperial residence.<sup>454</sup>

American physician Francis Hall acknowledges that the request to desist in hunting activities from the consul's was '*openly winked at*', and that several altercations with Japanese militia trying to enforce their own laws had been overturned by hunting parties with superior weaponry.<sup>455</sup> Most foreigners believed that their guns could do the talking when faced with the threat from Japanese officials, mistakenly believing that the sight of a gun would be enough to ward off any unwanted attention of the local law enforcement. So widespread was the enthusiasm for shooting that even the consular officials openly took part in it, knowing full well they were going against the wishes of the *bakufu*.<sup>456</sup>

---

<sup>454</sup> Alcock, R. 1863. *The Capital of the Tycoon, Vol. I*, London. pp. 307.

<sup>455</sup> Hall mentions the case of a Prussian national who was apprehended by several Japanese militia men while hunting only to be freed at gunpoint by members of his party whom they encountered on his way to the Japanese gaol. Notehelfer, F. G. (eds) 1992. *Japan Through American Eyes: The Journals of Francis Hall, Kanazawa and Yokohama 1859-1866*. Princeton. pp. 279.

<sup>456</sup> Moss, M. 1863. pp. 64



Clearly then, it should have been no surprise that such open disdain for an official Japanese decree would sooner or later have ended in violence. Michael Moss had been on a hunting trip in the vicinity of the Yokohama foreign settlement, when upon his return he was confronted by several *yakunin*, or government samurai. According to Moss's own account of the incident, as they approached him in what he perceived to be a threatening manner, he raised his cocked pistol to show that he was prepared to use it. For reasons unknown to Moss he was surrounded by the *yakunin* and violently subdued, receiving several blows to the head until semi-unconscious. During the tussle, he claimed his pistol discharged by accident and shot one samurai in the arm. In his own account of the incident, Moss claims that he was no longer in possession of the gun, and that the samurai's wound was self-inflicted or caused by negligence of one of his fellows. A conflicting account by the Japanese witnesses, also in the employ of a foreigner, Dr. Hepburn, claimed Moss had shot the *yakunin* in the elbow and chest, causing a near critical wound.<sup>457</sup> Moss was then hog-tied and bundled into a cell, where he was continually moved or hidden from the British Consul after his arrest.

Unbeknownst to Moss, the situation caused by his arrest and subsequent disappearance had intensified dramatically. His indiscretion and subsequent kidnapping had now escalated into a full blown diplomatic incident. Captain

---

<sup>457</sup> Notehelfer, F. G. (eds) 1992. *Japan Through American Eyes: The Journals of Francis Hall, Kanazawa and Yokohama 1859-1866*. Princeton. pp. 280.

Vyse, the British consul, had asked for assistance from the Prussian consul by positioning a boat equipped with two howitzers and a small force in a creek in Yokohama which overlooked the Japanese governor's residence. Vyse, along with twenty five British residents, armed to the teeth with an array of weaponry including, guns, bayonets and swords, marched up to the governor's residence to demand that he reveal the location of Moss's imprisonment, adding that if he did not do so, he would light a blue flare to signal the Prussian force to land and take the governor himself prisoner. The governor believed Vyse to be bluffing until the flare was prepared ready to be light in his front garden.<sup>458</sup> Realising that the threat was not idle, and that the foreigners were willing to kidnap him if he did not relinquish Moss, the governor duly revealed the location of the prisoner.

Despite Moss' pleas of wrongful imprisonment, Rutherford Alcock, the Consul-General, argued in favour of the Japanese which resulted in a \$1000 fine and a three month prison sentence in Hong Kong for the exasperated Moss.<sup>459</sup> Keen to avoid further upset and renew trade normality, Alcock essentially used Moss as a sacrificial lamb much to the chagrin of Moss' colleagues. So outraged were the Yokohama residents by their fellow merchants treatment, that they raised the money for Moss's fine between them. After serving less than a month of his sentence in Hong Kong, the eventually acquitted Moss

---

<sup>458</sup> Notehelfer, F. G. (eds) 1992. (ibid).

<sup>459</sup> Moss, M. 1863.

would later go on to attempt to sue Alcock and published a scathing account of his '*Seizure by the Japanese*' in 1863.

The court of Hong Kong's complete reversal of the charge and the award of \$2000 compensation highlight the huge gap between foreign expectation and privilege in China, and the reality of the Japanese situation for foreigners under extraterritoriality. The divergence could not have been clearer, with articles 3 and 4 of the rules of conduct for British nationals clearly stipulating that discharge of firearms and the hunting of game were prohibited.<sup>460</sup> Yet Moss, along with all other foreign residents, including Alcock, appear to have either blatantly ignored this fact, or were completely unaware of its existence. The evidence clearly indicates the former. After the event Moss himself had become a *cause celebre* with the case being widely covered due to its scandalous nature, basically that of a white European being beaten and arrested, despite knowingly and willingly infringing on Japanese law regarding the shooting of animals.

Alcock himself would go on to highlight that the Moss case had had the potential to permanently damage all interested parties in the treaty port and any decision to the contrary of the one made by him would have jeopardised the safety of all inhabitants of the ports. In his view, the wounded *yakunin's*

---

<sup>460</sup> A full list of the Rules and Regulations for the Peace, Order and Good Government of British subjects within the Dominions of the Tycoon of Japan 1860 can be found in Williams, H. S. 1963. *Foreigners in, Mikadoland*, Tokyo. Appendix.

threats could have had an influence on anti-foreign feeling which would have snowballed into a much larger threat to every resident's personal safety. For Alcock the role of Consul-General was fraught with difficulty as he had to work with an Oriental government and a '*treacherous and vindictive race*', the Japanese, on one side and what he regarded as a lawless riff-raff, the foreign settlers, on the other.<sup>461</sup> His acidic rebuttal of his handling of the Moss case created a notorious rift between himself and the foreign community. This rift was most famously highlighted by the refusal of any consul to be allowed to step foot in the Yokohama Club until well after Alcock's replacement in 1865.<sup>462</sup>

While from the outset this may seem a trivial enough matter, it was an extremely significant event in the relationship between the traders and the State. Alcock was well known for his arrogant attitude towards the men whom he at one stage referred to as the '*scum of Europe*',<sup>463</sup> betraying his class conscious upbringing and no doubt an indicative rebuttal to the criticisms of which his handling of the Moss case received. A year after the case he would be replaced while on leave. The reasons were not specific, but the alienation and vociferous condemnation of his handling of Moss' plight by the members of the Yokohama Club must have surely played a part. While occupied as

---

<sup>461</sup> Alcock, R. *The Capital of the Tycoon*, vol. 2. London. pp. 24-31.

<sup>462</sup> Jones, F. C. 1931. *Extraterritoriality in Japan and Other Diplomatic Relations*, London. pp. 54.

<sup>463</sup> The phrase was attributed to Rutherford Alcock, however, his view of treaty port residents was not uncommon. The ports had a reputation of being home to uncouth or corrupt European traders. See, Satow, E. 1921. *A Diplomat in Japan*, London. 1921. pp. 27

Britain's minister in Japan, Alcock saw the grievances of merchants very much as a side issue, being much more concerned with the bigger picture of keeping the Japan from descending into civil war over due to the threat of foreign influence. His eventual replacement, Harry Parkes' popularity grew in part because of his brusque manner with the Japanese, and partly because he knew that without trade, British involvement in Japan was worthless.<sup>464</sup> Merchants viewed him as being in their corner, going some way towards restoring normative relations between state and society once more.

Friction between British diplomats and merchants characterised the first decade of Yokohama life. Exchange rates which favoured 'official' foreigners, such as diplomats, naval officers, and soldiers, from those considered otherwise, became a bone of contention among merchants who felt that the situation was a bribe from the Japanese administration in order to maintain the terms of treaty. Other privileges provided to consular officials further deepened the rift. Most were of the opinion that public servants worked for the benefit of the merchants, among whom ease of, and access to trade was of paramount importance. A similar viewpoint was forming in Shanghai amongst the foreign population which eventually articulated itself in the form of the 'Shanghaiander' identity.<sup>465</sup> Diplomat Ernest Satow succinctly summed up the situation as merchants having lived too long in environments in which they

---

<sup>464</sup> Cortazzi, H (ed) *British Envoys in Japan, 1859-1972*, London. pp. 30

<sup>465</sup> Bickers, R. 1998. Shanghaianders: the Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai 1843-1937, in *Past & Present*, No. 159 (May), pp. 161-211

were the centre of attention, far from the political developments evolving rapidly outside the narrow sphere of treaty port life. It was a viewpoint that would last throughout the extraterritorial period. In the case of Moss, we see the members of the club literally ‘clubbing together’ in opposition to a consul who was believed to be bad for business, the subsequent ostracisation and eventual replacement of Alcock as an emergence of what could be termed a ‘soft public sphere’<sup>466</sup> that would go on to influence the more rigidly defined state sponsored public sphere of Hong Kong, where Moss was ultimately acquitted and compensated for his crime/ordeal.

The Moss case highlighted the precarious state of affairs offered by the extraterritorial system regarding foreign nationals in Japan. The inner workings of the system were often laid bare to contradictions and casual oversights, such as hunting and shooting, which could then bubble over into international disputes if handled carelessly by a combination of bad judgement from either the consul or the residents. For the foreign merchant, heavily influenced by the free-reign experienced by their Shanghai counterparts, kowtowing to Oriental laws was anathema, and few settlers paid any heed to the restrictions on recreational shooting even after the tumultuous events of their fellow merchant and brother-in-arms, Michael Moss. Attitudes to hunting were unchanged by the affair with the Yokohama Hunt Club forming soon after, no doubt inspired by its Shanghai equivalent, even going as far as

---

<sup>466</sup> Schulz-Foberg, H. & Strath, B. 2010. *The Political History of European Integration: the Hypocrisy of Democracy-through-market*, New York. pp. 93.

importing hounds from China.<sup>467</sup> It seems, therefore, that despite official decree explicitly stating that shooting, recreational or otherwise, be banned, hunting continued on unabated. What is clear from the Moss case and similar situations such as the Namamugi Incident show, the rules of conduct for foreigners were clearly stipulated in treaties signed between diplomats, but how well these rules were conveyed to treaty port residents remains unclear.

Ultimately, early residents behaved as they pleased and often suffered the consequences. Alcock himself spoke of the difficulty of acting as consul in Yokohama, commenting on what he termed as the '*the passions of a small clique*'.<sup>468</sup> Therefore within such a small network of the international community, there was a sense of camaraderie among the merchant class, and ultimately, as with the Moss case, mob rule often went against the direct will of the consul. As one Yokohama resident observed, '*foreigners lived a separate existence and, being all in the same boat, pulled together*'.<sup>469</sup> The refusal to admit consular staff to the Yokohama Club is often viewed in comic light in much of the treaty port literature. However, such an act was akin to a mutiny, and as we shall see, the residents generally held the regulations approved by treaty on the matter of hunting in contempt to the extreme. However, prior to the Moss affair, the merchant class of Yokohama had been a loose amalgamation of individuals who had engaged in the hunt for pleasure. They then became

---

<sup>467</sup> Cotazzi, H. 2000. *Collected Writing of Hugh Cortazzi*. London. pp. 204.

<sup>468</sup> Alcock, R. 1863. pp. 34.

<sup>469</sup> Poole, O. M. 1968. pp. 17

an organised militia that had mobilised into an association of individuals that were in direct competition against a group or class that they felt had betrayed them. This was in essence the birth of a highly stratified foreign community legitimising their perceived status through membership of fraternal institution. If such an action had taken place elsewhere in the colonial sphere, it may well have been viewed as a mutiny.

### **Shooting and Extraterritorial Privilege:**

Laws governing the shooting of game, as exemplified by the Moss case, were never resolutely clear-cut under the bakufu, to the eyes of foreigners. According to Alcock, the shooting of game was not seen as an insult to Japanese sensibilities, as was often thought by the port residents, rather it was the access to cheap modern firearms to ordinary Japanese. Foreign merchants quickly became inundated with requests for firearms of any sort by the local population, indicative of the revolutionary mood amongst the disaffected samurai critical of the bakufu's handling of the foreign threat. Japan was ripe for change, and the ruling class was no longer in a position of absolute power. Therefore, the sale of weaponry was strictly prohibited by treaty, due to the fear that insurgents in the population could be quickly equipped with all manner of western weaponry.<sup>470</sup> Even though port residents thought they were being denied the right to hunt, they were in fact being

---

<sup>470</sup> Alcock, R. 1863. *Capital of the Tycoon, Vol I.* pp. 330.



denied as a consequence of the fact that no Japanese had the right to bear arms, unless permitted to do so by the government. However, foreigners generally construed, wrongly, that this prohibition was an infringement on their rights, and continued to do so anyway.<sup>471</sup> By the advent of the new Meiji administration, Japanese jurisdiction over the rights of foreign residents engaging in unchecked recreational shooting had become of national significance by the 1870s.

As legal wrangling between the extraterritorial powers and the new government became increasingly sophisticated, British minister Harry Parkes, long admired by the merchants for his hard line approach to the Japanese, was known to have become increasingly irritated by continual pressure from the Japanese to reign in any residents engaged in the sports shooting. Year by year, the Japanese were gradually putting an end to foreign privilege, and the shooting of birds had become an increasingly contentious issue by 1870. Parkes initially agreed to the need for shooting regulations in the Anglo-Japanese agreement of 1871 in the form of a hunting license. However, the Japanese would later demand that fines for unlicensed shooting should go to them rather than the consular coffers. A compromise deemed unacceptable to the British minister, but a telling indication that Japanese legislators were

---

<sup>471</sup> Holtham, E. G. 1883. pp. 62

becoming increasingly meticulous regarding the movement and actions of foreigners.<sup>472</sup>

Here the crux of the issue is no longer shooting as a sport, but *unlicensed* shooting and the access to the untapped revenue. The new legislation introduced in 1876 stipulated that shooting would now only be permitted by license holders, with any unlicensed hunters being susceptible to a \$10 fine if caught and facing a lifetime ban from shooting in the country. Licensed hunters were also only entitled to shoot game within the treaty port limits or other areas agreed to by treaty. Generally, it appears that most hunters stuck to the rules, although there were no doubt many exceptions. How well this law was enforced outside Yokohama is also debatable. Kobe in particular seems to have been more relaxed. Kobe resident E. G. Holtham stated that:

*‘Throughout my stay in Japan (eight years), though no authorisation to pursue game outside of the treaty limits was ever issued to a foreigner, we were never interfered vexatiously by local authorities on account of our proceedings with dog and gun; and the few cases in which injury was actually inflicted upon the country people and their belongings, or criticism provoked by inconsiderate behaviour were treated with what*

---

<sup>472</sup> Daniels, G. 1996. *Sir Harry Parkes: British Representative in Japan 1865-1883*. London.

*we all had reason to think moderation and good sense, as far as results went.*<sup>473</sup>

What constituted inconsiderate behaviour to Holtham is not stipulated, but the fact that he mentions it gives us some indication of the attitude of foreigners regarding shooting on Japanese land. Holtham, along with his hunting fraternity make it clear that by skirting the need for a license they had no desire to obtain one whether it was necessary or not. The implication is clear then, that foreigners did not recognise Japanese jurisdiction on this matter, and possibly even saw it as a challenge to their domination of their sphere of influence in Japan.

Likewise, apart from the example shown by Alcock, foreign consuls openly tolerated the practice. According to the civil engineer Edmund Holtham, local officials generally turned a blind eye to the foreign pastime as long as hunters did not, '*frighten or annoy the people, or damage their property or crops*'.<sup>474</sup> For a westerner in the late nineteenth century, with its emphasis on manly pursuits and expressions of masculinity, being denied the right to hunt and shoot was tantamount to an infringement of their civil liberties. Yet precisely because of the strict agreement of extraterritoriality, the Japanese were able to contain foreigners and their potentially invasive mindset to the narrow arenas of the

---

<sup>473</sup> Holtham, E. G. 1883. pp. 65-66.

<sup>474</sup> Holtham, E. G. 1883. *Eight Years in Japan, Work, Travel, and Recreation*, London. pp. 63.

settlements. Foreigners also rarely had any inclination to venture too far from the confines of the settlement as the 40km radius allowed for shooting was ample enough room for those who wished to hunt. However, so enthusiastic was the pastime that the numbers of wildlife surrounding the ports began to significantly decline.

### **On Cases of Accidental Shooting and Wildlife Decline:**

Although viewed as a burden or an infringement of the rights of the foreign settlers, the introduction of a license coincided with what was being described as a depletion of wildlife surrounding the areas where foreigners had settled. Large swathes of countryside which had previously been occupied by relatively few inhabitants were now thriving communities that were having a noticeable effect on the local environment. Hunter travellers saw no ambiguity of documenting the diverse wildlife they shot. With the popularisation of natural history in the nineteenth century, killing was synonymous with conserving, and hunting became a character building even moral purpose.<sup>475</sup> Tales of the hunt represented the thrill of adventure, exotic locales which represented the frontier ideal, packaged in an elite pursuit ready to be consumed by an increasingly urbanised society. The hunt was all part of the ethos of ‘manly’ sports favoured by the British public school system which heralded sporting prowess as an essential part of the European expansionist

---

<sup>475</sup> MacKenzie, J. 1988. pp. 41.

character. One foreign settler described how all of the residents had a strong desire to become '*noble shikaris*', the Indian term for big game hunters,<sup>476</sup> despite the fact that there were few animals of considerable size to be found in the whole of the country. The Indian usage is a telling reminder that just as their colonial brothers in arms in India were doing their best to wipe out the country's large game animals, those in Japan were willing to do likewise. The hunt in the overseas setting imbued the practitioner with a kind of elite status. Whites elsewhere in Asia were keen to do the same to anything they could set their sights on. If only they could get at it.

Restrictions on foreigners travelling into the interior placed limitations on the movement of the foreign population, meaning that any prospective hunter would have to make do with the immediate vicinity of the treaty port. The as yet unpopulated fields adjoining Kobe and Osaka in the early 1870s fell within the extraterritorial boundaries and were home to pheasants, ducks, snipe and wood pigeons.<sup>477</sup> Hardly the same league as tigers or water buffalo, nevertheless, foreigners appear to have been responsible for decimating local game stocks surrounding the settlements. Indeed, there were few Japanese animals that escaped the shotguns of the early residents and virtually anything that moved was considered fair game. The memoirs of Captain Henry Craven

---

<sup>476</sup> Holtham, E. G. 1883. pp. 62.

<sup>477</sup> *Japan Chronicle, Jubilee Number*, 1918. pp. 36.

St John describe in detail the beauty of the Japanese Kingfisher and Blue Crane:

*There is no finer bird in Nippon than the great blue crane. With what majestic strides he walks across the paddy-fields, as if all he surveyed belonged to him...Though sacred in ancient days, I have eaten them...A beautiful species of kingfisher, although rare, is to be found on the southern and western parts of Japan. It evidently breeds there, as I have shot both male and female in the heart of summer.*<sup>478</sup>

Without a trace of irony St John comments on the beauty and rarity of the native birds while simultaneously wiping them out. St John also shot a deer in the hills behind the settlement, something that was reported with incredulity in 1918.<sup>479</sup> If birds were rare during St John's visit in 1880, they would become even more so as the region became a popular hunting destination.

Kobe enjoyed one significant advantage over Yokohama for the hunter. For one it was less populated than the congested and unplanned spread of Yokohama; restrictions on hunting in and around the larger settlement were restricted by imperial decree primarily because of the proximity of the

---

<sup>478</sup> St John, H. C. 1880. *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Coasts of Nippon*, Edinburgh. pp. 105

<sup>479</sup> *Japan Chronicle, Jubilee Number*. 1918. pp. 36

settlement to the Imperial household.<sup>480</sup> As Yokohama fell within this vicinity the surrounding countryside, seemingly teeming with wildlife, remained tantalisingly off-limits to foreign hunters. As restrictions on hunting gradually relaxed, there were a great number of hunters who openly flouted the law, with few bothering to find out whether a permit was needed in the first place. It seems that there were no imperial residences to be found around Kobe, since the technically illegal practice of hunting was less stringently enforced by officials in Tokyo. However, residents of Kobe seem to have been a little more aware of the mistakes made in the previous decade when the local news in the settlement in 1869 openly chastised those who shot nearly everything that moved, claiming that the seagulls and crows provided an essential service of beach scavenging in and around the settlement.<sup>481</sup> The English press in Japan were already lamenting the ‘good old days’ where foreigners could return from a hunting trip with a full bag of game, and by the advent of the Meiji era Yokohama had become a virtual ecological wasteland with the areas surrounding the settlement virtually ‘shot out’. By the 1880s Naval seaman Lieutenant Craddock described Japan’s game prospects as, ‘*moderate indeed, very moderate... in fact some may say, that practically, it is almost entirely played out, never to be resuscitated*’, citing the popularity amongst Japanese sportsman for the decreased possibility of finding good game.<sup>482</sup> Hunting seasons or hunting licenses in Kobe in the early years of the settlements were largely

---

<sup>480</sup> See Figure 3.

<sup>481</sup> *The Hiogo News*, 18/2/1869.

<sup>482</sup> Craddock, C. 1889. *Sporting Notes on the Far East*, London. pp. 105.

ignored, and those who wished to hunt, did so with impunity. Despite there being restrictions on unsupervised travel outwith the settlement, hunting with hounds was common practice, as were week-long hunting expeditions, becoming almost a rite of passage for young ‘griffin’s’.<sup>483</sup>

As the settlements on the China coast began to take on a character of their own, complete with rich sporting traditions, large numbers of foreigners in Japan who had cut their teeth in Shanghai, began looking Westward for inspiration as to how life in the Japanese settlements should evolve. Those willing to make the trip only did so in the gamble that, in Japan, their lifestyles or fortunes would be markedly improved. With its larger population, faster growth and increased competition would have made Yokohama and Kobe attractive destinations. The promise of as yet untapped game resources was surely part of the draw. Almost upon arrival, hunters set about shooting any bird that moved. Snipe, a small wading bird, being the most common victim of the hunter’s rifle. *The Far East Quarterly* reports that two hunters shot a staggering 425 of these birds, along with around 10 other larger birds during a hunting trip on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1871. Two years later *The Japan Mail* commented on complaints from Yokohama’s foreign residents concerning the scarcity of game within the vicinity of the settlement, yet in the same article gave mention of another exceedingly high number of birds, nearly 200

---

<sup>483</sup> Dyce, C. M. 1906. Griffin was the term for a new arrival in Shanghai, which also referred to a type of Japanese horse popular in the races.



pheasant and other game, which was made within easy reach of the port.<sup>484</sup> Another entry in 1873 mentioned the very real threat of pheasants becoming extinct altogether.<sup>485</sup> Again, it seems that foreigners cared little for Japanese remits against hunting and more or less acted in a manner which suited them in the 1870s. Breaching the ecological equilibrium for their own amusement seems to have mattered little to most foreign residents. In Nagasaki, Scottish merchant, Thomas Glover, along with several other foreign residents even went as far as importing pheasants from Shanghai, at considerable expense, in order to increase the number of birds, presumably for shooting.<sup>486</sup>

The impact of the new population on the environment of the countryside surrounding the settlements seems to have been significant. Early accounts suggest that wildlife was in abundance around all of the settlements, occasionally causing residents unpleasant problems. Foxes roamed the streets of Kobe raiding hen houses in the early 1870s, and more disturbingly, many of them tended to congregate in the vicinity of the former cremation ground, which was also given over to the settlement as land for the Onohama cemetery.<sup>487</sup> Onohama was a woefully inadequate patch of land for a burial ground, with the plot being too close to the sea to allow a proper six-foot under burial. The sandy earth was more beach than soil and any attempt at deep

---

<sup>484</sup> *The Japan Mail*, 10/2/1873.

<sup>485</sup> *Japan Weekly Mail*, 1/3/1873.

<sup>486</sup> *The Japan Mail*, 9/10/1875.

<sup>487</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka News*, 5/4/1871.

burial resulted in seawater breaching the hole. As a result, the shallow graves of the first few burials were subsequently dug up by foxes who gnawed away at the wooden coffins, sometimes even exposing the body inside.<sup>488</sup> Naturally, hunting became both sport and a necessary means of keeping marauding pests under control.

While Europeans in the Orient clearly took immense pleasure in the hunt, shooting game also had a significant social function. While MacKenzie's view that hunting had become the pursuit of an imperial and largely masculine elite no doubt holds true for European civil society, the same cannot necessarily be said for East Asia's foreign population.<sup>489</sup> In fact, given that wildlife numbers outside of Europe far exceeded that of the game reserves within easy access from metropolitan centres, clarifying which way the tradition was flowing becomes less clear. As the foreign merchants were becoming increasingly affluent, they began to fashion a status for themselves which mirrored the upper class lifestyle of the metropole. In domestic circles, game meat was never an average meal, and its serving was generally deemed a special occasion. Western food culture, in addition to dress and business was also subconsciously being asserted. Dinner attire became a regular necessity, as did a taste for champagne.

---

<sup>488</sup> *Japan Daily Herald*, 30/4/1874

<sup>489</sup> MacKenzie, J. M. 1988. *The Empire of Nature*, London. pp. 22.

Japan's settlers, increasingly insecure of their own status within East Asian port society, gradually began to set themselves apart from the Japanese, convinced of their own superiority and safe in their presumptions that *they* were the creators of the New Japan. Living standards, virtually from the very beginning, began to set the two communities apart. Foreigner's salaries far outstripped anything most Japanese could dream of, which led to new ways of expressing their new found wealth and status. Access to the latest technology also played its part. New advances in the efficiency and range of weaponry were also making long range shooting easier, allowing the novice to become proficient in a fairly short space of time. But perhaps most importantly, the relatively slow pace of foreign trade allowed a great deal of leisure time and quick access to the countryside.

Murphy also notes that the North American contingent of the foreign population would probably have had some experience with firearms from the Civil War.<sup>490</sup> Influence of the American hunting traditions undoubtedly played a role, yet the most complete account of hunting in the settlements was written by a British soldier.<sup>491</sup> Hunting was a pan-western phenomenon, and the only merchant in Kobe who was licensed to sell guns, was also a former volunteer

---

<sup>490</sup> Murphy, K. 1994. *Neither Out Far nor in Deep: The American Merchant Experience in Nineteenth Century Japan*, Maryland.

<sup>491</sup> St. John, H. C. 1880. *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Coasts of Nippon*, Edinburgh. St. John was the son of English naturalist Charles St. John who was also a keen sportsman and author having written a similar hunting account of his family's new home in the Scottish Highlands in the 1840s. See, St. John, C. W. G. 1846. *Short Sketches of the Wild Sports and Natural History of the Highlands*, London.

with the London Scottish Rifles.<sup>492</sup> Military connections with hunting were more common than not and, regardless of its point of origin, undeniably influential. Few men in Japan, even amongst the consular officials, would have been deemed 'elite'. However, perhaps the main purpose of this 'manly' pursuit was to set-apart the white male from the more effeminate races, particularly those of the Orient. An antidote, if you will, to the Conradian fear of 'going native'. In the latter half of the nineteenth century hunting in the empire and in its periphery had become a ritualised display of white dominance, a 'must do' activity for any newcomer abroad and a sure-fire method of increasing a griffin's social status in a ferociously insular environment. East Asia lacked the big game glamour of its Indian or African counterpart, but the lack of larger prey was made up for in terms of enthusiasm for the hunt.

Throughout the nineteenth century the British countryside particularly that of the Scottish Highlands, was undergoing a transformation from inhospitable region populated by a hostile peasantry, to a carefully planned wilderness capable of becoming a playground for a happy few. In this scenario people become secondary to profit and pleasure as huge swathes of land were conserved for species of deer and fowl, managed specifically for the hunt. This metamorphosis created the 'cult' of hunting whereby the environment was perceived through a new lens helping to create a new framework for gentlemanly conduct along the way. The ramifications of this change in

---

<sup>492</sup> See Chapter 5.

understanding were manifold as they were exported to empire and the peripheries, often by those seeking a genuine wilderness.<sup>493</sup> Japan was effectively a wilderness rarely visited by Europeans. In keeping with any manly pursuit, hunting was not to be merely recreation alone. The nineteenth century preoccupation with categorising and documenting everything seen or encountered naturally extended to hunting. Whole chapters of traveller's tales are devoted to the minutiae of local wildlife, their flightpaths, habit, best season, and ultimately, their taste. In some accounts the decline in game is seen as a metaphor for the passing of old Japan. St John laments that European manners are encroaching upon the innocently polite Japanese, indicative of the coming Westernisation that will see Japan leave behind its traditional character in favour of, in St John's opinion, a gaudy European one.<sup>494</sup>

While restrictions on foreign travel were liberally regarded by residents of the ports, most hunters tended to keep their hunting patches relatively close to the settlements. While these areas could provide the hunter with plentiful game to be had, they were anything but a wilderness. As cities such as Tokyo and Osaka have expanded to such huge sizes today, it becomes difficult to comprehend that where a forest of tall buildings now stands was once sparsely populated countryside. In the 1870s, good hunting was being

---

<sup>493</sup> MacKenzie, J. M. 1988. pp. 26.

<sup>494</sup> St. John. 1880. pp. 143

reported near present day Umeda Station in Osaka.<sup>495</sup> However, rural Japan was far from unpopulated, and many foreigners behaved in a cavalier fashion tramping through crops, upsetting carefully tended agriculture, and generally trespassing on private land in their haste to shoot anything that moved. Naturally, this resulted in disaster on more than one occasion, in fact, the frequency of hunting ‘incidents’ involving civilians displaying a complete lack of safety in the extreme regarding hunting practices in the East Asian ports. Shanghai merchant Charles Dyce mentions that most young griffins had their first experience with a firearm in Shanghai and from this we may surmise that their Japanese counterparts were equally ill experienced.<sup>496</sup> Edmund Holtham’s anecdote that two Kobe merchants ‘*started on their trip by shooting a coolie and missing a weasel, whereat they were somewhat depressed*’, had more truth in it than fiction.<sup>497</sup> Rural Japanese found themselves at the wrong end of the hunter’s rifle on many occasions. In 1875 a hapless passenger in a rickshaw was shot buy a careless hunter aiming at a bird. Worse still, the hunter did not have the decency to enquire as to the safety of his victim probably only hearing of the incident secondhand as it was reported in the local news.<sup>498</sup> For the sportsman hunter in the Orient, rural Japanese were treated little better than other native populations elsewhere in Asia, indicative

---

<sup>495</sup> Japan Chronicle, Jubilee number, 1918. pp. 37.

<sup>496</sup> Dyce, C. M. 1906. pp. 147.

<sup>497</sup> Holtham, E. G. 1883. 63.

<sup>498</sup> The Japan Mail, 24/4/1975.

of the racial categorisations that accompanied the Euro-American fascination with the documentation of the natural environment.<sup>499</sup>

Occurrences such as this were not unusual. So much so that there were even guides warning would-be hunters on how to deal with such an incident.<sup>500</sup>

Francis A. Groom's guidebook *'The Sportsman's Diary'*, schooled hunters in the Orient on how to deal with *'accidental wounding'*, stating that it was *'a misfortune to which the most careful and experienced shot is at times liable, for the country people will lie perdu in the most unlikely spots, jumping up at the very moment the trigger is pulled'*.<sup>501</sup> The implication made is that incidents of this sort involved some degree of fraud, yet the chances of Euro-American hunters being entirely ignorant of East Asian farming practices and of how people worked the land, often out of view, are equally plausible.

Genuine cases were usually assuaged by some kind of monetary payment as most rural Chinese and Japanese farmers lived in a state of poverty, at least to the eyes of a wealthy merchant. Some fluency in the local language also helped to cool potentially volatile situations. The generally agreed rule was to throw the victim a couple of 'Mexican's', the silver dollars widely in use in the early years of trade in the treaty ports, this would usually suffice to keep a disgruntled victim happy and avoid the hunter any embarrassment or

---

<sup>499</sup> Frank, L. 2012. *The Broadview Anthology of Victorian Prose, 1832-1901*. London. pp. 485.

