

**The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow,
British Envoy in Peking (1900-06)**

In Two Volumes (Paperback, hardcover and download)

[Volume One](#): 1900-03

[Volume Two](#): 1904-06

Edited and Annotated by [Ian C. Ruxton](#)

With an Introduction by James E. Hoare

Hardcover: [Volume One](#); [Volume Two](#)

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The Peking Legation in the 1880s, but much as Satow would have seen it after repairs following the Siege in 1900 (Picture from an album in the British Embassy, courtesy of J.E. Hoare)



Satow meets Viceroy Chang Chih-tung on board the Royal Navy cruiser H.M.S. Eclipse at Nanking (now Nanjing 南京) inland on the Yangtze river. This photograph is of astonishing quality and is interleaved in the diary entry for November 27, 1902. (Publication rights purchased by the author Ian Ruxton from the National Archives of the UK in March 2006.)

Identities of persons photographed (best guesses)

Front Row (left to right): F. E. Wilkinson of the China consular service; Admiral Harry T. Grenfell, second in command on the China station; Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909), Viceroy of Liangjiang; Sir Ernest Satow; unknown consular official (S.F. Mayers? W.P.M. Russell?)

Second Row (left to right): One of the Chinese must be Chang's interpreter Liang, mentioned in the diary. The naval captain behind Satow is possibly Captain Stokes, mentioned in the diary, who was later Rear Admiral Robert H. S. Stokes (1855-1914). The British consular official is probably either S.F. Mayers or W.P.M. Russell.

The Diaries of Sir Ernest Satow, British Envoy in Peking (1900-06)
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Brief outline of Satow's life and career

1843	Born in London (June 30)
1862-83	Japan consular service
1884-87	Siam (Thailand) – steps up from the Japan consular service to the diplomatic service
1889-93	Uruguay
1893-94	Morocco
1895-1900	Japan
1900-06	China
1907	Second Hague Peace Conference – British delegate. Appointed (but did not serve) for six years British member of the Court of Arbitration at the Hague.
1907-29	Ottery St. Mary (retirement)
1929	Dies at Ottery (August 26).

See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernest_Mason_Satow for more in detail.

EDITORIAL PREFACE

It is with much pleasure that the publication is hereby announced of the Peking (Beijing) diaries (1900-06) of Her ('His' after Queen Victoria's death in 1901) Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Sir Ernest Mason Satow, G.C.M.G. (1843-1929). One important reason for their publication this year - apart from it being exactly one hundred years since the last entries were penned - is to celebrate the installation with effect from January 16, 2006 of Sir Christopher Hum K.C.M.G., late H.B.M. Ambassador to China, as the 41st Master of the author's *alma mater* Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge University. Sir Ernest Satow was one of Sir Christopher's most illustrious and distinguished predecessors as Britain's envoy to China, and another Master of Caius College in the 20th century was the great Sinologist Joseph Needham. So the Anglo-Chinese (or Sino-British) connections evoked here are both important and many.

These diaries begin with Satow just about to leave Tokyo after five years of service as envoy there. One reason for this is that I have already published his Japan diaries through Edition Synapse of Tokyo in 2003, and this book taken together with the previous one is intended to form an unbroken personal record of his service in both Eastern capitals, including the period when he was back in England between the two postings in 1900. The previous book appeared in hardback format, and as a single volume. This one is a paperback, at least for now, because I am keen that as many people as possible shall have the chance to gain access to these fascinating diaries and own personal copies if they so wish. Naturally the difference in price for a two-volume set of just over 800 pages is considerable as between the two formats, and the cost of a hardback edition would likely limit the potential buyers to university libraries and institutions for the most part.

I am most grateful to Dr. James Hoare for kindly agreeing to write a scholarly introduction. His knowledge of the British presence in China during this period is, I believe, unparalleled and his expert eye has looked over the manuscript and offered many helpful comments and corrections, as well as valuable suggestions for the bibliography.

In a book of this great length there are sure to be errors, all the more so because the transcription is from microfilms and digital images, with checking in case of doubt performed against the venerable handwritten originals (held in the National Archives of the United Kingdom, formerly the Public Record Office). Every effort has been made to ensure that these errors are kept to the barest minimum, but any which have survived are mine, and mine alone.

[Ian C. Ruxton](#) (sometime Scholar of Gonville
and Caius College, Cambridge)
Kyushu Institute of Technology, Japan
March 2006

Sir Ernest Satow's Peking diaries (Volume I, 1900-1903)

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INTRODUCTION

Sir Ernest Satow's appointment as Minister to Tokyo in 1895 was understandable in terms of his background and skills. He was the foremost scholar of Japanese to have emerged from the Japan Consular Service, which he had joined in 1862. Although subsequently given diplomatic status, and eventually to serve as Minister in Thailand (Siam), Uruguay and Morocco, in the eyes of the Foreign Office, he remained above all an expert on Japan, and with Britain's relations expected to move to a new level after the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1894, it made sense to have Satow in Japan. From a personal point of view too, Japan seemed an obvious choice. Satow's Japanese family, although not formally acknowledged, was important to him, while his many friends from his earlier years in the country now occupied important positions. With his command of Japanese, he would be able to make good use of these connections in subsequent years. He does not seem to have enjoyed his earlier ministerial postings in Bangkok, Montevideo and Tangier, and in any case, he would have been aware that, with his relatively lowly family and consular background, he would not progress very far in the still heavily aristocratic diplomatic service. It was significant that when applying to the Treasury for a pension for Satow in autumn 1906, the Foreign Office noted that he had served at two first class posts, Tokyo and Peking.¹

