

## British Chaplains And Diplomats in Japan:

Two Case Studies: Michael Buckworth Bailey  
and Lionel Berners Cholmondeley

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This research note investigates two British Anglican clergymen: Michael Buckworth Bailey (1827-1899) who was British consular chaplain in Yokohama between 1862 and 1872; and Lionel Berners Cholmondeley (1858-1945) who served as honorary chaplain to the British Embassy from 1902 to 1922. The immediate motivation for this research stems from a reading of *The Ernest Satow Album*<sup>(1)</sup> which makes no mention of Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929)'s devout Christian faith or that of his Japanese wife and sons and their connection to Lionel Cholmondeley. A further incentive was provided by an observation made by Cyril Powles that 'the personal links between missionaries and diplomats have been less fully documented' than their mutual efforts to influence the formulation of foreign policy in a country like Japan where the interests of imperialism had to be pursued by careful diplomacy rather than by direct control.<sup>(2)</sup> The personal link between Cholmondeley and Satow is clearly evident in Cholmondeley's diaries and in his letters to Satow after Satow left Japan in 1900. Cholmondeley had strong opinions about the religious nationalism and Christianity in Japan, the impact of modernization on Taishō Japan society, Japanese politics, and Anglo-Japanese relations which he shared with Satow. His views are important

because they mirror a disenchantment with Taishō Japan among 'Old Japan Hands' who looked back to Meiji Japan as a Golden Age.<sup>(3)</sup>

Satow serves as a link to 1860s Yokohama and to Michael Buckworth Bailey whose ten-year tenure as British consular chaplain coincided with Satow's first ten years of consular service in Japan. It was, however, Satow's great friend, William Willis (1837-1894), the British Legation's doctor, who had the most to say about Bailey. Bailey's appointment by the British Foreign Secretary and the financial subsidy provided by the British Foreign Office to Christ Church showed the British government believed the British community in Yokohama should have a Church of England church and priest in their midst. While Bailey's forays into business enterprises are known,<sup>(4)</sup> these and the unwelcomed curiosity of the English language Yokohama press into his activities, have tended to overshadow his more positive achievements. While the history of the Christian movement in Yokohama in the 1860s is dominated by the activities of American missionaries, the intention in investigating Bailey is to emphasize he should be recognized as a significant clerical figure in the treaty port in the years before the open propagation of the Christian message to the Japanese and a priest who preached a different form of Protestantism from the Calvinism of the American Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed and Baptist missionaries in the years before the open propagation of the Christian message to the Japanese.

### *Michael Buckworth Bailey in Japan 1862-1872*

Michael Buckworth Bailey arrived in Yokohama just days before

the Namamugi Incident of September 1862, and among his first duties was to preside over the burial of Lennox Richardson (1834-1862). Bailey was selected by Earl Russell (1792-1878), the British Foreign Secretary,<sup>(6)</sup> to be Consular chaplain in Yokohama in response to the appeal led by the merchant William Keswick (1834-1912) of Jardine Matheson in August 1860 'to concert measures to obtain a place of public worship capable of accommodating the community of this Port.'<sup>(6)</sup> The British government agreed not only to guarantee Bailey's salary of £600 a year and accommodation for three years but also to support the maintenance of Christ Church, the first Protestant Church in Yokohama, of which Bailey became priest-in-charge.<sup>(7)</sup> Between Bailey's arrival in Japan in August 1862 and October 1863 when the building of Christ Church was completed and opened for church services, Bailey conducted divine service every Sunday at eleven in the private parlour of the British Consul's residence or at times in the courtroom of the British Consulate.<sup>(8)</sup> Bailey also performed other religious services including in October 1862 conducting, for instance, the marriage service for Augusta Fisher, the daughter of the American Consul, Colonel George S. Fisher, to John Allmand, Jr. at the American Consulate.<sup>(9)</sup> Although Christ Church lacked architectural beauty, it was large enough to accommodate a congregation of 300 to 350.<sup>(10)</sup> Moreover, efforts were made to beautify the inside, and especially at Christmas time it was beautifully and pleasingly decorated.<sup>(11)</sup> The British Government continued to subsidize Christ Church providing a sum of money that would match or be a substantial portion of the amount raised from the congregation through the sale of pew seats and offerings.

