

Sir Ernest Satow's Encounters with Food as Recounted in *A Diplomat in Japan*

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Introduction

As one of the first British diplomats to be posted to Japan, Sir Ernest Satow (1843~1929) became a firsthand observer of the political situation in the country in the years immediately preceding the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Throughout his first posting in Japan (September 1862~February 1869) Satow kept a journal in which he recorded his experiences. Satow later edited this journal for publication as *A Diplomat in Japan*^[1] (henceforth, *Diplomat*) published in 1921, many years after the events of the 1860s. The subtitle for the first edition of *Diplomat* was, 'The inner history of the critical years in the evolution of Japan when the ports were opened and the monarchy restored, recorded by a diplomatist who took an active part in the events of the time, with an account of his personal experiences during that period.' This study is an examination of Satow's 'personal experiences during that period' relating to what he ate and drank, and the culinary hospitality he received. This paper will then briefly discuss what can be inferred about the eating habits of Westerners in bakumatsu Japan based on the evidence of *Diplomat*.

1. Background

Satow first arrived at Yokohama in September 1862. Although the timespan for *Diplomat* actually starts a year in advance of this, in August 1861, with Satow's formal appointment as a student interpreter, his account of his time spent in Japan runs from the autumn of 1862 through to the start (February) of 1869. The allocation of time through *Diplomat* is heavily weighted to the events surrounding the Meiji Restoration of 1868; *Diplomat* contains thirty-six chapters but the first fifteen chapters cover over four years, from 1862 to the end of 1866, while the remaining twenty-one chapters report

on the events of only two years (1867 and 1868) plus, very briefly, the first two months of 1869. It is therefore not particularly surprising that, overall, *Diplomat* is an account of the political events of those final two years rather than spending a significant amount of time describing Satow's personal journey of acculturation to Japanese life.

On the other hand, Satow includes enough personal thoughts and recollections to make *Diplomat* much more than just a dry, political memoir. Satow was a young man, only nineteen when he first arrived in Japan, who found himself being exposed to a culture which the West was only just beginning to try to understand. In Satow's case, he arrived in Japan full of enthusiasm for everything Japanese and was determined to do his utmost to learn the Japanese language. In terms of encounters with Japanese food, Satow does not make a great point of describing his culinary experiences, but there are sufficient references to food within *Diplomat* to enable some inferences to be made regarding his overall feelings towards Japanese food and the dietary habits of other Westerners in Japan at that time.

2. Analysis: Satow's Experiences with Food in Japan

2-1 Early Experiences

The first reference to Japanese food in *Diplomat* is found in Chapter 6 in which Satow describes his first official visit to Edo after his chief ordered Satow to accompany him to a meeting with the Shogun's ministers. This took place in December of 1862 approximately three months after Satow's arrival in the country. Satow relates how he and the other members of his party, journeying from Yokohama to Edo on the *Tokaido*, stopped at a tea-garden called 'Mme Yashiki' (Ume Yashiki), drank a cup of 'straw-coloured tea' and smoked a pipe, while

mentioning that, ‘fish cooked in various ways and warm sake (rice beer) were also procurable’. This first account will be seen to be typical of many of Satow’s somewhat indeterminate descriptions of Japanese food. Later, during the same excursion, Satow paid a visit to the Shogun’s Council where he and the other delegates were served with, ‘sponge cake and *yokan* (a sweetened bean paste) and afterwards oranges and persimmons’. As can be seen from these two episodes from his earliest days in Japan, Satow was not referring to meals that he chose for himself, but to the offerings presented to him as refreshments as he went about his work as a representative of Great Britain. Satow’s omission of any details concerning the food which met his daily needs in his earliest days in Japan perhaps suggests that such details were not of particular interest because either he had his cook prepare simple European-style food for him, or because he was dining in European style with other Westerners.

Satow’s next two mentions of food are both brief in nature but are further indications that he was probably eating a Western-style diet in ordinary circumstances. On May 5, 1863, Satow woke up to find that his servants had left his house in Yokohama, frightened by the possibility of a bombardment by the Western powers in response to the bakufu’s failure to pay reparations for the murder of Richardson in the Namamugi Incident. There being no servants to cook breakfast for him, Satow comments that he, ‘procured some eggs and sponge cake’, with the implication that he ate those for breakfast. Sponge cake probably means a type of *castella* and presumably Satow cooked the eggs for himself in some way. In either case, it seems that Satow did not consider the possibility of purchasing fish or rice for breakfast. Research by Goto (2015)^[2] indicates that Japanese people living in the Chōshū domain in the mid-nineteenth century would not have eaten eggs as a normal part of their diet and that eggs would have been considered a luxury item by many Japanese people at that time. The price of eggs and sponge cake would probably have been higher than that of alternative choices and suggest that Satow was willing to pay a higher price for familiar foods rather than eat Japanese dishes.