Yet he was not the obvious choice for the Beijing (Peking) embassy in 1900. He had never served in China, despite a brief stay there as a student interpreter on the way to the Japan consular service in January-September 1862², and there were others who thought that they had as good a claim. Some were suspicious of his scholarly interests, which seemed to point to a less than robust approach to Asians³. Satow had acquired a reputation of being out of sympathy with the tough policies associated with his former chief in Tokyo, Sir Harry Parkes, the darling of the treaty ports. Whereas Parkes had believed that a constant show of force was necessary in dealing with 'Orientals', Satow favoured a polite and less blustering approach. He was very much a product of his period, for example in his lack of doubt that China should be punished for the Imperial support for the Boxer uprising, but he also believed in good manners and diplomatic proprieties, and that the Chinese had rights as well. In the Chinese treaty ports and among their representatives in Britain, it was also believed that Satow would be less willing than some of his predecessors to support British merchants' interests, and when his proposed appointment to Peking became public knowledge, there was a brief campaign among some 'Old China Hands' to object⁴. This came to nothing but the

¹ See the papers in National Archives, Foreign Office Records FO366/1140/34164 of 1906.

² See Ch. 1, *The Diaries and Letters of Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929): A Scholar-Diplomat in East Asia*, ed. I. Ruxton (The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998).

³ Cyril Pearl, *Morrison of Peking* (Harmondsworth, Middx: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 140.

⁴ Nathan A. Pelcovits, *Old China Hands and the Foreign Office* (New York: American Institute of

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suspicions remained. Satow, for his part, was well aware that the China post, given Britain's large commercial interests in the country, the great number of Britons who resided there, and their dominance of the treaty ports, would be a more challenging appointment than Tokyo. There was also a much larger and more widely spread consular service to manage.

When Satow was approached about the Peking post, the Boxer uprising was scarcely more than a small cloud on the horizon. By mid-summer 1900, that had changed. The attacks on foreigners and the siege of the legations from 20 June to 14 August increased the importance of Satow's appointment. His predecessor, Sir Claude MacDonald, who had played a major role during the siege, was due to go to Tokyo, but for a time there were doubts about whether he and his colleagues had survived the siege. If this had happened, Satow, like the senior officers in the Foreign Office, was prepared to punish severely the Chinese court and others involved – despite his previous strong views about Sir Harry Parkes, in July 1900, Satow wrote that 'the old gunboat policy was the right one'. He would modify this view once he was in China.

MacDonald survived and went directly to Tokyo in early autumn 1900. After a hectic social and family round in Britain, Satow left for China, with stops in the United States, Canada and Japan – where he was warmly welcomed by his former colleagues – he arrived in China in late September 1900. After a brief stop in Shanghai, he moved up to Peking, and began work. He was in a somewhat anomalous position, since he could not present his credentials as minister. The Imperial court had fled from Peking as the allies suppressed the Boxer uprising but even if it had remained, the allies thought of themselves as at war with the court. So from September 1900 until January 1902, Satow was technically not the British minister but rather the British High Commissioner for negotiations leading to the settlement of the foreign claims arising from the Boxer uprising. This had little effect on his standing among his colleagues, but it gave rise to the sort of minor diplomatic questions that would eventually be discussed in his great post retirement work, *Guide to Diplomatic Practice*.

Indeed, one of the striking features of the Peking diaries is the frequency with which Satow made notes on issues of protocol and similar. As well as noting long conversations on political and economic matters, he paid careful attention to how he and his fellow members of the diplomatic corps dressed on various occasions. Protocol at the Imperial court in Peking clearly intrigued him, and he always recorded the relevant positions of the Empress Dowager and the Emperor; the former clearly took precedence over the nominal ruler of China! He also observed the jockeying among his colleagues over issues of precedence, including the precedence of spouses.

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But as before, the main interest of the diaries is in more substantive issues than disputes about which lady should go first at an Imperial reception. Many of the earlier entries are concerned with the negotiations over what became the Boxer Protocol of 1901, and the subsequent issues that arose over the status of the Peking Legation Quarter, the stationing of foreign troops in China for protection purposes, and the Chinese indemnity – curiously enough, as early as December 1902, the question of the eventual return of at least part of the indemnity was already under consideration. None of these issues ever disappear, but others crowd in as well. The Russo-Japanese tension over the Russian presence in Manchuria, and the consequent Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, receive much attention. Satow's Japanese contacts were especially useful in providing insight on these issues. Satow understood the Japanese position, and like most Britons of his generation, he had a strong suspicion of the Russians. Yet he was no uncritical supporter of the Japanese position. After the Japanese defeat of the Russians, and their establishment of a protectorate in Korea, he recorded, with demur, some very hostile comments about Japanese behaviour in the peninsula.

Missionary matters were an issue of concern. Satow was by 1900 a firm Anglican, but was also prepared to admit that he had contemplated becoming a Roman Catholic. He clearly had good relations with many of the Anglican missionaries, but he was also aware of some of the problems caused by over zealous missionaries, and especially by the practice of missionaries supporting their congregations in what were essentially secular matters. He had discussed such issues in Rome on his way back to Peking after his 1903 leave, and he regularly raised the matter with his French colleagues, while warning his Anglican missionary contacts of the dangers of such entanglements.

Railways, and railway concessions, increasingly feature in the diaries as the years pass. Trains became a fact of Peking life after 1900, and Satow mentions a number of his own journeys by train, and that the Chinese delegation to King Edward VII's coronation in 1902 set off by special train – something that would have been unthinkable just a year or two previously. He recorded long discussions on railway issues with the Chinese authorities, with eager British businessmen, and with his diplomatic colleagues. On a more minor scale, there were discussions with the Chinese about where and where not railway lines might enter Peking.

The Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs was another important issue. Satow seems to have at first thought that the venerable Sir Robert Hart, the British Inspector-General of the Customs, was past his best. Gradually, however, his views changed, and he became steadily less critical of Hart. The question of a successor as Inspector-General was a thorny one and perhaps Satow's warming to Hart was partly to put off the issue of deciding on who should succeed. Satow also took some interest in the affairs of the customs at the ports. From 1903-04, the question of Tibet and its status

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features, with the Chinese very concerned over the Younghusband expedition and an apparent British expansionist policy, and the British about the Dalai Lama, who fled to India after being deposed by the Chinese.

Satow also had responsibilities for the British China Consular Service, though this is less obvious from his diaries than from his semi-official and official correspondence. Nevertheless, consular concerns over matters such as promotion and leave, as well as some personality clashes, intrude from time to time. Although he acquired a reputation for being somewhat demanding and unsympathetic towards the China Consular Service¹, he could be kind on a personal level. He was godfather to one of W. Ker's children and notes the provision of cakes and shortbread for another consular officer's daughter. Visiting consular staff were often invited to stay in the residence. However, when the language students did not reply promptly to an invitation to Christmas lunch, the invitation was cancelled.

Satow the man is less in evidence, except when he recounts his time on leave. He clearly enjoyed renewing family connections on such occasions, even if they sometimes brought problems, and he relished events such as his reception by the King at Windsor, sitting for his caricature by 'Spy' for *Vanity Fair*, and other signs that he had arrived. At the same time, he kept up with old colleagues and acquaintances such as W. G. Aston and F. V. Dickins. He mentions book-buying expeditions while on leave but does not seem to have been interested in Chinese curios or books. He played bridge with his diplomatic colleagues, enjoyed the cottage that he rented not far from Peking, and describes walks on the city wall and elsewhere with evident relish. After an unexplained three-year gap, he began to ride again in 1904. His well-established interest in botany remained strong. But he was also frequently ill, with colds and stomach problems serious enough to keep him in bed for days, and suffered a serious fall from his horse on one occasion. He turned 60 in 1903, and although in those days, some diplomatic and consular officers served beyond that and Satow was kept on for another two years, he seems to have been ready to retire when the call came in 1906. He had not become as attached to the Chinese as he had to the Japanese and there were other things to do. Although some scholars have regretted that Satow's evident skills were not again deployed in a diplomatic role, there can be little doubt that his time as British representative at the Second International Peace Conference at the Hague in 1907 provided an important and useful service to his country.²

¹ P. D Coates, *The China Consuls: British Consular Officers 1843-1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 445-46.

² See Nigel Brailey, 'Sir Ernest Satow and the 1907 Second Peace Conference' in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (June 2002), pp. 201-228 (pub. Frank Cass, London).

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Satow's Japanese language skills, honed over his long residence in Japan, were the envy of his colleagues and a source of great admiration and wonderment to the Japanese themselves. He was without doubt the most talented linguist in the Japan consular service, and probably in the whole foreign community. In the Peking diaries we find several names written by him in the original Chinese characters, many of which are not used in Japanese. He was also surely able to read complex Chinese documents on his own. It is not clear, however, whether he had a reasonable command of spoken Chinese. It seems likely that he relied to a fair degree on his Chinese Secretary and assistants as interpreters, if only to give himself time to think.

Scholars of East Asian history have long used Satow's diaries, but hitherto there has been limited access to them. In a most welcome development, Ian Ruxton and his publishers have now made this valuable resource available to a much wider audience. I suspect that Satow, who made careful arrangements for the preservation of his official papers, would have been pleased.

J E Hoare

HM Diplomatic Service 1969-2003.

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[Satow returns from Japan to England via Canada.]

- 4 May By 9.25 to Yokohama along with Orfini. Lots of people to say goodbye. d'Anethans and the Legation with us. Saw [John H.] Gubbins for a few moments; he went off in the "Centurion" to Wei-hai-wei, no time for any talk. Told him about Peking, of which he evidently had not heard. Lunched with Bonar and went off in the "Endymion's" barge. Left a quarter to five, the Endymion and an Italian man of war firing salutes as we passed. "Empress of India", [Captain] Marshall.
- 8 May Wind up to yesterday and a certain amount of malaise from the motion. Today no wind, but mist over the water. About 130 first class passengers. Montgomerie & his wife, late of the "Bonaventure" on board, Pritchard-Morgan M.P., Henningsen of the Gt. Northern Teleg. Co. I sailed in this ship ["Empress of India"] this time three years ago [see diary for May 7, 1897].
- 15 [May] Arr. Victoria Quarantine station at 5.30 a.m. Very few days during the journey when we had not the fiddles on the dinner tables, and yesterday a headwind with rain, so much pitching, but at 7 got into small water. Otherwise a fair wind always. Abt. ½ past 6 went on board for a walk and found quantities of what looked like asphodil of a dark purple colour, also larkspur, various vetches, a stone crop yellow, double red daisies, buttercups, a small blue flower with pods like lupin. Trees, spruce, oak and arbutus, the latter of very great size.
- 16 [May] Arrd. Vancouver early in the morning. Walked abt. the town with Orfini, and lunched at the Hotel. A fine day, with strong wind, rather cold. Private car "Champlain" lent me by Sir Wm. Van Horne. Had Mrs. Ricketts to dinner, wife of an engineer on the Chinese Govt. Railways at Shanhaikwan.
- 17 [May] At Winnipeg. W.R. Baker representative of T.H. Shaughnessy, President of the Company and the Premier Hugh John Macdonald took Orfini and self for a drive round the city, and we called on the Lieut. Genl. Mr. Paterson.
- 21 [May] Arrd. at Montreal. Sir W. Van Horne came to meet me at the station and took me to his house to stop.
- 22 [May] Paid \$200 additional on my passage by "Teutonic" from New York, went to Bank & drew a bill for £60. In the afternoon Lady Van Horne took me for a drive to Mount Royal, and thro' the residential portion of the town. Left cards on the Shaughnessys. Off to New York by 7 o'clock train.

