

The Biography
of
Major-General
Henry Spencer Palmer
R.E. F.R.A.S.
(1838-1893)

Compiled by

Jiro Higuchi

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H.S. Palmer (1838-1893)

CONTENTS

THE BIOGRAPHY

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(1838-1893)

PREFACE

CHAPTER I From His Birth in 1838 to His Arrival in Japan to Superintend Yokohama Waterworks in 1885 1

(I) Study at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, England	1
(II) To Canada as a Royal Engineer Officer	1
1) Departure to British Columbia	1
2) Publishing Weekly Journal on the Ship	4
3) To Concentrate Young Energies on the Construction of the New Colony	7
4) Palmer Had Indians in His Pocket	10
(III) Engaging in the Ordnance Survey of Home Country (1864-1874)	13
(IV) The Survey of Peninsula Sinai (1868-1869)	14
(V) Observation of the Transit of Venus in 1874 at New Zealand (1873-1875).	20
(VI) At Barbados (From November 1875 to January 1878)	26
(VII) Stationing at Hongkong (1878-1883)	30
1) Under the Governor, Pope-Hennessy	30
2) Major Palmer's Memorandum to the Japanese Government on Surveying and Astronomy	32
3) Kaoru Inouye Read Palmer's "Recent Japanese Progress" Which Appeared in "British Quarterly Review", July, 1882	35
4) Holding Fast to Go to New Zealand	39

CHAPTER II Palmer as a Technical Engineer 53

(I) The Construction of Waterworks for Yokohama	53
1) The Plan (Schedule) and Estimates	53
2) The Construction of the Waterworks Started April 1885	61
3) The Construction Completed on September 1887	67
4) The Propagation of Waterworks Project to Other Towns in Japan	70
5) Discussions in the General Assembly of the Institution of Civil Engineers in London in February 25, 1890 on Yokohama Waterworks	72
6) Criticisms on Yokohama Waterworks (Past and Present)	73
(II) Yokohama Harbour Works	74
1) Dutch Engineers vs. British Engineer	74
2) Palmer's Plan Was Finally Adopted	79
3) Quality of the Japanese Cement	82
4) Cracks of Concrete Blocks for the Breakwaters Were Found	89
5) Debates in the Diets on the Cracks of Yokohama Harbourworks from May 26, 1894 to January 19, 1895	94
(III) Docks for Yokohama Dock Company Ltd.	98
(IV) Irrigation Works by Siphon at Misakamura	103
(V) Filtration Works at the Oji Paper Mills	105

CHAPTER III Palmer as a Journalist 107

(I) List of Articles	107
----------------------	-----

(II) Before 1884 (The 17th Year of Meiji)	111
(III) 1884 (The 17th year of Meiji)	113
(IV) 1885 (The 18th year of Meiji)	115
(V) 1886 (The 19th Year of Meiji)	122
(VI) 1887 (The 20th Year of Meiji)	129
(VII) 1888 (The 21st year of Meiji)	138
(VIII) 1889 (The 22nd Year of Meiji)	147
(IX) 1890 (The 23rd Year of Meiji)	155
(X) 1891 (The 24th Year of Meiji)	159
(XI) 1892 (The 25th Year of Meiji)	165
 CHAPTER IV Palmer as an Astronomer and a Natural Scientist	 179
(I) Notes on Earth Vibration	181
(II) Meteorology in Japan	182
(III) Practical Astronomy	182
(IV) Observation of Total Sun Eclipse at Fukushima Prefecture	183
(V) Great Earthquake at Mino/Owari District	183
 CHAPTER V The Miscellaneous Articles	 187
(I) Hana Awase	187
(II) A Favourite at "Tokyo Club"	189
(III) At the General Meeting of The Great Japan Art Society	189
(IV) The Diary of Mrs. Utako Hozumi	189
(V) Palmer vs. Japanese Pickpocket	190
(VI) The Bubonic Plague and Miss Evelyn Palmer, the 2nd Daughter of Palmer	191
(VII) Two Letters from Palmer in Japan to His Eldest Son, Harry	192
(VIII) A Letter from Mr. Donald Mackenzie Wallace of The Times to H.S. Palmer in Tokyo	194
 POSTSCRIPT	 201
 NOTE	 207
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 215

PREFACE

On February 11, 1893, Captain F. Brinkley, the owner and editor of the Japan (Weekly) Mail, wrote with deepest regret in the said paper as follows;

Major-General Palmer had lain ill for over two months with typhoid fever, complicated by acute rheumatism, had just begun to progress satisfactorily towards recovery, when a stroke of apoplexy carried him off, and without once rallying, passed away quietly at 7.30 p.m. on the 10th at his residence, No. 41 Imaicho, Azabu, Tokyo.

We cannot command ourselves at this moment to speak in detail of the life and qualities of an old and close friend thus suddenly cut off in the prime of his career.

One week later, on February 18, Captain Brinkley wrote in the said paper an obituary of Henry Spencer Palmer in detail entitled "The late Major-General Palmer R.E."

Leading local newspapers viz., "Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun," "Jiji Shimpō," "Yomiuri Shimbun," "Mainichi Shimbun," and "Nippon" also wrote obituaries during the week after his death.

In England, we notice several obituaries of Palmer written in detail by "Dictionary of National Biography by Oxford University Press," "Royal Astronomical Society," "The Times," "The Royal Engineers Journal" and "The Institution of Civil Engineers."

However, we notice that those obituaries excepting "The Times" base their articles on that of "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated February 18, 1893.

Palmer, well known not only as a military officer, but rather as a scientist, fell ill and died while he was engaged with the construction of Yokohama Harbour works.

His grave at Aoyama Cemetery in Tokyo, which quotes in the epitaph "*NON OMNIS MORIUR*" (A phrase of the poem taken from CARMINA 111.30.6 by HORATIUS "*NON OMNIS MORIUR MULTAQUE PARS MEI VITABIT LIBITINUM*" meaning in English "I am not dead altogether. My main parts of the body will escape from the God of Funeral, *Libitinus*," was erected by his friends in Tokyo.

It can be well understood that, as his death approached, Palmer regretted not to have completed his work.

On April 30, 1987, the Unveiling Ceremony of his bronze bust was held at Nogeyama Public Garden in Yokohama, near the Old Water Reservoir at Noge.

It was to commemorate the Centenary of the First Modern Waterworks completed in Yokohama in 1887, designed and superintended by Palmer himself.

We know that his merits were greatly commended even after 100 years.

Hereafter, the writer is going to describe his life, on the bases of the writer's researches for more than 20 years.

Although the writer does not know him personally, he could roughly grasp Palmer's character by the writer's investigations and studies.

The following sketches on Palmer made by Captain Brinkley after his death in the obituary on February 18, 1893 will be helpful.

Major-General Palmer was a man of exceptionally clear, vigorous intellect, remarkable breadth and liberality of view.

His faculty of rapid calculation was of a high order, and he possessed a rare power of assimilating and marshalling facts.

Upon every work entrusted to his discretion, he brought to bear unwearied strength of scrutiny and tenacious industry so that his conceptions were admirably exact and his execution correspondently free from error.

As a technical expert he rendered signal service to Japan, and in his congenial role as a writer, he laid her under obligations which can never be requited.

Natural kind instincts and a clear estimate of England's real interests in this quarter of the East led him to advocate sympathetic and generous treatment of Japan.

His series of letters to "The Times" did more to familiarize Anglo-Saxon readers with the true state of affairs in this Empire than anything that has been written in the past, or is likely to be written hereafter.

A style clear and full of verve, a large range of reading and an exceptional command of language all rendered his letters to the great journal not less interesting than cogent.

He was in truth a man of rare gifts.

A really wonderful instinct of orderliness enabled him to utilize his faculties to the full.

In everyday life he showed a keen appreciation of humour, and his power of anecdote made him a delightful companion whose memory will long be cherished by a wide circle of friends and admirers.

Yokohama Japan
January 2002

Jiro Higuchi

CHAPTER I

From His Birth in 1838 to His Arrival in Japan to Superintend Yokohama Waterworks in 1885

(I) Study at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, England

Henry Spencer Palmer was born on April 30, 1838, at Bangalore¹, East India, his father being the late Colonel John Freke Palmer, of Madras Staff Corps, and his mother Jane, the daughter of John James, Esquire of Truro, Cornwall, and sister of Lieutenant General, Sir Henry James, Royal Engineers.

He was the third son but he lost his mother within one month after his birth.

He was educated at a private school at Bath (his father lived there after he retired from East India Company's service) and was educated by private tutors at Woolwich and Plumstead.

In January 1856, he successfully competed his studies for admission to the Practical Class of the Royal Military Academy gaining the 7th place among the 40 successful candidates.

He was the youngest of them all, being indeed, under the prescribed age (18-20), an exception having been made in his case by the authorities.

On graduating Woolwich at the end of the same year, he obtained the second place, chiefly owing to proficiency in mathematics and surveying, in which subjects he was far ahead of other classmates.

Henry Spencer Palmer was gazetted a Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers on December 20, 1856, and was stationed to Chatham.

He spent a year at the School of Military Engineering there in the usual course of young Engineer officers and then about nine months as a company officer at Portsmouth with district duty on the Isle of Wight.

Lieutenant Palmer was appointed on September 1858 to the British Columbian Expedition, under Colonel R.C. Moody, R.E.² who had been appointed Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for that Colony.

(II) To Canada as a Royal Engineer Officer

1) Departure to British Columbia

Let the writer introduce the prevailing conditions in British Columbia at the time of 1858, by referring to a portion of the article titled "The Royal Engineers British Columbian Detachment, their work in helping to establish British Columbia" written by Kathereen S. Weeks, which appeared in "Canadian Geographical Journal -July 1943." It is as

follows;

Fifty years of peaceful trading came to an abrupt end with the finding of placer gold in the Fraser and Thompson rivers.

It was not until the spring of 1858 that the real gold rush began; by this time the stories of the finding of gold had spread far and wide.

Men came in their thousands to Victoria, the last place from which supplies could be obtained.

Between June 5 and July 8, nineteen ships had brought some 30,000 men to that port, transforming it from a peaceful pioneer settlement into a metropolis of tents.

The new-found mineral wealth of British Columbia had attracted from California some of the most reckless rascals gold has ever given birth to.

Strolling about the canvas streets of Victoria might be seen men whose names were in the black book of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco.

James Douglas, Chief Factor for the Hudson Bay Company and Governor of Vancouver Island, with his conservative company training and experience, was alarmed at this influx of men of such varied types pouring into a country which was absolutely without the means of enforcing order, or of maintaining a flow of supplies for the feeding of such a multitude.

In the Colonial Secretary of that day, Sir Edward Bulwar Lytton³, Douglas had a wise and understanding adviser.

In Lytton British Columbia found a firm friend, a man who had the vision to see what the Colony become and the wisdom to advise those who had to grapple with the problems so suddenly confronting them.

Speaking in the House of Commons on July 8, 1858, Lytton urged the necessity of an immediate measure to secure this promising and noble territory from becoming the scene of turbulent disorder, and to place over the fierce passions which spring from a hunger of gold the restraints of establishing law.

A few days later Lytton wrote to Douglas telling him of his decision to send to the Colony a detachment of the Royal Engineers; he was thinking not only of establishing law and order, but of developing with all speed the resources of the country.

On July 31, 1858, Lytton wrote; <It will devolve upon them (The Engineers) to survey those parts of the country which may be considered most suitable for settlement to mark out allotments of land for public purposes, to suggest a site for the seat of government, to point out where roads should be made, and to render you such assistance as may be in their power.

This force is sent for scientific and practical purposes, and not solely for military objects.>

In all, six officers and 150 non-commissioned officers and men were selected for this service, thirty of them brought their wives and families from a much larger number who volunteered, and we were told that the chosen included surveyors, astronomers, engineers, draughtsmen, architects, accountants, clerks, printers, lithographers, carpenters, boat-builders, masons, bricklayers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, in fact, men of every trade and calling.

Following is an excerpt of Sir Lytton's farewell speech to the detachment sent to British Columbia.

Soldiers, you are going to a distant country, not, I trust, to fight against men, but to conquer nature; not to besiege cities, but to create them; not to overthrow kingdoms, but to assist in establishing new communities under the sceptre of your own Queen.

For those noble objects, you, soldiers of the Royal Engineers, have been specially selected from the ranks of Her Majesty's armies.

Wherever you go, you carry with you not only English valour and English loyalty, but English intelligence and English skill.

Wherever a difficulty is to be encountered, which requires in the soldier not only courage and discipline, but education and science, sappers and miners, the Sovereign of England turns with confidence to you.

If this were the service of danger and bloodshed, I know that on every field, and against all odds, the honour of the English arms would be safe from a stain in your hands; but in that distant region to which you depart, I hope that our national flag will wave in peaceful triumph, on many a Royal birthday, from walls and church towers which you will have assisted to raise from the wilderness, and will leave to remote generations as the bloodless trophies of your renown.

Soldiers! You will be exposed to temptation.

You go where gold is discovered, where avarice inflames all the passions.

But I know that the voice of duty and the love of honour will keep you true to our officers, and worthy of the trust which your Sovereign places in her Royal Engineers.

This dignified speech delivered by Sir Lytton must have given deepest impression to the heart of young Palmer who had just started his career.

Here, let the writer introduce the list of the wishes which were outlined by Sir Lytton to Col. Moody at the interview held before the latter's departure to British Columbia.

They were:

- (1) He should give immediate attention to means of transport by land and water.
- (2) Report on the unification of British interests on the Pacific.
- (3) Report on harbours of the Colony and the existence of all minerals, especially, coal, and on fisheries, timber, oil and agriculture.
- (4) Keep his force from drink.
- (5) Show courtesy and tact for all foreigners.
- (6) Work harmoniously with the Governor.
- (7) See the Colony was self supporting.

- (8) Survey the land most needed and send full reports on permanent settlement as the Home Authorities wished to establish responsible government as soon as possible.

The last detachment of Royal Engineers for service in British Columbia sailed finally from the Downs at 10 p.m. on Sunday, October 17, on board the clipper ship "Thames City," 557 tons, commanded by Captain Glover.

The detachment consisted of 2 officers, 1 staff Assistant Surgeon, 118 non-commissioned officers and men, 31 women and 34 children, the whole under the command of Captain H.R. Luard, R.E.

The vessel left Gravesend on Sunday, the 10th, but was detained wind-bound in the Downs from the 12th to the 17th.

2) Publishing Weekly Journal on the Ship

Twenty year old Lieutenant Palmer and Corporal Sinnett planned to publish the journal on the ship during the voyage.

Their senior officer Captain March, R.E. permitted their plan and furnished the necessary materials.

It was arranged that Captain Luard, the Commanding Officer of the final detachment of the British Columbian Expedition Forces who happens to have a very loud voice, reads out the journal just published in manuscript form, to the emigrants on the quarter-deck every Saturday afternoon.

The journal was named as "The Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle."

This journal was published regularly every week except for twice from No. 1 dated November 6, 1858 to No. 17 dated April 2, 1859.

Lieutenant Palmer occasionally wrote the editorial of the Journal and regularly contributed the articles on the natural history of the voyage under the name of Naturalist.

In the foreword of the first number of the journal dated November 6, 1858, we find the following sentences;

We know, all of us, that of our duties to one another, the chief is at all times, and never more so in our own cases than now, a constant feeling of brotherly love and kindness, a resolution to avoid offence, a desire to please and be pleased, and a readiness to contribute, each in his ability, to the common fund of content and cheerfulness. -----

As one means towards this desired end, a thoughtful friend on shore, whose name should be held in honour, among us, has provided us with the means of establishing a small Newspaper, to be kept by our own contributions.

Let us set about it with good will and heartiness.

Some little amusement and instruction will be sure to follow.

Any trifling matter recorded now it will be a pleasure to refer to

hereafter as a memorial of the peaceful and happy days of our voyage, contrasted with the turmoil and excitement, that await us in the Colony of British Columbia.

In conclusion, we earnestly appeal to all interested in our success to give their hearty support to this interesting publication, and feel sure that provided each does his best the production of the rare talent hitherto lying dormant on board the Thames City cannot fail to ensure a long life and glorious success to the Emigrant Soldiers' Gazette and Cape Horn Chronicle.

By reading these sentences, we cannot help feeling inspired by the fine spirit of the young editors.

The journal contained the following columns:

Editorials - Natural History - Correspondences -
Naval and Military intelligence - Birth - To
Correspondents - Songs and Poems - Charades -
Conundrums - Jokes &c.

Among them, Lieutenant Palmer's "Natural History of the voyage" in series of 17 weeks was very popular.

He wrote in the foreword of his "Natural History of the Voyage" as follows:

The study of Nature is one which ought to interest the most listless of observers at all times, but if there is one time more calculated than another to inspire man with reflections on the wonders and beauties of the world we live in, and fill his mind with feelings of gratitude towards the Architect of the Universe for his bountiful goodness in arranging all things for the good of his creatures, it is when like ourselves, he is on a long voyage traversing the vast and boundless ocean, where at times nothing is discernible around him but the wide circumference of water and the vast canopy of Heaven apparently meeting the waters at the boundary commonly known as the horizon.

With the exception of the ship beneath our feet, we are entirely surrounded by natural objects.

We have beneath and around us the briny deep calm, and unruffled at one moment, boisterous, foaming, and angry at another, we have over our heads the spacious firmament at times presenting one beautiful rich blue even curtain, and at others displaying the most dismal looking black clouds, forewarning us of the heavy rains, furious winds and tempestuous seas.

Then again we cannot help feeling interested in the animated creatures which constantly present themselves to our view.

Scarcely a day passes without our attention being called to some poor little wandering bird whose appearance is as unexpected as it is mysterious, or to some one of the numerous finny tribes which frequently follow vessels for several hours at a time in the hope of picking up scraps of food for their subsistence, and which in the clear waters of the southern seas are visible many feet below the ship's keel.

Now, though we all of us more or less see and observe these objects, still how few there are who think of enquiring into their nature and habits, and who ask themselves why and wherefore the winds blow, the waves rise, the clouds form, the rain falls, & c.

The object of our paper being to afford us all amusement,

instruction, and useful information as will tend to illustrate the nature and habit of such fish and birds as may happen to come across us during the week, and the causes and effects of the various natural phenomena which will constantly present themselves in the course of our voyage, constituting in fact a <Journal of the Natural History of the Voyage>.

And he started his series treating the following subjects;

- (1) Trade winds.
- (2) The phosphorescence or luminosity of the sea medusae.
- (3) General character of the Ocean, its saltness, temperature, depth, pressure, formation of waves.
- (4) Huge whale to the luminous animalculae
- (5) Stormy petrel, sea swallow
- (6) Majestic albatross, penguins.
- (7) Bonitos, pilot fish, flying fish, porpoises, and whales
- (8) The classifications of the animal creation into divisions, classes and orders.
- (9) Thunder and lightning, electric fluid.

In the final number of the Natural History, he wrote as follows;

The object of these articles on the Natural History of the Voyage has been to direct the attention of the student of Nature to the consideration of a few of the many objects of interest more or less directly connected with the sea, and, by describing the causes and effects of those phenomena which from time to time come under our notice, to lead the mind to contemplate the beauty and grandeur of the world in which we live, and to impress us with the infinite power and wisdom displayed in the miracles of nature by the Creator of the Universe.

It is to be hoped that the subject has proved worthy of interest, and that not a few will be found prosecuting their researches in Natural History in the new Colony to which we are bound, and which by all accounts teems with objects for the study of the Naturalist, who will undoubtedly be amply repaid for any exertions which he may deem fit to make towards acquiring a knowledge of Nature, and an acquaintance with God's creatures.

As the journal was found very popular among the emigrants, they were later printed at the Printing Office in New Westminster in British Columbia in 1863 and distributed to many applicants.

Concerning the author of the scientific articles which appeared in the Gazette, the writer would like to introduce the following;

"The Royal Engineer Journal of 1909" wrote at the jubilee celebration of the arrival of the Royal Engineers in British Columbia in 1909 as follows;

The speakers commenced to relate their reminiscences of the long voyage of six months that <The Thames City> took to bring them to this fair land of British Columbia.

<Do you remember when we came out with our fathers and mothers in The Thames City, we were very little chaps then?>

<Wasn't there a young chap-Lieutenant Palmer, I think his name was.

He was a regular swell. They said he was the Assistant Editor of the Gazette and I think he must have been, for there were many interesting scientific articles in the paper which I think must have been written by him, for he was a clever fellow. I have heard it said that he was a wonderful man at figures, could add up pounds, shillings and pence all at once, just run his fingers up the three columns of figures and tell you the total, in a jiffy.> <Some of the fellows used to think that Doctor Seddall, the men called him 'Bouncer,' was a frequent contributor to the paper; perhaps he might have been the author of those articles on the Natural History of the voyage. --- Yes, perhaps, he was, but if he did not write them, either Captain Luard, Lieutenant Palmer, or the Parson did.

Anyway, whoever wrote them, don't you think they were cleverly written?

Yes, indeed.>

3) To Concentrate Young Energies on the Construction of the New Colony

After a long voyage for six months, the "Thames City" arrived at Esquimalt, near Victoria located at the south-end of Vancouver Island on the April 12, 1859 and the main body immediately proceeded to their new home, "The Camp."

It was situated on the Fraser River, about one mile above the present site of the city of New Westminster.

Since then, until 1863, on the completion of their service for 4 years and 7 months, the Engineers performed varieties of works.

"British Columbian" dated October 21, 1863 quotes as follows;

Their name stands identified with nearly all the important public works of the Colony, either as engineers, mechanics or operatives.

They have made their marks and it will be seen by future generations whether in throwing a pathway across a foaming torrent, or cutting a highway through the towering mountains of everlasting rock. A summary of the work done makes an imposing catalogue; in addition to all important explorations and surveys, both inland and of the whole peninsula between the Fraser River and Burrad Inlet, they had surveyed all townsites and all mainroads, building parts of most roads and many miles of trails. Almost all the maps were made from their surveys, prepared in their draughting office, lithographed and printed by them. They founded the Colony's first building Society in 1862, designed the first hospital. The Government Printing Office, the Department of Lands and Works, an observatory, and the taking of meteorological observations all came under their care. They also designed the first coat of arms and postage stamps for the Colony. Colonel Moody, in addition to being Commissioner for Lands and Works, also held a dormant commission as Lieutenant-Governor. He and his force were an unbounded influence for good in a new land, doing their best to help forward every moral and religious movement, to support missionary work and

everything that would improve social conditions.

Now for Lieutenant Palmer, immediately after arrival, he was assigned to the Surveying Unit under the command of Captain Parsons, R.E., and actively engaged in the construction of the New Colony with the spirit of ideal and passion. During this service, he made surveys and explorations, some of them, of considerable extent. In the summer of 1862, 24 year old Palmer was chosen to carry out an extensive survey of the Cariboo district and at the same time examine and report on the proposed Bentinck Arm Road.

Col. Moody's orders were:

- (1) To proceed by the first opportunity to North Bentinck Arm and after laying out a townsite, and Indian reserve and mapping the location of all buildings
- (2) To travel as soon as possible along the proposed road to the Junction of Swift River and the Fraser, altering the line as he may think proper
- (3) To examine and report on the lines of communication in the Cariboo district and lay out reserves for several townsites
- (4) To return to New Westminster by way of the proposed line of the Cariboo Waggon Road and map it and report thereon.

He and his little party were only saved from massacre by the Bella Coola ⁴ Indians, at North Bentinck Arm, by his own coolness, address and knowledge of the Indian character.

He also took his share at different times in superintending the construction of roads, bridges, and waggon road through the formidable canyon of the Fraser River, between Lytton and Yale.

The reports ⁵ and maps prepared by him, in connection with these surveys were published from time to time in the Parliamentary and Colonial Blue Books, etc.

Among them, the four progress reports ⁶ forwarded personally from Palmer en route to Col. Moody clearly reveal their mutual resentment of interference by outsiders in anything relating to the survey of the Colony.

The relationship between Moody and Governor James Douglas, had deteriorated to the point where communication existed only through the Colonial Secretary at home.

Mr. T.K. Fleming of Vancouver writes as follows;

Obviously Governor Douglas was very fortunate that Lord Lytton had dispatched the Royal Engineers to the Colony so promptly.

He was less fortunate in the appointment of Colonel Moody as commanding officer and Lieutenant Governor.

Fortunately Governor Douglas was of a strong character and would not brook Moody's interference nor Moody's attempts to by-pass Douglas when reporting matters to London.

Moody's disrespect for the non-elitist Governor culminated in the Governor declining to communicate directly with Moody.

Douglas's disdain for Moody was not matched by Palmer's apparent affection for his commanding officer, judging by Palmer's correspondence.

Or was this further evidence of Palmer's astuteness and discipline?

For reference purposes, the writer would like to quote on the comment on Palmer by Douglas as follows;

Lt. Palmer is an exceedingly clever young officer who, being on the spot and *faut de mieux*, might make a good successor to Colonel Moody in the office of Chief Commissioner of Lands.

As to Palmer's activities, Mr. Fleming writes as follows;

Having carried out his Harrison-Lillooet⁷ survey in summer of 1859 and his Fort Hope to Fort Colville survey in autumn of 1859, Lieutenant Palmer became active in superintending roadbuilding locally until Governor Douglas decided to commence construction of the Cariboo Waggon Road in the summer of 1861.

A further interruption was caused by Palmer's North Bentinck Arm to Fort Alexandria survey in the summer of 1862 and its continuation to the Cariboo gold fields in the autumn of 1862.

Work on the Cariboo Waggon Road then continued until the Royal Engineers were disbanded and departed for England on November 11th 1863.

Palmer also actively participated in various cultural activities; such as drama played by the Royal Engineers.

He took part actively as the preparatory committee for British Columbia to exhibit their products to the Industrial Exhibition in London in 1862.

In British Columbia, where Palmer devoted his young energies, we can find several places named after him, such as Palmer-Trail, Palmer-Camp, or Palmer-Pond.

Even today, there are some researchers who occasionally publish articles manifesting his achievements in British Columbia.

4) Palmer Had Indians in His Pocket

They say that Palmer, with his coolness, address and knowledge of the character of Indians, saved himself and his little party from massacre by the Bella Coola Indians.

The incident was introduced by Mrs. Henry Spencer Palmer as reported in the "Daily Colonist" dated November 9, 1930, as follows;

You want me to tell you something of the early days of the adventure of my gallant husband, who as Lieutenant Palmer of the

Royal Engineers, is still, I am happy to know, remembered by the people of British Columbia.

He had many adventures and narrow escapes in those colourful days on the early sixties when we and the country were young.

But I will tell you of an amusing and at the same time dangerous experience he had on the Palmer trail, where it runs through the valley of the Bella Coola.

It was in 1862, before our marriage.

He bade me goodbye, telling me he had been detailed to continue his work of finding a new route, via Bella Coola into the Cariboo country.

He left New Westminster for the north on the old Enterprise.

Camped in Bella Coula

On arriving at Bella Coola, he was warned that the Indian villages were infested with smallpox, and, with the one sapper, a fine man named Edwards, who was accompanying him, pushed on up the valley where they camped.

They caught a fine salmon, and next morning Edwards asked Lieutenant Palmer how he would have it cooked.

"I have not had a salmon steak for some time. We will fry one now," responded the Lieutenant.

A fine salmon was cut and the steak was placed on the frying pan over the fire.

Lieutenant Palmer undertook to superintend the frying while Edwards busied himself with other preparations for the meal.

Suddenly, the officer's elbow was struck, and over went the frying pan, upsetting the salmon into the fire.

Indian boy caught in the bush

Another steak was cut and again he set about frying it, squatting down beside the fire.

It was browning nicely when once more his elbow was jostled and the frying pan upset.

This time he looked quickly about and saw a brown hand being withdrawn into the bush.

He sprang towards the place and caught a young Indian lad, who, he cuffed and allowed to go.

The youth ran away crying at the top of his voice and unmolested the frying was continued.

A little later Edwards looked up, and then exclaimed: "Indians, sir, and they are all armed."

Lieutenant Palmer looked up and sure enough the whole place seemed to be swarming with natives, all armed with muskets, spears and knives.

He knew that if you could excite an Indian's curiosity he would not act until he was satisfied.

Springing up, he seized his gold-braided cap, and placed it on this head, and then started to whirl about and jump up and down as if demented.

The Indians stayed their attack.

They gazed in open-mouthed wonder at the strange antics of this decorated King George tye.

Stopping his mad capers as quickly as he had started them,

Lieutenant Palmer shouted out in Chinook, asking the chiefs what they wanted.

"We've come to kill you," was the surly answer of the head chief.

Death for cutting salmon's backbone

"Why" demanded Lieutenant Palmer.

"I don't mind being killed, but I would like to know the reason for it."

"You cut the backbone of a salmon," accused the chief.

"And that will make the Salmon God angry and he won't send any more fish."

"What?" demanded the Lieutenant, "Have you only one God who controls the salmon?"

The old chief nodded.

"I have two," asserted the Lieutenant.

"I have the Saghalie Tyee, up above.

He knows everything.

Then there is another, but it takes six months to go to her (Queen Victoria).

I am sorry if I offended by cutting the backbone of the salmon, but I'll go and make it right with the god whom I am telling you about.

She will arrange it that you will have twice as many salmons as before.

I'll fix that for you."

The Indians were impressed and delighted.

They went away in gay good humour.

Presently Edwards called out.

"They are coming back sir, but this time they have their women with them and they are all decorated."

It was so.

The whole of the village appeared to be in the procession that was coming, led by the head chief, who had on his ceremonial robes, and was accompanied by two young women.

Chief offered officer highest honor

When he came up to Lieutenant Palmer, he delivered a long address in Chinook, the purport of which was that they wanted him to come and live with them and become one of their chiefs.

The chief concluded his talk by presenting his two daughters to Lieutenant Palmer to become his wives.

In telling of his experience later Lieutenant Palmer said he did not know whether he did not prefer that the Indian carried out the purpose of their first visit.

But his presence of mind, and quickness of thought, did not desert him.

He went forward to the native beauties, and touched one of them, on the forehead, and then, exclaimed at her beauty and evident charms.

Such a wife, he declared, was fitting of the highest rank.

Then he touched the forehead of her sister, and spoke most flatteringly of her also.

The old chief was pleased indeed.

The Indians were jubilant.

Then Lieutenant went on to explain that he would have first to obtain the permission of the goddess of whom he had spoken.

If she disapproved, it would mean that he would not have the blankets and *idktas* so necessary for a chief who was to acquire two beautiful wives.

Then again, if he married without permission, it might mean that in her anger the goddess would not send any salmon at all.

And his first duty was to see that the salmon runs were preserved.

He added his talk by advising the chief to keep the girls in comfort, and away from the prying eyes of any white men who might come, until his return.

This satisfied the chief and his followers, and after shaking hands all round they departed, while Lieutenant Palmer and Edwards lost no time in making their way up the valley as fast as they could from the village where lurked the dual dangers of death and matrimony.

Incidentally, Vancouver of British Columbia, the initial site of Palmer's achievements throughout his life and Yokohama of Japan, the site of his last achievements, are miraculously related to each other today as sister cities.

(III) Engaging in the Ordnance Survey of Home Country (1864-1874)

In November 1863, the British Columbian Expedition Forces of Royal Engineers were disbanded on completion of their terms of five years' service.

The men were allowed the option of either returning to Headquarters in England or taking the discharge in the Colony and receiving a free grant of 150 acres of land.

Most of the men decided to remain and become residents in the new Colony, but the majority of the officers left for the mother country,

In the meantime, Lieutenant Palmer was married on October 7, 1863, to Mary Jane Pearson.

He and his newly-wed bride, Mary, left New Westminster on November 11 for Esquimalt in Vancouver Island, and on the 18th left for England via San Francisco and Panama with other officers and families including Col. Moody and Captain Grant.

They arrived at Southampton on December 30.

He immediately reported on the 31st to the Headquarters of Ordnance Survey and received appointment to the Ordnance Survey Office at Tunbridge, Kent from March 1, 1864.

Utilizing the vacation, he and his bride went to Bath, and visited his mother-in-law, step-sisters and other relatives and came back to their new residence in Southborough near Tunbridge.

On March 1st, he reported to the Ordnance Survey office at Tunbridge, and from which place as

headquarters, he conducted the survey of the greater parts of Kent and East Essex and parts of Berks and Bucks for about two years.

He received his Captain's commission on March 4, 1866.

In the autumn of 1867, he was appointed one of the Assistant Commissioners in the Parliamentary Boundaries Commission, under Mr. Disraeli's Reform Act, having for his legal colleague, Joseph Kay, Esq. of the Middle Temple.

Their district embraced the Parliamentary Borough in Kent and East Sussex, and the sub-division of West Kent and East Surrey for county representation.

(IV) The Survey of Peninsula of Sinai (1868-1869)

In June 1867, Palmer was consulted by his friend, Rev. Piere Butler of Ulcombe Rectory, on setting foot the project of a survey of the Sinaitic Peninsula.

Rev. Butler, an Orientalist, had accompanied his brother, Captain Henry T. Butler, in the expedition to that country in 1853, and had keenly felt that it was most desirable that it should be resurveyed in full scale as he says

that there is a great need of such Survey must be manifest to all students of Old Testament history; among the most important and interesting questions which are now subjects of inquiry, and on which it may be hoped that much additional light would be thrown by the proposed Survey, may be specified

The Passage of the Red Sea.

The Route and encampment of the Israelites.

The identification of the Mountain of the Law-giving.

Those who have given careful attention to these and many other points of interest connected with the Desert of Sinai must be aware how far from complete and how seriously the testimony of even the best maps tends to embarrass the student of this section of Biblical History by its imperfectness.

Entirely agreeing with him, Palmer approached Major-General, Sir Henry James,⁸ Director-General of Ordnance Survey, and sent him a written application for the plan.

Sir Henry had also been deeply interested in the project of Survey of Sinai, knowing from the concurrent testimony of many travellers in Sinai, how imperfect the existing maps were, and the diversity of opinion which prevailed in consequence, even as to the true place of the Mount Sinai in the Bible.

Consequently, Sir Henry accepted the application and obtained the sanction of the Secretary of State for War, to his undertaking this Survey on the same condition as that which had been formerly prescribed for the Survey

of Jerusalem, viz., that the entire cost of the Survey should be paid by contributions from those individuals through the Royal Society and Royal Geographical Society who were desirous to have it done.

However, when Mr. Butler decided to go out to Egypt, to make preliminary inquiries and arrangements for the surveying party, after only several days of a sudden illness, he died at his home in Kent, on the very day on which he had proposed to leave England.

He was only 42 years old.

This was a sad blow to the undertaking, but every one who had had the good fortune to make Mr. Butler's acquaintance, and knew his energy of character and sweetness of disposition, felt that the best tribute of respect to his memory would be the completion of the work to which he had devoted the best energies of his latest days.

As it was, without breaking down this project, Sir Henry immediately proceeded to organize and equip the party for the survey.

It had been intended that the Survey should be made under the immediate direction of one officer, Captain H.S. Palmer, R.E., and had so arranged it.

But, on hearing of the proposed Expedition, Captain C.W. Wilson⁹, R.E., who was at that time employed on the Ordnance Survey of Scotland, and had previously given clear proof of his abilities when carrying out the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, volunteered, to join the Sinai Party.

Captain Palmer, though junior to Captain Wilson, recognizing the advantage of having two officers instead of one, very liberally waived all considerations of seniority, and at once expressed his willingness to agree for his part to Captain Wilson's proposal.

The agreement appeared to be a good one, and the Survey has accordingly been made under the joint direction of those two officers.

Luckily, Rev. George Williams of King's College, Cambridge, the well-known author of the "Holy City", kindly undertook as far as possible to supply the place of Mr. Butler, and to become one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Sinai Survey Fund.

And fortunately enough, valuable cooperation of the Reverend F.W. Holland, M.A., who had been travelling in Sinai at the time of Mr. Butler's death was also obtained and he now, not only consented to act as an Honorary Secretary in conjunction with Mr. Williams, but also promised to accompany the party whilst engaged upon the Survey, affording them valuable aid in nearly every branch of the work.

In considering the arrangements to be made in order to produce as perfect a Survey as possible, the importance of having the correct orthography and meaning of the names of places was fully recognized; and, on the

suggestions of Mr. Williams, Mr. E.H. Palmer¹⁰, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, an eminent Orientalist, was invited to join the Expedition.

Mr. Palmer has rendered the most important services as a linguist and philologist, his mastery of Arabic greatly facilitating all those branches of the work which needed assistance or information from the natives, and enabling him to furnish them with a copious and valuable catalogue of the Bedouin's nomenclature, and a most interesting account of the people and their traditions.

He has, besides, successfully deciphered and translated the Sinaitic Rock inscriptions and also copied a large number of the Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions, from which, together with photographs taken on the spot, Dr. Birch of the British Museum, one of the ablest Egyptologists, has kindly consented to describe the interesting ancient remains.

The instructions, Director General gave to the officers were as follows;

- (1) Special Survey to be made of Jebel Musa and Jebel Serbal, the "rival" mountains as they were called, for the honour of being the Mount Sinai of the Bible.
The surveys to be carried out with scrupulous care, and in such detail that accurate models of both mountains could be made from them.
- (2) After the special surveys, a geographical survey should be made in the first place, of the district between Suez and Jebel Musa, including all main routes to Jebel Serbal and Jebel Musa, and then of as much of the remainder of the Peninsula as time would admit of.
- (3) A special survey to be made also of the Convent of St. Katherins.

As it was considered necessary that the Expedition should set out from this country no later than the end of October so that the Survey might be completed before the return of the hot weather in spring, the surveying party, including Mr. Holland, embarked for Alexandria in the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer "Ripon" on October 24, 1868, and arrived in Suez on November 8 and at "Ayun Musa" (the wells of Moses) on the 12th.

The Surveying party suffered very much from the country which was so extremely rugged and confused, as well as from the rigour of a cold winter.

However, after their four and half months surveying and investigations in Sinai, they confirmed the locations where the Israelites, during their escape from Egypt guided by Moses,

- (1) the passage of the Red Sea
- (2) the routes and encampments of the Israelites in Sinai
- (3) the identifications of the Mountain of the Law-Giving, all mentioned in the Old Testament history

And all member returned safely homeland in May 1869.

Having no time to banish the fatigue of the Expedition, while Captain Palmer occupied himself in preparing to draw the official Report, he was also, often called upon to speak and lecture on the subject.

In the next two/three years, he addressed several important meetings, such as those at the University of Cambridge in 1870, the Church Congress in 1870, and the Archaeological Congress in 1872.

When in April 1887, the writer visited the Municipal Library of Cambridge accompanied by Mrs. Jean Walker, the wife of Bishop Walker of Ely Cathedral, and one of the great-grand daughters of Henry Spencer Palmer, he was fortunate enough to find, amid the bulk of old newspapers, the article quoted "The Great and Terrible Wilderness" in the "Cambridge Chronicle and University Journal" dated December 10, 1870, in which the joint lectures by Mr. E.H. Palmer, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge and Captain H.S. Palmer, R.E., held on December 5, by Church of England Young men's Society was found.

Please permit the writer to quote the following remarks which Captain Palmer made quite impressively in conclusion of his lecture.

I hope I said enough to prove that sacred geography had an important function to perform as an handmaid to Divine Truth, by confirming where necessary and illustrating the narrative of Holy Scripture.

The Sinaistic Peninsula in its physical character answered in a most remarkable degree what they should expect to find from the accounts therein contained, and the result of such inquiries, if conducted in an honest and humble spirit, so far as they might go, serve to establish beyond doubt the literal accuracy and fidelity of the Inspired Book of God.

To the magnificent volumes, published by the Authority in 1872, under the title of "ORDNANCE SURVEY OF PENINSULA OF SINAI (1869)," with the special budget amounting to 500 pounds, which were the fruits of that Expedition, Captain Palmer contributed largely some two-fifths of the descriptive matter, together with the computation of the astronomical and other works of the survey, the drawings of several of the maps and the part editing of the whole work having fallen to his share.

The report consists of five massive folio volumes of which one contained the letter-press accounts, while three are filled with photographs and the fifth with maps and plans.

The descriptive matter was enriched by articles, such as;

Preface by Major-General Sir Henry James F.R.S.

Introduction by Rev. G. Williams, B.D., titled "On the Exodus, and the necessity which existed for having an accurate survey to elucidate and its history" & etc.,

Let the writer introduce the portion of Captain Palmer's description in Volume 1, Chapter IV as follows;

Our last march across El Gaah was one which I am sure none of us will easily forget.

It was performed at night, on one of those nights seldom seen except in the Desert, calm and intensely still, the sky perfectly cloudless, with a moon of surpassing brilliancy, paling the stars, illuminating hill and sea and plain, and casting our shadows far back over the waste.

Men and animals wound sleepily, almost noiselessly, along; before and around us stretched the blank barren plain; beyond it the glittering sea; beyond, the gaunt shadowy outlines of the mountains of Sinai, amid which we had spent more than four months of hard, but pleasant, and, as we hoped, useful work.

"The Times" dated September 26, 1872, gave three columns for reviewing the newly-published "ORDNANCE SURVEY OF PENINSULA OF SINAI" in which "The Times" quoted three passages on the conclusive and scientific evidence of Jebel Musa as the Mountain of Law Giving which Captain Palmer wrote in the said Report.

Palmer was very pleased with it (the fact that his writings were quoted in "The Times" and he made a ballad titled "A Virtue Rewarded" as follows;

VIRTUE REWARDED-A BALLAD

It was a great Archbishop,
On his Cathedral throne,
The oiliest Archbishop,
The Church hath ever known.

He read "The Sinai Survey,"
And laughed aloud with glee,
They'll want to know who wrote it,
And p'haps they'll think it's me.

It was the Poet Laureate,
With laurels on his brow,
Ho, bring me here my "Times" he said,
I fain would read it now.

He read the "Sinai Survey"
Now by the Table Round
No language like this article
Can in my works be found

Men call me sweetest songster.
They vote me quite divine,
But I would give my Laurel Crown
Were those three columns mine.

It was the Duke of Cambridge,
A mighty man was he,
On Salisbury Plain, amid the rain,
He fights right merrily

On Aide de Camp and General,
Who to my orders yield,
Come lay a copy of the "The Times"
Upon the tented field

He read the "Sinai Survey,"
And tore his hair with rage,
Now did I think the Royal George,
The Phoenix of the age.

But by far the War Department,
And by our autumn fight,
The greatest man in England,
Is he who thus can write.

It was the Times Reviewer,
Was dining with the Queen,
(Where ever since a knife and fork,
Have at his service been)

Now welcome bold Reviewer.
For by this Royal hand,
Thou art the ablest writer,
In all our English land.

Thy welfare and thy children's
Shall be our Royal care,
Rise up Sir Times Reviewer
Of Printing House its Square.

As "Ordnance Survey of Peninsula of Sinai (1869), the official Report of the Expedition, was so voluminous and costly that it was beyond the reach of most readers.

Hence, Captain Palmer hoped for the publication of its popular edition, and obtained the permission of Major-General Sir Henry James, Director-General of Ordnance Survey Office.

And on March 1878, this popular edition was published in 215 pages from the Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge with the title of "Sinai" ¹¹ as one of the series of "Ancient History from the Monuments," while he was staying in London on his way from Barbados to Hongkong.

In the edition, he efficiently arranged the booklet in 6 chapters. viz.,

- 1) Description of the country
- 2) Climate of the country
- 3) Zoology
- 4) The people

- 5) Ancient Monument and Remains and early history
- 6) On the topography and other circumstances of the Exodus

As previously explained, after Captain Palmer returned to Ordnance Survey Office in Tunbridge, from the Sinai Expedition in 1869, he occupied himself in preparing the official report and lecturing on the Expedition for a couple of years.

He also published in 1873 from Messrs. Edward Stanford a booklet in 77 pages titled "Ordnance Survey of the Kingdom, the objects, mode of execution, history and present condition" after his many years' experiences of the surveying.

He introduced exhaustively and plainly to the general public the mission of the Ordnance Survey and the contents of the work.

It is very interesting to note that the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Japanese Government had purchased five copies of the booklet in 1877 for the study of the interested party and that they are today in the possession of the National Archives in Tokyo.

(V) Observation of the Transit of Venus in 1874 at New Zealand (1873-1875).

The writer had known from Dictionary of National Biography by Oxford University Press that, in 1874, Henry Spencer Palmer went to New Zealand as the chief of N.Z. Observation Party for the Transit of Venus.

In June 1985, the writer visited The Airy Archives¹² in the compound of Royal Observatory in Herstmonceux in East Sussex, England.

Fortunately enough, he could discover, with the assistance of a volunteer student of the University of London, from the bulk of old files, the letters written by Palmer addressed to Sir George Airy, Astronomer Royal and Captain Tupman, then chief of British Observation Party for the Transit of Venus in 1874.

He obtained necessary copies in due course and could finally grasp the whole movements of Palmer during 1873/4 for the observation of the Transit of Venus.

For your information, the writer would like to quote from the writings of A.J. Meadows on the Transit of Venus in the book titled "Greenwich Observatory (1975)" as follows;

Transit of Venus across the solar disc occur in pairs spaced eight years apart, with over a century elapsing between successive pairs. Though the 18th century pair, in 1761 and 1769, had proved disappointing for the measurement of solar parallax, it was felt that the technical advances in astronomy made since then should help ensure the success of observations of the next pair in 1874 and 1882.

All the leading astronomical nations therefore began preparations for the first of these transits; in the U.K., the organization of the expeditions devolved on Airy, the Astronomer Royal of Royal Greenwich Observatory.

The first decision had to be where the expedition should be placed, and this, in turn, depended on the observing technique adopted.

The 18th century transit observations had used a method devised by Halley, which required observations of Venus at ingress and egress.

Airy, however, felt that the transit of Venus of 1874 would best be observed by an alternative method proposed by Delisle, which only required observations of Venus at one limb of the Sun.

When Airy announced his decision, he came under heavy fire from some of his fellow astronomers in Britain, especially R.A. Proctor, then a leading member of the Royal Astronomical Society.

Ultimately, and reluctantly, Airy gave way a little, and allowed for both methods of observations to be attempted.

