



FROM DEJIMA

Dutch diplomatic locations in Japan since the 1850s



TO TOKYO

CONTENTS

2	From Dejima to Tokyo
4	Nagasaki
9	Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius
10	Kanagawa-Yokohama
20	Dirk de Graeff van Polsbroek
21	Trading Places
22	Edo-Tokyo
34	Léon van de Polder
35	Jean Charles Pabst
36	What is a Consul General?
38	Kobe-Osaka
48	Other Locations
49	Acknowledgements
50	Image Credits

This study has been commissioned and published by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Tokyo. Kjeld Duits conducted the study and wrote the text. It features websites and printed publications in English and Japanese.

AUTHOR / EDITOR / PRODUCTION | Kjeld Duits, DUIITS www.duits.co

PROOFREADER | Keith McPhalen

HISTORICAL ADVISOR | Isabel Tanaka-van Daalen

TRANSLATOR | Kitamoto Mizuki

EDITOR (JAPANESE) | Hirano Atsuko

DESIGN | Hirisha Mehta

PRINTING | SHIBAURA HOUSE inc. www.shibaurahouse.jp

Japanese names are rendered with family name first.

COVER.

Top. The island of Dejima in Nagasaki, 1833–1836.

Bottom. The ambassador's residence in 2022.



FROM DEJIMA TO TOKYO

IN THE 1850S, AFTER TWO CENTURIES OF ISOLATION,

Japan signed commercial treaties that opened several ports to international trade. This initiated a cascade of events that eventually resulted in civil war and the overthrow of the shogunate.

In this rapidly changing political and economic environment, Dutch diplomats in Japan had to find new ways of working and new places to do this work, while building a new relationship with Japan.

They initially stayed at the trading post at Nagasaki's Dejima island, to which the Dutch had been confined since 1641. Japan got its first Dutch diplomat in 1855 when Dejima's chief agent, Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius, received the title "Dutch Commissioner in Japan." It was hoped that this would raise his standing in the eyes of the Japanese government and help with the negotiation of a commercial treaty.

As a result, the house and office of the chief agent became the first Dutch diplomatic location in Japan. When Donker Curtius was replaced by Consul General Jan Karel de Wit in 1860, it became the consulate general, effectively the Dutch legation in Japan.

The first Dutch consulate proper was opened in Kanagawa in 1859 by Dirk de Graeff van Polsbroek. It was moved to Yokohama in 1861. Over the next decade, consulates were opened in other cities as well. The aim was to assist Dutch merchants, and promote Dutch trade. If the amount of trade disappointed, the consulate was quickly closed, as happened in Niigata and Tokyo.

Around this point, things become a bit confusing. The Treaty of Amity and Commerce that the Netherlands and Japan signed in 1858 allowed a Dutch "diplomatic agent" to reside in Edo

(present-day Tokyo). The Chō'ōji temple in Takanawa was rented for this purpose and many books and articles introduce Chō'ōji as the Dutch legation at this time.

Both De Graeff van Polsbroek and De Wit stayed at Chō'ōji during their negotiations with the Japanese government. However, they did not live there. De Graeff van Polsbroek remained in Yokohama, while De Wit stayed in Nagasaki. During his three years in Japan, De Wit's presence in Edo was actually limited to just four brief visits.

In practice, Chō'ōji was a sort of satellite office, generally used for just a few days at a time. It appears that no Dutch diplomatic staff were based there permanently.

Although Consul General De Wit remained in Nagasaki, the town became increasingly irrelevant after Yokohama was opened to international trade in 1859. Most foreign merchants settled in the new port, while foreign representatives opened legations in Edo.

It took the Dutch government quite a while to accept this. Only when De Wit left Japan in 1863 was the consulate general finally moved out of Nagasaki.

With Yokohama-based De Graeff van Polsbroek becoming the new consul general, this city became the new location of the



consulate general. Meanwhile, Chō'ōji continued to be used as a branch office.

When De Graeff van Polsbroek became the first minister resident of the Netherlands in Japan in 1868, it officially transformed the consulate general in Yokohama into the Dutch legation, comparable to a current day embassy. It was exclusively based in Yokohama after the rental contract with Chō'ōji was discontinued around 1870.