<sup>500</sup> Groom, F. A. 1873. *The Sportsman's Diary for Shooting Trips in Northern China*, Shanghai.

<sup>501</sup> Groom, F. A. 1873 pp. 137

inconvenience, or worse still, the attention of the authorities. This tactic seemed to work rather well for T. R. Jernigan, who after avoiding a near riot, hurriedly reported the incident to his consul.<sup>502</sup> An almost identical case in Kobe involved an American hunter named H. Upton who mistakenly fired upon three farm labourers while shooting snipe in Akashi. After giving a bleeding woman some money, he swiftly departed followed by a number of angry Japanese farmers.<sup>503</sup> Once within the safety of the treaty port, Upton contacted the police and his consul in order to have the matter settled by international, in this case Western, law. Most cases, as in Upton's, were resolved amicably. Yet these incidents were precisely what the Japanese were trying to avoid by reigning in the behavior that was increasingly seen as an infringement of Japanese law outside of the foreign settlement. As we have seen, consuls did little to dissuade residents from engaging in shooting and were often complicit in the practice themselves.

### **End of the 'Good Old Days':**

One foreign merchant lamented the end of the '*good old days*' of the 1860s, when a hunter could easily bag himself a brace of snipe.<sup>504</sup> If those days had passed by the seventies, then they were truly gone forever by the eighties. Viewed through the social macrocosm of extraterritoriality, hunting reveals

---

<sup>502</sup> Jernigan, T. R. 1908. *China in Law and Commerce*, Shanghai. pp. 291.

<sup>503</sup> Murphy, K. C. 1994. *Neither Out Far or In Deep: The American Merchant Experience in Japan, 1859-1899*. University of Maryland College Park. pp. 119.

<sup>504</sup> Barr, P. 1967. *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, London. pp. 93.



much regarding the evolution of racial relations between the once eminently powerful European settler and their Japanese hosts. However, white hunting in Japan is particularly significant in the post-colonial context of Euro-American relationships with non-white sovereign states. Auslin has shown that the global influence of multiple powers in Japanese treaty negotiations resulted in concessions gradually being won by the Japanese government on an issue by issue basis that ultimately bolstered national confidence in relations with western powers.<sup>505</sup> Viewed in this light, the continual reeling in of foreign hunters with ever increasing legislation acted as a macrocosm of what was taking place at a national level in reviewing, and ultimately freeing the country, of extraterritorial privileges.

Finally, one last case that highlights this development was the arrest and imprisonment of the Prussian Prince Albert Wilhelm Heinrich. In 1880 the young German prince was a naval officer on a war ship stationed in Kobe. As the second most populous nation in the settlement, the German community were naturally enthusiastic to entertain their prestigious guest in the most appropriate manner they knew how. Members of the Club Concordia organised a hunting trip in the hills behind Nishinomiya, a town neighbouring Kobe, the main reason being quite probably that the immediate surroundings of the Kobe settlement were bereft of any wildlife. According to the local news report, the prince, who would have been ignorant of local regulations

---

<sup>505</sup> Auslin, M. R. 2006. *Negotiating with Imperialism*, London. pp. 24.

prohibiting the firing of weapons near religious sites, or may have chosen not to heed them altogether, shot a bird within the grounds of a nearby temple. The Prince's entourage was then apprehended by the local authorities and the Japanese members of the party who were carrying the group's luggage were arrested.

Upon trying to bail out the Japanese coolies, the police, seemingly unaware that he was the grandson of the German Emperor, then apprehended the prince, where he was taken to an Osaka jail cell. In an attempt to quell the escalated incident, one member of the German party proceeded to the Governor of Osaka's residence only to find the office closed for the day. A telegram was then sent to the German Consul in Kobe who then contacted the appropriate Japanese minister in Tokyo. After languishing for only a mere six hours in jail, the Prussian prince was freed, highlighting the tremendous leap in communications technology only twelve years after the advent of the Meiji era. No charges were brought against the young German and the incident cost the Governor of Osaka his position and an official apology. The prince was said to have joked about the incident with visiting Japanese dignitaries to the German Court years later.<sup>506</sup>

Compare this with the Moss case and the difference could not be greater. The modern police force, although branded '*insolent*' by the news report, handle

---

<sup>506</sup> *Kobe Chronicle*, 4/12/1897.

the situation with the assertion of a modern state. The German national is neither assaulted nor mistreated in any way, and detained in a modern gaol only to be released due to the help of his German colleagues and the efficiency of a modern telegraph network. Laws were now clearly set out, and despite the embarrassment of imprisoning a foreign national with VIP status, Japan's transformation as a modern state was now without question and foreign privilege had become less and less tenable in the eyes of both international and Japanese law. Japan had truly come of age and hunting as an unregulated pastime had come to an end. By the 1890s possession of valid hunting licenses were now unquestionable necessities for hunters, with travel guides explicitly informing travellers of the need, cost and where to apply for one. Indeed, some even went as far to discourage shooting in Japan altogether. Chamberlain commented that Europe and America offered '*superior attractions*' for the sportsman and that those interested in coming to Japan for sport need not bother, yet mentioned that hunting had now become a popular recreational sport amongst the Japanese also.<sup>507</sup> The country now boasted an official hunting season between October and April, and sportsman hunters like the naturalist Richard Gordon Smith could now travel into the interior of the country at the turn of the century and join with Japanese hunters to go after the larger game that had long disappeared from the hills around the Kobe.<sup>508</sup> In Smith's diary, Japanese are fellow hunters who compare rifles and

---

<sup>507</sup> Chamberlain, B. H. 1890. *Things Japanese*, London. pp. 428.

<sup>508</sup> Smith, R. G. 1986. *The Japan Diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, London. pp.

hunting stories, and no longer faceless and nameless coolies in rice fields getting in the way of a white man's shot. Nevertheless, accidental shootings still occurred. Somewhat inconceivably, considering the development of the current location with its iconic crosswalk, a woman was fatally wounded with a shot to the head while tending her garden in Shinjuku, of all places, in 1898.<sup>509</sup> On this occasion, the hunter was Japanese, indicative that the sport was now being enjoyed by the wider population and proof that carelessness was not limited to foreign hunters alone. What makes the case even more incredible is that it occurred in an, even then, relatively built up area. As early as 1885, Shinjuku already had a train station. Hunting had now been absorbed by an emerging Japanese middle-class, who were now repeating the same mistakes as their foreign counterparts.

Summing up, hunting was, nevertheless, one of the first sporting activities engaged in by the foreign community. Its significance clearly lay in its role as a defining link with the culture of a distant metropole, but also as an activity that contributed greatly towards the creation of a gentlemanly ideal crucial to the formation of a settlement identity. One consequence of its popularity was that it forced the hand of Japanese officialdom to seek ever more sophisticated ways to curb inconsistencies in the extraterritorial agreements with their foreign guests, and unwittingly played an intrinsic role in treaty negotiation. As we shall see, this would not be the only occasion a foreign sporting tradition

---

<sup>509</sup> *Kobe Chronicle*, 19/2/1898.

infringed on Japanese administrative decision making. In our next chapter, we will focus on the introduction of the horse race to the settlements and examine the formation of various foreign-run race clubs.

## **Chapter 4:** **Race Clubs and Horse Racing.**

### **Introduction:**

While there is no doubt that many of the foreign residents took great pleasure in hunting, the increased restrictions on foreign movement outside of the settlements hindered its popularity. Incursions with local law enforcement aside, a new and far more inclusive activity was needed to showcase Western civility to a population hungry for all things Western. That activity was racing. Despite being perhaps the most popular spectator sport throughout Meiji era Japan, there is surprisingly little scholarly material available in English on horse racing's early development in Japan as a sporting tradition even though it was already well developed in the other ports of East Asia. This is all the

more surprising considering that nearly every single source text dealing with life in the settlements describes the races as the most popular social gatherings but offers little more than a casual mention that they existed or that they were great fun. Just like hunting before it, horse racing was a tradition that came to Japan with settlers who had made the trip from Shanghai and Hong Kong, two cities which already had burgeoning race clubs. Indeed it seems as though the races were, to the Victorian mindset of the time, a guilty pleasure. In terms of modern scholarship, one short article outlining the history of Japanese racing was published by Roger Buckley in 2010,<sup>510</sup> but much of the article is concerned with the modern development of the sport rather than its significance as an early cultural bridge between East and West that transcended racial boundaries with regard to participation and enjoyment. Most of what we can glean from the historical record concerning horse racing can be found in the pages of the English language press of the settlements, and traveller's or merchant's journals.

A detailed account of horse racing in the Chinese treaty ports was compiled by Austin Coates in 1983 for the Hong Kong Jockey Club, but alas, nothing of a similar scope or enthusiasm exists on similar race clubs and traditions in Japan. The main reason for this is the longevity of extraterritoriality and colonialism in China compared to the rather short duration of white settlement

---

<sup>510</sup> Buckley, R. 2010. 'Competitors with the English Sporting Men.' *Civilisation, Enlightenment and Horse Racing: Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1860-2010*, in Cortazzi, H. (eds) *Britain and Japan Biographical Portraits VII*. London.

in Japan. Whereas foreign backed institutions on the China coast developed along a much more rigid colonial timeline that included Chinese support, the race clubs organised in Japan by foreigners were instrumental in introducing the sport to a wider Japanese audience but soon faded into obscurity as the sport became a prominent fixture of Japanese sporting cultural life. However, by approaching the role of the horse race in the foreign settlement from a sociocultural perspective, it is clear that their role went beyond mere amusement, and that the races performed an important cultural role in maintaining some degree of social cohesion during the early years of foreign settlement. By channeling the passions of the predominantly male, often idle foreign population of the treaty ports, the races acted as a much needed diversion that brought together the Euro-American residents with their East Asian counterparts in an atmosphere of celebration and carnival.

### **Horse Racing and the Settlements:**

Horse racing in East Asia began as an amateur activity engaged in by the military or merchant class to keep their horses healthy. Rickshaws, as a mode of transport, did not become popular until the late 1860s. Prior to their invention, most foreigners who had a certain level of disposable income favoured riding horses. The level of horse-ownership of residents in the foreign settlements is somewhat difficult to ascertain. In 1866 a child crossing the street in Yokohama was killed when he stepped in front of a galloping

horse ridden by a Chinese rider, highlighting that along with hunting, lower class Japanese were often accidentally killed by the actions of careless foreigners engaging in recreational pursuits.<sup>511</sup> Reckless riders tearing up the settlement streets were enough to attract the attention of the foreign consuls who issued a warning that any resident involved in causing serious injury or death by careless riding would be subject to a heavy penalty.<sup>512</sup>

Horse ownership was common among the foreign population as this was for many years the only means of transportation. Furthermore, riding on horseback elevated the status of those who partook in recreational riding to the ordinary Japanese in the settlements. In Japan, riding was a privilege exclusive to samurai, meaning those occupying roles lower down the hierarchy had to walk. Paper chases were common and most merchants employed a Japanese *betto*, to run alongside the rider. Pinpointing when exactly races were held is difficult to date, however, we can assume that races began as ways of keeping the horses healthy. Theoretically, there were no professional jockeys, as we know them today, but rather men who had another livelihood but enjoyed horse racing. As with much of the recreational activities of the Japanese settlements, the first spectator races were organised by the British military stationed in Yokohama as early as 1862.<sup>513</sup> Merchants were invited to take part in the inaugural races by local officers, who staged

---

<sup>511</sup> Notehelfer, F. G. (eds) 1992. pp. 280.

<sup>512</sup> *Japan Times Overland Mail*, 30/4/1869

<sup>513</sup> Williams, H. S. 1963. *Foreigners in Mikadoland*, Tokyo. pp. 141



races on the rifle range and the parade ground on the bluff, the term used for the low lying ground around modern day Naka-ku in Yokohama. For over a decade this low lying ground was occupied by a regiment of Royal Marines. A panoramic print then by the Italian photographer Felix Beato in 1864 clearly shows why the area was a perfect location for equine sports with its wide grassy plain stretching for several kilometres.<sup>514</sup> Though these early races were often referred to, perhaps derivatively as ‘garrison’ sports, their popularity eventually grew to such an extent that virtually all activity in the settlement would grind to a halt for a two day racing carnival several times a year. The race track at this point was an area often referred to as nothing more than a filled-in swamp at the edge of the concession.<sup>515</sup> However, swampland lent itself perfectly to the sport as it could be landscaped fairly cheaply and efficiently. Rather than being an exclusive sport for the enjoyment of a few, horse racing drew together all nationalities within the settlements for extended periods in an almost carnival-like atmosphere. Local news reports in the early years of the *Hiogo News* in 1868-9 reveal a level of excitement for the races that bordered on the hysterical, highlighting perhaps the feeling of boredom and isolation that many settlers must have felt in the early years of the ports.

### **Importation of Racing Clubs from the China Ports:**

---

<sup>514</sup> Hockley, A. 2010. *Felix Beato's Japan: Places, an Album by the Pioneer Foreign Photographer in Yokohama*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, pp. 31

<sup>515</sup> Black, J. R. 1883. *Young Japan, Vol. I*, London. pp. 93.

Race meetings were a common feature of East Asian treaty port life. The evolution of racing in China and Japan followed a familiar pattern that was exported to virtually all of the settlements. Indeed, it can be argued that the race course itself formed part what Taylor has posited as the ‘quadripartite division of western power’,<sup>516</sup> in that their function as places of entertainment emerged out of initial military necessity. In Shanghai for instance, the Bund, the symbol of foreign power in the city, generally followed a similar pattern of architecture which represented executive power; a judicial body, such as the consular court; a military presence; and finally a parade ground or recreation ground.<sup>517</sup> Shanghai’s race ground went on to become one of the city’s most prominent landmarks which directly influenced the port’s urban development in the early part of the twentieth century. British involvement in Hong Kong saw the importation of the first British style race course in 1841 in what is today one of the most well-known race courses in the world, Happy Valley. In the late 1830s, Happy Valley could have been described by any other term but ‘happy’; it was a malarial swamp, initially used as a base camp for the British military due to it being the only flat piece of ground in an otherwise steep mountainous territory. The site soon fell out of favour as too many soldiers contracted the disease, but the potential of the area for racing soon became

---

<sup>516</sup> Taylor, J. 2005. The Bund: Littoral Space of Empire in the Treaty Ports of Asia, in *Social History*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 133.

<sup>517</sup> A contributor to the *Pall Mall Gazette* described the Shanghai Bund as ‘second to none’, with an imposing skyline better than even New York or San Francisco. Letter reprinted in, 8/6/1888.

apparent and the swamp was later filled in. The formation of the Hong Kong Race Club came soon after in 1841.

Consul General Lord George Balfour's original plans for the British settlement at Shanghai in 1845 included a race course, indicative that recreation was considered of the utmost importance to the functioning of the settlement and not merely an afterthought.<sup>518</sup> Land reclamation, filling in a swamp, was repeated in Shanghai in 1850 with the Race Committee of the International Recreation Club. Race clubs themselves stemmed from these institutions initially as side projects until their popularity called for a dedicated club to manage the increasing costs of running a full blown racing event. Membership of one club undoubtedly connected the member with another similar institution in the settlement, and perhaps even a place on the board of the municipal council.<sup>519</sup> Therefore, by the time the Yokohama settlement was opened a horse racing tradition had been enjoyed by the wider foreign populations of East Asia for nearly twenty years. Techniques for land reclamation, generally of fresh or salt water swamp land, had been perfected and residents coming to Japan from Hong Kong and Shanghai would have expected or planned to partake in this activity. Indeed, over time, horse racing was seen as a necessary pastime that soothed relationships between white settlers and their East Asian hosts. In Hong Kong annual race meetings were held just before

---

<sup>518</sup> Warr, A. 2007. *Shanghai Architecture*, Sydney. pp. 10.

<sup>519</sup> Coates, A. 1983. *The China Races*, Hong Kong. pp. 178.

the Lunar New Year in order to coincide with the festival atmosphere taking place in the Chinese areas of the port and also to maximise crowd turnout, and ultimately, betting profits.<sup>520</sup>

Races in Yokohama were inaugurated in 1860 on a crude course that was by all accounts deemed to have been a very amateur social occasion. American merchant Francis Hall described in comic detail that although not a professional tournament, '*the contest was amusing at least... several gentlemen were unhorsed but fortunately nobody was hurt*'.<sup>521</sup> Similarly, cartoonist Charles Wirgman of the *Japan Punch* frequently lampooned local merchants with his caricatures of hapless riders trying to wrest their Japanese ponies in paper chases or hurdle events. A typical race day was summed up by Wirgman as, '*went. Saw. Lost (one dollar). Felt blue. Drank. Became red. Fell in love. Turned white*'.<sup>522</sup> Wirgman's sketches capture perfectly the comic scenario of these amateur events, and the caricatures would have been easily identifiable to the loyal readership of the journal. Few owners in the early years had any real skill with horses either. Similarly, soldiers Jepson and Elmhirst devote large sections of their 1869 '*Our Life in Japan*', to what appears to have been their favourite pastime, the races. A typical day out seems to have unfolded as follows:

---

<sup>520</sup> For a detailed timeline of the history of the Hong Kong Jockey Club see: <http://corporate.hkjc.com/corporate/history/english/index.aspx>

<sup>521</sup> Notehelfer, F. G. (eds) 1992. *Japan Through American Eyes: The Journals of Francis Hall, Kanazawa and Yokohama 1859-1866*. Princeton. pp. 217.

<sup>522</sup> Regal, J. 2004. pp. 47.

*Flogging and spurring to the very last, the field came in in the most scattered order: Black Prince and Ichiboo well ahead; the Pig, Muffin Worry, and Haw making a good fight for places; the others nowhere; and the Man-eater, to his owner's intense but silent satisfaction, fifty yards behind everything — having subsided into a trot on the first application of the spur. De Pifet and Micawber were immensely delighted with the undoubted success of their first essay on the turf; and each talked loudly of what he would do on the Monday, when he "knew who could make his own pony go faster than the fellow who rode him to-day."*<sup>523</sup>

The impression given is one of organised chaos, with many of the riders being overweight or the horses too small. Few lacked any kind of ability to race a horse and it was clear that if any kind of serious event was staged, some kind of effective strategy would have to be employed in order to convince the Japanese government to endorse the appropriation of large swathes of land bordering the settlements. These meetings continued in their less than organised fashion until the formation of a proper race course in 1862. Journalist, John Reddie Black informs us that it was in this year that a newly formed committee agreed to landscape a new race-course in the now time-honoured fashion of filling in a swamp that neighboured the concession. Acquiring this patch of land that lay outwith the settlement was a combined

---

<sup>523</sup> Jephson, R. M. & Elmhirst, E. P. 1869. *Our Life in Japan*. London. pp. 106.

effort of the British and Dutch consuls who, with the final approval of the Governor of Kanagawa, were allowed to fence off the area and incorporate it into the Yokohama settlement proper.<sup>524</sup> In this same year the Shanghai Race Club was formed after its separation from the Shanghai Club, which in turn likely gave impetus to the formation of similar clubs in Japan.<sup>525</sup>

Likewise, in 1863 a combined request by all consuls to the Nagasaki governor via the British consul, outlining that horse racing was a typically Western tradition that should be encouraged in the port. The letter suggested an area at the edge of the bay would be a perfect location which could be converted at a moderate rate. The ground in question was already taken by local farmers, however, and despite the offer of compensation for the land, a site wasn't located until 1873. Tellingly, the request made a final point to the governor that could be construed as an almost veiled threat by stating that, '*as a statesman you must be well aware that the best way to keep off trouble and mischief is to provide men with healthy and harmless diversion*'.<sup>526</sup> Public drunkenness and general ill-feeling between white residents and Japanese occasionally spilled over into serious, and often fatal incidents. Fights between rival military groups amongst the Europeans were also common, and racing as a communal activity clearly had a social purpose in channeling the pent up frustrations of the population. Effectively, the races acted as a form of cultural remission

---

<sup>524</sup> Black, J. R. 1883. pp. 92.

<sup>525</sup> Coates, A. 1983. (Ibid)

<sup>526</sup> H. B. M Consular Record Nagasaki, 2/3/1863. Copy. H. S. Williams Papers, 1/50/8. National Library of Australia.

whereby all nationalities could mix freely and share experiences in a structured, temporary activity free of the usual restrictions of class and racial boundaries similar to what Edith Turner has labelled as the ‘zone effect’ of sport.<sup>527</sup> In this sense, the community is united in the joy of the spectacle, highlighting the importance of the races for receiving the day to day pressures that could potentially build up in such culturally climactic scenario.

Viewed in this light, the race course, club and participation in the event itself, either as a rider or spectator, takes on a new significance. The modern cities emerging along the China coast and elsewhere in Asia all formed along similar lines, and no settlement could be taken seriously without its own race club and Spring Carnival.<sup>528</sup> Merchants mixed with ‘coolies’, Japanese policemen raced beside imported jockeys, and the well-to-do members of the community dressed in the best clothes, with the few western women appearing in large dresses alongside Japanese women in silk kimonos. The controlled disinhibition<sup>529</sup> of the races were hugely popular in every treaty port, supported by increasingly well organised race clubs and committees. In an era where amusements and recreational pursuits were few, foreign consuls and Japanese officials alike appeared to agree that horse racing had a unique role to play in quelling the rapacious appetites of a foreign population which was

---

<sup>527</sup> Turner, E. 2012. *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy*, New York. pp. 43-51

<sup>528</sup> Buckley, R. 2010. pp. 556.

<sup>529</sup> Fox, K. 1999. *The Racing Tribe: Watching the Horse Watchers*, London.

gaining a reputation for lawlessness and boorish behaviour.<sup>530</sup> Races were viewed as high culture by the settlers who were keen to show that the event was not merely for their own benefit, but something that could be shared amongst a Japanese audience also. One visitor describes the Yokohama races in 1874:

*Twice a year Yokohama suspends its business and pours forth its people to resort hither to recall inspiring visions of Derby and Doncaster, to watch the striped jockeys bobbing round the track, to bet upon some ill-starred brute that comes limping down in the rear, to testify their keen appreciation of trained horseflesh by judicious applause, and to show the assembled heathen multitudes how this thing is done in civilised countries.*<sup>531</sup>

Effectively, racing was meant to showcase European civility, and despite the initial exclusionary tone of most races, the events themselves could not be considered a success without the draw of a large crowd. Routinely described as ‘moral refuse’, ‘uncouth’, and ‘corrupt’, all monikers which struck at the heart of the foreign community and stigmatised those who lived there for years to come, foreign residents were ever keen to showcase their potential as the harbingers of the civilised west in the heart of the east. In truth, horse racing

---

<sup>530</sup> Satow, E. 1921. *A Diplomat in Japan*, London. pp. 25.

<sup>531</sup> Maclay, A. C. 1886.



can be viewed as one of the great successes of early relations between Britain and Japan and was even deemed worthy enough to be incorporated into Japanese cultural life under the banner of *bunmei kaika*.<sup>532</sup> No strangers to equestrian pursuits, racing was one cultural import the Japanese were quick to see the benefit of, not merely as a spectator event, but as an as yet untapped business enterprise. By 1867, one year after the Yokohama Race Club was formed by a consortium of merchants, diplomats, military men and rival clubs, the Japanese were organising their own races and attracting their own crowds.

Australian journalist John Henry Brooke wrote his '*Impressions of Japan by an Australian Colonist*' series for the *Melbourne Argus*, in which he described a Japanese race meeting in Tokyo, complementing its virtually identical set-up in relation to the British model. The skill of the riders having become '*acclimatised*' to the sport via the influence of Yokohama was made all the more noteworthy to Brooke as was the winning horse, an Australian pony named *Sydney*.<sup>533</sup> Foreign horses were by this time finding a market amongst the Japanese as more and more foreign residents were bringing their own horses into the country. Larger breeds of horses from locales as far away as Australia, as well as American and Arabian horses imported by the British and French military via the China ports, were also finding their way to Yokohama and Kobe

---

<sup>532</sup> Kazuhiro, A. 2009. *Bunmei kaika to kindai keiba*, Yokohama. See also, Hayasaka, S. 1989. *Bunmei kaika uma monogatari: Negishi to Kyoryu gaikokujin*, Yokohama.

<sup>533</sup> *Melbourne Argus*, 10/09/1867

suggesting that the ownership along with the popularity of the races was proving to be a lucrative business prospect for treaty port entrepreneurs. Napoleon III also gifted twenty three Arabian horses to the shogun in 1867, further adding to the stock of high quality horses entering the country.<sup>534</sup> Australian jockeys too found a new market for their skills as the amateur owner riders were often either overweight or lacked the skills to finish a race.<sup>535</sup> Organised gambling amongst the Japanese had been more or less forbidden since the Heian period seven centuries earlier, however, small betting appears to have been introduced by the foreign residents who established the first races. *Asobinin*, or play people, was the term used for members of a small section of Japanese society who engaged in some form of gambling and were tolerated by the authorities. This group may have facilitated the spread and popularity of the sport amongst the wider Japanese population. Meiji oligarchs in 1868 inherited the same legal code as the previous regime yet appear to have accepted the role of gambling as part of the recreational value of the races, and did not try to prevent the foreign residents from engaging in at first informal, and then later more organised, betting systems.<sup>536</sup>

### **The Kobe Races:**

---

<sup>534</sup> Japan Gazette Semi-Centennial Edition 1909

<sup>535</sup> *The Daily Japan Herald*, 6/11/1866

<sup>536</sup> Nobuhiro, N. 1998. 'The Cult of Oguricap or How Women Changed the Social Value of Japanese Horse-Racing', in Martinez, D. P (eds) *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures*, Cambridge. pp. 168.

By 1868 horse racing had become firmly established as a sport in the treaty ports and was beginning to penetrate Japanese cultural life on a national level. Less than two months after the opening of Kobe in 1868, the *Hiogo News* printed a paragraph on its front page calling for local interest to turn the settlements scratch races, which were simple straight line races by amateur riders, into an organised Jockey Club by the coming spring.<sup>537</sup> This was followed by a three day race event in May of the same year in which they hoped that they would '*go off with the usual spirit*',<sup>538</sup> which implies the races were already a popular event among the residents.<sup>539</sup> By December the call for an organised race committee had gained enough momentum to raise 1060 ichiboos<sup>540</sup> (somewhere in the region of \$3-400 US) from individual subscribers and another 200 had been guaranteed from the consuls for a commemorative trophy for pony races to take place within the Christmas Sports, with a further comment stating that, '*none but subscribers and officers of the navy be allowed to enter ponies for the races*'.<sup>541</sup> With considerable investment and a range of prizes, it is little wonder that the races were anticipated by all in the community. Each segment of society within the settlement was represented with betting stakes as high as 265 boos for the Osaka Cup, a one

---

<sup>537</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka News*, 24/2/1868.

<sup>538</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka News*, 7/5/1868

<sup>539</sup> See Figure 4.

<sup>540</sup> Ichiboos or boos, as they are commonly referred to in the foreign literature of the ports, was the common name of the Japanese currency. In 1868 \$100 in US currency was equal to 291 ichiboos. Murphy, K. C. 1994. pp. 60.

<sup>541</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka News*, 17/12/1868

and a half mile race open to all ponies and riders. All in all there were ten races scheduled for the Christmas Derby, which included a Kobe Plate for Japanese ponies only, a Celestial Plate for Chinese ponies, a Japanese Bettos (jockey) Race ridden by Japanese jockeys in the employ of either a foreigner or a Japanese official, and a Mikado's Plate for ponies ridden by Japanese officials. Entry fees ranged from 5-3 boos depending on the race.

An improvised race course had been hastily prepared to the east of the Customs House Kobe's Ikuta River, and from the description in the local press it is clear there had been nothing like it before. Literally thousands of Japanese spectators had congregated at the track to watch the show, however the event appears to have been staged first and foremost for the entertainment of the foreign residents. Nevertheless, the ten races that were staged incorporated the entire community regardless of racial background. A report featured in the Hiogo News describes the scene:

*"The Grand Stand... improvised - well-filled - many citizens and officers of the men-of-war. A file of marines from the Oneida who rendered good service in keeping the track clear and the Japanese - of whom thousands were present - from crowding the foreigners. All got off well together, but the corner near the Custom House was recognised by many of the ponies as leading towards their stables, and a general rush seemed to be made for it,*

*much to the discomfort of some riders, for at this point, three of them parted company with their ponies.*<sup>542</sup>

The Christmas Derby was significant in its timing as the celebration coincided with the first anniversary of the opening of the port, and the first year of the new Japanese nation. Kobe's foreign settlement had learned from the mistakes made in Yokohama. The city's wide streets and planned architectural layout contrasted markedly from the more haphazard, experimental street layout of the larger city. While there is no doubt that the races were created for the enjoyment of the foreign population, the elaborate staging of an all-inclusive race meeting was not only a way of showcasing the progressive high-culture of equine races to a curious Japanese public, but also an extension of an olive branch to the wider Japanese community. Horse racing was clearly being promoted as a worthy addition to the *bunmei kaika* maxim being promulgated by their Meiji counterparts in office in the Japanese government. In this regard, the racing derby was the perfect vehicle to convey that western culture was not merely railways and warships. Mass recreational enjoyment and abandonment in the games was easily translatable despite the language barrier, differences in national customs and the difficulties of protocol in everyday business dealings.

---

<sup>542</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka News*, 31/12/1868

The success of the Christmas Derby led to the formation of the Hiogo and Osaka Race Club several months later with contributions of its members going towards an official grandstand, no doubt to house more prestigious guests for a more dignified view of the race. Race meetings required some degree of organisation, and the frequent advertisements in the local press were clearly intended to raise funds from as many of the Euro-American residents as possible. Likewise, the staging of such a large event required stewards, carpenters for the grandstands, access to a supply of quality horses and a great deal of promotion to ensure the best possible winning stakes.<sup>543</sup> Racing reportage filled a significant section of the English print media in the early days and even inspired poetry that gave a flavour of the event. In October of the same year, the new grandstand opened to great pomp and ceremony, with the then Kobe governor Itō Hirobumi, and the Nagasaki Vice Governor Noboyuki Nakashima in attendance. Itō Hirobumi was a great patron of Western recreational pursuits during his time as the Kobe Governor, and his patronage was actively sought by the Hiogo and Osaka Race Club in order to swell the coffers of the club and boost spectator numbers.<sup>544</sup> However, the event wasn't entirely successful due to the collapse of the improvised grandstand. There were no reports of serious injury, but the commotion caused by the crowd caused the horses to run four times around the course instead of three. Despite this setback, a more architecturally sound

---

<sup>543</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka Herald*, 10/4/1869

<sup>544</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka Herald*, 9/10/1869

grandstand replaced the ill-fated previous structure. This building, captured in a woodblock print from Sadanobu Hasegawa, conveys the excitement of the race day and the new grandstand complete with flags of the foreign powers flying was positioned on the eastern edge of the track. In the print, jockeys in colourful shirts riding Japanese ponies, pass by a grandstand full of excited foreigners gesticulating wildly, in contrast to the more modest Japanese spectators in the grandstand opposite, while a mixture of Chinese, Western and Japanese spectators look on.<sup>545</sup> By the second anniversary of the opening of Kobe port, several race courses were in operation between Kobe and Osaka. What was intended to be a showcase of western culture was soon being imitated by the local Japanese, who were organising their own races without the input or patronage of the foreign-run race club.