The overall result was that British parties were placed at strategic intervals across the Pacific (The area of the world from which the transit could best be seen).

In March 1873, Palmer was recommended to the Astronomer Royal by Admiral G.H. Richards, then hydrographer to the Admiralty for a chief astronomership in the enterprise for observing the transit of Venus.

Sir George soon afterwards nominated him as chief of the new Zealand party as Palmer by then, well known to have many years of experiences in British Columbia in Canada, in the Peninsula of Sinai, and in England in the field of astronomy, and ordnance survey.

For this service, Palmer, in August 1873, moved from the Ordnance Survey Office at Tunbridge Wells to the officers' quarters in the Naval Academy at Greenwich and received a course of practical preparations at the Royal Observatory for about ten months.

He was nominated Major, having been promoted to that rank in December 1873.

His appointment on the Ordnance Survey was relinquished on May 31, 1874, after 10-1/4 years of service.

At about this time, in January 1874, he wrote a letter to Capt. Tupman, his best friend, as follows;

Dear Tupman,

The Times have agreed with me to write an article on the Transit of Venus preparations and I am going to ask you to be so kind as to give me a little of your valuable help and advice.

It is a chance people don't often get, and it should be a pity not to make the most of it, and I am sure your help and advice will be of the utmost value.

I send you a rough draft of what I have written which perhaps you will look through, if you can make it out and if you have time, tomorrow morning. I think I shall send 3 columns (4,800 words) which will allow of about another page besides those already written.

Pray keep the Times news a strict secret.

in haste,
yours truly,
H.S. Palmer

"The Times" dated April 6, 1874 published the article written about the preparation for the Observation of the Transit of Venus in 1874. (In Yokohama, Japan, "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated December 6, 1874 reprinted it in complete form.)

About two months later, the Transit Observing Party under Major Palmer, arrived at New Zealand, and with the hearty cooperation of the New Zealand Government, Burnham, 18 miles from Christchurch was chosen as the best spot suitable for the Transit of Venus Observatory and several other places were also chosen as the subsidiary stations.

Major Palmer wrote in the local newspaper "The Lyttleton Times" dated October 3, 1874 to encourage the amateur astronomers about the observation of the Transit of Venus as follows;

Any amateur astronomer competent to undertake independent observation at places distant from Christchurch will have a great facility of personal communication with the observatory party, so as to obtain hints as to the surest mode of working, by which they can give substantial and reliable assistance.

On November 18, Major Palmer also distributed the bulletin titled "The Transit of Venus 1874" which he wrote for the convenience of the observers at various stations.

And the party and amateur astronomers waited for the Big Day, December 9, after completion of all the necessary preparations.

But Alas!!, as the cable despatched by Major Palmer to Astronomer Royal, Sir George Airy quotes

ENGLISH NOTHING VALUABLE ANYWHERE CLOUDS
AMERICANS GETS INGRESS AND
PHOTOGRAPHS TILL NEAR THIRD CONTACT EGRESS

The weather was so cloudy in New Zealand at the critical phase of the Transit on December 9, that, though every phenomenon that could be seen was carefully observed and noted by Major Palmer, he believed and reported that his observations were valueless.

An agreeable surprise, however, awaited him.

In 1877, after the eye observations at all the stations had been reduced and compared, it was found that Major Palmer has achieved a result of great value, being, in fact, almost identical with the mean derived from the rest of the observers at the other stations.

In short, as Sir George Airy remarked,

The preliminary phenomena which it was found were most to be relied upon, had been very well observed by him.

Let the writer introduce a portion of the letter sent by Palmer to Cap. Tupman on December 21, 1874 as follows;

Many thanks for your letter from which I am glad to hear that all was going well with you and your party, and I only hope that on the 9th your exertions were covered with perfect success.

We, alas, as you may have heard, had a day of desperate weather and could do nothing at all.

I saw the sun for a few seconds at a time in several glimpses while ingress was going on, but so faintly that I could only just make out the Limb without any covered shade.

Micrometer work was absolutely impossible, and at second contact everything was hidden.

There was a finer interval about a quarter of an hour after ingress when Darwin got about 20 photos and I some (probably useless) measures of Limbs.

Then the sun wasn't seen again till 10 minutes after fourth contact.

The Jansen could not be tried at ingress because no image of the sun could be got to plant the instrument on.

It is a bitter disappointment to us all, as you may suppose.

We were perfectly prepared and fit and only waited a decent day.

I am sorry for Sir George Airy too, to whom each failure must be a source of worry and disappointment.

What made our luck even worse, was that in my five stations, distributed over both islands, and covering a range of 650 miles of country, were all as unfortunate as myself and saw neither contact.

I had given a great deal of time and trouble to these stations, as I found several good instruments and observers in the country, and was glad to press them into the service, and coach the men so as to multiply our chances of success.

Concerning the observation of the Transit of Venus in 1874, as far as Japan is concerned, observing parties from various countries; viz., France, United States of America and Mexico, arrived in Nagasaki, Kobe, and Yokohama and busied themselves in the preparations for the Big Day.

Japan was in her infancy in the field of the astronomical observations and Hydrographic Bureau of the Japanese Navy was the only one government Office that specialized in it.

Captain Yanagi, Director of the Hydrographic Office of the Japanese Navy, utilizing this opportunity, is said to have undertaken to let his officers accompany the foreign experts who visited Japan so that they may learn the observing techniques and obtain information on various brand-new observing instruments, books, celestial maps and so forth.

Japan herself, observed the Transit of Venus at the naval Observatory in Iikura, Azabu and Gotenyama in Tokyo and in Hakodate.

In Yokohama, five experts of the Mexican party established the observing stations at Iseyama and on the

Bluff in the Foreign Settlement.

While Major Palmer failed to observe the Transit of Venus in New Zealand due to bad weather, the Mexican party was successful in the observation on December 9 thanks to very fine weather.

Palmer wrote a memorandum concerning the recommendations in eleven clauses for the coming Transit of Venus in 1882 and furnished (date unknown) it to the Astronomer Royal of Greenwich Observatory, Sir George Airy.

In it, concerning the weather, he suggested to immediately apply the New Zealand Government to have observations made and recorded at a number of points in the Colony on December 5, 6, 7, for seven years from 1875 to 1881, to ascertain the amount of cloud at 6, 8, 10 am, or such other hours as may be preferred; the registers of these observations to be sent to the Astronomer Royal.

The writer understands that Palmer furnished the memorandum from his own steady character so that he may be successful in the observation on the second Transit of Venus in 1882 which is the last chance left in his life.

In fact, he wrote several letters to Sir Airy asking to volunteer for new Zealand Party in 1882.

Before leaving new Zealand, Major Palmer, at the request of the Governor, the Marquis of Normanby, undertook an investigation of the provincial surveys throughout the Colony with the view of advising the Government as to the best means of evolving order out of the chaos that then existed, and of placing the whole future system on a uniform, intelligent, and scientific basis.

Between three and four months were given to this work, at the end of which Major Palmer submitted a Blue Book Report embodying his results and recommendations, for which he was warmly thanked by the Government, and which was adopted as the guide to subsequent reforms.

On his way back to England, he called at Campbell Island, a French territory, and helped its latitude determinations.

He finally returned home on June 4, 1875.

Major Palmer worked for a few months under the Astronomer Royal, reducing his observations and preparing his report.

Returning to Corps duties, he found himself at the head of the roster for foreign service, and he obtained furlough until November 1875.

Palmer, staying in London during the furlough, wrote two letters to Captain Tupman.

In his letter of September 14, he wrote as follows;

You spoke some little time since of having a sum of 600 or 700 pounds which you wished to invest at 5%, and I suggested to you that I might be glad to borrow such a sum on those terms if I should go to New Zealand in order to get an outfit & etc.

It is now morally certain that I shall go out, and I am arranging with that view, and I write to say that if the money is still disengaged, I shall be very glad to borrow it for such period as may be most agreeable to yourself.

My two half brothers, Major-General Palmer and Captain Palmer, would, I know, be perfectly willing to become my securities (executing a joint bond with me for repayment) so that the money would be entirely safe; and as a precaution in the event of my death, they would be protected by a life policy securing the amount to them.

Let me know what you think of this.

Can you come down next Saturday, or Saturday week?

(p.s. If the whole 700 pounds is not available, perhaps 500 pounds is.)

In his second letter to Cap. Tupman, dated October 27, he wrote as follows;

New Zealand after all is put off another year, and the War Office ordered me to Barbados, which, in this beastly weather, seems less dreadful, than it might do otherwise.

I write this to ask you if you will kindly send to me at Barbados, West Indies, a *presis* of the final results for longitude of our station at Burnham, when they are known, as I promised the Colonial Society I would get the information for them.

I am afraid I shall not be able to run down to Greenwich before I start, so I will say goodbye and goodluck to you.

I hope we may meet again before very long.

After posting the above letter of October 27, on his way to his new post in Barbados, he called on Southborough to pick up his family.

With Mrs. Palmer and their two younger children, they departed for Barbados.

(VI) At Barbados
(From November 1875 to January 1878)

The following letter which Major Palmer wrote to his friend Captain Tupman dated January 10, 1876, clearly expresses his mental state at this stage of his career.

My dear Tupman,

You probably heard that I had a heavy disappointment just at the last, when I was daily expecting the actual application for me to go out to New Zealand, certain political exigencies having compelled the N.Z. Government towards the closure of the session to abandon their intention of bringing in a Bill for a trigonometrical survey and getting me appointed.

Consequently, I had to resume Corp's duty when my leave expired, and being first on the roster for foreign service, I was exactly nailed for this station, which fell vacant just then, I came out in November with my wife and two children.

I like it better than I expected.

It is rather a matter a one-horse place, (perhaps you know it) and the island society is of a very ornery sort, but it certainly has its advantages.

It is very healthy and (for the latitude) cool, owing to the almost constant N.E. trader, it is pretty near home; my pay is good, 800 pounds a year, and living is cheap, and I have an excellent quarter on the savannah.

There are about 40 officers in garrison, which make it cheerful, and generally a man-of-war is here as well; and we have plenty of crickets, rackets, boating, billiards, whist, and lawn-tennis for them as goes in for such things, to say nothing of band playing and croquet & c, but unfortunately no sport.

The work is, to me, putrid, because, having done no corps duty for 18 years, I knew nothing of it, and what's worse it is work I hate.

But it is the fashion of our masters to put round men into square holes when they can, and there never was a dearer case of it than this.

It is sheer injustice both to the officer and to the service to set him to do what he can know nothing of.

Fortunately the work here is light and unimportant, so I hope there will be no serious consequences!

I am lucky in my chief, Col. Puter, who is a very good sort indeed and so, is his wife. (He knew you in Malta).

We are all the best of friends and I am practically my own master.

One thing I enjoy here is the comparative leisure and rest after England.

I have more time for quiet reading and writing than I have had for years.

I hope, nevertheless, to be on my way to a busier sphere, and one more suited to me before the year is out.

The Premier of New Zealand has written me, explaining about the survey business and rendering their firmer offer should they be able to pass the measure next session as to which he seems to have no misgivings, as, with a newly elected House, they anticipate a good working majority.

I hope Sir George Airy and the wife Airy's are very well, and that you will give them my best regards, also to Wilfred Airy.

I was so pressed before leaving home that I could not write or go to see them and you.

How goes on the Tr. Q work?

I want you to make a solemn memo to send me the final results for N.Z. longitude as soon as they have been arrived at, and anything as to personal equations, & e.

I am wishing to write an account of our New Zealand operations for the N.Z. Professional Papers.

Something certainly should be contributed on the subject.

But I have not the materials here for preparing it.

Has the account I wrote for the A.R. been set up, in type yet, or will it be soon?

If either, perhaps you could send me a set of proof, I am anxious to get access to, it if I can.

I am afraid the A.R. could not let his M.B. be returned to be copied, even if sent as a registered letter.

If he would, I should like to have it here for a month.

If not, and if nothing in the way of printing has been or is about to be done, perhaps you could get (with A.R.'s approval) a copy made for me for a few shillings, and sent by book post, I would ask you to enclose with it in any case a copy of the A.R.'s instructions to observers.

Love to Neate if still at Greenwich, Ardin, whom you may remember, as at one time at Tr. Q volunteer has been here, but is now gone as Flag-Lieut. to Admiral Puimail.

very truly yours

H.S. Palmer

Remember me to Christie.

What a stunning cartoon that was of the chief in Vanity Fair.

The article too I thought capital, though it omitted his "Lunar Theory."

On March 20, 1876, Major Palmer in Barbados contributed a small treatise titled "On determinations of geographical positions in West Indies and Central America" to the Royal Astronomical Society.

It appeared on Vol. 36 Monthly Notices May 1876 of the said Society.

In it, he wrote as follows:

A few nights ago, I paid a visit to the temporary Observatory of Lieutenant-Commander F.M. Greene, of the United States Navy, erected at Rickett Battery in Barbados.

The astronomical work in which Commander Greene is engaged under the American Hydrographic Office is of so highly useful and practical a character that I think a short notice of it is likely to interest the Society, or at least those of its Fellows who are practical field astronomers.

It is the determinations, with an accuracy much greater than any yet attained, of the geographical positions of various points in the West Indies and Central-America, which are connected with one another by telegraphic cable.

The latitude in these operations are found by the method very generally used by American astronomers, of observing pairs of stars on the meridian, N. and S. with the zenith-telescope; and the longitudes, by means of telegraphic comparisons of local times.

The work was begun in the winter of 1874-5, at the suggestion, I believe, of Commander Greene; the U.S.S. Fortune was commissioned for the purpose, and Commander Greene, with a sufficient staff, was placed in charge of her.

During the first season, the latitudes and relative longitudes of Panama, Aspinwall, Kingston, Havana, and Santiago de Cuba were ascertained with great precision.

It is not too much to hope that other nations will promptly follow the lead taken by the American Hydrographers, and that especially our own Hydrographic Department will add this branch of work to the

admirable maritime surveys in which it is justly pre-eminent.

The vast and constantly spreading network of telegraphic cables and land lines will afford work for many years to come and each extension of measurements of the class I have described will add accuracy to geographical knowledge and maritime cartography.

In the same month in 1876, Palmer was appointed to serve as "aide de camp" to the Governor of the Windward Islands, Mr. Pope-Hennessy, and he remained in this post through the riots of 1876, and up until Mr. Hennessy's departure from the Colony in November in the same year. Palmer continued until 1882 in Barbados and Hongkong.

The intimate re-

lations between the Governor and

They say Hennessy gave no small influence to Palmer.

Here, please let the writer introduce Mr. Pope-Hennessy portrayed in Dictionary of National Biography by the Oxford University Press;

Pope-Hennessy, the Governor of the Windward Islands, was born in Cork, South Ireland, in 1834 and educated at Queens College in Oxford, whence he went to the Inner Temple.

Later, he entered Parliament in 1859.

In Parliament, he proved zealous, hard-working and made some reputation.

In regard to Ireland, he obtained

- (1) the amendment of the poor Law (1861/2).
- (2) urged the amendment of the Land Law.
- (3) urged the declamation of bogs as a means of staying the emigration of the Irish population.
- (4) recommended the system of open competition for admission to the public service.
- (5) promoted the passage through Parliament of the Prison Ministers Act.
- (6) Amendment in the Mines Regulation Acts by the miners of Great Britain.

From 1867, he served as the governors in Lubuan, Gold-Coast, Bahama, and in 1875, he received the more important government of the Windward Islands, the seat of which is Barbados.

In January 1876, he laid before the legislature his first proposals for an amended administration, tending in the direction of <federation> of the Windward Islands.

The Barbadian, always fearful of any tampering with their ancient constitution, formed the Barbados Defence Association and the planters were soon avowedly hostile to Pope-Hennessy.

On May 17, a motion was passed to address the Queen for his recall.

Despite this opposition, he proceeded steadily with projects of reform.

He strove to promote emigration of the negroes to other West India Islands; he put an end to flogging as a punishment.

Prison reform was a favourite subject with him.

The provision of medical aid to the poor and extension of educational facilities also occupied his attention.

His popularity with the negroes was exceptional; but in November 1876 the Home Government nominated him to Hongkong.

As readily understood, he showed the instinctive sympathies towards the oppressed people, regardless of the races and classes

and he was said to be a man of strong personality to kindle his passion in devoting the liberation of those people.

Pope-Hennessy was <an able and typical Irishman, quick of wit and repartee,> of humane and sympathetic but impulsive temperament.

On August 10, 1877, Major Palmer wrote to Sir Airy, Astronomer Royal, Greenwich Observatory as follows;

Barbados
West Indies

August 10, 1877

My dear Sir George

I am glad that Tupman's heavy task is progressing well, will you remember me kindly to him and Christie.

I trust that, when I come back to England, I shall find you as well as and full of work as ever.

Possibly you will be beginning about that time, or soon after, to make some plans for the next Transit.

When you do, I hope that my ill-success at New Zealand will not prevent my name from being noted as that of a candidate for a station in 1882.

yours faithfully,

H.S. Palmer

At the close of 1877, Major Palmer was appointed Executive Engineer at Hongkong, and he left Barbados in January 1878.

After a stay of about three weeks in England en route, he reached Hongkong in April, this time without his family, shortly afterwards receiving the additional appointments of Engineer of the Admiralty Works at that station and a.d.c. to the Governor.

The writer would like to remind you that the book titled "Sinai" which Major Palmer wrote was published from the Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge in March 1878, while he was staying at London en route to Hongkong from Barbados.

(VII) Stationing at Hongkong (1878-1883)

1) Under the Governor, Pope-Hennessy

Pope-Hennessy, newly appointed Governor of Hongkong, arrived at the post on April 23, 1877.

There, his policy resembled that which he had adopted in Barbados, and his general administration soon raised feelings of the profoundest dissatisfaction.

He quarrelled with the Commander-in-Chief, embroiled himself with the Governor of Macao, and was censured by the Colonial Office, while no private persons of any standing would go to the Government House.

Regardless of the open, explicit animosity shown to

him by the Colonial officers, Governor Hennessy steadily carried out the important measures.

In the meantime, Her Majesty's Government conferred upon Governor Hennessy the rank of K.C.M.G. (Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George) which is the rank next to quasi-baron with the appellation of Sir.

The fact clearly tells us that his measures taken on the Colony of Hongkong was whole-heartedly supported by the Home Government.

As Major Palmer thrust himself in the midst of such circumstances in April 1878, there is nothing to be wondered that the personal criticism on him in the Colonial Office was expressed in such words as

"Major Palmer may be a very scientific person, but he is only known here as an officer who was with Governor Hennessy in Barbados and followed him to Hongkong under promise of employment of his staff."

Such being the case, although Palmer was stationed at Hongkong for nearly five years, the work he actually executed was found very little, except for the drawing up of the Hongkong Observatory as well as the survey of the latitude for the site of the Observatory.

He furnished a Report on July 17, 1881, titled "On the proposal to establish a physical Observatory at Hongkong" at the budget of \$10,000 with the following three chief objects;

- (1) To determine the Local Time by astronomical observations and drop a Time Ball daily.
- (2) To obtain series of Meteorological observations with instruments of the best kinds, and to acquire information relating to the Typhoons and Monsoons of the China Sea.
- (3) To obtain series of observations in Terrestrial Magnetism, also with the best modern apparatus.

And he furnished another Report on February 22, titled "On a determination of Latitude at Mount Elgin in the Kau-Lung Peninsula" after he actually determined it by borrowing necessary instruments from Lieutenant Commander Greene of U.S. Navy.

Even his plan for the Observatory was commented with full of prejudice as a mere expansion of the details of Mr. Price's (ex-Surveyor-General) scheme with the super addition of some recommendations concerning astronomical observations to be taken not only omitted all mention of Mr. Price, but gave the credit of the scheme to Sir Pope-Hennessy.

However, his plan and the report accompanying it, were referred to the Kew Committee, of the Royal Society, who recommended the adoption without the alteration of a single item.

Though the scheme was afterwards somewhat cut down by the Colonial Office on the ground of economy, as far as it goes, is in conformity with his project on which competent authorities have since pronounced in terms of the highest approval, insisting that it deserves to rank as a standard guide for constructing of that class in the Colonies or elsewhere.

At a dinner party of the Royal Astronomical Society in London on July 1883, the Astronomer Royal, in a speech proposing Colonel Palmer's health, dealt specially on the merits of the Hongkong Observatory scheme.

Sir Pope-Hennessy, the Governor of Hongkong visited Japan utilizing his holidays for three months from June 1879, and was whole-heartedly welcomed by the Japanese Government official quarters.

The Japanese Foreign Office had already judged that the negotiations for the revision of the unequal treaty would not make any progress with Sir Parkes, the British Minister in Tokyo; therefore, they tried to approach Pope-Hennessy to break the deadlock of the Treaty Negotiations.

On coming back to Hongkong, Hennessy ordered his a.d.c. Major Palmer to visit Japan and investigate the present actual state of things there.

And Major Palmer left Hongkong for Japan on October 1, 1879.

2) Major Palmer's Memorandum to the Japanese Government on Surveying and Astronomy

Palmer arrived at Yokohama on October 8, 1879.

This was his first visit to Japan, and with this opportunity he started to research and investigate Japan on full scale.

His second visit was in July 1880, utilizing his holidays and he returned to Hongkong on September 18 per m.s. "Sumida Maru."

After Palmer returned from his second visit to Japan, on October 6, 1880, he wrote a Memorandum titled "On the importance of placing the departments of surveying and astronomy in Japan on a sound scientific footing."

This, the writer presumes, is because Mr. Ikunosuke Arai¹³, the Chief of Surveying Section of Geographical Department of the Ministry for Home Affairs, had read Palmer's book titled "The Ordnance Survey of the Kingdom."

He asked Palmer when they met in Tokyo, to furnish his memorandum, asking the Japanese Government to expand in full scale and justly the trigonometrical surveying system, which Japanese Government recently and finally decided to adopt.

The Memorandum, which was originally written in 1880,

was finally furnished to Kaoru Inouye¹⁴, the Japanese Foreign Minister, through Taro Ando, Japanese Consul at Hongkong, who was in Japan on October 1881, when Major Palmer came to Japan for the third time accompanying Queen Victoria's two grandsons.

The gist of the Memorandum is as follows:

1) Surveying

The work of the Tokio Bureau of Survey, which forms part of the Geographical Department under the Ministry for Home Affairs, is carried out on modern principle, and conducted by officers who have received some scientific training and are equipped with instruments of European make.

This Bureau, though still in its infancy, has done, and is doing good and useful work in beginning a general triangulation of the country.

So far as I would ascertain, there is a very good stock of necessary surveying appliances generally.

I gathered, in fact, that in the way of equipment, they have all or nearly all that can be desired for a thorough execution of the work on a better system than at present.

Hence, it appears that the Modern Survey of Japan is at present little more than begun, and that now is the time to devise and organize such a system as, after due consideration, shall in the opinion of the Government, be best suited to the present and future requirements of the Empire.

The consideration of this question, is, as I proceed to show, a most important one, and by no means free from difficulty.

But, with some experience of the subject and having regard to Japan's true interests, what I venture to press, for earnest attention, is the necessity of the foundation and carrying out the early stages of this important work.

It would be well for Japan to benefit in this matter by the past experiences, often costly and bitter, of other countries; and those experiences, have clearly established that the only true policy to be, if possible, pursued in entering upon a National Survey, on grounds of economy and usefulness and the avoidance of future expense, confusion and litigation, is that, from the very beginning, each step, no matter how slow, shall be so done as to stand for all time and form an integral part of the structure to be in due course completed.

There is, indeed, no public undertaking to which the maxim that what is worth doing at all, is worth doing well applies more truly than to a National Survey.

Especially is this the case as regards triangulation.

No pains, therefore, should be spared to execute it thoroughly once for all.

It will then amply repay its cost.

In the case of Japan, the importance of good and precise survey has special weight.

The tax upon land is the chief source of Imperial revenue, forming on the average at least two-thirds of its whole amount.

2) Astronomy

Concerning the astronomy, after I checked the status of instruments which the Bureau of Trigonometrical Survey, and the Naval Observatory possess, I would like to report as follows;

Though scarcely any of the instruments could be classed as standard for an astronomical observatory of the first order, many of them are excellent of their kind, and would be serviceable adjuncts to any such establishments.

They must have cost altogether a considerable sum of money, and are capable of being made to do much useful work.

I am not aware what difficulties, if any, may lie in the way of merging the two collections into one for National purposes.

But, when it be possible to do this, I would venture to point out that, much valuable materials is at hand which with a slight extra expenditure, can be turned to important scientific and educational uses; and that a fitting time has come for adding the cultivation of Astronomy to the many enlightened schemes of progress, which have been taken in hand by the Government of Japan.

Besides countless private establishments, every country in Europe (with the single exception of Turkey), the United States of America, India, Canada, the Australian Colonies, and other places, have their fixed National or Government Observatories, the whole of them contributing in various ways to build up the science of Astronomy, performing much work of utilitarian value, and adding, bit by bit and year by year, to the domain of knowledge in a subject which in all ages and countries has possessed the strongest interest for the minds of men.

The section of the globe in which Japan lies is, however, peculiarly deficient in Astronomical observatories.

Eastward from India, until we approach the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, the only public observatories in existence are those at Melbourne and Sydney in Australia, and at Batavia of Java, that is to say, the vast region which extends from pole to pole and over more than 190 degrees of longitude, in other words, upwards of one half the entire Earth's surface is, with these exceptions, destitute of fixed observatories.

It is plain, therefore, that Japan has before her a fine opportunity for helping to supply this deficiency, and for earning appreciation and grateful acknowledgements from Government and scientific men in all parts of the world.

In this matter, as with the Survey, I am no advocate of hasty or costly measures.

Here, as there, I would urge caution and moderation and a modest beginning.

But the sooner a small staff of Japanese gentlemen of scientific tastes are brought together and interested and instructed in the work, the easier and cheaper will it be hereafter to expand that beginning into an institution which shall do credit to the Government of Japan.

3) Kaoru Inouye Read Palmer's "Recent Japanese Progress" Which Appeared in "British Quarterly Review", July, 1882

Major Palmer's article titled "Recent Japanese progress" discusses on Japanese progress fully in every angle, with the excellent command of the materials on Japan which he had collected during his recent two visits in 1879 and 1880, by which we realize how intensive were his researches on Japan.

It must be added that this article had already been sent to England from Hongkong at the time of the Political Incident in the Meiji 14th year which occurred on October 11, 1881.

In this article, Palmer, utilizing data published from the Japanese Government, data from abroad on Japan, the information gathered from the foreign newspapers in Yokohama as well as the actual facts Palmer himself experienced, discussed in detail the changes of revolutionary transition of the organization of the State which the Meiji Government had so far executed.

He also discussed present conditions, as well as the points at issue, adding detailed statistical datas, introducing how Japan had made surprising development in every field within a limited time period.

The basic tone of the article consists in both admiration and sympathy to the Japanese in general.

"Nature"¹⁵, (a world-famous authentic Weekly on science, published even up to the present in England), commented the article in its July 26 issue, as follows:

The current number of the British Quarterly Review contains an article on recent Japanese progress, which is by far the most valuable that has been published on this subject for many years past.

The author, Col. H.S. Palmer, R.E., describes fully the causes and course of the changes which have passed over the "Land of the Rising Sun" in the past fourteen years, and, the various and complicated changes in the constitution and administration from the pure oligarchy which succeeded the revolution of 1868, to the system of the present day were clearly explained, and the effect of the various steps in these changes made comprehensible to the general reader.

The writer then takes the recent reforms under various heads, the army, navy, education, public works, prisons, etc., and shows by statistics, what advance had really been made.

The last half of the paper is, in fact, a comprehensive summary, with running commentary, of the Japanese Government in every department.

The knotty subject of finance is treated with as much clearness as the subject admits of.

Under this head the almost inevitable character of the present financial depression is explained, but it is gratifying to notice that a careful and impartial observer like Col. Palmer is able to conclude his article with confidence in the future of the country to which he has devoted so much study.

Many of the interesting statistics in the paper have already

appeared in the columns of Nature.

In the meantime, Kaoru Inouye, the Foreign Minister, who had passionately devoted his youth to the construction of New Japan as well as today's earnest driver of Japan's Europeanization policy, never missed the article.

It touches upon the problem of Treaty revision, a matter of primary importance to the Japanese Government at the time.

For your information, we quote an excerpt of the article as follows;

"Recent Japanese Progress"

(The Japan Weekly Mail)
January 13, 1883

(Extracted portion on Treaty Revision)

At present the important question of Treaty Revision occupies a considerable share of the attention of Japanese politicians.

One of the first objects which the Government - as reconstructed in 1871 - set themselves to accomplish was the revision of the treaties and tariff which had been made by foreign Powers with their predecessors, at a time of much difficulty and danger to the latter.

This desire led to the despatch of an influential Embassy, headed by Mr. Tomomi Iwakura, to America and Europe, in December 1871.

The Embassy was not immediately successful, and since then more pressing and important affairs - some of them involving the very existence of the present regime - have caused the postponement of foreign questions until the present time.

Now, when profound tranquillity reigns throughout the Empire, the matter has at last assumed a definite shape.

Formal proposals for revision have been laid before all the foreign Powers and although these have not yet been authoritatively made public, it is pretty well known that they embrace a moderate increase in the tariff, and a very limited jurisdiction over foreigners in Japan.

This latter, it is proposed, shall be confined to breaches of administrative law, the punishment for which does not exceed three months' imprisonment, or a fine of five hundred dollars.

Disputes of all kinds amongst foreigners themselves will be adjudicated upon by the Consul of the nation to which the defendant, or accused person, belongs, as is the custom in most of the Mohammedan States.

In Japan this question of treaty revision is one of burning interest to the Government and the educated classes, who have long smarted under tariff restrictions and under extra-territorial stipulations which denied them any jurisdiction whatever over foreigners.

It certainly is but natural that an intelligent and progressive race should view as unfair and oppressive treaties according to which they have no power to regulate their own customs dues for purposes either of protection or of revenue; and that they should grudge clauses which deprive them of rights of government over the very foreigners whom they are called upon to protect, and for whose

safety they are held responsible.

The conditions which favoured the imposition of such terms at the time when the treaties were framed have already either disappeared or been very extensively modified.

Not only have the criminal procedure and prison system of Japan been thoroughly remodelled to suit her altered circumstances, but she is now providing herself with a complete code of laws, and can claim the services of magistrates and judges who, if wanting in the long training and experience which we are accustomed to find on the English Bench, nevertheless possess considerable legal capacity, and sufficient training to render them more than capable of a wise exercise of such limited jurisdiction as it is now proposed to give them.

The Japanese Government, accordingly, feel that the time has come at which they may fairly claim to be relieved from the humiliation of conditions applicable only to barbarous or semi-barbarous races.

They urge, further, that the moderate concession now desired would do much to infuse greater harmony into their dealings with the foreign representatives.

Much objection will doubtless be made to the proposed revision by foreigners resident in the country, but it will be hard for European Government to refuse to a nation like Japan that which they have granted to such countries as Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco.

Expense and unsatisfactory state of the Consular Courts will also be arguments in favour of a measure which, while curtailing their jurisdiction now, would be a step towards their total abolition in the future.

Until that abolition is complete, it would be idle to hope for the extinction of the system which at present requires foreigners travelling in the interior of Japan to be provided with passports; a system which owes its origin wholly to the extra-territorial privileges for foreigners that have been thrust upon the Japanese.

Still more idle would it be to expect that the Japanese will open their country to foreign trade and residence.

The years, 1881/2 were the period when the negotiations of the treaty revision driven by Japanese Foreign Minister, Kaoru Inouye, were having difficulty sailing in the conference among the Treaty Powers held in Tokyo.

Above all, the unchanging strong attitude taken by Great Britain was the chief instigator to obstruct the developments of the negotiations which Japan hoped to make.

To the mainland of England itself, Major Palmer sent his first message supporting Japan for the favourable treaty revision.

Palmer, a British military officer who served under Her Majesty the Queen in the constitutional Monarchy like Japan, had an intimate feeling towards Japan that was admirably advancing together for the modernization of the state under the Emperor.

Henceforth, Palmer clarified his position to become Japan's friend and defender and adhered this position until his death in 1893.

Foreign Minister, K. Inouye who found in Palmer "a powerful Japan's friend", not only as the able technical engineer who would assist and encourage for the establishment of infra-structures in Japan as well as the development for her standard of living, but also as an able journalist who would report the status of the development in Japan to overseas countries, must have decided to ask for cooperation to him.

And, Palmer, on his side, while intensifying his studies on Japan, seems to have strengthened his expectations that it was Japan that should be the right and most suitable stage where he might be able to kindle with passion and give full play to his abilities, either due to his family environment or due to a sense of aversion to the European civilization which he began to harbour because of his many years of life in the Colonies.

4) Holding Fast to Go to New Zealand

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Major Palmer had shown a very keen interest in Japan, however, on one part, he still eagerly hoped to go to New Zealand for the observation of Transit of Venus in 1882.

Following is a letter he wrote to Sir Airy from Kobe on July 30, 1880 in his second Japan visit.

Kobe Japan
1880 July 30

My dear Sir George,

I see by my last number of the Monthly Notices that you have entered upon the question of the next Transit of Venus.

It does not appear, and perhaps is hardly known yet, whether the Government will assist as before in the enterprise, but, not to be behindhand, I venture to write you and repeat to you my former offer of services, if you should be disposed to accept them and if Government purpose joining in the work.

I can hardly yet say exactly when I shall return to England, perhaps, it will be in the first half of 1882, earlier or later as might suit your wishes.

As you propose to use New Zealand again, perhaps, in the event of your employing me, it might be advantageous to send me again to that station, where I am well known and where I could avail myself of knowledge and experience gained in the former occasion, in 1874/5.

One more suggestion I will venture upon is that, should Lieutenant Darwin again be a volunteer, and not have an important charge himself, I should be only too glad to be associated with so excellent an aide.

I have this day arrived here from Hongkong, bent on two months holiday travel in this most delightful country.

One needs an annual run somewhere, to get away from the relaxing climate of Hongkong, which in summer is especially trying, and we

are fortunate in having such a charming sanatorium as Japan within a week's sail.

I shall not be sorry when my term of tropical service is ended, but I much prefer to the East to the West, and so far as salary goes I have a most excellent appointment.

The Secretary for the Colonies has lately approved a vote of 2,000 pounds for beginning an observatory of which is to determine time for the shipping and for magnetic and meteorological observation.

If you should at any rate be writing me, I need hardly say that a hint from you as to the class of astronomical work (within the compass of a good transit instruments and a good telescope) which might be usefully followed, would be very much valued.

Pray remember me very kindly to the wife Airy's and your sons and my friends in the Department and believe me

Dear Sir George

yours very faithfully

H.S.Palmer

(My address is "Hongkong")

On August 15, 1881, Sir Airy left the position of Astronomer Royal which he had served for 46 years and retired,

Sir Airy had assumed the supreme command and displayed all-round activities at the time of the Transit of Venus in 1874.

The resulting data were collected at Greenwich and Capt. Tupman was put in charge of the reductions.

The work dragged on until eventually Parliamentary pressure built up for immediate publication of result. (It must be remembered that the money voted for the transit operations made it one of the most heavily financed scientific investigations up to that time).

The preliminary results did appear, in 1877, the main problem became immediately apparent; the new measures of the solar parallax were no more accordant than those derived from the 18th century transits had been.

The final figure presented by Airy was 8.76, but this represented an average over a wide range of values.

The results naturally greatly reduced enthusiasm for observing the next transit in 1882.

In any case, the Royal Observatory was less involved. Airy wrote to a friend;

It had been my wish to retire from the Observatory in the summer of 1880, but the old Transit of Venus was still hanging over me.

My part was cleared off in the summer of 1881, and then I took my opportunity.

The letter sent from Sir Airy to Mrs. Palmer dated August 24, 1881, which the writer would like to

introduce herein was written just after his retirement, out of which no one may miss to notice the worn-out air oozing out from the contents of the letter of a 79 year old conscientious scientist.

August 24 1881

My dear Madam.

My daughter Christbal has shown me your letter, conveying the wish of Col. Palmer to be informed whether he can be appointed as an Observer of the Transit of Venus 1882.

I duly received Col. Palmer's letter of 1880 July 30, and have it in its proper place for reference, and action thereon.

Nothing could be done for a time.

For I had notified to the Admiralty that the business was too heavy for me; and therefore they referred it to the Council of the Royal Society, who referred it to a Committee upon whose report a new Committee was appointed, who have at length referred the practical points to Mr. Stone.

I should have been in vigorous action with him before this time, but I have resigned my office of Astronomer Royal and changed my residence and nobody can imagine the occupation of time which, under peculiar circumstances this has caused and is causing.

But I will put my part of the business in order before long and will inform you or Col. Palmer.

I am, my dear Madam
yours very truly

George Airy

In response to the above letter. Mrs. Palmer replied as follows;

Moseville
Shanklin
Ile of Wight

September 8th 1881

Dear Sir,

I must write a line to thank you for your kind note.

I should have acknowledged it before, but as you will see by my address, I have been travelling about lately I thought it so exceedingly kind of you to write to me yourself.

Immediately I received your letter I forwarded it to my husband so that he might see exactly how matters stand respecting the coming Transit, but I fear he will think I have done wrong in troubling you on the subject.

Should he however get appointed on it would you kindly letting me have a line addressed to me at my father's

Rev. Archdeacon Wright
Greatham Rectory
W. Petersfield
Hants

where I shall be staying until next March, for it would be such a long time before I should hear if the news went out to Hongkong first.

With my kind regards to, yourself and Miss Airy.

Believe me
yours truly

M. Palmer

On November 18, 1882, Lt. Col. Palmer contributed a very interesting article titled "The Great Comet of 1882" to "The Daily Press Hongkong" which appeared on November 20.

In the said press, he introduced various theories on the Comet prevalent at the time from the standpoint of an astronomer and took part in breaking down the old popular views usually attached with the appearance of the Comet which foretell the possible destruction of the Globe.

Mr. F. Brinkley, a dear friend of Palmer for many years, and the owner and editor of "The Japan (Weekly) Mail" read the article on the "Daily Press Hongkong" of November 20 and introduced it promptly in his paper dated December 2, 1882.

Being well versed in the astronomy, he developed his own unique views on the Comet in addition.

In 1883, while Col. Palmer stayed in Japan on his way back to England, he wrote about the 1882 Comet in "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated February 1, March 3 and May 19, 1883.

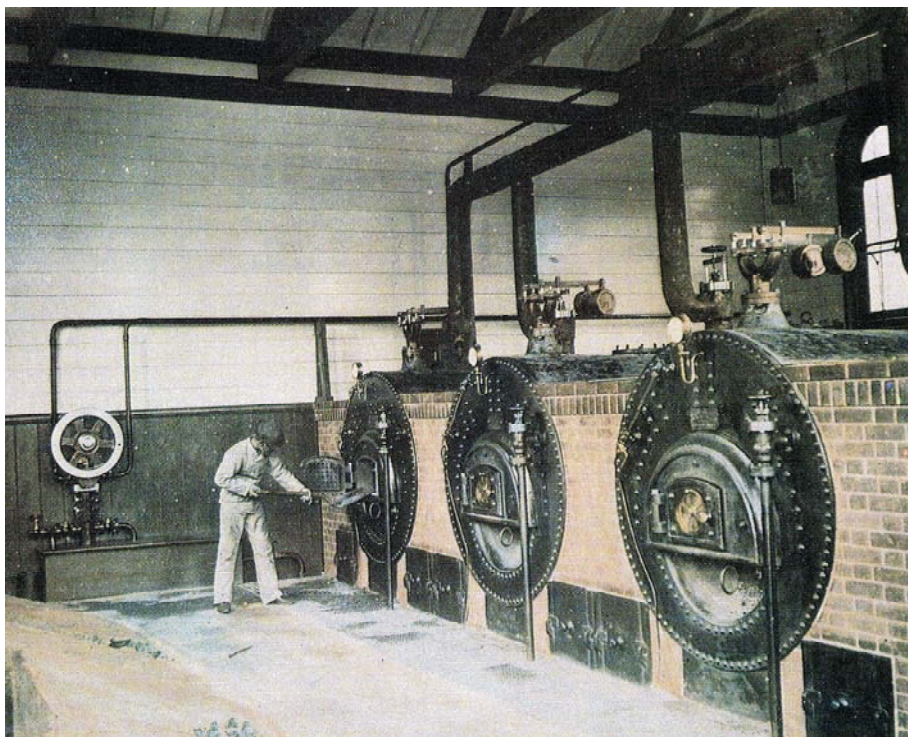


Lt. Col. H.S. Palmer R.E.



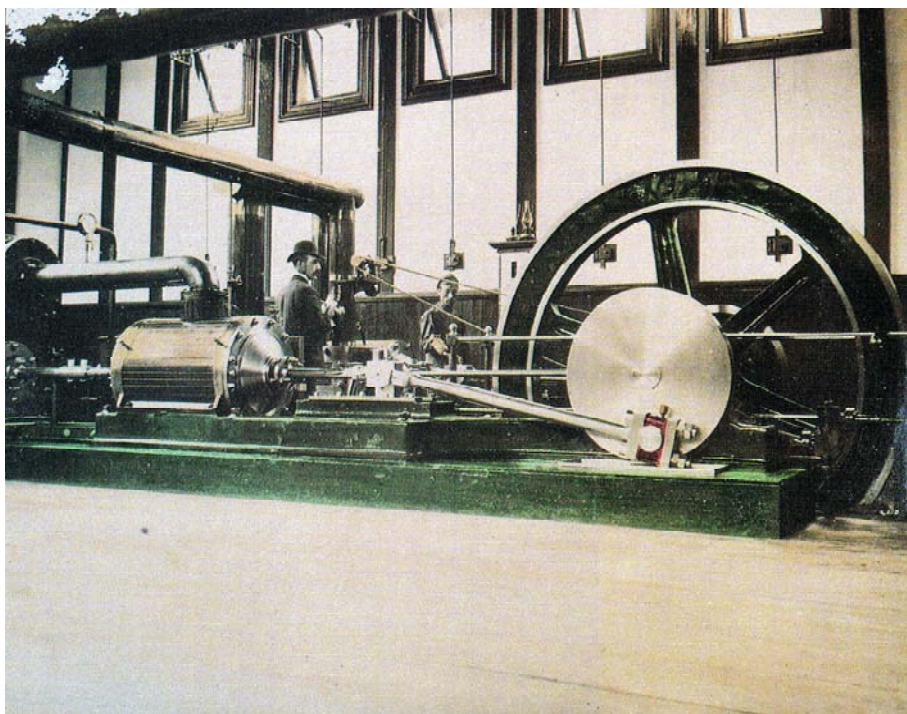
View of

the intake at Mi-i Village, Tsukui-gun



Boiler

at the intake, Mi-i Village



Pum
ping

machinery at the intake, Mi-i Village



Staff at the pumping station, Mi-i Village



Iron pipeline route, 4



Iro

n pipeline route, 5



Iron pipeline route, 14, Ogurano ferry



Iron pipeline route, 15, Kawajiri Village



Iron

pipeline route, 16, Oshima Village



Iron
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ine route, 17

I r o n
p i p e -



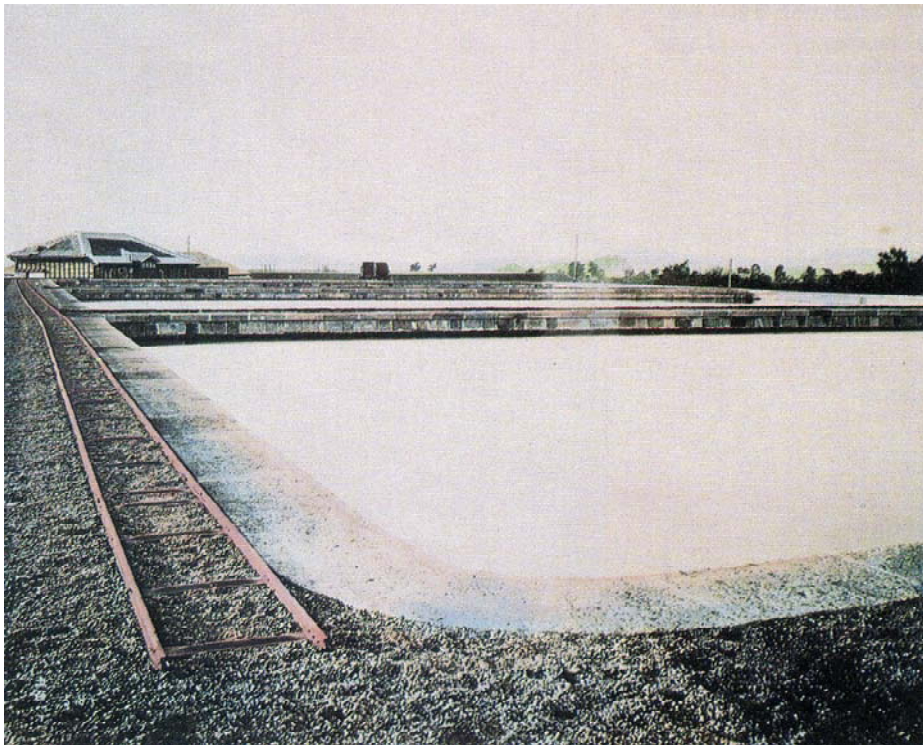
line route, 20, Sagami-hara Tsuruma Village

V a l v e
w e l l



at Kamikawai Village, Tsuzuki-gun

Filte
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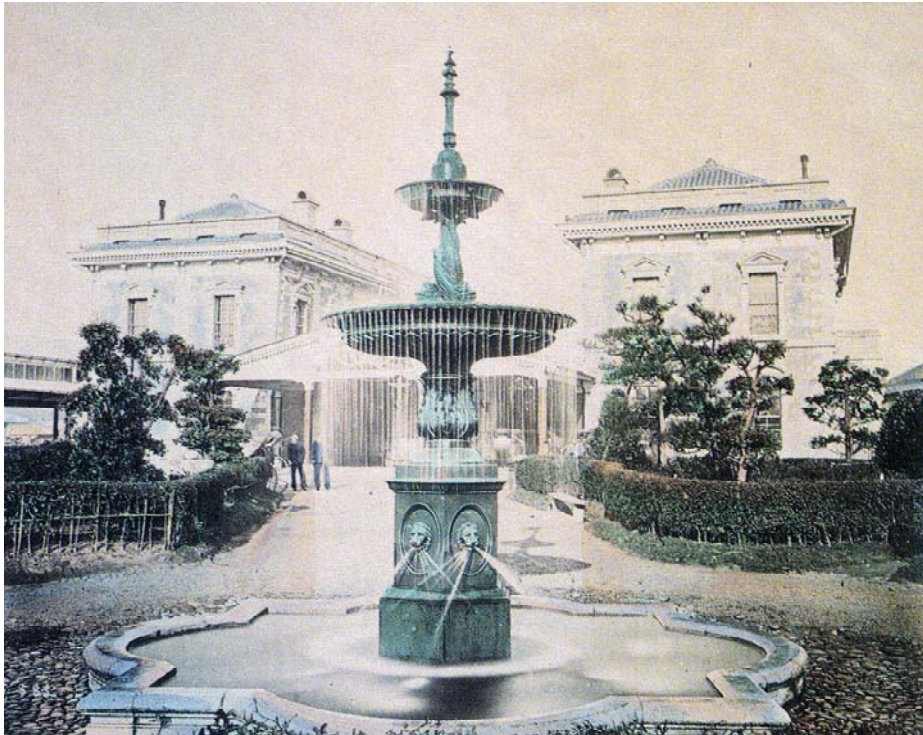


ds at Nogeeyama, Yokohama

Ser
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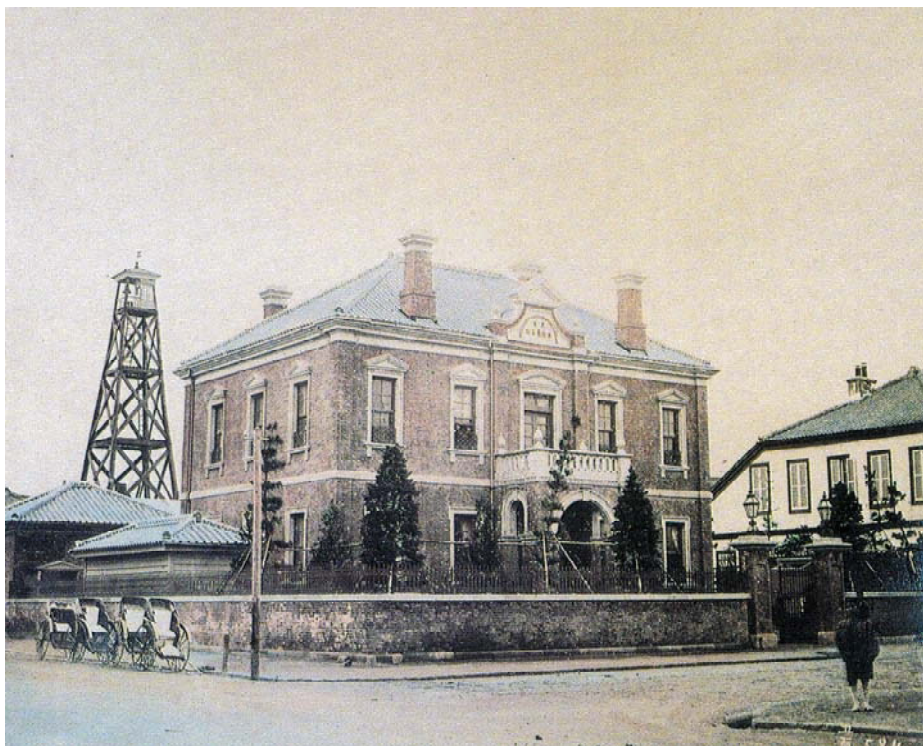


-reservoir at Nogeeyama, Yokohama



Fou

ntain in front of Yokohama Station



Yo-
ko-

hama Water Works Office



Demonstration of Discharging Water from Fire Hydrant at Yoshida-bashi

14 out of 30 views of Photo Album of Yokohama Waterworks under construction taken by Mr. Shinichi Suzuki in 1886/7 (With grateful acknowledgement to the Archives and Mausoleum Department of the Imperial Household Agency).