Bailey<sup>(12)</sup> was a controversial and colourful figure in Yokohama in

the 1860s who evoked mixed reactions from his colleagues in the British Legation. In early August 1862 William Willis (1837-1894), the medical doctor to the British Legation in Yokohama, wrote that Bailey 'seems a good sort of unaffected man I heard him preach a short sermon last Sunday which I believe has pleased the community very fairly.'<sup>(13)</sup> Clara Hepburn (1818-1906), the wife of J. C. Hepburn (1815-1911), did not care for the Episcopal form of worship, but she liked Bailey's sermons which she thought excellent and most evangelical.<sup>(14)</sup> There was a difference between Bailey the priest who gave good sermons and Bailey the private family man. Hugh Cortazzi has suggested 'Bailey seems to have been a difficult and unpleasant fellow' who was known to have 'whipped his servants and on one occasion put them in sacks to prevent them from running away. But the community seems to have put up with him perhaps out of pity for his wife and children.'<sup>(15)</sup>

At the time of their arrival in Yokohama, Willis noted Mrs. Bailey was pregnant for the fourth time, and the Bailey children 'noisy & ill-reared.'<sup>(16)</sup> By the time they left in 1872 they had nine children.<sup>(17)</sup> Willis described Mrs. Bailey as a 'good-natured cook like woman.'<sup>(18)</sup> While this was a deliberately demeaning remark, Willis had great sympathy for those women like Mrs. Bailey and Lady Parkes, wife of the British Minister, whose husbands kept them constantly pregnant leading to the births of multiple and often sickly children<sup>(19)</sup> over the course of a few years and was very critical of their husbands; Bailey and Sir Harry Parkes, for their cavalier unconcern for their wives' health and well-being.<sup>(20)</sup>

Bailey's father, Benjamin, had printed and published tracts and books in the vernacular Malayalam language when serving in Kerala in

southern India, in Japan his son began publishing a Japanese language paper, *Bankoku Shimbunshi* (万国新聞紙), which aimed to 'acquaint Japanese with the affairs of all nations and lasted for a full two years and five months after 1867.'<sup>(21)</sup> It was not enthusiastically endorsed by *The Japan Times' Overland Mail*, which noted perceptively 'a newspaper was started in the spring by the Consular Chaplain, the Revd. M. B. Bailey, printed in the vernacular, from which we anticipated some good: but it is badly conducted and, however profitable as advertisements may prove to its proprietor, it appears to contain very little information likely to be of service to the Japanese.'<sup>(22)</sup> In 1867 the *Bankoku Shimbunshi* was running ten advertisements per issue,<sup>(23)</sup> and was available in all the Japanese treaty ports. Given his large family, the possibility of running the newspaper at a profit was obviously attractive, but it was also natural for him, following his father's example in India, to see the importance of publishing in Japanese.

Bailey was also known for being the co-creator with one of his congregation, William H. Smith, of a garden on the Yokohama Bluff in which varieties of European and American vegetables were introduced into Japan. He was also involved in raising pigs, and Mrs. Bailey in a European laundry.<sup>(24)</sup> With a growing family, it was understandable that Bailey would be interested in agricultural pursuits that would lessen his living expenses.

Arthur Collins Maclay (1853-1930), the son of an American Methodist Episcopalian missionary, later noted the Westerners in Yokohama thought 'a bitter controversy between the chaplain and the community upon some trifling church affair, is an invigorating species of diversion that appears to have peculiar charms, and is devoutly encouraged on

all possible occasions.'<sup>(25)</sup> Unfortunately for Bailey and his family, they lived a fish bowl existence under the scrutiny of a foreign community that loved to gossip. Writing about gossip, Willis noted that 'Yokohama is a terrible place for a female to live in but it is no better or worse than China or India...I would advise a man to think twice before he brings his wife out here. It is as far as the male sex concerned the most quarrelsome community in the world owing I believe to an unprincipled newspaper that blows the coals when and where it [can] amongst the Residents.'<sup>(26)</sup> The members of the British Legation were often the target of scurrilous and unwarranted newspaper gossip which Willis found annoying. Willis himself was not above being highly critical of those he did not like including D. B. Simmons, the sometime Dutch Reformed missionary doctor.<sup>(27)</sup> A more positive view of American missionaries emerged in November 1862 when Willis' close friend, Ernest Satow, found that Samuel Robbins Brown (1810-1880), the senior Dutch Reformed missionary in Kanagawa, was willing to give him two Japanese lessons a week.<sup>(28)</sup>