The Hiogo News took a dim view of what in their opinion were copycat races, with the riders even using the same coloured jerseys as those of the Hiogo and Osaka Race Club's Autumn race meeting. Interestingly, the Japanese race had taken place on land adjoining a German firm Fitzgerald & Strome at the edge of the settlement, possibly suggesting that members of the German community saw the races as a chance to curry favour with the Japanese and usurp the influence that the British had over the staging of events. The editor commented that, *'the jockeys donned various colours some being exact copies of those of well-known racing stables, the whole affair a great parody of the Autumn*

---

<sup>545</sup> Hasegawa, K. 1981. *Scenes of Old Kobe*, Tokyo. pp. 2. See Figure. 4

*Meeting of the Hiogo and Osaka Race Club as could be imagined*.<sup>546</sup> Foreign irritation at the blatant copying of the club's set up was perhaps justifiable but short-sighted in that it was inevitable that the Japanese would seek to recreate their own version of what was clearly a popular social gathering amongst her own population. To the residents of the settlement, races that ran independently of the Hiogo and Osaka Race Club would only succeed in detracting numbers from the main event, ultimately damaging not just profit, but prestige. This was an early example of Japanese organisations literally playing foreigners at their own game, in more ways than one, eventually leading to one of them becoming obsolete. The local press were also one of the main benefactors of the club, ensuring the minutes featured regularly on the front pages. In the eyes of the stubborn foreign press, this was another example of Oriental imitation, or as one resident commented, the Japanese were engaging in a form of moral and spiritual *jujitsu*, using the strength of the Occident to reinforce her Oriental slimness.<sup>547</sup>

### **Land Speculation and the New Race Course:**

Foreigners were increasingly using their supposed right to engage in sporting activity as a bargaining tool to make further demands to the Japanese government to extend the limits of the foreign settlement. At some point after

---

<sup>546</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka News*, 15/12/1869

<sup>547</sup> Clarke, E. B. 1936. *Stray Leaves: Essays and Sketches*, Tokyo. pp. 72



the Autumn Race meet in 1869 a patch of land measuring 6000 *tsubo* (roughly 10000 square metres) was acquired north of the current railway line behind the Ikuta Shrine. This huge swathe of land was leased to the Race Club by a local landowner annually for around a quarter of a boo per *tsubo*. Free from the restrictions of shogunal rule, Osaka and Kobe were now in a rapid state of economic development. Telegraphs and railway projects were crisscrossing the country as fast as their hired engineers could manage to construct them. Transport links between the settlements and other outlying areas were far from adequate, with most urgent travel being done by sea or by *jinrikisha* on land. Rickshaw drivers in Japan could be extremely efficient, and reasonably quick in the absence of any mechanical transport. Naturalist H. N. Moseley was astounded during a trip to Kobe in the 1870s when his two rickshaw drivers amassed over 200 miles of legwork in just three or four days.<sup>548</sup> Planning and construction work for the Kobe to Osaka rail link appears to have been carried out in early 1871, with the line finally completed in 1874. Given the pace of industrialisation during the Meiji era four years was considerably longer than the one year that it took to complete a similar length of railway between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1872. One reason for the delay may have been that the members of the Race Club had knowingly leased land on the proposed route in the hope of gaining a lucrative settlement payout for having to relocate.

---

<sup>548</sup> Moseley, H. N. 1879. *A Naturalist on the Challenger: an account of observations*, London. pp. 412.

An initial bid by U.S contractors had initially sought control of the Japanese railways, and even held a permit approved by the *bakufu* powers to carry out the work. However, the advent of the Meiji government effectively wiped the slate clean allowing other nations to submit their own bids for the work. Gaining the railway construction contract would have been a major coup for any nation in Japan at the time with the Japanese finally deciding on British railway engineers to complete the task. Leaving control of the railways in the hands of foreigners was, to the likes of Meiji statesman and eventual director of the Railway Bureau, Inoue Masaru, tantamount to colonisation. He, along with the help of British minister Harry Parkes, set out to secure construction funds from abroad to have the work supervised by a combination of native managers and British engineers, namely W. W. Cargill.<sup>549</sup> It would appear that Cargill's appointment was reached, not because of his engineering skills, as he had none, but perhaps more likely because of his former employers and funders of the project, the Oriental Bank of London. Did Cargill inform his connections in Kobe regarding the line? Was he complicit in the land speculation? It seems there may have been a likely connection. The fledgling government was being continually taken advantage of by unscrupulous foreign businessmen. Cargill himself had been called in to replace the less trustworthy Horatio Lay who had floated Japanese sovereign bonds on the London stock exchange and had the interest paid into his private accounts.

---

<sup>549</sup> Yamamoto, Y. 1997. Inoue Masaru - 'Father' of the Japanese Railways, in Nish, I (eds) *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits II*, London. pp. 25.

Extortion then, was a real threat to the Japanese, and clearly the duplicitous reputation of the foreign population had some truth to it.

Various reasons have been given for the delays in completing the Kansai section of the line, including telecommunications problems and lack of leadership, however press reports from the Hiogo and Osaka News make it clear that the Race Club may have played a role in hampering the progress of the line.<sup>550</sup> Kobe was connected to Tokyo as early as 1870 by telegraph, and rail would follow soon after, only to be hindered by the obstacle of the newly acquired race track being in the way of the proposed route. With the line from Osaka entering from the north east of the settlement, the race course now occupied the land required by the new line which was intended to pass by the base of Mt. Rokko and to the north of the settlement. Indeed, it appears that many residents saw the arrival of the railway as means to cash in on land sales to the Railway Bureau as trade had not lived up to the expectations of many members of the business community.

Less than a year after the course was completed the railways announced that the course would have to relinquish the land to make way for the new line. Naturally, the arrival of the railway was of major significance to the merchant classes of Kobe and shaped the social and spatial layout of the city for generations to come. Foreigners had already started procuring real estate on

---

<sup>550</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka News*, 1/11/1871.

the hills behind the settlement, almost definitely in anticipation of the economic vantage point it would allow in occupying land on either side of the tracks. In January of 1874, with the railway still not nearing completion the Japan Weekly Mail criticised the delay as ‘unintelligible and inexcusable’ despite knowing full well that one of the prime reasons for the delay was the ill-fated attempt by the Race Club to extort those in control of the project.<sup>551</sup> In 1871 the Race Club committee wrote to the Japanese authorities objecting that the Railway Bureau had already marked off where the line would be and began construction, straight through the middle of the course.

Further demands were made by the Race Club that a replacement course would have to be offered in compensation for the railway line dissecting the current course. As the land was owned by the prefecture and leased to the club the compensation would not have been given to the club directly but instead awarded by the kencho. Bureaucratic wrangling and mismanagement appears to have dogged the project, largely due to the obstructiveness of those who sought to profit from the arrival of the railway. Furthermore, as several consuls had formed a joint committee to negotiate the terms of the lease of the land, land of equivalent size would have to be granted to the Race Club as adequate compensation, including replacing the rails and grandstand, something the Japanese authorities seemed unwilling to do. Eventually, it was deemed more cost efficient to divert the railway just below the race course

---

<sup>551</sup> *Japan Weekly Mail*, 1/24/1871

around the south end, with the bureau instead opting to improve the course slightly to compensate for the previous upheaval. Ultimately, the committee seems to have been disappointed by the outcome as it looked for a while that they were to be granted a better plot of land on which to build a new race course.<sup>552</sup>

With the long anticipated arrival of the railway in 1874, commerce and life in Kobe had been revolutionised and racing as a pastime went into decline. There were several reasons for this. A line now dissected the city effectively cutting off the race course, which was situated in the north west of the city from the southern half. The line could have been crossed easily, but in a city well known for its rigid demarcations along class and racial lines, this appears to have been a contributing factor.<sup>553</sup> Horseback riding as a means of transportation had also largely fallen out of fashion by the early seventies, and *jinrikisha*, had become a nationwide phenomenon.<sup>554</sup>

Foreigners arriving at Mericen Hatoba (American Pier) were greeted by the sight of scores of coolies offering rides for little more than a few yen, providing much needed boost to the living wage of the ports teeming cooly population. Jinrikshas were naturally popular with the well-to-do foreign residents who may have viewed this transportation as a metaphor for the natural order of

---

<sup>552</sup> *Hiogo and Osaka News*, 4/11/1871

<sup>553</sup> The street separating the foreign section of the city with 'native' town was known as Division Street.

<sup>554</sup> Chamberlain, B. H. *Things Japanese*, London. 1905 pp. 264

European life in Asia. Race Club committee places were by and large unpaid positions, and what mattered most about the appointment was prestige with the narrow scope of treaty port society. The figure of the ‘Public Spirited Man’, ridiculed by Wirgman’s<sup>555</sup> depiction of the race club’s usual suspects in 1878 illustrates that the races had become more than a mere spectator sport in Yokohama, and instead had more to do with committee members using the races as a means of social climbing within treaty port society. Some of the wealthiest members of Japanese society, including foreign residents, were buying in American and Arabian horses either to be used for racing or for interbreeding with Japanese ponies.<sup>556</sup> Yet despite the popularity of the races in Yokohama, the races in Kobe never recovered from the uncertainty over relocation due to the railway line. With the decline of Osaka’s commercial potential, the merchant population gravitated back to Kobe or Yokohama, leaving the Osaka race course to be swallowed by new developments in the city. By 1877 the Hiogo & Osaka Race Club had become extinct. From the above account, it is clear that the promotion of the sport was a rather hollow affair. Fashions were susceptible to change in port society and the waning enthusiasm for the races represents the move towards modern field games and rowing, which had grown in popularity by 1870. Therefore, the race course seems to have been little more than an exercise in land speculation

---

<sup>555</sup> Regal, J. 2004. pp. 47.

<sup>556</sup> Buckley, R. 2010. pp. 560.

that characterised the often duplicitous nature of the foreign community, something that they had already become known for.<sup>557</sup>

### **Absorption into the Japanese Public Sphere:**

Despite falling out of fashion in Kobe, racing was still a main feature of port life in Yokohama having been established for a much longer period and also had the luxury of a dedicated race course, Negishi, far enough away from the city's land hungry developers. As the races became larger, more frequent, and generally more professional, the Yokohama Race Club had to look further afield to fund the ever more elaborate race meetings and prize money. Naturally, such a state of affairs could only be taken so far by an amateur race committee. Since their formation in the 1840s, the Shanghai and Hong Kong races had become well-established commercial ventures with thousands of subscribers, and therefore it was inevitable that Japanese patronage be sought in order to keep the sport alive in Japan. After all, no self-respecting modern nation could be regarded with any civility if it did not have an efficient racing programme.

By 1878 the Yokohama Race Club had become an All Japan Race Club, symbolic of the gradual takeover by the Kanazawa authorities in taking over the reins of the municipal authorities in Yokohama. One of East Asia's most

---

<sup>557</sup> Satow, E. 1921.

wealthy foreign family's, the Keswick's of Jardine Matheson and Co., of Shanghai, and now of Yokohama, played a role in the new club's formation. Scotsman, James Johnstone Keswick, son-in-law of Harry Parkes, along with two other British consular staffers, and the younger brother of Saigo Takamori, Tsugumichi, formed the board of the now renamed Nippon Race Club.<sup>558</sup> However, the club's chair was usually occupied by the British Consul, and chairman Francis Plunkett still described in as '*a thoroughly British institution*' during his two year posting.<sup>559</sup> Japanese interest grew in the 1880s with a new course at Ueno, whereby members of the Japanese nobility had increasingly begun to endorse the sport.<sup>560</sup> Critics in the foreign press complained of the popularity of the Japanese races and increasing business-like approach to the sport as it moved away from the amateur owner-rider days of the Negishi track in Yokohama. However, the complaints were merely the decrying of an increasingly marginalised foreign element who were gradually being edged from participation in the races.<sup>561</sup>

## **Conclusion:**

Patronage was now provided by Meiji statesmen, with permanent committee members being recruited from the various diplomatic corps. Ernest Satow

---

<sup>558</sup> Cameron, W. H. M & Feldwick, W. 1919. *Present Day Impressions of Japan*, Chicago. pp. 706

<sup>559</sup> Cortazzi, H. 2004. Sir Francis Plunkett: Minister to Japan, 1884-7, in Cortazzi, H (ed) *British Envoys in Japan, 1859-1972*, London. pp. 56

<sup>560</sup> *The Japan Weekly Mail* talked of a natural aptitude for equestrianism amongst Japanese nobility. 6/2/1886.

<sup>561</sup> *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 8/5/1886



enjoyed a term as President in the 1890s with the Belgian and Italian Consuls sitting on the sub-committee, the race club had now become an exclusive institution run by the elite of treaty port society. By the 1890s the Nippon Race Club could boast the patronage of not one, but three members of the Imperial household,<sup>562</sup> and club chairman Satow received the Emperor himself at the races in October of 1896.<sup>563</sup> Imperial endorsement of the races one year after the Britain's refusal to join the triple intervention against Japan's occupation of the Liaotung Peninsula after the First Sino-Japanese War is indicative of attempts to woo the Meiji authorities in preparation for an Anglo-Japanese Alliance in what was an essentially British inspired club. By 1898 the Emperor himself was funding cash prizes to be awarded as the 'Emperor's Cup' on special derby race days which was itself indicative of the wider popularity of the sport amongst the *kazoku*.<sup>564</sup>

Consular officials and diplomats now rubbed shoulders with the upper echelons of Japanese society in a club which was gradually transforming from a treaty port pursuit of Japan's foreign contingent to another addition Japan's multifaceted absorption of normative western cultural practices. The incorporation of racing into the Japanese public sphere was largely complete by the first decades of the 1900s. British ambassadors still occupied the role

---

<sup>562</sup> Minutes of the Nippon Race Club in 1898 show Komatsu-no-miya, Fushimi-no-miya, and Arisugawa-no-miya as the club's patrons. *Nippon Race Club Annual Meeting Minutes*, 1898. Yokohama

<sup>563</sup> Ruxton, I. 2002. Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929) in Tokyo, 1895-1900, in Cortazzi, H. (eds) *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits Vol. IV*, London. pp. 63.

<sup>564</sup> Debra Sugiyama, T. 1993

of chairmen up until the 1920s,<sup>565</sup> but the Nippon Race Club, like the races themselves, had become a fully Japanese institution. Unlike the solitary act of hunting, which emphasises the relationship between nature and the individual, or the dominance of the western male over his environment, the races were not gender specific. Although not traditionally involved as riders, women as spectators were essential to the occasion. A chance to showcase the civility of European custom and dress. Fundamentally urban in character, they formed a central role in the formation of the new modern urban landscape of the East Asian treaty port. By contrast, the Kobe races had fallen out of fashion by the late 1870s, largely due to the decrease in horse ownership and the rise in popularity of modern sports such as cricket and athletics. But there may also have been a move away from racing as race clubs gradually grew in popularity among the local population. Spatially, the two communities had always been separate, and one has to wonder if the races had been little more than a social experiment which tried to bring the communities together but was ultimately unsuccessful, at least in Kobe. The Kobe race course with hindsight, appears to have been a thinly disguised land grab, why else would it have been so easily abandoned after such an enthusiastic start? Developments in Yokohama had taken the role of the club in a completely different direction. Imperial patronage carried with it status and prestige amongst the diplomatic stratum of Yokohama society, something that the

---

<sup>565</sup> F.O. 262/1504 *Nippon Race Club Spring Meeting 1919*. British Ambassador Claude MacDonald listed as chairman.

smaller settlement could not compete with. Thanks largely to this aristocratic patronage, foreigners gradually lost control of what they had started.

**Chapter 5:**  
**Sportsmanship and the Settlements:**  
**Sporting Lives and Community Altruism.**

**I**

**Introduction:**

Sport in its modern context in Japan owes its origins to the foreigners who organised the first games in the treaty ports. Baseball, football, rugby, athletics, tennis, and virtually every other sport one can think of today in Japan, were first introduced as recreational pastimes by the foreign residents of the settlements. Foreign sporting clubs during the Meiji era, were much more than just spaces for harmless recreational pursuits. In truth, their formation actually had significant ramifications in regard to treaty negotiations regarding extraterritoriality and, in some cases, their premises involved the procurement of huge swathes of the urban landscape in the settlements that would have otherwise been taken by commercial enterprise. As we have seen in regard to hunting and racing, settlers routinely pushed the boundaries of the extraterritorial system with regard to land acquisition and land usage, which in turn impacted the wider cultural and urban landscape of Japan. In this chapter

we will focus on the birth of the settlement's sporting institutions and the residents who were crucial to their formation and longevity. Contrary to popular belief, cricket, not baseball, was the first ball game to enjoy popularity in the early days of settlement. However, the game was integral to the implementation of business activity between an emerging middle-class merchant community throughout all of the ports in East Asia. Far from being just a recreational activity, cricket, and other games like it, were crucial in forming a settlement identity that increasingly sought to distance it itself from their Japanese counterparts.

While the sporting achievements of the foreigners in the settlements were no doubt looked upon with quaint amusement by the Japanese, athleticism and the games ethic had central roles in the British Imperial system. Games were crucial in the development of qualities, such as physical courage and team spirit; attributes that were considered essential in coping with the psychological rigors of imperial duty and a life overseas.<sup>566</sup> But who were they, and where did they come from? East Asian ports such as Shanghai and Hong Kong were well known havens of Scottish enterprise, and not surprisingly, Scottish merchants were extremely influential in the dissemination of sport throughout the region. Few merchants actively promoted sport in Japan for anyone's benefit except their own interest and recreation. However, in the second section of this chapter we will look at the life of one Scottish merchant

---

<sup>566</sup> Mangan, J. A. 2005. *Sport in Asian Society*, London.

in particular who was crucial in the formation of a Kobe sports club that became an institution of significant importance to warrant scholarly attention. Firstly, let us now look at how modern sports arrived in the settlements along with key players who promoted them.

Most scholars dealing with the introduction of Western sports into Japan during the Meiji era have tended to focus on the theories of ‘muscular Christianity’.<sup>567</sup> While this approach has certainly rung true in relation to the influence of the English *oyatoi gaikokujin* F. W. Strange, the settlements other sporting pioneers have largely been ignored. Starting life in Japan as an English teacher in what would eventually become Tokyo University, Strange was in fact a relative late-comer to Japan arriving in 1875. Yet his influence on Japanese sport and education, particularly as the progenitor of that great Japanese sporting tradition the *Undokai* in 1886, has resulted in the history of sport in Japan being perceived as originating from the capital. Naturally, Strange’s involvement in Tokyo University’s early history has been championed resulting in a somewhat Tokyo-centric perspective on the development of Japanese sporting traditions. However, this view neglects the fact that sport was enjoyed, promoted and played in the settlements regularly and with a fair degree of organisation in the fifteen years prior to Strange’s arrival.<sup>568</sup>

---

<sup>567</sup> Abe, I. 2008. Muscular Christianity in Japan: the Growth of a Hybrid, in McAloon, J. J. (eds). *Muscular Christianity in Colonial and Post-Colonial Worlds*, London.

<sup>568</sup> Mangan, J. A. 2005.

Sports and recreation were of paramount importance to expatriate life in the early years of the Kobe and Yokohama settlements. Sports clubs and those who frequented them, contributed greatly towards building a sense of civic pride and settlement identity. Strangely, little to almost nothing has been written regarding the influence of settler sporting institutions and the development of Western sports in Japan outwith their involvement in Japanese educational development.<sup>569</sup> However, besides their role in diffusing modern sports throughout the region, the spread of particularly British sporting traditions in Japan was part of a wider phenomenon related to the expansion of Empire. East Asian treaty ports were essentially international experiments. How they managed to function at all during an era of fragile European politics is testimony to the tenacity of the residents who toiled in order to make the settlements a success. However, their role as testing grounds of quintessentially European manifestations, such as modern sport has been largely overlooked. Within a fairly short period of time, the treaty ports took on an appearance that was almost indistinguishable from any of the other colonial ports in the region. Hong Kong and Shanghai were naturally the benchmarks for what a successful settlement could achieve, and the proximity of these ports to Japan influenced the settlements sporting culture immensely.

---

<sup>569</sup> See, Young, R. 1918. *Kobe Chronicle: Jubilee Edition*; Tanada, S. 1988. Diffusion into the Orient: the introduction of western sports in Kobe, Japan, in the *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 5:3. pp. 372-376; Takagi, M. 1996. (*Haikara Kōbe o tsukutta otoko A. C shimu no shimin seikatsu, supōtsu, borantia katsudō*), Kobe.

Mangan's seminal work on the role of sport in Britain's public school system went some way towards explaining the link between the ideal of the 'Gentleman' and the popularity of sport in the nineteenth century. In his view, sport was instrumental in the development of the kind of characteristics like physical courage, team spirit and the ability to lead men, that were all qualities coveted in British imperialism. In this way Gentlemanly conduct, as an ideology, was actively promoted by the British public school system via the secular trinity of imperialism, militarism and athleticism.<sup>570</sup> Arnold's hugely popular novel, *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857), had gone some way towards popularising sport amongst the British public, its popularity even spreading to Japan where it became the most popular English textbook amongst high-school students during the Meiji era.<sup>571</sup> Athleticism had become a dominant ideology throughout the majority of British Public and Grammar schools in the nineteenth century, where it was used effectively to school prospective imperial proselytes for Britain's empire project. Inherent codes of behaviour coupled with ethical notions of good sportsmanship and fair play were intended to prepare individuals for life in the British administration, whereby a person's character often depended more on how they acted in comparison to what or where they had been taught.

---

<sup>570</sup> Mangan, J. A. 1975. Play up and Play the Game: Victorian and Edwardian Public School Vocabularies of Motive, in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Oct 1975), pp. 324.

<sup>571</sup> Abe, I. 2008. pp. 16

While these developments certainly influenced the spread of sport in East Asia, taking part in sporting activities were not always overtly political. Since Western women were primarily absent in the early years of settlement, Japan's fabled yoshiwaras, or 'public prostitution', and the general unwritten stipulation of single life endorsed by the merchant trading houses helped to reinforce the already current precepts concerning nineteenth century masculinity.<sup>572</sup> Throughout the Victorian era there had been a concerted effort towards the general domestication of women which resulted in their gradual removal from the public sphere whereby the realm of recreational physical activity had become a solely male-only affair. Coupled with this, there was a genuine fear that the East Asian climate was detrimental to a person's health, and that '*shaking up the liver*', a common term for vigorous exercise, was the key to a healthy life in the East Asian ports.<sup>573</sup>

Sports flourished in the settlements not due to imported traditions from the metropole, but rather because of obvious health benefits and less obviously, due to their accessibility. Travel times and access to sporting grounds hindered the popularity of sports amongst the working classes of Greater Britain in the nineteenth century.<sup>574</sup> By contrast, in the ports of East Asia, space for recreation was incorporated within each settlement virtually from the

---

<sup>572</sup> McDevitt, P. F. 2004. *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935*, London. pp. 3

<sup>573</sup> Dyce, C. M. 1906. *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years Residence in the Model Settlement, Shanghai, 1870-1900*, London. pp. 96

<sup>574</sup> Dyce mentions that the easy accessibility to sports were part of the allure of life in Shanghai. The East was increasingly seen as a playground for the Western male.



beginning. Settlements actually took shape *around* recreation grounds, not being added as an afterthought, but included as integral spaces, therefore legitimising the settlement as a modern city. In this respect, recreation was seen as being part and parcel with the spread of Western civilisation itself.<sup>575</sup> As we have already seen, the Bund, the term that came to signify the entire coastal area of treaty port developments, became the locus of European life.<sup>576</sup> By creating recreational spaces within the bund, European residents were efficaciously and consciously replicating the convenient trappings of middle-class life on East Asian soil; effectively championing the effectiveness of the Western lifestyle through their sporting exhibitions.<sup>577</sup>

### **The First Modern Games and the Birth of an Ideal:**

Perhaps the prime reason that research on Japan's early treaty port sporting institutions remains so scanty, is that for the most part, sports in the settlements were a white man's game. As the populations of the treaty ports grew in size, so too did the popularity for sporting pursuits. Educators, industrialists and the imported Meiji modernisers were also instrumental in bringing with them their sports as a common communication tool between themselves and their eager Japanese students. Testament to this fact was the establishment of a number of sporting clubs which appeared in all of the major

---

<sup>575</sup> Mangan, J. A. 1981. *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*, Cambridge.

<sup>576</sup> Taylor, J. E. 2002. The Bund: Littoral space of Empire in Treaty Ports of Asia, in *Social History*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (May)

<sup>577</sup> Bickers, R. 1999. *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism 1900–1949*, Manchester. pp. 141

ports where foreigners resided.<sup>578</sup> Although less exclusive than the merchant clubs that appeared alongside them, sporting clubs were never established with the intention to spread sport to the Asian masses. While colonial ports such as Hong Kong and Singapore actively promoted cricket as a tool to promote multiculturalism, white residents segregated themselves from local or even the mixed heritage residents during their sporting events.<sup>579</sup> Instead, treaty port sporting institutions were intended purely as recreational spaces where Europeans could escape the daily grind of settlement life, and cope with the pressures of being so far from home. Native involvement in sport during the early years of extraterritoriality was virtually non-existent. If it did occur, it was looked on as a bonus. Indeed, the need for exercise was seen as a purely European phenomena, something which accentuated the Occidental from the Oriental. Commenting in the 1870s, Dyce observed that in the Shanghai settlement, *'our Chinese friends, who take no sort of exercise, looked upon us with a kind of amused tolerance.'*<sup>580</sup> Such attitudes served as the grounding basis in regards to sporting life being essential to physical and mental health for survival in the Orient. Since such perceptions were common in China, it is little wonder that little or no effort was made in the early decades of settlement to use sport as a cultural bridge in relations with the Japanese until much later. Commenting on the lack of enthusiasm for sport amongst the Japanese in the late nineteenth century, Douglas Sladen observed:

---

<sup>578</sup> Nagasaki, Yokohama and Kobe all had sports clubs. Despite Yokohama having a longer sporting history by several years, the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club (1870) lays claim to being the oldest continuing club in Japan.

<sup>579</sup> Sharp, I. 1985. *The Singapore Cricket Club*, Singapore. pp. 107-21

<sup>580</sup> Dyce, C. M. 1906. pp. 98

*'He is an Oriental at games... but the fact is that he makes no profession of games like the Anglo-Saxon nations: he seeks his relaxation in civilised editions of the harem. The idea of taking exercise never occurs to the Japanese. They ask scornfully what fun an English gentleman can find in going out to sweat and getting in a mess; though all Japanese are very enduring when driven to it.'*<sup>581</sup>

Sladen's colonial gaze towards the Japanese concedes that there is *potential* in the Japanese as a sportsman, however, true sportsmanship was increasingly seen as a defining characteristic of the Muscular Christian gentleman. Cricket, for example, was hugely popular game among the foreign residents throughout the Meiji era, as it was throughout the British Empire. Indeed the game was seen as an integral part of the imperial character with one author commenting that, *'first the hunter, the missionary, and the merchant, next the soldier and the politician, and then the cricketer - that is the history of British colonisation'*.<sup>582</sup>

However the sport never crossed over into the Japanese sporting lexicon the way that it had in colonial India.<sup>583</sup> One contemporary commentator joked that if one looks up cricket in a present day Japanese encyclopedia, they will more

---

<sup>581</sup> Sladen, D. 1903. *Queer Japanese*, Sydney. pp. 237

<sup>582</sup> Headland, C. 1903. *Ten Thousand Miles Through India and Burma*, London. pp. 47

<sup>583</sup> Bateman, A. 2009. *Cricket, Literature and Culture: Symbolising the Nation, Destabilising Empire*, London

than likely find the insect variety under the entry.<sup>584</sup> Today, few Japanese are aware that the game was once hugely popular in the foreign concessions among the port residents, which goes against the traditional ‘sport as cultural imperialism’ thesis posited by a number of scholars in regard to sport and Empire.<sup>585</sup> While foreigners in Japan’s ports are credited by some Japanese scholars for introducing sports to Japan, most never tried particularly hard to promote their sports to a wider Japanese audience. Proof enough that sporting culture in the settlements reinforced the parochial nature of foreign life in the 1860s and 70s, as it was not till much later, via the Japanese educational system, that modern sports grew in popularity.

However, the fact of the matter is that the foreign settlement residents lacked the colonial ambition of their imperial counterparts and few ever sought to promote the Empire’s games with any real ambition. Crucially, treaty port life was more concerned with maintaining an affluent lifestyle in the face of increasing Japanese trade efficiency. Nevertheless, the record does show the Kobe sports clubs, at least, did make some effort to include non-whites. Rules for the regatta in Kobe, for example, permit the use of Chinese and Japanese crewmen for canoeing, however records showing either Japanese or Chinese involvement in those early years is absent.<sup>586</sup> Few non-Western males had the

---

<sup>584</sup> Guttman, A. & Thompson, L. 2001. Educators, Imitators, Modernisers: the Arrival and Spread of Modern Sport in Japan, in Mangan, J. A. (eds). *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies*, Vol. III, University of Strathclyde. pp. 28

<sup>585</sup> Guttman, A. 1994. *Games and Empires*, New York.

<sup>586</sup> *Hiogo News*, 27/9/1870

kind of disposable income to waste on such a luxury anyway. For the most part, in the Meiji era, sports were a European spectacle intended to showcase the superiority of Western life. According to Basil Hall Chamberlain, Japan was little different, in that, '*it is further to be observed, to the credit of the Japanese, that amusement, though permitted, is never exalted by them to the rank of the great and serious business of life.*'<sup>587</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century the popularity of sport had risen exponentially to the point where it had penetrated all levels of European, and perhaps more particularly British society. It was after all the British who were the prime movers in introducing their own sporting traditions to the settlements. It would not be until after WWII that America would supplant the British as the prime agents of the diffusion of modern sport throughout Asia.<sup>588</sup> Few except Britain's elite had time for recreational sports. However, manliness became increasingly linked with upper-class masculinity in popular literature, whereby this sub-section of society was promoted as the first group to enjoy sport as part of a recreational lifestyle.<sup>589</sup>

As sport became increasingly accessible, notions of sportsmanship, masculinity and virility trickled down in to the psyche of middle and working-class British society, and perhaps more significantly, the Anglosphere. While

---

<sup>587</sup> Chamberlain, B. H. 1890. *Things Japanese*, London. pp. 23

<sup>588</sup> Cho, Y. (eds). 2015. *Football in Asia: History, Culture and Business*, New York. pp. 2

<sup>589</sup> McDevitt, P. F. 2009. pp. 13

there is little doubt that the public schools of Britain were instrumental in sowing the seeds of sport internationally, overseas sporting institutions were increasingly becoming independent of the school system as the popularity of sport helped it find a wider audience among predominantly British settlers in East Asia. Taking part in sporting activities had a dual purpose partly as it was viewed as important for health reasons, but also in the fact that residents found new ways in which to express their social mobility. Within the wider colonial public sphere, partaking in sporting activities had become a precursor to Veblen's theories concerning 'conspicuous consumption'.<sup>590</sup> To take an interest in, and better still, to excel in sport, was the mark of a gentleman. Far from the metropole, modern sport was evolving at the same pace as it was in Europe. In fact, in Japan, games such as rugby and football were being played in the early 1860s at a time when these games had only recently been established at an official level in Britain merely ten years previous.<sup>591</sup>

Modern sports in Japan were primarily introduced by a new settler/merchant middle-class. Those who fell outside of this category, were indoctrinated into the settlement sporting culture through the homosocial daily life of the ports. Others belonged to a new class of colonial bourgeois, born abroad but educated in Britain and promoted the culture and habits of British overseas life

---

<sup>590</sup> Veblen, T. 1899. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York.