CHAPTER II

Palmer as a Technical Engineer

(I) The Construction of Waterworks for Yokohama

1) The Plan (Schedule) and Estimates

Major Palmer was promoted to regimental Lieutenant Colonel as of October 1, 1882 and was ordered home to serve as the Commanding Royal Engineer in Manchester District in England.

He left Hongkong on December 12, 1882 per British Steamer "Arabic" and arrived at Yokohama on the 19th and stayed at the British Legation in Tokyo.

After a short while, K. Inouye, the Japanese Foreign Minister, at the instance of H.S. Parkes¹⁶, the British Minister in Tokyo, ordered M. Oki¹⁷, the Prefect of Kanagawa to visit the Legation, accompanying a Japanese engineer to meet an English engineer specialized with the waterworks staying there.

As Parkes was already at hand with the Memorial dated June 28, 1882 which was sent from the foreign residents in Yokohama, asking for the immediate construction of waterworks, he must have found it necessary to let the Japanese engineer explain the present status of the project of waterworks in Yokohama then in progress to the English engineer.

For reference purposes, permit the writer to quote herein the said Memorial dated June 28, 1882 as well as F.O. No. 54 dated April 17, 1883 which was sent from Parkes to Sir Granville, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

The Memorial sent from the foreign residents in Yokohama to Parkes, the British Minister, on June 28, 1882

We, the undersigned land renters, lessees of premises and insurance agents, of Yokohama, beg to request the aid of your Excellency and that of your Excellency's colleagues, the Foreign Ministers resident in Japan, in obtaining from the Imperial Japanese Government a water supply for the foreign settlement of this port, at present dependent on shallow wells sunk, in the various compounds, which according to the report of the sanitary examiners in 1879 and 1880, have been proved to be contaminated with sewage and unfit for drinking purposes.

During the last two years a considerable extension has been made to the settlement, by buildings erected on the new swamp lots, from the public garden to the Honmura creek, where large numbers of Japanese are employed in tea-firing and other work. On this ground, no water whatever can be obtained, not even for washing.

The sanitary authorities have for years been aware of the great danger to the health of both the native and foreign population caused by the present want of good water; yet, although several representations have been made on the subject, with a view of obtaining an extension of the Rokyugo aqueduct, nothing whatever has resulted.

This aqueduct already reaches into a portion of the Japanese town, and had, according to the report of Mr. Mita¹⁸, the Kencho engineer, a flow sufficient for the requirements of 60,000 people, while the water is of excellent quality.

It is at present carried from Kanagawa in wooden pipes, which besides being liable to leakage and consequent contamination are unable to bear any great pressure, and are liable to decay.

Mr. Mita states that with proper iron piping the water would have pressure for a rise of twenty feet.

This would enable it to be conveyed to all parts of the town and in addition to avoiding the sanitary danger of wooden piping, would be of the greatest importance for extinguishing fires which often cause such great destruction of property in Yokohama, the fire engines now being often unable to obtain water when most wanted.

There would also, when once the iron pipes were laid, be no interruption to the supply by repairs.

With a regular supply of water at hand the drains could always be flushed when required and with regard to the expense entailed by a proper scheme, we need only refer to the heavy outlay, (said to amount to 20,000 yen per month) now incurred conveying water by boats and buckets to the native town during the present epidemic.

Although we, as foreigners, now address your Excellency more particularly in regard to the foreign settlement, it is evident that the subject is one that should have the greatest interest to the Government of Japan for the sake of its own people, now suffering so severely from the insanitary condition of Yokohama.

We may also add that, as the necessary iron piping can only be obtained from abroad, which will take some months, it is most important that an arrangement should be carried at, as so on as possible in order that the work be completed before the hot season of 1883.

The great importance of the subject to this community will, we trust, justify our troubling your Excellency with it, at a moment when so many other matters have claim on your attention.

We have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient humble servants

To His Excellency
Sir Harry S. Parkes,
K.C.B. G.C.M.G.

F.O.No. 54 Official Letter from Parkes to Granville, the
Foreign Secretary

Tokio, April 17, 1883

My Lord,

With reference to my telegram of the 16th February, communicating the request of the Japanese Government to be allowed to engage the service of Lieutenant Colonel Palmer for three months, to advise them relative to the proposed works for the supply of water to Yokohama, and your Lordship's reply of the 2nd ultimo, informing me that the War Office had sanctioned this proposal on condition that Lieutenant Colonel Palmer comes home after the time named.

I should observe that I ventured to recommend that this leave should be granted to Lieutenant Colonel Palmer, because the question of the water supply of Yokohama materially concerns the health and well-being of the foreign as well as of the native population of that town and port.

The enclosed Memorial on this subject which was unanimously signed by the foreign residents was presented to me last June, and I considered the question of sufficient importance to bring it to the notice of the Preliminary Conference of the Revision of the Treaties which was then sitting in Tokio.

The Japanese Government have since given considerable attention to the subject, and have prepared plans and estimates of works which are intended to furnish Yokohama with an abundant supply of excellent water from a river in the neighbourhood.

It is of course supposed that the foreign community will contribute to the cost of these works.

The estimates, which were prepared solely by native engineers, appeared to me to be unnecessarily costly, and Lieutenant Colonel Palmer on a cursory examination of them informed me that he believed they might be reduced by one half.

The extension of leave which has been obligingly allowed him, by the War Office will enable him to thoroughly investigate the subject and the result will be recorded in a report which he is now engaged in preparing.

I hope to receive a copy of his report from the Foreign Minister, and I shall then be able to inform your Lordship of the character of his recommendations and of the manner in which they are received by the Japanese Government.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,

My Lord
Your Lordship's
most obedient
humble servant
Harry S. Parkes

As it was, it turned out that Lieutenant Colonel Palmer was hired by the Japanese Government for three months and was entrusted with a project of the new Yokohama Waterworks after he checked the Designs and Estimates prepared by Mr. Z. Mita, Kanagawa Kencho engineer.

Hence, Palmer started his vigorous investigations on the spot with the heartfelt cooperation of Mr. Mita.

On April 11, 1883, he furnished to Governor M. Oki, the initial report covering the Yokohama Waterworks, which source of water be taken from Tamagawa, per the Report herein quoted.

In accordance with your instructions, communicated to me early last month, that I should report to you my views with respect to a Water Supply for Yokohama, I have the honour to submit the following preliminary remarks, embodying the results of my enquiries and calculations up to the present time.

This is clearly a necessary course, in order that you may be put in possession of the chief points bearing on the question, and of the merits of different modes of supply, before coming to a decision.

I have made the preliminary investigation as complete and searching as the time and means of information at my disposal permitted, so that I might be able now to lay before you, with clearness and confidence, my opinion upon the various methods of carrying out the Waterworks project.

On receiving your further instruction at, I trust, the earliest date possible, I shall be prepared to go further into details, and to elaborate by more precise plans and estimates such schemes as you may approve.

I premise at the outset that you wish to provide Yokohama with an ample water supply on Western principles extended to all those parts of the town that can be conveniently reached by the distributing-mains, and so designed as to admit of easy and inexpensive future increase, to meet the wants of a growing population.

Also, that you desire that the supply shall be such as to relieve the inhabitants from any further occasion for using the numerous wells already existing in the town, of which I understand that no fewer than 1,063 out of a total (not including those in the foreign quarters) of 1399, or 76 in every 100, yield water that is unfit to drink, and ought to be closed as soon as possible.

Also, that you propose that the present supply from the Tamagawa, which is distributed to certain parts of the town in wooden pipes, generally in a more or less impure state, shall be superseded by the new system.

Further, I assume that you would like to new supply to be distributed under a pressure, or <head> sufficient to allow of its being laid on to the upper storeys of dwellings in all parts of the district, and, in cases of fire, to command the roofs of the highest buildings by jets from the mains, without the help of fire-engines.

For this purpose, I am of opinion that a pressure of at least 140 feet (with reference to the mean sea-level) at the focus of distribution is very desirable.

And it may be interesting to remark here that, where water under high pressure is always available, its power may be employed with advantage and economy in hydraulic machinery for numerous purposes, such as the working of lathes, bellows, cranes, grinding, crushing, and cutting apparatus, and presses of various kinds.

Lastly, I assume that you will favour the <constant> system of supply, as opposed to the <intermittent>, the characteristic principles of the former being that consumers can draw water from the pipes at any moment in any parts of the district.

The intermittent system, under which the water is laid on at different times to different parts, and therefore has to be stored in the houses, is now universally disapproved, as being wasteful; inconvenient, and not without danger to health.

The constant system requires less water by one-third than the intermittent, costs less to begin with, and less for maintenance; and the pipes last three times as long.

It is also invaluable in cases of fire.

Very often fires are got under or even extinguished, before the arrival of the engines; and the experience of towns where the

constant had been substituted for the intermittent system is that the change has always been followed by a large reduction of the percentage of loss of property attacked by fire.

All that the constant system needs, in order to endure the advantage which properly belong to it, is that there be careful provision against waste, and legal powers to enforce the regulations.

The former is secured by insisting on good service pipes and fitting in every house, and on their being kept constantly in repair, and by employment of inexpensive and well known apparatus for the detection and prevention of waste, and for controlling pressure whenever it is found desirable to do so.

On the above basis, Palmer, after calculating the quantity of water required per head per day to be 20 gallons to be distributed for 70,000 people, he quoted the total cost (the source of water supply from Tamagawa) as \$745,600 namely, Yen 1,043,840 (\$-Yen 1.40) for supplying 1,400,000 gallons of water per day.

As the following letter shows, Lt. Col. Palmer furnished further report to M. Oki, the Prefect on May 31, 1883.

Sir; Having received, on the 1st inst., your Honour's instructions, to elaborate a scheme for supplying Yokohama with water from, the Sagamigawa, I beg to submit the following Report on the subject, together with the necessary Estimates, Drawings and Explanations.

And he finally quoted the total cost for the above as follows;

\$968,500-Yen 1,291,010 (Exchange rate Yen 1.333 per \$) for supplying 1,400,000 gallons of water per day.

He completed two alternative schemes of water supply, one from Tamagawa, and the other from Sagamigawa.

He left Yokohama per British Steamer "Arabic" on May 31, 1883 for England via San Francisco, coincidentally the same steamer which he was supposed to take on December 22, 1882.

On reaching England in July 1883, he was appointed as Commanding Engineer of Manchester District which post he retained until February 28, 1885.

On June 20, 1883, Sir Harry Parkes, British Minister in Tokyo, sent his official letter (F.O. No. 104) to Lord Granville, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs as follows;

My Lord,

With reference to my Despatch of the 30th ultimo, stating that I should forward Lieutenant Colonel Palmer's Reports on the proposed waterworks of Yokohama as soon as I received them, I have now the honour to inclose two printed copies of these Reports which clearly demonstrate the practicability of both the systems which he has

examined and the moderate cost at which an abundant supply of pure water can be furnished by either of these systems to the native and foreign population of Yokohama.

The successful execution of such works must depend, however, not only upon skilled professional advice but on equally well qualified supervision, and Lieutenant Colonel Palmer stated to me that he would willingly undertake this service if the War Office would allow him to be placed on the Seconded List.

I have the honour to be
with the highest respect
My Lord

Yours Lordship's most obedient
humble servant

Harry S. Parkes

On July 14, 1883, M. Oki, Kanagawa Prefect, sent an official letter to A. Yamada, Japanese Minister for Home Affairs to the effect that, after he examined the two alternative plans for Yokohama Waterworks which Lt. Col. Palmer designed, he decided to adopt Palmer's second Report whose water source was Sagamigawa and applied with the Memorandum to permit its construction from the Government Expense at the earliest possible date.

The Ministry of the Home Affairs examined the official letter intensively.

On September 1883, the Ministry asked Mr. Mulder, the Government employee attached to the Public Work Department of the same Ministry to check Palmer's plan on the spot.

He, accordingly, surveyed the spot extensively, including the water courses and their levelling and on November 21 reported to the Ministry.

It was re-examined by a Japanese Engineer and on February 1884, Palmer's plan for the Second Report with its water source at Sagamigawa was officially accepted.

On November 27, 1884, the Government finally admitted Palmer's plan at the Government budget of one million yen to start from 1885 and to invite Lt. Col. Palmer to superintend the whole work at his hand.

On September 27, 1884, M. Oki, Kanagawa Prefect, sent the following official letter to Lt. Col. Palmer in Manchester, England.

Kanagawa Kencho
September 27 1884

My dear Col. Palmer,

I am glad to inform you that it has now been decided to carry out the waterworks for Yokohama.

Under these circumstances and in view of the fact that you had given so much attention to the investigation of the scheme, I propose to entrust the execution of the work in your able hands.

With regards to the terms of the agreement, I would propose that your employment be made for a period of two years (within which the work would, I estimate, be completed) at a salary of five hundred Silver Yen per month.

The house accommodation during your stay in Japan, may I think, be arranged afterwards according to your convenience.

Being an old and intimate friend I trust you will not hesitate to state your own terms, should the above not be acceptable to your views.

On my part, I assure you that I am ready to do all I can in arranging the matter to your satisfaction.

Hoping that you continue in good health and that I may receive your answer as soon as possible.

Yours very sincerely

Morikata Oki

The writer has no materials to confirm when Palmer accepted the offer mentioned in the above letter from Oki, but he has in possession of the materials that Palmer went back and forth between Manchester-London, Manchester-Liverpool, Manchester-Stockport more than ten times from November 16, 1883 to February 22, 1885, in preparing the specifications of the materials to be used for the Yokohama Waterworks.

His Military Record quotes as follows;

He served as the Commanding Engineering Officer in Manchester District from July 10, 1883 until February 22, 1885 and from February 23, 1885 to September 30, 1887, he was on special duty for Government of Japan.

In the meantime, while the Japanese Government having been exerting frantic endeavours to materialize the construction of waterworks in Yokohama, Palmer in Manchester contributed some articles to the leading newspapers as follows;

- 1) January 22, 1884 to "The Daily News"
"Our commercial relations with Japan"
- 2) February 18, 1884 to "The Manchester Guardian"
"The Japanese Tariff"
- 3) March 7, 1884 to "The Manchester Guardian"
"Japan and the Treaty Powers"
- 4) June 9, 1884 to "The Times"
"Capitulations in Japan"
- 5) October 27, 1884 to "The Manchester Guardian"
"The Commercial Treaties with Japan"

Palmer, also, sent private letters to Kaoru Inouye,

the Japanese Foreign Minister, on January 25, February 5, and 19, March 8 and May 15 writing about the above articles.

On September 13, 1884, Inouye sent his official letter to Palmer.

In view of the above, we may understand that the intimate friendship increased to a great degree between them.

However, the details of the letter and articles, we would like to discuss in Chapter III, titled "Palmer as a journalist."

In "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated February 14, 1885, the following article appeared.

We learn with much pleasure that the services of Lieutenant Col. H. S. Palmer, recently commanding the Royal Engineers at Manchester, have been placed at the disposal of Japan.

It is expected that Colonel Palmer will leave England at the end of this month, and travelling via America will reach Japan in the beginning of April.

On his arrival he will assume charge of the Yokohama Waterworks, the construction of which is to be vigorously proceeded with.

The Government of this country are to be sincerely congratulated on having secured the services of an officer so distinguished for scientific attainments as Colonel Palmer.

The long pending plan for constructing Yokohama Waterworks had finally been put on the right track, but the writer has to report herein the death of Dr. A.J.C. Gueertz, a Dutch researcher and sanitary engineer.

Dr. Gueertz was first invited by the Japanese Government and arrived at Japan in 1868.

He rendered signal services as the Chief of the Laboratory of Chemistry applied to medicine and hygiene in Yokohama.

Especially, when the dreaded cholera was rampant in Yokohama in 1877 and 1883, he devoted himself to the house to house sanitary inspection in the town.

He always put forth all his energies for the improvement of sanitary conditions as well as the drinking water in Yokohama.

On August 31, 1883, he died of the cancer in the stomach at the age of only 40.

It was just after he completed the analysis of the quality of the water to be used for the new Yokohama Waterworks which was entrusted by Palmer.

2) The Construction of the Waterworks Started April 1885

As reported in "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated February 14, Palmer arrived at Yokohama from San Francisco per American steamer "City of New York" on April 11, 1885.

He proceeded to his new post alone, this time, too.
Mr. J.H.T. Turner, his trusted assistant, arrived at
Yokohama with his family on April 23.

The construction of the Waterworks in Yokohama
officially started in April 1885, and upon the arrivals
of the necessary materials, it was commenced on a full
scale, but it was necessary to elapse two and half years
before the construction actually started.

In the meantime, Palmer was promoted to the rank of
full Colonel as of July 1, 1885.

In the article titled "New Waterworks" which Palmer
wrote in "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated May 15 and 22, 1886, about one year
before the completion of the works,
he disclosed the particulars of the engineering and
other features of the construction in progress on the
first modern waterworks in Japan under the subtitles of

- (1) Intake
- (2) The Pipe Line
 - a) First Section
 - b) Second Section
 - c) Third Section
- (3) Works on Nogeyama (Reservoir)
- (4) Distribution in the Town

(1) Intake

This is on the left bank of the Sagami River, about 25 miles from
its mouth and 34 miles from the remotest source on the northwest
flank of Fujiyama.

A small pumping station, the foundations and walls for which are
now being prepared, will be placed on a convenient site about 100
yards below a miniature harbour that will be constructed next
winter at a sheltered spot on the river margin.

The introduction of pumping at the Intake was recommended by the
Engineer upon receipt of certain results of local investigations
which could not be arrived at in time for his original Report.

Its object is, by raising the water out of the river into the main
conduit, to effect economy in the project as a whole to provide
opportunity for clarification, and to avoid the engineering
difficulty always foreseen, of intaking without steam-power from a
cliff-bound river, liable as the Sagami is, to fluctuations of
level amounting to more than 20 feet.

The engines will be placed at a height clear of the highest flood-
line and within suction reach of the lowest water-level at
Yokohama-datum of reference or all heights in the system.

They will force the water 32 feet up the hill-side into a narrow
depositing tank or trough, 8 feet wide and 210 feet long,
discharging at its farther end over a wide notch-gauge into a small
clear-water basin, 8 feet by 10 feet from which the water will set
out on its journey of 27 miles to Nogeyama, thence forward under
the sole influence of gravity.

We thus see that the use of steam-engine clears away all difficulties arising out of changes of the river-level, admits of clarification and gauging of the water before its entry into the main conduit, and enables it to be led out of the river-valley and on to the table-land above sooner than would otherwise be possible.

It has the further advantage that the additional altitude gained by raising and forcing steepens the declivity from the intake to Nogeyama, and thus permits the use of a pipe of reduced diameter for the delivery of a given quantity of water, owing to the increased velocity caused by the increased inclination.

This alone, for a long pipe-line, achieves a reduction of cost more than equivalent to the original and capitalized annual cost of the engines, pumping, and all connected with them.

2) The Pipe-Line

We explained in our first article that the water will set out from the Intake, on its flow by gravitation towards Yokohama, at an altitude of 408.6 feet.

As the water-level at the point of final delivery in Nogeyama will be at the altitude 165.9 feet, and as the intervening distance is about 27 miles, the average fall or gradient is nine feet per mile.

This difference of gradient leads to the use of pipes of two different diameters, a fall of 6.4 feet per mile obviously requiring a greater diameter for the passage of a given quantity of water than does a fall of 14 feet per mile.

The point where this change takes place is on the summit of the height of land, above Kamikawai.

A junction-tank, or "Bubbling Well" will be introduced here, with valves to govern the passage of the water.

For the purposes of the works, the whole line is divided into three Sections, and it will be convenient to use the same division in our description.

a) The First Section

Extends from the Intake to Oshima, a distance of about seven miles, and it is by far the most critical and difficult of the three.

Throughout its length the river flows in a deep canon on the outskirts of the Buso Sakai mountains, on a tortuous and highly inclined channels, beset by a quick succession of rapids, and hemmed in for the greater part of the distance by steep wooded or rocky slopes, which here and there pass into dangerous cliffs rising almost vertically from the water's edge.

In some parts the scenery is strikingly fine and bold.

But the very feature from which it derives its grandeur are those best calculated to expel the engineer.

What then, it may be asked, is gained by penetrating into this somewhat formidable region?

The answer is very simple.

The conduit in those seven miles falls only about 47 feet, while the river, taking a longer course, falls 205 feet.

Thus the conduit gains steadily 158 feet in its elevation above the stream; so that, having set out at a height of only 53 feet above the low-water level, it is 211 feet, above it by the time it reaches Oshima, while the altitude, or "Head" thus gained is not only of the highest value in a pecuniary sense, but will enable the

conduit-water to overcome all intervening heights between Oshima and the Bubbling Well, with only a very slight departure from perfect straightness of direction.

Moreover, labour in the country is so cheap and it should be added, so good for the price, that such work, as mountain road-making, even the difficult class we are now referring to which, in an enterprise of this kind, might be deterrent on account of its cost in many European countries, may be faced confidently in Japan.

In the case in question, a very fair road from the Intake to Oshima, averaging about eight feet wide, has just been completed, with the exception of a few bridges, for sum absolutely insignificant as compared with the cost of a similar work at home.

But notwithstanding all the difficulties appertaining to these tunnelling work and other parts of the work in the first Section, there is an indisputable gain in placing the Intake at present site, in consequence of the very rapid rise of the river from Oshima upwards, and also because of the increased purity which is obtained by drawing the water in the heart of the hills.

b) Second Section

Its length is 11.1 miles, extending from Oshima, where it gains the level of the table-land, and leaves the river-canon, to the Bubbling Well.

It is by far the easiest of the three Sections, the Pipe-line requiring but few bridges, encountering very little rice-land, and for the most part following a straight course along a flat cultivated or wooded plateaus.

From the Intake to the Bubbling Well the diameter of pipe which has been adopted is 18 inches.

A pipe of 16.5 inches, as long as clean, would deliver, with the given gradient, enough water for the supply of the full standard number of 100,000 people.

But a liberal allowance has to be made for possible future incrustation, which, when it reaches a serious extent, greatly reduces the sectional area and velocity of flow.

Hence the adoption of a diameter of 18 inches.

c) The Third Section

Of the Pipe-line, extending from the Bubbling Well to Nogeyama, a distance of 8.9 miles, it descends the alley of the winding Katabira River, which has to be spanned by substantial wooden bridges in no fewer than thirteen places; and on reaching the low estuary of that stream, it traverses the flat paddy-land, but, owing to the great depth of mud in the river-bottom, it was found expedient to erect a light strong steel bridge having a single span of 69 feet, manufactured by Messrs. DECAUVILLE, of Petitbourg. Then, the line rises, with some sharp ascents and descents, about 150 feet to Nogeyama.

Though it presents no grave engineering difficulties, the section cannot be called an easy one.

Mr. Harry Bugbird, an experienced ganger from London has had the immediate direction of the critical work of laying and jointing the pipes on both Sections, and has trained a staff of Japanese workmen, ready to be drafted to other points required.

To conclude this description of the Pipe-line, it remains to be mentioned that the whole work of landing and transport is conducted by contracts with Mr. Hirano Tomiji, of Ishikawajima Dockyards, Tokyo, the latter work being performed by means of Decauville's steel railway of one-half metre gauge.

This little railway cannot be too highly commended, not only for engineering works, but as a pioneer to larger lines, and as a ready means of aiding internal traffic in a country, such as Japan, which lacks good roads, canals, or other facilities for cheap and rapid transport.

Lastly, the Head Office in Yokohama has been connected with the offices that have been erected at four points on the pipe-route for the accommodation of the engineers and their staff, by a telephone line (which can be used also for telegraphic messages) the work of Mr. Oki Hidemasa of Tokyo.

3) Works on Nogeyama

At the end of its journey from the Intake, the water will be delivered, at the level 165.9 feet, into a valve-well on the highest point of Nogeyama.

This well will be connected with the Filter-Bed immediately adjoining it and now under construction and will be furnished with valves for regulating the water-flow, together with a float actuating an electric bell to warn the turncock on duty if the flow should become super-abundant.

From the valve-well an 18 inch supply-pipe, with 13 inch branches, will conduct the water to the adjoining Filter-Beds, three in number, two of which working at a time will suffice for the necessary duty, the one in reserve being required as a provision for sand-cleaning, repairs, or emergencies.

Space has been provided for constructing a fourth filter, if future increase of population should ever call for it.

Great pains were expended in the autumn on a most thorough construction and draining of the principal parts of the embankments, which are now finished and turfed.

An inlet-well connected with the Reservoir will receive the clear water from the filter-beds, which will be made to rise and overflow into the well from a vertical standpipe, the top of which, in its normal position will be one foot below the level of the water in the filter, i.e., 164.6 feet above the datum.

4) Distribution in the Town

A principal 18-inch main, extending from the Reservoir to Ogicho, will intersect the town, dividing it into two not very unequal halves.

At different points off from it into leading thoroughfares, and the principal and secondary mains will again be the parent stems of innumerable distributing mains, of 4-inches' diameter, running along every street.

Altogether, about 37 miles of mains will be required to cover the present inhabited area.

The house-to-house supply in the Foreign Settlement will be by means of lead service-pipes branching from the 4-inch mains into the houses or premises of all who may wish to use the water and be willing to pay the very moderate cost of such connection.

That is the practice of Western cities, and it has been found by universal experience to be the only really satisfactory one.

Unfortunately, in the Japanese town generally, circumstances preclude, on engineering grounds, a uniform adoption of a house-to-house supply of the above description.

It is practically impossible, at all events under existing conditions, to resort to it, or to avoid having recourse to the far less satisfactory plan of public standpipes, or <street fountains> fitted with self-closing taps from which the general public may draw their water into carrying vessels as required.

These are to be placed at intervals of 100 yards, so that no one will need to send more than 50 yards for water, while the average distance will be only 25 yards.

Such establishments, however, as tea-houses and hotels, public baths, & c., will be required to have the water laid on directly in to their premises, and, many of the better class of residents will doubtless elect to have a similar method of supply-all of them on the same terms as those applicable to the Foreign Settlement.

Fire-hydrants are to be placed at intervals of about 300 feet throughout the whole inhabited area of Yokohama; and those who will take the trouble to look at a plan of the town will see that, under this arrangement, any fire that may occur will be, at its very outset, within easy reach from four or five hydrants.

It will be seen, then, from our detailed account of the works now in operation that Governor Oki is fulfilling to the very best of his ability and at the earliest opportunity brought within his power, the urgent appeals for a good modern Water Supply which have been from time to time pressed upon himself and his predecessor.

There is no attempt at any half-measure, the project being on a scale sufficient to satisfy the most exacting consumer.

An ample supply of water, pure beyond all question at its source, and rendered purer, or at least clearer, by deposition and filtration, will be brought past every house-door.

It will be on the <constant system>, i.e., laid on a every hour of the day and night.

It will be at high-pressure, which, for those who know how to turn this feature to full account means a good deal more than powerful fire-jets, handsome fountains, and conveyance to upper-storeys.

An abundance of hydrants will afford the best possible protection against fire, at the same time effecting a total of economy, in insurance which, if the experience of Shanghai may be taken as an example, will represent a large fraction of the whole sum paid in the form of water-rents.

Street-watering, sewer-flushing, supplies to vessels, and other conveniences will be facilitated; and besides the obvious comforts in respect of domestic use, there will be the far more important advantage of a valid safeguard to health.

In short, if we except a few individuals of that discontented class to be met with in all communities, whose unhappy practice it is to find fault with every wise and enlightened movement, there can be no doubt that Yokohama residents generally will welcome and support an undertaking destined to contribute in no slight degree to the safety, comfort, and well-being of the town and its inhabitants.

As reported on the above, the construction work

progressed in order and completed in Yokohama within two and half years, with the heart-felt co-operation of the dedicated and industrious Japanese engineers and workmen, who absorbed the new techniques taught by the foreign coaches just like the ink which infiltrates into the blotting paper, to all of them, Palmer gave much credit.

Mr. J.H.T. Turner, the trusted Superintendent who assisted Palmer in the construction work, tells on the industry shown by all the Japanese technicians in the work as follows;

Praise is due to the entire body of the junior engineering staff engaged upon the works for the zeal and intelligence they displayed in work that was new to them in almost every respect.

3) The Construction Completed on September 1887

On the completion of the construction work of the Yokohama Waterworks, "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated October 8, 15 and 22, 1887 reported as follows;

The Yokohama Waterworks

October 8, 1887

We learn that the interesting but arduous operation of charging the long main of the new Waterworks is making satisfactory progress.

Main-charging of this class is a delicate and necessarily slow process.

Care must be taken to prevent sudden shocks or strains by a too rapid admission of the water; and, again, the speed of charging is limited by that which the air can readily escape through the air-cocks at the summit levels.

On an average it takes from four to five hours to fill prudently a mile of the Yokohama 18-inch main.

At two o'clock yesterday all was completed as far as Shimo Kawai, twenty miles from the Intake and seven miles from Nogeyama.

The record thus far has been most satisfactory.

Only two pipes out of a total of between 8,000 and 9,000 have proved faulty, and the pipe-joints have been so well made that in the whole distance of twenty miles there were only three cases of leakage due to indifferent or careless work.

Seeing that English pipe laying contractors are allowed three leaks per mile, the present record is clearly one of most exceptional excellence.

It is a result no less creditable to the Japanese operators than to their careful training in a wholly new branch of work by the English pipe-laying foreman, Mr. Harry Bugbird.

We learn also that the tunnel aqueducts in the upper section of the line of conduit are in all respects satisfactory, and that the levels throughout are proved to have been determined with a very high degree of accuracy.

As matters now stand, it is fair to expect that the water will reach Nogeyama before the end of the week.

A few days will then be occupied in cleaning and filling the filter-beds and reservoir and washing out the town mains.

When these operations are ended, water will be available for

general consumption.

October 15, 1887

Notwithstanding considerable delays caused by the adverse weather of last week, the operation of charging the main of the Yokohama Waterworks was finished on the 9th instant, when at six o'clock in the evening, the first jet of water under high pressure was admitted into the valve well at Noge-yama.

Every circumstance of the works has, we understand, proved successful.

The good record of the earlier stages was maintained throughout and the total of casualties stands at the exceptionally low figure of six imperfect pipes and three leaky joints in a line consisting of no fewer than some 12,000 pipes.

The 10th was occupied in regulating valves, to do away with overflows at certain points on the line which had necessarily been maintained during the process of charging, so as to transfer the whole body of the water into the pipe conduit issuing at Noge-yama.

During the night of the 10th this water was to be let run to waste at Noge, until, after thorough cleansing of the main, it should be clear enough for admission to the filter-beds and reservoir.

It was hoped that in the course of the 10th, the principal town-main, of 18-inches diameter, would be filled and tested.

October 22, 1887

The Yokohama Waterworks are now finished.

For several days the water of the Sagami-gawa, after its journey of over twenty miles from the mountains, has been boiling up at Noge Hill, and there distributing itself over filter beds and into reservoirs.

There has been much cleansing to be done, every main and leading pipe requiring to be thoroughly scoured.

To the necessary delay thus entailed, however, only an infinitesimal addition has had to be made on account of accidents.

Indeed Colonel Palmer and his assistants have every reason to congratulate themselves.

It would have surprised nobody had the works fallen below the average, being as they are the pioneers of their class in Japan.

The percentage of mishaps has been less than one-twentieth of the normal allowance in England.

This is a result of which all connected with the undertaking have good reason to be proud.

It promises well for the future of water-works in Japan, and such promise is of no little value, in view of the fact that cholera appears to have become endemic here, and that pure supplies of water are probably the only means of checking its ravages.

If any of our readers seek an interesting object for their afternoon's walk, they cannot do better than visit the reservoir and filter-beds on Noge Hill.

The excellence of the work and the trimness and completeness of all the arrangements must prove attractive to everyone; while for those who are capable of appreciating engineering problems, there is plenty of seeing and studying.

Water service to the city of Yokohama began on October 17, 1887.

Palmer, being very prudent in doing anything, when the water started first to flow from the conduit-pipe, he walked from the Intake through up to Yokohama, inspecting the smooth flow of the water in the pipes.

On October 17, 1887, the water was initially distributed in the town.

The townsfolk of Yokohama gave cheers, seeing the water gushing out from the street common hydrants equipped by the side of the street.

As the end of these street common hydrants of steel were with the sculpture after the shape of a lion, they were called "Common hydrants with lion head" and they were actually in use up until the end of the recent Pacific War.

On the same day, for the purpose of a propaganda to the townsfolk of Yokohama, the test of discharging the water from the fire hydrant, initially laid with the distributing mains was held at the Yoshida-Bashi, then called as "Kaneno Hashi" (The Iron Bridge) being the main thoroughfare of the town.

The townsfolk of Yokohama admired the power of the water shooting out from the end of the hose.

The new Yokohama Waterworks is destined to play a very important part for Yokohama, which was often afflicted with the conflagration in the strong winds, on the point of both fire prevention as well as for fire-fighting.

In the meantime, H.S. Palmer retired from the British Army as of October 1, 1887, with the honorary rank of Major-General, Royal Engineers.

As of November 1887, Emperor of Japan conferred on H.S. Palmer, the Third Class Decoration of the Order of the Rising Sun in recognition of his services for the Yokohama Waterworks and Her Majesty's Government's permission to wear the Order followed in due course.

Photo Album of Yokohama Waterworks under Construction

In preparing for the Special Exhibition at the Yokohama Archives of History to be held from August 1 to October 31, 1987, in commemoration of the centenary of Yokohama Waterworks, under the title of "Henry Spencer Palmer, his works and designs for Waterworks and Harbour works in Yokohama," Dr. Hori of the said Archives, could miraculously locate the existence of "The Photo Album containing 30 views of Yokohama Waterworks under construction" which were taken by Mr. Shinichi Suzuki, one of the pioneer photographers of Meiji-Japan era and his Laboratory in Tokyo, at the Collection of Archives and Mausoleum Department of the Imperial Household Agency in Tokyo.

And, after heartfelt negotiations, Dr. Hori was

finally successful in obtaining the special permission to exhibit these valuable 30 views for the said Exhibition.

4) The Propagation of Waterworks Project to Other Towns in Japan

As "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated December 17, 1887 reports;

The people of Yokohama are beginning to realize the benefit of a copious supply of pure water, and applications for the laying of branches from the mains are increasing daily.

The use of hydrants at the recent fires no doubt convinced many people of the value of the supply in one sense, and on other respects the public are coming to appreciate not less its convenience than its purity. (It will be impossible to deal with the applications now in till well on in the spring.)

From the year 1886 to 1889, Palmer was invited to visit the following towns and was asked to make actual surveys for the waterworks and furnished the official reports as follows;

Osaka	1887- 5- 6
Hakodate	1887- 9- 5
Tokyo	1888- 1-14
Kobe	1888- 3
Tokyo	1888-11- 6

However, three towns, viz., Osaka, Kobe, and Tokyo had been suffering very much in materializing the project due to the dire lack of the necessary fund and the actual commencement date as well as the date for the water supply were as follows;

<u>of the project</u>	<u>Date of commencement</u>	<u>Date water supplied</u>
Hakodate	1888 June	1889 September
Osaka	1892 August	1895 November
Tokyo	1891 November	1898 December
Kobe	1897 May	1899

Although Palmer originally planned and designed the respective projects for the above towns, he did not get directly involved with the construction works at all.

Following two articles appeared on "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated October 20 and 27, 1888, written by Palmer in view of the urgent need of pure water in Japan.

Water Supply in Japan

(October 20, 1888)

It may now be taken as satisfactorily approved, by the severe test

case of Yokohama, that, if not taxed, but simply offered the chance of buying water, just as they buy rice, fish, tobacco, and other commodities, the Japanese public fully appreciate blessings and safe guards of an ample supply of pure water, and are both ready and eager to pay substantially for them.

Besides the domestic comforts which good waterworks ensure to them, they soon learn to recognize the benefits of protection against fire, and general bettering of their bodily health.

And beyond all these considerations there lies the gravest of all question affecting the national health of Japan—cholera.

In particular, Nagasaki, the birthplace, and Osaka, the cradle of the dread disease may well be urged to give immediate heed to their water supply to brush aside all feeble talk about taxation, and objections founded on timidity or imperfect knowledge, and to trust to the experience, not of Yokohama alone, but of the rest of the civilized world.

Until these two places especially are defended by pure supplies of water, it is idle to hope that any effectual check can be put upon the cholera-plague; and their authorities and citizens should be prepared to act immediately on the appearance of the Waterworks Regulations which have been so long and unaccountably delayed.

Another Point about Waterworks

(October 27, 1888)

In several Japanese towns, official or private bodies are now prepared to satisfy the recognized need of water supply reform, as soon as they can get the necessary powers, so long waited for, from the Waterworks Regulations.

In Tokyo the vast majority of wells yield water that is more or less unfit to drink, and even the naturally good Tamagawa water is soon befouled by its passage through the wooden underground pipes.

In Osaka, the case is yet worse; for, though the Yodogawa water above the city is found to be of excellent quality, only needing sedimentation and filtration on a large scale to fit for domestic use, yet, from the moment it enters the city limits, it is systematically polluted with nearly every description of filth.

This, however, and the still fouler water of shallow wells, are the normal means of supply.

From Kobe and other places come similar stories.

To remedy this grave state of affairs, even if the process do involve compelling the lower orders to abandon their ignorant use of health-destroying water is unquestionably an urgent public duty.

And, be they Governments or companies who administer the new works of supply, the measures for safeguarding the public health should assuredly be the same in the one case as in the other.

Is the national health a matter of importance or is it not?

Is it, or is it not, alike the duty and practice of sanitary authorities throughout the civilized world to guard the public health by all means in its power?

And, lastly, can it be denied, in the face of statistics, in the face of notorious facts, and in the face of the evidence and warnings of every Japanese and foreign expert worthy to be heard on such questions, that the water supplies of the present day are exercising a baneful effect on the national health of Japan, and scattering death broadcast over the land at times of epidemics?

5) Discussions in the General Assembly of the
Institution of Civil Engineers in London in
February 25, 1890 on Yokohama Waterworks

Mr. J.H.T. Turner, the Assistant Engineer of the said Works under H.S. Palmer during 1885/7, reported on the construction works at the General Assembly of the Institution, the details of which were printed in the Proceedings under the title of "Waterworks in China and Japan"

In the discussions after Mr. Turner's report, several points were raised as follows;

- (1) Why a Pumping Station was needed?
- (2) Wasn't there perfect drainage system in Yokohama?
- (3) How were the data for observations on the rainfalls, evaporation, and etc., by the Meteorological Office in Japan?
- (4) The precautions against the earthquakes in Japan.

Mr. Turner replied to the question "Why a Pumping Station was needed?" as follows.

His answer was based on the messages from Palmer who superintended the construction of Yokohama Waterworks.

First, as to the works at the Intake;

To anyone unacquainted with the local features and conditions the questions might well occur.

"Why was the pumping resorted to at all at the head of a gravitation supply? and why, in the second place, was it found necessary to pump into a settling-tank placed as high as 34 feet above flood-level?"

The fall of the River Sagami was such that it would have been possible by extending the aqueduct for several miles, to dispense with pumping.

But, taking into consideration the cost of carrying the main-line higher up the river, the severe character of the floods, the large variation of water-level in the narrowing canon, and the increased difficulties of access to works situated at any point higher up than Mii-Mura, it was found to be desirable and economical to establish small pumping works at the intake, to raise the water at all times into the conduit, whence it flowed 27 miles by gravitation to the Nogeyama reservoir.

As to the second question, namely, the raising of the water some 34 feet higher, he had been guided to this also by a careful study of the best and cheapest way of dealing with the problem.

It might be asked, however, even after this explanation. "Could not the same result have been got by continuing the higher pipe-line up stream, at its grade of 6 feet per mile, into the high water level was struck?"

Of course, this could have been done, if the cost had not forbidden it.

But, as a matter of fact, the natural difficulties increased so

greatly above the point of intake, that a continuation of the pipe-line for some 2 miles upwards would have been ruinously expensive, not to speak of the highly unfavourable nature of the river-margin thereabouts for forming an intake station.

For all these reasons, he had come to the conclusion that the problem was to be best solved by placing the intake at Mii-Mura, and introducing a total lift of 54 feet from the low water level.

And he might add that he had extended his investigation to points below as well as above Mii-mura, with the result above stated.

Other points raised at the discussions were smoothly answered and understood.

6) Criticisms on Yokohama Waterworks (Past and Present)

Palmer could obtain the heart-felt cooperation from the young and skilful Japanese technicians throughout the works.

However, it was a truly regrettable fact that there were unlimited numbers of irresponsible criticisms, slanders, and reproaches which were no other way but to call fault-finding.

He designed and estimated without scarcely any available important data and still, had to execute within the limited time and reduced budget.

Mr. Hikoichi Ohgida, Doctor of Engineering, stated in the October issue of "The Special Centenary of Modern Waterworks in Japan" of Suido Zasshi (The Journal of Japan Waterworks Association) as follows;

Against the plans and designs which Henry Spencer Palmer executed for Yokohama Waterworks, it seems that he had received in later years some technical criticisms, on the adoption of the pumping station at the Intake and the choice of the location of the Intake.

However, I am of the opinion that he wonderfully showed the intelligence and ability as the waterworks expert in having furnished in only three months, two types of the designs of waterworks which water-source in Sagamigawa and Tamagawa in a foreign country where he had neither any preliminary knowledge nor necessary materials and data on the location to be based on.

Even if we find some cursoriness or accidental errors in his works, they will never spoil his honour as the founder of the modern systems of waterworks in Japan.

There is a movie titled "The Image of Aqua - The story of Yokohama Waterworks" which was produced as one of the activities of Yokohama Waterworks commemorating the Centenary of Yokohama Waterworks.

This is different from the so-called P.R. Movie.

It is a very excellent one, with myriads of humanistic elements.

It was made for the purpose of praising the pioneers who rendered remarkable services in order to give birth

to the modern waterworks.

It was awarded with Silver Prize at the Industrial Movie/Video Section at the International Contest in 1987.