Part of the Consular chaplain duties was to serve as chaplain to the British garrison in Yokohama. In late September 1865 the troopship HMS *Adventure* arrived in Yokohama from Hong Kong carrying close to 200 troops and 150 women and children dependents belonging to two British Army battalions.<sup>(29)</sup> A considerable number of the new arrivals were sick because of the unhealthy conditions in Hong Kong. A scandal arose when it was reported that senior officers including the chief medical officer had been in Yokohama 'grumbling at its dullness and enjoying its itziboo exchange' instead of combatting the health problems in Hong Kong.<sup>(30)</sup> This was a serious charge because it suggested that

these officers were in Japan because they could make a profit out of the exchange rate and were neglecting their professional responsibilities to the troops they commanded in Hong Kong. Bailey became involved when he defended the actions of Major-General P.M.N. Guy and other officers in looking after the sick when they arrived in Yokohama. *The Japan Herald* viciously attacked Bailey as misrepresenting the facts when he wrote to the newspaper.<sup>(31)</sup> At the time when one of the British battalions left Japan at the end of its tour of duty, General Guy ordered Dr. Woodward, a military doctor in Yokohama, to read an apology before the officers and heads of departments of the Garrison for unfounded charges brought by him against Bailey.<sup>(32)</sup> Bailey obviously had the courage to stand up for what he believed to be right even if it brought him unwarranted criticism.

In June 1868 at the time of the Urakami crypto-Christian persecution, Willis wrote that he felt there was going to be prolonged trouble in Japan because of the proselytization of French Jesuits and this could lead to war, but added 'the Japanese fear we are all bent upon making them Christians at all costs... but the Japanese complain we are all at the same work and with truth for the missionaries of all countries are narrowly carrying out their office. I half think that the native Christians will be terribly dealt with and indeed I feel that the whole affair is one of great magnitude and will attract daily more importance if the preaching and teaching of missionaries be encouraged by foreign states.'<sup>(33)</sup> Algernon Bertram Mitford (1837-1916), the secretary of the British Legation, wrote from Osaka similarly in June 1868 about the Urakami crypto-Christians.<sup>(34)</sup> Bailey himself left no record of his personal views on the Urakami persecutions, but, clearly, Willis and

Mitford were not sympathetic to the actions of missionaries in bringing about the persecution.

After ten years of service as consular chaplain in Yokohama, Bailey left Japan because of ill-health in his family.<sup>(35)</sup> The Foreign Office was sympathetic to him to the extent that they awarded him a pension of close to £69 per year.<sup>(36)</sup> His later years in England were anti-climactic in comparison to his ten years in Japan for it was spent serving as a curate in a long series of different parishes until just before his death in 1899 he became the rector of a church in Cold Norton, Essex. Edward William Syle (1817-1890), an American Protestant Episcopal missionary, was recruited from Shanghai as Bailey's replacement. However, by the time Syle took up his post in 1873, Christ Church was facing financial difficulties because of the unwillingness of the British Government in 1871 to fully match the amount raised by British subjects in the congregation.<sup>(37)</sup> As the chaplain's salary in 1872 was \$3,294.12, the Church was deeply reliant on the British Government grant to pay its priest. In January 1874, *The Japan Weekly Mail* reported that the government had paid £800 (£400 per annum for 1873 and 1874) and given notice that its grant in aid would cease.<sup>(38)</sup> When the grant in aid ran out, Syle left Christ Church to take up a teaching post at the Kaisei Gakkô in Tokyo. The British Foreign Office was aware of the importance of maintaining a British chaplain to look after the spiritual needs of the British community in Yokohama, but its willingness to continue to subsidize his salary beyond ten years was not there.

Bailey was from a Low Church Anglican Church Missionary Society missionary family which helps to account for Clara Hepburn finding his sermons 'evangelical.' His Cambridge University degree gave

him an educational background which was on par if not superior to that of Willis, Satow and the other members of the British Legation in Yokohama. Just as earlier experience in China coloured the attitudes of Sir Rutherford Alcock or Sir Harry Parkes, the two most important British Ministers to Japan in the 1860s, to Japan, so too did Bailey's India experiences colour his attitudes to living in Yokohama. Having lived in India as a boy, Bailey would be used to living surrounded by people of a different race and culture but also would expect to live a privileged existence as an Englishman working overseas in a Japanese treaty port. The whipping of servants and putting them in sacks to prevent them from running away seems unusual for Japan but might possibly be a practice common in early 19th century India. A clearer connection to his family's experience in India was his venture in publishing the vernacular *Bankoku Shimbunshi* because his father was a pioneer in vernacular publishing in Kerala. While W. H. Smith is known to have been his partner in many of his business ventures, it is less clear who were his Japanese associates. As research allows a more complete portrayal of Bailey and his activities in Yokohama to emerge, it is his contacts with Japanese, especially young Japanese students who would naturally gravitate to him if only because he was for them a living encyclopaedia of things English as well as a possible teacher of English, that remains to be fully researched.

While Bailey as consular chaplain cared for the spiritual needs of the British community in Yokohama, Lionel Berners Cholmondeley was a missionary who saw his responsibilities to both be a pastoral and educational missionary to the Japanese and to help care for the needs of the British community in Tokyo, most specifically those in the British

Embassy.