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23 [May] Arrd. New York at nine, drove round by Brentanos & bought some books. Then to "Teutonic". Wileman came to talk abt. his eyes, wch. may necessitate a journey to England. Promised to support his application for leave if necessary. Sailed at noon.

31 [May] [Satow reaches England.] Arrd. Liverpool after a fair passage. Made the acquaintance of Mr. & Mrs. James Amory Moore of New York (38 East 35 the Street), who know the Peter Barlows & the Chas. Dodges. F.C. Jennings a retired tea merchant (also of New York), B.S. Guinness, Rev. Chas. M. Sheldon (Kansas), & Mr. H. Walter of Baltimore, a collector of lacquer and porcelain, the latter chiefly Chinese.

Charlie & Sam met me at the station & I drove to my flat rented from Miss Maye Gorton at 11 Portland Place. To F.O. Saw Bertie, Sanderson, Cockerell, F. Campbell, Hon. St. John Brodrick, Foley, Monk-Button and Eric Barrington. Found that it is all settled abt. the exchange betw. Macdonald & myself, the former going to Japan about September. Tower is to go out as 2nd Sec. & will succeed Bax-Ironside as 1st.

Bertie seemed to think the news from Peking abt. the Boxers serious, and that the Powers will have to use such strong measures agst. the Empress-Dowager as will bring China to the ground & hasten on partition. The Germans seem to want more than Shantung and to come south. He talked of a massacre of foreigners at Peking. I said the mob could not force the gates. The Empress-D[owager] he believes encourages the Boxers sous-main. (But a later teleg. said the Chin. Govt. consented to foreign guards to the Legations coming to Peking. So the danger would seem to be over for the present.)

The Shimonoseki consulate & medical officer in Nagasaki are to be sanctioned. To discuss after Whitsuntide ⁷ with Cockerell and Villiers.

St. John Brodrick anxious to know whether Japan wld. fight Russia abt. Masanpho. I gave it as my opinion that she wld. not act in any case before 1903 when their fleet & army will have attained their full expansion, and even then only if England backs her up. We talked a little abt. the War in S. Africa and I suggested that Lord Roberts' censure of Buller in the Spion Kop desp. was in order to give him an opportunity of resigning, as I had heard a disquieting rumour abt. him. He said that various things had completely destroyed B's military reputation. Nothing went right until the civilians took matters out of Ld. Wolseley's hands, & passing by him appted. Roberts & Kitchener.

My apptmt. to Peking does not seem to have gone before the under-secretaries (Villiers did not mention it) & the P.S. So I suppose it will be some time before it is made public.

⁷ Whitsun is the seventh Sunday after Easter, and the week that follows that Sunday. In 1900 it was early in June.

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Thanked Barrington for the complimentary terms of his teleg. He said Macdonald is delighted to go to Tokio, & hoped I shld. not mind Peking. I said that it wld. be interesting in many ways. Proposed to go out mid-September & work my way up from Canton visiting the ports, so as to get to Peking end of November, unless there was some reason for going out earlier. This was agreed to.

Wilkinson's apptmt. as judge has been laid before the Queen. They are going to cut down his salary & try to get rid of his son as Crown Advocate. I said that I understood fr. H.S.W. that he wld. arrange this. Barrington said Bax-Ironside has not behaved well to Macdonald, & that he was not quite a gentleman, but spoke highly of Tower who is to replace him.

Gubbins' apptmt. to Corea was touch & go. The day after he had been told Macdonald telegd. recommending Fulford.

Went to see Emma Sturges, & then to dinner at Oriental Club where I found Dick Beynon.

June 1900

- 1 June Stayed in all the morning waiting for Agneta, then to order gloves &c. at Greggs', lunched at Club, to tailor and then into the city to see Shand & find out abt. the state of my balance. Back to Hatchards to order books. Called on Mrs. Thursby & to dine with the Tom Murphys, previous to going to see Mrs. Patrick Campbell in "Magda". At dinner his brother Capt. James Murphy, a well-read retired soldier.
- 2 June To see [R.K.] Douglas. Told him under seal of secrecy about Peking, at wch. he expressed his great delight. His youngest boy, 17, is a midy on board the "Centurion". Went to have a chat with Mrs. Thursby, and after lunch wrote my name at Marlborough House, York House and on the Queen at Buckingham Palace.
- Lady Chas. Beresford, whom B.S. Guinness my fellow traveller asks me to go down to Ham House to spend afternoon and dine on Sunday next. Wrote that I shld. prob. be out of town, but wld. write & let her know.
- Down to Oxford by 4.45 express to stay over Whitsuntide with the Tozers.
- 3 June Laburnum, scarlet thorn, may, lilac, horse chestnut, mountain ash all in bloom and the air full of their perfume. A multitude of thrushes, blackbirds and other small singing birds quite a wonder. Called on Prof. Earle, and then to Cathedral with Henry [Tozer] walking the whole way. Both he & Augusta much stronger than I had any hope of finding them. The weather splendid.
- 4 [June] To the Bodleian [Library] in the morning, and in the afternoon Henry and I to St.

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John's [College] garden, Christchurch meadow and Magdalen. Left cards on the [E.B.] Tylors. A brilliant day.

5 [June] By Exeter to Sidmouth to join Sam at the Royal York Hotel. Magnificent weather. Left by 9.25 train, and got in at 3.55. After tea we walked by Beckwell past the golf links to the top of Mutter's moor, where a magnificent prospect over the vale of the [River] Otter burst upon our eyes and rewarded the fatigue. Hot and still. Below us Newton Poppleford and silver stretches of the Otter. Truly a sight of beauty to be grateful for. Laus Tibi, Domine! [Latin: Praise be to Thee, O Lord!] Then along the moor to the edge of the cliff, and so home. The town en fête for Lord Roberts' entry into Pretoria, and bells pealing. Ned Conant, an invalid & consumptive. Old John Radford died yesterday.