The writer would like to add that the movie is regularly on the screen at the Yokohama Waterworks Memorial Hall located at Nishiya Filter-beds in Hodogaya-ku, Yokohama.

(II) Yokohama Harbour Works

1) Dutch Engineers vs. British Engineer

In "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated January 22, 1887, the following thesis titled "Liverpool and Yokohama," written by Colonel Palmer appeared.

The citizen of Liverpool appear to be greatly concerned at the present moment about the approaches to their port.

The hundred and odd square miles of sandbanks which lie in Liverpool Bay, and the tortuous channel that leads to the magnificent harbour within, are serious matters enough, when the vast capital invested in the dock estate is considered; but worse still, the seaward end of this channel is so shallow that a majority of the vessels frequenting the port can pass over the bar only with the assistance of the tide.

Vessels of deeper draught are the fashion and seem likely to continue so; the interests vested in the port increase daily; and no one knows but that Nature may, any week, with a foot or two more sand in the channel, exclude altogether the fleet of American liners which constitute the pride of Liverpool.

Competitors are ready to profit by the occasion.

It has become clear that for Liverpool the crisis is not far off, and it is pleasant to record that merchants, shipowners, and the holders of the many millions of dollars worth of dock-bonds, recognizing the gravity of the situation, are calling with no uncertain voice for decisive action to be taken forthwith.

To come nearer home, we at Yokohama, are not vested with either bar or sandbanks; but can it be said that this port is worthy of its position as the first port of the Empire?

Our anchorage is favoured with deep water and sheltering hills; but in the course of things the water is shallowing, and the hills do not afford protection from every gale.

We know that upon the integrity of the harbour depends our commercial existence.

The railway now being constructed along the Tokaido route will bring an extensive sea-board within touch of Tokyo.

It is a matter of ordinary experience that ships and trade are attracted, not by a good anchorage alone, but by quays and wharves, machinery to discharge cargo, and convenient warehouses to stow it in, railway communication between the interior markets and the vessel's side.

Schemes for providing us with an establishment of this kind have been mooted during the past fifteen years.

An administration backed by all the wealth and influence of Yokohama, might long ago have conferred this boon upon the city.

Once again, we hear it rumoured that the authorities are moving in the matter, and have consulted their Engineer upon the design of such a project.

We trust that their counsels will presently assume the practical form which His Honour Prefect Oki lends to all his undertakings.

A good harbour, with modern appliances on the wharves, will witness a new era in the commercial prosperity of Yokohama; and increased community of interest will knit closer the bonds which attach the great commercial nations of the world to their most hospitable client.

Previously in 1886, the Home Ministry of Japanese Government ordered D'Rijke, one of the Dutch engineers in the same Ministry, to furnish a report on the possibility of constructing a Graving Dock as well as a Harbour in Yokohama.

He furnished his plan on May 22, 1886.

Upon receipt of the above news, Mr. Oki, Kanagawa Prefect, fully realizing the sentiments of the long cherished wishes of the businessmen belonging to the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce, asked Colonel Palmer, as if, in rivalry with the above news to furnish the designs for the commercial Harbour of Yokohama and Dock Company.

The reason why Colonel Palmer was selected was that,

- (1) People of Yokohama well knew that the project of Yokohama Waterworks under his design and superintendence was smoothly under construction at the time.
- (2) People of Yokohama placed full confidence on Palmer.
- (3) D'Rijke was known as the prime mover for Tokyo Harbourworks, not for Yokohama Harbourworks.

And, on January 25, 1887, just three days after the above article titled "Liverpool and Yokohama" appeared in "The Japan Weekly Mail," Palmer furnished "The Report and Estimate of a Project for constructing a Commercial Harbour at Yokohama" to Oki, the Prefect.

The gist of the above Report is as follows;

One breakwater on the North and one pier on the East enclose the harbour.

Beginning in 5 feet depth of water, at a point 1,120 feet East of Kanagawa Fort, the breakwater of 3,800 feet long will be made.

To the Eastward, a pier projected outwards from Nippon Hatoba, along the most favourable line which this spur affords, and continued so as to form an entrance of suitable width between its extremity and that of a breakwater on the Kanagawa Spit, would be about 5,000 feet long.

They (Breakwater and Pier) leave between their extremities, an entrance facing Eastward, about 650 feet in breadth with a depth of water of 23 feet at low tide.

The waters of the Katabiragawa and Ookagawa, both of which discharge into the proposed harbour.

Therefore, it is best to divert the water of Ookagawa stream along the Horiwarigawa into Mississippi (Sugita) Bay, while, Katabiragawa, being the harbour's arch enemy as alluvium is constantly carried into the Bay, the best method would be to train the stream through the waterway and outside the Bay.

Within, they enclose a low-water area of about 290 square cho.

By dredging this to a depth of 5 additional feet, it will have a depth of from 20 to 28 feet at low water, there will be accommodation for 180 vessels drawing from 20 to 25 feet.

A fixed reflector may be placed in beacon on the end of this North breakwater, and so illuminated by a beam of rays from the lighthouse on the East pier-head that it shall shed a light seaward over any required arc.

The land end a bridged opening will be left in the pier, for the passage along shore of boats and launches.

The land end of the pier will be in convenient proximity to the Customs House and Railway.

The total of the Estimate - Yen 1,600,000.

On June 15, 1887, all the promoters of Yokohama Harbour and Dock Company resolved to speed up the project for constructing harbour facilities in Yokohama in accordance with the designs made by Henry Spencer Palmer on January 25, 1887, and furnished the application for the establishment of the above company to Mr. Oki, the Kanagawa Prefect.

The Prefect, upon receipt of the said application, on June 17, only two days later, submitted the Memorial to Yamagata, the Minister of Home Affairs, petitioning for the establishment of the company to construct various harbour facilities, viz., port, breakwaters, piers and docks.

This is a proposal to construct various harbour facilities including docks by the joint efforts of government and civilians, mobilizing non-official capital to supplement the financial difficulties of the Government.

The above clearly tells the feeling of the uneasiness which Yokohama businessmen embrace to materialize Yokohama Harbourworks project ahead of that of Tokyo.

Yamagata, the Minister of Home Affairs, who received the Memorial from Oki, ordered the Public Works Bureau to examine it.

There, in the Public Works Bureau, were two Dutch Engineers, viz, Mulder and D'Rijke, who were both strong advocates of Tokyo Harbourworks and whose golden rule was to stick to the Dutch Technology.

As they have since the beginning of the Meiji Era, controlled the said Bureau, the said Memorial lied long on the counter and finally, after about six months, as late as December 7, 1887, Mulder presented his own statement on Yokohama Harbourworks in which he definitely commented that "under any circumstances, he was not in a position to encourage the adoption of the

designs furnished by Palmer."

The relatively small area apportioned to the Harbour facilities was criticized by Mulder.

On February 1, 1888, Count Okuma was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs (The K. Kuroda Cabinet took the place of H. Ito Cabinet on April 30).

On March, Count Okuma, the new Foreign Minister, who had been pushing the Yokohama Harbour Works Project forward, for some time past, ordered T. Asada, Vice Foreign Minister, to produce "A draft proposal of Foreign Ministry of how the Shimonoseki Indemnity Money returned from the Government of U.S.A., be effectively spent."

Count Okuma submitted the memorial by which roughly Yen 1,300,000, an amount with interest added, as the initial capital, should be spent for the renovated construction of Yokohama Harbour Works, to Premier H. Ito on April 23, just before H. Ito retired.

In the meantime, on May 1, 1888, General Palmer sent a following letter to Oki, the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture;

Sir;

I have the honour to solicit your Excellency's good offices in the following matter.

It has occurred to me that probably the transaction of engineering business in the Home Office might be facilitated, if I were attached to that Department in an honorary capacity, as advising engineer.

I do not make this suggestion with any view to fixed involvement in the way of salary.

My regular remuneration might be paid, as in the past, by the particular undertaking to which my direct labours or other services may be for the time given.

But, I believe that my assistance may not be unacceptable to His Excellency The Minister of State for Home Affairs, and may be useful in promoting the work of His Department.

I may add that such an appointment would have, for me, the further great advantage of making me a servant of the Imperial Government, a position to which I believe I may fairly aspire, looking to my rank in the British service and in the fact that I was lent by Her Majesty's Government to the Imperial Government of Japan.

Trusting therefore that your Excellency will be pleased to recommend the honorary appointment which I seek to the proper authorities.

I have the honour to be,

Sir

Your Excellency's obedient
servant

H.S. Palmer
Major General
Royal Engineers

He was recommended by Oki to become the Honorary Consulting Engineer attached to the Public Work Bureau

of Home Ministry.

After the Cabinet decision, on June 28, 1888, he was approved to be the Honorary Consulting Engineer as desired.

On September 5, 1888, D'Rijke submitted the plan for Yokohama Harbour Works.

The next day, Palmer resubmitted his Design, Report and Estimate for Harbour Works for the port of Yokohama which was the revised and enlarged plan from his original one furnished on January 25, 1887.

On October 20, 1888, both K. Furuichi and G. Tanabe, two Japanese engineers under Mulder and D'Rijke in the Public Works Bureau of the Home Ministry, submitted their statements on the above mentioned two plans from D'Rijke and Palmer.

On November 6, Mulder commented them and finally, on November 20, Yamagata, the Home Minister submitted the petition to Kuroda, the Prime Minister of the Cabinet, recommending the adoption of D'Rijke's plan instead of Palmer's.

Yamagata, the Home Minister, left Japan for Europe for the purpose of investigating the Local Government system prevailing in Europe on December 3, 1888.

In the meantime, Palmer, who procured through the courtesy of Okuma, the Foreign Minister, the written criticisms against Palmer's plan made by the engineers in the Public Works Bureau, sent two letters of rebuttals against Dutch engineers to Okuma and K. Kato, his secretary on December 23.

In this way, the strong rivalry between the British and Dutch Engineers in the contest of Yokohama Harbour Works has become feverish with full speed.

Okuma, who read Palmer's letter, fully approved his opinion, and sent the petition to Kuroda, the Prime Minister, strongly recommending the adoption of Palmer's plan on January 17, 1889.

2) Palmer's Plan Was Finally Adopted

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated April 13, 1889 reported as follows;

We have authority for stating that the Yokohama Harbour Works have been sanctioned by the Government, and that the design approved of is that of Major-General Palmer, who will have the engineering control of the works.

It is understood that the carrying out of the scheme will be placed in the hands of Governor Oki, as was done with such satisfactory results, in the case of the Waterworks, and that the beginning will be made as soon as His Excellency's formal instructions, expected daily, have been received from Tokyo.

The gist of Yokohama Harbourworks scheme designed by Palmer is as follows;

(1) First, the works for tranquilizing the interior space consist of

two curved breakwaters, to be called, respectively, the North Breakwater with a length of 6,850 feet and East Breakwater with a length of 5,380 feet, and so directed as to enclose virtually the whole of the present anchorage and leave an entrance about 700 feet wide between their extremities.

- (2) The training works by which the silt-laden water of the Katabiragawa, hitherto the harbour's arch enemy, are to be excluded from the anchorage and guided to sea behind the inner end of the North Breakwater.
- (3) From the shore-end of a solid mole of about 520 feet long at the Western Hatoba, an iron pier, on screw piles, will extend some 2,000 feet into the Harbour from the extremity of the land-end.
- (4) The pier-deck at the berthage, a double line of rails to the Customs yard will be set, and, further, a double-line railway connection between the Customs and Yokohama Station will be installed.

As mentioned above, the construction of Yokohama Harbour works finally started after the peculiarly complicated circumstances in accordance with Palmer's plan.

Foreign Minister, Okuma, driving his inbred political influences, was successful to let the Cabinet Meeting under Premier Kuroda to adopt Palmer's Plan, checking D'Rijke's plan which was strongly supported by Yamagata, Minister of Home Affairs, while Yamagata was away for Europe.

As Okuma's supreme mission had been to accomplish the revision of the unequal treaties with the European Powers, it was no wonder at all for Okuma if he hoped to back up Palmer's plan on Yokohama Harbourworks.

Palmer, since the period when K. Inouye, was Foreign Minister, had been constantly working hard to appeal to the British public opinion through the leading British newspapers like "The Times" for the purpose of revising the treaties for Japan.

But, it was difficult to avoid the friction.

Henceforth, Palmer was destined to receive, publicly and privately, the tricky and snaky counter-attacks from the two Dutch engineers as well as from the Japanese engineers who had been brought up by them in the Bureau of Public Works in the Home Affairs Ministry.

We notice that the Japanese newspapers at that time are filled with the articles on the oppositions, slanders, and disturbances against Palmer's Harbourworks project having been adopted by the Cabinet.

The Mainichi wrote;

Some persons hold that, however, as Major General Palmer's experience has been chiefly as the matter of military engineering, the advisability of entrusting harbour works to him is, doubtful.

To the above statement, The Japan Weekly Mail

commented as follows;

Can the Mainichi be ignorant of the success with which in several Western countries, military engineers are constantly employed, during peace on civil engineering works of great magnitude and importance in the service of the State?

It is also in Great Britain and her Dependencies where the talents and high training of the Royal Engineers are turned to account in a great variety of public works under the Crown.

Nippon strongly condemns the Government for having placed the undertaking under the control of Prefectural Government of Kanagawa, and not under that of the Engineering Bureau in the Department of State for Home Affairs.

On that, "The Japan Weekly Mail" commented as follows;

The Engineering Bureau in the Home Office is provided with a staff for directing river and harbour works everywhere throughout the empire.

The number of engineers attached to the Bureau is wholly inadequate to discharge such extended functions.

At all events, they do not discharge them.

The Bureau is primarily entrusted with advisory duties, and if it had decided to detach a portion of its staff for residence in Yokohama to superintend and direct the harbour works there, the step would have been exceptional.

So soon, however, as the immediate control of such a business ceases to be an integral part of the Bureau's functions, its consignment to the Kanagawa Prefectural Office can only be opposed on grounds of the purest red tape.

The Nippon commented;

The reason why Palmer plan was adopted was not because his plan was superior to that of D'Rijke, but because there must have existed some other circumstances behind.

The Nippon & Tozai Shimbun wrote;

When Palmer was in control of the building of the Yokohama Waterworks, he had made a profit of sixty thousand yen through being entrusted with the purchase of materials.

Against the above libel, Palmer at once placed the matter in the hands of his legal adviser, and the latter gave the offending journals the option of publicly withdrawing the slander or of defending an action at law.

Against the above action, the two journals decided to withdraw their statement, and accordingly published the following apology.

In an article <An account of the Yokohama Harbour Works> published in the Miscellaneous News columns of our issue on the 15th instant,

there occurred the following paragraph, <A certain journal has stated that Major-General Palmer received a profit of sixty thousand yen through having been entrusted with the purchases of all foreign materials for the Yokohama Waterworks>.

As we have since ascertained that the purchase of materials for the Yokohama Waterworks was not in any way entrusted to Major-General Palmer, it follows that the above rumour, to which we thus gave publicity, was wholly unfounded.

We therefore respectfully withdraw the paragraph aforesaid and we regret if, contrary to our intention at the time, any of our readers may have drawn from it conclusions unfavourable to Major-General Palmer's high reputations.

3) Quality of the Japanese Cement

Cement is the most important item among all the materials used for the construction of the Harbour.

As the opinion Palmer holds on it, happens to be very important, the writer would like to introduce herein the article on "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated February 9, 1889, in which his opinion on the Japanese cement is clearly disclosed.

As to the Japanese cement, Major General Palmer is well known to be an earnest advocate of the employment of Japanese Portland Cement for the public works of the empire, so far as may be found compatible with safety and excellence of construction.

It is also known that he had done his best in sundry ways to encourage and stimulate the bringing of cement manufacture in this country up to the standard which shall give engineers full confidence in its use and that he believes the time to be at hand, if not already arrived, at which this change, so desirable for Japan on industrial and financial grounds, may be adopted.

It is impossible, then, to suppose that in his Harbour project he proposed unconditionally the use of European cement.

No doubt, the manufacture of cement in Japan has progressed greatly of late, and the time is not far distant when the country will be self supplying.

But, even assuming that cement of a real first-class quality were produced, (which is not yet the case) the difficulty remains that it is not manufactured in quantities sufficient to meet even the normal demand and that the large amount required for the Yokohama Harbour Works could scarcely be obtained here.

Under these circumstances, (as matters stand) the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, who was destined to carry out the Yokohama Harbour Works under his jurisdiction, was of the opinion that the stabilized supply of the cement being the most important above all things, decided as a temporary measure to purchase initial 2,000 tons of cement from abroad and invited some ten import traders, both foreign and Japanese for the tender.

Subsequently, Messrs. Samuel & Co., of Yokohama, a British trader, was the successful bidder.

When the initial consignment of 500 tons arrived at Yokohama from England, it stimulated the Japanese cement dealers and manufacturers to the utmost extent.

In fact, Asano Soichiro furnished a petition to Shuzo Aoki, the newly appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs as well as to T. Asada, also newly appointed Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, strongly asking to use domestic cement.

Due to this vigorous campaign, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Office of Yokohama Harbourworks gradually inclined for the use of domestic cement in lieu of foreign one.

At this time, Palmer was abroad en route to England in order to investigate for the necessary materials and apparatus for the Harbourworks.

On the basis of the above petition, the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture entrusted Palmer who just returned from England to investigate the advisability of using domestic cement for the Harbourworks.

And, accordingly, the full-scale investigation started from July 1890 for the influential cement factories throughout Japan by Palmer and his Japanese engineers.

And the investigation team was able to ascertain within the year 1890, the factories which were capable to regularly supplying the superior quality cement.

The contemporary vernacular newspapers such as, Nippon, Choya Shimbun, and Mainichi Shimbun reported in almost similar text on the articles dated February 19, that

General Palmer had originally insisted on using English cement, English cement only, while the Japanese engineers recommended to use the domestic ones.

Although it took some time to persuade Palmer but finally his prejudices in this respect were overcome with difficulty and it was decided to use the Japanese cement for the Harbourworks.

Although Palmer was reported to be against the use of the domestic cement by the Japanese newspapers, the above reports were untrue.

Palmer had furnished the following memorials twice to the Governors of Kanagawa Prefecture in 1890 and 1891.

- (1) The quality of the Japanese cement has lately improved up to the stage that it can be safely used for all engineering works with proper safeguards.
- (2) The uniform quality is constantly required for the cement used for the engineering works for the sea-bottom.
- (3) Accordingly, in order to keep the quality of the cement, general public competitive tender must absolutely be evaded.

After all, though Palmer approved the use of the domestic cement with proviso, his opinion was not

accepted and it was decided that the public general competitive tenders were to be enforced.

On February 24, 1891, Kanagawa Prefecture asked the Japanese newspapers to publish the "Public Notice for the purchase of the cement" and requested the makers who satisfy the qualifications required to participate in the bid for 10,500 tons of domestic cement up to March 10, 1891.

Since Palmer and his assistant inspectors started to visit various influential cement makers throughout Japan checking the necessary requirements for the tenders, the ugliest struggle has developed trying to sell their own products by all means, completely disregarding the business morals if there had been any.

Most conspicuous among them was the flashy move made by Nippon Cement Company, and the secret manoeuvres by other makers.

T. Hashimoto, the president of the Nippon Cement Company gave most showy publicity in stating that the uniform quality of their cement was finally obtained by inviting Dr. Divers to their staff, and actively manoeuvring in the background to curry favours with Palmer as well as the Harbour Works Bureau.

Another was the obstinate operations made by Osaka Cement Company.

While the company was concluded by Palmer to be disqualified for the tender again and again after he inspected the actual production facilities of the factory, it influenced the Public Works Bureau of the Ministry for Home Affairs in inviting the expert investigation commission and let them, forcibly admit that the factory had been provided with facilities producing enough quantities for the tender.

Palmer and his assistant Japanese inspectors repeatedly went out for inspection, in parties, from March 30 to the end of July 1891, to various cement factories throughout Japan.

After the inspection, it resulted that Asano Cement Co., in Tokyo, and Aichi Cement Co., got through the inspection.

As previously mentioned, Osaka Cement Co., got through the inspection, under the special patronage of the Home Ministry.

On November 16, 1891, the tender was held and the three makers, viz.; Asano, Aichi, and Osaka Cement Companies were successful in the tender and obtained the orders for 3,500 tons each, with the spread delivery for 350 tons in ten months.

The discord between Palmer and the Public Works Bureau of the Home Ministry was truly disclosed and intensified on the problem of the qualification for the tender on the part of Osaka Cement Company, the details

of which are clearly written in the "The History of Yokohama Harbour Works" published by the Yokohama Harbourworks Bureau in 1894.

Japan, at that time, was in the period of the sudden rise of various industries and the feeling of nationalism was acutely accelerated, while business morals remained unestablished.

Under these circumstances, the great demand for the materials and apparatus required for the construction of Yokohama harbour occurred.

Hence, the degree of gossips and rumours of scandals diffused by various makers and traders who failed in the tenders for the materials and apparatus got daily strong.

The slanders made by the dissatisfied makers and traders who continued stating that Palmer and the officials of Yokohama Harbour Works Bureau committed irregularities and the trend by the official quarters of the Public Work Bureau of the Home Ministry to kick Palmer down by all means got accelerated daily.

Here, let the writer introduce the gist of the article, as if a dose of refrigerant, titled "A French Engineer on the Yokohama Harbourworks and Waterworks" which appeared in "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated November 14, 1891, as follows;

M. Petyt, the distinguished French engineer now visiting Japan, has made a tour of the Waterworks and Harbourworks of Yokohama, and expressed opinions about them which are recorded in the Nichi Nichi Shimbun.

In his dual capacities of Secretary of the Colonization Office and President of Colonial Railways, M. Petyt has had much experience, and we learn from the Nichi Nichi Shimbun that he is familiar, by actual observation, with most of the important engineering works in the world.

He spoke in the highest terms of the system adopted in constructing the Yokohama Water Works and of the durable character of the work, and said that the Government of Japan was to be heartily congratulated in the marked success achieved in the case of the first Water works made in Japan, and the engineer-in-chief, Major-General Palmer on the ability and competence displayed by him.

Mr. Petyt had heard of the unfavourable criticisms circulated with regard to the Harbour Works by jealous or disappointed persons.

Inspection convinced him that such detraction had no foundation whatever.

It must be satisfactory alike to the Japanese authorities and to those directly concerned in the work to hear such unstinted applause from an eminent and independent French Expert.

The delivery positions of the cement by the successful
bidders:

Asano and Aichi Cement Companies started to deliver the consignment from December 1891; however, Osaka Cement Company could not deliver even the initial

consignment as scheduled at all and solicited to change the delivery schedule.

But, the Company could not deliver the consignment even on the altered schedule, hence, penalised on March 1892 because of the infringement of the contract, despite of the large seal obtained from the Investigation Committee of the Home Ministry to the effect that the Company were able to produce more than 571 tons per month and secured the qualification for the tender against Palmer's strong opposition.

And finally, Osaka Cement Company solicited to deliver Nippon Cement Company's product as the substitute.

The Yokohama Harbour Works Bureau, which was inclined to shun the Osaka Cement Company, backed by the Home Ministry, accepted the delivery of the substitutes.

However, the said substitutes of the Nippon Cement Company were found very inferior in quality and the majority were rejected, even by the short term inspection.

Palmer, who felt the danger of the delivery of inferior quality, immediately instructed engineer Mita and Mita's assistant Takamatsu, to start the elaborate system of 30 days continuous inspection spreading 90 days from April 1 to June 30, 1892 against all the cement supplied from the three makers.

The results of the above inspection were as follows:

1) Asano's product	-6,200 barrels	No rejection
2) Aichi's	-5,200	800 barrels rejected
3) Osaka's	-5,800	3,200

Palmer's comment on (2) Aichi's product;

The quality was found not uniform, scarcely passing as the second grade, hence judged not suitable for the purpose.

and on (3) Osaka's product;

The majority of the goods supplied were judged as inferior and unsuitable for the purpose.

Especially, the goods recently supplied were the junks collected from various places.

On July 6, 1892, Palmer, after completing the inspection, submitted the written opinion as to the results to T. Uchimi, the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture.

The gist of his opinion was as follows:

The quality of the Japanese cement has recently improved to a great extent and can be trusted for all engineering purposes with the proper safeguards.

However, cement to be purchased for the construction of Yokohama

Harbour in large quantities must be of stable quality all the time.

For that purpose, we must guard ourselves against the delivery of the inferior quality which are liable to occur in the case of Open General Tender by the unfair price competition and hence, we must definitely adopt the method of free contract (*ad Libitum*), after selecting several makers as the system of inspection for large quantity must be by short term one which is usually applied to the cement for general commercial uses.

In 1890 and 1891, I furnished the memorials in the similar contents to the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, however, my opinion was not adopted, but, instead, the General Open Tender was adopted, and 10,500 tons of cement were already delivered.

But, as greatly feared, it was a well known fact that large quantities of inferior quality cement were mixed in.

The engineers working in the Harbour construction who were obliged to continue to use such degraded quality cement in making concrete blocks with great difficulties were not sure whether, under the present conditions, the blocks may withstand or not, after they were deposited for a long term under the sea and might cause unexpected disaster.

In purchasing 7,000 tons of cement required hereafter, unless the free contract (*ad Libitum*) system is adopted, I would like to state clearly that I shall not be able to take any responsibility for any troubles which may occur in future.

The Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, who accepted Palmer's recommendation, after obtaining the sanction of the Minister of Home Affairs, adopted the system of free contract (the tender by specified bidders).

Against this decision, Tokai Cement Company and several other makers took action to the Yokohama Local Court to annul the decision as it was illegal as stated in the Law of Finance.

But the Court refused to entertain the suit of Tokai Cement Company and others.

About the suit as above mentioned, "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated November 19, 1892 reported as follows;

By the term of the Regulations, any Government Department, in calling for tenders, is entitled to limit the number of competitors, should such a course appear to be dictated by the interests of the public service.

In the case of cement for Harbour Works, two important considerations have to be taken into account.

The first is the quality of the cement, the second, the capacity of the works supplying it.

We believe that practical experience has disqualified more than one Japanese manufactory from this point of view (Osaka Cement Company and Nippon Cement Company).

The second consideration as to capacity, several cement companies are disqualified, and as for the Tokai Cement Company, we should say that its producing capacity does not come within a long distance of the limit fixed by the Yokohama Harbour Works Bureau.

The cement seems to have been the main topic, all through the current year.

"The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" dated November 30, 1892, reported as follows; on the progress of the Harbour construction.

The current year, all the materials for the harbourworks being prepared, the works have made progress in considerable extent.

Especially, the construction of the breakwaters have fairly progressed, namely, 2,400 feet of East breakwaters, 3,000 feet of North breakwaters, the construction of the lower layers have just completed.

However, as far as the construction of iron piers is concerned, very little progress has been made, because the materials of Piers have just arrived from England.

Henry Spencer Palmer, in November 1892, was attacked with a typhoid fever which was then rampant in Tokyo area, complicated by acute rheumatism, had just begun to progress satisfactorily towards recovery on February, 1893, when a stroke of apoplexy attacked him, and without once rallying, passed away quietly at 7.30 p.m. on the 10th.

He was only at the age of 54 years and 10 months.

On February 25, 1893, just 15 days after Palmer died, "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" reported as follows, in the article titled "The explanation about the purchase of the cement for Yokohama Harbourworks."

K. Inouye, Minister for Home Affairs, made the following reply in answer to the above question which was submitted by K. Kato and another member of the House of the Representatives.

<Harbour Works in Yokohama is a very big enterprise being executed under the water.

And the most important thing is the cement which is the principal materials for the works.

However, as already disclosed by the actual bitter experience which the Government have had, we had no alternatives but to take the Free Contract basis in accordance with the Regulations (The law of Finance No, 24-4), and on that basis, we could purchase 6,000 tons from Asano Cement Company.>

February 23, 1893

Kaoru Inouye
Count
Minister for Home Affairs

4) Cracks of Concrete Blocks for the Breakwaters Were Found

The serious situations which Palmer had been very anxious arose after his death.

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated March 18, 1893, reported in its editorial as follows;

Engineering trouble of a rather serious nature had made itself

apparent in connection with the Yokohama Harbour Works.

The heavy blocks of cement and rubble forming the upper part of the breakwaters have shown signs of yielding, and a number will have to be taken out and replaced.

What the extent of the damage may be, we are unable to say with precision, but our intelligence is that defects have made themselves apparent through a length of about 340 feet.

The fault lies in the cement.

Some of the Japanese cement has proved itself bad, and of course when that kind of thing commences there is difficulties in telling where it will end.

<The Jiji-Shimpo> refers to the matter in its issue of yesterday (should be March 15); and rightly notes that the strong objections raised by the Engineer-in-Chief, Major-General Palmer, to using Japanese cement were over-ruled, and that the serious trouble which had now come to light must be referred to the neglect of his advice.

Our contemporary is not altogether accurate, however. Major-General Palmer did not object originally to using Japanese cement.

On the contrary, he was most anxious to use it within reasonable limits of safety.

All that he insisted was, first, that whatever cement was used must satisfy certain rigid tests; and secondly, that only a fixed proportion of Japanese cement should be employed in connection with English.

But he was gradually forced from this prudent and practical position, until finally cement which originally he would not have consented to approve came to be used, and that too in quantities much larger than those indicated by him as safe.

The matter was a constant source of uneasiness to him.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that the last two years of his life were a perpetual struggle against cement which he declared untrustworthy, and that the weariness of the fruitless effort to save a great and costly work from the results of hazardous experiments with virtually untried material nearly wore him out, and probably did contribute not a little to shorten his life.

We can only hope now that the loss and delay entailed by the signal confirmation of the soundness of his advice may not turn out to be very great.

Perhaps it is also permissible to hope that a valuable lesson may be learned from the teaching of this experience.

The Tokyo City Council with light hearts have given the contract for the iron pipes to be used in the Capital's Waterworks to a firm which has never before manufactured such articles.

Of course it is very proper and praiseworthy that iron pipes should be supplied by domestic efforts if possible, instead of being procured from foreign manufacturers.

So, too, it was quite proper and praiseworthy that Japanese cement should be used in the Yokohama Harbour Works, if possible, instead of importing British cement.

But the cement has failed.

Will the pipes fare similarly?

We ought to qualify our statement that the Japanese cement has failed.

That is not the case throughout.

The cement supplied by one firm has thus far shown no signs of yielding.

After what we have said above, no one will be surprised to learn

that the cement thus honourably distinguished is precisely that which Major-General Palmer selected at the outset as the only cement fit to be used for the breakwaters in limited quantities.

From March to May 1893, nearly everyday, many leading newspapers in Tokyo, reported sensationally on the cracks of the concrete blocks used for the Yokohama Harbourworks.

Almost all of them, first of all, wrote that the cracks of the blocks were caused because the inferior quality cement had been used and expressed similar opinion to that which had already appeared in "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated March 18.

Especially, the following article titled "Dissolution on land and dissolution in the sea" reported in the "Mainichi Shimbun" (In Japanese) dated April 12, is worthy of special note.

Everybody is familiar with the dissolution of the cement in the Yokohama Harbourworks.

But the dissolution on land is a phenomenon just recently happened.

The informed quarters interpret this as follows; <No explanations are required for the dissolution of the cement in the sea, whereas the dissolution on land is not the cement, but the human beings.

They dissolve in the Bar-rooms in Yokohama.

Since the incident of the cracks of the concrete blocks happened and the investigations on the cause of the cracks started, the leading Bar-rooms in Yokohama started to flourish to a great extent, day and night.>

The same journal reported on the same day under the title of <No need of worrying about the failure of the Harbourworks> as follows;

Some are of the opinion in favour of the authorities of the Yokohama Harbour Works stating that there should be no use in worrying about the failure of the Harbourworks.

Palmer is responsible for the failure when it was found before the completion of the works, whereas the Creator of the Universe will be responsible for the failure when it was found after the completion of the works.

For the former, Palmer's design was inferior, while for the latter the strong waves and winds did the job.

As Palmer is dead now, he is unable to clear himself of a false charge.

Whatever false charge the Creator of the Universe may suffer, it will have no defender for it.

Why should the authorities worry about the scandalous conditions of the Yokohama Harbourworks?

Alas! What an astounding erroneous ideal!

"Yubin Hochi Shimbun" reported on April 13, 1893, the article titled "Harbourworks and Mr. Palmer, the gist of which (after translated into English) is as follows;

Concerning the project of Harbourworks in Yokohama, Palmer was finally asked by the Government to execute his plan in his hand,

although there was a very hot conflict between himself and the Dutch engineers employed in the Public Works Bureau of the Home Ministry.

As to the current incident of the cracks of the concrete blocks, it is certain that this happened because the inferior quality cement had been purchased and used and he is not extensively responsible, but very often some people insist that Palmer was responsible for the accident.

As he is dead now, and not in a position to tell any tales, there are always some danger that some cunning people might place responsibility for the accident on him, evading their own fault.

It is quite deplorable that this project which was regarded as the valuable enterprise in memory of the honourable conduct of United States of America to admonish the British, French and Dutch for their behaviour in the Shimonoseki indemnity case, should happen to be the ensign to expose the corruption of the technical society of Japan.

On May 2, 1893, a Mr. Sakurachi, Bachelor of Science, contributed the article titled <The cause of the cracks of the concrete blocks used for Yokohama Harbourworks> in the Mainichi Shimbun, in which he stated as follows;

Many disputants, probably due to the lack of full knowledge of the cement, without any genuine causes of the trouble, misjudge the facts by giving flight to their fancies, add incessant unfair criticisms and put the blame simply to the inferior quality of the cement used, and spoil the honour of the cement dealers and manufacturers by fabricating the groundless facts and eventually disturb the development of Japanese cement industry.

He did not admit that the cracks of the concrete blocks were due to the inferior quality of the cement, but considered that there should be main causes of the trouble in other fields.

Definitely taking no notice of the hard and vain struggles against the inferior quality cement, with which Palmer and his assistant engineers had to grapple, the writer of the article, as if the forerunner of the subsequent report of the Investigation Team of the specialists selected by the Home Ministry, stated that the cement had nothing to do with the trouble, but rather, the cause of the cracks were due to the unsuitable method of the block-making.

However, it is quite doubtful whether the inferior quality cement was not actually used or not.

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated May 13, 1893, wrote in its editorial the following gist of the article;

We learn, that the fault, if fault there really be, does not lie with the cement at all.

Upon this point it is necessary to speak with all reserve at the present state, pending the result of the Investigation Committee's labours.

The investigation of the Committee involve experiments of a

somewhat tedious character.

It is thought advisable to determine whether the proportions in which the materials of the blocks were mixed are open to criticism or whether the manner of mixing may not have been faulty.

That, of course, means that new blocks, variously composed and put together differently, must be constructed, and that, after hardening, they must be placed in the water and subjected to a lengthy test.

Should it turn out that the cement used in the Yokohama Harbourworks is not at all to blame, and that the outcry against it has been unwarranted, a very great injustice will have been done.

At all events, judgement as to both the dimensions of the defects and their cause should be suspended until the report of the Committee is published.

On July 15, 1893, "The Japan Weekly Mail" reported about Yokohama Harbour Work, the gist of which is as follows;

It is stated, on good authority, that instructions have been issued to suspend the progress of the Yokohama Harbour Works until the receipt of the final report now in process of preparation by the Committee appointed to investigate the causes of the cracks in the concrete blocks.

The Committee will probably require three months to complete the series of experiments considered necessary in order to arrive at a definite conclusion.

We learn that, out of thirteen thousand blocks already laid, a total of nearly eight hundred, or about six percent, have been found defective.

That is not a great number under any circumstances, and it becomes still more insignificant, when we state, as we are in a position to do on unquestionable authority, that the injury shown by many of the so-called <defective blocks> is of the pettiest character and would never justify their condemnation by inspectors of the British Board of Works.

At all events it seems a wise precaution to refrain from laying any more blocks until a final solution is obtained of the important problem involved in the appearance of these flaws;

On March 17, 1894, "The Japan Weekly Mail" reported under the title of "The Yokohama Harbour Works," the gist of which is as follows;

The Special Committee appointed to investigate the cause or causes of the injury suffered by the works for Yokohama Harbour have completed their labours and presented their report.

The investigation necessarily involved long delay, experiments of a tedious character being indispensable.

The report has not been published, but we are in a position to give a general idea of its contents.

The Committee have found that no fault can be urged against the general plan of the works or the manner of carrying them out.

They have also decided - and this is of special interest -

that the failure of some of the concrete blocks is not attributable in any degree to inferior cement, but is due to two causes; first, that the method of making the blocks was not perfect, the ramming of the materials having been insufficient; and secondly, that the

blocks should have been given more time to <set> before being placed in situ.

After all the talk against dishonest contractors and corrupt officials, and after all the outcry against Japanese cement and the impossibility of placing any trust in it, this decision of the Committee's is calculated to cause much surprise.

With regard to the extent of the damage, the number of blocks injured is 500 out of a total of 13,000 or less than 5 %.

We stated originally that it was 4 %, approximately, and that the excitement fomented about the whole affair deserved ridicule.

But of course no such moderate view found favour with sensational journalists.

Works will be resumed on April 1, and it is expected that everything will be finished by March 1895.

The Committee appointed to investigate the causes of the cracks of the concrete blocks of Yokohama Harbour Works, which started at the end of March 1893, completed its labours and presented its official report on April 20, 1894, and the construction works of Yokohama Harbour were recommenced.

The Government submitted a Bill to the Diet asking for a grant of Yen 230,000 to continue the construction.

The Bill was thoroughly debated in both Houses which were convoked between May 1894 and January 1895.

Although the official report of the Investigation Committee concluded that the causes of the cracks of the concrete blocks used for the breakwater were not due to the inferior cement, but due to the inadequate processes of making the blocks, the Diet did not approve the Committee's judgement.

Hence, in search of the genuine causes and the actual responsible men, heated debates developed for nearly nine months between members of both Houses and the Government Delegates, but the causes of the cracks remained unsettled.

5) Debates in the Diets on the Cracks of Yokohama Harbourworks from May 26, 1894 to January 19, 1895

At the House of Representatives:

Tsuzuki, Government Delegate

The failure under consideration was of comparatively trifling dimension.

Not all the cement blocks had proved defective, not even a large portion, some 3 or 4 %.

After long and patient inquiry and experiment, the Committee had arrived at the conclusion that either bad materials, or insufficient mixing, or a faulty method of carriage, or incomplete drying, or unskilful laying, had been responsible for the cracks.

Doubtless the disaster was attributable to one or all of these causes, but which particular cause had been chiefly operative, it

had been found impossible to determine.

(Although the precise cause of the cracks in the blocks could not be ascertained, it was certain that some or all of the five causes he had mentioned must be responsible.)

Under the circumstances, it did not seem just to allege that the responsibility remained unfixed.

It was fixed, in the opinion of the Government, and it rested with the superintending engineer.

Tanaka Shozo

Did the Government imagine that its responsibilities could be evaded by reposing the blame on him after his death?

Furuichi

The general responsibility of direction rested with the engineer-in-chief, and this was a point of direction.

Suehiro

About the question of responsibility

The House could not be satisfied with the Government's explanations.

It seems to me that the action of the Government might be compared to that of a party of gamblers among whom a quarrel arises ending in the killing of one of their number, whereupon the rest declare that the dead man was the first to strike a blow.

Doubtless the Government had not undertaken the Harbour Works with

any expectation of making a failure, but the failure having been made, it would not do to lay the whole responsibility upon a deceased employee.

The question of the Budget relating to the Yokohama Harbour Works was put to an open ballot, when 123 voted in favour of the item and 118 against.

And the Supplementary Budget was passed as submitted by the Government.

House of Peers

Soga

The Committee had failed to obtain any satisfactory explanations from the Government Delegate.

Furuichi

It had been impossible to determine whether the defects in the blocks were due to bad materials or faulty mixing.

But the responsibility rested with the superintending engineer, Major-General Palmer, and as he was dead, nothing could be done.

Baron Date

I am not at all content that the whole blame should be laid on a deceased foreign engineer.

Let the writer introduce the summary of Furuichi's statements on the causes of the cracks in both Houses as

follows;

At the House of Representatives

What are the causes of the cracks?

Probably, bad materials may have been used.

The cracks may have occurred because very inferior quality cement was used.

Is there any evidence available?

No evidence at all are found.

Suppose the materials used were all good, but the causes of the cracks may have been due to the unproper ratio of mixing the materials, or inferior process of ramming the blocks, or unproper direction of the blocks.

However, we cannot definitely say either of them is the cause of the cracks.

The problem remains that the blocks manufactured, not expecting any cracks, got cracked, which is the fault of the engineer who superintended the work with whom the responsibility rested.

At the House of Peers

I don't say that the cement was bad, but I said that we cannot prove that the cement was bad.

Either we cannot prove that the cement was definitely not bad.

We cannot affirm the fact that the cement of very inferior quality was never purchased and consumed unwittingly.

Either we cannot presume that it was purchased and consumed.

Nothing can be found.

Let bygones be bygones.

Cement problem is the most difficult one to solve.

From the first, the cement may have been inferior.

Baron Tsuji

I feel as if I was bewitched by a fox.

Please permit the writer to quote the gist of the article appeared in "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated January 19, 1895, as the summarization of the heated debates in the Diet as follows;

The House of Representatives engaged in a lively and protracted debate on Saturday with reference to the Yokohama Harbour Works.

It will be observed by our readers, if they take the trouble to peruse the debate, that the Experts representing the Government carefully excluded the contingency of defective cement from their category of causes responsible for the failure of the blocks- a most important fact in view of the rumour circulated two years ago when the cracks in the blocks were first discovered.

Many persons then confidently alleged that the fault lay with the cement, and that Japanese cement could not be trusted, but it would seem that no just grounds existed for such a conclusion.

Mr. Furuichi, Chief Engineer of the Home Department, let it be explicitly understood by the House that the failure of the blocks must be attributed to deficiency in the amount of cement used, not to its defective character.

He said that blocks made of the same materials but containing a

larger proportion of cement had showed no sign of weakness.

He said also that the responsibility rested with the foreign superintending engineer, who, having died two years ago cannot be heard in his defence.

It is very regrettable, we think, that such an accusation should have been officially preferred.

Nor can we appreciate its justice.

If all, or nearly all the blocks had failed in durability, there might be fair grounds for assuming that the superintending engineer's formula for mixing the ingredients was faulty.

But when 96 % blocks out of every hundred showed themselves thoroughly satisfactory and only 4 % failed, it is surely unwarrantable to conclude that the general method of manufacture was bad.

And if that conclusion is not warranted, how can the Engineer-in-Chief be alone held responsible?

No human being is omniscient or ubiquitous.

Although the Government Delegates persisted in uttering from first to last that they could not prove that cement used had been inferior, the specifications requested of the cement to be purchased by the official tender henceforth were found too strict to find any applicants in the tender.

From the above, we can easily perceive that the true culprit which had given rise to the cracks of the concrete blocks was the inferior quality cement.

The construction works of Yokohama Harbour was recommenced in February 1895 and scheduled to complete in March 1896.

Although it was greatly affected and considerably delayed due to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, but a greater part of the works was finally completed by the end of 1896.

When, Sir Earnest Satow, the newly-appointed British Minister for Japan made a courtesy call to Count Okuma, also, the newly-appointed Foreign Minister in the Matsukata Cabinet, on October 2, 1896, Count Okuma referred the incident of Yokohama Harbour Works and told Sir Earnest that he felt very sorry for Palmer.

"He mentioned Palmer with regret" is the sentence written in the Earnest Satow Diary.

In this interview, the Secretary to Count Okuma happened to be K. Mitsuhashi, the former assistant-chief of Yokohama Harbour works Bureau who resigned the post, taking responsibility of the Incident of Yokohama Harbour Works and lately reinstated in the office of Foreign Affairs.

(III) Docks for Yokohama Dock Company Ltd.

Since the opening of the port on July 1, 1859, numbers of ships, both internal and external lines, coming in and out of Yokohama Harbour have been markedly increasing year by year.

However, the facilities of the harbour, such as breakwaters, piers, docks and warehouses were extremely poor.

The successive Japanese statesmen fully recognized the urgency to enrich them for many years.

Various plans designed for harbour improvements, such as by R.H. Brunton, H.S. Pregran, Von Doore, and Laydraw Co., etc., were submitted from 1870 to 1874 on request of the Japanese Government.

But the actual circumstances were that none of these plans have been materialized because they required very heavy government funds.

Even as late as in 1887, there were very few facilities for the ships coming in for repairs.

Only available facilities for the ships coming in for repair were those of Yokohama Iron Works of Nippon Yusen Kaisha and another small scale iron works run by a foreigner for minor repairs. As mentioned previously, on January 25, 1887, "The Report and Estimate of a Project for constructing a commercial Harbour at Yokohama" which was designed by H.S. Palmer at the request of the leading businessmen in Yokohama, was submitted to M. Oki, the Prefect of Kanagawa.

On this basis, on June 15, 1887, they submitted to Oki, a "Petition asking to approve the establishment of a Private Company for constructing harbour and docks in Yokohama.

However, as it was decided that the Yokohama Harbour works was to be undertaken at Government expenses, the application for Dockworks was left behind.

In view of the above, 33 leading businessmen in Yokohama and Tokyo who wished to enrich the facilities of Yokohama Harbour as a decent international trading port, submitted the application again for the establishment of Yokohama Dock Company to the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture on May 5, 1888.

At about this time, Japan had been enjoying the unprecedented booming days.

"The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" dated May 10, 1888, wrote in the article titled "Shares for Yokohama Dock Company" as follows;

Applicants for prospective shareholders swarm as swift as an arrow from all directions and things look very promising, and the rumours prevail that the promoters of the Company would like to monopolize the majority of the shares.

The said newspaper strongly warned that it was quite important for the Company to allot sufficient numbers of shares to the general public.

The promoters of the Company who received an Order approving the establishment of the Company on August 28, 1888, submitted the application again with various documents, such as the Company Prospectus, the articles of Association, and the plans of docks designed by Palmer in June 14, 1889.

The followings are the gist of the plans of the

docks made by Palmer after paying due regard to the numbers of the ships utilizing Yokohama Harbour at present and in future.