### *Lionel Berners Cholmondeley in Japan 1888-1920*

Lionel Berners Cholmondeley<sup>(39)</sup> came to Japan originally as chaplain to Bishop Edward Bickersteth (1850-1897) in 1887 and as a member of the St. Andrew's Missionary Brotherhood (which was modelled on the Cambridge Mission to Delhi). He became honorary chaplain to the British Embassy in 1902 in succession to Archdeacon Alexander Croft Shaw (1846-1902) and remained such until 1922. Cholmondeley is important because of his personal relations and friendship with key diplomatic figures including Sir Claude MacDonald (1852-1915) British Minister in Japan from 1900 and first British Ambassador to Japan 1905-1912) who was responsible for his appointment;<sup>(40)</sup> and Sir William Conyngham Greene (1854-1934), British Ambassador to Japan from 1912 to 1919. He was particularly fond of Conyngham Greene, his wife and daughters. As well as ministers and ambassadors, Cholmondeley was friends with many of the more junior members of the embassy staff including Harold George Parlett (1869-1945) and George Bailey Sansom (1883-1965). Having private means,<sup>(41)</sup> he was able to build with the help of his many relatives St. Barnabas Church, Ushigome<sup>(42)</sup> of which he was long-time priest in charge, and St. George's Church on Peel Island in the Bonin Islands (Ogasawara Islands). Both these churches were designed by his friend, the architect Sir Josiah Conder (1852-1920). Cholmondeley had a literary streak and was the author of a book about the history of the English-speaking inhabitants of the Ogasawara Islands.<sup>(43)</sup> He also edited the *South*

*Tokyo Diocesan Magazine* and magazine of the Guild of St. Paul which supported missionary work in the South Tokyo diocese. It was usual for SPG missionaries in Tokyo to teach in secular schools, most often at Keio Gijuku, but in Cholmondeley's case he taught at the Senmon Gakkô (Waseda) which is why he lived in Ushigome. He had strong connections to the Hatoyama family, especially the younger son Philip Hatoyama (鳩山秀夫 Hatoyama Hideo, 1884-1946) who was many years a Law professor at Tokyo Imperial University and elected Churchwarden of St. Barnabas.<sup>(44)</sup> Another close friend of Cholmondeley and elected Churchwarden was Saeki Yoshirô (佐伯好郎, 1871-1965) who became a professor of law at Meiji University.

What is important here is his friendship with Sir Ernest Satow who was British Minister in Japan between 1895 and 1900. Cholmondeley corresponded after Satow left Japan, both providing him with information about current affairs in Japan and about Satow's Japanese wife (Takeda Kane 武田兼 1853-1932) and their sons (Takeda Eitarô 武田榮太郎 1880-1926 and Takeda Hisayoshi 武田久吉 1883-1972). In a real sense, Cholmondeley was the discreet guardian of Satow's Japanese family and watchful over their welfare. Cholmondeley first met Satow in Yokohama in July 1895, but he had known the Takeda boys and their mother before he met their father.<sup>(45)</sup> In August 1896 Satow invited Cholmondeley to stay at his summer villa at Lake Chûzenji.<sup>(46)</sup> In 1897 Satow, on a visit to England, went to Adlestrop in the Cotswolds to see Cholmondeley's aged parents and his brother. In September 1905 Cholmondeley would stay with Satow in Beijing when he was on his way back to Japan after visiting England, and on another occasion, when on furlough in England, visited Satow at his home, Beaumont, in Ottery

St. Mary near Sidmouth in Devon.

Takeda Kane was a member of St. Barnabas' Church. In July 1909 Cholmondeley wrote about her that 'His [Takeda Hisayoshi's] mother is very constant at Church. I feel there that she finds help and pleasure in coming.'<sup>(47)</sup> Again, in January 1915 Cholmondeley wrote that 'H's mother was in Church on Xmas day - in fact she is very regular in her attendance.'<sup>(48)</sup> As regards to Takeda Hisayoshi, Cholmondeley saw him quite regularly when Hisayoshi was living in Fujimicho with his mother. He was often away after 1900 in Sapporo,<sup>(49)</sup> in England studying on two occasions. In December 1909 when Hisayoshi was about to leave Japan to study at Kew Gardens in London, he had been coming to church regularly and had lunch with Cholmondeley who wrote that 'he is a good fellow and the prospect of going to England fills him with joy.'<sup>(50)</sup> When Hisayoshi returned to Japan from England from his second extended study stay in England, he contacted Cholmondeley. In July 1916 Cholmondeley wrote that 'H. came to lunch. It seems he has some appointment in Kyoto. However, I am glad to say he was in Church on our Whit Sunday St. Barnabas Day and received the Holy Communion.'<sup>(51)</sup> At this time Takeda Hisayoshi was very clearly a Christian like his mother. This must have pleased his father in England who was both a devout Christian and active layman who Cholmondeley wholly admired for 'the way you are playing your part as a Layman in the councils of the Church.'<sup>(52)</sup> It was through Cholmondeley's influence that Satow became a patron and supporter of the Guild of St. Paul that helped subsidize missionary activities in the Nippon Seikōkai diocese of South Tokyo.