Over one year later, on September 15, 1864, Satow describes a visit to an ‘eating-house’ in Shimonoseki and relates in detail the food he ate there with a Japanese companion. They ordered an awabi and while it was

being cooked for them they shared, ‘nearly the whole of a ripe water melon’. Satow describes the *awabi* as having been ‘cooked with sugar’ and that it ‘proved to be terribly tough’ from which it can be inferred that it did not leave a favourable impression on him. In addition to mentioning that two sorts of sake were served with the meal, Satow states that the meal was concluded with terrapin soup and rice. Although these details might suggest that the meal was far from being a full-course, *washoku* experience, the absence of a mention of any meat dish, the fact that rice was served at the end, and the fact that Satow felt the dinner worthy of record suggest that it was a novel experience for him to dine in that way. It could also be speculated that other elements of Japanese cooking, such as *tsukemono* pickles were served but that Satow did not consider them worthy of mention.

2-2 A European Style Dinner in Shimonoseki

Satow’s next reference to food occurs on September 27, 1864, and is remarkable for the level of detail in which he describes a dinner prepared for him in European style by Itō Hirobumi. Satow first met Itō shortly before the bombardment of the Shimonoseki batteries and quickly refers to him as a friend so it seems that he developed an instant liking for him. This feeling of friendship could be attributed to their mutual connection to University College, London. Later, after the bombardment, Satow was invited to a private residence in Shimonoseki for a dinner arranged by Itō. Satow describes how Itō had, ‘made great efforts to get up a dinner in European style’. Satow records that the dinner was served on a dining table, that the table was covered with a tablecloth, and that various eating utensils (including spoons, knives, and a pair of chopsticks) were provided.

Satow explains that the meal consisted of a boiled rockfish, a large bowl of rice, broiled eels, stewed terrapin, boiled abalone, boiled chicken, unripe persimmons and sweet rice beer (*mirin*). He says that the utensils provided were inadequate in the struggle to use them to eat the boiled rockfish, but comments that he found the broiled eels and stewed terrapin, ‘very good’. He is similarly complimentary about the *mirin* served with the meal and says that it was, ‘excellent’; however, he certainly seems to have regretted not having suitable cutlery, for he says that the boiled awabi and boiled chicken were almost impossible to serve. At the end of

his description of this meal Satow suggests that, 'This was certainly the earliest attempt ever made in that part of Japan at giving a dinner in European style, perhaps the first in Japan'.

This claim was probably based on Satow's experiences of daily life in Japan during the two years since his arrival in September 1862. His claim suggests that giving a dinner in European style was most unusual in Japan in the early 1860s. However, with the Dutch having been trading at Nagasaki throughout the Edo period, and with a significant number of foreigners living at Yokohama since the opening of the port there in 1858, it seems highly unlikely that the dinner was the first of its kind in Japan. It is possible, however, that it was the first dinner served in European style in Chōshū, bearing in mind that the Chōshū domain was still officially closed to foreigners at the time.

Although Itō is recorded as having served only one meat dish (boiled chicken) at the dinner, he seems to have selected the other dishes with due regard to the expected preferences of his guests. The fish dishes which were served were cooked rather than being served as sashimi, and Itō's selection of stewed terrapin can be interpreted as a shrewd choice for Western tastes. Turtle soup was considered a great delicacy in Victorian England, being especially popular as a dish at formal dinners. Indeed, it became so fashionable that demand for it drove turtles to near extinction and the consequent rarity of turtle meat pushed the price for it up to such an extent that Beeton (1861)^[3] noted that turtle soup was the most expensive dish served in England for a time. These circumstances resulted in the creation of, and subsequent huge demand for, a substitute for real turtle soup. This substitute became known as mock turtle soup and was made using meat recovered from the heads of calves instead of turtle meat. During Itō's stay in London, from November 1863 to April 1864, it is highly likely that he would have become aware of English people's love for turtle soup and it is surely possible that his experiences in London prompted him to choose the menu he served on this occasion. There are also two additional references to terrapin soup in *Diplomat* which suggest that terrapin soup may have been relatively common as a dish in Japan as well.