In 1886, the legation was moved to its current location in Tokyo. Here, it became the embassy in 1952.

It can be said that the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Japan was born in Yokohama. This is where, in 1862, the first Dutch diplomatic structure in Japan was built. It is also where the first Dutch minister resident lived and worked. Yokohama was the first diplomatic home of the Netherlands in Japan after leaving Dejima, and the location where the foundations were laid for a professional style of Dutch diplomatic representation in Japan.

PAGE TOP. 1. View of the consulate (the buildings around the left flagpole) on Dejima, ca. 1863.

TIMELINE

OF THE MAIN DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN JAPAN

- 1855** Dejima chief agent (Opperhoofd) Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius receives the title "Dutch Commissioner in Japan." The house of the Opperhoofd on Dejima effectively becomes the first Dutch diplomatic location in Japan.
- 1860** Because Consul General Jan Karel de Wit arrives at Dejima, the former house of the Opperhoofd now becomes the consulate general. Chō'ōji temple in Edo functions as a sort of branch office.
- 1863** The consulate general is moved to Yokohama.
- 1868** The Consulate General in Yokohama effectively becomes the legation.
- 1870** The rental contract with Chō'ōji is discontinued.
- 1886** The legation is moved to its current location in Tokyo.
- 1952** The legation becomes an embassy.



NAGASAKI

FIRST DIPLOMATIC MISSION

The Dutch trading station at Nagasaki's Dejima island was run by a chief agent (or "Opperhoofd") who was not a political representative. This changed in 1855, when the last Opperhoofd, Jan

Hendrik Donker Curtius, received the title, "Dutch Commissioner in Japan." As a result of this appointment, the residence of the Opperhoofd became the first Dutch diplomatic mission in Japan.

The two-storied Opperhoofd's residence was located very close to the Water Gate, one of only two entrances to the island (Figs. 3, 4). Dutch naval officer Hendericus Octavus Wichers who lived at Dejima between 1857 and 1860, described the approach to the building in his diary:

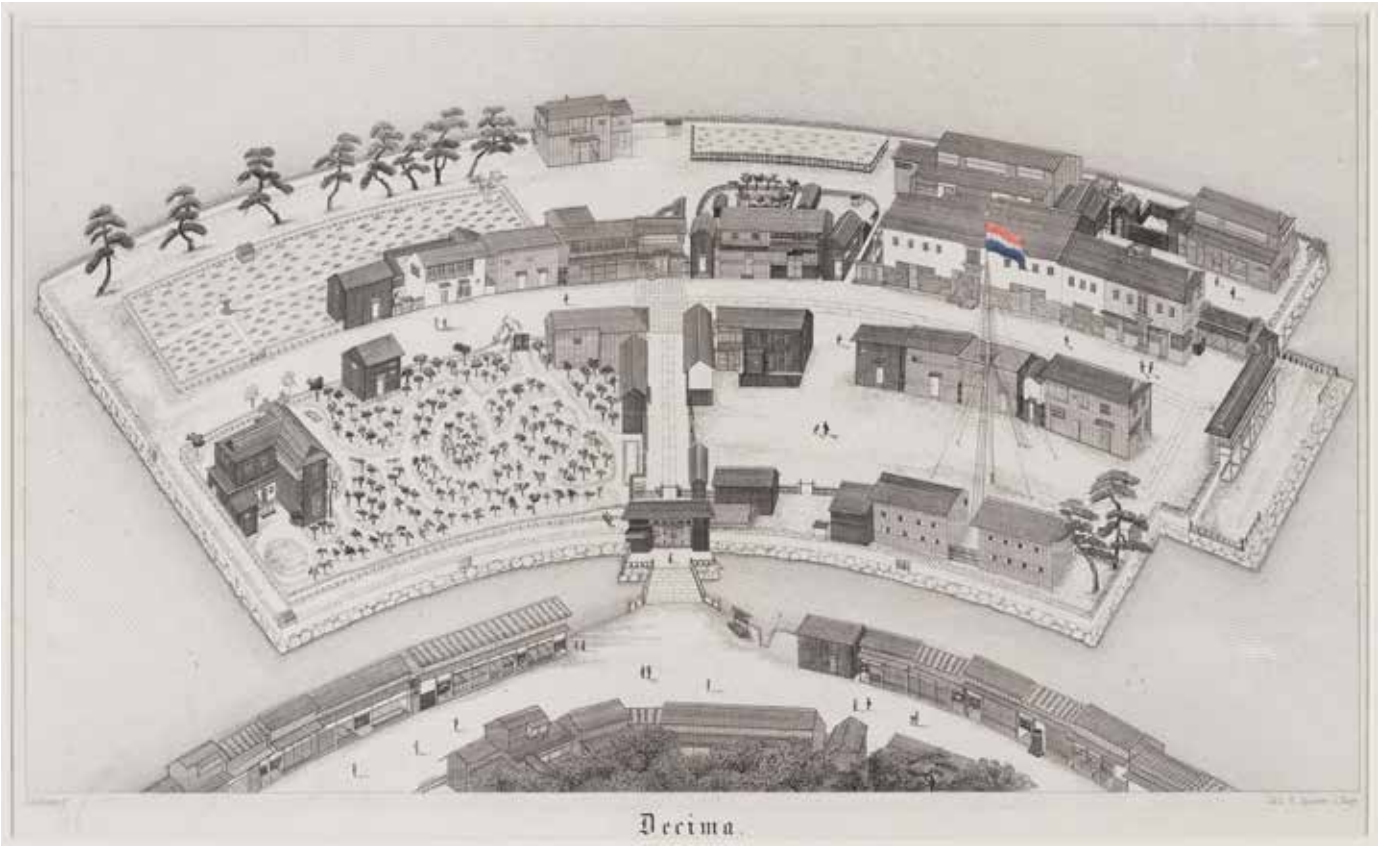
"When one goes from the roadstead to Desima [*sic*], one enters that island through the Water Gate, a gate which was formerly open only during the unloading and loading of ships, but now remains open from morning to night and is only closed at night. Straight ahead, one now sees a fairly wide street, paved in the middle with large elongated stones. On the right side, first a Japanese guardhouse, intended for the officer of the watch who is always there when there are Japanese, coolies, and workmen