As well as keeping him informed about his meetings with Takeda

Hisayoshi and his mother, Cholmondeley provided Satow with news about mutual friends<sup>(53)</sup> especially those in the British Embassy, and current political and religious events taking place. Cholmondeley was a supporter, for instance, of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1910, writing that 'I believe the maintenance of the Alliance is out and away our safest policy; I believe it is the alliance which will help to make impossible any rupture between Japan and America; and I believe the very best way to keep Japan out of mischief is to keep her in tow.'<sup>(54)</sup> More than anything else, Cholmondeley saw a renewed Anglo-Japanese Alliance as a safeguard against a rupture, between Japan and the United States. In the same letter, he drew Satow's attention to a re-occurring theme in his letters to Satow: the development of a national Japanese religion on equal terms to Christianity. Cholmondeley wrote that he noticed 'determination to prove themselves to have a religion on a par with Christianity – a determination to bring us as allies to respect Japanese religion, and not to allow us to look upon them as religiously inferior...When I came out to Japan, they were rather encouraging us to regard their own religions as moribund. Certainly after the death of Queen Victoria [in 1901] there was no suggestion of any Buddhist memorial service. It relieves me just to put you in possession of my views on this matter [memorial services marking the death of King Edward VII in 1910], and I believe you will in measure share them.'<sup>(55)</sup> An annoyed Sir Claude Macdonald, the British Ambassador, had told off Cholmondeley and Archdeacon Armine King for having the temerity to question his wisdom in attending a memorial service at the Hongwanji temple for Edward VII where he burnt sacred incense.<sup>(56)</sup> In March 1911 Cholmondeley wrote that the Japanese had been putting pressure on

the British Embassy to attend a celebratory Japanese service the day after the Coronation of King George V in London which 'their national conceit perhaps will suggest a Buddhist or Shinto ceremony.'<sup>(57)</sup>

Seven years later, in August 1918, Cholmondeley criticized Prince Arthur of Connaught, the son of Queen Victoria, because on an official visit to Japan he had 'allowed himself to be taken off on a Sunday to offer worship at Nogi [乃木希典, 1849-1912]'s tomb' which led Cholmondeley to write 'more and more I realize how obstinately the controllers of modern Japan are set on Japan's having her own religion and how obstinately bent they are in having it recognized by high representatives of Christian Nations, and how compact accordingly is the passive resistance offered to Christianity. And our Christianity in Japan hardly rises above the Christianity which is expected to square with the officially prescribed patriotism.'<sup>(58)</sup> Cholmondeley wondered how many Christians had pacifically subscribed to the building of the Meiji Shrine in Yoyogi. In October 1919 writing about the Meiji Shrine, he thought it would 'stand as an enormous movement to the wilfulness of the governing powers in Japan in determining that Japan could hold her own and play her part in the modern world with Emperor worship as a substitute for Christianity.'<sup>(59)</sup>

The longer he lived in Japan, the more increasingly critical of its politics and societal atmosphere, Cholmondeley became. The First World War was the changing point because the rise of pro-German feeling in the Japanese Army during the War, and the apparent lack of staunch support of Britain among Japanese politicians greatly disturbed him. In April 1917 Cholmondeley thinking about the future wishfully predicted 'after the war Japan will be finding her Bushido,

her Yamato damashii, her unique descent from the Gods, the “August Virtues”, and all the rest of her vaunted possessions an uncomfortable encumbrance.”<sup>(60)</sup> He was proven wrong. In October 1918 he wrote ‘things are not going well in this era of Taisho.’<sup>(61)</sup> He lamented the passing of the absolute power of the Emperor that had existed during the first half of the Meiji period but even after the Meiji Constitution the Emperor still retained power to enact ‘rescripts and to be a power above parliament and party politics,’ but now it seemed ‘party politics and the disappearance of the old counsellors around the Throne make it almost impossible for the present Emperor to manifest anything but his impotency.’<sup>(62)</sup> Cholmondeley clearly looked back on the Meiji period as a golden age and looked upon Taisho Japan as being in comparison unpleasant. In June 1921, Cholmondeley wrote that in Tokyo, ‘we find a people today utterly unsettled, half one thing half the other, not knowing what sort of lives to live, or in what sort of houses; not knowing what their food is; what their dress is; hardly, what their language is; what their manners are, nor what their morals are.’<sup>(63)</sup> He kept reminding himself that ‘the generation in full swing today is the generation that in its youthful days was fed up on vain glory during and after the war with Russia.’<sup>(64)</sup> It was this present generation of Japanese that Cholmondeley did not like for they were rude, lacked the manners, self-assurance and gentlemanly qualities that Japanese possessed in the Bakumatsu and Meiji periods when Satow and Cholmondeley first came to Japan.