6 June After breakfast we climbed Salcombe Down, and followed the edge of the cliff to Salcombe mouth, descended a short way and then turned inland, crossed the valley to a farmhouse on the opposite side, and ascended the slope to the edge of the cliff, following it to Weston Mouth, where are a succession of irregular grass grown mounds and a little further the remains of an old kiln. It seems that lime was formerly burnt here, and the mounds were thrown up in excavating the stone. Along a pleasant shady lane to a farmhouse, part of wch. is an old manor-house now called Dunscombe Castle. Here we sat down with a jug of cider and smoked by the kitchen fire. From here we took to the road, and walked to another farmhouse, called Weston Hall, where are ruins of a manor house destroyed by fire many years ago. From the remains one wld. judge it to be early 18th century. Back along the Lyme Rd. to Bucks Ash, where we took the road to l. thro' Salcombe, and so got to the "York" by 1.15, say 3¾ hrs. Found a purple orchid with spotted leaves by the side of the Lyme road. A bright warm morning, wind from N.E. In the afternoon took tea with Mrs. Curry at Livonia and her dau. Alice Jenkins. Monty Curry is now Col. of 1st Devons, commandant at Pretoria. Walked round by the convent, The Lodge, Cotlands, Marino & Witheby.

7 June By 9.10 train to Exeter, went to a bookshop, and caught a train to Paignton, where we arrived in time for 1 o'clock lunch with David [Satow, Ernest's elder brother] and his wife; he has moved to a pleasanter house, overlooking the bay, called Classenwell. A showery day. Got back a little after 7, having a long interval at Exeter, which we spent in walking into the Cathedral.

8 June By the same train to Exeter, where we walked through the public garden, and seeing some bamboos there were led to go on to Veitch's, where he had some more. Yadake he has wrongly marked metake : flexuosa seems to be their name for hanchiku. Got to Teignmouth at 11.30, and had an hour's talk with Joe abt. estate matters before lunch,

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and again after. I said I could do for Hatchard all that Mamma had been in the habit of doing. Cathie sang us some songs after lunch. Charles H. Allen & Mary Pepper staying there. Took 3.30 train back: tea at Hoskins overlooking the end of Queen St. very crowded, and so back to Sidmouth by 5.40 or thereabouts. In the train going to Sidmouth junction found ourselves with Lake, the coach proprietor and another old resident with whom we conversed about past times. In 1887 Lake got together all the oldest people in the place, and put them on the outside of a coach; it was driven by a man of 85 and another of the same age was guard; the united ages of all the old folk, whom he had much difficulty in hoisting up to the outside, was 1097 years.

9 June Rained all night, but began to clear after breakfast, and was quite fine at 11.30 when we started in an open carriage with one horse to pay a visit to the Astons at Beer, reaching their house at a few minutes after one. The sea was of a delicious blue and a narrow band of haze hid the horizon. We discussed the piracy of his book on Japanese literature, wch. Heinemann says has been pirated in Japan. A Japanese has written to Aston to ask him to permit it to be translated, wch. he is willing to accede to, and to add something to the last chapter on the modern literature, but he thinks the Japse. Govt. for whom this is to be done, shld. give something to Heinemann for the permission. I expressed the opinion that they would refuse. I also told them abt. Peking, enjoining secrecy for the present.

We started on foot at 3.30, and walked over Beer head to Branscombe mouth, where we found mimulus in flower, and yellow iris. Then up the opposite side, along a green track bordered by an ash wood, and so on to the top, where there were formerly lime kilns. Somewhere at the edges of the cliffs we found a small yellow cistus. So on to Weston mouth, where we turned inland to the Burnt Farm by 5.30, and the carriage meeting us here, we drove in by six.

10 June. Trinity Sunday. We walked in two hours to Ottery St. Mary. Outside the porch [of the church] is a stone tablet to a lady of the last century bearing the curious Xtian name Embrance. The church is a fine old structure, with a chancel as long as the nave, and a little chapel behind the altar. After lunch started at two E., got on to the old Honiton Rd. and walked along the moor to the Beacon, got on to Core hill, descended to Sidbury, and took tea with Mrs. Curry. Left cards on the Tyrells, and walked thro' the grounds and kitchen garden of Arcot, a house recently for sale, and now to let, then home. The S.E. wind which had been blowing all day, subsided while we were at tea. Brilliant weather.

11 June We took a two-horse trap and drove over to Honiton in about an hour and a quarter, lunched at the Dolphin, and caught the 12.33 up train. A delightful drive, the sea fog that hung abt. the shore in the morning having cleared away just as we left, a very hot day.

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Went to see Mitford and afterwards dined with him and Henry Yorke C.B. of the Admiralty at the Travellers. Where I am to come up for election some time next year.

12 June To B.M. [British Museum] to work on Saris.⁸ Lunched with Mrs. Bonar & Mrs. Churchill at the Albemarle Club. Called on the Wellses, and then to F.O. depositing Augusta at the Clifton Hotel en route. Saw Campbell abt. the Formosan tea duty & my last Note in protest, read desp. abt. Heinemann's copying in Japan & had a long chat with [law officer W.E.] Davidson. Then saw Lord S[alisbury]. He looks as if he suffered fr. eczema. Boxers. He thinks the business will not come to much. As to Japan, I assured him that no preparations are being made for war, tho' it is the case that their military & naval programme will be completed in 1903. That I think they will avoid war with Russia unless they can obtain active assistance. Down to Chislehurst to dinner.

13 June A Mr. R. Knight-Bruce called to ask the name of an agent in Japan for steel, especially boiler tubes. Recommended R.J. Kirby.