at Desima. We call him Opperbanjoo[s]t. Next, an empty house formerly occupied by the Master of the Storehouse, then the house of the Opperhoofd."

Wichers writes that the houses at Dejima were built using traditional Japanese construction methods. They were timber framed with walls made of bamboo, tied up with rice straw ropes, and plastered with clay. "Inside, the wall is covered with beautiful Japanese wallpaper, all the pieces a foot long and a half wide. The outside is covered with an excellent kind of white plaster, or with thin planks which are then painted black."

Because a devastating fire had destroyed most of the buildings on Dejima in 1798, the Opperhoofd's residence was still fairly new when Donker Curtius arrived in 1852. It had only been completed in 1809, and appears to have been remodeled just before the arrival of Opperhoofd Pieter Albert Bik in 1842. Ten years later, it must still have been in a good state of repair.

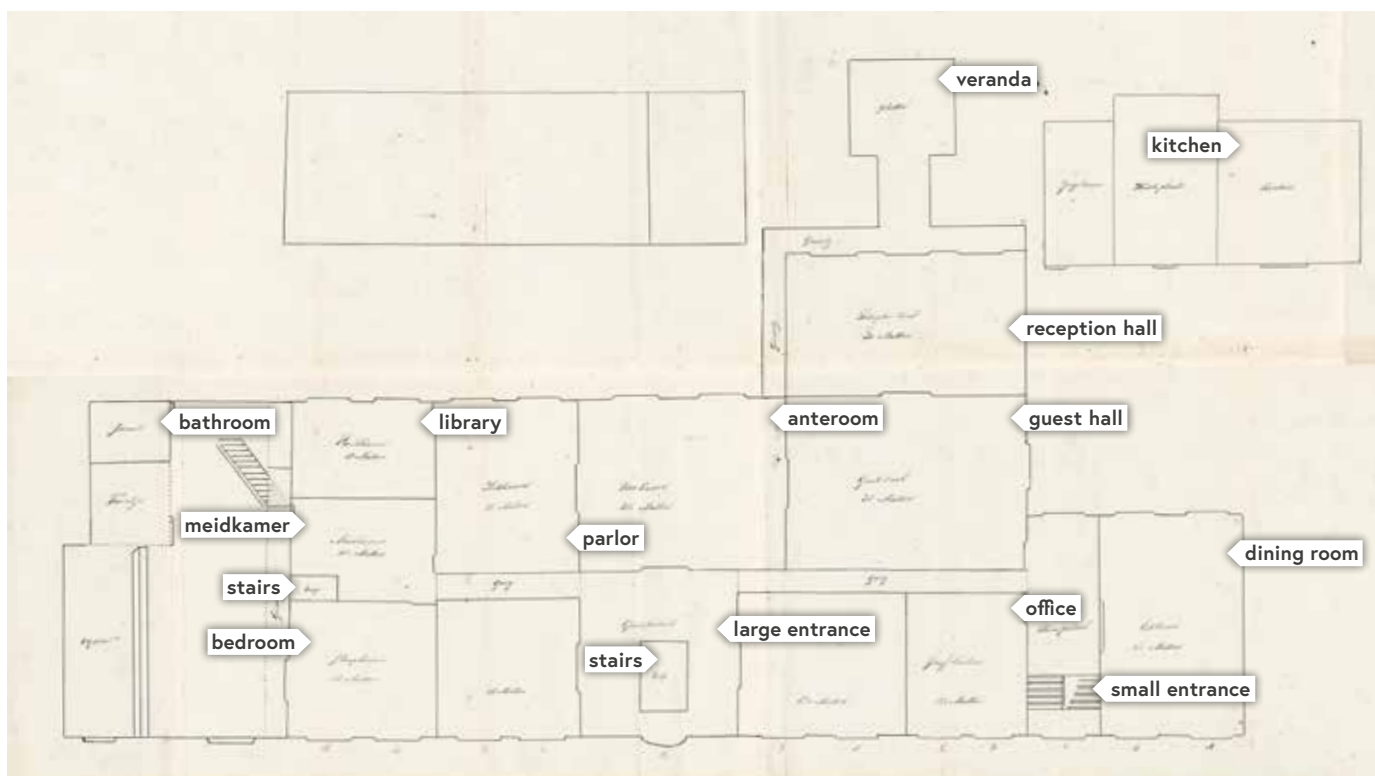
PAGE TOP. 2. Dejima between 1863 and 1865. The Dutch consulate is the building with the covered veranda and flagpole.



3. Dejima, ca. 1852. The building partly hidden by the Dutch flag is the house of the Opperhoofd, the later Consulate General. This map was published in *Bladen over Japan*, the memoirs of Opperhoofd Joseph Henry Levyssohn who resided on Dejima from 1845 to 1851. This scene is therefore similar to what Donker Curtius would have seen.

4. Dejima in 1868. The Dutch consulate occupies lots 2 and 3, the former Opperhoofd buildings.





5. Floor plan of the Opperhoofd house, ca. 1842–1845. It most likely looked similar during the time of Donker Curtius and De Wit. The figure after the name signifies the number of tatami mats that would have been laid on the floor of the room, indicating its size. One mat measures about 1.5 square meters or 16.46 square feet.

Bik, who left Dejima in 1845, took a floor plan of the residence back with him to the Netherlands (Fig. 5). So, we know how the building was used around that time. Most likely, little had changed when it became the Dutch diplomatic mission in 1855.

The floor plan shows large reception and guest halls, an office, a veranda from which incoming ships could be seen, and several private rooms, including a room for the courtesan (meidkamer). It was conveniently situated right next to the bedroom.

As was custom at Dejima, all these rooms were located on the second floor of the building. The ground floors were generally used as storage space.

Wichers, who used the residence to teach modern navigation to some thirty Japanese students, writes that it was “very spacious, and partially very decently furnished at government expense for the reception of important people, like lords, governors, etc. In one of the rooms the entire Royal family is on display in ornately gilded frames.”

SAYONARA DEJIMA

In 1859, once again, many buildings were destroyed by fire. The well was dry and it was low tide, so there was no water for firefighting. The flames were finally stopped because some 200 Russian sailors who had rushed in to help knocked down an old house.