After he returned to England Cholmondeley was the vicar of a rural Gloucestershire parish (Vicar of the Edge) for ten years before age and infirmity caused him to retire. He maintained an interest in

Japan with Hugh Byas (1875-1945) the London and New York *Times* correspondent in Tokyo, keeping him informed about things Japanese and the activities of mutual friends just as Cholmondeley had done for Sir Ernest Satow. In 1932 Byas writing Cholmondeley noted that Japan and 'the world is rushing into something new. No doubt it will be better but I have no great desire to hasten it.'<sup>65</sup> Undoubtedly, Cholmondeley agreed. He had worked in Japan for over thirty years and seen the rise and wane of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. During these years, Japan and her society had changed profoundly. In his opinion, clearly for the worse. When Bailey had left Japan in 1872, the prospects for Japan and for the Christian movement in it appeared bright. Fifty years later, when Cholmondeley left Japan, the prospects for the new Japan and the Christian movement would appear to be much dimmer.

## Endnotes

- (1) 横浜開港資料館編 (Yokohama Kaiko Shiryōkan hen), アーネスト・サトウ : 幕末維新のイギリス外交官 (*Portraits of a British Diplomat in Young Japan*) (*A-nesuto Satou: Bakumatsu Ishin no Iギリス gaikōkan, Ernest Satow: An English Diplomat in Bakumatsu-Meiji Restoration Period*) (Tokyo: Yurindo, 2001).
- (2) Cyril Hamilton Powles, 'Victorian Missionaries in Meiji Japan: The Shiba Sect 1873-1900,' Ph.d. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1968, p. 182.
- (3) See, A. Hamish Ion, 'Japan Watchers 1903-1931,' John F. Howes, ed., *Nitobe Inazo: Japan's Bridge Across the Pacific* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995).
- (4) See, 横浜開港資料館 (Yokohama Kaiko Shiryōkan), 横浜もののはじめ考 (Yokohama mono no hajime kō, Considerations Concerning the Start of

things in Yokohama) (Yokohama: Yokohama Kaiko Shiryōkan, 2003), pp. 20,52-53, 70, 172.

- (5) Foreign Office to Bailey, 9 January 1862, TNA FO 46/24. See also Bailey to Russell, 10 January 1862.
- (6) *The Japan Herald*, 25 January 1862. See also *The Japan Herald*, 21 December 1861 which deals with the objections of the American Consul, E.M. Dorr, to the use of \$1000 (which belonged to the foreign community in Yokohama and was the surplus from the sale of lots in the new concession) for the purpose of building a Church of England church.
- (7) *The Japan Herald*, 21 December 1861, see printed letter, Russell to Alcock, 26 June 1861. See also The National Archives (hereafter cited TNA), Kew, U.K., Foreign Office (hereafter cited FO) 46/26 Minutes on Summary of Letter from Rev. M. Buckworth Bailey to Hammond, 23 December 1861; FO 46/26 Hammond to Bailey, 9 January 1862.
- (8) See, for instance, notice in *The Japan Herald*, 27 September 1862.
- (9) See, married notice, *The Japan Herald*, 25 October 1862.
- (10) *The Japan Herald*, 24 October 1863. In 1870 it was reported that the size of the average congregation on Sunday was equal to that in the larger treaty port of Shanghai.
- (11) See, for instance, *The Japan Times*, 29 December 1865. See *The Japan Weekly Mail*, Church Accommodation, 3 December 1870.
- (12) Bailey was born in Cottayam, Travancore in India, where his father, Benjamin Bailey (1791-1871) served as a Church Missionary Society missionary and was a pioneer printer and publisher in the Malayalam language. He graduated BA from Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge in 1854 and the same year was ordained deacon and elevated to priest in 1856. He served in various curacies before coming to Japan.
- (13) Willis to George Willis, 4 August 1862, Willis Papers Bun 44-2, Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan (hereafter cited as Willis Papers).
- (14) Clara Hepburn to Lowrie, 16 March 1864, Presbyterian Church Board of Foreign Missions, Japan, microfilm reel 104.
- (15) Hugh Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan: In and around the Treaty Ports*