2-3 Food Eaten at Kagoshima and Uwajima

The next two years' worth of narrative pass by in

Diplomat with barely a mention of food, but references to food start to become slightly more frequent as Satow is sent to various parts of Japan starting from January 1867. He arrived at Kagoshima on January 2, 1867, and had a brief meeting with Shimadzu Dzusho at which he acted as interpreter for Commander Round of the Royal Navy. Following the meeting, Satow records that, 'We then sat down to an entertainment, which opened with a few courses of Japanese cookery with sake, but consisted in the main of an interminable succession of European dishes, moistened with sherry, champagne and brandy'. Satow does not give details regarding the food served on this occasion but it is intriguing that he is clearly unimpressed by the Western-style food. He then a second European style banquet one day later, on January 4. He noted that, 'It was shorter than that of the previous day, and the dishes better cooked, but it was politeness rather than gastronomic satisfaction that caused us to praise it. For in truth the dinner was bad and ill-arranged'. This comment implies that the first dinner had been similarly bad, but through having been longer, he chose to describe it as interminable. It is impossible to say why Satow found fault with these dinners but it is doubtful that the Japanese cooks who prepared the meal would have had any first-hand knowledge of Western food. Maybe they prepared the food based on hearsay from those samurai of Satsuma who had ventured to England. Maybe they tried to cook dishes after having seen pictures in books. It certainly seems that they failed to impress at least one of their guests.

On January 5, 1867, Satow left Kagoshima and sailed for Uwajima. At Uwajima, on January 7, Satow seems to have enjoyed more enthusiastically a dinner served by Iriye, the captain of the Uwajima shore battery. Satow mentions that dinner, 'consisted of innumerable courses of fish and soup, and lasted from six o'clock till eleven'. His use of the word innumerable hints at his surprise at the number of different dishes served and suggests that he was still not particularly accustomed to a Japanese style of hospitality. Despite this, Satow's trip to Kagoshima and Uwajima seem to represent a new chapter in his acceptance of Japanese ways which could be attributed to his more frequent opportunities for socializing with Japanese people from this time onwards.

On the evening of the following day, January 8, 1867, Satow describes in detail the banquet eaten at a luncheon in the palace of the Prince of Uwajima. Satow and the

other guests were seated in armchairs at a table and this is Satow's description of the food which was served:

The dinner was beautifully got up, every separate dish prettily arranged and decorated, but the most tasteful of all was a wild duck with all its plumage perfect, and the roasted meat cut up small and laid on the back between the wings, elevated in such a way as to convey the idea that the bird was swimming and flying at the same time. Other dishes consisted of huge crayfish, and there was a large baked *tai*, as required by etiquette, for each person.

As can be seen, this luncheon was not particularly Japanese in terms of style or substance. However, the three dishes described (duck, crayfish, and *tai*) were probably locally sourced, and it would seem likely that there were other dishes of vegetables, soup, and rice which Satow does not mention. Satow possibly only chose to describe those dishes with which an English-speaking reader would have been familiar and therefore omitted to describe any more traditionally Japanese-style dishes. On the other hand, it could be that he only chose to record those dishes which had made a significant impression. No comment is made about the actual quality of the food he ate, although he does show his appreciation for how the food was presented.

2-4 Experiences in Osaka and Ordering Fish as an Excuse for Drinking Sake

During his first visit to Osaka in February 1867, Satow records that he and Sir Harry Parkes entertained Komatsu and Yoshii Kosuke to tiffin and says that his guests, 'partook heartily of pate de foie gras and pale ale'. Regrettably Satow provides no information where these items were obtained for it is unlikely that they would have been commonly available in Osaka. The implication is that they were brought with the British party from either Yokohama or Nagasaki. However, it does seem that the British had access to a variety of alcoholic drinks other than sake, because at a meeting with Kajiwara Heima and three other samurai from Aidzu, Satow records that while entertaining their guests he and Sir Harry Parkes were able to supply them with, 'champagne, whisky, sherry, rum, (and) gin'. It seems that Satow mentions this list of alcoholic drinks

to demonstrate Kajiwara's ability to absorb a significant quantity of alcohol, but of greater interest is the fact that the British seem to have carried this selection of wines and spirits around with them. Satow notes that, 'in those days it was quite the proper thing to get drunk at a dinner party, and a host whose guests went away sober would have been mortified by a feeling that his hospitality had not been properly appreciated', after having supplied the same guests from Aidzu with 'champagne and preserved meats' at tiffin a couple of days after the dinner. During his time in Osaka, Satow also records sitting down to a dinner of 'terrapin soup and boiled terrapins'.