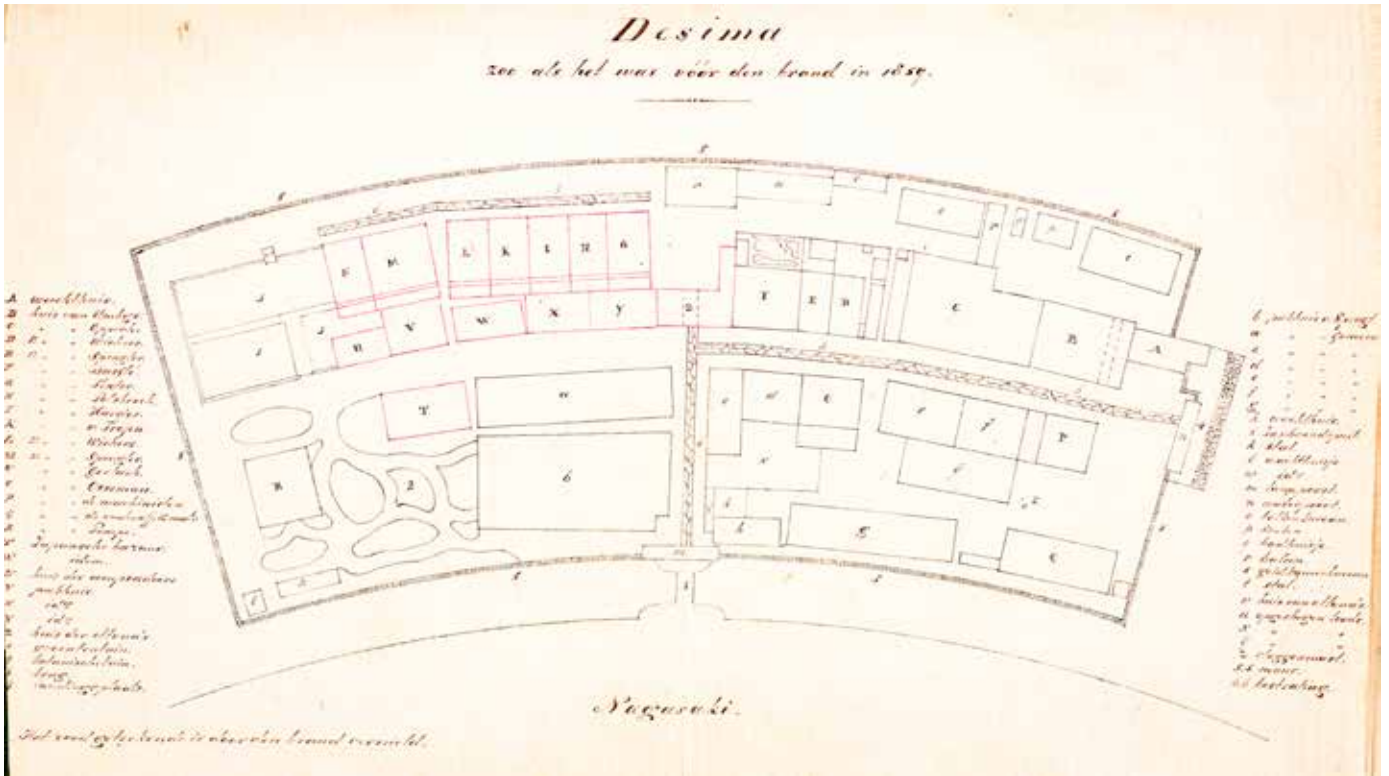
Thanks to them, the Opperhoofd’s residence survived the disaster. On a map that Wichers drew of Dejima, the houses that burned down are marked in red (Fig. 6). It graphically illustrates that the fire came within meters of the residence.

Consul General Jan Karel de Wit gratefully took advantage of this miracle when he took over from Donker Curtius in 1860, only a year after the fire. He moved into the former Opperhoofd’s residence and made it the consulate general. When he left Japan in 1863, the consulate general was moved to Yokohama. The government furnishings that so impressed Wichers, were moved to the new location as well.

Around this time, merchants of other nationalities were starting to make Dejima their new home, while the unique position of the Netherlands in Japan was quickly fading. Following more than two centuries of continuous use, the curtain had finally closed on Dejima as a unique and exclusive Dutch home base in Japan.