Down to Slindon Rectory near Arundel to see the Rev. Arthur Izard about Eitarō, and agreed with him for £250 a year.

On my return found Edward & Eva and gave them some tea.

Admiral W.H. Henderson called. He returned from Jamaica 26 May.

Anderson, on whom I had called in the morning, came in.

Augusta and Sam to dinner.

14 June B.M. M.S. dept. in forenoon to look at maps of Eastern Archipelago. After lunch to F.O. saw Villiers, Chauncey Cartwright, Newman, who says the new arrangements abt. consular pay when on leave will be settled shortly, and Sanderson.

Ralph Paget called, then came Wm. Foster by apptmt. to talk abt. Saris' journal. Herbert White from Tangier. Returned Hendersons' call, but did not find them in. Augusta to dinner, took her home and went on to have a chat with the Andersons.

15 June To B.M. & finished examining the M.S. maps and Chinese words in Saris's journal with Douglas.

Called on Admiral Custance, who told me he had made use of my letter to him abt. Ottley⁹, & that it had been arranged for O. to remain in Japan till next year, and the Treasury was being applied to for funds to appt. a separate naval attaché to Washington.

Saw Boyce at Constitutional Club.

Lunched with St John Brodricks to meet Lord Middleton, a charming old gentleman, Sir Cuthbert & Lady Peak, Count & Countess Hoyos.

⁸ Published as *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*. Edited from contemporary records by Sir Ernest M. Satow. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, Bedford Press, London, 1900.

⁹ See PRO 30/33 14/11, item no. 32, Satow to Custance, dated April 11, 1900.

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Brodrick: told him Lord S. was averse to asking Japanese to send troops to China, but that he, Balfour & Chamberlain desired to ask Russia & Japan each to send 4,000, we sending 2,000. He thinks I may have to be hurried out.

Went to talk to Mrs. Murphy at her club, had a talk here with Wm. Heinemann about the copyright in Aston's book, wch. I did not think had been pirated & recommended him to send to Japan instructions to have copyright applied for under Berne Convention.

Called on Lady Charles Beresford, whom I did not see, on Lady Weber, Maud Warrington and dined with the Trowers.

16 [June] To Berkhamsted with Sam.

17 [June] We walked in the afternoon across the common to Lane's rhododendron nurseries, where there was a fine show of shrubs & standards, & some pretty yellow, flame[-]coloured & mixed azaleas.

18 [June] Back to town. To see Arthur, to whom I pointed out that the trustees had exceeded their powers under my father's will, that there was no necessity to move the fund set apart for the payment of the annuities of £600 & £150. It amounted as shown by the accounts to £23,000 odd, wch. if invested in good securities & left there, such as my own L. & N.W. debentures, it would have produced the required interest, and have grown by at least 25% in the last 26 years, whereas it had only grown to the extent of £3,500. That the trustees I presumed were liable for the loss on investments not authorized by the will, amounting to nearly £3,600, and that he could not rightly keep the brokers' commissions. These he admitted had been received by his firm of H. Vigne & Sons. I then gave him my reasons for not signing the release sent to me by Joe, and offered to abandon any claim in respect of the foregoing acts contrary to the tenor of the will, if he wld. consent to give up being Augusta's trustee. Finally I said I wld. write proposing to him to accede to her desire to have trustees chosen by Henry or herself, and if he agreed to this I wld. sign the release. Otherwise not. I understood him to agree to this.

Lunched with the Hoyos, old Mrs. Whitehead, two of her daughters, Admiral Albert Markham, who was 2nd Lieut. of the "Centaur" in Japan in 1862 when I first went there, Ad. Drury who married another Mrs. Whitehead, & 2 daus. of the Hoyos, one I think Countess Herbert Bismarck.

Walked with Markham to the Intelligence Dept. at Queen Anne's Gate but did not find Sir John Ardagh, then to 49 Cambridge St. Hyde Park to try & find Dudley Hervey and A.M. Skinner; went to B. Arnold in Baker St. about my plate left me by my mother, & left cards on the Chas. Churchills.

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19 June B. Arnold's successor came to look at the plate & I arranged for him to send on the morning of 26th to fetch it away.

To Intelligence Dept. to see Sir John Ardagh. He did not seem enthusiastic, but rather half-hearted, abt. Churchill's work as Mil. Att. at Tokio. Told him thought Ch. would like to remain at his present post, there was no intention to change any of the Mil. Atts. just now, in fact two of them had been prolonged for a year.

Boyce to lunch.

Left Seal and the Boleslawski pocket book at Lockwoods in Bond St. the one for a case to be made, the other to be made up new with the old mountings.

Went to see David & his wife at Grand Hotel.

To Epsom to stop with Edward & Eva, & walked up to the racecourse with him.

20 June Back to town early.

C.M.S. came. He brought his passbook to show, and wants an advance of £200. I asked abt. the shares in a patent bung company wch. he was to get in 1897, on which he asked me to advance a considerable sum of money. He said he never received a single share, owing to the way in wch. the solicitor of the Co. had "crabbed" the affair. I pointed out that he shld. have written and told me this, as he had left me up to the present moment in the belief that he had recd. the shares, and that I was accordingly at a loss to understand his need of money.

He says he has borrowed £1650 fr. A.H.P. and £230 fr. S.A.M.S. I said I understood he had £2600 from the former. Before promising to advance any money I posed certain conditions. 1^o that I shld. go and see the place, 2^o, that I shld. send my own man to examine the books and make an estimate of the running expenses. He did not like this, so I told him he had better think it over and let me know.

Went to meet Reginald Tower at the St. James Club & promised certain letters of introduction to Canada.

Lunched with Dudley Hervey and A.M. Skinner & showed the former some of my difficulties in the Saris M.S.

To Westminster to meet E. Sturges, & with her to the Tate Gallery.