Satow next mentions food when describing a stay at the Hon-jin at Kanagawa. Having described how the charge for a night's stay included 'rice, tea, sleeping accommodation, fuel, candles, and use of the hot bath', Satow then mentions that the only extras were 'sake and sakana' and gives his opinion that, 'sakana (fish) is more played with than eaten, and is merely the excuse for sake'.

2-5 Travels in the Interior

Following an audience with the Shogun at Osaka, Satow and his companion Wirgman elected to return to Kanto overland. Partly this was due to Satow's, 'insatiable curiosity as to everything Japanese and a certain love of adventure'. However, he openly admits that at least as equally important to him was a desire not to make the journey by warship. Now that a new treaty had been agreed with the shogun, diplomatic representatives of foreign powers were given the right of travelling throughout the country. Their journey began on May 18, 1867, meaning that Satow had at this point been living in Japan for over four-and-a-half years, and Satow's eagerness to undertake this journey demonstrates how his freedom had been restricted to coastal areas of Japan until then. Satow writes that, 'Wirgman and I were by this time so accustomed to living on Japanese food that we resolved not to burden ourselves with stores of any kind, knives or forks, finger glasses or table napkins'. The implication of this list is that other Europeans traveling in Japan would have considered it necessary to take such items, and especially stores of their own food supplies with them.

Rather surprisingly, Satow's next mention of food is to make a mild complaint about the path he has chosen. Having travelled five miles upstream from Osaka by boat

they landed for lunch at a place called Suido mura and Satow says that, 'there was nothing to be had but rice and bean-curd, which did not constitute a very palatable meal'. Despite this, Satow is philosophical and reminds himself that he must make the best of things in the circumstances. By the time they had reached Hirakata they were able to dine off 'soup, fish and rice' which, as Satow comments, are the 'ordinary constituents of a traveler's meal'.

At Kusatsu, Satow does not mention what he and Wirgman ate, but interestingly he records that, 'the people of the inn were astonished to find that we could eat rice, having been taught to believe that the food of Europeans consisted exclusively of beef and pork'. The inference from much of what Satow records in *Diplomat* is that for many Europeans this stereotype may well have been true. As they continue on their journey towards Edo, Satow later records that, 'We lunched sumptuously at Minakuchi on fish, soup and rice', and then mentions that Ono is 'celebrated for pheasants' meat preserved in miso paste', although he does not actually say whether he ate this local specialty. He also records eating buckwheat vermicelli at a teahouse shortly after leaving Nagoya. Having not commented on the quality of the food he ate for some time, in this instance he records that although the teahouse apparently had a reputation for serving soba, the soba which he ate there did not compare well with his previous experiences of eating it.

Next on the list of culinary descriptions from this journey is an interesting description of *tororo* which Satow describes as, 'a horribly tenacious kind of gruel, resembling bird-lime in appearance, made from the powdered root of the *Dioscorea japonica*, a species of wild potato'. Satow refrains from educating his readers with the name of this dish and he also does not enter it in the glossary, perhaps because he considered it unlikely to be suited to the tastes of his fellow countrymen. Kurazawa is mentioned as being famous for, 'Venus-ear (awabi) and sazai, a big whorl with a curious spiral operculum', but his impressions of eating these delicacies are not recorded. At the ferry before crossing the Fuji River, Satow and Wirgman were presented with, 'piled-up boxes (ju-bako) ... full of chestnut meal cakes, the specialty of the village, with a bit of pickled radish on the top'.

2-6 Home Entertaining

In a chapter entitled 'Social Intercourse' Satow describes his experiences of being formally entertained in a Japanese home. In addition to describing the intricacies relating to the etiquette of gift giving, he outlines the proceedings of a formal dinner. Dishes mentioned in his description are as follows: soup, fish-cake (by which name Satow may be referring to kamaboko), white beans boiled with sugar, raw fish, broiled fish, boiled fish, boiled fowl, roast wild duck, and broiled eels, all served on small plates. In addition, Satow describes *chawanmushi* as, 'a sort of pudding made of eggs, loach and the large seeds of the maidenhair tree'. He says that the raw fish was usually bonito or sole and that it was 'sliced up very thin, and eaten with soy, raw laver (seaweed) and grated wasabi'. Wasabi is included in the glossary but Satow seizes the moment to describe it as, 'the root of a plant belonging to the same order as the horse-radish, and resembling it in taste'.