After the consulate general was moved away from Nagasaki, the agent of the Netherlands Trading Society (Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij), Albert Bauduin, was appointed consul. He moved into the former Opperhoofd’s residence, which now became the Dutch consulate.

The Dutch government auctioned off the former Opperhoofd’s residence on January 16, 1865. Bauduin became the leaseholder. He moved to Kobe in January 1868, after which



6. Dejima in 1859. From the 1857–1859 diary of Dutch naval officer Hendericus Octavus Wichers. The buildings marked in red ink were lodgings built for the 37 Dutch naval instructors at the Naval Training School in Nagasaki. These burned down on the night of March 7, 1859. Building C is marked "House of Opperhoofd."

7. A private room in the rebuilt Opperhoofd's residence at Dejima, on the day it was officially opened in 2006. The reconstruction is based on how the building looked around 1820–1825.



consular affairs were taken care of by succeeding employees of the Netherlands Trading Society.

It appears that the consulate remained in the former Opperhoofd's residence through December 16, 1874, when Consul Johannes Jacobus van der Pot handed consular services over to Marcus Octavius Flowers, the consul of Great Britain. In a letter dated January 5, 1875, Van der Pot wrote that the flagpole of the consulate at Dejima had been moved off the island to the Netherlands Trading Society office at number 5 in the foreign settlement of Oura. A truly symbolic farewell.

Over the next three decades, Dutch consular affairs were taken care of by a succession of merchants and consulates of other countries as Nagasaki became increasingly irrelevant to the Netherlands.

Acting consul Müller-Beeck reported in 1890 that not a single Dutch merchant ship had visited Nagasaki port during the previous year. There were now only seven Dutch nationals living in the city, even fewer than the dozen or so that lived on Dejima when Japan was still a closed country. He listed a mere 12 entries in the ledger for the financial year ending in July 1890, spending a meager 7.79 dollars on consular expenses.

Dutch consular responsibilities were handed over to the British consulate at 6 Oura in 1908 (Fig. 8). The end came in 1941. When Pearl Harbor was attacked by the Japanese on December 8, British Consul Ferdinand Cecil Greatrex was the acting vice-consul for the Netherlands.

Japanese military police surrounded the consulate, placed Greatrex and his wife Margaret under house arrest and later confined them to a school on the outskirts of Nagasaki. In July 1942, they were finally allowed to return to the United Kingdom on an exchange ship.

After the end of the Second World War, Nagasaki only hosted an honorary vice-consulate and consulate. The centuries-long Dutch presence had now become a distant memory. Even Dejima itself had vanished, swallowed up by reclamation work.



8. Kaigandori (or Bund) in the Oura Foreign Settlement of Nagasaki, ca 1910s. The red brick building on the right is the British consulate.

TIMELINE

- 1852** Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius becomes the new Opperhoofd at Dejima.
- 1855** Opperhoofd Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius is appointed "Dutch Commissioner in Japan." The Opperhoofd's residence becomes the first Dutch diplomatic mission in Japan.
- 1860** Consul General Jan Karel de Wit arrives. The former Opperhoofd's residence becomes the first Dutch consulate general in Japan.
- 1863** The consulate general is moved to Yokohama. The former Opperhoofd's residence now becomes a consulate. Albert Bauduin, agent of the Netherlands Trading Society, becomes consul.
- 1865** The former Opperhoofd's residence and the former chancellor's building, are sold at auction for a sum of 4250 Mexican dollars.
- 1874** Consular services are transferred to the British consul on December 16, likely the last date that the former Opperhoofd's residence is used as the consulate.
- 1941** The British consulate is closed after the December 8 attack on Pearl Harbor. The Dutch consular presence in Nagasaki comes to an end.

JAN HENDRIK DONKER CURTIUS

APRIL 21, 1813 – NOVEMBER 27, 1879

Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius was the last Opperhoofd (chief agent) of the Dutch trading post at Dejima. He was also, after being appointed “Dutch Commissioner in Japan” in 1855, the first Dutch diplomatic representative in Japan.

And he was—although this is mostly forgotten—the first foreign diplomat to conclude a commercial treaty with Japan. He did this nine months ahead of American Consul Townsend Harris, who has gone into the history books as having opened Japan to foreign trade with the Harris Treaty.