- (1) To reclaim the shores of Uchidacho and construct 3 dry docks of various sizes;
 No. 1 Repair Dock of small size;
 No. 2 Repair Dock of medium size; and
 No. 3 Repair Dock of large scale.
- (2) To construct one factory and quarters of the workmen in one section of the reclaimed land.
- (3) In future, the docks for building ships will be constructed in the rest of the reclaimed land.
- (4) The breakwaters will be constructed from both South and North end of the reclaimed land and the surface of the water will be used for the waiting area for the ships to be repair docked.
- (5) Total estimated cost-about 960,000 Yen.

Nine months after these plans were submitted, Palmer resubmitted the revised and enlarged plan from the original designs to meet the demand of the promoters of the Company as follows;

- (1) To extend the reclaimed area of the sea.
- (2) To construct 4 docks of various sizes.
- (3) By the expansion of the breakwaters, enlarge the area of water surface for ships waiting for the docks.
- (4) Total estimated cost-about 1,260,000 Yen.

The meeting of the promoters of the Company, altered the first plan, basing on the proposed amended designs made by Palmer, and submitted the written application to the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture on January 31, 1890

Palmer had left for England ten days before in order to investigate for the materials required for the construction of Yokohama Harbour.

At the background of the fact that the promoters of Yokohama Dock Company expanded their business plans and asked Palmer for the second revised designs of the docks, there existed the overheated financial condition of Japan.

There was an abnormal industrial fever among the Japanese financial circles and the speculative enthusiasm of the stock had already reached its climax.

Since the plan for the harbour works in Yokohama materialized and the work commenced under the direction of Palmer, together with the revised enlarged plans for the docks, it was quite natural that the fact that Yokohama Harbour had now been equipped on a full scale has become a touch of reality.

However, to speak the truth, the footsteps of a financial panic was truly beginning to sound close by.

The shadow of the financial depression has been precisely depicted by "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" dated May 15, 1890, in the article titled "The difficult

delivery of the Yokohama Dock Company due to the increasing financial unrest," the gist of which is as follows;

The promoters of the Company are the principal merchants of Yokohama and Tokyo, and an application for a Charter on the basis of a capital of three million Yen according to the estimates made by General Palmer was presented to the Department of Home Affairs in the beginning of last year.

We are now informed that the examination of the specifications and estimates has been concluded and a Charter will be given to the Company very shortly.

However, something similar to a panic was caused in the financial market due to the scarcity of circulating capital, and hence, the Japanese Finance Minister called the principal bankers to Osaka for the purpose of relieving these critical situations.

They arrived at the conclusion that it was not advisable to grant a Charter to the Company as it would give a very serious reaction to the Japanese financial market in view of the forthcoming step of the Government to issue convertible notes.

As it was, the Government has consequently hesitated to grant the application for the time being and the Company for the same reason has not been eager to soliciting a Charter.

The above situations being unchanged since, and on November 22, 1890, "The Japan Weekly Mail" wrote as follows;

The Government had hesitated to grant a Charter, however, as the examinations of the specifications and estimates had been already concluded, they finally decided to grant it, as soon as the sanction of the Cabinet has been obtained.

This event will probably occur in the latter part of the present month.

The promoters will hold a meeting as soon as the Charter is received and discuss whether the money shall be called in and the works begun or not, as it would be a serious question to withdraw so much capital from circulation in the present circumstances of the money market.

Despite the above report expecting the imminent issue of the Charter to grant the establishment of the Dock Company, the situations remained as they were.

In the meantime, "The Mainichi Shimbun" dated April 29, and "Jiji Shimpō" dated April 30, 1891, reported in the articles titled "Yokohama Dock Company" that the Government finally refused to sanction the Yokohama Dock scheme.

Against the above articles, "The Japan Weekly Mail" commented them in its editorial dated May 9, as follows;

When the harbour works were fairly under weigh, it was fully expected that the Docks also would progress, especially as due application for a Charter was known to have been made by the promoters.

<Mainichi>'s news is that the whole thing has fallen through, not because of any lack of enterprise or perseverance on the part of the

promoters, but because the Government had refused its consent.

Last year, we are told, the question came up for consideration in the Cabinet, but no decision was arrived at.

Then ensued the action of the Diet with regard to the Budget.

Appropriation were cut down right and left, and Naval Department, finding itself with greatly crippled means, became more than ever resolved to oppose any scheme which threatened to reduce the income derived from the Yokosuka Docks.

The result is that the Government has finally refused to sanction the Yokohama Docks scheme, on the ground that the projected works would be too near those at Yokosuka, and that the latter would inevitably suffer.

So far as concerns this particular question of the Yokohama Docks, while recognizing that the Diet is indirectly responsible, we cannot by any means endorse the action attributed to the Government.

Because (1) The dread that the competition could ever take serious or crippling dimensions in the case in point is probably a mere nightmare.

(2) The Yokosuka accommodation has for many years past been proved to be utterly insufficient for the needs of the locality.

Complaints of that insufficiency have been long and loudly expressed.

Very many vessels are now docked at Nagasaki or Hongkong which would certainly be docked here if only there were docks to receive them.

If the Yokosuka docks were equal to the demands of the region, we certainly should never have heard of a Yokohama Dock Company.

It was to supply a notorious and deeply felt want that the Yokohama scheme was set on foot.

If, along with the above certain facts, consideration be given to the ever growing and quickly growing trade of the port, and to the interval that must elapse before the new docks can come into operation, (Three years at least) the impolicy of checkmating the enterprising men who are prepared to take steps for satisfying a great public want will be thoroughly appreciated by the whole shipping interest.

Although there were quite a lot of intricacies, the Yokohama Dock Company finally obtained a Charter from the Government on May 11, 1891.

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated May 23, 1891, reported as follows;

It is satisfactory to learn that the rumours recently circulated with such assiduity in reference to the Government's refusal to grant a Charter to the promoters of the Yokohama Dock Company were without foundation.

The reference recently made by the authorities to the Customs House in Yokohama, elicited an entirely favourable reply, and that no grounds whatever exist for apprehending effective opposition from any quarters, still less from the Naval Department where the advisability of increasing the country's dock accommodation is fully recognized.

The Charter for the Yokohama Dock Company which T. Uchimi, the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, granted on June 4, 1891 consists of 30 articles, viz.;

- (1) The construction of Docks.
- (2) Reclamation of the land from the surface of the water.
- (3) Utilization of the foreshore.
- (4) General Provisions.

As this enterprise happens to be the one which was managed with very large capital which might affect considerably on the Japanese financial circles at that time, the Charter entered into particulars and it appears that the supervising power of the Governor was remarkably rigid.

Upon receipt of the Charter dated June 4, 1891, the Yokohama Dock Company immediately published under the joint signatures of 33 promoters, the following day, 11 articles of the statute of the Company as well as 47 articles of the Association of the Yokohama Dock Company and started to invite the subscription for shares to the amount of 3 million yen (60,000 shares-50 yen per share).

However, because of the depression prevailing at the time, the condition of the money coming from the subscribers were not at all satisfactory.

Hence the Company could not start the construction of the docks within the stipulated date of 10 months after the receipt of the Charter.

Accordingly, the Company on March 22, 1892, submitted the petition to the Governor soliciting the postponement to another year, and they were successful in obtaining the sanction from the Governor on April 5, 1892.

But, Palmer died on February 10, 1893, without seeing the construction of the docks.

Moreover, due to the continued depression of the financial market in Japan, it became very difficult to collect sufficient funds for the shares even from the prospective shareholders.

Accordingly, the Company was again compelled to submit the petition to the Governor to postpone the construction for further one year on March 21 1893, and the petition was again sanctioned on March 29.

Although the financial situations remained unrecovered, the General Meeting of the promoters of the Company was opened in December 16, 1893.

It was decided after a heated discussion that the capital should be temporarily fixed at half a million yen and that the Company's name should be changed to "Yokohama Dock Company Limited."

On May 1894, the test for the geological surveys as well as the soundings of the depth of the sea covering the 36,500 tsubo of the sea surface, facing Uchidacho which belonged to the Company, were performed by Ryusaku Tsunekawa, a Naval Engineer, who succeeded Palmer.

Then, it was formally decided to start the construction of two docks from October 25, 1894 and reported accordingly to the Governor.

However, in actuality, the construction of No. 2

dock started in January 1895 and completed in December 1896, while that of No. 1 dock commenced in July 1896, and completed in December 1898.

R. Tsunekawa superintended the construction all through, however, needless to say, the design was in accordance with that of the late Major-General H.S. Palmer.

(IV) Irrigation Works by Siphon at Misakamura

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated July 4, 1891, reported in the article titled "Irrigation works in Hyogo-Ken" that Major-General Palmer designed, superintended and completed the first siphon system irrigation works in Japan in Misakamura Hyogo Prefecture.

The gist of the article written by Palmer himself is as follows;

An engineering work of some interest and novelty has lately been brought to a successful conclusion in Hyogo-Ken.

The upland on the right bank are well irrigated, partly from reservoirs in the neighbouring hills, and partly by a capacious aqueduct led off from the upper waters of the Ogogawa itself.

Those on the left bank, such as deep tributary ravines and impracticable rocky tracts, prevented recourse to either of the means employed on the opposite side.

While the farmers in the right bank enjoyed all the benefits of copious water-conduits and remunerative agriculture, their less fortunate neighbours across the river had to put up with the evils of a dry soil and ill paying crops.

The owners of some 3,000 acres of arable land on the left bank got together a capital of about 18,000 dollars, and with this on hand, they approached the Governor of the Ken, and begged him to ascertain whether engineering science could not be applied to furnishing them with an independent supply of water for irrigation, or, to diverting to their use some of the superabundant flow that was enriching their neighbours on the yonder side of the stream.

Surveyors were now sent by the Governor, to examine the valley and uplands; and Major-General Palmer was consulted on the chief engineering features of the problem.

The main points to be observed were, first, the constant delivery at a certain minimum level of no less than 35 cubic feet of water per second, for the irrigation of the land; and secondly, the completion of the works for that supply for a sum not exceeding the capital subscribed.

A very little consideration sufficed to establish that the only possible way of satisfying the conditions was to conduct the required quantity of water from one side of the valley to the other by an inverted siphon formed of pipes of large diameter.

The surveys had shown that at the hamlet Misakamura there was a suitable site for such a siphon.

There the valley was found to be about 220 feet deep and a half mile wide, and the natural features of the neighbourhood were such that a supply-canal might be led to the brink on the right bank, with a water-surface having a command of between eight and nine feet above the level on the left brink from which an irrigation

duct could be made to supply the 3,000 acres of thirsty lands beyond.

The design and construction of the bridge, and of the whole of the aqueduct works above and below the siphon, were carried out by Engineer S. Kasuya, of the Hyogo-Kencho, and Mr. Harry Bugbird acted as General Palmer's assistant in the direction of the laying and jointing of the siphon and its accessories.

The farmers to whom this bountiful godsend has come are, of course, jubilant.

No longer regarding with jealous eyes their neighbours on the opposite upland, they reflect with satisfaction that Western engineering science is, after all, a thing to be thankful for; and bless their stars that by a wise expenditure of less than 20,000 dollars they have added fully twelve times that sum to the market value of their land, which in fact, are now worth more than thrice as much as they were worth but a little while ago.

This, being the first instance in which the siphon system was adopted for irrigation purpose, the residents in the neighbourhood felt quite uneasy against the works, however, the work was quite successful and the system is still in use at present.

A certain expert engineer of today puts highest value for this irrigation system and says that it compares favourably with that in Asoka and Lake Biwa irrigation systems.

(V) Filtration Works at the Oji Paper Mills

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated June 25, 1887 reported as follows;

An interesting little ceremony took place on Saturday last at the Government Paper Mills at Oji, Tokyo.

Hitherto the water for paper manufacture has been pumped from deep wells in the premises, not however without inconveniences to the neighbouring residents, whose well-supplies were at times seriously impoverished by the larger draught of underground water for the mills.

It was therefore resolved last year to have recourse to water from the brook above the village, which only required careful clarification to fit it for paper-making purposes.

The necessary works, designed by Colonel Palmer R.E., and carried out under his supervision, have just been completed and they were opened on Saturday.

The water, conveyed to the site of the works by a series of small wells and glazed earthenware pipe, is first partially clarified by sedimentation in a channel of brick and stone, 250 feet long.

From this a surface-film, falling over a metal notch-plate, passes into the filter-bed, which is about 2,250 feet in area, built of cement-concrete faced with stone, and designed to pass 200 gallons per minute through a thickness of 3 feet of sharp river sand overlying 9 inches of fine gravel.

An outlet-well, with valves and other apparatus for governing the rate of filtration, receives the filtered water, which is then led to the mills by glazed earthenware pipes.

This being the first instance in which works for filtration on an

considerable scale have been constructed in Japan, (just prior to the completion of the Yokohama Waterworks) Saturday's ceremony had a special interest.

The estimated cost of the whole works, including a separate supply of unfiltered water to the condensers, was only yen 3,000 and the actual cost slightly below that amount.

CHAPTER III

Palmer as a Journalist

(I) List of Articles

From Hongkong (1 Article)

- (1) 1881-x-x "RECENT JAPANESE PROGRESS"
(BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW)
(1882/7)

From Manchester (5 Articles)

- (1) 1884-1-22 "OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH JAPAN"
(THE DAILY NEWS)
- (2) 2-18 "THE JAPANESE TARIFF"
(THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN)
- (3) 3- 7 "JAPAN AND TREATY POWERS"
(THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN)
- (4) 6- 9 "THE CAPITULATIONS IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES)
- (5) 10-27 "THE COMMERCIAL TREATIES WITH JAPAN"
(THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN)

From Japan (49 Articles)

- (1) 1885- X- X "THE TREATY BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-7/28))
- (2) 6-19 "ENGLAND'S POLICY IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 8/19)
- (3) 10- 2 "A NEW PHASE OF JAPANESE PROGRESS"
(THE TIMES-12/ 4)
- (4) 12-28 "CABINET CHANGE IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-1886/2/ 3)
- (5) 1886- 1-22 "THE TREATY PROBLEM IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 3/ 6)
- (6) X- X "THE EXTRADITION CASE IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 4/30)
- (7) 4-12 "THE JAPAN'S REFORMED POLITY"
(THE TIMES- 6/16)
- (8) 7-21 "TREATY NEGOTIATIONS IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 8/28)
- (9) 8-20 "LIFE AT A JAPANESE SPA"

- (THE TIMES-10/20)
- (10) 8-30 "ASAMAYAMA-A JAPANESE VOLCANO"
(THE TIMES-10/27)
- (11) 9- 2 "KUSATSU-A JAPANESE SANITARIUM"
(THE TIMES-11/16)
- (12) 11-23 "EARTHQUAKE RESEARCHES IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-1887/1/ 7)
- (13) 1887- 2- 5 "THE MIYAKO ODORI"
(THE TIMES- 5/ 7)
- (14) 3- 1 "THE STORY OF AN EARTHQUAKE"
(THE TIMES-NOT-APPEARED)
- (15) 4- 5 "ENGLAND, GERMANY AND JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 5/14)
- (16) 4-14 "SOCIAL PROBLEM IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 5/21)
- (17) 8-12 "A NEW PHASE OF JAPANESE TREATY REVISION"
(THE TIMES- 9/17)
- (18) 9-29 "CHANGE IN THE JAPANESE CABINET"
(THE TIMES-12/ 2)
- (19) X- X "JAPANESE POLITICS"
(THE TIMES-12/27)
- (20) 1888- 2 -9 "JAPANESE POLITICAL PROGRESS"
(THE TIMES- 4/ 5)
- (21) 3- 9 "JAPANESE MATERIAL PROGRESS"
(THE TIMES- 4/23)
- (22) 4-24 "A JAPANESE STORY FROM REAL LIFE"
(THE TIMES- 6/2)
- (23) 5-11 "JAPAN'S NEW PRIVY COUNCIL"
(THE TIMES- 6/23)
- (24) 7-28 "THE RECENT VOLCANIC EXPLOSION IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 9/11)
- (25) 10-12 "THE BANDAI-SAN ERUPTION"
(THE TIMES-11/24)
- (26) 11- 6 "THE SHRINES OF ISE IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-12/27)
- (27) 1889- 2-12 "THE BIRTHDAY OF A CONSTITUTION"
(THE TIMES- 3/22)
- (28) 2-16 "THE BIRTHDAY OF A CONSTITUTION"

- (THE TIMES- 4/3)
- (29) 3-11 "THE TREATY DRAMA IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 4/19)
- (30) 5- 8 "JAPANESE POLO"
(THE TIMES- 6/22)
- (31) 6-30 "ENGLAND'S POSITION IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 8/ 5)
- (32) 7-17 "CORMORANT FISHING IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES- 8/21)
- (33) 10-21 "THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE
JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER"
(THE TIMES-11/28)
- (34) 10-22 "THE SHINTO FESTIVAL OF ISE IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-12/ 5)
- (35) 10-28 "AFFAIRS IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-12/27)
- (36) 1890- 1-11 "THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE JAPANESE CABINET"
(THE TIMES- 3/ 1)
- (37) 9-21 "JAPANESE WAYS"
(THE TIMES-11/22)
- (38) 11-30 "THE BIRTHDAY OF JAPAN'S FIRST PARLIAMENT"
(THE TIMES-1891/1/ 8)
- (39) 1891- 2-26 "THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF A GREAT JAPANESE
NOBLE"
(THE TIMES- 3/30)
- (40) 4-29 "PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-7/11)
- (41) 5-15 "THE ATTACK ON THE CZAREVITCH IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-6/13)
- (42) 5-16 "PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-9/ 1)
- (43) 5-27 "THE DEPARTURE OF CZAREVITCH FROM JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-NOT-APPEARED)
- (44) 10- 3 "THE FLOWER ART OF THE JAPANESE"
(THE TIMES-1892/ 4/19)
- (45) 11- 7 "THE GREAT JAPAN EARTHQUAKE"
(THE TIMES-12/ 8)
- (46) 1892- 2 -2
(THE TIMES-NOT APPEARED)

- (47) 7-15 "AN INCIDENT OF EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY IN
JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-1892- 8/26)
- (48) 9-24 "POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN "
(THE TIMES-11/22)
- (49) 10- 1 "THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN JAPAN"
(THE TIMES-11/23)

(II) Before 1884 (The 17th Year of Meiji)

As previously mentioned, Palmer, while he was in Hongkong, contributed to the "British Quarterly Review" an article titled "The Recent Japanese Progress," published in July 1882.

K. Inouye, the Japanese Foreign Minister, on reading this article, found in him an influential "Friend of Japan."

Japan, in those days, in order to rank with the Great European Powers as an independent nation, had made the best of her way to modernize in every field.

In order to gain international recognition, it was absolutely necessary to fully report abroad the actual circumstances of development of the country.

K. Inouye, expecting that Palmer would be able to discharge his duties as a journalist as well, worked upon him while he was staying in Japan for six months in 1882/3, and was finally successful in obtaining his approval.

The following is the firm and unchanging belief of Palmer on Japan after he got acquainted with her.

The present treaties should be revised, as it would not be the ultimate interests for the Great Britain to keep forcing the extra-territoriality to the country like Japan whose development in the future is regarded as certain.

The policy England used to adopt against her Colonies and settlements, was to give preference only to the interests of her own countrymen living there.

However, the above policy was compelled to alter, since about 1870, facing the severe competition against the other succeeding European industrial countries.

And yet, the Englishmen living in Japan flatly opposed to the new policy which might curtail their interests as it might lose the special privileges, such as extra-territoriality and others.

Accordingly, there is a remarkable conflict of the opinions between the supporters of the revision of the treaties, viz., General Gordon, Sir Hennessy, Captain Brinkley, and Palmer and the opponents to the revision of the treaties, viz; British residents with the journals acted as their spokesmen.

Such being the case, the rivalry between Palmer, Brinkley, and "The Japan (Weekly) Mail" vis British residents, Japan Herald, and Japan Gazette in Yokohama continued ceaselessly from January 1883 to even after Palmer's death in February 1893.

Let the writer examine the trend of the problem of the treaty revision before Palmer officially arrived in Japan.

In 1865, Parkes, who arrived in Japan as the second British Minister developed a so-called "The Parkes Diplomacy" in opposition to French Minister, Roche, from the end of the Tokugawa Regime to the Meiji Restoration, for 18 long years.

As Parkes, who had been acquainted with the young Japanese statesmen from the time of the Restoration who, occupying now the important positions in the Meiji Government, was reluctant to admit their constant efforts for the modernization of the country and the excellent results which Japan had made.

The pace for the revision of the treaties and the abolition of the extra territoriality was too slow to make any progress with him.

Let the writer refer the following paragraph "The Biography of Parkes" written by F.V. Dickins in 1894.

On September 2nd, 1879, Parkes sent the following letter to his wife, then back in England.

<Next stage about the work of Treaty Revision is a fresh proposal to be furnished from the Japanese Government, but they have not done it yet.

They were quite occupied with General Grant, and did not exert their energies in the work of the Treaty Revision.

Probably, they think that they may somehow accomplish the purpose of the treaty revision by the support of General Grant.

The Tokyo Times reports that a new Association under the name of Friends of the East will shortly be organized in Tokyo.

General Grant and Sir Pope Hennessy, Hongkong Governor are expected to be the leading members of the Association.

Sir Charles Dilke (M/P, Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs the following year) to say nothing of Mr. Reeds (M/P)¹⁵ will also join the Association.

General Grant will leave Japan tomorrow morning.

Perhaps, the Ministers of the Japanese Government, after some pauses, will call up the thought of the Treaty Revision.>

Under these circumstances, it is presumed that K. Inouye, Japanese Foreign Minister, judging that Parkes, the British Minister in Japan who continued to assume a very firm attitude towards the problem of the revision of the treaties, to be a very big obstacle for Japan to achieve her ardent hope, decided to receive cordially the intellectuals visiting Japan from England and America, viz., General Grant, Sir E.J. Reed, Sir Pope-Hennessy, Sir Charles Dilkes and Mr. House of the "Tokyo Times."

Through them, he tried to develop favourably the Treaty Negotiations by affecting the public opinions of England and America as well as to hasten the removal of Minister Parkes from the post.

During one and a half years, viz., from July 1883 to February 1885, while H.S. Palmer, who was on duty as the regional commander of Royal Engineers in Manchester district, the fact that, her countrymen living in the Colonies as well as settlements in the Orient who are obstinately sticking to the special privileges of extra-territoriality, have continually oppressed the native local people to the extent which it could not be passed in silence, has become a very hot issue in England.

Among the leading newspapers in England, the

opinions that they must at least admit the inherent rights of the oppressed countries have become conspicuous.

From now on, let the writer trace how Palmer played the active part as the journalist in due order, year after year.

(III) 1884 (The 17th year of Meiji)

Palmer, keeping to the agreement with K. Inouye, the Japanese Foreign Minister, contributed the article to "The Daily News" for a start, entitled "Our Commercial relations with Japan," which appeared in the said paper on January 22, 1884.

In this article, Palmer, basing on his experiences and observations while he was in Japan, discussed the abuses of the consular jurisdiction and extra-territoriality as well as the damages caused by the lack of tariff autonomy, and strongly urged the importance of the revisions of the treaties.

Next, on February 18 and March 7, 1884, his articles titled "The Japanese Tariff" and "Japan and The Treaty Powers" appeared in "The Manchester Guardian."

"Our Commercial relations with Japan" was translated in full into Japanese and appeared on "Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" for three days successively from March 12 to 14, while the gist of his article "Japan and Treaty Powers" was also translated into Japanese and appeared on "Hochi Shimbun" on May 7 and 8, 1884.

In printing "Our Commercial Relations with Japan," "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" wrote as follows;

Whoever did write this article, he must be quite conversant with the actual situations of both sides, and the point of his argument is quite impartial and accurate.

Also, "The Hochi Shimbun" wrote as follows;

As the point of his argument in the article is quite impartial and accurate and rarely found in the newspapers published in England, we translated the gist of the article into Japanese for the readers to read.

The campaign of Palmer, who backed up Japan, as to the necessity of revising the Japanese treaties with the European Powers, has started vigorously at about this time.

The article titled "The Capitulations in Japan" from a Correspondent (Palmer in Manchester) which appeared in "The Times" dated June 9, 1884, gives a full account of the sufferings which Japanese people have so far persevered because of the intolerable anomalies of the Extra Territoriality and Consular Jurisdiction enforced

in Japan due to the unequal Treaties.

Then, Palmer criticizes severely that the policy England has been continually taking to Japan should be rectified because it is now disconnected with the reality and hampers the free intercourse between the free European countries and Japan, the land of the Rising Sun, and on the whole, against the true interests of Great Britain.

In response to the Correspondent's article dated June 9, "The Times" commented it in its editorial of the same date as follows;

A Correspondent raises a question which is pretty sure at no distant date to force its way to the front.

And in order to improve the interest and understanding of Englishmen to her relations with Japan, The Times concluded the editorial as follows;

What our Correspondent clearly shows - what ought not henceforth to be forgotten - is that it rests with England in the main to say what will be the character of the relation to the outer world of a great Empire inhabited by 37,000,000 of human beings gifted with rare industry and aptitude and moving steadily along the high road of civilization.

"Tokyo Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun" of July 29, 1884, reports as follows;

We are informed from reliable sources that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered the Translation Section of the Ministry to expedite the translation of the article which a Correspondent contributed to "The Times" as well as its editorial concerning a very hot problem of the Revision of the Treaties which appeared in that paper of June 9, 1884.

Thus, the correspondence from Palmer on "The Times," as well as its editorial, have caused considerable repercussions in Japan which, eventually drew out the following letter from K. Inouye, the Foreign Minister to Palmer in Manchester.

September 13, 1884

Dear Colonel Palmer,

I beg to present you my sincere thanks for your constant endeavour to place the English public the wrongs, grievances and aspirations of Japan.

Apart from your articles in the "Manchester Guardian" and the "Pall Mall Gazette" the one in "The Times" has afforded me a great satisfaction.

The place which that newspaper occupies in England and the Continent must prove to be a powerful ally.

It may be of satisfaction to you to learn that I have caused your article and The Times editorial to be translated and submitted to

His Imperial Majesty's perusal.

Governor Oki is in the way of attaining the sanction of the Government to the Water-Works at Yokohama and I have much pleasure

to offer you service under our Government in connection with the Waterworks.

Mr. Kawase, our new Minister in London who leaves per Mail on 21st inst., will communicate you the particulars, therefore, I will only add that I shall be exceedingly grateful if you will accept the offer and give us the opportunity of availing ourselves of your able assistance in the work beneficial alike to Japanese and the foreign residents.

Before you leave England there is one thing I am very anxious that you should accomplish, that is to get the Times and other high-standing papers, with which you have established connection to appoint you as their special correspondent in Japan.

Captain Brinkley, I expect, will write to you more fully in this matter.

As the Englishman and friend of Japan, you will be glad to learn that Mr. Plunkett by his conciliatory manner and friendly sympathy is winning the golden opinions of the Japanese Government and the people.

We feel that we have a true diplomat to deal with.

We owe much to the British Government and the nation for sending here the Honourable F.R. Plunkett.

Trusting to be able to see you again out here,

I remain,
very truly yours,

Inouye Kaoru

(IV) 1885 (The 18th year of Meiji)

On February 19, 1885, Kawase, the Japanese Minister in London, despatched the following telegram to K. Inouye, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs;

Regarding the imminent departure of Palmer to Japan, I am very happy to be able to advise you as follows; <While contacted Palmer in accordance with your instruction to check the feasibility of Palmer to be appointed as the special correspondent of the leading newspapers in England, such as "The Times" and etc., he told me that he could satisfactorily arrange with Mr. Buckle, the President of "The Times" to be appointed as their Tokyo correspondent, which was confirmed by Mr. Buckle himself in his letter addressed to me.>

Palmer, after all, arrived at Yokohama on April 11, 1885, per American Steamer "The City of New York" via San Francisco and after the travel, stayed at F. Brinkley's (his intimate friend) residence in Tokyo until 1888.

From there, Palmer commuted to Yokohama as the superintendent of Yokohama Waterworks, on the one hand, and started to play an active part as the correspondent of "The Times," on the other hand, basing on the news-

materials collected by Mr. Brinkley of "The Japan Mail."

Now, the writer, so far, suspected that "England's Policy in Japan" which was sent from Tokyo on June 19, 1885 was his first correspondence to "The Times," but, by the subsequent investigation, it was proved that the first one was "Treaty between China and Japan" which was sent from, Tokyo (date unknown) and appeared on "The Times" on July 28.

It was the report on the so-called Tientsin Pact which had been concluded on April 18, 1885, between Hirobumi Ito, the Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary from Japan and Viceroy Li Hung Chang of China on the settlement of the tragedy enacted in the Korean Capital on December 6 and 7, 1884.

Thus Palmer's first report to "The Times" was on the Sino-Japanese affairs, but the subsequent reports of Palmer from Tokyo were mainly on the Revision of Treaties with Japan and European Powers.

"The History of The Times" published in 1947, quotes as follows:

Palmer was an active observer, but he does not appear to have kept the paper very well informed of the relations between China and Japan.

Here, though it is a well-known matter, the writer would like to explain, as the sequence of the story, briefly the circumstances of the problem of the revision of the treaties in Japan as follows:

The Tokugawa Shogunate which was forced to open the country in 1852 by the American Squadron led by Commodore Perry concluded the Peace and Amity Treaty with U.S.A. in 1854 and concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with her in 1858.

In the same year, they concluded the similar treaties with Holland, Russia, Britain and France, which were called as the "Ansei Gokakoku Joyaku" which means "The Treaties with five countries during the Ansei Era (1854-1859)"

Even after the Restoration in 1868, the newly established Japanese Government concluded successively the treaties with European countries which finally total led to 18.

The contents of the treaties were one-sided and quite unfavourable to Japan.

First of all, the loss of the Customs Autonomy. All of the Import duties were fixed as low as an average of 5%, and Japan had no right to assess of the rates, while the trade did not come up to become the source of the National Revenue, large quantities of gold, silver, raw silk and others were taken out from the country.

Still a more serious problem was that the Japanese Government had admitted the extra territoriality in the form of Consular Tribunals to the Treaty Powers.

Namely, the cognizance of all criminal and civil cases in which foreigners were principals, was vested in the Consular Court of the defendant or accused person.

Moreover, the one-sided interpretations of the most favoured nation clauses were in force.

These unequal treaties were naturally handed over to the newly established Meiji Government, and embarrassed them severely because it successively gave rise to a series of troublesome situations which could never have been anticipated at the time of the conclusion of the treaties by the statesmen with their inexperienced knowledge of international politics.

However unequal the treaties be, in order for Japan to restore the tariff and legal rights, there must be a corresponding bargaining point.

It is the opening of the interior of Japan to the foreign treaty Powers.

After all, the revision of the treaties is to realize the recovery of the tariff and legal rights in exchange for the opening of the interior of Japan.

Only by doing so, Japan, as an independent modernized country, as well as a member of the Comity of the Nations, is able to rank with other foreign Powers.

In order for Japan to realize the revision of the unequal treaties, she had to exert her utmost endeavours to expedite the modernization of the country internally and to let the foreign Powers admit the integrity of the country internationally.

In other words, it was absolutely necessary to consolidate both faces of Japan to that of a modern civilized country.

To achieve this object, it took more than twenty years.

The journey had been very hard and long indeed.

Palmer, on June 19, 1885, two months after his arrival in Japan, sent his second correspondence titled "England's Policy in Japan" to "The Times."

Starting with this correspondence, he sent about 15 correspondences on the subject of the treaty revision till the one titled "Political Situation in Japan" dated October 1, 1892.

The gist of the second one is as follows;

Great Britain, notwithstanding her avowed wish to follow the course best conducive to her own interests, the interests of her colleagues, and the well being of Japan, renders that wish null and void by sticking to a combination as destructive as it is opposed to the dictates of practical common sense.

In order to maintain that combination, she suffers herself to insist on a strict observance of the favoured nation clause in its most aggravated shape.

That a great nation like England should head or even tolerate a league of this nature can only be accounted for by supposing her to

hold exaggerated views as to its necessity.

She doubtless believes that adherence to the old policy of combination is the sole way of checkmating the rivalry and covert antagonism of her associates and that these are sufficiently formidable to British interests to warrant the sacrifice of every other consideration that affects the case.

There can be little difficulty in discerning the best paths out of this dilemma.

Were England to take the lead in forsaking a combination long ago obsolete and now in everybody's way, America certainly, and most probably Germany, would at once follow suit.

This done, the whole difficulty would virtually disappear.

England, while relieving herself from an odious and embarrassing position, would earn the gratitude of the Japanese Government and people, regain her old supremacy on the foreign councils of the nation, and greatly improve her commercial position and prospects.

This correspondence appeared on "The Times" of August 19, 1885, and its leading article introduced and commented as the gist of which as follows;

The communication which we print this morning from a Correspondent at Tokyo appeals to public opinion against persistence in a policy which he considers equally prejudicial to English and to Japanese interests.

However, there are wheels within wheels; and it may not be as easy as is supposed in the English settlement at Tokyo to break up amicably the concert of the Powers.

It would be far more pleasant that whatever was done were done by common consent.

England has no desire to spring mine upon other States, and is abundantly willing to share the advantage of Japanese concessions with all who comply with reasonable Japanese requisitions.

It can be open to no accusation of ill-faith for warning its allies that it repudiates stipulations equally invidious and injurious to Japan and to them.

England is bound to act in this direction, in deference rather to the urgent and rightful wish of Japan than from motives of individual advantage.

By the favoured-nation clause in its most aggravated shape, Japan suffers an evident wrong, and it would be as inequitable as impolite in England to connive much longer, by immobility, at the continuance of the infliction.

R.G. Watson, Her Majesty's former Charge d'Affaire in Japan, contributed a letter after reading the above-mentioned Tokyo communication and the leading article of "The Times," sent a letter to "The Times."

After commenting against the policy of Combination taken by the Powers, he suggested as follows;

My own suggestion is that public opinion should be brought to bear on Her Majesty's Government with a view to their forming a separate arrangement with Germany and the United States, and whatever other Governments are willing to join them in breaking up the coalition; and further to advise Japan to withdraw from the treaties with other nations, guaranteeing her against all consequences.

In return, Japan would certainly undertake not to enter into engagements hostile to the interests of the countries who should have helped her out of her difficulty.

The three articles above quoted were immediately taken up by "The London and China Express" in London, which commented on its leading article titled "Diplomatic Co-operation in Japan," the gist of which is as follows;

Nothing can really excuse resort to it (Diplomatic Cooperation) except when it is employed on the side of civilization against barbarism, or against the barbarous and uncivilized acts or policy of an otherwise civilized country.

The writer of the correspondence is new to us in Eastern journalism; but he is evidently behind the scenes of that piece with the stale old title <Revision of the Treaties> which is now being played in Tokyo.

The writer describes the situation, and pleads that England should boldly strike off the fetters with great clearness and force.

The apt and vigorous language in which the letter is couched, the mastery of details, and manner in which the facts and arguments are marshalled render the communication of great value just at this moment when the deadlock has occurred.

Yubin Hochi Shimbun" commented on Palmer's correspondence to "The Times" in the leading article from October 9, 1885 for three days successively, ahead of other newspapers, and in its editorial of October 11, wrote as follows;

An English gentleman resident, recently wrote a letter to that journal on the subject of England's policy towards Japan, and The Times has now published a leader advising the British Government to adopt a just and impartial line of policy.

Affirming at the outset the decline of English influence in this country which he attributes to England's opposition to treaty revision, the correspondent goes on to say that it was England that inaugurated the policy of united action on the part of the treaty Powers, and whatever may have been its virtue in the old times when Japan hated foreign intercourse, to drag her into the path of civilization, it is at present this very policy that is obstructing the progress of the country.

How true these words are!

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated October 17, 1885, reported in the leader titled "Diplomatic Cooperation," the gist of which is as follows;

Nearly two years have passed since it was definitely understood that Great Britain, at any rate, was prepared to treat Japan in a liberal spirit.

During these two years unwearied efforts have been made to unite the sixteen high contracting parties into a consentient group.

And now, at the eleventh hour, somebody, it is said, has still to await his instructions.

The revision was to have been completed by the close of this year.

Now it is to begin next spring.
Who can tell what may not happen between this and that?
Japan is not a strong country.
She is as helpless in the presence of her sixteen confederated dictators as a child would be in the hands of a battalion of soldiers.

It is a disgrace to Western civilization, a disgrace to Western intelligence, a disgrace to Western morality that such a league should be maintained to crush the worthy aspirations of a people who ask only to be recognized as friends and fellow-workers in the cause of that same civilization.

"Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" translated The Times' "England's Policy in Japan" and its editorial into Japanese and printed them from October 30 to November 3 successively.

In the leading articles dated November 5 to 8 titled "On the most favoured nation clause and the policy of Diplomatic Cooperation" the Nichi Nichi wrote as follows;

The communication from the Time's Correspondent in Tokyo as well as its leader, and Mr. Stein's essay on Consular Jurisdiction in Eastern Area, all openly declare that the system of the extra territoriality should not be maintained any longer.

We are unable to tell the names of the author who sent this article to "The Times," but he is undoubtedly well acquainted with the actual condition of our relations with foreign countries.

The chain reaction, thus happened between the journals of England and Japan, was to address the British Foreign Office the change of her policy towards Japan, but it seems that the reaction did not give enough influence on the Foreign Office.

Although various reformation in many fields have been executed in Japan, Palmer, on October 2, 1885, sent to "The Times" the communication titled "A new phase of Japanese progress" and reported in it on the newly established "Romaji-Kai" which was promulgated for the purpose of renovating the Japanese written language.

It appeared in "The Times" on December 4, 1885.

The gist of the above communication is as follows;

It will be observed that, under the system of writing which was then in use, the higher standards of education could only be reached after toilsome devotion to the effort of learning by heart many thousands of fanciful, and intricate signs of Chinese ideographs - a task which not only needed a very heavy expenditure of time, but was also calculated to stimulate the memory in an abnormal degree, at the cost of other not less important mental faculties.

In Japan besides the system thus described, there has existed for more than a thousand years a syllabary called the Kana, devised by her own scholars for easing the yoke of the Chinese script.

The Kana consists of highly abbreviated forms of those Chinese characters which correspond with the 47 syllabic sounds that enter

into the Japanese language.

It is in two styles, the Katakana and Hirakana, of which the former is used as an auxiliary to Chinese ideographs in books and the like, while the latter is used chiefly for social prints and letter-writing by women and the lower classes.

Undoubtedly the Kana has been a great boon to the mass of the Japanese people, since it has placed within their easy reach the arts of writing and reading, which but for it were far beyond them.

To the student, however, it brought no such clear relief.

For those who sought to walk in any of the higher paths of knowledge, if it was in some degree a help, it was in none a substitute for the weary and harassing study of Chinese.

This was the state of things in Japan in the matter of written speech at the time when, after the restoration of the Mikado in 1868, there began that rapid course of demolition and reconstruction of her political and social fabrics which is recognized as the most remarkable of its kind in the history of nations.

The whole country suddenly became athirst to acquire the languages, arts, and sciences, the philosophy and laws, in fact the entire civilization of the West.

Obviously, with such work before them, the youth of Japan could hardly afford to spend years and warp their brains in learning the single accomplishments of writing thoroughly their own tongue.

Under such circumstances, it is gratifying to note that the new movement of the Roman Alphabet Association, has been strongly supported by resident foreign scholars and others, and by nearly the whole of the Diplomatic Corps - among the latter by none more than by England's present Minister, the Hon. F.R. Plunkett, who has worked very hard in its behalf.

On December 28, 1885, Palmer sent from Tokyo the communication titled "Cabinet Change in Japan" which appeared on "The Times" on February 3, 1886. In this, he reported in detail about the progress of the radical renovation of government organization, viz.,

- (1) the abolishment of the Council of State
(Abolishment of the offices of Daijo Daijin as well as Sa Daijin and U Daijin),
- (2) the establishment of the First Cabinet under the premiership of Hirobumi Ito, due to the enforcement of the formation of Cabinet system,
- (3) the establishment of the formation of Cabinet Organization, all of which were promulgated by Imperial Notification on December 22, 1885.

(V) 1886 (The 19th Year of Meiji)

Now, the year, 1886 has come and Palmer, on January 22, sent the communication titled "The Treaty Problem in Japan" to "The Times," which appeared on it on March 6.

He wrote about the confused circumstances on the revision of the treaties with Japan.

The gist of which is as follows;

Great Britain suffers also, in her commercial interests immediate and prospective.

The prosperity of English markets abroad is not at present such that we can afford to view these and similar changes with complacency, or to be in other ways indifferent to our waning position and interests in a country which bids fair to become the first state in the Far East.

It appeared to Palmer that the diplomatic policies of Great Britain which had been reflected in the problem of the revision of the treaty with Japan have become antiquated as she had been just clinging to her olden times of glory.

Palmer, watching daily, with his own eyes the unprecedented development being achieved in Japan situated in the under-developed areas of the Orient, suggested to the British Government which was incapable of grasping the actual situations of Japan and hence unable to take proper measures as follows;

Upon us, therefore, rests the obligation of giving effect to our own candid admissions in the one way which admits of escape from the present deadlock, namely, by breaking up the combination of Powers and making independent terms with the Japanese.

Palmer reported that, all the Treaty Powers, so far, attended the matter always in unison, under the principle of combination, utilizing the most favoured nation clause, but it has now, under the present circumstances, become to invite the struggle for the interest among them.

Against Palmer's opinion, The Times' editorial dated March 8, 1886 wrote as follows;

It is her (Britain) duty not to leave any stone unturned in her attempt to bring the other Powers to a rational view of the claims of Japan.

But if all efforts fail, if no declarations of our Minister at Tokyo have any effect upon his diplomatic colleagues, then it remains open to us to withdraw, and to resign into the hands of the Japanese, as far as we are concerned, the pledges which we exacted from them a quarter of a century ago.

The time is approaching when they (Japan) will have to choose between the friendship of Russia and that of England.

It is not on the Afghan frontier alone that the two great antagonists are watching one another.

The Pacific is almost as important to us as India is;

It is a fact that for a long time past Russia has been coquetting with Japan, as with China, and there will at least be no harm done it, by putting Japan under a strong obligation to ourselves, we do something to show them that our friendship is the more valuable of the two.

This is, moreover, what the Japanese desire.

Nothing is more certain than that they look to England for the type of civilization which they would prefer to follow; that they are

interested on England, learn the English language, and imitate English habits as closely as they can.

Thus a liberal treatment of the wishes of Japan would be of the greatest indirect as well as direct service to England, in that most important of her peaceful campaigns, the campaign against the obstructiveness and the stagnation of China.

The Special Correspondent of "The Japan Mail" in London reported as follows in his letter dated March 12, 1886;

Your readers' attention will doubtless be drawn in other ways to the very powerful letter in The Times of Saturday last (March 6) from Tokyo, respecting treaty revision in Japan, but it cannot be out of place if I say a few words about it from the Londoner's point of view.

It is surprising enough that, in the height of the busiest season in London-when Parliament and the Courts are sitting, and many grave public questions, such as Ireland, Burma, the unemployed, &c. are engaging public attention, The Times should devote on March 6, two whole columns to a statement, which must necessarily be somewhat technical, of the position of affairs in Japan, this, I say, is surprising; but it is still more so that on the following Monday on the 8th, a leader of unusual length should be published on the same subject.

It will be observed that now, the leading journal pronounces in a clear manner for the active assistance of this country to Japan, in order that the latter may be released from the most galling fetters of the present treaties.

It is rarely that the great journal speaks with so much decision, and, unless all our experience of the past is to be belied now, the time cannot be far distant when Great Britain will, if it prove unfavourable in order to meet Japanese wishes, break with the coalition of the Powers, and strike out her own course in her future dealings with Japan.

I do not think that his letter, backed as it has been in The Times and elsewhere, can fail of having an important effect, directly or indirectly, on the attitude of the Foreign Office towards Japan and the other treaty Powers in its general policy towards that country.

The most immediate effect of the letter has been a notice of Mr. Hanbury in the House of Commons to call attention, on the Civil Service Estimates, to the effect of existing treaties between Japan and the European Powers upon the Eastern trade of the United Kingdom and the development of Japan; and to move that in the opinion of the House the time has arrived, in the interests of both countries, for the withdrawal of these treaties, either singly or in concert with other Powers.

The reading of the notice in the House was greeted with cries of <Hear, Hear>, so that Mr. Hanbury will have a sympathetic audience.

I think the friends of Japan, and the Japanese themselves, should take heart from all these things; the end may not be near, but we are making perceptible advances towards it.

Regarding the article "The Treaty Problem in Japan" which appeared in "The Times," "The London and China Express" wrote in its editorial, as follows;

The remarkable letter to The Times from its Tokyo Correspondent clears the atmosphere and enables us to see distinctly the present position of the question, our own attitude in the business, and the consequences, actual and probable, to us of this attitude.

"The London and China Express" highly evaluates the Tokyo Correspondent of The Times as he could hint the policy which British Government would be advisable to adopt, basing on the information furnished from the Japanese Government, and wrote as follows;

In one respect the Japanese are to be congratulated. Their case is now being presented to the British public by the Tokyo Correspondent of The Times in a manner in which it never had before and we think they are fortunate in having amongst them a writer who will take pains to study this and other Japanese questions, and to state them with so much clearness and force from so lofty a platform as the columns of the Times.

Palmer's communication to The Times titled "The Treaty problem in Japan" was translated into Japanese and appeared in "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" from June 9 to 12, 1886 successively and "The Times" leader on the above appeared in the same journal after being translated into Japanese on June 15 and 16.

Towards the end of November 1885, the Foreign Office in Tokyo received a telegram from the Japanese Minister at Washington, inquiring at the instance of Secretary Bayard, whether the Government of Japan would, as an act of comity only, undertake the arrest and extradition of an escaped thief and forger named Calvin Pratt, who had sailed from San Francisco for Yokohama a few days previously.