Satow explains that not all the food was eaten and that a show of having a mouthful now and again was good manners but also that it was important to drink as much sake as you could stand. In this respect it was fortunate that, as Ruxton (1998)^[4] puts it, 'Undoubtedly he (Satow) was fond of wine, women and song'. Satow goes on to explain that a request for rice was a 'well-understood signal' that you had had enough to drink and that rice, another bowl of soup, and in many cases a sea-bream would then be presented to the guest. Satow describes the problem of being unable to eat a large quantity of rice because the guest's appetite was already satisfied, and that in such cases, the guest would typically eat a couple of mouthfuls of rice before having the bowl filled with weak tea, thus enabling the guest to swallow the rest of the rice with a piece of salted radish or pickled vegetable marrow.

2-7 Further Travels and Hinterland Hospitality

A good example of how Satow has, by this time, embraced Japanese ways and eating habits is provided when he lands on Sado Island in the summer of 1867 for the purpose of visiting the gold mines there. However, at first, the British warships anchored on the opposite side of the island to Aikawa which was the location of the governor's residence. Satow was traveling with Sir Harry Parkes, the British minister, and Parkes did not wish to travel overland in a palanquin. Parkes therefore decided to send Satow overland in the palanquin while

he (Parkes) sailed round to the far side of the island. In Satow's opinion, Parkes was reluctant to subject himself to the discomfort of either riding in the palanquin or walking, but also, that Parkes would not enjoy, 'passing the night on the floor of a Japanese house in native quilts, and with nothing better than rice and fish to eat'. Satow's implied meaning is that Parkes wishes to travel by warship because he is not willing to adapt himself to Japanese culture and a Japanese diet, whereas Satow did not mind this in the least.

On the return journey from Sado Island, Satow and Mitford were put ashore at Nanao on the Noto Peninsular and from there they made their way, heavily escorted, overland to Osaka. When the two travelers arrived at Kanazawa they were treated to a feast which Satow describes as, 'resembling in character what has already been described but far surpassing it in magnificence and the number of courses'. The reader is clearly left with the impression of a particularly splendid meal, but it is a meal which Satow refrains from describing in detail. In terms of Satow's narrative, it seems that for the time being at least, he has abandoned his attempts to describe Japanese food, and is more intent on recording the political discussions which begin while he is drinking sake with his Japanese hosts. When Satow next mentions a restaurant, shortly after he and Mitford's departure from Kanazawa, Satow puts more effort into describing the view of the castle from the restaurant and simply mentions, 'eating fish and drinking sake', without further details. This trend continues at Fukui when Satow relates that at their lodgings, 'the table was loaded with piles of fruit and cakes, and the usual Japanese luncheon was served, with champagne', but without further elaboration. On reaching Osaka, Satow and Parkes have a meeting with the Shogun after which some food was served but Satow omits any details other than stating that, 'a Japanese luncheon was served with cold sake'.

As mentioned earlier in this paper, Satow, is generally not appreciative of the efforts of Japanese hosts to attempt hospitality in European style. A further example of this occurs when the people of Awa in Tokushima entertain Satow and Sir Harry Parkes with a European style banquet. He acknowledges that the local people were only trying to make him happy, but he describes it as, 'a most dismal banquet'. Satow has nothing positive to say about this meal: 'uneatable fishes in unsightly

dishes, piles of unripe grapes and melons, heavy and tasteless sponge cakes, with coarse black-handled knives and forks to eat with'. On his journey by boat from Tokushima to Nagasaki, Satow paid a call at Kochi but gives no additional details other than that, 'huge dishes of fish were now placed on the table'. The final reference to food on this trip comes on October 8, when, at Nagasaki, Satow met Imae Sakai, Nagata Chiuhei, and Tanaka Konoye, and records that, 'after drinking a bottle of champagne together, we sallied forth to a Japanese restaurant, where we had a little feast in the style of the country'. Evidently this was a Japanese-style meal but any further details are not recorded.