<sup>591</sup> Archibald. L. Douglas, a Canadian British Naval officer is documented as having taught Association Football (modern football) to Japanese Imperial Naval cadets either in 1868 or 1873. For a contemporary reference, the first 'official' international tournament took place between Scotland and England in 1872 at Hamilton Crescent in Scotland. See Cho, Y. 2015; Atsuo, S. 2004. School Sport, Physical Education and the Development of Football Culture in Japan, in Manzenreiter, W. & Horne, J. (eds), *Football Goes East: Business, Culture, and the People's Game in East Asia*, New York. pp. 103

with the greatest of enthusiasm. Sporting traditions became part and parcel to an individual's career trajectory. Take for example, the young James Campbell Fraser. Born to Scottish parents in Guyana in 1840, educated at Harrow in London, he went on to become a clerk in merchant firm for the Brazil trade, after which Fraser eventually found his way to Yokohama by the early 1860s.<sup>592</sup> Men like Fraser knew little of British life bar what they were taught in school. Just like the Anglo-Indian Kipling and other 'outside men', Britain's merchant classes played a key role in maintaining the hegemonic relationship between burgeoning ideas of British philosophy and the athletic character of the British Empire, in effect selling the brand of the 'British gentleman' abroad. Men like Fraser saw themselves as pioneers of the British spirit by planting the seeds of the Empire's traditions wherever they went.<sup>593</sup> Crucial to maintaining the Imperial British 'corporate brand' were creating tangible links with metropolitan institutions which legitimised their efforts abroad. One game in particular, cricket, above all other British sports, would come to be the vehicle through which the muscular Christian ethos was articulated.<sup>594</sup> A letter to Marylebone Cricket Club sent by Fraser in 1908 gave details of the first cricket match in Japan in 1863 under '*curious circumstances*'.<sup>595</sup>

---

<sup>592</sup> Lepach, B. (accessed 2016). <http://www.meiji-portraits.de/>. A small biography of Fraser is given in this invaluable resource which contains a large body of information regarding many, but alas not all, of the Europeans who made their lives in the ports of Japan.

<sup>593</sup> Mangan, J. A. 1981.

<sup>594</sup> Ryan, G. 2004. *The Making of New Zealand Cricket: 1832-1914*, London.

<sup>595</sup> See *Cricket* (magazine), 16/4/1908, for Fraser's original account of the game.; *Accumen: Magazine of the British Chamber of Commerce in Japan*, May 2013; Booth, L. (eds). 2014. *The Shorter Wisden 2014: The Best Writing from Wisden Cricketers' Almanack 2014*, London.

Curious circumstances was perhaps an understatement. In the weeks after the death of Yokohama visitor Charles Lennox Richardson, the British Charge d’Affairs, Col. St. John Neale, received notice that the legation would come under attack by *joi* samurai on June 25th. Neale advised most of the merchants to decamp to China, something that was widely deemed as impossible by the merchant community without compensation. Instead they organised a challenge match between members of the British fleet stationed in the harbour on route to demand payment for Richardson’s death in Kagoshima, and a European team of merchants.<sup>596</sup> While organising a game during such times of imminent danger might seem eccentric by today’s standards, there may have been a very serious method behind the seeming madness of the situation. Yokohama merchants in the 1860s were residing in an extremely dangerous place, and all of those who were stationed there knew the risks. Despite being cocooned by the Japanese authorities inside the relatively narrow confines of the foreign settlement, relationships with the local samurai could, and often did, erupt into acts of violence. The decision to hold the game had two purposes. Firstly, after the events of Richardson’s altogether avoidable murder, the foreign community was more than likely jittery regarding the future of trade in the region. Many were probably asking themselves if the risks outweighed the rewards. Men like Fraser had probably invested a great deal of time and resources in the settlement, and baulked at the prospect of being the first to abandon the fruits of their labour. Coming

---

<sup>596</sup> Galbraith, M. 2013. Death Threats Sparked Japan’s First Cricket Game, in *Japan Times*, June 16th.



together as a group for the match was not merely recreation, but an expression of community spirit, Christian manliness in the face of adversary, and a classic public school response to an existential threat of Japanese violence.

Secondly, despite Shogun Tokugawa Iemochi's threat to begin killing foreigners on June 25th, foreign policy amongst the treaty powers meant that the community was virtually toothless. Protected by a military presence, they were never able to order any military action directly as such an order could be taken only by the Consul General. Therefore, some other martial display was necessary, and that display was a cricket match. Albeit, an extremely heavily armed one. While the match took place, the players were surrounded by riflemen from the British navy, and the players too carried sidearms, showing that there was a genuine concern that the threat of attack was real. Here cricket was used as cultural reassurance for the merchants in regard to the fact that their spirit would not be broken. Bateman has described this almost mythical value attributed to cricket amidst burgeoning fears of spiritual decline in the Victorian era amidst a background of social Darwinism, as representing a kind of 'Anglo-Saxon purity'.<sup>597</sup>

Sport, therefore, in the absence of any real military presence in the ports, embodied the players with an almost martial character. Throughout the 1860s

---

<sup>597</sup> Bateman, C. 2009. *Cricket, Literature and Culture: Symbolising the Nation, Destabilising Empire*, London. pp. 2

‘garrison sports’, as we have seen, had a huge impact on the development of the community and it was through the military that the earliest instances of East-West sporting cultural exchange took place. French soldiers were the first to introduce the basics of gymnastic training, horse riding and fencing to their Japanese protégés.<sup>598</sup> However, such developments, like Admiral Douglas’s football match, widely believed to be Japan’s first encounter with the now global game, were piecemeal developments that bore little fruit.<sup>599</sup> Guarded with protecting the settlers residing in Yokohama, British soldiers on Camp Hill, the area now known as *Minato no Mieru Oka Park*, regularly held cricket matches in the years to follow.<sup>600</sup> As with much of Japan’s treaty port culture, although the lifestyles and traditions of their foreign residents emanated from European metropolitan locales, the diffusion of sports was nurtured in the colonial enclaves of Britain’s overseas territories. Hong Kong Cricket Club (1841) and Shanghai Cricket Club (1858) were established by a mixture of merchants and military men who regularly organised games throughout the year. Men from these already established centres quickly gravitated towards Yokohama in order to establish new business links after 1859.

---

<sup>598</sup> Guttman, A. & Thompson, L. 2001. pp. 26

<sup>599</sup> Douglas favoured the old-school naval training that could be found in British public schools. However, Japanese cadets responded poorly to Douglas’ strict regime, believing bells, whistles, running and jumping more appropriate for training animals than soldiers. However, Douglas’ methods were anything but unique, and merely reflected the emerging tradition of physical training deemed necessary for military and overseas service within Britain’s Empire. See Gow, I. The Douglas Mission (1873-79) and Meiji Naval Education, in Hoare, J. E. (eds) 1999. *Britain and Japan Biographical Portraits, Vol. III*, Japan Society, London. pp. 153

<sup>600</sup> *Yokohama Echo*, September 1981, No. 63, Vol. 6, No. 9.

Due to the British presence on the China coast, it was perhaps inevitable that British sporting traditions would migrate to Japanese shores. Matches were regularly held between conglomerations of merchant firms against rival groups, such as *'Tea & Silk vs the Rest'*, or more frequently, *'Scotland vs the World'*.<sup>601</sup> While British sports such as cricket might appear from the outset as typically English, games like rowing and cricket have a far lower profile in contemporary Scotland; sporting clubs in Japan were first established, and perhaps most enthusiastically supported by Scots. Indeed, this new found middle-class enthusiasm was a clear indicator that sporting activities were moving outside of the confines of Britain's upper class strata and being absorbed by the *nouveau riche* of the East Asian settlements as expressions of their new elevated status. Following James Campbell Fraser's inaugural Cricket match in 1863, another Scot from Shanghai, J. P. Mollison formed the Yokohama Cricket Club after his arrival in 1867. Known as an enthusiastic cricketer in his own right, Mollison arrived just after the devastation of the great fire and quickly formed the Yokohama Cricket Club with fellow resident Ernest Price, whose brother was a well-known player in Hong Kong and Shanghai.<sup>602</sup>

Both men sought out permission from the Japanese authorities to begin landscaping a ground on the area known as the New Swamp in 1868, and

---

<sup>601</sup> Mollison J. P. 1930. Notes of Reminiscences: the History of Yokohama Country & Athletic Club, in Y. C & A. C *Newsletter*, Yokohama.

<sup>602</sup> (*Ibid*)

matches were held regularly between the merchants and the local regiments. Meeting for the club took place in Mollison's home, with all members hailing from the cream of Britain's public schools such as Harrow and St. Paul's, which Mollison took care to mention, giving his own credentials as a Caledonian Club man. Mollison knew most of these men through the triangular trade networks of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Yokohama, in which these three locations were seen as being virtually interchangeable to the foreign merchant. Not to be outdone, what existed in one port was soon replicated in the next, eventually evolving into a much broader rivalry. By the 1870s, the Yokohama Cricket Club acquired a 120 yard plot of land, which later became Yokohama Park.<sup>603</sup>

Cricket, like golf in the twentieth century, had become the sport of business. Being a committed sportsman, perhaps more than any other trait, was surefire way of further a career in business in the East, with participation in the game allowing members to network with like-minded businessmen. In a similar way to Freemasonry, sporting club connections helped to integrate merchants into business life. Viewing the cricket club members list for Yokohama, it becomes clear to see how a seemingly trivial pursuit managed to negotiate such prime real estate, in the centre of the city. Members like Montague Kirkwood, a barrister who also became a legal advisor to the Meiji Government, and James Dodds, manager of Butterfield and Swire, and later Chairman of the

---

<sup>603</sup> (*Ibid*).

Japan Brewery Co., used their skills to negotiate land for the club while using their club connections to consolidate future transaction and career prospects.<sup>604</sup> Another sporting feature from the China coast was introduced known as the 'Interport', competitive tournaments against the sister cities of Kobe, Nagasaki, Shanghai and Hong Kong for the coveted top spot among the treaty ports.

Indeed, the popularity of the game and the establishment of a bona fide cricket club in Yokohama drew businessmen from other parts of Asia. Mollison mentions the names of several merchant traders who had become well known as stand out players amongst residents of the Asian ports, to the point where firms competed for their patronage. As Mangan has stated in his work on sport in the context of British Imperialism, the game of cricket was one of the binding factors of the Empire in that it embodied a set of amalgamated moral objectives that framed the twin imperial pillars of ambition and achievement.<sup>605</sup> This goes back to the affirmation that British public schools were 'anti-intellectual', placing more emphasis on games and team spirit than academic ability.<sup>606</sup> A classic affirmation of this point is shown by Mollison, stating that Arthur Groom, founder of Kobe Cricket Club (1868), was hired because of his reputation on the cricket field, with little consideration given to his

---

<sup>604</sup> Details of the lives and careers of many of Japan's foreign residents can be found on Bernard Lepach's extremely valuable website Meiji Portraits. [www.meiji-portraits.de](http://www.meiji-portraits.de) (accessed 2016).

<sup>605</sup> Mangan, J. A. 1992. Prologue: Britain's Chief Spiritual Export: Imperial Sport as Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond, in J.A.Mangan (eds), *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, London. p.2.

<sup>606</sup> Mangan, J. A. 1975. Athleticism: a Case Study of an Educational Ideology, in Simon, B. (eds) *The Victorian Public School*, London.

qualifications for the role in question. For as the saying went, '*a keen cricketer was invariably a good office man*'.<sup>607</sup>

Sporting prowess was so highly regarded that Shanghai tea firm Mourilyan, Heimann & Co. vetted their prospective employees in London before giving them contracts in Japan with the question, '*can you play cricket and where did you learn?*'<sup>608</sup> While cricket certainly had a large impact on the British colonial sphere, to the point where it became the national game of nearly all the ex-British colonies; cricket never penetrated Japan, nor China for that matter, with the same level of success. In the nineteenth century, colonialism in Asia was embedded in every level of imperial civic and social life from India to Hong Kong. Japan by comparison ran its own administration, where the macrocosm of treaty port social life was hobbled, and therefore only effective within its own parochial networks. Yet despite Japan's early exposure to cricket, that most British of games, it was the North American equivalent that had the most groundbreaking impact on the country's youth.

Baseball is today without doubt Japan's national game. Just as F. W. Strange's influence in Kaisei Gakko has given the origins of modern sport a Tokyo-centric perspective, so too baseball is generally thought to have emanated from the capital due to the influence of Civil War veteran and

---

<sup>607</sup> Mollison, J. P. 1930. Speech Given to Members of the Yokohama Cricket and Athletic Club, *Papers of the Harold S. Williams Collection*, National Library of Australia.

<sup>608</sup> (*Ibid*).

teacher Horace E. Wilson in 1873.<sup>609</sup> Again the often parroted view that sport was benevolently introduced to Japanese high school students by an enlightened hired teacher ignores the larger picture of cultural diffusion and transnationalism that was shaping the ports in the 1860s. The tired and repetitive viewpoint that the early settlers were uncouth ruffians disregards the fact that the majority of these men belonged to a modern and reasonably sophisticated sub-culture of Euro-American society, that borrowed contemporary ideas and fashions from the metropole, putting them into practice in the periphery, often during periods when their popularity was not widely recognised outside of the large urban centres. Baseball was one such sport.

The popularity of cricket in the ports no doubt induced a sense of rivalry and national pride among the American residents of the concessions who practised baseball virtually from the beginning of the settlement in Yokohama.<sup>610</sup> As early as 1869, several years before Wilson's high school baseball experiments, the English press in Kobe reported that, '*one evening... as many as seven or eight men were playing cricket and still a larger number were playing baseball*', which shows that the game was already enjoyed by a number of foreigners, not exclusively American at the very dawn of the Meiji

---

<sup>609</sup> Guthrie-Shimizu, S. 2012. *Transpacific Field of Dreams: How Baseball Linked the United States and Japan in Peace and War*, University of California. pp. 19

<sup>610</sup> H. S. Williams Papers. MS6681/1/7 (Baseball). *National Library of Australia*, Canberra.

Enlightenment.<sup>611</sup> This in itself is no surprise as Shanghai Americans boasted that their baseball club was established before Lincoln was president.<sup>612</sup>

Despite being considered today as a typically American sport, baseball was actively promoted in the settlements by members of the British community since they exhibited the largest appetite for virtually any sporting activity. As a point in fact, the general lack of interest in sports from their fellow residents was duly noted in the *Japan Punch*, where Whirgman poked fun at the *'preponderance of the foreign element (non-British), ever somewhat backward in its appreciation of sport'*.<sup>613</sup> American residents were known to criticise their British cousins for what, in their view, was seen as a particularly parochial preoccupation with exercise. Autumn and Spring, when the country's climate is neither too humid or too cold was deemed the best time for outdoor exercise. Hong Kong born American teacher, Arthur Collins MacLay was all too familiar with the sporting culture of the British community, seeing it as the one mildly redeeming feature of community whose moral tone was *'very low'*.<sup>614</sup> MacLay was stating in his criticisms of what he saw as a continuation of the colonial mentality of the overseas British and their penchant for what he mockingly refers to as *'paper chases'* and *'spawts'*, mocking the received pronunciation that

---

<sup>611</sup> *The Hiogo & Osaka News*, 4/8/1869

<sup>612</sup> Williams, H. S. 1973(?). *Shades of the Past: the Introduction of Baseball into Japan*, in *American Chamber of Commerce Japan Magazine*, Kobe. pp. 13

<sup>613</sup> Rogala, J. 2004. *The genius of Mr. Punch : life in Yokohama's foreign settlement : Charles Wirgman and the Japan Punch 1862-1887*, Yokohama. pp. 50

<sup>614</sup> MacLay, A. C. 1886. *A Budget of Letters from Japan: Reminiscences of Work and Travel in Japan*, New York. pp. 24-28



was becoming indicative of the overseas British. For Maclay, the British had hijacked trade in Japan from the Americans, and their presence was counter intuitive to what the goals of Perry's initial mission had been.<sup>615</sup> In the early decades of the Meiji era, social life was dominated by the British and American firms tended to be staffed predominantly by English and Scots clerks often resulting in the baseball teams of Yokohama and Kobe being devoid of American players.<sup>616</sup> American missionaries too helped the spread of the sport, chiefly among their mission schools, something that was never replicated with the game of cricket.

As mentioned earlier, cricket had become intrinsically linked with merchant business in the ports throughout the years of settlement, and the establishment of the Kobe Cricket Club in 1869 became an almost ritualistic consolidation of the new business class that ran the settlement. Kobe's inaugural game between members of the *H. M. S Ocean* and a team of several foreign residents gives a flavour of how the settlement was being promoted to the right kind of investor's outwith the settlement.<sup>617</sup> Members for the Kobe team included, A. H. Groom, and R. Hughes, both of Glover & Co. and soon to be standing members of the Municipal Council, accompanied by owner of the *Hiogo & Osaka News*, F. Walsh, an American, who was no doubt responsible for the game becoming front page news on the 17th of October

---

<sup>615</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 146

<sup>616</sup> Williams, H. S. 1973(?); Abend, H. E. 1944. *Treaty Ports*, New York.

<sup>617</sup> *Hiogo & Osaka News*, 19/10/1869

1869. In the days that followed the members officially formed the Kobe Cricket Club in the meeting room of the newly formed International Club, along with fellow colleagues and business associates.<sup>618</sup> As popular as cricket was, the game would soon be superseded by the arrival of a resident who would go on to raise the settlement's sporting credentials to new heights, shaping the character of the community for years to come.

## II

### **Alexander Sim and Sporting Kobe's Rise to Prominence:**

As stated previously, merchants were rarely diarists. Their voices almost never reach us in their own words, however we can glean much about the character of their life and exploits from the treaty port press. In relation to history of sport in Kobe port, one resident in particular is worthy of attention. A few months after Kobe's inaugural cricket match in 1869, Scottish pharmacist Alexander Cameron Sim arrived in Kobe to take over the Medical Hall on the concession's Main Street at Lot. 18. in the settlement. Of all the Meiji era personalities that have been covered over the last one hundred years, the life of Alexander Cameron Sim has been largely overlooked by scholars of Britain's relationship with Japan except for the briefest of mentions. Sim, however, nearly single-handedly raised the profile of the settlement from a

---

<sup>618</sup> (*Ibid.*)

dusty backwater to a hub of sporting excellence, establishing a tradition of which traces can still be seen within Kobe's contemporary social life and landscape. Crucially, Sim changed the role of the sports club from more than merely a place of recreation to an institution that would serve as the outward face of the foreign community. Many of the shopkeepers who had set up shop in the Kobe settlement were of humble beginnings, traders, mariners, and a surprising number of insurance agents; self-made men who took their chances that Empire presented. Nowhere else in Britain's imperial network attracted Scots more than the ports of Asia. Commenting in 1868, English Liberal and Radical politician Charles Dilke concluded during a tour of Britain's colonies that:

*'In British settlements, from Canada to Ceylon, from Dunedin to Bombay, for every Englishman, that you meet who has worked himself to wealth from small beginnings without external aid, you find ten Scotchmen. It is strange indeed, that Scotland has not become the popular name for the United Kingdom.'*<sup>619</sup>

Nowhere was this truer than the settlements of Hong Kong and Shanghai, where Scots merchants and their networks had a virtual stranglehold on the local economy of both ports. Most Scots had arrived in Shanghai through the networks opened by Scots shipping, banking and trading firms that dominated

---

<sup>619</sup> Dilke, C. W. 1868(88). *Greater Britain: a Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries During 1866 and 1867*, London. pp. 525

the British presence in the settlement. Shanghai Anglo-Scottish resident Charles Dyce commented on the Shanghai Scots saying, '*the great number, the obtrusive accent, or accents, and a certain assertiveness (not offensive), combined to give the sense of a pervading presence of the nationality*'.<sup>620</sup> It was this global monopoly, fronted by merchant giants Jardine, Matheson & Co. that opened the door for smaller Scottish merchant pioneers to gain a foothold in Nagasaki, and later Yokohama and Kobe.

Born near Aberlour on the outskirts of the Scottish Highlands in 1840, Alexander Cameron Sim grew up in the small farming community in the parish of Boharm in Banffshire. His father was a river fisherman in the nearby township of Fisherton.<sup>621</sup> A druggist by trade, Sim took an apprenticeship with a chemist in the nearby town of Turiff, eventually relocating to London where he joined the ranks of the Royal London Hospital as a pharmacist. While in London he became a prominent member of the newly formed London Scottish Rifles,<sup>622</sup> a volunteer infantry regiment of the British Army sponsored by the Highland Society, a club made up of expatriate Scottish noblemen. Between 1862 and 1866, Sim worked as a dispenser at the hospital but seemed unsatisfied with the pay and conditions of the post. In 1864, a colleague and fellow Scot secured a government appointment in China, which no doubt

---

<sup>620</sup> Dyce, C. M. 1906. pp. 42

<sup>621</sup> *Banffshire Herald*, 9/5/1900

<sup>622</sup> *Banffshire Herald*, 5/1/1905

guided the young Sim to do likewise. In January of 1866 Sim embarked on the 13,810 mile journey via Cape Town to Hong Kong.<sup>623</sup>

With such high numbers of Scottish emigrants choosing a path eastwards, it becomes important to understand just what the motivations behind such a life-changing and huge risk-wrought journey were. The 1850s were a time of great technological advancement and social mobility in Britain, quite possibly, for a considerable number, there had never been a better time to be Scottish. Eric Richards refers to Scots immigrants as the nineteenth-century's colonists *par excellence*, whose collective record leaves a clear impression of a people highly mobile, and strongly motivated in the business opportunities created by the Britain's overseas empire. The extraordinary mobility of Scots (within and beyond the British Isles) derived mainly from the early and rapid industrialisation of the central belt.<sup>624</sup> Concurrently, changes in modern agriculture forced significant lifestyle changes for traditional rural populations. Increased production quickly led to a dislocation from the countryside which aided in the transition towards an urbanised population dependent on the market rather than self-sustainability. Elsewhere in Scotland, traditional lifestyles were increasingly under threat from an unsympathetic state who viewed the rural population with both suspicion and disregard, and increasingly business-minded landowners. Emigration, forced in some cases,

---

<sup>623</sup> The *Royal London Trust Archives Centre and Museum* contains files regarding Sim's appointment, salary, government appointment application and resignation.

<sup>624</sup> Richards, E. 1985. *Australia and the Scottish Connection, 1788-1914*, in Cage, R. A. (eds) *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise*. New Hampshire.

relieved the pressure on areas where the regions demographic had outgrown the economic needs of the area.

Scotland had been no stranger to immigration, with a great number escaping the hardships of rural Highland life since the early 1700s.<sup>625</sup> Highland populations that had been largely self-sufficient in the late 1700s and early 1800s were constantly under pressure to relocate by wealthy land owners during the Highland clearances, and yet even among the wealthier rural populace, homeownership lagged far behind that of England. Feuing, the Scottish system of land renting, generally meant that large parts of Scotland's workforce moved freely from place to place in search of employment.<sup>626</sup> While the stereotype of the frugal Scotsman may appear today as a modern cliché, a mixture of canny investment, coupled with commercial and industrial success had generated high numbers of savings, creating an affluent middling class supported by a comfortable working class population. Surplus capital was therefore ripe for overseas investment and the colonial service or emigration allowed emigrants the perfect opportunity to realise that capital.<sup>627</sup>

---

<sup>625</sup> Brock, W. R. 1982. *Scotus Americanus: a Survey of the Sources for Links Between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh University Press. pp. 163

<sup>626</sup> Balyn, B. & Morgan, D (eds). 1991. *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, North Carolina. pp. 95

<sup>627</sup> Richards, E. 1985.

In 1858 Telegraph communications between Britain and the U.S were made possible<sup>628</sup> and innovations in shipbuilding were slashing travel times to the mercantile hubs of the world. Scottish ship-building and engineering were world class and the textile industry had brought prosperity to rural areas and energised the urban centres. Mortality rates rose, boosting the population by nearly 20% by the middle of the century. In colonial India the British forces would use the telegraph and railroad links they had established to quell the Sepoy Uprising, also in 1858, consolidating their rule there for the better part of one hundred years. Meanwhile in China, the Treaty of Tien-Tsin was signed, opening up even more of the China coast to the foreign barbarians. The same year also saw Matthew Perry deliver his ultimatum to Japan to open relations with the West once more. Thanks to the trade networks made possible by an aggressive British foreign policy, young, white Europeans were given access to virtually every corner of the globe, with few questioning their authority or legitimacy to do so. For the privileged citizens fortunate enough to enjoy the shelter provided the British, American or other European states, these were exciting times.

Japan was the last link in the Asian chain that enabled young men from the other side of the world unrestricted access to their markets. Increases in population saw the rise of Scotland's general living standards, where less than

---

<sup>628</sup> James Pender Mollison, long term Glaswegian-born resident of Yokohama and president of the Yokohama Country & Athletic Club in 1931, was nephew of S. P. Mollison, the promoter of the first telegraph cable across the Atlantic. *Japan Weekly Chronicle*, 3/12/1931

a hundred years before Sim's birth, the Highlands of Scotland had been considered a foreign land culturally aligned with the ancient feudal lordships that had once posed a very real threat to the British establishment. By the turn of the eighteenth century, Highland regiments formed the basis of the British Army's shock troops, stemming from a largely rural population of Highland men faced with the stark choice of poverty or a life in the military which brought them into contact with cultures across Europe, the Americas and as far as the Middle East. As remote as the north of Scotland was, its citizenry were becoming increasingly cosmopolitan in outlook due to the migration of its population.

Within Britain's working classes by the middle of the eighteenth century there was a growing movement which viewed self-sufficiency and self-betterment as a means of transitioning from one class to the next without abandoning or betraying their traditional class status. Energetic or able individuals could use the increasingly lucrative opportunities afforded by Empire to rise in wealth and status. Edinburgh born author Samuel Smiles published his seminal *Self Help* in 1859, which articulated the growing mood amongst educated, and able-bodied individuals in the formally poorer rural areas of the British Isles. In the same year a lecture given at the University of Aberdeen entitled '*Notes on Japan*', given by Laurence Oliphant on the 16th of September, gave details



about the mannerisms, dress and customs of the Japanese.<sup>629</sup> Oliphant had recently returned from China and Japan after a stint as Lord Elgin's secretary after the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce almost immediately after Perry's visit in 1858, bringing the latest news of the enigmatic Japanese to the North East of Scotland, canvassing for Britain to maintain a central role in the country's development.<sup>630</sup> Whether this had any influence on Sim's career path is difficult to ascertain, however, it does provide a background as to why so many Scots chose to head east. Sim was just one of a number of ambitious men who saw the East as a chance to begin anew and possibly carve out their own little piece of empire.

Despite the seeming distance of the region from the main metropolitan centres of Edinburgh, Glasgow and London, the North East of Scotland produced a number of Scots whose life and actions had significant influence on Japanese political, social and economic life. Fraserburgh born T. B. Glover, whose exploits have already been mentioned, had an enormous impact on the development of Japanese business, using his connections to nudge the officials in the Japanese government to draw from the burgeoning expertise that was emerging in Scottish industry and finance, as well as making arrangements for the education of rebellious Satsuma and Choshū samurai students in Scotland. One of Glover's most well-known recommendations,

---

<sup>629</sup> British Association at Aberdeen, *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 17/9/1859

<sup>630</sup> (*Ibid.*)

Richard Henry Brunton, the ‘father of Japanese lighthouses’, hailed from Muchalls, a small village just outside Aberdeen. Glover too helped to extend Aberdeen’s flagging shipping industry by another ten years thanks to Japanese orders for the country’s first modern warships.<sup>631</sup> Alexander Allan Shand, after starting out as a bank clerk in Yokohama, was employed by the Meiji government to help guide them in building an early banking system, helping to train the first generation of modern Japanese bankers, also grew up in the same village as Sim.<sup>632</sup> Just as in the men of the Choshū and Satsuma clans were carving a path toward enlightenment for Japan, these men from the North East of Scotland were embarking on their own journey of enlightenment. Many of whom, like Glover and Sim, would choose a life in Japan over the one that they left behind in Scotland.

By his own account, the move to London had left Sim disappointed. In the 1850 and 60s the city had notoriously poor air quality. Author and art critic John Ruskin referred to the city as, ‘*that great foul city of London - rattling, growling, smoking, stinking - ghastly heap of brickwork, pouring out poison at every pore*’.<sup>633</sup> Theories concerned with the spread of disease by miasma, a foul smelling pall that famously hung over the city, contributed to a widespread

---

<sup>631</sup> McKay, A. 1993. *Scottish Samurai*, Edinburgh; Gardiner, M. 2007. *At the Edge of Empire: the Life of Thomas Blake Glover*, Edinburgh.

<sup>632</sup> Checkland, O & Tamaki, N. 1997. Alexander Allan Shand, 1844-1930 - a Banker the Japanese Could Trust, in Nish, I. H (eds) *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Volume 2*, London.

<sup>633</sup> Toht, B. 2001. *Daily Life in Ancient and Modern London*, London. pp. 51

belief that clean air was the cure to all ills.<sup>634</sup> Swapping the crisp, clear air of rural Scotland for the relentless fog of London town appears to have played havoc with Sim's health, as he would later confide to a friend that, '*it seemed as if I was to be an invalid all my life or to be an early victim of disease*'.<sup>635</sup> Years later, Sim would swear that while holidaying in the Highlands of Scotland, he ran through the hills taking in copious lungful's of air in order to cure himself of any ailments, attributing this decision as being the secret to his robust constitution in later life.<sup>636</sup> Indeed, escaping the pollution and overcrowding of London may have been one of the major draws for a life overseas.

Once in Hong Kong, Sim secured a post at the Royal Naval Hospital, and for several years earned a reputation as an athlete throughout the settlements, not only winning many prizes for running, rowing, and putting the hammer, but also setting many records in number of other sports.<sup>637</sup> The sporting reputations of Hong Kong and Shanghai would have no doubt filtered back to young men in Britain, further enticing them to choose a life in the colonial service.<sup>638</sup> After spending several years in China, Sim headed for Nagasaki, and later Kobe in 1870, most likely at the request of a former friend or colleague who ran J. Llewellyn & Co. Medical Hall which had a number of

---

<sup>634</sup> Rogaski, R. 2004. *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China*, University of California. pp. 86

<sup>635</sup> *Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, 5/12/1900

<sup>636</sup> (*Ibid.*)

<sup>637</sup> Anon. 1927. *The Kobe Regatta and Athletic Club, founded 1870 : souvenir booklet issued on the occasion of the opening of the new gymnasium, on November 18th, 1927, the latest milestone in the progress of the club*, Kobe. pp. 5

<sup>638</sup> (*Ibid.*)

branches in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Kobe.<sup>639</sup> Announcing his arrival two months later in August of 1870, the *Hiogo News* described Sim as a ‘*boating star from Hong Kong*’, clearly showing that his reputation was well known throughout the treaty port public sphere.<sup>640</sup> Sim then took over the business from Llewellyn in 1870, trading under the name A. C. Sim & Co. Medical Hall, a business which he ran from Lot No. 18 in the concession until his death in 1900.<sup>641</sup>

Soon after his arrival, Sim, along with several other sporting members of the settlement formed the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club in the autumn of 1870. On the 20th of September of that year, forty-three members of the foreign community gathered together in the Oriental Hotel to establish the rules of the club. Entrance fees were fixed at \$10 Mexican and lifetime membership at \$30 Mexican. A committee of nine members, made up predominantly from the British community and one Dutchman, was formed and a president nominated. Despite founding the club Sim never put himself forward for the prestigious role of club president, yet held the title of Captain of the Club, a position only ever held by Sim.<sup>642</sup> Of the nine committee members, nearly two thirds were insurance agents, with the rest being either traders or shipbrokers. An overall impression of the K. R. & A. C. is that of an egalitarian sports club

---

<sup>639</sup> J. Llewellyn ran a successful Medical Hall for a over a generation in both Hong Kong & Shanghai. Upon the opening of Hyogo port, Llewellyn & Co. were the first druggist to set up shop in 1868. *The Chinese Times*, Vol. 4. 1890. pp. 463.