In the absence of any extradition treaty between the two countries, no formal demand for Pratt's rendition was possible, and the American Secretary could only suggest that Japan should act upon the fundamental principle that every State is bound - as a duty, if not of perfect obligation, at least of public morality - to deny an asylum to fugitive criminals, and should exercise her sovereign prerogative of yielding the offender to justice.

The results of Mr. Bayard's request was that, after some further telegraphic communications, the Mikado's Government assented to the course which he had proposed, as an act of international comity, and proceedings were taken to secure Pratt's arrest on board of the steamer Oceanic as soon as she should reach the port of Yokohama.

But an unexpected difficulty cropped up at the last stage of the preparations.

The Oceanic was a British ship, and it was necessary to procure the British Consul's endorsement to the warrant which had been issued by the Japanese Minister of Justice.

The Consul, however, refused to grant the needed endorsement unless the request of the American

Government were cited in the warrant as the ground of arrest, a condition which, rightly or wrongly, the Japanese authorities hesitated to comply with.

In consequence, Pratt, who had been identified by Japanese detective before he left the steamer by means of descriptions telegraphed from America, was not arrested until he stepped ashore.

He was then examined by the Public Prosecutor, acting under instructions from the Minister of Justice, and, a very sufficient case of identification having been made out, he was detained until the arrival, a month later, of the officials sent from America to finally identify and receive him.

After this a fresh warrant by the Minister of Justice duly effected his delivery to the officials of his own country on board of a mail steamer starting for California.

On the basis of the above, Palmer sent to The Times a communication titled "An extradition case in Japan," which appeared in The Times on April 30, 1886.

The gist of the communication is as follows:

These very commonplace incidents would be unworthy of notice if it were not for the glimpse they afford of the widely different views held by two such great Powers as England and the United States respecting the obligations and rights of themselves on the one hand and Japan on the other which are conveyed by the existing treaties.

Japan, it is to be observed, has no extradition treaties with other States.

This argument caused by the different views, it will be seen, carries with it the inevitable conclusion that the extra territorial clause is to be interpreted not by its letter, but by the individual opinions and practice of each of the sixteen Powers having treaties with Far Eastern countries.

Palmer concludes the above communication as follows:

The case above described is but one of many constantly recurring examples of the peculiar anomalies and contradictions which beset the complex problem of extra-territoriality.

But the story of Calvin Pratt's case may at least draw timely attention to the necessity of sweeping away the rotten and tottering fabric of a system, which makes such contrasts possible.

To those who live in the Far East, and see from day to day the working of these outlandish extra territorial provisions, it is at times impossible to suppress doubts whether the questions affected by them, receive that attention in official quarters at home which they certainly need.

Under these circumstances, Palmer, who was deeply concerned of the declining British influence in Japan, claimed to discontinue the present strict enforcement policy against Japan.

By standing on the basis of the friendship and mutual understanding between the two countries, he

strongly hoped that British Foreign Office should adopt the liberal policy which would eventually be destined to lead to mutual commercial interests.

On April 12, 1886, Palmer sent to "The Times" the communication titled "Japan's reformed Polity," in which he reported on the actual positions of the reformation of organization of the Japanese Government; viz., mainly, on the promulgation of the ordinances and regulations which were published on last February as well as that of the official documents to stipulate various kinds of the forms, also the actual positions of the set up of the regulations controlling the Government organization.

"The Times" published the above communication on June 16, 1886, and further wrote a very fine editorial analyzing the renovated government structures of Japan after consolidating the above two communications of Palmer.

After repeated postponements, extended over a period of about two years, the long-talked-of Conference for the revision of Japan's treaties with Foreign Powers began its labours in Tokyo on May 1, 1886.

At the close of the seventh session, on June 27, the Conference was adjourned until October 5, to give enough time for the foreign representatives to obtain further instructions from their respective Government on the fresh joint proposal submitted by Germany and Great Britain.

Palmer, on July 21, sent to "The Times" the communication from Tokyo titled "The Treaty Negotiations in Japan" in which he reported on the history of the Treaty negotiations and introduced the contents of the Joint German-British Proposal.

He explained that by willingly adopting the pro-Japanese policy, England would only be able to discharge very important duties on the present policy against Russia in the Far East, and concluded the communication as follows;

They (Japanese) are an intensely patriotic and high-spirited people, and they have long chafed bitterly at the position of national inferiority to which the Western Powers condemned them 28 years ago.

But, at length, first among the peoples of the East, they now see themselves about to cross as equals the threshold of the great family of Western nations, freed from the isolation and stigma of semi-barbarity which have so long oppressed them.

Probably there never was a race more capable of welcoming and appreciating this change; and the Power which maintain the lead in effecting it may count with confidence on their lasting gratitude.

The leader of "The Times" dated August 28, 1886, took up the above communication from Tokyo dated July 21 and reported as follows;

The settlement of the thorny question of the treaties (if we are to assume that it is a settlement) is the work of our Minister, Sir Francis Plunkett and of the recently appointed representative of Germany, Baron von Holluben.

Our Correspondent speaks emphatically of the good that has been already done to the position of England in the affection of Japan by the course which the negotiations have taken.

We have recovered, it would seem, all the influence that we possessed in old times, before we began to pose as the sole and immovable opponent of treaty reform.

There may be difficulties with one or two other Powers, notably Russia and France, but there seems to be nothing to prevent Japan's finally emerging, a little more than two years hence, from the restraints imposed by those who have kept her so long *in stata pupillari*.

On October 22, 1886, "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun," in its leading article titled "On the Japan's Revision of Treaties" wrote as follows;

The Times is one of the first class newspapers in the world and it is well known to the world that it always reports the most authentic intelligence in the international political problems.

True to its name, on reading the communication sent from its Tokyo Correspondent on July 21, the writer cannot be too much impressed with the accuracy in his reporting the fact with so much caution and circumspection as could be.

And the Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun printed the translation of the above communication and finished the first one-fifth of the total on the first day which was on October 22.

However, no further translation appeared on the following day and we could only find at the marginal column, a short and curt proviso to the effect that the translation had been cancelled because of excess of mistranslation.

In fact, as being the unusual case, the writer found very little mistranslation on it after he checked the original English version.

This year, Palmer, utilizing his summer vacation, made a short trip with his friend C (Mr. Chamberlain).

They went, first to the spa at Ikao, then climbed Mt. Asama and finally to Kusatsu and enjoyed their holiday of about two weeks.

He sent to "The Times" 3 communications from Ikao, first one titled "Life at a Japanese Spa" on August 20, next, "Asamayama" a Japanese Volcano" on August 30, and then "Kusatsu, a Japanese sanatorium" on September 2.

And on September 11, he contributed his signed article of the trip titled "Asamayama" to "The Japan Weekly Mail."

On November 23, 1886, he sent to "The Times" the communication titled "Earthquake Researches in Japan."

This is a very interesting communication collecting

the researches on the principles of the earthquakes as well as its counter measures against the calamities by Dr. John Milne, the founder of Japan Seismological Society.

The four communications above cited are the records of the surveys on the geological and geographical features of the volcanoes, hot-springs, and earthquakes which prompted him by curiosity.

That is not all he has done.

He adroitly depicted with affection the scenes of Japanese mountain district showing the beautiful appearance while brewing the destructive energy deep under the bottom of the ground, and introducing the Japanese hot-springs which Dr. Baerz analysed and investigated, as well as the simple figures of the Japanese gathering there and passing the time of supreme bliss.

In such a manner, Palmer continued to send his varied communications to "The Times" till several months before his death in February 1893.

Allow the writer to list up the titles of his communications year by year with its contents after the year of 1887.

The writer is also going to chronologically add the news of the world which are related with the contents of the communications as well as the main achievements of Palmer.

(VI) 1887 (The 20th Year of Meiji)

(1) The Miyako Odori

(From Kyoto on February 5)
(The Times on May 7)

While Palmer was visiting Kansai (Kyoto & Osaka) area in order to participate in the project of waterworks for Osaka and Kobe, he visited Kaburenjo in Kyoto.

This is the report on the Miyako Odori which he saw there at the same time with the Emperor and his family who happened to be there.

At the close of the report, he wrote as follows;

How many years, or possibly decades, are likely to elapse before the chaste Miyako Odori, with its refined and courtly style and squadrons of decorously clad little Maiko, will give place to violent muscular achievements such as those with which troops of bounding, perspiring, and half-nude damsels charm the senses of theatre-goers in the West?

Looking to the signs of the times, is it possible to hope that this and other emblems of Japan's ancient and refined civilization can long survive the over-whelming tide of change and progress which is sweeping over the land?

It is feared that all are doomed.

(2) The Story of an Earthquake

(From Tokyo on March 1)
(The Times Not appeared)

In the Seismological Society meeting held on February 28, Professor Sekiya of Tokyo Imperial University reported on the earthquake occurred in Keihin (Tokyo & Yokohama) district on January 15. Based on his report, Palmer sent the communication, at the close of it, he wrote as follows;

To us who are constrained to dwell in the midst of so many and great dangers, on this unstable and highly heated domain of the earth's crust, it is some comfort to remember that, the patient researches of Professor Milne and his disciples have opened up to us additional means of providing against disaster from earthquakes.

However long it may be before the inhabitants of countries subject to earthquake movements will have the sense and the means to act upon the warnings which science gives them, we have here an epitome of all that human ingenuity has yet been able to devise for the protection of human life and property against one of the most potent and fearful of all forms of energy.

(3) England, Germany and Japan

(From Tokyo on April 5)
(The Times on May 14)

The gist of this communication is as follows;

While treaty revision is crawling on with steps so slow and painful, the public mind in Japan is occupied for the time with two other questions of considerable moment and significance.

One is the rapid increase of German influence and popularity.
The other is a group of social reforms and novelties, having as their main object an improvement of the position of women in Japan.

The recent shower of German appointments is only the natural fruit of Japan's choice of the parliamentary and administrative institutions of Germany as models for her own new Constitution which is to be established in 1890.

The selection of German models of government has led, in a perfectly natural and legitimate way, to sundry appointments having a direct relation to pending constitutional changes; while the intimacy and fresh centres of influence thus set up have somewhat extended in other directions the field of patronage in Germany's favour.

From the above simple chain of causes and effects have sprung all the recent outcries about a German craze, about Japan's being turned into a German colony, about German aggressiveness, and Japanese fickleness, waywardness, and ingratitude.

Yet, surveyed calmly and with full knowledge of the facts, the position does not seem to warrant any of these interpretations.

If Germany is, for a time at least, being warmed by rays of Japanese official sunshine, England is not on that account being pushed out into the cold.

It is both unnecessary and at variance with the facts to infer that accession of German popularity must, needs issue in coolness or ingratitude towards England.

On the contrary, England's position in this country was never higher nor did it ever possess surer elements of ultimate strength than at present.

There are no signs of wavering or lukewarmness on the part of Japan's leading statesmen in their sentiments towards Great Britain.

On July 3 and 5, "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" printed the translated communication into Japanese and wrote as follows;

The varied communications from Tokyo are the product of the Times Tokyo Correspondent who must be well conversant with the politics in Japan, especially in the diplomatic field and the writer was often impressed with the accuracy of the communication which appeared in the Times.

Above all, the communication from Tokyo which appeared in "The Times" on May 14, is the one which cannot help stirring up the readers' particular attention.

And further, the leading article of "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" dated July 6 wrote as follows;

The point of argument of this communication viewed with an unprejudiced eye clearly analyses the actual political situations in Japan.

We can say that the Times Correspondent must be truly clear-sighted in revealing the matter to light and making public the valuable argument.

(4) Social Problem in Japan

(From Tokyo on April 14)
(The Times on May 21)
(Times' Editorial)

In a recent letter ("England, Germany and Japan"-April 5, from Tokyo), I referred to the movement lately set on foot in this country for reforming the dress of its women after Western styles.

The subject has excited some attention in Europe, and not a little criticism.

It is no wonder, then, that the grievous change now in progress is loudly deprecated by nearly all onlookers.

With most of us the first feeling is one of wrathful indignation.

That the Japanese, who are before all things artistic, should set themselves in this cold-blooded way to blot out one of the most delightful and picturesque features of the whole national life is regarded as incredible, unnatural, and exasperating.

It is Vandalism; it is sacrilege; it is senseless mimicry; it is everything that is bad.

That is the general lament, and there seems to be a good deal in its favour.

It is a habit in certain quarters to speak of the Japanese as a nation of children, always thirsting after some new toy.

Yet that character will hardly be assigned to Count Ito, even by the most reckless of censors.

And Count Ito it undoubtedly was who advised the Empress to inaugurate the new movement.

There must surely be something behind it all, of graver purpose and import than any yet divined, to have led a statesman with his cool head and sagacious brain to beget a reform of this weeping nature.

Into that something - into the real springs of the movement - it seems worth while to enquire.

To understand this question at all, it is necessary to glance at the present state of Japan's progress.

Thoughtful watchers of events in this country are agreed that the Japanese people have now reached a very critical point in their career of advancement.

If they aim at complete success in their new civilization, it is impossible for them to remain any longer content with material, administrative, and educational reforms, of the kind pursued during the last 20 years with such unexampled vigour and resolution.

Not only into the body politic, but into the whole social and moral fabric must be ingrafted those conditions and principles to which Western civilization owes its growth and vitality.

With the tone of that civilization perhaps nothing in Japan is so gravely out of harmony as the position of her women.

There is abundant proof that, if women are to take that part in the great work of national regeneration to which they are entitled, and which is essential for success, their whole position in society must be radically changed.

If there is one doctrine which we Westerns have hammered into the minds of Orientals, more forcibly than any other, it is the doctrine of their own inferiority.

The idea of most Europeans, <from noblemen to tailors>, is that an Oriental, though possibly one of God's creatures, hails from some substratum far down on the human scale, and is to be treated accordingly.

That is the kind of teaching which was inclined this most patriotic of peoples towards the adoption of expedients which without sacrificing their national individuality, may tend to make Occidental forget the differences between them.

Dress, without doubt, is an important factor in this question.

As long as a Japanese wears his country's costume, it marks him conspicuously an Occident, and tells against him in his intercourse with foreigners.

Substitute European clothing, and the contrast becomes less striking.

He at once receives greater recognition and respect.

If foregoing be a correct outline of the reasons by which Count Ito set the example of adopting European dress, we are led to conclude that the new movement, so far from being a blind following after Western ways merely because they were Western, is part of a high and

deliberate scheme for bringing Japan into line with the nations of the Occident, and for reducing to the narrowest breadth possible the gulf of separation that lies between them.

Bent on this task the Japanese Chancellor believes that it can only be achieved by a modification of the domestic and social habits of Old Japan.

Further, he believes that a gradual assimilation of the national garb to that of Western lands will serve the double purpose of contributing to the above objects and of helping to blot out the stigma of Orientalism which, in spite of a long series of drastic reforms stamped with the seal of the world's approval, still clings to his progressive race.

Believing these things, he has not flinched from applying his remedies.

Here, then, we have the key to all the recent novelties, to this heart-breaking dress reform; to the improved means of education for girls and women; the thirst for foreign tongues, especially the English; the rapid growth of houses built, furnished, and managed in foreign style; the classes for training ladies in domestic work; and the multiplication of dances and other entertainments for the free intercourse of foreigners and Japanese, and of the Japanese among themselves.

Concerning the above-mentioned communication, "The Times" wrote an editorial on May 21, and after it enumerated the merits and demerits of both Japanese dress and the foreign dress, stated that

the change of the dress is not a feminine's caprice, but Count Ito's policy who was unfortunate enough to be branded as a real author of the new heresy in taste.

However, his firm belief, we may call it his seditious plot, is that the reform eventually brings with it the modernization of the life of all the Japanese in every field and will get rid of the prevailing distinction between the East and West, even if his policy is laughed at as a ridiculous fool's imitation.

(5) A New Phase of Japanese Treaty Revision

(From Tokyo on August 12)

(The Times on Sept. 17)

(Its Editorial)

In this communication, Palmer reports the contents of the negotiations of Treaty Revision which has been prorogued for a term at the instance of the Japanese.

The gist of the communication is as follows:

If Japanese statesmen, warned by long experience of the flagrant shortcomings and grotesque anomalies of consular jurisdiction, were firmly opposed to any extension of that system beyond the bounds of the foreign settlements at the treaty ports, they were at the same time under no delusion whatever as to the terms upon which alone foreign Powers might be expected to surrender the privileges of extra territoriality.

Laws consistent with Western principles, and a judiciary competent to administer those laws, would certainly and rightly be insisted on as conditions precedent to foreign acceptance of Japanese jurisdiction.

The writer would like to refer herein the particulars of the Joint Anglo-German Note as follows:

Its main features were clear and simple.
They composed of 3 concessions and 2 conditions.

Concessions:

Japan was to concede (1) The free opening of her whole territory.
The Powers were to concede

- (2) Revision of the Tariff.
- (3) Abolition of the extra territorial jurisdiction.

Conditions:

- (1) Japanese laws were to be completed in conformity with Western standards.
- (2) Japan was to establish Courts adequate to the competent administration of those laws.

For Japan which is still immature in law system as well as the Court organization to ask for the immediate realization of the revision of the treaties, she will have to add several other conditions besides the opening of her interiors, guaranteeing the life and property of the foreign residents.

It is conceivable also that the Japanese negotiators, weighed down by an acute sense of the immense difficulties of the problem, may have been able to reconcile themselves to sacrifices altogether unpalatable to the roughly-judging and inexperienced bulk of the people.

We know, at all events, that the Government's somewhat tardy resolve was not taken until they felt the national pulse beating strongly and unequivocally against the contemplated concession.

After all, at the end of the protracted negotiations started from May 1, 1886, Kaoru Inouye, the Minister of Foreign Affairs notified to the members of the Conference that his Government desired to postpone proceedings until they should be prepared to lay on the table, copies of all the codes referred to in the convention.

Palmer concluded this communication as follows:

We see that something has, after all, been achieved by these negotiations.

Japan has avowed before the world her readiness to unlock her whole domain, on the condition, no less openly assented to by the Treaty Powers, that extra territoriality shall be thereupon abolished.

But, at any rate, Japan now knows what remains to be done before

she can escape from her bondage, and she may be expected to set about doing it with increased verve and determination.

In these results may surely be seen some grounds for satisfaction, as well as features that cannot but be welcome to the ambitious and patriotic Japanese.

The editorial of "The Times" dated September 17 stated, as Tokyo Correspondent claimed, as follows;

The Western world has received no more advantageous acquisition in the present age than from the admission of so fresh and vigorous an element into its community.

Its gain is the greater and the more growing for the sturdiness with which Japan insists that it shall enter as an equal, and not as a dependent.

They should note with pleasure every sign that the period of pupillage is drawing to a close, if it be not absolutely finished already.

They had better, in any case, do spontaneously what it is clear they will otherwise have to do by compulsion.

Japan evidently does not mean to be kept in leading-strings any longer.

Englishmen, from, a sense both of right and of their own interest, will, it may be hoped, be the foremost to repudiate any share in constraining it.

(6) Changes in the Japanese Cabinet

(From Tokyo on Sept. 29)
(The Times on Dec. 2)

(7) Japanese Politics

(From Tokyo unknown)
(The Times on Dec. 27)

In the above two communications, Palmer dealt with the trend of the feelings of the Japanese nation which drove Count Inouye, the Minister of Foreign Affairs to resign, as well as the plans of K. Inouye for the Treaty Revision.

The gist of the two communications are as follows;

Foreigners recognize in him (K. Inouye) a Japanese whose genuine sympathy with their civilization enables him to interpret justly their reluctance to surrender extra territorial privileges, and whose astute liberality prompts him to choose the route of practical conciliation rather than that of sentimental inflexibility.

No Japanese, perhaps, but Count Inouye and his fellow statesmen, fully recognized another aspect of the situation, namely, that between Japan's comparative insignificance in Western eyes and the altogether novel character of the international recognition she was seeking the only possible path to immediate revision of the treaties lay in a compromise which must needs present some outwardly

distasteful features.

Upon that conviction Count Inouye acted, facing boldly the risk of his countrymen's disapproval.

It was an unfortunate issue in many respects.

The best that can be said in its favour is that it may serve to rivet the future attention of all concerned on a new and embarrassing factor in the treaty problem - the ever-increasing soreness and sensitiveness of the Japanese public in respect of their country's status vis-a-vis the Western Powers.

The postponement of the treaty revision negotiations described in my last letter, has been followed by the resignation of Count Inouye, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Few doubted that this must ensue.

Count Inouye's project, dictated by considerations which I hope to explain in a future communication, was to revise the treaties forthwith, offering to foreign Powers such guarantees as were judged essential in view of the incomplete organization of her judiciary.

On this basis he conducted the negotiations until they reached the stage where the signatures of the contracting parties were alone required to conclude the convention.

The Cabinet, by deciding to postpone the conference at this point, practically announced that the order of Count Inouye's project was premature.

His Government, in short, could not consent to endorse the concessions he had consented to make as the price of immediate revision.

Therefore, there was no other way for Inouye but to resign.

In the intense earnestness with which Count Inouye has throughout pursued his weary tasks may be detected some considerations lying deeper than the ordinary instincts of patriotism.

To his astute mind it must have been long apparent that Japan's very independence might eventually come to be menaced by a protracted maintenance of international barriers applicable only to a condition of Pagan semi-barbarism.

To the friends of Japan it must be a matter for regret, though hardly a matter of surprise, that the guarantees exacted by the foreign representatives were not framed in a more liberal spirit, and that the profound purpose of Count Inouye's policy could not be achieved without concessions from which the nation recoiled as an ordeal at once undeserved and unprofitable.

No more conclusive evidence of the success of his foreign policy could be adduced than the fact that he accomplished the conflicting interests of 16 Western Powers, and of bringing an Oriental State for the first time within measurable distance of admission to the pale of Christendom.

1887- 1-25 Palmer submitted "The Report & Estimate of a project for constructing a commercial Harbour at Yokohama."

4-22 Conference of the revision of the treaties decided to appoint Foreign Judges.

5- 6 Palmer submitted "The report for the design of Osaka Waterworks."

7-29 The Government advised the Powers to

postpone indefinitely the Conference for treaty revision until necessary laws are ready.

- 9- 5 Palmer submitted "The design of waterworks for Hakodate."
- 17 K. Inouye, Minister for Foreign Affairs resigned and Count Ito took his place.
- 10-17 Water supply of new Yokohama Waterworks started.
- 12-15 Representatives of 2 fus and 18 Prefectures submitted the memorandum for 3 important problems facing Japan, viz., the suspension of the Treaty Negotiations and etc.
- 26 The Peace Preservation Acts enforced

(VII) 1888 (The 21st year of Meiji)

(1) Japanese Political Progress

(From Tokyo on Feb. 9)
(The Times on April 5)

In this communication, while reporting

The post of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs had been offered to and accepted by Count Okuma.

By Japan's friends this strengthening of the Government at a critical period of the nation's history is greeted with unmixed satisfaction.

Palmer analysed with deep anxiety the political situations prevailing in Japan which suddenly changed in opposition to the negotiations for the Treaty Revision, so far led by Count Inouye, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

He continued to report as follows;

A careful study of Japanese history reveals a deeper and graver cause of anxiety.

The men who planned the abolition of feudalism and undertook the task of constructing anew the nation's political and social fabrics do not encounter or expect to encounter any check from the nature of the materials they had to work upon.

On the contrary, they had every reason to anticipate that the forces they applied would, so to speak, work expansively, and would need firm and powerful hands to keep them from gaining strength beyond control.

For they knew full well that there was, and always had been, a Socialistic tendency among the Japanese people.

Again, while the spontaneous abandonment in 1869 of their fiefs, military power, and feudal splendour, by 300 Nobles, occupying

nearly the whole of the empire, stands out before Western eyes as the most astonishing of the many strange events which succeeded the Mikado's restoration, from a Japanese point of view the conduct of the barons seemed only natural and proper.

And when the Administration afterwards adopted very arbitrary measures for commuting the incomes of the feudal lords, it well knew that the national sentiment would condone the means for the sake of the end, which embodied the principle of distribution of wealth.

The whole system, in fact, although restrictions against the purchase of land disappeared with feudalism, is clearly adverse to the tenure of large estates by moneyed men.

Yet, at this very time, one of the stock outcries of political agitators is that the recipients of official incomes enjoy luxuries in excess of their deserts and in dangerous contrast to the condition of the masses.

All these things point an unmistakable moral, and may well inspire apprehensions that Japan needs the curb rather than the spur, and that when once set in motion her political progress may be too swift to be safe.

Nothing, indeed, is more certain than that, while great and early changes are inevitable, any precipitate measure of enfranchisement in the immediate future would be fraught with the gravest danger to the country.

In entering on new paths of philosophy and science, the rising generation has cast loose some of the bonds which make for discipline and good order.

The new and mischievous element thus called into being, coupled with the Socialistic tendencies which are indicated by the national history, offer additional arguments for political caution.

Japan's statesmen must be well alive to the whole situation, and to the warnings which it inculcates.

Already, indeed, they have given proof of their wariness and sobriety by a prudent choice of German models for Japan's Constitution, clearly recognizing, no doubt, that, however admirable the British Constitution, for example, may be in the abstract, to transplant it into this country without fully preparing the soil for its reception would be only to invite, in their worst form, dangers from which even the Anglo-Saxon race itself is not only exempt on its political progress.

(2) Japanese Material Progress

(From Tokyo on March 9)
(The Times on Apr. 23)

This communication is the report on the progress of Japanese economy subsequent to Palmer's treatise which he sent to "The British Quarterly Review" under the title of "Recent Japanese Progress" and appeared on that journal in July 1882.

In this communication he reported how the policy of modernization was driven through in the foreign trade as well as in many industries with excellent results.

In order for Japan to let England admit the equal treaty, it was essential by all means to prove the

development and stability of Japanese economy as the modernized nation.

He wrote in the paragraph concerning the railway as follows;

Another noteworthy feature of the record of 1887 is the rapid increase of railway construction under the special conditions.

With respect to railway construction, an important result of those conditions is that the face of the nation is firmly set against having recourse to foreign capital as long as the present treaties remain in force.

Japan has become gravely apprehensive lest the abuses which have grown up under extra territorial system which should defy all efforts to prevent their gradual spread over the whole empire.

Foreigners now live at a half-dozen settlements on the coast, where they have their own judicial tribunals.

They cannot lawfully trade or own land outside of those settlements, nor can they lawfully become partners with Japanese in any commercial, industrial or other business undertaking.

Yet, as time goes on and intercourse grows closer, as railways spread and enterprises of many kinds spring up at the chief centres of activity, foreign residents can and do devise means of evading with impunity the restrictions which are imposed by the treaties.

It is little wonder, then, that she recoils from aggravating her present risks by contracting pecuniary obligations abroad which might possibly tend to postpone the day of her emancipation from the thralldom of the treaties.

So serious, indeed are her apprehensions on this point that she is resolved for the present to build her railways with her own money; and as she by no means possesses the wherewithal to justify such a proceeding, namely, surplus capital seeking investment - the work progresses, not only with comparative slowness, but also at the cost of development in other directions.

(3) A Japanese story from real life

(From Kyoto on April 24)

(The Times on June 2)

This communication is based on the article titled "The Wine Cup under the Cherry Tree" which was sent from the Correspondent in Kyoto of "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" to its Tokyo Head Office, which Palmer dramatized and sent to "The Times."

The story starts with the following introduction;

Spring is of all seasons the most delightful in Japan.

Lit by a warm sun, and no longer swept by Siberian blasts, the land bursts of a sudden into a beauty peculiarly its own.

Maple sprouts begin to blush in the woods; several kinds of flowering trees successively put forth their exquisite blossoms; and many hued varieties of camellia and azalea deck the gardens with a blaze of colour.

To all classes of the nature-loving Japanese this floral epoch is a time of festival.

While the higher ranks of society, from the Sovereign downwards,

exhibit the glories of their private grounds to parties of invited guests, every city and town has, what may be called its natural flower shows open to all comers.

In the parks, gardens, and temple-grounds, by river and lake margins, and at choice spots in the suburbs, are to be found groves of flowering plum, peach, and cherry trees which from early March until late in April are thronged by happy swarms of admiring visitors, clad in holiday raiment and bent on genuine but simple pleasure.

Young men and maidens, old folks and children, alike flock to these gatherings, which form one of the most attractive and characteristic feature of the national life.

To a stranger unaccustomed to Japanese crowds the scene is full of novelty and interest.

He must be a poor observer indeed who fails to be struck by the singular capacity for innocent enjoyment that is displayed by these around him by their love of natural beauties, their wonderful politeness to one another, their pleasant ripple of conversations, and their picturesque appearance.

As to the watchful looker-on there will surely be manifested something of the happy and tender relation between parents and children which is the fruit partly of their sunshiny disposition, and partly of that most hallowed of all articles of Japanese faith, the doctrine of filial reverence.

Among such people and in such a scene, at the famed Gion Temple in this <city of gardens> there happened very lately a dramatic incident in which the dying embers of an old feudal practice flashed into momentary brightness.

The world may never hear again a tale from life in this country so strangely connecting the present with the past.

Let me, then, tell it to the readers of <The Times> in the style of the Japanese narrator,

saying so, Palmer begins a story on unexpected encounters between two ex-samurais, one, a father looking for his daughter who had been missing for many years, and the other, a younger brother chasing after the life of a person as the object of vengeance to his elder brother for many years.

(4) Japan's New Privy Council

(From Tokyo on May 11)
(The Times on Jun. 23)

On April 30, the Official Gazette (Kampo) notified the creation of a consultative body called the SUMITSU-IN, a title to which Privy Council is the nearest English equivalent.

With this intimation was coupled the startling announcement that Count Ito had voluntarily retired from the office of Minister President of State, which he had held for more than two years past, and had accepted the Presidency of the new Council, retaining, however, a seat in the Cabinet by express Imperial Command.

His post at the head of the Executive is succeeded

to by General Count Kuroda.

Palmer's communication to "The Times" discloses the above news as follows;

The prescribed components of the SUMITSU-IN are a President, a Vice-President, and 12 members, all chosen from the ranks of public men distinguished by the experience or signal service to the State.

Besides the above, the 10 Cabinet Ministers have ex officio seats in the Council, with the right of voting.

Apparently, then, the SUMITSU-IN, though destitute of executive functions, is designed to be no mere figure-head in the councils of the nation.

But, whatever the powers of the SUMITSU-IN may prove to be, there can be little doubt as to the main purposes of its creation.

Japan's rulers are now passing through a period of extraordinary difficulty.

The framing of the constitution under which, a little more than two years hence, Japan is to enjoy a considerable measure of popular representation.

To ease the burden of legislative work and critical scrutiny, leaving the Cabinet freer to carry on its executive duties, is plainly the chief motive that led to the formation of the SUMITSU-IN.

The existence in immediate proximity to the Throne of the shelter of a select and sober consultive body, such as the SUMITSU-IN, will be well calculated to mitigate the difficulties likely to arise from time to time in the days of Japan's Parliamentary infancy.

(5) The recent volcanic explosion in Japan

(From Tokyo on July 28)
(The Times on Sept. 11)

(6) The Bandai-san Eruption

(From Tokyo on Oct. 12)
(The Times on Nov. 24)

Palmer starts the first communication as follows;

At about eight o'clock on the morning of the 15th instant, almost in the twinkling of an eye, and by means of one of those most potent but happily rare manifestations of energy which seem to be our mother Earth's way of assuring us that she is still hearty, Sho-Bandai-san was blown into the air and wiped out of the map of Japan.

A few minutes later its debris had buried or devastated an area about half the size of London.

A dozen or more of upland hamlets had been overwhelmed in the earthen deluge, or wrecked by other phenomena attending the outburst.

Several hundreds of people had met with sudden and terrible death.

Scores of others had been injured; and the long roll of disaster included the destruction of horses and cattle, damming up of rivers, and laying waste of large tracts of rice-land and mulberry groves.

Such were the facts as to the explosion and its results which gradually reached the capital in the course of last week.

With them came thrilling reports of the tremendous sights and sounds that attended the eruption.

It was impossible to sit still in Tokyo while the scene of such a great disaster was within fairly easy reach.

So a small party of explorers was quickly formed.

We went, and we have returned; and the above report will tell something of what we saw in our rapid but most interesting survey.

And, in the "The Bandai-san Eruption" dated October 12, Palmer wrote the particulars of the official report made by Professor Sekiya, a young seismologist, already known to the world and Mr. Kikuchi, a geologist - both of the Imperial University - who had been investigating about the eruption since just after the outburst.

The report was read by Professor Sekiya before the Seismological Society of Japan, in Tokyo.

Palmer concluded the communication stating that

the two experts have embodied, as much as we are ever likely to know of a volcanic manifestation of the first order, investigated under highly favourable circumstances, and full of interest for the student of natural science.

The Lecture on the Eruption of Bandaisan

The Japan Weekly Mail
October 27, 1888

A lecture by Professor Sekiya, of the Tokyo Imperial University, was delivered on October 25 in the Public Hall before a large audience, on the Eruption of Bandaisan.

Major-General Palmer, R.E., presided and introduced Professor Sekiya, who he said was unable by reason of a slight affection of the throat to read the lecture, which duty Professor Burton had kindly undertaken.

After the lecture, Major General Palmer made the speech, gist of which is as follows;

<Professor Sekiya - who has been kind enough to lay before us some of the fruits of the two or three month's hard work lately carried on by himself and his colleagues, in the rough and desolated region about Bandaisan - is in every way a high authority upon the subject, and we have to thank him for a clear, simple and intelligent account of many phenomena hitherto regarded as puzzling and inexplicable.

On one point only there seems to be some outstanding mystery, and that is the origin of the little conical pits found in such profusion in the region round the volcano.

Professor Milne is understood to attribute these to subterranean movements produced by the convulsion.

Professor Sekiya holds, as we have just heard that they were caused by falling stones.

When two such doctors differ, it is hardly likely that any sane man not belonging to the inner circle of the craft will take upon

himself the role of arbiter.

Therefore, you will, I know, agree with me that silence on my part is the best policy.

And, after all, this question of the conical pits is a very small one, compared with those much mightier features of the explosion which are the real foci of ordinary human interest, and which come home with a peculiar and personal interest to us, who have our being on this unstable and highly-heated domain of the earth's crust.

Vastness and suddenness are the two great factors which stand prominent in every narrative of the outburst.

However, we know that the Bandaisan explosion altogether pales before the frightful cataclysm of five years ago which shattered and sunk the island of Krakatoa, and raised sixteen other islands in its place, besides elevating a large area of the ocean floor to the south east of Sumatra into a plain above the waters, and destroying, by tidal waves and otherwise, something like 100,000 people.

But a very special feature of the Bandaisan disaster is that, happening in this land of Japan, which has no equal as a field for the practical study of seismology, nor any rival in its school of experts, the catastrophe had no sooner taken place than a band of highly competent explorers was sent to the spot, to study and report upon it.

Probably no volcanic manifestation of the first order has ever been so carefully and systematically investigated as this one, and we must all feel grateful to Professor Sekiya, the leader of the expedition, for giving us an opportunity of hearing the highly interesting results of his researches, as just now kindly read to us by Professor Burton.>

Professor Burton afterwards, showed by the lantern a variety of photographic views which he took at the scene of the eruption.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

(7) The Shrines of Ise, in Japan

(From Tokyo on Nov. 6)
(The Times on Dec. 27)

From the end of October to the first part of November, Palmer visited Ise from Kyoto and reported in this communication as follows;

From Kyoto, a dozen hours of travel by railway and steamboat bring you to the little haven of Kamiyashiro, which does duty as the port of Yamada, headquarters of the Shinto faith, and a goodly town of the province of Ise.

In Yamada and its neighbourhood you come face to face with the two most famous and hallowed shrines of the oldest religious systems in the world.

These <two great divine palaces> as they are called, have been for ages the centre and stronghold of the early Shinto faith, and their

history runs far back into the mists of time.

On the border of the town is the GEKU, or outer palace, dating from the year 478 of our era.

The NAIKU, or inner palace, three miles beyond, was established no fewer than 1,892 years ago, and within it is hidden the original sacred mirror, said to have been forged out of metal from heavenly mines, and bestowed by the Sun Goddess herself on her adopted grandson, the founder of the Japanese Imperial dynasty.

Chief of all holy places in the Empire, the Ise shrines are to the Shinto believers of this realm what Mecca is to the Moslems or Jerusalem to the Christian Greeks.

Shinto - the name given to the ancient religious belief of the Japanese, before Confucian philosophy and Buddhism came upon the scene - means <the way of the gods>.

But it is a cult rather than a religion as commonly understood; its deities are for the most part terrestrial; and it has its roots in the remotest depths of Japanese mythology, which, as disinterred from old records and commentaries by the scholarly labours of Messrs. Satow and Chamberlain, may, for present purposes, be briefly outlined thus;

Then, Palmer starts to explain the chief canons and articles of the Shinto cult on the basis of the laborious work of the above two scholars, and he reported as follows;

Simple and unadorned as the Shinto faith itself, and exhaling a like odour of antiquity, are the <Two great divine palaces> of Ise.

At the GEKU and NAIKU you find no such splendour - no wealth of colour, ornaments or carving, no elaborate gateways, or gorgeous altars, no pompous ceremonials, no images or objects exposed for veneration, no grandeur of form, or cunning workmanship, no sacrifices hardly any symbols.

On the contrary, there reigns supreme in every detail the rigid, almost rude simplicity of the purest and humblest Shinto style.

Palmer concludes this communication after writing as follows;

Such, in their history and impressive plainness which have surely left some marks, when you come to think of it, on the annals and temperament of the Japanese race - are the leading externals and other characteristics of the <two great divine palaces> of the Shinto faith.

These teach us that antiquity, simplicity, and purity are the key notes of Shinto in all its phases, as far as exemplified at its head-quarters in Ise.

Could any loftier ideals be devised for fostering those genuine and soul stirring emotions which are aimed at in the fabrics of all religion?

I doubt it.

And I am sure that no man or woman, Christian or otherwise, can come away from Yamada without feeling that a very curious and deep interest attaches itself to those strange groups of homely buildings, breathing the flavour of age, decay, and repose, and bringing you into touch with the earliest days of the oldest faith of this interesting people.

- 1888- 1-14 Palmer submitted the plan for Tokyo Waterworks.
- 2- 1 Prime Minister, Hirobumi Ito who also held the portfolio for Foreign Affairs was released and Shigenobu Okuma was appointed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.
- 4-23 Okuma, Minister for Foreign Affairs, submitted a petition to the Cabinet to materialize the renovation of Yokohama Harbour.
- 25 Organization for City, Town and Village promulgated.
- 30 Kuroda Cabinet formed.
- 9- 6 Palmer submitted the plan for Yokohama Harbourworks.
- 11- 6 Palmer submitted the revised plan for Tokyo Waterworks.
- 26 Okuma handed his new proposal for Treaty Revision and his written manifesto to German Charge d'affaire. He is scheduled to hand the same to U.S.A., England, France, Russia, Austria and Italy within the year.

(VIII) 1889 (The 22nd Year of Meiji)

(1) The Birthday of a Constitution

(From Tokyo on Feb. 12)
(The Times on Mar. 22)

(2) The Birthday of a Constitution

(From Tokyo on Feb. 15)
(The Times on Apr. 3)

February 11th was the Anniversary of the birth of Emperor Jimmu, the Sovereign from whom sprang the oldest of the world's dynasties, so the day was chosen as an auspicious day, on which the first Monarch's descendant, the Emperor Mutsuhito might fitly ratify his Imperial vow and proclaim and give the new Constitution to his subjects.

Palmer was invited to participate in the rituals of promulgation, pageant, Imperial entertainments as well as the military review.

In the first communication, he explained in detail

the features of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, the Law of Imperial House, Imperial Ordinance for House of Peers, the Law of election for the members of the House of the Representatives, and Parliamentary Law.

In the second communication, he depicted the progress of the bright pageantry which brilliantly developed on the street by the masses and the rituals of the grant of the Constitution by the Emperor in the Noble Throne Room in the Palace.

Next, he described the spectacle of the review on a large scale which some 14,000 of all arms were inspected by the Emperor.

And, moreover, he depicted the progress of the Imperial entertainments which lasted until late midnight together with the ceremonial music with the dances of Kumenomai and Taiheiraku.

Further, "The Times" introduced Palmer's first communication in its leader dated March 23.

(3) The Treaty Drama in Japan

(From Tokyo on Mar. 11)
(The Times on Apr. 19)
(Its leader on Apr. 19)

Palmer, in this communication, reported the details of the terms of treaty revision which Okuma, newly appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs adopted in order to negotiate separately with each of the Treaty Powers instead of the policy of the round-table conference which Inouye, former Minister for Foreign Affairs had adopted and that, he reported the concrete details of the terms which were preserved to be diplomatic secrecy.

Palmer judged that all the necessary conditions have become complete, thanks to the smooth development of the negotiations because of Okuma's reasonable proposals for the treaty revision subsequent to his superior diplomatic tact, and he expected a speedy correspondence of British Government to the Japanese proposals.

Even when Count Okuma was the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Japanese Government, Palmer continued his activities of sending communications to The Times as its Tokyo Correspondent which was started in accordance with the request by Kaoru Inouye, then the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

At that time, the credibility of the communications from Japan was often talked about and earnest endeavours were done in search of the real author.

However, behind this enigma, there was a story that Japanese Foreign Minister entrusted Palmer to continually play some part in sending communications with pro-Japanese criticism in order to bring about the favourable treaty revision.

March 11, on which date, the above communication was sent to the Times, was just after the Japanese Government had signed the treaty with the United States

of America and Count Okuma began to become confident of the development of the negotiations.

Driving forward the negotiations with England which was keeping a very obstinate attitude against the conclusion of the treaties on one hand, he judged that it would be advisable to move the British public opinion by sending communications to the Times disclosing the contents of the new scheme of treaty revision.

The Times leader dated April 19, introduced the contents of the Okuma scheme of the Treaty Revision as follows;

The precise terms of the Treaty with the United States have not yet been made public; but our Correspondent enunciates the broad principles on which the Japanese Government is prepared to enter into negotiations with the several Powers for the abolition of their extra territorial privileges.

In our judgement these proposals are perfectly reasonable in substance.

At any rate, there is nothing to prevent their being made the basis of friendly negotiation with a Power which has given and is giving such proofs as Japan of its capacity to March abreast with the movement of Western civilization.

In comparison with the substantial advantages which Japan now offers, and which the United States have so promptly and so eagerly seized, the privileges of extra territoriality, to which in common with the other European Powers this country seems unwisely disposed to cling, are an absurdity and an anachronism.

They might have been defensible and even expedient when Japan was little known and therefore little trusted.

In existing circumstances, they are little short of an insult to Japan, as well as a serious hindrance.

"The Times" leader was translated into Japanese and appeared in the "Nippon" from May 31 to June 2 for three days successively.

The tenor of the article was pro-Japanese as previously mentioned, and the negotiations for the treaty revision have so far been developing very smoothly under Okuma's initiatives and public expectations started to be raised to a high pitch.

However, it was quite a pity that, when the contents of the OKUMA scheme was definitely disclosed, serious political issue started.

It was because his scheme, to the disappointment of public opinion, was found to be fundamentally similar to the Inouye scheme and because the provisions of the new treaties fell short of that degree of equal treatment which the country had a right to expect.

An appreciable antagonism against Okuma scheme arose with the main following reasons;

- (1) It approved the appointment of the foreign Judges as per the text "A number of competent foreign Judges shall be appointed to sit with Japanese Judges in the Supreme Court of Japan, which

has appellate jurisdiction in all cases involving interests or penalties of 100 dollars or upwards; such foreign Judges shall be in a majority in all cases where foreigners are concerned."

- (2) It pre-contracted to the Treaty Powers the following; "The new codes which are modelled after the best European systems shall have been duly compiled and promulgated and put into force 3 years before the expiry of the time limit, therein denoted for the abolition of the treaty-port system, and that authorized English translation shall be published a year and a half before the said time of expiry."

Although, at first, the negotiations were going on smoothly on the basis of the Okuma scheme after obtaining the full understanding among the Government quarters as an excellent compromise plan agreeing with the customs of Japan.

After a while, some strong dissenting voices were raised even inside the very Government circles, and the situations have become struck in the mud.

Just like the fire in which when it starts in the pivot, even with small piece of charcoal to make a fire it goes up and the flames spread successively, the opposition to the Okuma scheme has developed to the question in favour of the suspension of the very negotiations and finally obstructed Okuma to keep going his way.

Irrespective of such an unfavourable circumstances, on October 17, when Count Okuma, who stoutly continued to proceed the negotiations with the treaty Powers, on his way back from a Cabinet Conference, was aimed a hand-bomb at his body and he was severely injured.

And the long-pending question of the autonomy of both jurisdiction and Tariff which were nearly coming to a close, was again compelled to make a fresh start.

Since the fact that Palmer, who holds the post of Tokyo Correspondent of The Times in addition, and moreover that his activities as the Tokyo Correspondent have been closely connected with Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs was clarified, it is assumed that, in regard to his communication dated March 11, from Tokyo titled "The Treaty Drama in Japan" which eventually has become the origin of sudden breakdown of Okuma scheme, there might be some other story behind which was quite different from the leakage business of the news by Tokyo Correspondent, as hitherto told.

(4) England's position in Japan

(From Tokyo on June 30)
(The Times on Aug. 5)

In this communication, Palmer writes on the conclusion of Japan-Germany Revised Treaty as follows;

In view of the strong public feeling on the treaty revision which

has prevailed in Japan for some years past, since the failure of the Conference of 1886/7, it is not surprising that the recent news was greeted by the people and the newspapers with unmixed approval, congratulation, and joy.

With a unanimity rarely observed on subjects of great national importance, the whole vernacular Press joined in a chorus of gratitude on behalf of the Japanese people for Germany's timely recognition of Japan's claims.

Count Okuma at the same time comes in for warm praise on account of his bold and sagacious statesmanship; while the terms of the new treaty, for the first time made publicly known through your columns by my letter already referred to, are generally welcomed, being recognized as a marked improvement on the former proposals more consistent with the country's indignity, and less submissive in spirit and fact.

On reading the above, we are able to guess that, at this moment, the outcries of Japanese people against the negotiation for the treaty revision under Okuma scheme which had spread throughout whole country like wildfire, had not yet come up to the surface.