One conclusion that may be inferred from Satow's increasing omission of detailed descriptions of Japanese food, is that because Satow himself has by now become so accustomed to eating in Japanese style, nothing seems novel to him anymore. This inference receives confirmation when he records his living arrangements from the middle of 1867 onwards. At that time, Satow and Mitford changed their place of dwelling and started living in the guest rooms of a small monastery named Monryo-in in the Sengaku-ji area of Edo. Satow mentions that in their new home, he and Mitford, 'spent several months together living entirely on Japanese food, which was brought three times a day from a restaurant known as *Mansei*'. Satow makes no complaint at all about living in this fashion so it seems to have suited him well enough. Later, when he moved for a second time and leased a house at Yokohama, Satow says, 'My food was entirely in the Japanese style, sent in from the well-known house called *Mansei*, but I continued to drink English beer'. He therefore seems to have adopted a Japanese diet in his daily life but it is to be regretted that he does not provide a reason for continuing to drink English beer rather than a Japanese brand.

2-8 Satow Not Like Other Westerners

From one point of view it could be argued that the climax of *Diplomat* arrives in Chapter 30 in which the British minister, Sir Harry Parkes, was first granted an audience with the emperor, or Mikado, as Satow refers to him. Chapter 30 of *Diplomat* deals with the events of March 1868. Satow explains that the whole of the British legation staff decamped to Kyoto for this meeting and were accommodated at Chi-on-in. He records that, 'as soon as we settled in, a grand feast of many dishes in

Japanese style was served up to us, but of course we had brought our own cooks and utensils with us, for most of us were unaccustomed to Japanese food'. Satow may seem to be loyally including himself as being the same as his fellow countrymen, but as has been seen, he himself was quite willing to live his life following a Japanese diet. It is interesting however that this comment suggests that the other British diplomats working in Japan did not share his enthusiasm for accepting Japanese ways.

In fact, Satow soon repeats his explicit statement of being dedicated to Japanese food. He explains that he spent half his time working at Yedo and half at Yokohama. He records that, 'Bread and beef were unprocurable at Yedo, and I could not afford to set up a cuisine in European fashion, so while there I used to have my food brought in from a well-reputed Japanese restaurant close by, and came to like it quite as well as what I had been accustomed to all my life'. This is a further clear indication that he did not spend his life in Japan pining for British cooking. Although beef may not have been readily available at Edo, Williams^[5] (1963) explains that there were two "cow-yards" in the foreign settlement at Yokohama which provided beef and milk to the residents. Williams also says that supplies of beef for the foreign community were regularly imported from Shanghai. Satow's decision to eat Japanese food may well have been influenced by such physical (the impossibility of buying bread or beef at Edo) and economic factors. However, Satow does not seem to be complaining about this arrangement and after six years in Japan seems to be well adjusted to life there.

In the final section of *Diplomat*, Satow twice refers to dining in European style. In the first instance his host was Date Munenari at Osaka and Satow says that Date, 'gave us a banquet cooked as nearly in European fashion as he could manage'. The date for that banquet was May 22, 1868, following another audience with the emperor at Osaka. The second mention comes on November 9, in which Satow records that he and Mitford ate dinner with Nagaoka at the Higo yashiki in Shirokane. He comments that, 'it was a dinner in European style served from the hotel in a picturesque two-storeyed house built in the garden so as to command a view over the nagaya in the direction of the bay'. On neither occasion does Satow provide the reader with any details of the food eaten or any comments as to its qualities.

Satow's final mention of food comes on 11th February

1869, which he describes as being the Japanese New Year's Day. He describes eating *ozoni* and informs the reader that it is, 'a soup in which pieces of fried mochi are soaked'. Definitions for both *ozoni* and *mochi* are provided in the glossary which forms an appendix to *Diplomat*.

3. Discussion

As examined in the analysis section of this paper, Satow refers to food sporadically throughout *Diplomat*. He does not make a habit of describing food at every dinner he records as having attended, and that is why the rare instances where he does describe the food eaten are particularly interesting. Ruxton (2015)^[6] in his paper on the differences between Satow's original journals and the published version of them which became *Diplomat*, states that the journals are 'franker' and contain 'the young Ernest Satow's raw and unprocessed experiences'. Naturally enough, Satow did not want to overload *Diplomat* with too many personal impressions even though there is no question that Satow was certainly writing a personal memoir. Nevertheless, the details that Satow does include in his record of his experiences with Japanese food provide an interesting insight into the food which might have been eaten by a Westerner in mid-nineteenth century Japan.