<sup>640</sup> *The Hiogo News*, 31/8/1870

<sup>641</sup> *The Hiogo News*, 27/6/1870

<sup>642</sup> *The Hiogo News*, 23/9/1870

for the average treaty port resident. By comparison, the club did not exhibit any of the exclusionary practices of the more formal gentleman's clubs formed by an association of military top-brass and consular officials, such as blackballing, or the barring of men of lower status. The club's rules, made publicly available on the pages of the local English press, paint a picture of an institution of which the main objective was to promote the Victorian ideal of a recreational lifestyle through manly sports for the benefit of one's health, and to foster conviviality among the residents of the port.

Formed over ten years after the foundation of similar institutions in Yokohama and Nagasaki, the club emerged at a time when Japan was embracing all things Western with earnest. While the formation of sporting clubs and the introduction of modern sports had a function in maintaining a healthy lifestyle, their presence was no doubt buoyed by contemporary Japanese thinkers, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, who were championing the Meiji ideology of *bunmei kaika*. However, even though sports were being used to foster better relationships with local populations, constitutional reforms were still a relatively new feature of Japanese social life with a government favouring the Prussian, rather than British or American political structure. While political reformers espoused the virtues of liberty, the Japanese citizenry were still not entirely free to behave as they wished.<sup>643</sup>

---

<sup>643</sup> Buruma, I. 2003. *Inventing Japan*, New York. pp. 38

Even those among the Meiji oligarchy who were seen as endorsing *seiyouka* too enthusiastically, such as the fad for ballroom dancing, lined themselves up for ridicule in both domestic and foreign circles. It was, after all, only Japan's elite who had the money or access to the latest Western trends and fashions. Similarly, recreation was still very much the domain of the 'middling classes' of British society. As peripheral as the extraterritorial outposts such as Hong Kong, Shanghai or Yokohama may have been, they were becoming more like Britain in their social structure and cultural aspirations than less so.<sup>644</sup> As contemporary as Japan's foreign sports clubs were, ideas concerning sports and sportsmanship were, even in the West at this juncture, only just beginning to be articulated, with their popularity finding currency among a fundamentally proletarian audience abroad.

In the peripheral context, a sports club was a chance for a man to increase his standing amongst his peers by genuine skill as opposed to wealth or background. More importantly, qualifying as a committee member of the club, or better still, as a president, allowed the candidate to segue into a position on the Municipal Council or Chamber of Commerce.<sup>645</sup> For shrewd businessmen, as most of the foreign settlement aspired to be, clubs had a dual function, both as arenas for recreation and relaxation, but also as conduits to more powerful positions with regard to local government and the day-to-day running of the

---

<sup>644</sup> Cannadine, D. 1998. *Class in Britain*, London. pp. 34. The same could be said of nearly every treaty port thought the colonial public sphere.

<sup>645</sup> A. C. Sim, A. H. Groom, E. Byrne and J. Gillingham all enjoyed stints as Municipal Council members at some juncture thought the extraterritorial period.

settlement. Few merchants could prophesies just how long extraterritoriality would last, however they lived and planned their lives in the settlement as though it would continue indefinitely. Architecturally planned townscapes complete with modern sewage systems and access to clean pumped water, had all been achieved under the foreign management of the settlement. Locales such as this were virtually the private empires of a group of strategically placed individuals. Although never as powerful as they perhaps perceived themselves to be, the self-governing settlements should rightfully be applauded for their management of trade and successful urban development of what had been little more than fishing villages the 1860s. Nevertheless, Japanese themselves were not permitted to live within the confines of the foreign concession, and access to the settlement was strictly controlled.<sup>646</sup>

The establishment of the more exclusive International Club and Club Concordia, the German club, had taken place in 1869. Freemasonry too was one of the earliest forms of associational club activity in Kobe, and prior to Sim's arrival, they had used No. 18, Sim's shop, to hold their meetings.<sup>647</sup> Indeed, it may have been ties of Freemasonry which had made Sim's arrival and relatively quick establishment of a business so efficient. Therefore, enthusiasm for the club may have been from men not necessarily deemed eligible for clubs that were formed by military and consular staff in the port.

---

<sup>646</sup> Yamashita, T. 1998. *Kobe-ko to Kobe Gaikokuujin Kyoryuchi* 神戸港と神戸外人居留地, Kobe. pp. 60

<sup>647</sup> See the *Hiogo and Osaka News*, Sept-Oct 1869.

A. C. Sim, for example, would more than likely not have been eligible for International Club as he would have been considered a shopkeeper. The K. R. & A. C. as it was more familiarly known, carried out their initial sporting events in the grounds of the Hyogo & Osaka Race Club course, with the inaugural athletics meet in March of 1871 drawing nearly two hundred spectators, virtually the entire settlement. True to his reputation, Sim won two of the main events, and secured the most points of the tournament. Other notable participants were the well-known cricketers A. H. Groom and J. P. Mollison.<sup>648</sup> In 1870 a boathouse and gymnasium were constructed in Mirume to the east of the settlement with funds donated by the British and German consuls, becoming a Kobe landmark lasting well into the 1920s.

Due to the popularity of the club, negotiations were made to lease an area of land known as the Recreation Ground, a large stretch of land adjacent to the eastern banks of the then free flowing Ikuta River. Prior to the club's formation in 1869, former U. S General and acting U.S Consul, Paul Frank, had negotiated a sizeable piece of land with the intention of designating the area as a park. The then Hyogo Governor agreed to sign over the land, with Frank securing the title deed and a perpetual lease to an area covering around 13000 square metres.<sup>649</sup> At the time foreigners were forbidden by Japanese

---

<sup>648</sup> Anon. 1927. pp. 7

<sup>649</sup> Frank's initial purchase was 41250 tsubo. See assorted files on the history of the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club. H. S. Williams Papers. MS6681/2/44-49 (K. R. & A. C). *National Library of Australia*, Canberra.



law to lease any land outside of the confines of the settlement, which the Recreation Ground was, and just how Frank was able to negotiate an indefinite lease on such a large patch of ground remains unclear. Whether acting alone or in the spirit of the community, Frank's intention was to have a space that would be '*held in perpetual trust for the common recreation of Foreigners and Japanese*'.<sup>650</sup>

However, Frank's purchase was deemed, by the other consuls in the settlement, to be in contravention of the earliest treaty pertaining to the initial opening of the port. Nevertheless, the idea of a sports ground stuck, and the land was referred to as the Recreation Ground from as early as 1870.<sup>651</sup> Two years after Frank's initial purchase, after protestations lodged by the resident consuls, the government were forced into buying back the title deeds for the now much more valuable land, which Frank sold at the somewhat unscrupulous price of 10,000 ryo in 1871, causing the then Hyogo Governor to step down in disgrace.<sup>652</sup> Frank's initial payment for the land is uncertain, however, his profit was huge. Foreigners were known to ream Japanese officialdom of huge payments at regular opportunities in the early years of

---

<sup>650</sup> It appears that the other Treaty Powers objected to the title deeds for the Recreation Ground being held by one individual. A copy of this agreement can be found in the K.R. & A. C's 1925 annual report.

<sup>651</sup> *Hiogo News*, 15/6/1870. J. Llewellyn Medical Hall is listed as occupying premises facing the 'recreation ground'.

<sup>652</sup> 10,000 Ryo was the Edo era equivalent to around 100-300,000 yen. There is evidence to suggest that Frank could have bought the land at the then (1869) going rate of 20 yen per tsubo, or around \$1800. Meaning Frank netted somewhere around the region of one to two million yen or \$10-20,000 US from the botched deal, an enormous sum even by 1871 standards. For comparisons of exchange rates in Japanese antiquity see, Shikano, Y. 2007. *Currency, Wage Payments, and Large Funds Settlement in Japan, 1600-1868*, in Lucassen, J. & Lang, P. (eds). *Wages and Currency: Global Comparisons from antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, London; *Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, 31/1/1900.

extraterritoriality. This begs the question of whether Frank's initial purchase was done with altruistic intentions in mind, or merely to make a profit at a later date at the expense of inexperienced Japanese officials.

Prior to the formation of the K. R. & A. C, recreational sports consisted mainly of saloon games, such as billiards and bowling. Charles Whirgman's illustration for *Japan Punch* entitled the '*Battle of Bannockburn*', depicts a showdown match between English and Scottish residents in a Yokohama bowling alley in 1876.<sup>653</sup> As in Yokohama, Kobe's saloon halls were the first to introduce the games to the settlement, and in the first year there were as many as five bowling and billiard saloons catering to just 300 foreigners in 1869.<sup>654</sup> The Kobe Club also contained rooms for both with railway engineer Edmund Holtham providing a colourful description of a drunken bowling match with an American naval officer, suggesting that although popular, saloon games weakened the constitution.<sup>655</sup> Due to significantly longer waiting periods between trade shipments coupled with the absence of a telegraph system in the pre-industrial port, boredom was severe enough of a problem to be considered a threat to the health and moral well-being of the community. Reports in the English press in Kobe in the early years of the ports conception

---

<sup>653</sup> Rogala, J. 2004. pp. 56

<sup>654</sup> The Hiogo Hotel, Exchange Saloon, and J. H. Thayer's Kobe Billiard Saloon were listed in September 25th 1869 in the *Hiogo News*; see also *Hiogo News* of Oct 27th 1869 for reference to bowling alleys in the German Club.

<sup>655</sup> Holtham, E. G. 1883. *Eight Years in Japan, 1873-1881*, London. pp. 321

complain of the moral debauchery of those left to their own devices and cites similar problems in the port of Shanghai.<sup>656</sup>

Kobe settlement in 1870, despite making rapid progress as a trading hub, still had the air of a frontier town. Attacks on European residents by disenfranchised samurai in the Bizen and Sakai<sup>657</sup> incidents in 1868 had now given way to petty crime from '*un-consuled Europeans*'.<sup>658</sup> Robberies in 1870 became a frequent occurrence and residents took to carrying pistols while walking through the settlement. Most of the foreign population resided within the Kobe foreign concession, however, a significant number of unregistered foreigners lived in the mixed residences across Division Street. Such an atmosphere may have impelled the more respectable foreign residents to seek safety through friendship with like-minded individuals at the clubs, while at the same time training their bodies so as not to become weak, strengthening their constitution and also making them less easy targets for thieves.

In addition to this, there was a genuine fear at the time of a *Conradesque* descent into madness, with a general disdain for those who were seen to have 'gone native'. It was not uncommon for residents in the ports to slowly

---

<sup>656</sup> *Hiogo News*, 7/7/1868.

<sup>657</sup> Both the Bizen and Sakai incidents took place a month apart in February and March of 1868. The Bizen incident is most well known due to the graphic description of the ritual suicide of Taki Zenzaburo by Algernon Mitford in his *Tales of Old Japan* in 1871. The Sakai incident resulted in the deaths of eleven Kobe-based French sailors by Tosa samurai across the Osaka Bay in Sakai.

<sup>658</sup> *The Hiogo News*, 12/1/1870

succumb to alcoholism in an attempt to combat the loneliness and cultural isolation that went hand in hand with living so far from one's home country. It was, therefore, often seen as a necessity to establish some form of club to keep, especially the younger population, of traders and officials in check.<sup>659</sup> In contrast to the other Asian treaty ports, Kobe was built in full knowledge of the mistakes that had occurred in the development of Yokohama and Nagasaki. The race course and recreational ground were intended, initially, to provide entertainment to all, regardless of racial background.<sup>660</sup>

Just how sincere this premise actually was remains unclear. In regard to horse racing, the necessity of Japanese *bettos*, domestic ponies, and Chinese and Japanese riders, not to mention audiences for events, made any kind of discriminatory practices self-defeatist. However, racism in the ports was endemic, but perhaps less markedly so than colonial India for example. Indeed, a major criticism made by club historian H. S. Williams, was that the foreign community had lost sight of this promise to promote relations between Japanese and foreigner virtually from the very beginning.<sup>661</sup> An early account of an unspecified European trader in Kobe is mentioned at length in a column in a *Hiogo & Osaka News* edition of 1868. He appears to have been

---

<sup>659</sup> This suggestion is made by the editor of the *Kobe Chronicle*, Robert Young, in the 1918 Jubilee Edition of that paper. However, alcoholism or building a strong tolerance for alcohol was seen as a rite of passage for many expatriate community members, often being portrayed in a very masculine context. An exploration of Kobe's sporting, club and alcohol culture can be found in Somerset Maugham's dark short short story 'A Friend in Need'. Maugham, S. 1925, 1936. A Friend in Need, in *Cosmopolitans*, London.

<sup>660</sup> For a more detailed account of the treaty drawn up between the Japanese government and the Kobe Municipal Authorities, as well as the development of the first clubs in Kobe, see Williams, H. S. 1970. *The Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club: the first 100 years*, & 1975. *The Kobe Club*, Kobe.

<sup>661</sup> Williams, H. S. 1970. *The Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club: the First One Hundred Years*, Kobe. pp. 12

reprimanded by his peers for having conducted business with the '*Celestials*', an ethnic slur meaning Chinese, who had a healthy business presence in the port. The editor informs us that he was quietly encouraged to, '*come out of that*', and back into the fold of the white community.<sup>662</sup>

It would appear then, that those who did try to break down traditional boundaries faced ostracisation. Despite the fact that there were some in the port who favoured a tighter social bond between Westerners and the Japanese, it was clear that the 'internationalism' of the settlement was not intended to include the Chinese. Indeed, Japanese participants are altogether absent from the sporting accounts of the settlements until virtually the 1890s, and even then they appear only in the context of an opposing team. Perhaps the most immediate reasons for their absence concerned disposable income. Few non-European residents had the kind of funds necessary to waste on a tradition of which they had little cultural connection with. However, despite Chinese involvement in horse racing in the 1870s, Chinese residents appear to have been completely ignored by all of the clubs.

Besides the introduction of modern sports, the club, largely under the stewardship of A. C. Sim, made a name for itself as an institution firmly grounded in community action through the unselfish acts of its members throughout the course of its history. Less than a year after the clubs

---

<sup>662</sup> *Hiogo & Osaka News*, 28/8/1868.

conception, a disastrous typhoon swept through the settlement decimating most of the Bund and severely damaging the club's newly built gymnasium and boathouse in July 4th 1871.<sup>663</sup> Though common, this particular typhoon appears to have wrought havoc upon the fledging settlement, with the Japanese section of the city bearing the brunt of the catastrophe after which it was submerged in nearly two metres of water.<sup>664</sup>

Pictures of the devastation show a ruined settlement and steamer, *Pride of the Thames* resting on her beam ends well into the bluff shoreline.<sup>665</sup> The captain, two mates and several crew members lost their lives, but the foreign residents fared lightly compared to the estimated four hundred who had perished between Kobe and Osaka.<sup>666</sup> Nearly half of those deaths were taken up by the sinking of one boat with nearly two hundred on board, with only two survivors.<sup>667</sup> In the settlement, the hard work of the previous two years had been washed away by the winds and tide. Both foreigner and Japanese alike had suffered greatly, and this event appears to have been a catalyst for the young Sim. Soon after the event, Sim, along with one or two other residents organised a boat to survey the damage in Osaka. Shocked by the devastation that they encountered, all the men gave the destitute survivors all of the loose cash they had on them. Sim related what he saw to the residents of the Kobe

---

<sup>663</sup> *Japan Chronicle*, 1918, Jubilee Edition.

<sup>664</sup> Williams, H. S. 1970. pp. 10

<sup>665</sup> *Japan Chronicle*, 1918, Jubilee Edition.

<sup>666</sup> Black, J. R. 1880. *Young Japan, Vol. II*, London. pp. 331

<sup>667</sup> (*Ibid.*)

settlement and quickly began gathering as many provisions as he could for distribution to the worst affected. Once this became known, other members of the club contributed food, clothing and money to the relief effort.<sup>668</sup> From this point onwards, he saw to it that the sporting club involved itself in all kinds of charitable work, spawning a tradition that would come to characterise the core values of the club in a way in which was altogether lacking in sister institutions such as the Yokohama and Kobe Clubs. Along with several other members of the community in Kobe, Sim became known as the settlements almoner, a man who could be relied upon in times of a crisis, whereby he set up a Relief Committee, often working directly with the Japanese authorities that lay far outwith the remit of the foreign settlement.<sup>669</sup> Crucially, it was this altruism which singled out the K. R. & A. C. from virtually all other clubs frequented by Euro-Americans in Asia during the era.

In the years that followed, the K. R. & A. C came to be a force to be reckoned with amongst the treaty ports of East Asia, with Sim regularly carrying the Kobe side to victory during the 1870s in the 'interport' tournaments. Interports had been a common feature of Hong Kong and Shanghai life, however Sim was the first to import the tradition to Japan. In the years that followed the clubs formation, Sim organised the first interport regatta between Kobe, Hong Kong and Nagasaki, using his own funds to import canoes from Nagasaki and

---

<sup>668</sup> *Kobe Chronicle*, 5/12/1900

<sup>669</sup> (*Ibid.*)

the Chinese settlement.<sup>670</sup> All of this must have been made possible by Sim's reputation in Hong Kong, and shows the great appetite for regattas and recreational sports that existed across all of the East Asian ports. Interport events, were usually held two to three times a year, with each settlement hosting the visitors, no doubt helping to maintain contacts between each foreign settlement. The fact that the first events were organised by Kobe rather than the larger, and arguably more cosmopolitan Yokohama shows that the settlement was responsible for creating its own tradition rather than merely following the trends of its larger northern neighbour.<sup>671</sup>

Throughout the 1870s Sim worked hard promoting the club by introducing a number of sporting events to the settlement. Japan's current Football Association the J. F. A, lists the first official football match on it's website as taking place in 1888, the occasion being an interport between Y. C. & A. C. vs K.R. & A. C, with Kobe winning.<sup>672</sup> However, association football, modern day football or 'soccer', was played by K. R. & A. C. members seventeen years earlier in 1871, and even though no team list exists, Sim was no doubt on one of the teams.<sup>673</sup> This was only eight years after the formation of the English FA, and two years before the Scottish FA were established in Britain. Showing that despite the peripheral character of its location, the men of the K. R. & A.

---

<sup>670</sup> Nagasaki had its own sports club, the Nagasaki Racing and Athletic Committee, which included the ubiquitous Thomas Blake Glover as a member. In the regatta of 1871 he came in second place in the single scull race. *Nagasaki Express*, 26/4/1871

<sup>671</sup> Black, J. R. 1880. pp. 382

<sup>672</sup> Japan Football Association Official Website: <http://www.jfa.or.jp/eng/history/index.html>

<sup>673</sup> Hiogo News, 1871, 8/2/1871



C. were pioneering the development of modern sports in Japan. Enthusiasm for the young sport did not peak again until 1876 with a K. R. & A. C. team taking on Bluejackets of the British Navy. While the sport proved to be relatively popular throughout the 1870s, football interports between Kobe and Yokohama did not begin in earnest until 1888. These tournaments continued uninterrupted for twelve years, with both teams recording five wins and two draws. However, Yokohama were ahead on goal difference by the 1890s. Rugby, tennis and all kinds of athletic sports were introduced including the lesser known traditional game quoits, once popular in rural areas in the British Isles.<sup>674</sup>

Another first was Japan's first 'marathon'. Taking advantage of the nearby Rokko mountain range, Sim organised a run similar to that of the 'hill race', a popular fixture of Scotland's Highland Games tradition. On April 5th in 1872 a race from the K. R. & A. C. to the summit of Kobe's Mt. Maya was won by Sim, who completed the nearly fourteen kilometre course up the seven hundred metre mountain and back again in one hour twenty four minutes.<sup>675</sup> On the 15th of June the same year a prize of \$50 Mex was offered to anyone who could beat Sim's record, a feat which H. S. Williams maintains was never achieved during his lifetime.<sup>676</sup> Proof then, that Sim's reputation as a genuine

---

<sup>674</sup> *Hiogo News*, 26/11/1870

<sup>675</sup> *Hiogo & Osaka News*, 15/6/1872. This time became a settlement record, with the K. R. & A. C offering \$50 Mexican if Sim's time could be beaten.

<sup>676</sup> *Hiogo News*, 15/6/1872. The *Japan Gazette Semi-Centennial* of 1909 and the *Japan Chronicle Jubilee Number* of 1918 both make reference to this race.

athlete were warranted.<sup>677</sup>

### **Sim and the Municipal Council:**

Sim's role as a community leader were multifarious in that pigeon-holing his industrious career in the thirty years he spent in Japan becomes quite difficult. Trade in the settlement, after a promising start, soon quietened to a slower pace meaning that most of the town's residents were free to take up ancillary roles. Each of the consulates had their own 'constable', many of whom doubled up their roles either working for trading firms or handling other administrative duties. Britain's consular constable also acted as the 'agent' for the Consular Post Office.<sup>678</sup> It was, therefore, not uncommon for a foreign resident to have a number of different 'hats', whereby they operated in more than one official capacity.<sup>679</sup>

Sim arrived as a druggist, a role which he carried throughout his life. In addition to this, Sim was closely associated with Kobe's Municipal Council, probably the most pro-active and organised of all the foreign-led settlements in Japan. Yokohama's attempt at a similar municipal organisation petered out fairly soon after it began, with most of the settlements infrastructure projects

---

<sup>677</sup> See Figure 6.

<sup>678</sup> *Japan Chronicle Jubilee Number*, 1918. pp. 21

<sup>679</sup> Another example of this was British resident Henry Lucas (1844-1912). Starting out in Hong Kong as an employee of Lane, Crawford & Co. After establishing his own firm Lucas & Co. in Kobe in 1869, he became member of the Municipal Council's of both Kobe and Yokohama between 1869 and 1889, as well as holding the role of president of the Kobe Club between 1900-1903. His obituary in the the *Japan Chronicle* of June 20th 1912 makes a particular note of his involvement in cricket and athletics also.

organised through the Japanese kencho. Between the port of Kobe's conception in 1868 and 1874, the population practically doubled to around forty thousand residents. Surprisingly, the foreign population accounted for just 2.3% of this total figure, at just over one thousand, six hundred of whom were Chinese whom throughout the extraterritorial period and beyond, never enjoyed the luxury of representation on the municipal board, yet contributed Chinese policemen to the municipal constabulary.<sup>680</sup> Nevertheless, the remaining three hundred predominantly white European residents were responsible for the day to day running of the settlement via the Municipal Council. By 1872 Kobe had already eclipsed the Osaka settlement in terms of importance and was enjoying a period of expansion and a flourishing civic identity that showed the beginnings of a proto-democratic system of governance.<sup>681</sup>

How the settlement's civil servants were picked appears to have had a great deal to do with the company with which they kept, or perhaps more accurately, the company which employed them. Land-renters frequently aired their complaints in the local press regarding the efficiency of the Council, repeatedly calling for an increase in representation while simultaneously complaining about the lack of skill, experience and ability of the permanent consular committee members, highlighting the rift between diplomatic staff

---

<sup>680</sup> Edström, B. 1998. *A Swede in Meiji Japan: Herman Trotzig (1832-1919)*, Revised Paper Presented at the 15th Conference of Historians of Asia, Jakarta, 27 Aug - 1 Sept 1998, and the 5th Conference of the Nordic Association of Japanese and Korean Studies, Stockholm, 2-4 October. pp. 10

<sup>681</sup> (*ibid.*) pp. 13

and merchant residents that would define treaty port society throughout the extraterritorial period. Those who arrived during the earliest days of settlement naturally tended to have the most influence. The far-reaching Glover & Co., present in Japan's three largest foreign concessions, employed or were associated with a great number of merchants who found their way on to the standing committee of the Municipal Council with such regularity that conclusions of cronyism are difficult to ignore. However, bearing in mind that capable individuals were also few in those early days, it may also have been the case that these men were the only ones around who had the necessary skills for the roles that needed to be filled.

Not surprisingly most of the K. R. & A. C.'s founding members were connected to the largest firms in the port. By analysing the names associated with this club, we get a clearer picture of how important club association was for a person's social standing, and ultimately for their career progression in settlement civic administration. There were, of course, men who appeared to have taken no interest in the clubs such as Glover & Co. employee, Herman Trotzig, who became the settlement's Municipal Superintendent. Endström suggests that Trotzig took no interest in the clubs as he was ineligible since he was previously a seaman, barring him from the Kobe Club which had strict rules concerning members with maritime connections. Yet Trotzig is also absent from the lists of the other clubs, including the German Club Concordia,

which traditionally attracted Scandinavian residents as members.<sup>682</sup>

In the year that Trotzig was instated Alexander Sim was put forward for the role of Municipal Superintendent by the Kobe Fire Brigade, yet no further action materialised. However, it is clear that Sim was already carving out an influential career for himself in the settlement almost immediately after his arrival. As an ex-military volunteer in the London Scottish Rifles, Sim clearly exhibited the discipline necessary for municipal roles that had a certain amount of weight. However, there was also a settlement hierarchy for civic administration roles in the ports, and the top spots routinely went to the most familiar names. Yokohama's Fire Brigade, for example, was often headed by a member of the Keswick dynasty, a family who were practically settlement royalty in East Asia due to their familial connection with Jardine, Matheson & Co. Coveted posts, such as 'foreman' were traditionally taken by the settlement's trading strongmen or men of distinction. In Kobe, Sim became the concession's first Fire Chief organising the brigade for over twenty-five years, a significant coup for a man who made his living as a shopkeeper.<sup>683</sup> However, it appears that Sim threw himself into the role of public servant, gaining a reputation as an autocrat in the process.<sup>684</sup> Kobe's Fire Brigade crew appeared to come straight from the standing committee of the K. R. & A. C., while the crew of one hundred firemen were drawn from the local

---

<sup>682</sup> *(Ibid.)* pp. 25

<sup>683</sup> *Kobe Chronicle*, 5/12/1900

<sup>684</sup> *(Ibid.)*

community. Settlement lore had it that Sim attended virtually every fire in the settlement throughout his almost thirty year career, even going so far as sleeping with his fireman's helmet and uniform next to his bed.<sup>685</sup> However, securing a civic position increased a person's standing in the settlement where an individual's merit was proved by their contribution to its development. Superintendent of the Fire Brigade was just one of the many official and 'unofficial' roles that Sim would occupy throughout his life in Kobe.

Once the scandal surrounding the U.S national Paul Frank's title claim for Kobe's Recreation Ground had been settled in 1875, a new treaty was arranged between the Japanese Government in Tokyo and nine representatives of the Foreign Powers, including Harry S. Parkes and Terashima Munenori, two diplomats who had previously clashed regarding Japanese tariff autonomy and foreign movement outside the settlement. An agreement was made that the Recreation Ground would be held in perpetual trust, without charge of any kind, and free to be used for any purposes by the Council for the benefit of the community.<sup>686</sup> Seceding yet more ground to the foreign concession, rent free, must have been particularly galling for the young Meiji statesman Munenori who had only two years previous been unsuccessful in his role in trying to renegotiate the unequal treaties with the

---

<sup>685</sup> H. S. Williams Papers. MS6681/3/49 (Sim, A. C.) National Library of Australia.

<sup>686</sup> A reprint of the original treaty, including the names of the signatories published in the K. R. & A. C souvenir booklet of 1925.

United States due to British opposition.<sup>687</sup> However, the commitment of the Meiji government towards ending extraterritoriality was clear by the late 1870s. In the first decade of the Meiji era, Japanese progress had been swift, which may have acted as an impetus by men of high standing in the community to act quickly in regards to consolidating property rights or by positioning themselves firmly in the centre of an increasingly expanding city, faced with the encroaching competitiveness of Japanese merchant firms. In truth, a club report commissioned in 1925 by then president David H. James frankly concludes that the Recreation Ground had become a necessity in 1875 because of the existence of the Club, and at that time the committee of the Club and the members of the Foreign Municipal Council were practically the same people.<sup>688</sup>

Kobe's official Recreation Ground was now a significantly large area of land in what was becoming the centre of a rapidly developing settlement. Plans for moving the Municipal Hall from Lot. 38 to a new location bordering the perimeter of the ground were sidelined in 1876. Significantly, the same year saw Kobe come away as the victor in the inaugural interport regatta with Yokohama, with Sim rowing the winning canoe in the race, suggesting that the decision was buoyed by the success of K. R. & A. C, and an endorsement of

---

<sup>687</sup> Cobbing, A. 2005. Terashima Munenori, 1832-93: Master Of Early Meiji Diplomacy, in Cortazzi, H (eds). *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Volume V*, Japan Society, London. pp. 49-62

<sup>688</sup> James, D. H. 1925. *Annual Report of the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club, Kobe*. (National Library of Australia). pp 10

Sim as a community leader.<sup>689</sup> Sim and Groom proposed moving the K. R. & A. C. Gymnasium to the southern end of the ground the following year. After a new Municipal Hall was erected on Lot. 38, the K. R. & A. C. was able to relocate to the newly secured Recreation Ground thanks to the help of the Municipal Committee, several of whom were also members of the club. A stipulation for the new move was that the new clubhouse was to be maintained and run by the K. R. & A. C. for the benefit of the club and the community. Whether for the selfish reasons of promoting their own club, or whether there was a genuine belief that sport had a valuable role in Kobe's development is not clear. It seems likely that there was an element of both of these aspects given that the club played a significant role in raising charitable funds and offering its spacious premises as a haven during times of disaster. However it would not be the last time members made a move to secure valuable land for recreational purposes. Sim and the other members had carefully maneuvered the clubhouse on to prime real estate that had virtually quadrupled in value since 1868.<sup>690</sup>

Just how Sim and Groom were able to secure such a prime location for the club with seemingly minimal effort remains something of an enigma. What it does show, is that in the relatively small foreign merchant communities of Japan, money talked and a person's connections, whether through business

---

<sup>689</sup> *Hiogo News*, 15/6/1876

<sup>690</sup> Heco, J. 1903? *The Narrative of a Japanese: What has He has Seen and the People He has Met in the Course of the Last Forty Years*, San Francisco. pp. 199



or within the tight-knit social networks of the treaty ports, allowed members privy to information or access to associates that they would otherwise have been unable to encounter. Looking carefully at some of the prominent figures whose names feature regularly in the club reports and correspondences, it becomes clear that many of them had invested serious amounts of capital in the settlement, and ultimately towards the Japanese economy. Merchants frequently referred to themselves as ‘pioneers’ within correspondences with the treaty port press, and were often scathingly vocal in regard to consular decision making that had direct consequences on their lives and businesses. In a letter from J. C. Hall, Kobe’s British Consul, to Ernest Satow in 1899, Hall refers to Groom’s role as the head of the International Committee,<sup>691</sup> mentioning the antagonism that existed between the committee and the foreign consuls. Something that, as we have already seen, came to characterise social interaction in the foreign settlements.

This gives some indication that *‘the leading men’*, as J. C. Hall calls them, often worked independently of their resident consuls at any given opportunity. Railway engineer Edmund Holtham referred to Kobe’s *‘merchant princes’*, a tongue-in-cheek comparison with the independent merchant nobles of

---

<sup>691</sup> The International Committee of Kansai was an advisory committee that continued the efforts of the Municipal Council in a non-official role after the end of extraterritoriality in 1899. Although its role was merely advisory, its purpose was clearly intended to extend the official capacity of the now defunct Municipal Council. Albeit in a far more limited capacity. For full details of J. C. Hall’s correspondence with Satow, see: Ruxton, I. (eds). 2008 *Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900, Vol. I.*, London. pp. 428

medieval Europe.<sup>692</sup> Nonetheless, the comparison was a valid one by the close of the nineteenth century, where many of the settlements independently-minded merchants had become some of the wealthiest individuals in Japan. However, conflict of interest in regard to Kobe's municipal matters seems to have had minimal impact on local politics. Groom's involvement in a case of vigilantism in 1871, along with Municipal Council member Charles Henry Cobden, suggests that while Kobe's 'official' municipal record, as it appears in the minutes published in the English press, had the appearance of a protodemocratic society, there was an element of 'frontier politics' liberally mixed with it.<sup>693</sup> Both Sim and Groom evidently had weight as residents who had shaped the settlement's development over the course of nearly a decade, and this weight clearly opened doors in securing the future of the club. Groom's previous employer, Municipal Council Chairman and agent for Glover & Co., Kenneth MacKenzie, himself a K. R. & A. C member, passed the motion on November the 9th 1877, helped by fellow committee member Henry St. John Browne, who also happened to be president of the club between the years of 1876-1879.<sup>694</sup>

In such a way, the club was now able to relocate to the more prestigious

---

<sup>692</sup> Holtham, E. G. 1883. pp. 10

<sup>693</sup> *British Consular Court Record* 1871-5. Hyogo Prefectural Library, Kobe. For an account of the incident see Chapter: Settler Society and the Club in this volume.