Dinner at St. John Brodricks. Took down Mrs. Lawrence Brodrick, & found myself next to Lady Windsor. Lord Wemyss, Arthur Balfour. White the American Secy. of Embassy, tall man with very pleasant expression. Eric Barringtons [Lord Salisbury's private secretary] there. Was introduced to Balfour, Lord W. & White.

21 June Took daguerrotypes of Father and Mother to Houghton 88 High Holborn to be copied.

To F.O. to see telegs. & talk to Brodrick. Three vessels have been ordered fr. the

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Mediterranean. Bruce telegs. to Admiralty in great excitement to have a whole battleship's crew sent out to him. Troops sent from Wei-hai-wei. He asked my opinion whether the Japse. wld. accept a mandate fr. the PP. I said that if they did, prob. they wld. not be content to take a backseat when affairs were finally arranged.

Called on Miss Mason & Lucy, and left a card for Mrs. J. Bell Irving at Claridges. Dined at the Webers. Met Taylor & his wife, Hilda Weber, Cecil Smith of B.M., Sir Borrodaile & Lady Savory, a certain Bence-Jones who was at Trowers the other night, the Ernest Schusters.

22 June B. Brennan came to see me. We talked much about China. Suddenly he asked whether I would like to go to Peking, to wh. I answered that it was a difficult post, Tokiō a much softer thing.

Lunched with Chauncey Cartwright at the National Club. Sir A. Bateman of the Board of Trade, Maurice Hewlett, [I.V.] Chirol, Edmund Gosse, Regn. [Reginald] Tower and Walrond Clarke [Note: H.B. Brooke crossed out] of the F.O.

Afterwards to the Hertford collection opening by the Prince of Wales, Mitford having procured me an invitation. Met J.G. Kennedy, Sir Ed. Hertslet; afterwards went to see Mrs. Kennedy at the Crawfords in Cavendish Square.

J..P. Reid, formerly of Yokohama, came to call.

Went to see Mitford & left message that I shld. like to call on him on Monday afternoon. Sam came up to lunch, and we discussed the question of Arthur's remaining trustee for Augusta, Charlie's desire to borrow money from me, and Arthur's suggestion that the rest of the family should assist in paying for Hatchett's support during the last nine months.

To Brighton, to my aunt at Eastern Terrace, E. Sturges there.

25 June Back to town & lunched with Mitford at Dieudonnés. Talked over his idea of removing the capital to Peking in his letter in "Times" of 22nd. Then went to Bertie at F.O. & saw the latest telegs. He thinks that whether the Legations are safe or not it is surprising that nothing shld. come thro' but telegs. from 'Peking to the various Chinese officials on Yangtse. As to Mitford's idea, the Russians wld. never agree, & Lo-fêng-luh, when he suggested to him some two years ago the same thing, said Nanking was too near the sea; he wld. prefer Wu-chang. I said that wld. do. But B's idea is that if the Chinese have really massacred the Legations, the integrity of China is at an end; if the Russians occupy Peking we must give up the North, and establish a scion of the Mings in the S. He decidedly did not wish to talk to Mitford, whom he said he saw a few days ago. He asked if anything was settled abt. my going out. I said no, & that L[or]d S. had told Barrington he did not wish to shorten my leave, but of course I shld. be ready to go out

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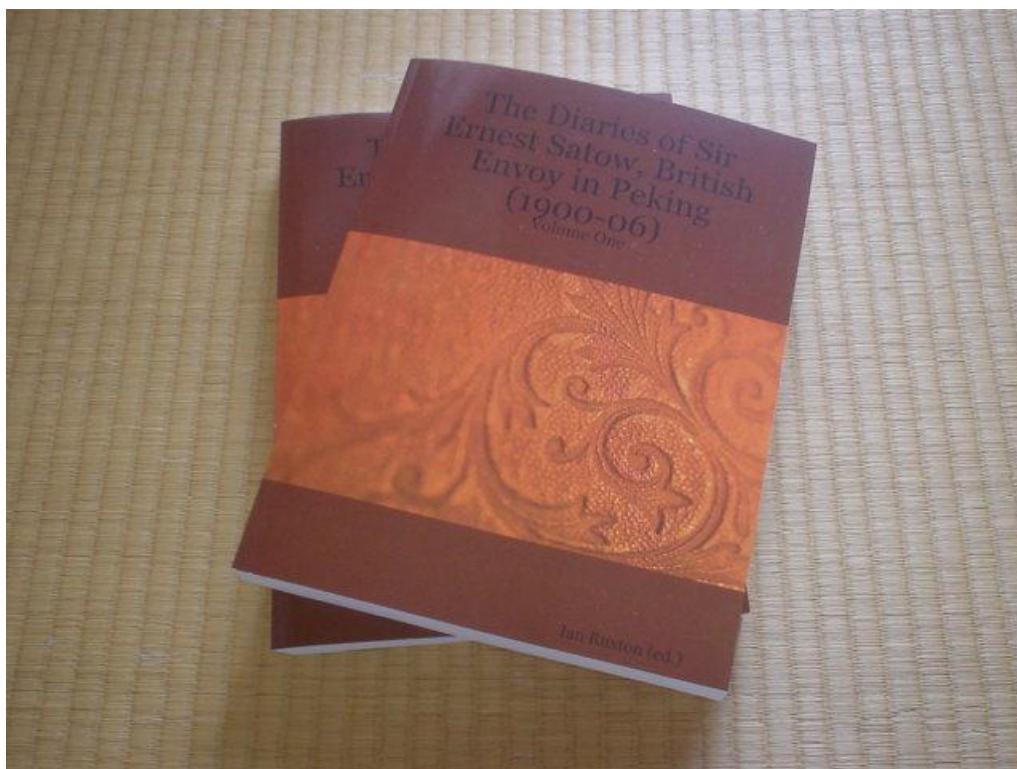
whenever I was wanted. He rejoined that at present it was an affair for admirals &c. I expressed a strong opinion that if the Legations have been massacred, women, children & all, not one stone shld. be left standing on another. His view, in wch. I agree, is that nothing can be thought of till the curtain lifts.