The first significant insight is that Satow appears not to have been reliant on Japanese food until a substantial length of time had passed since his arrival in the country. As mentioned above, Satow states that he and Mitford moved into their house in the Sengakuji area of Edo in the spring of 1867, and that it was there that they lived 'entirely on Japanese food'. Having arrived in Japan in September 1862 it was therefore approximately four-and-a-half years since his arrival. This being the case, the question arises as to what kind of diet Satow had sustained himself on until that time. Unfortunately, *Diplomat* provides few hints of Satow's private arrangements regarding food in that period, but he mentions employing a cook as a servant, and the inference is that the cook endeavoured to produce simple Western-style cooking using whatever ingredients were available. Writing in his book *Tales of the Foreign Settlements* Williams (1958)^[7] suggests that cooks employed by Westerners in the early days of the foreign settlements were very often Chinese because few

Japanese could understand English, with the implication being that Japanese cooks could not understand instructions on how to cook in a European style.

Furthermore, Satow was part of the foreign settlement community and spent time with the other Britons and Europeans then living in Yokohama. This would have entailed socializing with a wide group of non-Japanese people including other diplomats like himself, but also, traders, soldiers, sailors, and missionaries. By its very nature, Yokohama was an international, cosmopolitan place, and, with ships coming and going all the time, some Western products would have been available for purchase there. Obviously, different conditions would have prevailed in the interior of the country and in the ports, such as Uwajima and Kanazawa, which Satow visited on his travels. What is certain, is that an institution such as the Yokohama Club would have made efforts to provide its patrons with the kind of food to which they were accustomed in their home countries, and Satow and other foreigners would have made use of their hospitality. Chamberlain (1890)^[8], when writing about Japanese food dogmatically states that, 'Japanese dishes fail to satisfy European cravings', and on the evidence of *Diplomat*, Satow's examples of Sir Harry Parkes and other Western acquaintances suggests that a significant number of Westerners only ate Japanese food in extreme circumstances.

Satow's writing is also interesting in the places where he makes a comparison of himself with other Westerners' reluctance to eat Japanese food. As shown above, during his account of his visit to Sado Island with Sir Harry Parkes, Satow records Parkes' willful avoidance of Japanese hospitality in that he preferred to make his way to the other side of the island by sailing on HMS Basilisk. One of the reasons Satow gives for his chief's choice is that Parkes would have wanted a more substantial meal than 'sake and sakana'. It can be inferred from this that Parkes avoided Japanese food whenever possible. This account ties in with Satow's record of his overland trip from Osaka to Yedo. On reaching Kusatsu on the shores of Lake Biwa, the fact that Satow writes about the expectation of the people at the inn that Europeans could not eat rice is highly significant. Although there must have been occasions when any foreigner who strayed away from Yokohama or Nagasaki would have eaten Japanese food from necessity, the existence of this stereotype in the minds of the rural Japanese population

indicates that for the most part, travelers from other lands made efforts to secure food to their own liking wherever possible. Fifty years after the period about which Satow was writing, Chamberlain in his *Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1913, although first published in 1891)^[9] states that, 'most foreign travellers carry their own provisions,' when moving around the country and that, 'Many who view Japanese food hopefully from a distance, have found their spirits sink and their tempers embittered when brought face to face with its unsatisfying actuality'. It seems reasonable to conclude that Satow's adoption of a Japanese diet would have been viewed as eccentric by most of his fellow countrymen and that Satow was right to consider himself as not being typical.

A further point of interest which arises from Satow's descriptions of food is his use of the expressions 'à la Japonaise' or 'in Japanese style' as a convenient way to describe a variety of his dining experiences. The morning after his dinner with Ireya at Uwajima, Satow employs the expression 'à la Japonaise' to describe how he breakfasted. What Satow actually wrote was, 'after a good breakfast à la Japonaise'. When Satow writes 'à la Japonaise' he seems to be purposefully using a French expression to convey the nature of the meal without going into details. There are, perhaps, two reasons why Satow chooses to use this expression. The first could have been a desire to convey the foreign nature of the food being served by using the French language expression which means 'in Japanese style'. The second is probably of a more pragmatic nature. Satow possibly reasoned that his readers would have been interested in his experiences in a foreign land but would not have welcomed, or been able to visualize, lengthy descriptions of food served and eaten. It is perhaps for this reason that Satow does describe in more detail the rare occasions on which he was treated to European food, knowing that his readers would be able to picture the dishes for themselves. By using the phrase 'à la Japonaise' Satow conveys to his readers that the meal was a novel one, but also that the details would require too much explanation to make it worthwhile explaining everything in detail. There is also the possibility that contrary to what has been described above regarding the preferences of other Westerners, Satow is signaling to his readers his pride in being willing to eat the local food.