<sup>694</sup> Anon. 1927. *The Kobe Regatta and Athletic Club: Souvenir Booklet Issued on the Occasion of the Opening of the New Gymnasium, Nov. 18th, 1927*, Kobe. pp. 53. This booklet lists every president of the club from its conception in 1870 until 1927.

address, which saw no objection from the Municipal Council.<sup>695</sup> In addition to this, the \$700 Mexican needed to construct the new Gymnasium was built using municipal funds of which \$200 Mexican came from the now defunct Hiogo & Osaka Race Club. Funding was given with the understanding that the building would have a dual purpose as a clubhouse for both members and the community at large. In fact, the move appears to suggest that the Kobe Municipal Council actually favoured the relocation of the club, whereby the K. R. & A. C. took on the unofficial role of Kobe's town hall over that of the Municipal Hall. If the Municipal Hall was to represent the settlement's civic power, the Gymnasium would become the public face of the community. From the late 1870s onwards, a tradition arose that the club placed its premises at the disposal of the settlement for community meetings and gatherings in a way that was far more inclusive than that of Japan's other gentleman's clubs. Once it becomes clear how interconnected the settlement's clubs were in virtually every aspect of social and civic life in the settlement, it seems unambiguous to suggest that the Municipal Council was little more than an extension of the club, rather than the club being an extension of the council. The premises of the K.R. & A. C. had now evolved into something akin to Tokyo's Rokumeikan, a public space that could be used for anything from diplomatic balls to performances by the amateur dramatic corps.

---

<sup>695</sup> Letter to K. R. MacKenzie (Municipal Council Chairman) from T. B. MacPherson (K. R. & A. C. Secretary) regarding the granting of permission to relocate the clubhouse to the Recreation Ground, November 9th, 1877. Reproduced in Williams, H. S. 1970. *The Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club*, Kobe. pp. 17

In 1880 the settlement was again struck by a disastrous typhoon which caused irreparable damage to the newly built Gymnasium, which was rebuilt at a cost of \$3000 Mex and a further \$500 Mex for a new boathouse, considerable sums considering membership revenue was probably never higher than \$1000-1500 Mex per year.<sup>696</sup> Therefore the popularity of the club amongst the leading members of the community must have been significant in order to warrant such a large expenditure on its redevelopment. The new premises were now legally established on the south-eastern corner of the Recreation Ground and adjacent to the new premises of the Kobe Club which had moved to a new location after a surge in membership in 1879.<sup>697</sup> Both clubs now dominated the eastern section of the settlement, instantly recognisable to any new arrival.

From the 1880s onwards the club went from strength to strength, building a new grandstand to house the increasing numbers of spectators for sporting events. In 1883 the Recreation Ground was extended, acquiring another section of land adjacent to the Ikuta River, by a new treaty ratified by Inoue Kaoru and Harry Parkes.<sup>698</sup> Again there was to be no rent charged for the ground, provided that the space was used for the benefit of Japanese and foreign residents. In November of the same year, Kaoru formally opened the

---

<sup>696</sup> Williams, H. S. 1970. pp. 22

<sup>697</sup> See Figure. 5

<sup>698</sup> Treaty Signed between H.M.S Consul General Harry Parkes Inoue Karou dated 9/1/1883. A facsimile of this treaty is included in a correspondence between A. N. Petersen of the International Committee of Kobe & Osaka and H. S. Williams(?). 20/08/1956. *K. R. & A. C. War File (Misc. papers concerning the club's legal position regarding the Recreation Ground)*. Privately held by former club president Deepu Sadhwani, Kobe.

Rokumeikan, '*The Deer Cry Pavilion*', a building whose very conception was intended to symbolise Japan's entrance into the so-called 'comity of civilised nations', in itself akin to a club of the Great Powers. Kaoru was, at this juncture, trying to use all available means to ensure that the 'unequal treaties' were revised. Tellingly, the new treaty was signed only between Parkes and Kaoru, emphasising the increasing dominance of the British merchant position in Kobe, further demonstrating how integral treaty revision had now become to the development of Anglo-Japanese relations. Clearly, his willingness to endorse the acquisition of more land for the K. R. & A. C's Recreation Ground was intended as an olive branch towards Parkes by further placating Kobe's British community.

The legality of the club's claim to the land was now water tight. In the space of a decade, the K. R. & A. C, the Kobe Club and the Recreation Ground had become the hub of treaty port life in Kobe, with the club gaining a reputation worldwide as a 'gentleman's rendezvous'. Globetrotter Arthur Crowe described the K. R. & A. C. as a '*capital club - low rambling building equipped with every luxury*'.<sup>699</sup> On a tour of Japan, Rev. Joseph Llewellyn Thomas described the K. R. & A. C as a '*fine club with a recreation ground, upon which are played the usual English and American games, such as cricket, baseball, lawn tennis*

---

<sup>699</sup> Crowe, A. H. 1883. *Hiways and Byeways in Japan: the Experiences of Two Pedestrian Tourists*, London. pp. 248

*etc.*'.<sup>700</sup> Similarly, author Douglas Sladen who befriended Sim on a trip to the city mentioned that, '*the foreign residents of Kobe are much concerned with athletics and yachting in the ordinarily calm waters of the Inland Sea*'.<sup>701</sup> Travelling entertainment companies began to include Kobe on their Far Eastern tours, with the Gymnasium Hall regularly hired out by theatrical groups, later attracting bigger events such as the Bandmann Opera Company, a touring opera run by Anglo-Indian entertainer and entrepreneur, Maurice Bandmann. Presidency of the K. R. & A. C. became an increasingly coveted position, with positions being held by Capt. E. Byrne (1880, 85-88), former merchant seaman and chairman of the Hyogo Gas Co.; ex-Glover & Co. merchant Robert Hughes (1882) owner of one of the largest insurance companies in Japan, Hughes & Co.; and British Consul General J. J. Enslie (1889, 91-96).<sup>702</sup>

The benefit of controlling such influential institutions went way beyond merely improving a person's social status. As the settlement's main hub of social interaction, the premises were used as a matter of course for all manner of community discourse relating virtually every aspect of settlement life. Chances arose to network with visiting dignitaries. Britain's Prince Albert made sure to stop off to watch a cricket match at the Y. C. & A. C. after having had his arm

---

<sup>700</sup> Thomas, J. L. Rev. 1895. *Journeys Among the Gentle Japs in the Summer of 1895: with a special chapter on the religions of Japan*, London. pp. 141.

<sup>701</sup> Sladen, D. 1895. *The Japs at Home*, London. pp. 401

<sup>702</sup> Anon. 1927. pp. 53.

tattooed in the Japanese style earlier in the afternoon in 1881.<sup>703</sup> Similarly in 1887, Hyogo Governor Baron Utsumi and his wife used the Gymnasium in order to hold what was considered ‘Kobe’s Grandest Ball’. The Utsumi’s were a well-liked couple amongst the foreign community because of their liberal views and appreciation of European social manners and customs. Among the guests present were six members of the Imperial household, as well as several members of the Satsuma elite, including Ito Hirobumi, never one to miss a party, and Viscount General Takashima Tomonosuke. Nothing like it had been seen outside of Tokyo’s Rokumeikan, with over three hundred Japanese and foreign guests across the spectrum of settlement life. Some danced, while others enjoyed billiards and other parlour games.<sup>704</sup>

Such events proved crucial for the foreign merchant elite of the community as they allowed presidents of the clubs or committee members to hob nob with Japanese officials. In this way foreign residents gained an audience with the country’s top officials and became privy to decisions that had a direct impact on foreign trade and settlement life. Similarly, men like Hirobumi and Utsumi used these events to showcase Japanese progress, which could be shown equally in the form of an elaborate European-style ball, just as much as it could be by the adoption of Western economics and industry. Sadly, events of the grand scale of Kobe’s ball were never repeated. However, the Gymnasium

---

<sup>703</sup> Cortazzi, H. 2000. *Collected Writings of Sir Hugh Cortazzi*, London. pp. 108

<sup>704</sup> Williams, H. S. 1972. Kobe’s Grandest Ball, in *The Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan*, February. pp. 35-40

continued to have a role in the settlement as a forum where Japanese officialdom and the merchant community could freely interact. These events clearly had value for club members as it allowed them network with Japanese officials responsible for high level administrative decision making. In later years, Sim's nephew, Capt. James Sim of Aberdeen, secured a contract for his merchant vessel to supply the Japanese Government during the Sino-Chinese conflict of 1894-5, a contract that undoubtedly materialised due to Sim's access to members of the Japanese administration vis-à-vis the club and the Municipal Council.<sup>705</sup>

### **Sim and the Kobe Foreign Relief Fund:**

Throughout the K. R. & A. C's history, the club and its members were closely associated with numerous disaster relief efforts. The Gymnasium was routinely used by all members of the community for fund-raising events for a host of different charitable causes. Meetings were held regarding candidacy for director of the International Hospital, another sought after position, with the Gymnasium becoming a go-to shelter in times of relief from natural disasters such as earthquakes or typhoons. Numerous causes were sponsored by funds raised through balls or performances at the K. R. & A. C. Relief for Japanese war-widows and orphans of the Sino-Japanese War, Japanese leprosy sufferers, and Chinese famine sufferers were just a few of the worthy

---

<sup>705</sup> Sim's nephew was the son of George Sim, an Aberdeen Antiquarian, Naturalist and Furrier, whose obituary can be found in *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 26/9/1903



causes contributed to by community members through use of the club premises. Robert Young of the Japan Chronicle attributed the club's altruism to A. C. Sim's energetic character, and it would appear that through Sim's influence, the club became instilled with a sense of civic duty that had no other parallel in the foreign ports of the East.<sup>706</sup>

Several relief missions organised by Sim in particular stand out. In 1891, the country was rocked by a series of severe typhoons, and later by what was considered to be the most powerful earthquake that the Japanese mainland had ever experienced.<sup>707</sup> In February, Kobe was battered by a catastrophic storm that took the lives of two hundred and fifty Japanese and several foreigners.<sup>708</sup> Sim aided those whose homes suffered severe flooding by delivering supplies to the victims with his own boat, *Snowflake*, and his Japanese crew.<sup>709</sup> Less than two months later, the country was rocked by the Mino-Owari Earthquake on Gifu's Nobi Plain, with an estimated magnitude of 8.4, its impact being felt over the whole of central Honshu. Although both Osaka and Kobe had been badly affected by the quake, by far the worst affected area was Gifu and nearby Nagoya where the death toll reached

---

<sup>706</sup> *Japan Chronicle*, 8/4/1925

<sup>707</sup> The catastrophic earthquake and tsunami of 2011 measured at 9.0, making it the largest ever recorded in Japan. However, this earthquake occurred off the coast of the mainland.

<sup>708</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 2/9/1891

<sup>709</sup> Takagi, M. 1996. pp. 76

nearly 10,000 people.<sup>710</sup> A *Hyogo News* correspondent described the devastation he saw there by commenting that, '*language cannot paint the solemnity of that scene, imagination cannot exaggerate its terrors, it was a concatenation of death, desolation and agony.*'<sup>711</sup>

It would appear that in times of crisis, the settlement's foreign community automatically looked towards Sim for leadership in terms of an appropriate response, and Sim himself seemed to relish the role as the chief responder to any needy cause. While simple altruism for their fellow citizens was undoubtedly the prime motivation in giving alms to victims of disaster, there perhaps existed a certain degree of professional jealousy, or competition regarding who should carry out the disaster relief. The Reverend Walter Weston, a Kobe resident who was known as the 'Father of Mountaineering' in Japan, also led a separate relief effort independent of Sim's.<sup>712</sup> Weston makes no reference to Sim in his accounts of the quake,<sup>713</sup> and likewise, Sim's accounts do not mention Weston. Curious considering the relatively small foreign community in Kobe.

Over the course of two weeks, Sim travelled to the worst affected areas to

---

<sup>710</sup> Anon. 1892. *The Great Earthquake in Japan October 28th 1891*, Kobe. pp. 24 (This volume was published by the *Hyogo News* in 1892, and contains a compilation of news articles concerning the disaster. Contributors included A. C. Sim, and W. Weston.) pp. 63

<sup>711</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 24

<sup>712</sup> Weston's name does not appear on the donor list of the Kobe Relief Committee's list of donors. Anon. 1892. pp. 44-46

<sup>713</sup> Weston, W. 1896. *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps*, London.

personally distribute the funds to those in most need. His eye-witness accounts of the disaster zone were published in the local press, updating the community in regards to how the money was being distributed. In pragmatic, matter-of-fact style, Sim listed, in meticulous detail, the effects of the earthquake on the villages surrounding Owari. In the company of an interpreter, Sim met with local officials to discuss the best way in which to distribute the \$3,111 raised by the Foreign Relief Committee, which consisted mostly of K. R. & A. C and Municipal Council committee members.<sup>714</sup> A further \$2000 was raised by the German community, seemingly independently of the Kobe Foreign Relief Committee.<sup>715</sup> While his dispatches give little impression of Sim's character, in a brief paragraph he reveals his admiration for the Japanese, stating:

*'The Japanese are a wonderful people. They take even disasters, such as the present, in a most philosophical manner. From their outward appearance one would think they are all on a big picnic, but when interviewed their troubles were as keen as could be found among our own people in the old country, under similar circumstances.'*<sup>716</sup>

Several years later in 1896, a devastating tsunami struck Japan's north coast, and again Sim acted as Kobe's relief ambassador for the region. Two massive

---

<sup>714</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 43

<sup>715</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 45

<sup>716</sup> (*Ibid.*) pp. 50

tidal waves struck the Sanriku coastline wiping out nearly 9,000 homes and claiming the lives of 22,000 people. Sim spent weeks alone in the area distributing funds, working with local officials and buying tools for local carpenters to begin rebuilding homes for the neediest survivors.<sup>717</sup> Such unselfish acts of kindness brought Sim to the attention of the Japanese Government, who presented Sim with a gift of six silver *sakezuki*, small ceremonial sake cups, for his role in relieving the victims of the Sanriku earthquake.<sup>718</sup>

Aside from Sim's volunteering efforts, he officially became the Vice Chairman of the Municipal Council in the final years of extraterritoriality. Along with several other K. R. & A. C men, including Arthur Groom, he was also on the board of the Advisory Committee, a liaison group that formed in preparation for the transition of the settlement from an extraterritorial enclave into a fully integrated Japanese municipality. According to the British Consul J. C. Hall, most of the consular officials took a dim view of the Advisory Committee as they saw it as a last ditch attempt by the leaders of the community, some of whom who had been Municipal Council members, to remain relevant under the new regime.<sup>719</sup> There can be no doubt that those involved in the committee still felt deeply attached to the institutions that they had been a part of for so long, and many had perhaps been dreading the day that

---

<sup>717</sup> *Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, 05/12/1900

<sup>718</sup> *Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, 18/4/1900

<sup>719</sup> Ruxton, I. (eds). 2008. pp. 428

extraterritoriality finally came to an end in Kobe. In July of 1899, at the official handover ceremony, the honour of passing control of the settlement to Japanese officialdom fell on Sim's shoulders due to an illness having befallen the Chairman, British Consul, J. C. Hall. Sim handed over the keys of the settlement to Governor Hattori, including all Municipal Council properties and an accumulated ¥9,895.28 in cash.<sup>720</sup> As Superintendent of the Fire Brigade, Sim handed over the stations equipment and vehicles to be used by the new owners as they saw fit. In a show of gratitude, Hattori awarded Sim the symbolic title of Chief Advisor to the Fire Brigade.

### **Sim and Ramune:**

Aside from sporting pursuits, the fire brigade, and the organisation of disaster relief, Sim was able to build a successful business selling lemonade. From the outset, his Medical Hall advertised the sale of lemonade and seltzer waters, beverages that were popular due to the lack of access to clean drinking water in the settlement. Soda water was also widely believed to be an effective preventative tonic against a number of varying diseases and ailments as a healthy pick-me-up. Whether this was merely a promotional scam by manufacturers of the drink or a genuine belief due to the lack of adequate medical knowledge at the time is up for debate. Tinctures and tonics were

---

<sup>720</sup> *Japan Chronicle*, 1918, Jubilee Edition.

generally made on site on the premises of most drugstores, and few stores in Japan had the ability to replicate a consistent tasting batch. Sim, however, appears to have been the only one successfully able to do so. Not only developing a superior tasting lemonade, but actually manufacturing the beverage on a factory level scale which included distribution routes established by Japanese partners outside of the settlement and into the surrounding areas.<sup>721</sup> Ramune, a 'Nipponized' version of 'lemonade' as it was familiarly known in Japan, was nothing new. While Perry's mission is often described as 'gunboat diplomacy', Perry demonstrated his softer side by introducing Japanese diplomats to the sparkling beverage at a dinner ceremony onboard the *Powhatan*. This may have been the earliest example of U. S. 'soft power', or perhaps more accurately 'soft-drink power', in action with regard to foreign relations with the Japanese.

Due to the rapid urbanisation of the ports, the lack of infrastructure for clearing refuse and human waste became a pressing priority making the settlements vulnerable to frequent epidemics. Night soil, the collection of human excrement, had been the traditional manner in which to fertilise rice plantations for centuries in Japan. Urbanisation had increased night soil collection ten-fold, even to the point where the settlement hotels derived a portion of their annual profits from the sale of their guest's waste.<sup>722</sup> Inevitably,

---

<sup>721</sup> Takagi, M. 1996. (*Haikara Kōbe o tsukutta otoko A. C shimu no shimin seikatsu, supōtsu, borantia katsudō*), Kobe.

<sup>722</sup> Abend, H. E. 1944. *Treaty Ports*, New York. pp. 185

the refuse exceeded the ecological balance, paving the way for increasingly severe epidemics. According to the Japan Weekly Mail of 1886, cholera first reached Nagasaki via Amoy 1877 where it quickly spread throughout the country through Kyushu.<sup>723</sup> Outbreaks of the disease in Kobe occurred from 1877 virtually consecutively until 1886, whereby generally 80% of those infected suffered death as consequence. Sim's lemonade, was the first to be known as Ramune (ラムネ) and sold for three times the price of similar brands. Yet despite the significantly higher price tag, Sim's brand proved to be the by far most popular choice, in part due to the use of the Hiram Codd bottle with a marble stopper, which can still be seen in use today.<sup>724</sup> Secondly, it carried the number 18 of Sim's Medical Hall business, appearing in Japanese newspapers directly advertising to consumers of its health benefits.<sup>725</sup>

In 1880 alone, Sim made a recorded profit somewhere between ¥4000-5000 from ramune sales, making him one of the richest men in the settlement.<sup>726</sup>

While Sim's altruism became one of his lasting legacies, it should also be brought to attention that he became significantly wealthy due to a boom in sales of lemonade as a direct result of cholera epidemics that caused the

---

<sup>723</sup> *Japan Weekly Mail*, 6/2/1886. See also, Kawamura, I. N. 2004. *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909*, University of Hawaii. pp. 154

<sup>724</sup> Takagi, M. 1996.

<sup>725</sup> *Asahi Shimbun*, 29/7/1880

<sup>726</sup> This was at a time when the Yen had considerable purchasing power and was the equivalent of \$1 U.S or Mex dollars.

deaths of upwards of a quarter of a million people.<sup>727</sup> As a trained pharmacist who had been resident in London during an era when cholera was being eradicated from the city, it seems doubtful that he would not have been very much aware that ramune had no prescribed benefit against the contraction of cholera.

From the profits Sim made through his Ramune he was able to expand his business, and ever the pioneer, he branched out into several other careers. Sim became the first distributor to sell Ramune wholesale, most probably for a higher profit. However, by selling wholesale, a shopkeeper could elevate their status to that of merchant. This would have made Sim eligible for the Kobe Club. As well as showing talent on the sports field, Sim was also a talented shipbuilder and salvage engineer, building his own yacht, for which he had a permanent crew of eight Japanese deckhands. Sim's also ran a successful shipyard, at one point securing a contract to build a frigate for the German Navy. As captain of the ship *Snowflake*, Sim became the most experienced pilot of the nearby Inland Sea, or Seto Naikai, at a time when Japanese were not eligible to privately pilot vessels throughout that stretch of sea.<sup>728</sup> In 1900 it seemed as though there was no stopping Sim who was now in his sixtieth year. As Chairman of the Recreation Ground Upkeep Committee, a group

---

<sup>727</sup> Complete figures for the period between 1877-1886 are not known, however, 105,786 deaths occurred in the outbreak of 1879 alone. *Japan Weekly Mail*, 6/2/1886

<sup>728</sup> In the late 1890s Sim was contracted by naturalist Richard Gordon Smith to use *Snowflake* to explore the Inland Sea for hunting and collecting plant and animal specimens. See, Smith R. G. 1986. *Travels in the Land of the Gods: The Japan Diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, London. *Snowflake* was also hired by English author and academic Douglas Sladen for similar purposes in 1895. See, Sladen, D. 1895. *Journeys Among the Gentle Japs*, London. pp. 141.



made up of five foreigners and five Japanese, it was Sim's responsibility to ensure that the institution which he had founded in 1870, continued its philosophy uninterrupted into the new century. Alas, while on a trip to Osaka with a friend, it is believed that he contracted typhoid from eating raw oysters and succumbed to the disease several weeks later. His funeral, as reported in the Kobe Weekly Chronicle, was unlike any other seen before or after in the settlement. Unique among Japan's foreign residents, Kobe's Japanese population turned out en masse to line the streets and mourn Sim's passing.<sup>729</sup> In the following year a monument was placed within the Recreation Ground in memory of his service to the people of Kobe.

### **Conclusions:**

Nearly nine years after Sim's death, the Japan Gazette described Sim as the '*Father of Sport in the Southern Port*', and '*one of the best rowing men ever to come to the Far East and a great all-round athlete*'.<sup>730</sup> Similarly, the *Japan Chronicle Jubilee Number* of 1918, made a point of eulogising Sim's role as a community leader, clearly indicating that even nearly twenty years after his passing, Sim's legacy was deemed as an integral part of Kobe's foreign identity. Perhaps even more so in 1918, fifty years after the settlement had begun, and foreign leadership in Japan was on the wane, men of Sim's ilk had

---

<sup>729</sup> *Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, 29/11/1900

<sup>730</sup> *Japan Gazette Semi-Centennial (1859-1909)*, Yokohama. pp 59

become a distant memory. In Britain, a man like Sim could climb the social ladder with enough hard work and guile. However, in Japan a Western male could reinvent himself as a pioneer.

From reading the exploits of Alexander Cameron Sim, it is indisputable that he had a huge impact on the development of the Kobe foreign settlement, and contributed greatly to the promotion of conviviality and friendship with his Japanese hosts. While men like Sim promoted sporting lifestyles in the settlements, it's not all together clear just how enthusiastically sport was promoted to a wider Japanese audience. At the time of his death, the Japanese appreciated Sim, not for his sporting exploits, but for his hard work in relieving victims of disaster. Undoubtedly, the diffusion of modern sports in Japan stems in part from the activities of the clubs. Yet these sports did not really become popular amongst younger Japanese until the 1890s, making it difficult to gauge whether the Japanese were merely exhibiting the influence of a global trend in the popularity of sport or whether the influence came as direct result of foreign activity in the ports.

The evidence suggests that, contrary to the founding principles of the K. R. & A. C., the Japanese were more often spectators rather than participants.<sup>731</sup> In the final decades of the century, sports increasingly became a feature of many of the country's more elite educational institutions. Tokyo University's annual

---

<sup>731</sup> Morris, J. 1895. *Advance Japan: a Nation Thoroughly in Earnest*, London. pp. 220

athletics meet was open to members of the Y. C. & A. C. as a matter of course, with entrants numbering a few short of one thousand in 1886. Such surges in numbers show there was a clear appetite for sports amongst Japan's emerging graduate population.<sup>732</sup> However, this was arguably due to the influence of hired foreign staff and foreign missionary activity,<sup>733</sup> rather than the proselytisation of residents in the settlements. Therefore, on closer inspection of the K. R. & A. C. as an institution, it becomes necessary to critique just how successful this institution was at promoting relations between Japanese and foreigners. Correspondence between J. C. Hall and Ernest Satow in 1897 states that the club only had several Japanese amongst its members.<sup>734</sup> This suggests that prior to treaty revision in 1894, there may have been none. In the same year Meiji Club member, J. Stiven, in a letter to E. Satow, mentions that club subscribers wished to promote social intercourse between Japanese and Europeans, stating that, '*there is nothing like outdoor games for bringing men together in a friendly way*'.<sup>735</sup> Again, this appears to indicate that prior to Stivens' proposal, a project such as this had never been implemented before. Suggestions included golf, which was seen as best option, marking the beginnings of a business tradition that would come to symbolise contemporary Japanese business methods.<sup>736</sup>

---

<sup>732</sup> *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 1/5/1886, 5/6/1886.

<sup>733</sup> Guttman, A & Thompson, L. 2001. *Japanese Sports: a History*, University of Hawaii. pp. 73

<sup>734</sup> Ruxton, I. (eds). 2008. pp. 328

<sup>735</sup> (*ibid.*) pp. 328

<sup>736</sup> Kobe became the first Japanese city to endorse golf, with the creation of the Kobe Golf Club in 1903 by K.R. & A. C. founding member Arthur Hasketh Groom. It took a team of workmen over 18 months to excavate one of

1899 marked the official transitioning of the settlements from extraterritorial enclaves to wholly sovereign Japanese territory. Some confusion appears to have existed in regard to land that had at one time been granted in perpetuity, rent-free, for use as sporting grounds in both Yokohama and Kobe. In Yokohama, J. P. Mollison, the founder of the club, believed he and the members had title deeds for the ground which was to be held in perpetuity.<sup>737</sup> However, the land was almost immediately repossessed by the kencho after the end of extraterritoriality, and the club was forced to relocate without compensation. A similar fate could have befallen the K. R. & A. C. but for the fact that the club's legal status was far more robust than the Y. C. C. Perhaps sensing that the club's privileged legal status was coming to an end, the K. R. & A. C. enabled a new clause in the new treaties of 1894 that the club had the right of 'eminent domain', permanently absolving the club and grounds from being liable to pay any tax, even after extraterritoriality.<sup>738</sup> This was then confirmed in 1899 by the new Japanese administration, effectively safeguarding the club property and premises for at least a generation.<sup>739</sup>

In 1900 the property value of the club was considerable, however, land reclamation by the local government forced the closure of the club boathouse

---

the summits of Mt. Rokko. It was believed that Groom was able to complete the project due to his closeness with Hyogo Governor Hattori. *Japan Chronicle*, 25/6/1912

<sup>737</sup> Ruxton, I. (eds). 2006. *The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900): A Diplomat Returns to Japan*, London. pp. 439

<sup>738</sup> Williams, H. S. 1970. pp. 59-60.

<sup>739</sup> *Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, 17/7/1899

at Ono near the settlement, which was now land locked. A new site was purchased with the money from the sale of the original site in 1901 at Mirume, by a the newly registered company named *Trustees of K. R. & A. C. Properties*, run by A. Groom, Kobe Club architect A. Hansell, and club president C. H. Lightfoot. The land and property held by this group was now over ¥76,000. In 1904 the clubs assets including a new boathouse, as well as the original gym and ground had now become private property of these three trustees who then applied for the club to become a *Shadan Hojin*, effectively turning the club into a tax free corporation indefinitely.<sup>740</sup> Given that Groom also had a vested interest in developing land on top of Mt. Rokko, it seems clear that the club and its assets were being used perhaps more for the benefit of a select few individuals first, and the wider community second.

It seems likely that had he lived, and given the closeness of his relationship with Groom, Sim would have formed part of the trustees. However, without Sim as the driving force behind the club, it soon fell into decline. In 1925, club president David Henry James went some way towards reviving the clubs fortunes.<sup>741</sup> However, even by 1925 the existence of a club that was largely the haven of a privileged foreign minority was looking increasingly anachronistic in modern Japan. Building on a sense of permanence, the establishment of sporting institutions in the three main ports contributed

---

<sup>740</sup> James, D. H. 1925. Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club Annual Report, Kobe.

<sup>741</sup> (*Ibid.*)

greatly to a pan-East Asian ‘settlement identity’ amongst Japan’s white population by which treaty ports themselves transitioned from temporary locales to global hubs of Western capitalism. While the club’s history of charitable ventures is commendable, after Sim’s death they appear to have been less frequent in the years before WWII, with the exception of a limited evacuation of foreign residents from the Yokohama earthquake of 1923.<sup>742</sup>

---

<sup>742</sup> H. S. Williams Papers. MS6681/1/64 (Capt. David Henry James.) In the spirit of A. C. Sim, James piloted his own vessel from Kobe to Yokohama in order to evacuate distressed foreigners in Yokohama.

## **The Beginning of the End:** **the Clubs after Extraterritoriality and Beyond:**

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the precariousness of the foreign resident's status in Japan had been laid bare by the phasing out of extraterritoriality. Amongst the British population at least, the onus had now shifted towards a more paternalistic view of Japanese industrial success. Successive military campaigns in both China and Korea, resulting in decisive Japanese victories, began to erode the traditional prejudices concerning Japanese civility, and the British in particular were keen to foster the notion of Japan becoming the 'Britain of the Far East'.<sup>743</sup>

Despite the widespread discomfort among the Japanese in regard to the extraterritorial system, native officials took pains to be as accommodating as possible towards the previous caretakers of the settlements. In many cases, leaders like A. C. Sim, were offered ancillary roles as advisors in recognition of their expertise and commitment. Official statements were released by the Hyogo kencho in Kobe stating that, after the handover, no behaviour to the contrary would be tolerated. If anything, life continued on as normal for the foreign residents. In Kobe after the official handover ceremony, a group of delegates led by A. C. Sim arranged to perform a small ceremony in Osaka with their Japanese counterparts. Perhaps symbolic that the tables had

---

<sup>743</sup> The analogy had become a common theme of Anglo-Japanese relations prior to the alliance of 1902, however, the one-time Viceroy of India, G. N. Curzon, was perhaps the earliest British proponent of the comparison. Curzon, G. N. 1894. *Problems of the Far East*, London. pp. 395-6

turned, the Japanese delegation failed to turn up. Later citing that poor weather had meant crossing Osaka bay too hazardous. The former Municipal Council leaders were now left somewhat impotent, with little else to do but busy themselves with their own businesses and the club.

In southern Japan, delegates of the Nagasaki Club renamed their institution the International Club in preparation for the end of extraterritoriality. The *Nagasaki Express* gave an account of the affair as being attended by twenty Europeans and Americans and over one hundred and twenty-five Japanese. The new organisation's unambiguous purpose was to create '*a good understanding between Japanese and foreign residents in Nagasaki*', perhaps evidence in itself that the two communities hitherto had been quite separate.<sup>744</sup> The relatively small number of settler members compared to the great number of prospective Japanese members gives indication of just how much Japanese society had changed by 1899. Not only were the Japanese now in a financial position to take part in the club, they were also capable of taking it over. There was also a question of survival. Post extraterritorial jitters had diminished white populations markedly by the early 1900s. Foreign mercantile longevity now depended wholly on Japanese cooperation.