- (London: The Athlone Press, 1987), p. 78.
- (16) Willis to George Willis, 4 August 1862, Willis Papers.
- (17) TNA, FO 46/171 Bailey to Hammond, 6 January 1873.
- (18) Willis to George Willis, 17 December 1863, Willis Papers, Bun 44-5.
- (19) William Willis noted, for instance, in a letter to his brother George that Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister in Japan, had a son 'Young Harry Parkes has epileptic fits'. Willis to George Willis, 13 June 1868, Willis Papers Bun 44-9. Willis hoped that the boy would die soon because 'I entertain a most unfavourable view of his sanity.' See Hugh Cortazzi, 'The Pestilently Active Minister: Dr. Willis's Comments on Sir Harry Parkes,' *Monumenta Nipponica*, volume 39, no. 2 (Summer, 1984), pp. 147-161, p. 156.
- (20) See, for instance, the birth notice 'Bailey - on February 6<sup>th</sup> at the Parsonage, Yokohama, the wife of Rev. M. Buckworth Bailey, of a son.' *The Japan Times*, 9<sup>th</sup> February 1866.
- (21) See James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), p. 410. Peter Kornicki has noted that this newspaper 'was produced by an English clergyman in 1867-69 and was widely distributed from Hakodate to Nagasaki' but it did not prove a success. Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press Paperback, 2001), p. 66.
- (22) *The Japanese Times' Overland Mail*, review for the year 1867, 29 January 1868.
- (23) Huffman, p. 180.
- (24) W. H. Smith, a retired Lieutenant in the Royal Marines, was manager of the Yokohama United Club and behind the European laundry as well as the garden project. He was an active member of the Christ Church congregation. See entry for W. H. Smith in *Yokohama mono no hajime kô*, pp. 22, 41, 43, 52-53, 146.
- (25) Arthur Collins Maclay, *A Budget of Letters from Japan: Reminiscences of Work and Travel in Japan* (New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1886), p. 29.
- (26) Willis to George Willis, 4 August 1862, Willis Papers.

- (27) Ibid.
- (28) Satow Diary entry, 3 November 1862, TNA [PRO] 30.33/15/1.
- (29) *The Japan Herald*, 23 September 1865.
- (30) *The Japan Herald*, 22 September 1865.
- (31) *The Japan Herald*, 14 October 1865.
- (32) *The Japan Times*, 9 February 1866; 19 May 1866.
- (33) Willis to George Willis, 13 June 1868, Willis Papers.
- (34) TNA, FO 262 volume 158(3) (207), no. 430 Mitford to Parkes, 19 June 1868.
- (35) Hammond to Bailey, 6 January 1873, TNA FO 46/171.
- (36) Hammond to Bailey, 31 March 1873, TNA FO 46/171.
- (37) Church Meeting, *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 4 January 1873.
- (38) Christ Church, *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 3 January 1874.
- (39) The chief source of information about Cholmondeley's activities in Japan are the L.B. Cholmondeley diaries. There is almost a complete set of diaries covering the years from 1888 to 1921. The earlier diaries until 1913 are held in the Nippon Seikōkai Kantoku Shiryōkan, and the later diaries are in the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Archives now held in Rhodes House, Oxford, U.K. In those archives there is also a four-box collection of L.B. Cholmondeley Papers as well as the Cholmondeley's missionary annual reports located in the general South Tokyo diocesan correspondence. Also in Oxford is the correspondence of L.B. Cholmondeley, Ms Eng. lett.d. 99 (1914-1920), Duke Humfrey Room, Bodleian Library, Oxford University consisting of some 238 pages of letters to and from Cholmondeley and his friends and family concerning the first world war. There are a good number of letters from Cholmondeley to Sir Ernest Satow covering the years 1907 to 1921 in the E. M. Satow Papers in The National Archives, Kew, London, TNA 30/33 [hereafter cited as Satow Papers]. There are also occasional references to Cholmondeley in the microfilmed Satow Diaries, 1861-1926 [hereafter cited as Satow Diaries] TNA 30, 11 reels.
- (40) MacDonald to LBC, 2 April 1902, enclosed in LBC Diary 1902.
- (41) Cholmondeley had aristocratic links for his father Canon H. P.

Cholmondeley (1820-1905) was the third son of Thomas Cholmondeley, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Delamere and his mother was daughter of the 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Leigh of Stoneleigh Abbey, Kenilworth, Warwickshire. He inherited enough money to live comfortably in a Western-style house cared for by a Japanese housekeeper and his wife. He clearly spoke some Japanese as Japanese student acquaintances would write postcards to him in katakana. While he normally ate Western-style meals, he also liked Japanese food.