In the rare cases in which Satow does consider it necessary to use a Japanese word relating to food he

invariably provides an immediate explanation for the benefit of the reader. *Diplomat* also includes a glossary of Japanese terms used in the narrative. The glossary contains a total of 172 words, of which only eleven are items of food. Further analysis shows that of those eleven words, four of them (*awabi*, *sakana*, *sazae*, and *tai*) relate to fish or shellfish, three are drinks, (*mirin*, *sake*, and *toso*), while the final four words are common Japanese foods (*miso*, *mochi*, *wasabi*, and *zoni*). The remaining 161 words in the glossary provide English-speaking readers with definitions for Japanese words relating to cultural objects and events, however the largest group of words within the glossary refers to official titles for nobles within the hierarchy of Japanese society. As is natural, the words which have found their way into the glossary reflect the composition of the book. Satow was writing a memoir of the political situation in Japan and his personal involvement with many of the key people; he was not writing a guide for gourmets. Using expressions such as 'à la Japonaise' or 'in Japanese style' ensures that his narrative of events does not get sidetracked by unnecessary information which would, moreover, be largely incomprehensible to his readers without the addition of a much more extensive glossary.

Finally, as has been noted, Satow does not generally make a point of talking about the food he ate. Especially in the later chapters of *Diplomat* meetings are described as having taken place at dinner, without any hint at all as to the manner of the food being eaten. Satow is describing the fast-moving political situation and naturally does not mention food in those cases. On the contrary, the modern reader may be surprised at Satow's frequent allusions to the drinking of Western alcoholic drinks. In addition to *sake* being consumed at meals hosted by Japanese people, the following alcoholic drinks are all mentioned in *Diplomat*: champagne, wine, sherry, brandy, whisky, pale ale, and gin. Satow remarks upon the 'importation of large quantities of wines, beer, spirits and stores', and with its expanding population of non-Japanese young men it is not surprising that Yokohama had a regular supply of imported liquor. The fact that Satow seems to have had access to Western liquor during many of his travels around the country can be ascribed to his traveling on a Royal Navy warship. Carrying heavy items such as alcoholic beverages on foot or on horseback would have been prohibitive, but taking a personal stock of drinks on a warship would not have represented a

major difficulty.

4. Conclusion

In Western writers' descriptions of Japan in the nineteenth century there seems to have been a trend of general disdain for Japanese food. Chamberlain has been quoted above, and another example is the report made by Lord Elgin's private secretary in 1858 following his chief's mission to the Shogun at Edo. This episode is quoted in Williams' (1958)^[10] *Shades of the Past*. The private secretary records that a large number of dishes were served making it impossible to starve, but having tried all the dishes available he comments that it was, 'an experience from which I would recommend any future visitor to Japan to abstain'. Satow's account of his first years in Japan appears to reinforce the message of other writers by hinting at how differently Satow behaves to other Westerners. Satow states that he and Mitford lived entirely on Japanese food, and Satow and Wirgman survived on a Japanese diet on their overland journey from Osaka to Edo.

What was it about Satow that made him different to the majority of his contemporaries? The evidence of *Diplomat* suggests that it was Satow's desire to achieve total proficiency in the Japanese language that set him apart from other Westerners. Satow's yearning to understand the Japanese language meant that he was more willing to converse with Japanese people, more willing to immerse himself in Japanese culture, and seemingly, more likely to experiment with eating Japanese food. Consequently, Satow also seems to have been more likely to be invited to receive Japanese hospitality than his fellow countrymen and that, in turn, afforded Satow more opportunities to become used to eating Japanese food and to find it acceptable. In summary, *Diplomat* shows Satow to be a fine example for anyone wishing to learn a foreign language and acclimatize themselves to a new culture: willingness to talk with native speakers and to experience the local culture becomes the start of a virtuous circle which becomes a self-perpetuating process of education in intercultural awareness.

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概要

「一外交官の見た明治維新」で語るアーネスト・サトウの日本での食生活

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アーネスト・サトウ（1843～1929）はイギリスの外交官で、第一次日本駐在（1862～1869）は幕末期から明治維新に重なっていた。その数年後サトウが記したものが「一外交官の見た明治維新」という回想録である。本論文では、「一外交官の見た明治維新」を分析することで、サトウの日本駐在中の食生活を明らかにした。

キーワード：幕末日本、アーネスト・サトウ、異文化理解、食生活