Kobe's Municipal Council was replaced with an International Committee, formed with the intention of acting as a go-between with Japanese authorities,

---

<sup>744</sup> *Nagasaki Express*, March 8<sup>th</sup>, 1899.



making the transition from the old system to the new with as little friction as possible. Election to the committee was organised annually in much the same way as the previous Municipal Council, drawing members from consular staff and influential business leaders. Initially the term ‘Advisory Committee’ had been employed. However, there appears to have been some misapprehension involved in regard to the use of the term ‘advisory’ amongst the Japanese authorities, who had been cautiously favourable towards its formation. Soon after, the committee was changed to merely, the ‘International Committee’, with few duties bar the running of the foreign hospital, the upkeep of the recreation ground, and the continued management of the rapidly overcrowding foreign cemeteries in the city.<sup>745</sup> Key members in the committee in its infancy were Robert Young, of the Kobe Chronicle, and Arthur Groom, who later founded Japan’s first golf club. Both of these men were ex-municipal council leaders. While membership of the committee was never more than conciliatory, it nevertheless offered men who had previously significant roles in the community a new chance as agents of influence to extend their ascendancy even after the abolition of extraterritoriality.

The exclusiveness of the European club was a bone of contention throughout the Asian colonial public sphere. Arguments to justify exclusion, as we have seen, rested on fairly feeble premises. Asians, went the argument, had many kinds of social arrangements that were restrictive in either culturally, socially

---

<sup>745</sup> Anon. 1933. *Kobe - Premier Port of Japan*, Kobe & Osaka Press. pp. 71-74

and even racially motivated ways; Europeans, were thus unable to penetrate their inner sanctums, even if they had a desire to do so, which few, if any, did.<sup>746</sup> Additionally, embedded within the Japanese socio-cultural mindset is the notion of *uchi-soto*, namely ‘inside/outside’, a typical Japanese expression in regard to people and relationships. *Uchi* 内 refers to a person’s ‘in-group’ as opposed to their *soto* 外, or ‘out-group’ in day-to-day relations. Families, work colleagues, and others that fall within the category of an individual’s ‘inner-circle’ may be considered *uchi*, while others with less tangible links would more likely be deemed *soto*. Foreigners generally fell, and arguably still fall in many cases, into the latter category.<sup>747</sup> During the Meiji era, the far more rigid socio-cultural restrictions set in place in comparison to today’s contemporary society would have been enough of a reason to stop either group from mixing socially.

As late as the 1890s the foreign scaffold that held the settlement together was gradually being replaced by an ever more efficient domestic economic infrastructure. Foreign clerks could no longer afford the increasingly exorbitant prices of the likes of the Club Hotel, though some of the more affluent might be able to afford a part-time cook or cleaner. Lodgings were taken up in houses constructed in the semi-foreign style, a mix of European furnishings and tatami flooring, but the rent was controlled by a Japanese. Salaries, while

---

<sup>746</sup> Woodcock, G. 1969. *The British in the Far East*, London. pp. 188

<sup>747</sup> Cattelain, E. 2014. *Key Concepts in Intercultural Dialogue*, No. 43, 2014, Center for Intercultural Dialogue.

still healthy, couldn't stretch as far as they used to in the 'good old days', and foreign luxuries were now replaced by cheaper goods of Japanese manufacture.<sup>748</sup> By the dawn of the 1900s, many of the more transient yatoi had left Japan in search of new challenges and opportunities, while others had little choice but to stay, having spent much of their adult lives in Japan, they perhaps felt more Japanese than they had previously imagined. Their sheltered life continued on virtually unmolested for some time to come thereafter.

Nevertheless, the evidence shows, somewhat categorically, that Japanese patronage of the club, nor any real effort towards a closer social bond with their hosts, was ever taken up with much enthusiasm by the majority of foreign residents. Therefore, the fact remains that the Club; capitalised for emphasis, referred not merely to one institution in particular, but rather an imagined ideological entity that existed throughout the East Asian colonial public sphere. When one spoke of the club they could be referring to any one of the many great clubs of Asia as easily as they could be referring to a particular social group. Kobe's Club, with its grand facade built in the 1890s, joined the ranks of the Shanghai Club, the Penang Club, the Hong Kong Club; the gathering points of a ruling elite connected by a capillary network of trading cities. Foreign enclaves in the East Asia were never able to grow into the fully fledged white dominions that existed in Africa, or India. For that reason alone,

---

<sup>748</sup> Hearn, L. 1896. *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life*, Boston. pp. 126-7

we cannot speak of an Anglo-Japanese identity, just as we cannot specifically speak of a French, German, or American community in Japan, but rather of a Pan-East Asian ‘settlement identity’. Within this settlement identity itself were a number of thematic strands, of which club affiliation was one, which in turn contributes in some way to understanding the complexities of these settler societies in general.

In China, by contrast, the foreign presence in Shanghai had gone from strength to strength. There, the Municipal Council had a virtual monopoly over the city’s business and services. Rebellion in 1900-01 merely prolonged this control as the Allied invasion of China, led by eight foreign states, including the Japanese, brought the Shanghai settlement under increased foreign control.<sup>749</sup> Effectively, China’s eventual capitulation reinforced the sense of foreign privilege and separateness in that country to a greater level than had ever existed in Japan.<sup>750</sup> Despite the distance between the Shanghai settlement and the Japanese ports, this sense of entitlement surely had great influence upon cities like Kobe and Yokohama. Particularly when one considers that Kobe was Shanghai’s main competitor in the region, having stripped Yokohama of its importance in the early years of the twentieth century.<sup>751</sup> While foreign influence in China grew, it was well on the wane in Japan. Nevertheless, just as it had done in Shanghai, the foreign community

---

<sup>749</sup> Bickers, R. 2011. *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914*, London. (electronic edition.)

<sup>750</sup> Hoare, J. 1994. pp. 174

<sup>751</sup> Ennals, P. 2014. pp. 183

in Japan became increasingly insular and distant from the Japanese community. Moreover, Western settlers now had to contend with an increasingly confident Japanese state, buoyed by a series of victories in East Asia, as they began in earnest to take their slice of the Chinese melon. By the mid-1930s, the Japanese outnumbered the British in Shanghai by almost two to one.<sup>752</sup>

While foreign populations in China continued to grow rich under their privileged system of exploitation, Japan's Western population essentially had its wings clipped. Population-wise, Japan's foreign community could never compete with the much larger foreign presence in Shanghai, this key difference tended to be emphasised by the 'quasi-colonial' character of the British community in Shanghai, compared to the arguably more discreet foreign presence in Japan.<sup>753</sup> Nevertheless, distance from Britain tended to reinforce the culture of class hierarchy rather than instilling a broader sense of internationalism or egalitarianism. While cultural patriotism within the British community was often expressed through events such as the St Andrews Ball, which had become a staple of treaty port society, they were never limited to merely Scottish or British guests. Both Kobe and Yokohama had active St Andrews Societies, kept vibrant by the high number of Scottish settlers in both ports.<sup>754</sup> St George's, and St David's Societies also, to a lesser extent, played

---

<sup>752</sup> (*Ibid.*)

<sup>753</sup> Woodcock, G. 1969. pp. 185-90

<sup>754</sup> Regal, J. 2004. *The Genius of Mr. Punch: Life in Yokohama's foreign settlement, Charles Wirgman and the Japan Punch, 1862-1887.* Tokyo.

prominent roles in port life. By 1933, Kobe alone had as many as thirteen clubs, some of which could be categorised as Japanese ‘improvement societies’ of *karyoukai*, clear evidence of the pervasiveness of the social club phenomena throughout the country. Yet even by the 1930s, the Kobe Club still limited its membership to foreign residents, bar a few ‘honorary’ Japanese members.<sup>755</sup>

While there is extensive research concerning the British colonial experience, there is, in many cases, an information gap concerning the influence of British society on cultures outwith the traditional framework of British colonialism. Much of the events concerning Japan’s treaty ports took place during a time when world trade was being consolidated via an intricate web of trading routes. Essentially cultural hybrids, these ports were the epicentre of the foreign experience in Japan whereby they acted as conduits for the importation of Western knowledge into Japan. Likewise, nearly all of our knowledge concerning Japanese socio-cultural relations with the West during this period were channeled through these cities, and inevitably, via the Club. In them, expatriates formed cityscapes virtually indistinguishable from any other Euro-American enclave found anywhere throughout the globe, with little or no cultural influence from the Japanese. Much of what is left of the architecture of these cities today would not look out of place in any Western country. Kobe’s old foreign quarter in the hills of Kobe's Kitano ward, still gives

---

<sup>755</sup> Shively, D. 1971. The Japanization of the Middle Meiji, in Shively, D (eds) *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, London. pp. 95, Anon. 1933. pp. 105-119

the present-day visitor a hint of what Kipling once described as ‘*a raw American town*’.<sup>756</sup> Despite Kipling's offhanded criticism, there can be no doubt that the characteristic architectural style of Japan's treaty ports effused something distinctly modern, even if fundamentally 'raw' to a visitor such as Kipling.

Western traders in East Asia were themselves closely affiliated with the colonial system. Not only did they import Western goods for East Asian consumption, but they also imported the notion of Western superiority and civility by bringing the ‘centre’ of Euro-American life to the ‘periphery’.<sup>757</sup> As these individuals settled overseas, they replicated communities that conformed to the bureaucratic system of their home countries to the degree that a shipbuilder trained in Glasgow might easily live in Bombay and die in Yokohama.

For the past three centuries world economic, political and cultural forces have been major factors in the shaping of these cities. In his book *'Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy'*, King has argued that the historical context of contemporary global restructuring must be recognised if present-day urban and regional change, as also the class, cultural, racial and economic composition of cities are to be understood.<sup>758</sup> Colonial cities, or

---

<sup>756</sup> c. f. Cortazzi, H & Webb, G.1988. *Kipling's Japan: Collected Writings*. London. pp. 52

<sup>757</sup> Gardiner, M. 2008. *Thomas Blake Glover: At the Edge of Empire.*, and Yue, M. 2005. *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire*.

<sup>758</sup> For a detailed study of the 'core and periphery' theory of the Asian treaty ports see King, A. D. 1990. *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*, London.

colonial-esque in regard to Japan's treaty ports during the years of extraterritoriality, were major links between core and peripheral economies. King referred to these cities '*global pivots of change*', in that they were instrumental in creating the space in which today's capitalist economy operates.<sup>759</sup> Can we include cities like Yokohama and Kobe in the club of 'pivotal cities'? Through the examination of the various social-networking institutions formed by the Western expatriate community in Japan, we gain a multifaceted understanding of the dynamics of class formation and conflict, imperialism, and long distance labour migration that are often linked with ethnic and racial boundaries.<sup>760</sup> While Japan's treaty ports had major significance as global commercial hubs that unquestionably provided much of the stimulus for the industrial development of Japan, the habits of the settler community that inhabited them must also, by association, be held responsible in part for the rise of Japan's imperialist expansion and its consequences.

Whether conscious of doing so or not, port residents were agents of influence in their role as propagators of imperialist ideology, particularly in regard to the unravelling of the thin veil of internationalism that they pertained to uphold. We should also bear in mind that the lifestyles of the foreign communities in East Asia as a whole contributed greatly, in a complex series of inter-connecting channels, both consciously and subconsciously, towards goading local

---

<sup>759</sup> King, 2001. pp. 5-7

<sup>760</sup> Hirschman, C. 1986. The Making of Race in Colonial Malaya: Political Economy and Racial Ideology, in *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Spring. pp. 331.



populations into confrontational situations. This analysis does not intend to suggest that the native populations should be elevated towards a victim-like status, nevertheless, the social networks of the treaty ports should be analysed for their *textual* significance, in the Barthesian<sup>761</sup> sense, in regard to their significance in cross-cultural relations in pre-WWII East Asia. Undoubtedly, though the extraterritorial system ended in 1899, its continuation on the East Asian mainland contributed in some way towards a continuation of an ‘extraterritorial mindset’ in Japan in the first decades of the twentieth century. The onset of WWI made it difficult for the foreign community to exert the same confidence that it had previously. Japanese economic affluence eventually led some white members of the Kobe Golf Club to object to increased Japanese membership in 1916. Over twenty years later, the monument erected to the club’s founder, Arthur Groom, was singled out by a Mr. Kimura of the Kobe Historical Society as an example of Western Imperialism, resulting in its subsequent removal and replaced with a monument to the Japanese Empire.<sup>762</sup>

While the Club was a construct of the public school system, inevitably connected with imperialism and colonialism, the formation of a club culture in Japan operated under uniquely different paradigms. In this regard, and the main contention of this study has been to suggest that the failure of Japan’s expatriate societies to evolve beyond the colonial dichotomy of that of

---

<sup>761</sup> Barthes, R. 1970. *S/Z: An Essay*, Hill & Wang, London.

<sup>762</sup> *Japan Chronicle*, 8/9/1940, 20/11/1940

expatriate/colonist vs colonised/inferiorised, set the foreign community almost at constant odds with the Japanese. Asian racialisation during the early years of the twentieth century in regard to perceptions of the Japanese in the hierarchy of races was formulated during the height of the fear-mongering rhetoric of 'Yellow Peril', stemming from nationalist movements in Europe and America.

Falling outside of colonialism proper, the extraterritorial system, which characterised Japan's encounter with colonialism, meant that it escaped many of the humiliations experienced by other states in East Asia, most notably a prolonged military presence by a colonial power. Sporting activities were largely imported into the East Asian treaty port arenas by military men, which were then absorbed by the merchant populations as their own traditions. Such occasions were a chance to elevate or even emphasise status in the community, and helped to bolster the image of European civility, at least in the eyes of the local residents, and white superiority from within the confines of a tiny, yet financially crucial section of Japanese society during the era of Japanese modernisation. Sporting traditions imported into the colonies soon became part of community life in the settlement, which in turn were transplanted wholesale from China to Japan, essentially forming a tripartite cultural identity between Yokohama, Kobe and Shanghai whereby the two

Japanese ports looked across the East China Sea to their larger sister city for their moral compass.<sup>763</sup>

‘Manly’ sports were seen as the necessary antidote to the rigours of overseas service, and a common belief was held among many that strenuous exercise was an individual or even national right. Within this cultural framework, sports such as hunting, horse-racing and athletics were bound up with ideas regarding community, class, masculinity and race.<sup>764</sup> Recreational pursuits and pastimes functioned as essential rituals which enhanced the social cohesion of settler communities throughout East Asia. However, these recreational pastimes soon became codified along increasingly replicable lines, such as exclusive or inclusive sports clubs which sprang up throughout the areas of European-led commerce. As the infrastructure of commercial outposts in the periphery began to take on the structure of the metropole, ‘foreign’ sports quickly integrated themselves into the cultural landscape of their imported homes in a manner that could be characterised as trickle-down proselytisation. The twin pillars of sportsmanship and manliness helped to buttress notions of white supremacy, colonialism and man’s domination of the natural world.<sup>765</sup>

---

<sup>763</sup> (*Ibid*).

<sup>764</sup> Peckham, R. 2014. Game of Empires: hunting in treaty port China, 1870-1940, in Beattie, J (eds) *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire: New Views on Environmental History*, London. pp. 202.

<sup>765</sup> MacKenzie, J. 1988. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism*, London

More conventional European sporting pursuits, such as field games and water sports, came later forming a central role to the emergence of a civil society in the foreign settlements came, acting as a cultural bridge that can be considered a kind of *ad hoc* internationalism. From the historical record, it appears doubtful that early settlers were imbued with an inherent passion for the promotion of sport as a means of cultural exchange between foreigner and native. The pretense was that the Japanese were to be incorporated into the games being played by the foreigners, but there was little enthusiasm amongst the average Japanese for Western recreational pastimes, bar horse racing, until well after they had been enjoyed by the foreign community for a decade or two.<sup>766</sup> While early pioneers of sport in the settlements actively promoted the idea of mixed sports between Europeans and the Japanese, the rigidity of social conventions on either side of the racial divide often prohibited this from ever occurring. As late as 1897 Golf was being promoted by members of the Meiji Club as the perfect outdoor pursuit to bring Japanese and Europeans together, suggesting that despite the long established sporting traditions of the ports, Japanese involvement was minimal.<sup>767</sup>

Needless to say there were sporting pioneers who actively sought to turn Japan into a great sporting nation. Modern sport in Japan has most recently been credited to the efforts of Frederick William Strange (1853-89), largely

---

<sup>766</sup> The lack of enthusiasm for sports or games of any kind amongst Japanese youth was lamented by the foreign press. Japan Weekly Mail, 1/24/1874.

<sup>767</sup> Ruxton, I (eds) 2014. *The Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900, Volume Three*, London. pp. 211.

due to his influence in promulgating sports in the formative years of Japanese higher education. Abe and Mangan<sup>768</sup> have posited that Strange's leadership and 'Muscular Christian' ethos, was conducive to the formation of the Japanese *Undōkai*, or athletics meeting, in the 1880s which has continued to be a mainstay of the Japanese school calendar. While Strange's contribution should not be ignored, it should also be recognised that he was part of an already existing fraternity of Western sporting pioneers who actively sought to generate cordial relations with the Japanese through the shared medium of recreational sport. By consequence, imported the already existing cultural values of 'sportsmanship' and conviviality into the country via newly established sporting organisations. Before Strange, exercise did form a part of the Japanese school curriculum, but just how enthusiastic or organised is somewhat difficult to ascertain. According to the *Japan Weekly Mail* in 1874, Japan's appetite for western sport was minimal:

*'Exercise is now recognised as part of a male students's duty, and gymnasiums are connected with most of the large boy's schools in the great cities of the Empire. Indeed it would be an inestimable sum of the happiness of health and enjoyment of the Japanese people, if the games and sports of their children could become as exciting, as full of motion, and as intense, as those children of*

---

<sup>768</sup> Abe, I & Mangan, J. A. 2010. Sportsmanship: English Inspiration and Japanese Response: F. W. Strange and Chiyosaburo Takeda, in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 19:2-3, 99-128.

*western lands. It is positively pitiful to reflect that almost the only sport borrowed from foreigners by the Japanese is that of horse-racing.*<sup>769</sup>

Exercise it seems could take many forms, but the editor clearly indicates that the Japanese lacked the kind of sporting tradition befitting of a modern nation. While missionaries were present in great numbers in the ports, emphasis was given to spreading the gospel rather than on promoting the benefits of a healthy body and a clean mind. For the merchant classes, relaxation and engagement in all kinds of sporting games, became the prime activity next to business life. The Orient with its seductive pleasures around every corner were widely regarded as a posing a threat to a man's mental and physical health, and most put their faith in sport, with an emphasis on the violent, to stave of the threat of death and disease, not to mention other earthly temptations.<sup>770</sup>

Merchants of all nationalities who had perhaps spent more time in the East than their own birthplace were viewed from afar by missionaries and other short term foreign observers as lacking in morality. However, what passed as morally acceptable in the Orient did not always align with the values of the conservative critics of their behaviour. British minister Ernest Satow wryly explained that foreigners '*did not conduct themselves with the strict propriety of a*

---

<sup>769</sup> Japan Weekly Mail, 24/1/1874

<sup>770</sup> Dyce, C. M. 1906. *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in The Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, London. pp. 96.

*student of a theological college*'.<sup>771</sup> Furthermore, the enthusiasm given to club activities amongst port residents often outweighed their enthusiasm for religious observance. The lack of urgency in forming Protestant or Roman Catholic churches in the years between 1868-70 in Kobe highlight which tradition was more effective in maintaining a sense of social cohesion. Indeed, the emergence of a sporting tradition in Meiji Japan has been largely overlooked in relation to the other settlements located within the colonial public sphere. Nevertheless, the sporting traditions of Yokohama and Kobe were a perfect example of what Kirk-Greene has coined as an 'athletocracy', or athletic imperative behind the British overseas administration.<sup>772</sup>

Shanghai society during the same era appears to have been more rigidly stratified along class lines. Sports were being played between 'Gentleman Players' who held higher positions in the cities various trading conglomerates, and merely 'Players' who were generally men of lower rank. By contrast, there is little evidence that a similar class hierarchy existed between foreigners in the Japanese ports, and settlement life appears to have been a little more egalitarian in nature, but not hugely so.<sup>773</sup>

---

<sup>771</sup> Satow himself had a Japanese mistress, and while most foreigners paid little attention to Japanese custom, intimate relations with Japanese women appears to have been the one tradition that united all classes of foreigner in Japan. 1923. *A Diplomat in Japan*, London. pp. 23

<sup>772</sup> Kirk-Greene, A. 1992. The Badge of Office: Sport and His Excellency, in Mangan, J. A (ed) *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, and Society*. London. pp. 190

<sup>773</sup> Mollison, J. P. 1909?12? Notes and Reminiscences.

This is not to suggest that class distinctions were entirely absent from the communities of the treaty ports, however the international atmosphere and separation from the administration of empire, allowed a certain degree of social mobility amongst the British residents at least. While the popularity of modern sports among the foreign residents has been well documented in the local press,<sup>774</sup> their promotion as a cultural bridge between the foreign and native populations remains somewhat vague. Kobe, rather than Yokohama, appears to have taken the lead in promoting the idea of mixed sporting competitions with the Japanese, however, enthusiasm for Western sport did not materialise until the latter years of the nineteenth century. Indeed, most Japanese had little interest in what were seen as purely Western cultural norms. While visiting at the turn of the century, Japanese attitudes to sport were observed by Douglas Sladden who stated that:

*“The want of good horses in Japan has prevented him from cultivating the only active sport in which East meets the West - polo. He does not hunt: he does not, as a class, shoot; and though he fishes and catches fish, it is not the tackle that would qualify him for the angler’s club in America. He is a splendid fighter, and brilliant at anything that touches engineering or science.”<sup>775</sup>*

---

<sup>774</sup> Sports of various kinds are documented in nearly all of the English language accounts of the period. Several of these accounts will be highlighted in this chapter below.

<sup>775</sup> Sladden, D. 1903. *Queer Japanese*, Sydney. pp. 237



Working class Japanese clearly questioned the value of engaging in Western sports. However, sports were an activity engaged in by many of the *kazoku*, both men and women alike, as they endeavoured to mimic the many facets of European life that they deemed most admirable. In later years, the Japanese aristocracy would develop an enthusiasm for athletic sports such as skiing, skating, sailing, swimming, mountaineering, tennis, and horse riding as well as engaging and promoting the more traditional Japanese martial arts. However, most of these sports focused on the individual rather than team effort and occasions whereby high ranking Japanese mixed with their lower ranking counterparts in outdoor recreation were rare in the extreme.<sup>776</sup>

By contrast, sporting events amongst the European residents of the ports helped to engender a spirit of *communitas*.<sup>777</sup> As we have seen, sporting occasions were hugely popular among the residents of the China ports, who in turn transplanted these gaming traditions into the ports of Japan.<sup>778</sup> In the predominantly male environment of the treaty port, involvement in homosocial sporting enterprises became, for many an antidote to the loneliness of overseas service. Newspapers frequently ceased publication during sporting events, and retailers too generally shut shop either to participate or engage in events as spectators.<sup>779</sup> The fact that the first Christian congregation in Kobe

---

<sup>776</sup> Debra Sugiyama, T. 1993. *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Modern Japanese Nobility*, Oxford. pp. 180-184

<sup>777</sup> Turner, E. 2012. *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy*. New York

<sup>778</sup> Mollison, J. P. 1909?12? (Ibid)

<sup>779</sup> Williams, H. S. 1987. *The Kobe Club*, Kobe. pp. 7

was offered a space in the Masonic Hall also indicates that in extraterritorial Japan, fraternal bonds of friendship which were linked to sport and commerce, transcended spiritual or religious loyalties.<sup>780</sup> Establishment of such institutions in the early years of settlement would go on to convey a sense of tradition that can still be identified in the contemporary foreign communities of both Yokohama and Kobe. In addition, the foreign clubs, crucial to the urban development of the Kobe settlement in particular, have left a lasting impression on the modern Japanese urban landscape.

In addition to this, the founders of these institutions were of diverse social backgrounds, contradicting the stereotypical view of sports being inextricably linked with the typically English public school system.<sup>781</sup> Despite playing a central role in the social order of the British Empire, it was often outside of the imperial realm, far away from the metropolitan centre, where sports outgrew their martial origins and relied on the emerging bourgeois; the facilitators of empire, for the promotion of good sportsmanship as a significant cultural characteristic in Victorian cultural life.<sup>782</sup>

In his research on the Shanghaianders, Bickers deals directly with the formation of an 'imagined' identity of the expatriate community in Shanghai. Essentially, he argues that along with the importation of the colonial settler

---

<sup>780</sup> Japan Chronicle Jubilee Number, 1918. pp. 17.

<sup>781</sup> Mangan, J. A. 1992.

<sup>782</sup> Lassner, P. 2004. *Colonial Strangers: Women Writing and the End of the British Empire*, London. pp. 137

mentality, foreign settlement in Shanghai also solidified existing domestic class, nationality and gender tensions within their improvised communities.<sup>783</sup>

This study has attempted to show that, despite its much smaller size, the Japanese settlements were little different. Buoyed by the confidence of the larger settlement on the China coast, a number of authors based in Kobe were fiercely critical of Japanese government policy and even of Japanese society itself. Newspaper men like Robert Young and Morgan Young of the Japan Chronicle, and war correspondent, soldier and author David Henry James, in addition to other members of the wealthy James family, were all K. R. & A. C men.<sup>784</sup> Despite the number of club men who went on to have relatively active, if minor, literary careers, very few gave meaningful accounts of the intricacies of settlement life. Proof in itself that many of them still harboured what might be termed as a ‘treaty port cringe’, never feeling truly confident in their identity or background. However, club biographer and author, Harold S. Williams clearly saw himself as a representative of this club tradition, devoting much of his adult life towards its careful documentation. The disastrous impact of WWII nearly wiped the clubs and their members from the pages of history, and it is largely thanks to Williams alone, that we ever knew of their existence.

Yet there still remains a large contingent of expatriate residents who keep the

---

<sup>783</sup> (*Ibid*). pp. 164-165.

<sup>784</sup> Robert Young of the Japan Chronicle was well known as a fierce critic of the Japanese government. Among David James' brief memoir in the William's Collection he refers to an attempted takeover of the Chronicle by government officials in which he was being used unaware as bait by *kempeitai* officials in order to trick his friend Robert Young. See, Capt. David Henry James file, Papers of the Harold S. Williams Collection MS6681/1/64

fire burning, and there are still pockets of Western life in both Yokohama and Kobe. Honmoku and Naka ward were once home to large numbers of US servicemen until the 1980s, with Naka ward being the only recognisable foreign enclave in Yokohama today. Kobe's foreign population in the pre-war days occupied the central Kitano district in the hills behind the city as well as a smaller enclave at Shioya in the south. Many of Kobe's modern foreign residents have de-camped to the re-claimed peninsula Rokko Island in order to be closer to the Canadian Academy, an institution whose traditional homeland once nestled in the foothills of Mt. Rokko in the city's Nada ward. Besides the obvious proximity of an international school, there are also a number of international employer's such as Proctor & Gamble who have made the island their base. It would appear therefore that in many ways history is repeating itself. Whereas once before the city's foreign demographic sought to isolate themselves within the confines of the foreign settlement, Rokko Island has, in many ways, become a '*kyoryuchi*' for the modern era.

Subsequently, as families have continually gravitated to the outlying areas of the city, the foreign clubs now find themselves in a quandary in terms of dwindling membership. Nevertheless, buoyed by nostalgia seeking Japanese residents wishing to dip their toes into the country's foreign past, the clubs could potentially be saved from extinction by Japanese membership. Whereas previously the clubs had a restrictive quota on the number of Japanese residents, many of them are beginning to realise that the very key to their

survival may lie in increased Japanese membership. Nonetheless, the reason that many Japanese are drawn to these clubs is that they exude a foreign character, and an atmosphere that may become diluted if they lose their expatriate customers.<sup>785</sup>

---

<sup>785</sup> *Japan Times*, July 20th 2010. 'Expatriate Clubs Boast Bygone Cachet'.

**Images:**

Fig. 1. Gathering of members November 118 after the Armistice of WWI. Kobe Club.





Fig. 2. A hunting party in Kobe circa 1870.



Fig. 3. The Kobe Races by Hasegawa Sadanobu II.



Fig. 4. The Kobe Club circa. 1880s.





Fig. 5. Winning Scottish Athletic Team, circa 1880. A. C. Sim seated bottom right.

## **Bibliography:**

### **Newspapers and Periodicals:**

*Asahi Shimbun, 1880*

*The Aberdeen Daily Journal, 1903*

*Banffshire Herald, 1900*

*Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal (NSW: 1851-1904), 1904*

*Chinese Times, 1890*

*Cricket (magazine), 1908*

*Dundee Evening Telegraph, 1901*

*The Daily Japan Herald, 1866*

*Edinburgh Evening Courant, 1859*

*Hiogo News, 1868-1878*

*Hiogo and Osaka News, 1868-1871*

*Hiogo and Osaka Herald, 1869*

*Japan Chronicle, Jubilee Edition, 1918*

*Japan Mail, 1873-1875*

*Japan Weekly Mail, 1871-1888*

*Japan Weekly Chronicle, 1931*

*Japan Gazette Semi-Centennial Edition, 1909*

*Japan Times, 2010-2013*

*Japan Times Overland Mail, 1869*

*Kobe Chronicle, 1894-1900*

*Melbourne Argus, 1867*

*Nagasaki Express, 1871-1899*

*New Zealand Herald, 1891*

*Pall Mall Gazette, 1888*

*Yokohama Echo (Magazine), 1981*

**Primary Sources:**

Abend, H. E. 1944. *Treaty Ports*, New York, Garden City.

Alcock, R. 1863. *The Capital of the Tycoon*, London, Longman, Green and Co.

Anon. 1892. *The Great Earthquake in Japan October 28th 1891*, Kobe

Anon. 1898. *Nippon Race Club Annual Meeting Minutes, 1898*. Yokohama

Anon. 1910. *The Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c: With which are Incorporated "The China Directory" and "The Hong Kong List for the Far East"*, Hong Kong.

Anon. 1927. *The Kobe Regatta and Athletic Club, founded 1870 : souvenir booklet issued on the occasion of the opening of the new gymnasium, on November 18th, 1927, the latest milestone in the progress of the club*, Kobe.

Anon. 1933. *Kobe - Premier Port of Japan*, Kobe, Kobe & Osaka Press.

Atkinson, H. (Homoco, Bishop of, pseudonym) 1879. *Revised and Enlarged Edition of Exercises in the Yokohama Dialect*, Yokohama.

Bird, I. 1880. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Edinburgh, Blackwood's.

Black, J. R. 1881. *Young Japan Vol 1 and 2: Yokohama and Yedo*, London, Trubner.

Braham, J, J. 1918. *The Surgeon's Log: impressions of the Far East*, London, Chapman and Hall.

Brownell, C. L. 1904. *The Heart of Japan*, London, Methuen and Co.

Chamberlain, B. H. 1908. *Japanese Things, Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan*, London, J. Murray.

Clarke, E. B. 1936. *Stray Leaves: Essays and Sketches*, Tokyo, Kenkyusha Co.

Clarke, J. 1918. *Japan at First Hand*, London, Dodd, Mead, and Co.