- (42) It opened in May 1897 and was subsequently enlarged again under Conder's design and reopened in June 1907. *South Tokyo Diocesan Magazine*, vol. XI, 33, July 1907, pp. 43-44. The church buildings of a classic English type were destroyed during the Pacific War, but the rebuilt St. Barnabas Church still exists on the same site which it now shares with the Provincial Headquarters of the Nippon Seikōkai.
- (43) Lionel Berners Cholmondeley, *The History of the Bonin Islands from the year 1827 to the year 1876 and of Nathaniel Savory one of the original settlers in which is added a short supplement dealing with the islands after their occupation by the Japanese* (London: Constable & Co., 1915).
- (44) Cholmondeley baptized Philip Hatoyama on 31 May 1903. LBC Diaries, 1903, entry for 31 May. From 1903 to 1908, when Hatoyama graduated top in the Civil Law List at Tokyo Imperial University and subsequently went to Europe to study, he was often mentioned in Cholmondeley's diaries. Indeed, in 1910 Cholmondeley conducted the service at St. Barnabas' when Hatoyama married a daughter of Baron Kikuchi Dairoku.
- (45) Cholmondeley Diaries, entry 28 July 1895, notes Satow visiting Cholmondeley at a Yokohama hotel on 28 July soon after Satow arrived in Japan to take up his duties as British Minister Plenipotenary. Cholmondeley visited the Takeda boys at their home in Fujimicho, see entry for 9 May 1895, and had them for lunch at his own home, see entry for 17 November 1895. Of the boys, Cholmondeley seemed to prefer the older boy, Eitaro, with whom he had a long talk on a visit to the Takedas in November 1897, see entry 12 November 1897. For health reasons, Takeda Eitaro left Japan in 1900, and after visiting England decided to live in the drier climate of

Colorado. He went by the name Alfred Satow and married an American, Lucy. They had no children.

- (46) Cholmondeley Diaries, entry 21 August 1896 letter from Satow to Cholmondeley. Satow also looked to Cholmondeley for religious guidance for in this same letter, Satow mentioned that he had borrowed Cholmondeley's Bible.
- (47) Cholmondeley to Satow, 23 July 1909, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/12/4.
- (48) Cholmondeley to Satow, 5 January 1915, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/12/11. Cholmondeley would always refer to Takeda Kane as Hisayoshi's mother.
- (49) In November 1907 Cholmondeley reported Hisayoshi was down from Sapporo at the beginning of the summer holidays and had come to St. Barnabas and had lunch with Cholmondeley, but he was not long in Tokyo. Cholmondeley gave him a letter of introduction to John Batchelor, the CMS missionary in Sapporo. Cholmondeley to Satow, 10 November 1907, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/12/2. Hisayoshi also knew Walter Weston, the CMS missionary and avid mountaineer, who shared Hisayoshi's interest in Alpine flowers.
- (50) Cholmondeley to Satow, 9 December 1909, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/12/4.
- (51) Cholmondeley to Satow, 8 July 1916, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/13/3.
- (52) Cholmondeley to Satow, 5 August 1917, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/13/4.
- (53) For instance, Cholmondeley reported the death of Baron D'Anethau, the Belgian Minister, in July 1910. The Baron and his wife who was English were good friends both of Satow and Cholmondeley. Cholmondeley to Satow, 29 July 1910, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/12/5. In March 1910 Cholmondeley had lunch on the anniversary of the death of 'our good friend Archdeacon Shaw' with 'Mrs. Shaw who still lives in the house in Kasumicho with her daughter Dorothea...' She was saying what a very good friend you had always been to them.' Cholmondeley to Satow, 13 March 1910, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/12/5.
- (54) Cholmondeley to Satow, 7 July 1910, Satow Papers, TNA30/33/12/5.
- (55) Ibid.

- (56) Cholmondeley to Satow, 27 May 1910, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/12/5.
- (57) Cholmondeley to Satow, 28 March 1911, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/12/6.
- (58) Cholmondeley to Satow, 1 August 1918, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/13/6.
- (59) Cholmondeley to Satow, 31 October 1919, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/13/8.
- (60) Cholmondeley to Satow, St. George's Day 1917, Satow Papers. TNA 30/33/13/4.
- (61) Cholmondeley to Satow, 22 October 1918, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/13/6.
- (62) Ibid.
- (63) Cholmondeley to Satow, 7 June 1921, Satow Papers, TNA 30/33/13/11.
- (64) Ibid.
- (65) Byas to Cholmondeley, 2 August 1932, L.B. Cholmondeley Papers, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Archives.