Ad. & Mrs. Henderson, & the J.P. Reids to dinner here.

- 26 June Took E. Sturges' 'Imitatio' to Edwards to mend. Called on F.H. James, W.G. Howell, Shand & lunched with the Trowers, who had Anderson & E. Pets also. To return the card of Matsui, Japse. Ch. d'Aff. And to tea with Mrs. Thursby, where I met Nina Baring, who is to marry Ld. Granville. Dined with the Napiers in Cottesmore gardens; met a Dalrymple Hay (son of Sir John) who is a Treasury clerk, a David Campbell Johnson cousin of the Napiers, Capt. & Mrs. MacSwiney: she is a sister of H.S. Trower & he has been in China for the Peking Syndicate, & wants to be employed on the present expedition, rather disposed to think himself not duly valued, and Mrs. Bonar, also a Meinertzhagen and his wife; he was for 3 years a resident pupil of Dr. Wallbaum in Clapton.
- 27 [June] To Weybridge to stop with the old Churchills; Mrs. Arthur Ch. & two daus. Lily & Constance. We went on the river with the old gentleman & Miss Constance, & rowed up to Laleham, taking tea on the bank opposite Lord Lucan's place; a delightful afternoon. At dinner there were also the eldest dau. & son-in-law, Mr. & Mrs. Still.
- 28 [June] Back to town. Lunched with Chirol, Sir John Ardagh & Lady Malmesbury, Mr. & Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Sir Frank & Miss Lascelles, Sir Hugh Wyndham & Miss W. Mrs. Clinton Dawkins wife of the late Financial member of the Viceroy's council. Talked to Wyndham, Lascelles & their daus., Ardagh, Ward & Mrs Dawkins. She was 4 years in Lima, then in Egypt & one year in India. Expressed hopeful view of position of the Legations at Peking.
- Called on W. Foster at India Office, Mrs. Lowther, where I met a miss Russell, dau. of Lord Amptill, and a Miss Leigh (? Lee, Lea or Legh, interested in people at Peking.) Tea with Gore. To go and walk with him in August. Went to hear Paderewsky in a Concerto by Cowen, for wch. I did not care, nor for Dvorak's Symphonic Variations, nor for Schumann's 4th Symphony. But the 4th overture to Fidelio delightful.
- 29 [June] To Lord Esher at the O. of W. [Office of Works] who ordered a copy of Boyce's report on govt. buildings in Japan, China &c. to be sent to me. Saw also Akers-Douglas, talked to both of them abt. Japse. & Chinese characteristics. Returned cards of Geo. Jamieson, Henry Marsham & F.T. Piggott. Down to Batsford with Mitford by the 1.40.
- 30 [June] Lord Lansdowne. Lord Claud Hamilton & Henry Yorke came to stop. C.H. remembered that he had stopped with me in 1874 at Tokio.

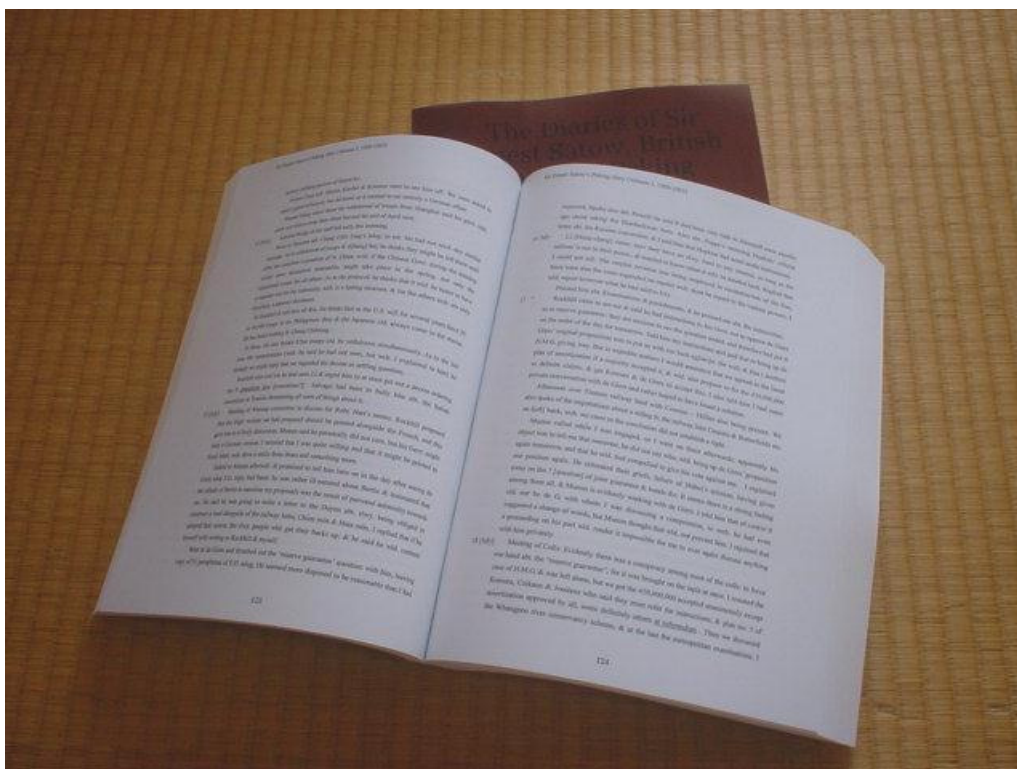
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