- Clifford, H. 1906. *Heroes of Exile: being certain rescued fragments of submerged romance*, London, Smith, Elder.
- Craddock, C. 1889. *Sporting Notes on the Far East*, London, Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welch.
- Cray, O. 1904. *Japan and its Regeneration*, New York, Student Volunteer Mission for Foreign Missions.
- Crowe, A. H. 1883. *Hiways and Byeways in Japan: the Experiences of Two Pedestrian Tourists*, London, Sampson Low.
- Dickens, C. Jr. 1879. *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, London, Frederick Evans.
- Dilke, C. W. 1868(88). *Greater Britain: a Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries During 1866 and 1867*, London, MacMillan and Co.
- Dixon, W. G. 1882. *Land of the Morning*, Edinburgh, James Gemmell.
- Dresser, C. 1882. *Japan, its Architecture, Art and Art-Manufactures*, London, Longman, Green.
- Dyce, C. M. 1906. *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in The Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd.
- Ernold, E. 1891. *Seas and Lands*, New York, Longman, Green and Co.
- Finck, H. T. 1895. *Lotos-time in Japan*, New York, Charles Scribner's and Sons.
- Foxwell, E. 1908. Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn, in Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London, Vol. VII, Seventeenth Session, 1907-1908. Part I
- Gower, R. 1885. *Notes on a Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama*, London, Kegan, Paul, Trench and Co.
- Griffis, W. H. 1876. *The Mikados Empire*, New York, Harper Bros.
- Groom, F. A. 1873. *The Sportsman's Diary for Shooting Trips in Northern China*, Shanghai.
- Gullick, S. L. 1903. *Evolution of the Japanese, social and psychic*, New York.
- Headland, C. 1903. *Ten Thousand Miles Through India and Burma: an account of the Oxford University Authentics' cricket tour with Mr. K.J. Key in the year of the Coronation Durbar*, London, J. M. Dent and Co.
- Hearn, L. 1896. *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin.

Hearn, L. 1906. *The Life and Letter of Lafcadio Hearn, Vol II by Elizabeth Bisland*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin.

Heco, J. 1903? *The Narrative of a Japanese: What has He has Seen and the People He has Met in the Course of the Last Forty Years*, edited by James Murdoch, San Francisco, American-Japanese Publishing Association.

Holtham, E. G. 1883. *Eight Years in Japan, Work, Travel, and Recreation*, London, Paul, Trench and Co.

James, D. H. 1925. *Annual Report of the Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club, Kobe*.

Island, E. (eds). 1910. *The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, London, Constable and Co.

Jernigan, T. R. 1908. *China in Law and Commerce*, Shanghai.

Jephson, R. M. & Elmhirst, E. P. 1869. *Our Life in Japan*. London, Chapman and Hall.

Jones, F. C. 1931. *Extraterritoriality in Japan and Other Diplomatic Relations*, London, Oxford University Press.

Kipling, R. 1889. *From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel, Part 1*, London, MacMillan.

Le Couteur, W. 1899. *To Nippon, the Land of the Rising Sun, by the N. Y. K: Guide book to Japan*, Sydney.

Leffingwell, A. 1892. *Rambles Through Japan Without a Guide*, London, Sampson, Low, Marston and Co.

Lloyd, A. 1909. *Every-Day Japan: Written After Twenty-Five Years Residence and Work in the Country*. London, Cassel and Company.

Maclay, A. C. 1889. *A Budget of Letters from Japan: reminiscences of work and travel in Japan*, New York, A. C. Armstrong.

Macquarie, L. 1792. *Journal No. 2: 26 March 1792 - 28 December 1794*, ML Ref: A768 pp. 161-174. Mitchell Library Sydney.

Mahlmann, J. J. 1918. *Reminiscences of an Ancient Mariner*, Yokohama, Japan Gazette Printing.

Mattock, A. T. 1911. *Japan for a Week (Britain Forever)*, London, J. Lane.

Maugham, S. 1924. *The Outstation*, London.

Maugham, S. 1935. *First Person Singular*, London, Heron.

Mayers, W. F. (et al.) 1867. *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan: a complete guides to the open ports of those countries, together with Peking, Yedo, Hong Kong and Macao*, London, Trübner and Co.

Mollison, J. P. 1909. *The Social Life of Yokohama in the Early Days*, in *Japan Gazette Yokohama Semi-Centennial*, Yokohama.

Mollison, J. P. 1930. *Speech Given to Members of the Yokohama Cricket and Athletic Club*, *Papers of the Harold S. Williams Collection*, National Library of Australia.

Morris, J. 1895. *Advance Japan: a Nation Thoroughly in Earnest*, London.

Moseley, H. N. 1879. *A Naturalist on the Challenger: an account of observations*, London, MacMillan and Co.

Moss, M. 1863. *Seizure by the Japanese of Mr. Moss and His Treatment by the Consul General*. London.

Muller, G. A. 1903. *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Muller, Vol. 1*, London.

Murray, G. T. 1906. *The Land of the Tatami*, Shanghai. North China Herald.

Sladen, D. 1895. *The Japs at Home*, London, Ward, Lock and Bowden.

Sladen, D. 1903. *Queer Japanese*, Sydney, Collins.

Sladen, D. 1904. *Queer Things About Japan*, London, Collins.

Sladen, D. 1904. *More Queer Things About Japan*, London, Collins.

Smith, G. 1861. *Ten Weeks in Japan*, London, Longman, Green, Longman.

Weston, W. 1896. *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps*, London.

Young, R. 1919. *The Foreigner in Japan*, in Morton-Cameron, W. H. (eds) *Present-Day Impressions of Japan*, London. pp. 411-412

### **Secondary Sources:**

Abe, I. 2008. *Muscular Christianity in Japan: the Growth of a Hybrid*, in McAloon, J. J. (eds). *Muscular Christianity in Colonial and Post-Colonial Worlds*, London, Routledge.

Adut, A. 2012. *A Theory of the Public Sphere*, in *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 30., No. 4 (December).

- Akita, S. 1996. 'Gentlemanly Capitalism', intra-Asian trade and Japanese Industrialisation at the turn of the last century, in *Japan Forum*, 8:1, pp. 51-65.
- Akita, S. (eds). 2002. *Gentlemanly Capitalism, Imperialism, and Global history*, New York, Palgrave.
- Ambaras, D. R. 1998. Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle-Class in Japan, 1895-1912, in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1. (Winter). pp. 1-33.
- Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*, University of Minnesota.
- Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities*, New York, Verso.
- Atsuo, S. 2004. School Sport, Physical Education and the Development of Football Culture in Japan, in Manzenreiter, W. & Horne, J. (eds), *Football Goes East: Business, Culture, and the People's Game in East Asia*, New York, Routledge.
- Auslin, M. R. 2004. *Negotiating With Imperialism: the Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy*, London, Harvard University Press.
- Badie, B. 2000. *The Imported State*, London.
- Barr, P. 1965. *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, London.
- Balyn, B. & Morgan, D (eds). 1991. *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, North Carolina.
- Bateman, A. 2009. *Cricket, Literature and Culture: Symbolising the Nation, Destabilising Empire*, London
- de Bary, T, Gluck, C, & Keene, D. 2001. *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. Columbia University Press.
- Beasley, W. G. 1951. *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan*. London. Luzac.
- Beattie, J, Mellilo, E. and O'Gorman, E.(eds). 2014. *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire*, New York and London, Bloomsbury.
- Betto, C. 2000. Marginal Westerners in Shanghai: the Baghdadi Jewish Community, in Bickers, R & Henriot, C (eds) *New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842-1953*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Bickers, R. 1992. *Changing British Attitudes to China and the Chinese, 1928-1931*, London, University of London Press.
- Bickers, R. 1998. Shanghailanders: the Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai 1843-1937, in *Past & Present*, No. 159 (May).

- Bickers, R. 1999. *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism 1900–1949*, Manchester. Manchester University Press.
- Bickers, R & Henriot, C (eds). 2000. *New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842-1953*, Manchester. Manchester University Press.
- Bickers, R. 2004. *Empire Made Me: an Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*, London. Penguin (electronic edition)
- Bickers, R. 2011. *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914*, London, Penguin (electronic edition.)
- Black, B. 2013. *A Room of His Own: Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland*, Athens, Ohio University Press.
- Blum, P. C. 1963. *Yokohama in 1872*, Tokyo, Asiatic Society of Japan.
- Booth, L. (eds). 2014. *The Shorter Wisden 2014: The Best Writing from Wisden Cricketers' Almanack 2014*, London, Wisden.
- Bowen, H. V. 2002, Gentlemanly Capitalism and the Making of a Global British Empire: Some Connections and Contexts, 1688-1815, in Akita, S (eds) *Gentlemanly Capitalism, Imperialism and Global History*, London, Palgrave.
- Briggs, A. 1965. *Victorian Cities*, London, University of California Press.
- Brock, W. R. 1982. *Scotus Americanus: a Survey of the Sources for Links Between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press
- Broeze, F. (eds).1991. *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from the 16th–20th Centuries*, Kensington, New South Wales University Press.
- Buckley, R. 2010. 'Competitors with the English Sporting Men.' *Civilisation, Enlightenment and Horse Racing: Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1860-2010*, in Cortazzi, H. (eds) *Britain and Japan Biographical Portraits VII*. London, Brill.
- Buettner, E. 2002. Haggis in the Raj: Private and Public Celebrations of Scottishness in Late Imperial India, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 81, No. 212, Part 2, pp. 212-239.
- Buruma, I. 2003. *Inventing Japan: 1853-1964*, London, Modern Library Chronicles.
- Cain, P. J & Hopkins, A. G. 1987. Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1945, in *The Economic History Review*, NS, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Feb).
- Cannadine, D. 1983. Context, Performance and the Meaning of Ritual: the British monarchy, in Hobsbawm, E & Ranger, T. (eds) *Invention of Tradition*, London, University of Columbia Press.



Cannadine, D. 1998, in *Class in Britain*, London, Penguin.

Cannadine, D. 2001. *Ornamentalism*, London, Penguin.

Carrol, J. M. 2005. *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials*, London, Harvard University Press.

Castells, M. 2008. The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 16, Public Diplomacy in a Changing World, (March) pp. 78-93.

Cattelain, E. 2014. *Key Concepts in Intercultural Dialogue*, No. 43, 2014, Center for Intercultural Dialogue.

Chang, R. T. 1984. *The Justice of the Western Consular Courts in Nineteenth Century Japan*, London, Greenwood Press.

Checkland, O. 1989. *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan*, Glasgow, University of Glasgow.

Checkland, O & Tamaki, N. 1997. Alexander Allan Shand, 1844-1930 - a Banker the Japanese Could Trust, in Nish, I. H (eds) *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Volume II*, London, Routledge.

Checkland, O. 2003. *Japan and Britain After 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges*, London, Routledge Curzon.

Cho, Y. (eds). 2015. *Football in Asia: History, Culture and Business*, New York, Routledge.

Coates, A. 1983. *The China Races*, Hong Kong, Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club.

Cobbing, A. 1998. *The Japanese Discovery of Victorian Britain*. London, Routledge.

Cobbing, A. 2005. Terashima Munenori, 1832-93: Master Of Early Meiji Diplomacy, in  
Cortazzi, H (eds). 2004. *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits, Volume V*, London, Japan Society, London.

Cohen, B. B. 2015. *In the Club: Associational life of Colonial South Asia*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Copeland, R. L. 2000. *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press.

Cortazzi, H. (eds) 1985. *Dr Willis in Japan: 1862-1877: British Medical Pioneer*, London, The Athlone Press.

- Cortazzi, H. 1988. *Kipling's Japan: Collected Writings*, London, Continuum.
- Cortazzi, H. (eds). 2002. *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits Vol. IV*, London, Curzon.
- Cortazzi, H (ed). 2004. *British Envoys in Japan, 1859-1972*, Kent, Japan Library.
- Cortazzi, H. 2004. Sir Francis Plunkett: Minister to Japan, 1884-7, in Cortazzi, H (ed) *British Envoys in Japan, 1859-1972*, Kent, Japan Library
- Cortazzi, H. 2005. *Collected Writings*, London, Routledge.
- Clark, P. 2000. *British Clubs and Societies, 1500-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Clifford, N. R. 1991. *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese revolution of the 1920s*, London, Middlebury College Press.
- Daniels, G. 1996. *Sir Harry Parkes: British Representative in Japan 1865-1883.*, Folkestone, Japan Library.
- Darwin, J. 2002. Globalism and Imperialism: the Global Context of British Power, 1830-1960, pp. 43-64, in Akita, S (eds) *Gentlemanly Capitalism, Imperialism and Global History*, London, Palgrave.
- Deinison, E. & Yu Ren, G. 2006. *Building Shanghai*, Chichester, Wiley-Academy.
- Denney, J, W. 2011. *Respect and Consideration*, Leicester, Radiance.
- Devine, T. M. 2012. *Scotland's Empire*, Edinburgh, Penguin.
- Dower, J. W. 2008. *Yokohama Boomtown*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Dulles, F. R. 1965. *Yankees and Samurai: America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan: 1791-1900*, New York, Harper and Row.
- Dunch, R. 2002: 310, in Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity, in *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Oct).
- Edström, B. 1998. *A Swede in Meiji Japan: Herman Trotzig (1832-1919)*, Revised Paper Presented at the 15th Conference of Historians of Asia, Jakarta, 27 Aug - 1 Sept 1998, and the 5th Conference of the Nordic Association of Japanese and Korean Studies, Stockholm, 2-4 October.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. 1987. *Patterns of Modernity*, London, Frances Pinter.
- Elias, N. 1982 (1939). *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilization, Vol. 1*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

- Ennals, P. 2014. *Opening a Window to the West: the foreign concession at Kobe, 1868-1899*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- Esenbel, S. 1994: 157-158, in *The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks During the 19<sup>th</sup> c.*, in *Japan Review*, 5, pp. 145-185.
- Fält, O. K. 1988. 'Image of Japan in Foreign Newspapers Published in Japan Before the Meiji Restoration', in Nish, I. (eds) *Contemporary Writing on Japan*, London, Paul Norbury Publications.
- Fält, O. K. 2015. The Racial Image of the Japanese in the Western Press Published in Japan, 1861-1881, in Kowner, R. & Demel, W. (eds) *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia: Interactions, Nationalism, Gender and Lineage*, Leiden. pp. 109-113.
- Fox, K. 1999. *The Racing Tribe: Watching the Horse Watchers*, London, Metro.
- Frank, L. 2012. *The Broadview Anthology of Victorian Prose, 1832-1901.*, Peterborough, Broadview Press.
- Franklin, J. M. 2011. *Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Fry, M. 2001. *The Scottish Empire*, Edinburgh, Birlinn.
- Galbraith, M. 2013. Death Threats Sparked Japan's First Cricket Game, in *Japan Times*, June 16th.
- Gardiner, M. 2008. *At the Edge of Empire: the Life of Thomas Blake Glover*, London, Birlinn.
- Glass, B. 2014. *Scottish Nation at Empire's End*, New York, Palgrave.
- de Goey, F. 2015. Western Merchants in the Foreign Settlements of Japan (c.1850–1890), in Bosma, U. et al. (eds.) *Commodities, Ports and Asian Maritime Trade Since 1750*, Northumbria University.
- Gong, H. 1984. China's Entry into International Society, in Bull, H & Watson, A (eds) *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford, Clarendon.
- Goodland, M. E. 2000. A Middle Class Cut in Two, in *ELH*, Vol. 67, No. 1.
- Gow, I. 1999. The Douglas Mission (1873-79) and Meiji Naval Education, in Hoare, J. E. (eds) *Britain and Japan Biographical Portraits, Vol. III*, Japan Society, London
- Green, N. 2013. Shared infrastructures, informational asymmetries: Persians and Indians in Japan, c.1890–1930, in *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 414-435.

Guth, M. E. C. 1996. Japan 1868-1945: Art, Architecture, and National Identity, in *Art Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 3, Japan 1868-1945: Art, Architecture, and National Identity (Autumn, 1996).

Guthrie-Shimizu, S. 2012. *Transpacific Field of Dreams: How Baseball Linked the United States and Japan in Peace and War*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina.

Guttman, A. 1994. *Games and Empires*, New York, Columbia University Press.

Guttman, A. & Thompson, L. 2001. Educators, Imitators, Modernisers: the Arrival and Spread of Modern Sport in Japan, in Mangan, J. A. (eds). *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies*, Vol. III, Glasgow, University of Strathclyde.

Guttman, A & Thompson, L. 2001. *Japanese Sports: a History*, Hawaii, University of Hawaii.

Habermas, J. 1962 (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, MIT Press.

Habermas, J. 1992. Further Reflections on the Public Sphere, in Calhoun, C. (eds.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Massachusetts, MIT Press.

Hann, J. H. 1984. *The Shanghai Municipal Council, 1850-1865*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch, vol. 24

Harland-Jacobs, J. 1999. "Hands across the Sea": The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World, in *Geographical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 2, Oceans Connect, pp. 237-253

Hasegawa, K. 1981. *Scenes of Old Kobe*, Tokyo, Prometheus.

Hawks, F. L. 2005. *Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan: Narrative of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*, London, Nonsuch Stroud.

Hayasaka, S. 1989. *Bunmei kaika uma monogatari: Negishi to Kyoryu gaikokujin*, Yokohama, Yurindo.

Heald, T. 1983. *Networks: who we know and how we use them*, London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Hoare, J. E. 1977. The Chinese in the Japanese Treaty Ports: the unknown majority, in Daniels G and Lowe, P (eds) *History and International Relations*, London.

Hoare, J. 1994. *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: the Uninvited Guests 1858-1899*, Folkestone, Japan Library.

Hoare, J. E. (eds) 1999. *Britain and Japan Biographical Portraits, Vol. III*, Japan Society, London, Japan Society.

- Hoare, J. 1999. Treaty Ports, Treaty Revision: Delusions of Grandeur?, in *The Revision of Japan's Early Commercial Treaties*, London, The Suntory Centre.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Hockley, A. 2010. *Felix Beato's Japan: Places, an Album by the Pioneer Foreign Photographer in Yokohama*, Boston, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Honjo, Y. A. 2003. *Japan's Early Experience of Contract Management in the Treaty Ports*, London, Japan Library.
- Hunt, R & Harrison, J (eds). 1980. *The District Officer in India, 1930-1947*, London, Scolar Press.
- Irokawa, D. 1985. *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- James, D. H. 1951. *Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*, London, George, Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
- Jones, H. J. 1968. 'The Formulation of the Meiji Government Policy Toward the Employment of Foreigners', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 23, No. 1-2, pp. 9-30
- Kayaoglu, T. 2007. *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kazuhiro, A. 2009. *Bunmei kaika to kindai keiba: Yokohamakaikō 150 shūnenkinen*, Yokohama, Yokohama, Uma no hakubutsukan-hen zaidanhōjin umagoto bunka zaidan.
- King, A. D. 1990. *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalisation of London*, London, Routledge.
- King, A. D. 1990. *Urbanism and the World Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*, London.
- Keevak, M. 2011. *Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking*, Princeton. Princeton University Press.
- Kennedy, D. K. 1996. *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj*, University of California Press.
- Latham, A. J. H. & Kawakatsu, H. (eds). 2009. *Intra-Asian Trade and Industrialization: Essays in Memory of Yasukichi Yasuba*, New York, Taylor and Francis.
- Lebra-Sugiyama, T. 1993. *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Japanese Nobility*, Los Angeles, University of California Press.

Leupp, G. P. 2003. *Interracial Intimacy: western men and Japanese women 1593-1900*, London, Continuum.

Lewis, S. L. 2009. Print and Colonial Port Cultures of the Indian Ocean Littoral: Penang and Rangoon, in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 82, No. 2 (297), [Peranakan Chinese in Penang and the Region] (December 2009)

Lyman, M. S. 2000. The 'Yellow Peril' Mystique: Origins and Vicissitudes of a Racist Discourse, in *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Summer).

MacFarlane, A. 2002. *The Making of the Modern World: Visions from the West and East*, London, Palgrave.

MacKenzie, J. 1988. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Mackillop, A. 2006. Europeans, Britons and Scots: Scottish Sojourning Networks and Identities in Asia, c. 1700-1815, in McArthy, A (eds), *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identity Since the Eighteenth Century*, London, I. B. Taurius.

MacPherson, T. D's. 2005. *Year Book of the Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland 2005*, Edinburgh

Mangan, J. A. 1975. Athleticism: a Case Study of an Educational Ideology, in Simon, B. (eds) *The Victorian Public School*, London, Penguin.

Mangan, J. A. 1975. Play up and Play the Game: Victorian and Edwardian Public School Vocabularies of Motive, in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Oct 1975)

Mangan, J. A. 1981. *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*, Cambridge, Palgrave.

Mangan, J. A. 1992. Prologue: Britain's Chief Spiritual Export: Imperial Sport as Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond, in J.A.Mangan (eds), *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, London, Palgrave.

Mangan, J. A. (eds). 2001. *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies*, Vol. III, Glasgow, University of Strathclyde.

Mangan, J. A. 2005. *Sport in Asian Society*, London, Routledge.

Manthorpe, V. 1986. *Travels in the Land of the Gods: 1898-1907: The Japan Diaries of Richard Gordon Smith*, London.

Manzenreiter, W. & Horne, J. (eds). 2004. *Football Goes East: Business, Culture, and the People's Game in East Asia*, New York, Routledge.

Martinez, D. P (eds). 1998. *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Masahiro, T. 1990. Normanton Incident, in *The Comprehensive National History Reference*, Vol. 11. Nita-Hi. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

McAloon, J. J. (eds). 2008. *Muscular Christianity in Colonial and Post-Colonial Worlds*, London, Routledge.

McArthur, I. 2013. *Henry Black: On Stage in Meiji Japan*, Melbourne, Monash University Press.

McDevitt, P. F. 2004. *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935*, London, Palgrave.

McDonald, H. 2014. *A War of Words: the man who talked 4000 Japanese into surrender*, University of Queensland Press.

McKay, A. 1993. *Scottish Samurai*, Edinburgh, Canongate Press.

Milne-Smith, A. 2011. *London Clubland: a Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late Victorian Britain*, London, Palgrave.

Moore, J. G. 1988. Indians in Eastern Australia, in Jump, J (eds). *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Cambridge University Press.

Moore-Gilbert, B. J. 1986. *Kipling and 'Orientalism'*. London, Croom Helm

Morais, I. 2014. Darwinism, Freemasonry and Print Culture: the Construction of Identity of the Macanese Colonial Elites in the late Nineteenth Century, in Wei, G. C. X (eds) *Macao: the Formation of a Global City*, London, Routledge.

Munson, T. S. 2012. *The Periodical Press in Treaty-Port Japan: Conflicting Reports from Yokohama, 1861-1870*, Leiden, Global Orient.

Murphy K.1994. *Neither Out Far nor in Deep: The American Merchant Experience in Nineteenth Century Japan*, (PhD. Thesis) University of Maryland.

Nightingale, C. H. 2012. *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*, University of Chicago.

Nish, I.1966. *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance: The Diplomacy of Two Island Empires 1894-1907*, London. Athlone Press.

Nish, I (eds). 1997. *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits II*, London, Athlone Press.

Nish, I. 2002. *Collected Writings of Richard Storry*, Surrey, Japan Library.

Nishihara, D. 2005: 244, in Said, Orientalism, and Japan, in *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, No. 25, *Edward Said and Critical Decolonization*, pp. 241-253.

Noakes, A. 1954. *Sportsman in a Landscape*, London.

Nobuhiro, N. 1998. 'The Cult of Oguricap or How Women Changed the Social Value of Japanese Horse-Racing', in Martinez, D. P (eds) *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures*, Cambridge.

Noboru, K. 2002. Three Meiji Marriages between Japanese Men and English Women, in Cortazzi, H. (eds.) *Britain and Japan, Biographical Portraits Volume IV*, London.

Notehelfer, F. G. (eds) 1992. *Japan Through American Eyes: The Journals of Francis Hall, Kanazawa and Yokohama 1859-1866*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Numata, J & Matsuzawa, H. (eds) 1974. *Seiyo Kenbunshu, Nihon Shiso Taikei*, vol. 66, Tokyo.

Orwell, G. 1934: 14, *Burmese Days*, London, Penguin.

Page, A. 2009. Enlightenment, Empire and Lachlan Macquaries' Journey Through Persia and Russia, in *History Australia*, Volume 6, Number 3.

Peckham, R. 2014. Game of Empires: Hunting in Treaty-Port China, in Beattie, J, Mellilo, E. and O'Gorman, E.(eds), *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire*, New York and London, pp. 202-232

Perez, Louis G. 2000. *Japan Comes of Age: Mutsu Munemitsu and the Revision of the Unequal Treaties*. Madison, Dickson University Press.

Poole, O. M. 1968. *The Death of Old Yokohama*, New York, George, Allen and Unwin.

Pope-Hennessy, J. 1969. *Half Crown Colony: a Hong Kong Notebook*, London, Jonathan Cape.

Rai, A. 1983. Colonial Fictions: Orwell's 'Burmese Days', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 18, No. 5, pp. 47-52.

Ranzan, D. A, Walter, J. A, & McDonough, J. J. 2013. *With Commodore Perry to Japan: The Journal of William Speiden Jr.. 1852-1855*. Annapolis, Naval Institute Press.

Regal, J. 2004. *The Genius of Mr. Punch: Life in Yokohama's foreign settlement, Charles Wirgman and the Japan Punch, 1862-1887*. Yokohama, Yurindo.

Rich, P. J. 1991. *Chains of Empire: English public schools, Masonic Cabalism, Historical Causality, and Imperial Clubdom*, London, Regency Press.



- Richards, E. 1985. Australia and the Scottish Connection, 1788-1914, in Cage, R. A. (eds) *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise*. New Hampshire, MacMillan.
- Ritchie, D. 1994. *The Honorable Visitors*, New York, Appleton and Co.
- Rogaski, R. 2004. *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China*, University of California.
- Ryan, G. 2004. *The Making of New Zealand Cricket: 1832-1914*, London.
- Ruxton, I. 2002. Sir Ernest Satow (1843-1929) in Tokyo, 1895-1900, in Cortazzi, H. (eds) *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits Vol. IV*, London.
- Ruxton, I. C. 2005. *Correspondence of Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister in Japan, 1895-1900*, London, Lulu Press Inc..
- Ruxton, I. C. 2007. *The Semi-Official Letters of British Envoy Sir Ernest Satow from Japan and China, 1895-1906*, North Carolina, Edwin Mellen Press.
- Ruxton, I. C. 2010. *The Diaries of Ernest Satow, British Minister in Tokyo (1895-1900)*, North Carolina, Edwin Mellen Press.
- Schwartz, B. 2011. *White Man's World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Satow, E. 1921. *A Diplomat in Japan*, London, Seeley, Service and Co.
- Schulz-Foberg, H. & Strath, B. 2010. *The Political History of European Integration: the Hypocrisy of Democracy-through-market*, New York, Routledge.
- Sharp, I. 1985. *The Singapore Cricket Club*, Singapore.
- Shaw, R. 1973. *Sin City*, London, Everest.
- Sheppard, S. T. 1916. *The Byculla Club, 1833-1916: A History*, Bombay.
- Shikano, Y. 2007. Currency, Wage Payments, and Large Funds Settlement in Japan, 1600-1868, in Lucassen, J. & Lang, P. (eds). *Wages and Currency: Global Comparisons from antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, London, Bern.
- Shimazu, N. 1999. *Japan, Race, and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919*, London, Routledge.
- Shively, D. 1971. The Japanization of the Middle Meiji, in Shively, D (eds) *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, London, Sage.
- Sinha, M. 1995. *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate' Bengali in the Late Nineteenth Century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

- Sinha, M. 2001. *Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India*, in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4.
- Sramek, J. 2006. "Face Him Like a Briton": Tiger Hunting, Imperialism, and British Masculinity in Colonial India, in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4
- St. John, C. H. 1880. *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Nippon*, Edinburgh.
- Steadman, J. 1969. *The Myth of Asia*, New York, Simon and Schuster.
- Stockwell, A. J. 1982. The White Man's Burden and Brown Humanity: Colonialism and Ethnicity in British Malaya, in *Southeast Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 10, No. 1.
- Strange, S. 1988. *States and Markets*, London, Blackwell.
- Suganami, H. 1984. Japan's Entry into International Society, in Bull, H. and Watson, A. (eds) *The Expansion of International Society*, pp. 185-199. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Suzuki, S. 2005. Japan's Socialization into Janus-Faced European International Society, in *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 11, 1.
- Swanson, B. (eds). 2012. *A Plain Sailor in China: The Life of and Times of Cdr. I.V. Gillis, USN*, Annapolis.
- Tanada, S. 1988. 'Diffusion into the Orient: the introduction of western sports in Kobe, Japan', in the *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 5: 3, pp. 372-376.
- Tai, R. 2013. *Gaikokujin Kyoryuchi to Kobe*, Kobe.
- Takagi, M. 1996. *Haikara Kōbe o tsukutta otoko A. C shimu no shimin seikatsu, supōtsu, borantia katsudō*, Kobe.
- Tamura, K. 2008. *Forever Foreign*, National Library of Australia.
- Taylor, J. E. 2002. The Bund: Littoral Space of Empire in the Treaty Ports of Asia, in *Social History*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (May), pp. 125-142.
- Teng, E. J. 2013. *Eurasian: Mixed Identities in the United States, China, and Hong Kong, 1842–1943*, University of California Press.
- Thomas, J. L. Rev. 1895. *Journeys Among the Gentle Japs in the Summer of 1895: with a special chapter on the religions of Japan*, London.
- Toht, B. 2001. *Daily Life in Ancient and Modern London*, London
- Turner, E. 2012. *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy*, New York.

Veblen, T. 1899. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York.

Warr, A. 2007. *Shanghai Architecture*. Sydney.

Watanabe, T. 1996. Josiah Conder's Rokumeikan: Architecture and National Representation in Meiji Japan, in *Art Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 3, Japan 1868-1945: Art, Architecture, and National Identity.

Williams, H. S. 1958. *Tales of the Foreign Settlements*, Tokyo.

Williams, H. S. 1963. *Foreigners in, Mikadoland*, Tokyo.

Williams, H. S. 1969. *The Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club: the first 100 years*, Kobe.

Williams, H. S. 1972. Kobe's Grandest Ball, in *The Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan*, February. pp. 35-40

Williams, H. S. 1973(?). Shades of the Past: the Introduction of Baseball into Japan, in *American Chamber of Commerce Japan Magazine*, Kobe.

Williams, H. S. 1975. *The Kobe Club*, Kobe.

Williams, H. S. 1978. *The Foreign Cemeteries of Kobe and Osaka*, Kobe.

Woodcock, G. 1969. *The British in the Far East*, London.

Yamamoto, Y. 1997. Inoue Masaru - 'Father' of the Japanese Railways, in Nish, I (eds) *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits II*, London

Yamashita, T. 1998. *Kobe-ko to Kobe Gaikokujin Kyoryuchi*, Kobe..

Zha, Q. 2004. Foreign Influences on Japanese and Chinese Higher Education, in *Higher Education Perspectives*, Vol 1, No 1, pp. 1-15.

### **Ancillary Sources:**

*British Consular Court Record 1871-5*. Hyogo Prefectural Library, Kobe.

F.O. 262/1504 *Nippon Race Club Spring Meeting 1919* (Foreign Office Record of the British Government.)

*K. R. & A. C. War File (Misc. papers concerning the club's legal position regarding the Recreation Ground)*. Privately held by former club president Deepu Sadhwani, Kobe.

*Papers of Harold S. Williams*. MS6681/2/74-79 (Yokohama); MS6681/1/114 (Shioya); MS6681/3/14+26 (Misc.); MS6681/3/1 (Dutronquoy.); MS6681/2/83 (Kobe Club.); MS6681/2/41 (Freemasonry); MS6681/1/64 (James, D. H); MS6681/1/50/8

(Misc.); MS6681/1/7 (Baseball); MS6681/2/44-49 (K. R. & A. C); MS6681/3/49 (Sim, A. C.), National Library of Australia.

Lepach, B. 2016. Meiji-Portraits, <http://www.meiji-portraits.de/> (accessed and received throughout 2014-2016)\* This resource is a not-for-profit history project by Bernard Lepach. The site is an invaluable source for those interested in the history of the foreign population of Japan.