(5) Japanese Polo

(From Tokyo on May 8)
(The Times on June 22)

This communication was sent to "The Times" after Palmer actually saw the contests several times, viz.,

- (1) "Dakiu", the Japanese polo which was performed at the entertainment given by Prince Kita-Shirakawa for welcoming Princes Albert Victor and George, grandsons of Queen Victoria on October 27, 1881.
- (2) "Dakiu-raku," one of the Japanese dances of olden days (Gagaku) that was performed on February 11, 1889 at the Imperial Palace.
- (3) "Japanese Dakiu" which was played at "Japanese Polo Club" in Tokyo on May 5, 1889 which Palmer saw the real match, and on this basis he wrote the particulars of its origin, history and detailed rules of the play.

(6) Cormorant Fishing in Japan

(From Tokyo on Jul. 17)
(The Times on Aug. 21)

In this communication, Palmer described in detail on one of the oldest extant forms of piscatory craft.

For your reference, G.H. Chamberlain quoted the excerpt of this communication in his book, "Things Japanese."

About this time, Palmer, as previously mentioned, was appointed to the superintendent of Yokohama

Harbourworks, and at the same time, met with the violent resistance from the official quarters in the Public Work Office of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

However, we understand that Palmer had enough room in his mind to go and see the fishing in Nagaragawa.

(7) The attempted assassination of the Japanese Foreign Minister

(From Tokyo on Oct. 21)
(The Times on Nov. 28)

This communication is the detailed report on the incident on October 18, 1889 as stated previously.

(8) The Shinto Festival of Ise, in Japan

(From Tokyo on Oct. 22)
(The Times on Dec. 5)

In this communication, Palmer minutely reported the SENGYO ceremony with the following opening sentences:

If it be worth while - and few will deny that it is so - to seize fleeting opportunities as are still now and then permitted to us of photographing the old ways and ceremonies of the interesting land first introduced to Western ken by Marco Polo, six centuries ago, under the name of ZIPANGU, then, assuredly, the subject of this letter may well enough claim a hearing in the columns of The Times.

My story today is of an old-time spectacle appertaining to Shinto, at once the primitive, yet still living and ruling faith of the Japanese people and one of the most ancient religious systems in the world.

To this it may be added that, as the ceremonies which I shall describe take place but once in 20 years, and as no alien was present at these ceremonies, in 1869, nor any but myself on the occasion lately ended, the writer of these lines is, and must in the nature of things be for 20 years to come, the sole foreign eye-witness, living or dead, of the great festival of Ise, which is by far the chief and most rare of all its kind in Japan.

Readers of my letter on the Shrines of Ise in The Times of the 27th of last December may remember that, in a tolerably full account of the temples and matters relating to them, I pointed out that the hoary antiquity of those hallowed seats of worship is the antiquity of type and of establishment, not of the fabric themselves.

I showed that, being built only of plain spruce and thatch, exactly after the primitive fashion of the buildings that prevailed in Japan before the birth of Christ, the two great shrines at Yamada, namely, the Naiku, dedicated to the Sun Goddess, who is regarded as the ancestress of the Imperial line, and the Geku, dedicated to the Goddess of Earth, suffer impairment so rapidly in the damp and variable climate of Japan that it has been the

practice for the last 12 centuries to renew them every twentieth year.

I dwelt upon the extraordinary care that has been taken on all such occasions to preserve the ancient style most faithfully in every detail, so that each successive group of structures should be an accurate copy of the last.

I further explained that, instead of pulling down one set of fabrics and building another in its place, the Japanese plan for each temple is to have two precisely similar sites, contiguous to one another and, alternately occupied, the old set not being dismantled until its counterpart is finished and made ready to become the new home of the venerated emblem of the deity, in which latter, be it what it may, is incorporated and centred the sacredness of every Shinto shrine in the empire.

After writing the above, Palmer minutely reports the progress of the SENGYO (the removal of the Shrines).

(9) Affairs in Japan

(From Tokyo on Oct. 28)
(The Times on Dec. 27)

The gist of the communications is as follows;

Notwithstanding the cordial welcome with which the acceptance, first by America and then by Germany, of Count Okuma's new scheme of treaty revision was greeted by the nation at large, thorns sown since that time in the path of the Government by a few agitations, at first perhaps for purely party purposes, have grown into what now threatens to become a barrier of ugly and somewhat unmanageable dimensions.

It must, of course, seem at first surprising, and even unintelligible, that there should really have arisen in Japan itself any appreciable antagonism to the very excellent treaty programme which was set on foot by the Emperor's negotiators ten months ago, and which has already reached a stage, as far as the Western Powers are concerned, within sight of early and happy achievement.

The real bugbear is that the provisions of the new treaties fall short of that degree of equal treatment which the country has a right to expect.

That such a cry, once raised, should run like wildfire among this proud and excitable people is a matter less of surprise than of regret to those who know them best.

The occasion, nevertheless, furnishes an interesting illustration, not only of the extraordinary rapidity with which the force of public opinion is at this epoch making head in Japan, but of the untoward issues that were only to be expected from the endless wrangles and delays which have beset the whole weary question of the treaties.

It is not too much to say that the programme now being cavilled at would have been passed with acclamation two years ago.

There is the power of public opinion, growing daily in scope and strength.

No longer have foreign diplomatists a handful of Ministers only to

deal with.

Every one can understand that the spectacle of an alien Judge administering Japanese Law from the Japanese bench, in respect of Japanese subjects, and in the name of the Japanese Emperor, is little likely to be welcome to a proud and sensitive race, even though they know that it is but a temporary sacrifice in exchange for which their country acquires concessions of such vastly greater weight as an unfettered tariff and judicial autonomy.

The second class of dissentients comprises those who apparently will be content with nothing less than absolute unfettered equality in the country's foreign relations.

And of the ideas of this party are rather chimerical than practical, they at least furnish an interesting index of the mood that has grown out of long delay, long pondering, and perhaps some knowledge of that which in the game of poker is called <bluffing>.

As to the course the Government will take in respect of the treaty question, there is room for much interesting speculation.

Diplomatists, it is to be hoped, would succeed in finding some exit from the situation.

At least they would not fail to weigh well the new facts and aspects of the case, and to consider whether inflexibility on a point that has proved to be so hurtful to Japanese pride could not be made to give place to some expedient, which, while removing the sting of encroachment on the nation's sovereignty would at the same time embody all necessary safeguards for the administration of justice where foreigners and their interests are concerned.

The year 1889 drew to a close, in the dizzy bustle of life, such as the downfall of Count Okuma, and the subsequent reshuffle of the Cabinet.

The problem of treaty revision has now been disfigured to a domestic problem carried in the distribution of political influences which originated from the party interests and politics, not any longer the simple diplomatic problem to be able to reach the conclusion of the equal treaty in exchange for some suitable conditions.

In "The Times" dated December 28, there appeared the article titled "The treaty Negotiations with Japan, the Other Side" which was written by a certain correspondent in England.

The article was written in a completely opposite standpoint to that of Palmer, and utterly backing up the interests of the resident British merchants, stressed that, under the present circumstances, England should not hand over the jurisdiction to say nothing of the autonomy of the Tariff to Japan.

However, when the time comes they will be quite ready to return without any guarantees and praised the British Foreign Policy so far adopted.

1889- 2-11 The Promulgation of the Constitution
of the Imperial Japan.

27 Palmer's design for Yokohama

Harbourworks adopted by the Government.

- 3-31 Palmer submitted the Plan for Yokohama Dock Company.
- 10-18 Foreign Minister Count Okuma was attacked by a terrorist and severely wounded.
- 25 Prince Sanjo, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was ordered to take a concurrent post of the Premier.
- 12-10 Cabinet meeting decided to postpone the negotiations for the Treaty Revision.
- 21 Palmer submitted the revised plan for Yokohama Dock Company.
- 24 A. Yamagata was appointed to the Premier of the Cabinet and S. Aoki, Vice Foreign Minister was appointed to be the Foreign Minister. (The first Yamagata Cabinet organized)

(IX) 1890 (The 23rd Year of Meiji)

(1) The Reconstruction of the Japanese Cabinet

(From Tokyo on Jan. 11)
(The Times on Mar. 1)

This communication is the report introducing the new members of the First Yamagata Cabinet which was organized on December, 1889, as well as the change of the Japanese politics accompanying it.

The gist of the communication is as follows:

It cannot, however, be too clearly laid down that the failure of Count Okuma's scheme of revision is due in a vastly greater degree to the strife and friction of Japanese political parties than to any demerits, real, or fancied, in the scheme itself.

The proposal to appoint four or five alien Judges to administer Japanese laws from the Japanese bench, which was made the stalking horse of the recent agitation, can at best be regarded as an alternative necessitated by the exigencies of the case, as the most practicable means to exit from a situation daily becoming more impossible as the date of the operation of Japanese new Constitution rapidly draws near.

The point is that this expedient would certainly have passed unheeded, or, at least, have been acquiesced in without demur by the public of Japan, if the unwary exultation of the Kaishinto had not lashed their rivals into a fever of opposition, and called forth that torrent of angry and exasperated declamation, seasoned

with inflammatory appeals to the peoples' pride, on which, and not because of any lack of merit in itself, this fourth attempt to solve the terrible problem of the treaties has come to grief after a year of struggle.

It is not too much to say that, in the calmer mood of a twelve month ago, the very measure now overwhelmed in the strife of parties would have been accepted gratefully by the mass of the people.

The Foreign Office falls to Viscount Aoki, formerly Envoy to Berlin, and for some years past Vice-Minister of the Department, under the leadership, successively of Counts Inouye, and Okuma.

The country has yet to learn the qualities as a statesman of the Minister who now consents to step into the breach where two such capable men have fallen.

But it is certain that he brings to his new post a wide experience of Japan's foreign relations, especially in the matter of the treaties, together with a liberal and cosmopolitan breadth of view, and that no one is more keenly alive than himself to the dominant weight of English interests in Japan, and to the enormous importance to his Government of Great Britain's friendship.

Meanwhile, there is nothing in recent events and changes to shake the opinion on which I ventured a few weeks ago, namely, that, while neither assenting, on the one hand, to an indefinite postponement of the negotiations, nor, on the other hand, attempting to preserve with Count Okuma's programme, in the teeth of opposition at home and abroad, the Government will take the middle course of once more essaying a settlement of the problem by some such modifications of the recent proposals as shall tend to satisfy foreign scruples without offending the susceptibilities of the people.

The following day, that is, on January 12, Palmer left for England for the purpose of contracting to purchase the necessary machinery and tools required for the Harbourworks and returned to Yokohama on May 25.

He did not send any communication on the treaty revision for two and half years after the one dated January 11, 1890.

Close relations like those between Palmer and ex-Foreign Ministers, Count Inouye, and Okuma, do not seem to have been handed over to the new Foreign Minister, Viscount Aoki.

(2) Japanese Ways

(From Tokyo on Sept. 21)

(The Times on Nov. 22)

While Palmer was fully occupied with the Harbourworks in Yokohama after he returned from England, he sent this communication to The Times.

The gist of which is as follows:

It might be a curious subject for inquiry whether, as there are personal equations among star observers, so there may be personal

equations among nations, equations appertaining, that is to say, to everyday ways of doing the same everyday things which prevail among the world's different peoples, as the result, not of the special circumstances under which they live or have lived, but of independent mental bent.

If such an investigation should be now undertaken, it is certain that the personal equations of the Japanese vis-a-vis the Western and indeed, all other races would be found to be a very appreciable quantity.

Japanese ways are in many respects unique.

Hereunder, several examples;

- (1) The carpenter planes and saws towards instead of from him, the wrong way as we should say, yet this feats of planing are extraordinary.
- (2) At games of cards the dealer deals to the right, and the play goes round in the same direction.
- (3) Horses are mounted from the right side, where also are all the harness fastenings.
- (4) The sail cloths in Japanese crafts are vertical instead of horizontal, and laced instead of sewn.

After referring many other points, he writes as follows;

Lastly, who of us that live here has not had experience of what I have heard described as the Japanese habit of saying Yes when they ought to say NO?

You ask your guest, <Will you not take some more wine?> or say to your friend in the street, interrogatively, <I suppose there will be no more rain today?>

In both cases he answers in the affirmative.

He will not take more wine, and he agrees with you about the weather prospects.

The Englishman, in both cases, would say NO.

The question is, which is correct?

That, too, is the question which suggests itself in respect of many of the idiosyncrasies here grouped together under the name of Japanese ways.

In the difficulty of answering it, one is tempted to wish that there were some standard nation, like the ambidexterous man of the story, from which, as a datum, the personal equations of the rest might be ascertained.

It might then be possible to establish conclusively that certian things ought to be done only in certain ways, and to say - what no one can say now - who is right and who wrong.

The foundation of the Western faith in such matters are rudely shaken by what we saw and know of the Japanese.

Accustomed to our own ways, we are apt to speak lightly of Japanese ways as wrong.

But the Japanese say the very same about us.

As Mr. Chamberlain tells us in the interesting book entitled Things Japanese, which he has lately published, many of our ways are the

ways of topsy-turvydom in the eyes of this country's people.

In what respects, among those here cited, we or they have the better of the argument each reader of The Times may judge for himself from the fore-going epitome of the most conspicuous of their so-called peculiarities.

Possibly some scientist of the future may succeed in throwing light on the subject, and be able to find out the causes of differences which are too great and invariable to be the results of mere accident.

(3) The Birthday of Japan's First Parliament

(From Tokyo on Nov. 30)
(The Times on Jan.6, 1891)

On November 25, the First National Diet in Japan was summoned and on the 30th, with the ceremonial opening by His Majesty of the first Japanese Diet, the Constitution became an accomplished fact.

Palmer was invited for this occasion and stated in this communication explaining first, about the constituents of the House of Representatives as well as the House of Peers, next, touching upon the structures of the Parliamentary buildings, and finally conveying the attendance of His Majesty to the Diet in detail and wrote as follows:

Not even the sagest student of the national thought and character could venture to forecast with any confidence at this epoch, the issue of the momentous plunge that Japan has now taken, after more than two decades of preparation.

For the present her friends can only hope the best of her.

To judge from the past, there certainly seems to be ground for hope.

Nothing has so puzzled even the men who best know Japan as the way in which, despite the worst fears and prognostications, she has conquered, one after another, by some qualities wholly inscrutable to Western minds, difficulties that might well have brought an ordinary country to grief.

Most of the rulers and counsellors who have led her up to her present stage are still to the fore in the fabric of the Government, and their influence and experience can hardly fail, for some time to come, to have an effect on the conduct of the national affair.

1890- 2-28 S. Aoki, Japanese Foreign Minister
submitted to the Foreign Representatives
of Treaty Powers staying in Tokyo, the
memorandum on the revision of the treaties.

4- 4 The construction of Yokohama Harbour
started.

11-25 The First National Diet of Japan summoned.

(X) 1891 (The 24th Year of Meiji)

(1) The Death and Burial of a Great Japanese Noble

(From Tokyo -on Feb. 26)

(The Times -on Mar. 30)

A great Japanese Noble quoted here is Prince Sanetomi Sanjo, who died on February 18, with influenza, complicated with the inflammation of lungs.

As the late Prince Sanjo is an exalted member of the proud and ancient order of KUGE, an order almost comparable in antiquity with the Japanese Throne itself, from which, indeed, its members are directly sprung.

Palmer, first explained, about the set-up of Japanese aristocracy and then reported as follows:

Emperor's confidence in Prince Sanjo was almost unbounded, and was attested in an emphatic and touching manner at his dying servant's bedside.

Learning, on the 18th instant, that the Prince's case was hopeless, the Emperor hastened to his residence, and personally conferred on him the highest rank attainable by a Japanese subject, accompanying the bestowal with the following words which were uttered in a voice broken by emotion and sorrow;

<In the early years of my reign while I was yet a youth, you were my chief aid.

It was you who, not shrinking from a post of weighty responsibility, lent me assistance so constant, so steady, and so true that you were to me as a teacher and a parent.

Never, from first to last, did you falter or fail in the discharge of your large trust.

Your services are a model for all subjects of our time.

In recognition of your noble fidelity, I confer on you the First Class of the First Rank.>

Palmer wrote on the funeral as follows;

The State funeral of the lamented Noble, which took place yesterday, was conducted, as far as the set ceremonial went, in strict accordance with the simple and ancient rites of pure Shintoism.

White is the prevailing colour at Shinto funerals-white wood for coffin and bier, white robes for priests, deacons and bearers, white crape garments for the sorrowing womankind who follow.

Pomp and pageantry are conspicuously absent, no matter how great be the dead man's rank and fame.

(2) Parliamentary Procedures in Japan

(From Tokyo on Apr. 29)

(The Times on Jul. 11)

It is, no doubt, safe to say that of all that Japan has done and undone during the process of being born again which she has undergone during the past 25 years, and still undergoing, the feature of chief interest for Western minds is her recent adoption

of representative institutions.

The birth of the first Oriental Parliament would be, under any circumstances, a landmark in history.

In succession, Palmer explains minutely;

- (1) The structures of the diet buildings.
- (2) The laws of the House and Rules of Procedure.
- (3) System of debate and discussion.
- (4) Competency and faculty of the congressmen.
- (5) Behaviour and manners of the Congressmen.

and concludes this communication as follows;

It will be gathered, moreover, that the framers of Japan's Constitution, with the world's successes and failures as their guides, have aimed at elaborating a system combining the liberty proper to Parliamentary institutions with due safeguards against licence.

They have borrowed from the fabrics of the European Continent, the United States, and England, adapting what they borrowed to existing conditions in Japan.

There is no slavish copying of any one model, and scarcely anything has been adopted without modification.

From England was inhaled the spirit of liberty which permeates the whole, while the Sectional division of the Chambers was inspired by examples from the Continent, and the Committee system embodies the best features of the United States' practice.

It remains to be seen what measure of final success will attend these efforts to strike a happy mean, with special adaptation to the country's circumstances and to the capacity and character of its representatives.

(3) Parliamentary Reporting in Japan

(From Tokyo on May 16)

(The Times on Sept. 1)

This communication is the supplement of "Parliamentary Procedure in Japan" and Palmer, as is usual with him, minutely reports the success story after many years of hardship of MINAMOTO system of Stenography to be applied to an Oriental language for the first time in history.

The gist of Palmer's report is as follows;

Mr. Kentaro Kaneko, the Secretary of Privy Council returned from Europe studying the parliamentary procedures and his enquiries had led him to favour very strongly the adoption, if possible, of official shorthand reporting for the proceedings in the Japanese Diet.

The great point to be determined was whether the system already existing could be safely resorted to.

With this object he gathered together at his house, about a dozen of Minamoto's disciples and tested their capacity to record accurately from his own lips a lecture on his Western travels.

The result of two such evenings of trial was a genuine triumph, leading later to the assemblage of a sufficient staff for the Diet's work, and to the elaboration of an organized system of reporting.

Thus the labours of Minamoto and his little band were at last to bring forth fruit and reap reward.

Mr. Kaneko could now produce the system and the men, and the Government, advised by him, adopted the principle of official verbatim reporting and established a stenographic Bureau.

As a result, the proceedings, day by day, of each House of the Diet, all through the session, appeared in print in the Official Gazette at six o'clock the next morning; and with such fidelity were the speeches reproduced that many a country member is said to have been fairly aghast at finding his very provincialism literally taken down, and published in the enduring pages of the Government journal.

Palmer concludes this communication as follows:

Such is the story of an undertaking long thought to be hopeless—begun in drudgery and privation, achieved only to meet at first with the poorest recognition, but at length crowned with a measure of success so great as to have placed Japan in the enviable position of being able to stereotype the utterance of her earliest parliamentary legislators from the first hour of their very first assemblage.

It is also said by scholars that the new stenography bids fair to confer an inestimable blessing on Japan, by bridging the gulf which now separates the written language from the spoken language.

Meantime its author, the sturdy Minamoto will take neither office nor reward.

He is a Japanese of the old school.

He worked for his country and for a cause; he succeeded; and that, for him, is enough.

Now, "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" translated these two communications into Japanese and printed them on November 26 and 27 and stated as follows:

I (the editor of the journal) know very well, with thanks, the fact that Major General Palmer has been kind enough to have sent various instructive communications to The Times which is called the king of the Newspaper circles in the world, as its Tokyo Correspondent, with the pen which is both of fluent and flowery touch, regarding the current events of our country with the purpose of informing European peoples of the actual position of New Japan.

As he sent this time the exact and detailed communication on the parliamentary Procedure and Reporting of the Diet just started in Japan, we herein translated the gist of the communications into Japanese so that our readers may be able to know how the Japanese Diet just started in Japan effected in the mind of this talented

foreign guest.

(4) The Attack on the Czarevitch in Japan

(From Tokyo on May 15)
(The Times on Jun. 13)

(5) The Departure of Czarevitch from Japan

(From Tokyo on May 27)
(The Times Not printed)

The following incident occurred on May 11, 1891, viz., the Crown Prince Nicholai of Russia was attacked by Sanzo Tsuda, a policeman on the street duty, but fortunately was injured slightly.

In this communication, Palmer reported in detail the incident, which shuddered Japan and reduced Japanese Diplomacy to Russia and European countries to extremity, from its outbreak until the departure of the Crown Prince from Japan.

"The Choya Shimbun" dated August 6, reports in the article titled "The Accident of the Russian Crown Prince" as follows;

The Tokyo Correspondent of The Times reported on May 15 in details on the accident which occurred in the body of the Russian Crown Prince.

As this communication conveys only the real position true to the accident all through, European peoples, on reading this, will fully be able to grasp the real position as to the feeling of Japanese people to Russia and other foreign countries.

And the writer would like to hereby respectfully give his hearty thanks on behalf of our country to the Tokyo Correspondent for his detailed and accurate communication which he sent to The Times.

(6) The Flower Art of the Japanese

(From Tokyo on Oct. 3)
(The Times on April 19 1892)

Palmer sent this communication after he read the newly published book written by Josiah Conder titled "A Theory of Japanese Flower Arrangement," the gist of which is as follows;

Of the national love for floral beauties, as manifested in the national customs and art no one having any knowledge of this country can fail to be well aware.

Rich from ancient times in a fine art instinct, the Japanese have always loved flowers, and spared no pains to cultivate them.

With nearly every month and every national festival are identified the chief flowers and flowering shrubs and trees of the season.

Flower-viewing excursions to the displays of plum and cherry

blossoms, wistaria, peony, lotus, chrysanthemums, and other floral delights, that are to be found in and about all of the principal cities, rank among the best-loved of Japanese holiday pastimes.

But that the flower charm which thus pervades the national life had found a deeper and more refined expression in the development - during the last four or five centuries especially - of a highly artistic cult of flower arrangement was a fact till lately unknown, or at least known only to residents in Japan and a few amateurs of her art abroad.

Though we could, and did, admire enthusiastically the matchless charm of the finished work, the details and principles of the art that produced it were a dark and seemingly hopeless mystery.

At length Mr. Conder approached the problem, bringing to his task, besides the necessary qualification of a sound knowledge of Japanese, considerable artistic qualities on his own part.

A paper on the "Theory of Japanese Flower Arrangement" read before the Asiatic Society of Japan in October, 1889, was the first fruit of his researches and that has now been elaborated into the very thorough and attractive quarto volume, rich with illustrations, to which I devote this letter.

He is its sole foreign apostle and expounder.

The origin of the cult is apparently religious, its first teachers in this country having been the priests who introduced Buddhism from China in the sixth century.

Underlying it, moreover, is the Buddhist doctrine of the economy of life.

By the Japanese, who are deeply imbued with that doctrine, flowers and plants, as living things, are held to deserve the treatment due to sentient objects.

It being the Japanese conception of flowers that they are to be regarded and treated as living things, not merely the blossoms but all the characteristics of the plant or tree producing them are lovingly studied by the flower art of Japan.

The broad and inevitable conclusion from Mr. Conder's revelations which most directly concerns the people of the Occident is that in the whole cult and poetry of domestic floral arrangement Japan is head and shoulders above the rest of the world.

A Japanese critic has well said of Mr. Conder's book that in treating an art subject its author has himself given us a work of art.

Founded as it is on the principle of fidelity to nature, the flower art of the Japanese can never die, but, rather, is assuredly destined to serve as a model for other countries.

It would also inculcate the close study of flowers and their ways, the love of nature and art, and perhaps even some of the higher tributes that are claimed for devotees of the floral cult in Japan.

<A religious spirit,> Mr. Conder tells us, <self-denial, gentleness, and forgetfulness of cares are among the virtues of the art of arranging flowers>.

(7) The Great Japanese Earthquake

(From Tokyo on Nov. 7)
(The Times on Dec. 2)

Palmer hurried to the spot within seven days after the calamity and reported minutely to The Times on November 7, the gist of which is as follows:

Ten days ago, the whole of Central Japan was convulsed by an earthquake of very uncommon severity.

The particulars of the phenomenon of its potency and far reaching effects, are gradually coming to light, and enough is now known to make it only too clear that the catastrophe of the 28th must be ranked as one of the most terrible seismic records.

No fewer than 31 provinces of Japan were more or less violently agitated.

In other words, the earth's crust was similarly shaken for several minutes together over an area equal to that of England.

Roughly speaking, the area of maximum disaster measures 25 miles from North to South by 20 miles from East to West, and contained in the provinces of Mino and Owari, the whole of which suffered more or less cruelly by the catastrophe.

To sum up the whole fruits of this latest manifestations of the earth's plutonic energy, the figures thus far arrived at show that fully 8,000 people have perished by horrible deaths, the wounded numbering about 10,000; and that, to 84,000 houses demolished by the earthquake, must be added 5,000 afterwards destroyed by fire, and at least 20,000 reduced to various states of dilapidation.

More than 300,000 people have been suddenly rendered homeless, and to many of these the calamity means for the time at least, virtual destitution.

Palmer, on the spot, after having collected as much data as possible with his peculiar character of taking things with coolness at an objective view, returned to Tokyo and sent his first communication on the earthquake just nine days after the outbreak to The Times.

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|------------|----|---|
| 1891-March | 3 | Cabinet Meeting decided the policy to achieve the revision of treaties. |
| | 24 | S. Aoki, Minister for Foreign Affairs handed the revised proposal for the Treaty Revision to British Minister in Tokyo. |
| May | 6 | The 1st Matsukata Cabinet organized. |
| | 11 | Russian Crown Prince was attacked at Ohtsu. |
| | 29 | S. Aoki, Minister for Foreign Affairs resigned his post taking responsibility of the Ohtsu Incident. |
| Oct | 28 | Great Earthquake in Mino/Owari district. |

(XI) 1892 (The 25th Year of Meiji)

(1) The Great Japanese Earthquake

(From Tokyo on Feb. 2)
(The Times Not appeared)

This is the report on the earthquake in Mino/Owari district.

Although it did not appear on The Times, it reported on the heavy casualties found after Palmer's first report as well as the causes of the earthquake.

(2) An Incident of Extra-territoriality in Japan

(From Tokyo on Jul. 15)
(The Times on Aug. 26)
(Its Leader on Aug. 27)

Portugal, by the Japan-Portugal Treaty of 1860 had assumed her powers of Consular jurisdiction.

But, the Japanese Government, by the Ordinance dated July 14, 1892, forfeited the extra-territorial immunities conveyed to Portugal with the following reasons;

- (1) the abolishment of the post of Consul General in Japan without informing the Japanese Foreign Office for its reason, and
- (2) subsequent leave of the Consul General from Tokyo without any replacement, were recognized by the Japanese Government as the abandonment of the Consular Jurisdiction.

It is after the lapse of two and half years that Palmer took up again the subject of the unfair Treaty.

The gist of this communication is as follows;

The extra territorial immunities which are enjoyed by the Western Powers under the treaties with Japan provide exemption from the subjects of those Powers from Japanese jurisdiction of every kind, with the one exception that civil cases in which Japanese are defendants are heard in Japanese Courts.

But the treaties which confer these immunities enjoin at the same time - constructively, at least that the Powers thus granted exemption from the territorial jurisdiction shall provide efficient substitutes for the Japanese tribunals and laws.

Each Power is bound to provide and maintain the proper machinery for exercising jurisdiction over its nationals in Japan.

Portugal, it is to be remarked, has been a grievous sinner in this respect.

The Emperor's advisers evidently hold that Portugal, by her failure, after fair warning, to maintain the discharge of the international obligations which she deliberately assumed under the treaty of 1860, has forfeited her title to the immunities conveyed

by that treaty, and has practically abdicated her power of consular jurisdiction.

This communication was introduced in the leader of "The Times" of August 27.

In Japan, "Mainichi Shimbun" dated July 16, reported the news in the article titled "The resident English and Frenchmen in Yokohama started the anti-movement on the above and sent the memorandum to that effect to their own home Governments."

Moreover, "The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun" of the even date reported in its leading article titled "New Example of the abolition of Consular Jurisdiction" that "The affair is truly congratulatory for Japan and hereafter, the Japanese judges should always carry out efficiently both with impartial and fair justice and that the Japanese diplomats should stand firm persistently against the expected strong pressures from the Powers."

The affair that the Japanese Government forfeited the extra-territorial immunities conveyed to Portugal since the treaty of 1860 means that one ring of the chains with which Japan was tightly bound has become out of joint.

At the same time, it is an affair that symbolically forecast the total abolition of the extra territorial immunities conveyed to the rest of the Western Powers.

Another big event is that the commencement ceremony of the Siberian Railway-lines which connect Cheriavinsk, situated on the east side of the Ural Mountains with Vladivostock, was held in May 1891.

This meant that Russia had tried to make head against the advancement of the Western Powers to the Far East and was enough to shake England which so far was quite successful in nearly monopolizing the command of the sea in the Far East.

Hence, England, hitherto, keeping quite negative attitudes towards the revision of Treaties with Japan, was compelled to start to assume the posture to accept the negotiations of the Treaty Revision in order to check the Russian movement, as well, to obtain favourable impression from Japan.

Under the changes of the international circumstances, as above quoted, we can say, on one hand, that Japanese position certainly was improving.

But, on the other hand, domestically, there had accumulated various distortions because the Japanese statesmen had desperately pushed the people to expedite the modernization of Japan.

(3) Political Development in Japan

(From Tokyo on Sept. 24)

(The Times on Nov. 22)

In this communication, Palmer, first of all, states that Europeanization of Japan proceeds apace, though, perhaps with a less headlong rapidity than before, and enumerates some concrete examples on the repletion of so-called infra-structures in Japan as follows;

Railways- Short lines of railway, first, ran in the neighbourhood of the two capitals, Tokyo and Kyoto, and of the Treaty Ports of Kobe and Yokohama, now it is possible to travel by rail within a single day from Tokyo to Kyoto, while over 1,500 miles of the iron road are recorded in the statistical calender.

Tramcars clatter along the streets in the capital.

Gas flames in some of the principal highways, and the electric light is uniformly employed in the public buildings, in many of the residences of Ministers and nobles, in the tea houses which figure so largely in the holiday life of the Japanese gentlemen, and in quite a number of stores and even small shops.

Telephones and telegraphs stretch a web of wires overhead.

Public offices, of showy European architecture and imposing dimensions have almost replaced the long picturesque lines of Yashiki, or fortified city residence of the feudal lords and their sworded retainers, that covered so great an area within the moats.

Next, Palmer depicts on the jurisprudence as follows;

An immense pile of scaffolding, surrounding a space much larger than the Law Courts on the Strand, conceals what will presently be known as the new Ministry and Courts of Justice, where will be dispensed a jurisprudence that has been borrowed, with a truly Japanese eclecticism, from the codes of half the nations of Europe.

Then he writes on the repletion of National Army and Navy, as well as the system of education organized after the fall of feudalism and next on the Parliamentary Constitution which was born after a 20 years' travail and led the birth of the Imperial Diet of Japan, composed of both Houses of Representatives and Peers commenting that

although the level of political intelligence in the Chamber is reasonably high, it does not appear that the level of character or prestige is equally so.

Palmer, then, adds,

It may be said, indeed, that the Parliamentary experiment is being watched by the more stable elements of the community from a suspicious though narrowing distance and that a sense of national obligation to the highest duties of citizenship has not yet been aroused as widely as was hoped.

He further adds,

At the same time, charges of Government nepotism and electoral

tyranny are freely bandied about.

A curious feature in the new Japanese polity, in the midst of a welter of change, is the continued dominion of the old clan system, just as it did before the revolution.

The principal clans, Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen and Tosa, still retain almost unchallenged supremacy, alike in the formation of Cabinets and the distribution of patronage.

The Army, and still more the Navy, which in the background play a very important and a little understood part in the politics of modern Japan, and which are the real mainstay of the Government against the subversive tendencies of Parliamentary majorities of demagogic Radicalism, are mainly officered by men belonging to the principal clans; and it will be long before a system disappears which so many of the hands that pull the strings are united to support.

Ultimately it may perish, as did the influence of the Wing families in England.

Next, Palmer states as follows; in regard to the latest characteristics of Japanese people.

Among the questions which are much discussed alike by foreigners and residents, and about which very contrary opinions are expressed, not merely at different times, but by different writers at the same time, is the general attitude of the Japanese people, and particularly of the rising generation towards foreigners.

It should not be inferred because Japan has recognized that Europe is ahead of herself in many branches of knowledge and resources of civilization, and that she must go to Germany for her guns, to France for her law, to England for her railways that she is, therefore, an indiscriminate admirer of that which she imitates or that the Western man is an idol in her social pantheon.

On the contrary, the more she has assimilated European excellencies the more critical she has become of European defects; whilst at times the precipitate rapidity of her own advance has produced a reactionary wave, which occasionally assumes serious proportions.

The existence of such a feeling is by no means surprising when we remember the forces by which it is recruited.

Among these may be counted the latent Conservatism in the national character, which, though but little expressed, still smoulders with an internal combustion that while those sudden shocks of nature that wreck the Japanese landscape, now and then breaks force in a passionate vendetta of outrage or assassination, inordinate vanity of the people, fostered at once by their illustrious antiquity and by the ease with which they seem to have planted themselves in the forefront of the files of time; the indiscreet rapidity with which they have been asked to swallow, almost in the same gulp, a foreign dress, a foreign language, and a foreign religion; and a consciousness of national strength that resents the suspicion of having bartered its birthright to aliens.

Political incidents, a proposal of treaty revision on terms at all derogatory to the national dignity, the not too sensitive and sometimes brutal candour of the European Press, the resolutions passed at a meeting of Foreign merchants, may excite this feeling to a white heat of fury.

At times, it slumbers.

A year ago it seemed for a time to have experienced a sharp inflammation, but since then to have subsided.

In this manner, while Palmer found a very big possibility for real progress in the extensive and varied reforms of the social structures throughout the country as well as for the quickest changes for modernizing the country, at the same time, he had noticed the forthcoming dangers hiding behind the impatient reforms.

The reactionary wave which Palmer had been quite anxious about, soon turned to come closer and became his personal danger.

(4) The Political Situation in Japan

(From Nagasaki on Oct. 1)
(The Times on Nov. 23)

It will not be too much to say that, the two communications, first one dated September 24 from Tokyo, and the second one dated October 1 from Nagasaki would summarize of all the communications Palmer had sent so far to The Times from Japan since 1885.

That impresses the writer that he might have had a premonition of his forthcoming death.

But for all that, the writer of this biography would not be alone to bow down his head, knowing that Palmer had faithfully reported these communications, after analyzing in detail the circumstances Japan was placed even while in that difficult period of the severe sufferings while he had been wearing away his body and soul, and having devoted all his energies for the sake of completing the most difficult Harbour works in Yokohama.

The writer would like to introduce herein the gist of Palmer's last communication to The Times, as follows;

In one respect the present political situation in Japan resembles that in England.

A new Ministry has recently assumed the seals of office, and Parliament and the country are waiting to see what their policy and their programme will be.

In neither case can any definite forecast be hazarded; for though Count Ito, the new Prime Minister, is confronted by no such problem as that of taking to pieces an old Constitution, he has yet the far from easy task of keeping intact a new one; while the subject of Treaty Revision is at least a stubborn thorn in Japanese as is that of Home Rule in British politics.

Nay, the historical analogy may be pushed one point further; for just as the revolutionary struggle in Ireland has not passed without the assassination of an English Minister, so the treaty conflict in Japan was signalized at an earlier stage by an equally

murderous, though happily a less fatal, attack upon Count Okuma, one of the leading Japanese statesmen.

Here, however, popular suspense will sooner be allayed: for the Diet meets again in November; and the speculations with which the native Press is filling the holiday season as to the programme of the new Administration will be in process of solution almost as soon as these lines are in print.

The new Japanese Government may almost claim to be a Ministry of all the Talents, and undoubtedly the summons of Count Ito by the Emperor upon the fall of the Matsukata Cabinet in the past summer, and the composition of his Administration, have excited the liveliest satisfaction in political circles in Japan.

The treaties which regulate the commercial relations of Japan with foreign countries; and which provide for the separate jurisdiction in the treaty ports of the subjects of the 18 signatory Powers, have been concluded at various periods since the first American Treaty was signed by Commodore Perry in 1854.

On the various occasions since, when revision has been seriously attempted, the endeavour has resulted in failure owing to the difficulty of reconciling the conflicting claims of the foreign Powers, who have been averse to stepping down from their pinnacle of vantage without either a definite *quid pro quo*, or at least a guarantee that they will not suffer by the surrender; and of Japan, who, with a natural consciousness of her steadily improving position and of the obligations of natural dignity, whittles away one by one the counter - concessions which, she was at first prepared to make, and even talks about exacting conditions herself.

I do not share the feelings of either of those schools between whom public opinion, as represented in books and newspapers about Japan, seems to be directed, namely, those on the one hand the sentimental side of whose nature inflamed, if they are Japanese, by patriotism, if they are foreigners by contact with an engaging people and a pretty country revolts against what they describe as a great national wrong, whereby Japan has been cheated out of her birthright, and is being kept in perpetual exile in the tents of Edom; or, on the other hand, those who argue for the strict letter of the treaties *ad aeternam*, and decline to make the smallest concession to the vast change that 30 years have effected in the status of modern Japan.

The former attitude is adopted, naturally enough by Japanese writers as it seems to me, by the majority in English and American tourists in Japan.

The second or ultra-Conservative attitude is taken up by many of the merchant class in the treaty ports, who, for perfectly honourable but selfish reasons, would like to maintain the status quo as long as they can.

As a matter of fact there is quite sufficient justice on both sides of the controversy to admit of temperate discussions and of amicable agreement; and the energies of the true friends of Japan should be directed to minimizing the points of friction and broadening the basis of possible compromise, instead of sharpening their blades for a further abortive encounter.

In what quarter, then, does the solution lie?

The answer will be found in a brief examination of the various proposals for treaty revision that have so far been made by Japanese statesmen to the foreign representatives or *vice versa*.

Their history has been one of unbroken disappointment and failure; but it has also been marked by certain signs of progressive development which may lend guidance to statesmen at the present stage.

Three times in the last 10 years have Japanese Foreign Ministers made overtures to the treaty Powers.

The first of those was Count Inouye, the present Minister for Home Affairs, who in 1882, originally suggested the ultimate abolition of consular jurisdiction and the *ad interim* discussion of terms.

A preliminary conference was summoned in 1884 and memoranda, prepared by the British and the Japanese Government, were successively submitted.

The negotiations continued till, in 1886, the actual conference of all the treaty Powers met in Tokyo, when a definite scheme, initiated by the English and German Governments, was propounded, and passed through many of the preliminary stages both of examination and acceptance.

There were to be a large number of foreign Judges on the Japanese bench, the conditions of whose appointment and removal evoked much hostile criticism in the native Press.

The promised codes and future amendments therein were to be submitted to the foreign Powers - an additional source of national irritation.

It was not surprising that upon these points the negotiations at length broke down in 1887.

Undeterred by the failure of his predecessor, Count Okuma resumed negotiations in 1888; but, having learned by experience the mistake of dealing with a Round Table at which the representatives of 18 nations with conflicting interests were seated in conclave, he approached the Powers individually, offering, in place of a majority of foreign assessors in the Supreme Court in cases where foreigners were concerned.

A space of three years is to elapse between the promulgation of the promised codes and the final abolition of consular jurisdiction.

Upon these lines the United States, Germany, and Russia had already signed treaties; and Great Britain, the vast preponderance of whose commercial interest in Japan renders her in every case the arbiter of the situation was within measurable distance of the same end, when, public opinion having been already gravely excited in Japan at the proposed appointment of alien Judges, and being further inflamed by impending elections for the first Diet, an attempt was made with a dynamite bomb upon the life of Count Okuma in October 1889.

The statesman escaped, though seriously mutilated.

The would-be assassin killed himself.

But his ulterior object had been gained, for once more treaty revision was dropped like a hot coal from the terrified fingers of the plenipotentiaries at Tokyo.

Nor could the retreat be fairly set down to cowardice, seeing that public sentiment, though not behind the assassin, was in open sympathy with the motives that had actuated him to a deed which was the more significant that it by no means stands alone in the annals of modern Japan.

Since that date the opening of the Japanese Diet, and the rapid growth both of national self respect and of ill-marshalled but powerful public opinion which it had produced, have not combined to

render a settlement more easy.

Nevertheless, Viscount Aoki, Foreign Minister in the succeeding Government, gallantly re-entered the lists in 1890: and it is understood that his overtures, which were naturally directed in the first place to the removal of the lingering vestiges of British opposition, were met in the most favourable spirit by the Administration of Lord Salisbury; and that it now only rests with the Japanese Government which it has more than once admitted to be reasonable, to enter upon the fruition of the long struggle for complete national autonomy whose successive stages I have described.

What must be the leading feature of any such solution will be manifest from what has already been said.

In the first place, the full text of the entire civil and commercial code (the criminal code and the codes of criminal and civil procedure being already in operation) must be promulgated, translated and put into satisfactory operation.

No nation can with justice call upon the subjects of another, even within its own territories, to exchange a position of judicial security, established by treaty and ratified by long and successful experience, for the dubious protection of an inchoate, and imperfect, or an ill-comprehended body of law; secondly, a period must elapse in which the new codes thus promulgated shall be tested by practical operation, the Judges becoming accustomed to the exposition of rules which involve in many cases a complete revolution in Japanese customary law, and the new law itself acquiring public respect by pure and consistent interpretation.

Not until after such a probationary period can foreigners reasonably be expected to yield to the Japanese demand for complete judicial autonomy; thirdly, these conditions having been realized, the final abandonment of extra-territorial jurisdiction may fitly be made to synchronize with the entire opening of the country.

Other points may well become the subject of diplomatic *pour parler* and of intermediate agreement.

Such, for instance, are an extension of the present passport system in return for a revision of the tariff; and the novel but intelligible Japanese demand that foreigners shall not be allowed to own real property or to buy shares in Japanese banks, railways, or shipping companies.

The last requisition which is the latest outcome of native susceptibilities, is due to a not unfounded alarm that the superior wealth of foreigners might enable them unless carefully guarded by law, to acquire a commanding hold upon the national resources, and that Japan might some day find herself in the humiliating position of an Asiatic Peru.

Means ought to be found without great difficulty of reconciling her apprehensions with the reasonable demands of foreign residents possessing a large stake in the fortunes of the country.

The materials for a successful settlement lie, therefore, ready to hand, and it will depend upon the tact and savoir-faire of the Japanese statesmen, with whom the initiative now lies, to use them for good or for evil.

It will be obvious, however, how much turns upon the question of the new codes and their promulgation, the decision as to which is the pivot of the political situation.

Should the postponing Bill be placed intact upon the Statue Book, there vanishes for four more years the chance of treaty revision

and the opportunity of finally settling a question that has baffled the foremost intellects of Japan for more than a decade, that has fretted the susceptibilities, and further delay in which might even compromise her amicable relations with foreign Powers.

Upon the decision, therefore, of the new Japanese Cabinet the development of their country in the immediate future very largely depends.

They can no longer pretend that the treaty Powers are the obstacle that blocks the way.

In their own hands lies the initiative, and, as a consequence, the responsibility.

We may hope that the high reputation which Count Ito and his colleagues deservedly enjoy, alike in the estimation of their countrymen, and in the respect of foreign statesmen, will be a guarantee for careful forethought and prudent decision.

By no Power certainly would Japan be welcomed more cordially into the comity of nations, with whom already she shares so many common relationships, than by ourselves, who fill in the West the role which she aspires to play in the far East, and whose commerce and energy have contributed so largely to her own expansion.

The writer can well imagine how the feeling of vainness was which Palmer had, harbouring widely in his mind when he wrote the above two communications.

The curiosity to young Japan which captured him in his youth like flashes, brought up his later years due to the passionate persuasion of Kaoru Inouye, to turn into a real mission.

He staked his latter half of his life to be one suspension-bridge to connect the prosperity of Great Britain where the English sovereign reigns with the development of young Japan.

By introducing the high technique of Great Britain, Palmer constructed the first modern water-works in Yokohama and gave fresh and abundant water to the people.

However, in the subsequent harbour works in Yokohama, in which he was appointed as its superintendent, the construction of the harbour met across very difficult sailing from the very stage of the planning, and the unfavourable progress of the construction as well as the storm of the reactionary trend, both finally deprived his life on February 1893, and stained him even temporary in his brilliant achievements in various other fields.

The breakdown of the treaty negotiations by both Inouye and Okuma was a very big shock to Palmer as he was not an ordinary reporter of the news to The Times.

Although the repeated breakdowns of the treaty negotiations themselves, were the necessary steps for the realization of the treaty revision which was the exterior proof of modernization of Japan, Palmer could not ascertain its realization in his own eyes.

What reflected in his eyes was the Image of Japan who started to have a dislike to those foreign friends of Japan like Palmer so that they might build up their own typical development above the European techniques already imported, accumulated, and mastered.

- 1892-2-15 The second Extra-ordinary General election held.
However, because of the severe government interference in the election, 25 died in the disturbances in various districts.
- 1892-3- 5 T. Enomoto, Foreign Minister, H. Ito, the President of Privy Council, and S. Aoki, the Ambassador to Germany discussed on the Treaty Revision.
- 4-13 The first meeting of the Investigation Committee for the scheme of Treaty Revision was held.
- 8- 8 The Ito Cabinet organized.
- 11- x Cracks in the concrete blocks used for the upper part of the breakwaters in Yokohama Harbour works found.

Palmer might have felt sorry for not being able to live to see the outcome of the revision of the treaties, but, Brinkley wrote in the editorial in "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated March 11, 1893, just one month after Palmer's death, titled "Japan's attitude towards Treaty Revision", and at the end, he wrote, as follows;

We conclude that Treaty Revision has now entered a new phase, inasmuch as the nation, speaking through its representatives in the Diet, has given its mandate for the final solution of the problem and the Government and Diet, acting together, have fulfilled the legislative conditions which constitute the guarantees hitherto sought by Foreign Powers.

As if endorsing the editorial quoted above, "MEIJI TENNO KI" (The annals of Emperor MEIJI) of July 19, 1893, wrote as follows;

On the 19th, Count H. Ito, the Prime Minister and M. Mutsu, Foreign Minister were received in audience by His Majesty the Emperor and The Majesty gave sanction to the scheme of Treaty Revision which was reported to the Throne.

In advance of the 19th, in the Special Cabinet Meeting held on July 8, Government had decided the scheme for The Treaty Revision and the policy for the negotiations to the effect that

- (1) To grant the Mixed Residence
- (2) To abolish the Consular Jurisdiction
- (3) To revise the Customs Tariff
- (4) To start negotiations, first, with England, and next with

Germany and U.S.A.

- (5) To entrust S. Aoki, an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Germany, with the negotiations with England and Germany.

Accordingly, M. Mutsu, the Foreign Minister concentrated his energies to the negotiations with England through S. Aoki, the Special Envoy, with the result that the almost equal treaty in regard to the judicial rights although some concessions included was concluded in 1894, then continually concluded with other Treaty Powers by 1897, and at last, the Extra Territorial Jurisdiction in Japan was finally abolished.

In 1911, the autonomy on the Customs Tariffs was realized, after the victories of Japan in the wars against China and Russia and the long-desired hope of the Meiji Government was achieved and arrived at the final destination.

Contrary to the initial enthusiasm having strongly been shown by Japan, the finishing touches of the revision of the treaties were conducted disinterestedly in a mere business-like manner.

As the result of the victory of the war against China, Japan forced China to conclude the same old unequal treaty as Japan herself had been greatly tormented under its spell.

Palmer as an Astronomer and a Natural Scientist

On nearly all such occasions, he collected these materials and arranged them in various articles and reports as per the list herein enumerated.

- 167 -

Elgin" (The Government Notification)

<u>11-20</u>	- The Great Comet of 1882 (Daily Press Hongkong)
<u>1883- 2-10</u>	- The Great Comet of 1882 (J.W.M.)
<u>3- 3</u>	- ()
<u>4- 7</u>	- "Meteorology in Japan " ()
<u>4-14</u>	- "Infant Science of Meteorology" ()
<u>5- 5</u>	- "National Survey" ()
	- "Pendulum Observations to determine the true figure of the Earth" ()
<u>5-19</u>	- "The Great Comet of 1882" after reading the last number of Annual Report of the Council of the R.A.S." ()
<u>12- x</u>	- Practical Astronomy (Aide de Memoire for use of R.E. Officers)
<u>1886-11-23</u>	- Earthquake Researches in Japan (The Times)
<u>1887- 3- 1</u>	- The story of an Earthquake (The Times)
<u>6-25</u>	- Irrigation Works at OJI Paper Mill (J.W.M.)
<u>8-27</u>	- The recent solar eclipse (J.W.M.)
<u>1888- 7-28</u>	- The recent volcanic explosion in Japan (The Times)
<u>10-21</u>	- The Bandaisan eruption (The Times)
<u>1891- 7- 4</u>	- Irrigation Works at Misakamura (J.W.M.)
<u>11- 7</u>	- The Great Japan Earthquake (The Times)
<u>1892- 2- 2</u>	- (The Times)

Hereunder let the writer write down some of the items which he did not treat in the preceding chapters.

(I) Notes on Earth Vibration

"A Note on Earth Vibration" written by Palmer on November 16, 1881 in Tokyo and read on December 21 (Not by Palmer) at the meeting of the Seismological Society of Japan, in which two examples were introduced.

- a) When I (Palmer) was in New Zealand in 1874, in charge of the British Government Expedition to that Colony for observing the Transit of Venus, I had chosen a site for my observatory near the Burnham railway station on the Canterbury Plain, about 400 yards from the line, which ran past it in a southwesterly direction; and I required to ascertain what depth of excavation would be necessary in order that the instrument-piers should not be affected by the surface-tremors caused by passing trains.

For this purpose, I merely dug a trench about eight feet long and three feet wide, in a north and south direction.

After the repeated tests, at depths 2-1/2, 3, 3-1/2 feet with the result that the tremors diminished with the depth, and that at the last-named depth not the slightest disturbance could be detected under any conditions of the train's motion.

- b) I may further mention a curious fact, perhaps not very generally known, which came under notice at the Greenwich Observatory several years ago.

The observers found that from time to time, at considerable intervals, there would be an evening when the usual observations for determining the collimation-error of the transit circles by means of reflexion in a tray of mercury could not be taken, on account of the constant trembling of the surface of the mercury, which on such occasions would continue until long past midnight.

For some time the staff were greatly puzzled by this phenomenon, until at length, a series of the dates for its occurrence having been obtained and examined, it was found that these dates coincided with the public and bank holidays.

On these days, crowd of the poorer classes of London flock for amusement to Greenwich Park and a favourable pastime with the young people, often prolonged until after nightfall, is to clamber to the top of the steep slopes of the hill on which the Observatory stands, in fact, to the paling of the enclosure, and then, joining hands in twos or threes, to bolt precipitately to the bottom, where, as may be imagined, they usually arrive <all in a heap>.

Hundreds join in this sport on fine evenings, and the result, as shown by the behaviour of the mercury, is to set the whole of Flamstead Hill in a tremor, which does not subside until early the next morning, many hours after the people have left.

(II) Meteorology in Japan

"Meteorology in Japan" dated April 7, 1883, Palmer states as follows:

The publications, beginning from April 1, of a daily weather-sheet, by Mr. Ikunosuke Arai, the Director of the Imperial Meteorological

Observatory started.

This sheet which is printed in English and Japanese, consists of two parts, a map and a report.

On the map are shown the meteorological out-stations, twenty-one in number, from which, thanks to the admirable system of telegraphic lines which now cover Japan, daily reports of pressure, temperature, wind, rainfall and state of the weather, at the same hour of absolute time, are sent to the Head Station in Tokyo.

To men of science, to all seafaring people, and indeed to the public generally this first evidence of a systematic investigation of phenomena in which most of us have a more or less lively interest will doubtless be very acceptable.

The dearth of accurate knowledge of the laws which govern the meteorological conditions of these regions has long been deplored by the meteorologists of the world, but there is now reason to hope that this cause of complaint will soon cease to exist.

It is not too much to expect that, after a reasonable interval for collection and study of the daily phenomena over Japan's extensive territory, it will be possible to predict with accuracy the probabilities of the weather a day or two in advance, even in this land of frequent, sudden and violent changes.

It should also be possible, or in concert with other observatories, to foretell with something like certainty the approach and progress of the much dreaded typhoons.

This article was written in the happy mood that his long cherished opinion was materialized.

It was essential for Japan to be included in the network for the meteorological and astronomical observations of the world, especially that in Asian region, as the proof that Japan got modernized, Palmer had held such opinion since 1880s as clearly seen in the memorandum which he had submitted to the Japanese Government on the advisability of establishing the meteorological and astronomical observatory, to say nothing of the design which he had made for Hongkong Observatory for the same purpose.

(III) Practical Astronomy

Palmer, at the end of 1883, wrote in the "Aide de Memoire for the use of Officers of Royal Engineers" on Practical Astronomy."

(IV) Observation of Total Sun Eclipse at Fukushima Prefecture

In August 1887, Palmer went to Shirakawa, Fukushima Prefecture for the purpose of observing the total solar eclipse on August 19, with the American Expedition team under the leadership of Professor David P. Todd, of Amherst College, Massachusetts.

Unfortunately, the observations failed because of the sudden change of the climate as Palmer wrote in the closing sentence in the Japan Weekly Mail of August 27

titled "Recent Solar Eclipse" as follows:

The 19th of August, 1887, will assuredly be long remembered as a Black Friday in the scientific annals of Japan.

(V) Great Earthquake at Mino/Owari District

On October 18, 1891, Palmer, having known the outbreak of the severe Earthquake in Mino and Owari districts, hurried to the spot and energetically started the investigation there.

The detailed reports which he sent to "The Times" on both November 7, 1891 and February 2, 1892 were his final work as astronomer and natural scientist. He concluded the second report as follows:

Japan, with her 700 earthquake-observing stations scattered over the empire, is well equipped for profiting by that lesson. That she sorely needs to pay close heed to all that observation and research can teach her is established by ages of bitter experience.

Not only are her people shaken up by fully 500 earthquakes every year - some of them, more or less destructive - but at intervals there comes a great disaster, amounting, as in the present case, to a national calamity.

No fewer than 29 of such disasters have been recorded in Japanese annals during the last 1,200 years.

Miss Evelyn Mary Palmer (1865-1944)

Mr. Harry B.G. Palmer (1872-1922)

CHAPTER V

The Miscellaneous Articles

Let the writer treat some topics which he could not so far take up in the previous chapters for the fear that they might spoil the smooth flow of the framework of this book.

However, the writer presumes that these topics might give some keys to get acquainted better with the personal character of Palmer, although they are fragmentary.

(I) Hana Awase

Palmer read a paper on "Hana Awase" (A Japanese game of cards) at the General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan on May 13, 1891.

Three days later on May 16, "The Japan Weekly Mail" introduced his essay on Hana-Awase in detail.

In response to the above article, "The Nippon" dated July 3, wrote as follows;

There is a General Officer said to be the Superintendent of the Yokohama Harbour Works.

He is very enthusiastic about the Japanese game of cards called Hana-Awase.

Not content with sounding its praises, he has minutely explained in writing the method of playing it and added an epitome of its history and an account of the large sums staked on it by the Japanese, in order, as he says, that Europeans may share the enjoyment of the game.

He is known to be <The Times Correspondent in Japan>, therefore, we presume that he will send his manuscript to that journal when his arduous task is completed.

Among the upper class of Japan he has been unanimously praised for his action.

They pronounce it the finest work ever taken up by a foreigner for familiarizing Europeans with Japanese civilization.

We desire to say that we have had quite enough disgraceful events lately - events which credit had been disturbed and many families ruined.

What has been the cause of these miseries?

The thing is more than a passing joke, and we trust that those concerned will reconsider their procedure.

Against the above article, "The Japan Weekly Mail" dated July 11, wrote as follows;

The palm has indisputably belonged to the Nippon during the past three years for a sensitiveness that amounts almost to school-girl hysteria where Japanese things are concerned.

Is it possible to become more thin-skinned than this Nippon?

The Editor must have had some terrible experience with Hana-Awase. Imagine the foreigner who introduced whist into Japan being

written about in this childish, petulant manner!

If Japan has a good game of cards to teach us - and Hana-Awase is an exceptionally good game, better than whist some folks say - why on earth should it not be explained for the information and amusement of Western folk?

Truly the Nippon's hysteria is almost delirious.

We beg to suggest that if our sensitive contemporary is disturbed by the notion of the frivolous side of Japanese character being made known abroad, it can easily remedy the mischief by circulating some copies of itself in Europe.

"The Times" dated March 19, 1892, reported in the article titled "A Japanese Fashionable game of Cards" as follows;

The last number of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan contains an interesting paper by Major-General Palmer R.E., describing a Japanese game of cards, which is said to be "the universal rage" in Japan.

It is called Hana Awase, <pairings or matching of flowers> and after having been confined for nearly two centuries to the lower orders, who played it in secret, it has now come to exercise an extraordinary fascination in all classes of society and General Palmer expresses the conviction that it is entitled to a high place amongst games of cards.

"The Times," after explaining the gist of the method of the game, concluded this article, utilizing General Palmer's words as follows;

It embodies the features of all first-class games of cards, and demands long training, a good memory, good judgement, and great readiness in counting.

The element of chance enters into it about to the same extent as in the best Western games.

Those familiar with poker say that the Japanese game surpasses it as one of chance and skill combined.

While, inside Japan, "The Asahi Shimbun" was preoccupied in reporting, from April to August 1892, on the scandals of which K. Kojima²⁰, the President of the Supreme Court, and other judges were indicted from the inner circle of the same Court on a charge that they had played Hana-Awase on gambling basis, and then, the paper successively reported on the scandal with the following titles;

- a. The Judges infuriated.
- b. The Minister for Justice embarrassed.
- c. The Minister for Justice permitted to hold a disciplinary trial against them.
- d. By the Trial, the Judges were acquitted due to the lack of evidence for gambling.
- e. The President of the Supreme Court was relieved of his post at his own request.

(II) A Favourite at "Tokyo Club"

"Tokyo Club", the only one club in Tokyo with the object of promoting social intercourse between foreigners and Japanese, was established on April 1884, to comply with the wishes of K. Inouye, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The members of the Club consisted of the Royal families, high-ranking Government Officials, distinguished men out of office, Foreign Representatives from various countries and leading resident foreigners.

The Club was in the building of Rokumeikan and only official language was English.

It still continues to exist.

"The Japan Weekly Mail" has continued to report on club's meetings since its inauguration to the smallest details.

The same journal reported in the article dated February 18, 1893, titled "The late Major-General Palmer R.E." as follows;

Numerous floral wreaths and crosses of great beauty, sent from friends in Tokyo and Yokohama, were grouped about the bier and piled on the coffin, conspicuous among them being an exceptionally handsome wreath from the members of the Tokyo Club where the presence of the genial and gifted officer had been a frequent attraction during many years of the Club's existence.

From the above article, it can be gathered that Palmer was a regular visitor, liked by every member of the Club as a delightful companion.

(III) At the General Meeting of The Great Japan Art Society

"The Mainichi Shimbun" dated June 25, 1889 reported that Brinkley, Palmer and Condor, appeared in the General Meeting of the Society and Brinkley gave a lecture on the art.

(IV) The Diary of Mrs. Utako Hozumi

Utako is the eldest daughter of Eiichi Shibusawa²¹, who got married to K. Hozumi, a well known jurist. "The Diary of Utako Hozumi" was compiled by her grand son, Shigeyuki Hozumi.

The paragraph of May 3, 1891 of the Diary quotes;

Rainy all day. At 11.30 a.m., Went to the Kabukiza with my husband and two others.

My father was also at the theatre and we sat together at the best seats and comfortably enjoyed the show.

On the way back from the theatre, we went to the Teikoku Hotel as we were invited by Mr. Asano and sat with his guests who happened

to be General Palmer, Englishman and his two daughters, and had very pleasant talk with them.

The paragraph of June 19 reads:

In the evening, two Palmer daughters visited our residence.

(Two daughters of Palmer are Evelyn Mary, and Katherine Palmer who came to Japan on May 1890)

(V) Palmer vs. Japanese Pickpocket

Palmer had his pocket picked of a watch and got impressed with the dexterity of the pickpocket.

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated June 26, 1886 reported as follows;

A gentleman travelling from Tokyo to Yokohama on Thursday had a curious experience of Japanese pickpockets' dexterity.

When approaching the ticket stile at Yokohama he found himself involved in a somewhat closely packed throng of fellow travellers, and his attention was accordingly directed to parcels which he carried in both hands.

Scarcely, however, had he passed through the wicket when he perceived that his watch-chain was dangling before him, and that his watch was no longer in his pocket.

This, after all, was not so very wonderful.

A London pickpocket would have utilized a similar occasion with great readiness.

But the point was that, instead of cutting the chain, or breaking it by twisting, the thief had deliberately pressed back the spring of the swivel on the chain, and detached the watch without using any violence whatsoever.

It is almost inconceivable that an operation requiring such delicate manipulation could have been performed under such circumstances.

Even when using both hands and working with undistracted attention, one does not detach one's watch from the chain without a little time and trouble; but to detach another man's watch so as not to attract his attention or the attention of any one among several bystanders is truly a neat feat.

Information was immediately given to the Japanese police, who expressed confidence in their ability to recover the watch, as it bore its owner's coat of arms on the cover.

"The Japan Weekly Mail" dated January 20, 1894 reported in the article titled "Troublesome Police" as follows;

Some years ago, the late Major-General Palmer, when passing through a railway wicket, has his watch cut from the chain and carried away by a pickpocket.

The thief was evidently a well-equipped rascal, for within two or three days he managed to reduce the watch to a nugget of gold.

There ought to have been little difficulty in disposing of a

shapeless and unidentifiable mass of metal, but for all that the pickpocket could not convert his booty into coin, so closely did the police stick to his heels.

Finally, in despair, he enclosed the gold and the dismembered works in an envelope, and dropped the parcel into a pillar-post under address to the nearest police-station, so that the property was finally recovered, though in a somewhat dilapidated form.

(VI) The Bubonic Plague and Miss Evelyn Palmer,
the 2nd Daughter of Palmer

In the early part of 1894, the plague began to prevail in Canton, in the southern part of China.

In the month of May, the disease spread to Hongkong, where it raged with great violence, and was still far from extinguished.

It was on June 5, 1894, that the Japanese party left Tokyo to prosecute the investigation, and arrived in Hongkong on the 12th of the same month.

Unfortunately, Dr. Aoyama and Surgeon Ishigami were attacked by the plague, and both were under the medical treatment on board the Hygia, a floating Hospital in the port.

Through the special kindness of Dr. Lawson, two sisters from the Hongkong Civil Hospital were sent to Hygia, to nurse the two Japanese patients, male nurses alone being employed on ordinary occasions.

Thanks to the frantic medical attention by the English doctors and nurses, the lives of the two patients were saved, though their conditions were quite serious.

The two English nurses attended the patients for 24 hours, one of them who could speak Japanese a little happened to be Miss Evelyn Mary Palmer, whose father Henry Spencer Palmer died in Tokyo on February 1893.

She had left for Hongkong after her father's death and had been working as a nurse in the Hongkong Civil Hospital.

Her self-sacrificing attendance to the two Japanese patients became the object of public admiration and the Japanese Government, basing the reports and recommendations of Dr. Kitazato and the two ex-patients, who came back home, sent by order of Kaoru Inouye, then, Minister for Home Affairs, to Miss Evelyn Mary Palmer, the Official letter of Thanks under the name of Takata, the Chief of Medical Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs, together with the golden lacquered casket in token of appreciation.

(VII) Two Letters from Palmer in Japan
to His Eldest Son, Harry

(A)

Yokohama, Japan,
21st November

1890

My dear Harry,

Your letter of 1st Oct. was very welcome to every sense, first as the first I have had from you since I left, secondly, as giving a satisfactory account of yourself & your progress, and, thirdly, as being remarkably well written and expressed, far better than I ever was equal to at your age.

I am truly glad to find you doing so well with your German and French, & it is a credit to you that you were able to write in German to Mr. Ash.

I am so gratified by your assurance of earnest effort to do me credit, by hard work at this important epoch of your life.

Keep it up my son, right along, and add to it steadiness of conduct and wise heed to the hints I lately sent you from Mr. Ash.

If you do well, we may be welcoming you out here a couple of years or so from now.

But, remember that everything depends on the way in which you acquit yourself meanwhile.

I am glad you did so excellently well at cricket.

To be a good cricketer, & c, helps a fellow along in the world - almost as well as to be a good musician.

We were interested also by your accounts of your visits to old friends at Eccles & c.

I only wish poor Charlie had not had his serious illness.

Thank God he is so much better, but the mischief of blighting his prospects of Woolwich is alas! done & past mending; and it is no easy matter to hit upon another profession for him.

You will, of course write to Fred or Connie about Xmas, asking whether they are ready to receive you on Dec. 31.

That settled, write to Mr. Birch to ask on what day & at what hour he would like you to present yourself at the office, which, by the way, is 10 & 11 Queen Street Place, E.C.

You went there with me, you remember.

His name is John Grant Birch Esq.

(Don't forget the <Grant>.)

Young Heather is in the office, son of my old coach (now dead) who was a Professor at Woolwich, & who trained me splendidly in mathematics. &c.

The widow and son are not well off.

I allowed them 20 pounds a year for three years, for his education, & end by getting him his present place, for which he is of course grateful.

Mother and son write to me now and then.

I told him you would be his friend.

Mr. Birch himself, I am glad to find, he made the discovery only the other day, is a sort of connection of mine; that is to say, my step-mother's (William Freke Palmer's) niece married Mr. Birch's uncle, the vicar of Ashburton in South Devon.

As I am writing to all the family at Waterlooville (except Claud)

I have no message to send.

But I wish you, my boy, a very happy Xmas and New Year.
You have a bright look-out before you if you will keep your
shoulder to the wheel.

My girls join in best love,

Always v. aff. Father

H.S. Palmer

Love to Fred and Connie

P.S.

Be sure to take every opportunity of keeping up your German after
your return.

(B)

August 7, 1892
Yokohama, Japan

My dear Harry,

I am very glad indeed to hear that you have begun to earn.
It is gratifying in every way.

Besides easing my pocket, it gives a satisfactory proof that you
have been doing your work well and pleasing Mr. Birch; and I
sincerely hope this good beginning that you have made will lead you
to success and prosperity.

I will continue your 80 pounds allowance to the end of the year as
you ask.

The 30 pounds you will receive from Mr. Birch in these six months
will thus be a clear bonus, and should set up your finances very
thoroughly.

I have not heard from Fred about your leaving him and going into
Lodgings from 1st October.

But, as you tell me that he seems agreeable, and also that after
your 18 months's experience of London life, you can trust yourself
to steer straight, I have no objection to offer.

Remember, however, that you may only be 3 or 4 months longer in
England (after Sept. 30), and that it therefore will not be
worthwhile to spend any money on your rooms.

The actual time depends (1) on when Mr. Birch reports you ready
for Jardines' and (2) on Keswick's taking you on at once and
despatching you to the East.

I have yet to hear from Mr. Birch on the first of these two points.

When you do join Jardines', I hope you will be quite independent
of me.

You certainly will be when you go abroad.

Meanwhile, existing money arrangements stand up to the end of the
year, that is to say, Fred will hand you 25 pounds in December
instead of keeping it himself, in addition to your usual 20 pounds
payable to yourself in October, as your own quarterly allowance in
advance.

From January 1st, your entire allowance from me will be at the
rate of 120 pounds a year as long as you stay with Mr. Birch with a
salary of 60 pounds.

Further arrangements will depend entirely on Jardines'.

The girls are fit and jolly as usual, up in the hills to escape

the heat.

We have written to congratulate Lily on her marriage.

She seems to have done very well for herself.

Once more congratulating you, my dear boy, on getting on so well, and also cautioning you to be steady always.

V. Aff. Father

H.S. Palmer

(VIII) A Letter from Mr. Donald Mackenzie Wallace of
The Times to H.S. Palmer in Tokyo

12 December 1892

Dear General Palmer,

I don't know whether you have heard officially or privately that I have been appointed to superintend the Foreign Department of The Times.

If not, let me introduce myself and let me express the hope that I may hear from you occasionally.

Mr. Buckle has heard through a private channel that you are somewhat disappointed by the fact that some of your letters to the Papers have not been published.

I join with Mr. Buckle in regretting that all your letters have not appeared, because whatever you write about Japan, is sure to be interesting and valuable, but the great difficulty which we have to comply with is to find space for the interesting and valuable material which is sent to us from all parts of the world.

A very large proportion of that material never sees the light.

It is held over, night after night, and week after week, in the hope that space will be found for it, till at last, like other good and valuable things in this world, it gets old and antiquated.

Your admirable letters sometimes share the common fate, but not so frequently as the letters of most of our correspondents, for the record, thus that of 13 letters forwarded no less than 8 were published.

If you could see the records of your colleagues, all able, well informed men, you could perceive that your average is unusually high.

That is, you may say, small consolation for the loss of valuable material which has necessarily cost you much time and labour, and in such a remark, I fully sympathize.

But I do not see how a remedy for this perennial waste is to be found, because we cannot foresee what space will be available at any given time for foreign correspondence and consequently we cannot regulate the supply.

Even if we could determine in advance a final amount of space for foreign correspondence in general, we should not have solved the problem, because we cannot foresee what particular country will be attracting public attention at any given moment.

In short, we have to do our best, from day to day, to meet the wants and humour the caprice of our clients.

Of course, letters like yours are never entirely lost because they help to keep us au courant of what is going on in the countries

they deal with, but I am not sure that that fact affords much consolation to our correspondents.

Our common friend tells us also that you have been disagreeably surprised to notice that we have been occasionally publishing lots of news from Yokohama via Vancouver.

The arrangement was made, I believe, with a gentleman in Yokohama because he had special facilities for forwarding by that route, and because it was supposed you would not like to be bothered with work of that kind.

Perhaps, I ought to explain the fact that the letters have lately appeared in Japan by a <Special Correspondent>.

No doubt you will guess who the <special> is.

He was making a tour in the Far East, and as he had already done admirable work for us in another part of the world, we were induced to give him a roving commission.

We did not foresee, at the moment, that he would have trespassed so largely on your province.

Yours very truly,

Donald Mackenzie Wallace



The writer's mother



Mr. Saburo Isogaya



Ms. Francis. Woodward



The writer, Ms. F. Woodward &
Mrs. Mary Huntley



Mrs. W. Palmer & her sister



Ms. Perry Palmer



Mrs. Mary Vivian



The writer, Mrs. Marjorie Ferguson & Family

POSTSCRIPT

When I was still very young, I heard from my mother

that her father, H.S. Palmer had designed and superintended the waterworks in Yokohama. The articles left behind were only two sheets of photo when H.S. Palmer was Lt. Colonel and one book with superb bindings titled "The Letters from the Land of the Rising Sun."

The book was published in 1894 from the office of The Japan Mail in Yokohama. Twenty six communications out of all the communications which H.S. Palmer had sent to The Times were selected and compiled by Brinkley and Palmer himself when the latter was still alive.

However, when very young, the book was for me too difficult to read and it was not too much to say that I was only staring at the book in vain.

About twenty years ago, when I was looking at the index of the book in a casual manner, I hit upon the two reportages with the titles of "Recent Volcanic Eruption" and "The Bandai-san Eruption."

What a strange coincidence it was!

Every summer, for the past five years, I had made it my great pleasure to visit the hamlet of Naga-saka with my family to see Mr. Saburo Isogaya, my dear friend, at his mountain cottage and to spend about a week there.

All my family had been entirely enchanted with the beauty of Bandaisan, especially the Ura (Back) Bandaisan as well as the kindest hospitality of the local people around Mr. Isogaya.

On reading forward the two reportages, I came to realize that H.S. Palmer, just a week after the eruption of July 15, 1888, hurried to the spot with F. Brinkley of The Japan Mail and Henry Norman, the reporter of the Pall-Mall Gazette of England who happened to be in Tokyo.

After they came back to Tokyo, Palmer sent these reportages with full of vivid description to The Times.

You may easily imagine how surprised I was when I discovered that a great deal of human casualties was done to the hamlet of Naga-saka, where I visit every summer, and that H.S. Palmer had visited there just a week after the eruption.

The coincidence set my mind to read through "The Letters from the Land of the Rising Sun."

On successively reading through and translating the remaining twenty-four communications, I have become to understand his personality and the breadth of the information and knowledge which he had as well as the deep affection always shown towards Japan.

These eventually led me to start my extensive researches on him.

Fortunately, my nephew (The eldest son of my elder sister) who was then studying abroad in the Hebrew University in Israel, unexpectedly found a brief sketch of the life of Henry Spencer Palmer, recorded in the Dictionary of the National Biography published by the Oxford University Press, at the University Library and

sent a copy to me.

In December 1982, I could publish a book through Chikuma Shobo, one of the leading publishers in Japan, titled "The Letters from Japan at the dawn of a New Era" which is the Japanese version of Palmer's "The Letters from the Land of The Rising Sun" (translated by myself).

Now, soon after one copy of my book "The Letters from Japan at the dawn of a New Era" was presented to the National Diet Library in Tokyo, a letter from a Ms. Frances Woodward of Historical Maps and Cartographical Archives in the University of British Columbia in Vancouver arrived at the above Library.

The contents of the letter were as follows;

29 June 1983

I am compiling a biography of Henry Spencer Palmer for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography.

For your information, I am enclosing an obituary of Palmer, who died in Tokyo, 10 March 1893 (Should be 10 February 1893).

A member of the family visited Tokyo in 1934 and found that someone was putting fresh flower on his grave.

The last page of the obituary outlines his work in Japan.

I need some documentation to support this outline of Palmer's work in Japan.

On the subject of his grave, is it possible to find out if it is still there, who was caring for it, and if it is still being cared for?

Any help or advice would be very much appreciated.

Frances Woodward

The officer in charge who received the letter from Ms. Woodward found out about my book which was presented to the Library, and immediately contacted me.

Then, he wrote back to Ms. Woodward telling her that Mr. Higuchi, the translator of the book, who does researches on Palmer, happened to be a grandson of Palmer and had been taking care of Palmer's grave in Aoyama, Tokyo and he sent various materials which she asked in accordance with my recommendations for her further study.

After a while, Ms. Woodward sent a letter directly to me, in which she told me that, in Vancouver Island, there lived Mr. Henry Alexander Rogers and his sister, Mrs. Mary Huntley, children of Irene Josephine, the 6th daughter of Henry Spencer Palmer.

In return, I wrote a letter enclosing the photos of myself and my deceased mother and cordially asked her to convey my wishes to Mr. Rogers and Mrs Huntley that I would appreciate seeing them very much in not a distant future.

On March 1984, I received a letter from Mrs. Mary Huntley starting with the following warmest hearted

sentences;

Box. 8, Lanzville B.C.
Canada VOR2HO

March 8, 1984

Dear Cousin Higuchi

I was delighted beyond words to hear from Frances Woodward that the PALMER clan is far more extensive than previously thought!

This brings very warm regards from your Canadian cousin.

My brother Alec Rogers and I are the children of H.S.P.'s youngest daughter Irene. There are Mary Vivian and her sister, Marjorie Ferguson, both in their 80's who live in England, daughters of Evelyn Mary Bennett, another of H.S.P.'s daughters.

Bill Palmer who lived in California until his death about 10 years ago was the last of the Palmer males to have any children and his only offspring was a female as was the case with Uta (my grandmother) and H.S.P. (Frances sent me a copy of your family tree).

Unfortunately this spills the demise of the Palmer name.

Bill was the one who did all the genealogical work on the Palmers and I know he would have enjoyed meeting you.

I have told his widow Sherry of your existence and she is as excited as I.

If it hadn't been for such as Frances, we would probably never have discovered each other's existence!

I am writing to both Mary and Marjorie in England to tell them the news and called Sherry Palmer by phone as mentioned earlier.

Sincerely

Mary Huntley

On May 18, 1984, I left Japan, and initially visited Ms. Woodward at the U.B.C.

It was on May 21 when I could finally meet a grey-haired lady, Mrs. Mary Huntley, waiting for me at Nanaimo Harbour on Vancouver Island.

I stayed at her house in Lanzville for a day, having a long talk with her on Palmer and was presented a copy of Palmer Family Tree as well as the family coat of Arms, together with a bulk of valuable materials on Palmer such as cuttings of newspapers and periodicals published from 1859 to 1862 and later years.

During our conversation, Mrs. Huntley recommended me to visit Mrs. William Palmer at Rancho Santa Fe in California on my way home.

I completed my research works at the Provincial Archives at Victoria where there were bulk of valuable materials on Palmer.

Then, as recommended by Mrs. Huntley, I visited Mrs. Palmer at Rancho Santa Fe in California on June 8.

Thanks to the previous telephone contact from Mrs. Huntley in Lanzville, I was given a hearty welcome from Mrs. William Palmer.

She was a very intellectual 80 year old lady, a graduate of Smith Girls' College in Boston and one of the first lady-journalists in U.S.A.

Though she had no blood relationship with Palmer, I cannot forget her warmest words to the effect that Uta-san might have been "An Oasis in the Desert" to Palmer in Japan.

The letter which waited for my return from the trip on June 13 was the one from Mrs. Mary Vivian in England as follows;

June 5 1984
Bicknoller
Taunton
Somerset

Dear Cousin Jiro Higuchi,

I have been watching with the greatest interest your correspondence with my cousin Mary Huntley, and also hearing about your meeting, and now I hope you will let me add the little I can tell you of our grandfather H.S.P.

All my mother (Evelyn) ever said was that she had kept house for him, so I imagine she was there when your mother was born!

After her father's death, she went down to Hongkong to fill a vacancy in the newly opened British Hospital as she was a trained nurse.

I think she had taken up nursing to escape from her unhappy lone life.

I wish I had more to tell you of family history, but my mother said very little about her father, which is sad when he was such a distinguished man.

I hope one day I may see the biography you are working on, and at least it is a great comfort that you are proud of him and have undertaken this labour of love.

With kind regards
yours sincerely

Mary Vivian

I had already written that Evelyn Mary Palmer, Vivian's mother, was thanked very much of her self-sacrificing nursing of the two Japanese doctors who were caught with the bubonic plague rampant in Hongkong in 1894, while encouraging the patients with her poor Japanese vocabulary.

Moreover, I can well understand that she must have been a very warm-hearted lady also for the fact that she had sent to my grandmother Uta a beautifully embroidered Chinese pouch from Hongkong.

In 1985, when I visited England, I tried, first of all, to visit Vivian in the country; however, to my great pity, I was informed that Vivian had been on the verge of death due to a heart attack, so it was impossible for me to visit her.

However, I was able to meet Mrs. Marjorie Ferguson, at 86, the younger sister of Vivian and her family and was presented with various materials on Palmer from them.

As my researches on Henry Spencer Palmer made progress, the whole image on him have gradually become clear to me.

To say nothing of his distinguished careers as Royal Engineers in various countries, starting from England, his home country, British Columbia in Canada, England, Sinai Peninsula, New Zealand, Barbados, and Hongkong, since he arrived in Japan in 1885, he accomplished considerable achievements not only in the technical fields, such as in waterworks, harbourworks, river-improvements, irrigation system, astronomy, geology, meteorology and land survey.

It also became clear that he was the man who, understanding well the feelings of young Japanese statesmen, correctly reported to England through "The Times" with a beautiful and sympathetic touch, the social conditions, humanness, manners and customs, and the daily life of the Japanese people, while sending many letters on the revision of the treaties to materialize it for Japan.

THE END

NOTE

CHAPTER I

(1) BANGALORE

The capital of Maisor-State, East India. Today the city is called as the Silicon Valley of India and many internationally leading high-tech industries push into the city.

(2) MOODY, RICHARD CLEMENT (1813-1877)

Major-General of Royal Engineers. Graduated from Woolwich Military Academy in 1829. Proficient in drafting and architecture.

Promoted to Colonel in 1858 and appointed to be the Vice Governor and the chief of the Land and Engineering Works in the new Colony of British Columbia.

Until he returned home as the Regimental Full Colonel, he devoted himself to the construction of the New Colony, drawing the arterial roads, designing the plan to construct the capital city of New Westminster in the once deepest forest.

To admire his achievements, the terminal station of the Canadian Pacific Railway was named as PORT MOODY after his name.

(3) LYTTON EDWARD GEORGE (1803-1873)

Statesman and novelist (The author of the "Last Days of Pompeii (1834)."

In 1858 he was a Colonial Secretary of England.

(4) Bella Coola

The village of Bella Coola lies at the head of the deeply entrenched fjord of North Bentinck Arm situated at the north-west of British Columbia.

From Victoria it is about 440 miles.

(5) The Report of a Journey of Survey from Victoria to Fort Alexander (Alexandria) via North Bentinck Arm

This report was furnished to Col. Moody on November 24, 1862.

Full text of the report was printed in 1863 by the Royal Engineer Press, New Westminster B.C.

(6) Palmer's Report (4 letters form) to Col. Moody dated

- (1) 1862-7-16
- (2) 8-13
- (3) 8-17
- (4) 8-27

(7) The Report on Harrison and Lillouette Road

Lieutenant Palmer furnished this report to Colonel Moody on May 1859. The full text was introduced in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society No. 31 (1861).

(8) JAMES, SIR HENRY (1803-1877)

Graduated from Woolwich Royal Military Academy.

Served in The Ordnance Survey from 1827 to 1875. He became

the Director General in 1854 and died in June 14, 1877 at the rank of Lieutenant General. His younger sister Jane was the mother of Henry Spencer Palmer, but she died just one month after Palmer was born. In the field of surveying by triangulation as well as the photozincography his name is conspicuous.

(9) WILSON, SIR CHARLES WILLIAM (1836-1905)

Graduated from Royal Military Academy, Woolwich in 1855 as the officer of Royal Engineers, he worked various parts in England as well as its colonies.

He surveyed Jerusalem, Palestine and Sinai.

In 1878 he was appointed to the Director General of Military Education at the War Office, and became the Director General of Ordnance Survey in 1886 to 1893.

He wrote many books on surveying.

(10) PALMER, EDWARD HENRY (1840-1882)

Prominent philologist (linguist). Orientalist.

From the boyhood, well versed in Romany, Italian, French and other languages. Surveyed the Peninsula of Sinai, devoted to the study of Bedouin and while working in the Cambridge University as the professor of Arabic language, he travelled to Arabia and was involved in the Arabian War and killed in 1882.

(11) The title of the series is "Ancient History from the Monuments" which consists of "Assyria, Sinai, Babylonia, Greek Colonies and islands of Asia Minor, Egypt and Persia."

(12) AIRY, SIR GEORGE BIDDELL (1801-1892)

Astronomer Royal for 46 years from 1835 until 1881.

Graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge with excellent results in 1823 and became assistant mathematical tutor next year.

His distinguished services on various astronomical phenomena being conspicuous, he was recommended to become the Astronomer Royal of Greenwich Observatory in 1835.

He devoted himself to the preparations and observations of the Transit of Venus in 1874.

(13) ARAI, IKUNOSUKE (1835-1909)

Ex-retainer of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Technical officer on surveying and astronomy under Meiji Government.

Born in Yedo (Tokyo), studied at the Shoheiko School as well as Nagasaki Naval School.

In 1868, though he resisted against the Imperial Army with Enomoto Takeaki at Hokkaido, he surrendered himself and after the release, he was sent to Hokkaido for its development.

In 1879, he became the chief of Surveying Bureau of the Home Ministry and later, appointed to the first chief astronomer in the central Observatory.

(14) INOUE, KAORU (1836-1915)

Statesman from Choshu Clan. In 1863 went to England with Ito Hirobumi and others. After the Restoration in 1869, occupied various important positions in the Government as the State

Councillor for industrial and technological Board, and foreign affairs.

In 1885, became the first Minister for Foreign Affairs and struggled hard to materialize the revision of the treaties, but resigned due to the strong opposition from the nation.

Later, occupied successive positions in the ministerial posts of Agriculture and Commerce, Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs.

He also secured the advisory position in the Mitsui Zaibatsu (Financial clique) and became like the old man in the political and financial world in Japan.

(15) NATURE

A world famous authentic weekly specialized in Science, wrote on Palmer on July 26, 1882 on his "Recent Japanese Progress," and further wrote another article titled "H.S. Palmer's centennial anniversary" on April 30 1938.

CHAPTER II

(16) PARKES, SIR HENRY SMITH (1828-1885)

British Diplomatist. Lost his parent when very young, and at the age of 13, went to Macao to depend upon his two elder sisters for support who received assistance of a Christian missionary, Gitlav.

In 1846, he started to work in the British Consulate at Canton, and in various districts in China and until March 1865, he became conversant with affairs in China. On June 1865, he came to Japan as the British Minister in Tokyo to succeed Alcock.

Before the Restoration in 1869, he abandoned to support the Tokugawa Shogunate Government and supported Satsuma and Choshu Clans and assisted their anti-Shogunate movement.

He brought up young Consulate members such as Mitford, Satow and Siebold and himself became quite conversant with the affairs of Japan and contributed for the repletion of the new Japanese Government, but, as far as the revision of the treaties are concerned, he is well known as he did not concede a bit for the protection of the interests of the English residents in Japan.

After he served in Japan for 18 years, he was transferred to a higher position to China as the Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiaries.

He died in Peking in 1885.

(17) OKI, MORIKATA (1840-1912)

In 1871, he participated in the Iwakura Mission (Embassy to U.S.A and Europe), and stayed there for 8 years.

After served in the departments of Home and Foreign Affairs, he became the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture.

He formed the plan to construct waterworks in Yokohama and finally completed the first Modern Waterworks in Japan under the design and superintendence of Palmer in 1887.

He is also well known as the tough negotiator for the foreign residents in Yokohama on the problem pertaining to the revision of the treaties.

Later, he was nominated to the Governors of Shiga and Nagasaki Prefectures and became the member of Peers and was

created a Baron.

(18) MITA, ZENTARO (1855-1929)

Civil Engineer, graduated from Civil Engineering Department of Tokyo Imperial University in 1878.

In 1879, he was employed as the civil engineer attached to the Kanagawa Prefecture Office.

Since 1882, he worked hard to materialize the construction of the waterworks and devoted himself for it under the guidance of Henry Spencer Palmer as the leader among the Japanese engineers.

In 1887, he became the chief engineer of Yokohama Waterworks Office.

Later he was engaged in the construction of Yokohama Harbourworks under the guidance of Palmer.

CHAPTER III

(19) REED, SIR EDWARD J.

British superintendent of shipbuilding. Member of British Parliament.

Came to Japan in January 1879. Engaged in the design of several warships which Japanese Government ordered.

CHAPTER V

(20) KOJIMA, KOREKATA (1837-1908)

The President of the Supreme Court at the time when the Russian Crown Prince was attacked by a Japanese Policeman at Otsu, near Kyoto in 1891.

(21) SHIBUSAWA, EIICHI (1840-1931)

A prominent Japanese businessman.

The founder of the system of Stock Company in Japan.

Established more than 500 stock companies under his initiatives.

After retirement from the business world, in 1916, he devoted himself to various public work activities, viz, in the field of education, community and culture.

Brief History of H.S. Palmer

<u>Period</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Particulars</u>
1838- 4-30	-	Born at Bangalore, Madras District, India
1856- 1	17	Entered the Practical Class of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich
12-20	18	Gazetted to a Lieutenant in the Royal Enginners
1857- 3- 1		Entered the School of Military Engineering at Chatham
1858- 1- 6		Graduated the School
1858- 1- 7 to 1858-10- 8		Company Officer at Portsmouth, and to the Isle of Wight
1858-10- 9	20	Appointed to the British Columbia Expedition under Col. R.C. Moody, R.E.
12-17		Left England for British Columbia
1859- 4-12		Arrived at Port Esquimalt, British Columbia
1863-10- 7	25	Married
12-29		Returned to England from British Columbia
1864- 3- 1		Appointed to the Ordnance Survey in Tunbridge
1866- 3- 1	27	Promoted to second Captain
1868-10-24	28	Participated in the Survey of Sinai Peninsula
1869- 5-30	31	Returned to England from Sinai Peninsula
1873-12 -1	35	Promoted to Major
1873-12-11		Recommended to the Fellow of Royal Astronomical Society
1874- 6-27	36	Left for New Zealand for observing the Transit of Venus
1875- 6- 5	37	Returned to England from New Zealand
1875-11- 2		Left for Barbados as the Resident Engineer
1876- 3		Appointed to serve as Aide de Camp to the Governor of the Windward Island under Mr. Pope Hennessy
1877-12	39	Appointed to the Executive Engineer at Hongkong

1878- 1-29		Left for Hongkong via England
4	40	Appointed to the A.D.C. to the Governor, Sir Pope-Hennessy of Hongkong
1879-10- 8	41	Visited Japan for the first time
1880- 7-30	42	for the second time
1881- 7- 1	43	Promoted to Brevet Colonel
1881-10-24		Visited Japan as the Attache to the grandsons of Queen Victoria
1882-12-19	44	Visited Japan on his way back to England
1883- 2-15		Employed for 3 months as the Advisory Engineer to the Kanagawa Prefecture for Waterworks in Yokohama
4-11		Drew up and submitted the Report of Yokohama Waterworks (1st Report)
5-31	45	(2nd Report)
		Left for England
1883- 7-10		Appointed to Commanding Royal Engineer of Manchester District
to 1885- 2-22		
1885- 4-11		Arrived Japan to superintend the Yokohama Waterworks
7- 1	47	Promoted to Colonel R.E.
1887- 1-25	48	Drew up and submitted "Report and Estimate of a Project for constructing a Commercial Harbour at Yokohama
5- 6	49	Drew up and submitted the Report of the Water Supply for Osaka
6-18		Drew up and superintended the Water Purifying Facility for Oji Paper Mills
8-19		Participated in the observation of Total Sun Eclipse at Shirakawa
9-12		Drew up and submitted the Report & Estimate for Waterworks at Hakodate
21		Opening Ceremony of Yokohama Waterworks at the Intake was held
10- 1		Retired from the Army as the Honorary rank of

		Major General
	17	The Water Supply service for City of Yokohama started
1888-	1-14	Drew up and submitted the Report and Estimate of Waterworks in Tokyo
	3	Drew up and submitted the Report and Estimate of Waterworks in Kobe
	6-30	50 Appointed to the Honorary Advisory Engineer for the Public Work Bureau of Ministry of Home Affairs
	7-21	Participated in the Investigation for the Bandai San Eruption
	9- 6	Drew up and submitted the Report and Estimate of Yokohama Harbourworks
1889-	3-31	Drew up and submitted the Report and Estimate for Docks in Yokohama
	8- 2	51 Appointed to the Superintendence for the Construction of Yokohama Harbour
1890-	1-12	Left for England to investigate the availability of the necessary materials/ equipment for the construction of Yokohama Harbour
	5-25	52 Returned to Japan from England
1891-	7	53 Drew up and submitted the design of Water Supply for a large irrigation siphon for Misakamura in Hyogo Prefecture
	10	Participated in the investigation of the Mino/Owari Earthquake
1893-	2-10	Died in Tokyo

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