When Donker Curtius was appointed Opperhoofd in July 1852, the Dutch government had become deeply worried that Great Britain and the United States would use military force to bring Japan’s two-and-a-half century old policy of isolation to an end. This could embroil the neutral country in war.

It therefore tasked Donker Curtius to persuade Japan to open its ports to international trade without resorting to force. Dutch Minister of Colonies Charles Ferdinand Pahud (1803–1873) wrote a secret letter to Dutch King Willem III that explained the course of action. “No threat whatsoever” was allowed. Additionally, “no intervention should be offered, nor should any side be chosen, between Japan and the attackers, in the event of hostilities.”

A previous attempt had failed dismally. In 1844, King Willem II had sent the shogun a letter, “from king to king,” advising that it was in Japan’s best interest to open its borders to free trade. The suggestion had been categorically rejected, and the Dutch were told not to send such a letter again.

In other words, Donker Curtius had been handed a nearly impossible assignment. Even more so because he was not a diplomat. He was a jurist, employed by the colonial government in the Dutch East Indies.

The first opportunity to negotiate conditions for a treaty offered itself when American Commodore Perry visited Japan in 1853 with a threatening fleet of modern warships. Perry demanded that Japan open its borders. He would return the following year for the answer. Although the Dutch government had informed Japan of the expedition well in advance, it still unnerved the Japanese government. The shogunate turned to Donker Curtius to order seven warships, a large number of firearms, and books on military subjects.

The Netherlands responded by offering the steam warship *Soembing* as a gift from King Willem III in 1855. The Japanese renamed it *Kankō Maru*. As it was Japan’s very first steam-powered warship, Japan needed teachers as well. So Donker Curtius simultaneously arranged that a Dutch naval detachment was invited to teach the Japanese how to use their gift.



9. Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius, 1862.

Naturally, these officers had to be treated with respect and dignity, and needed to move around freely. The strict rules that had confined the Dutch to Dejima for over two centuries were ended. In January 1856, a Dutch-Japanese Friendship Treaty was concluded that encoded these new rights.

Donker Curtius then used this treaty to negotiate additional articles allowing trade in Nagasaki and Hakodate. Signed on October 16, 1857, traders from other nations were also allowed to trade under this treaty, long before these countries concluded their own treaties with Japan.

Donker Curtius actually helped Harris to conclude his treaty. He regularly communicated with the American consul and even sent a copy of the additional

articles soon after they were concluded in 1857. Undoubtedly more important were the discussions that Donker Curtius had with Nagasaki officials about the Second Opium War (1856–1860) that Great Britain and France waged against China.

Donker Curtius’ report of this conflict showed Japanese officials how Great Britain twisted a small incident into an excuse to start a war. His report was widely circulated and greatly influenced Rōjū Hotta Masayoshi (1810–1864), who played a crucial role in the negotiations with Harris. Thanks to Donker Curtius’ explanations, Hotta had a thorough understanding of the causes of the war, and the dangers to Japan of ignoring or insulting Harris.

It is in no small measure thanks to this understanding that Harris was eventually allowed to visit Edo. Here he was able to conclude a treaty that reached much farther than what Donker Curtius had achieved. It opened several ports and can be seen as the start of free international trade in Japan.

Donker Curtius has often been criticized as having been too patient and understanding. But his government gave him no leverage, so he had little choice. The greatest mistake was to remain in Nagasaki when the representatives of the major powers set up legations at the Japanese center of power in Edo. This isolated the Dutch representative from major developments, and made it impossible to exert influence.

Although Donker Curtius’ work was greatly overshadowed by that of Harris and British representatives, his accomplishments should not be underestimated. He negotiated the first trade treaty with Japan, his treaties were used as blueprints for other treaties, and his advice influenced how Japanese officials dealt with Harris and other diplomats. Thanks to his efforts, diplomacy triumphed over war.

Additionally, the naval officers he brought in were instrumental in the birth of what would become the Japanese navy and greatly influenced how science, engineering and industry, and even medical education, developed in Japan.

KANAGAWA-YOKOHAMA

THE FIRST DUTCH CONSULATE IN JAPAN

With a population of 3.8 million, Yokohama is now the second-largest city in Japan. But when it was opened for international trade in July 1859 it was a tiny isolated fishing village. It was not even mentioned as open port in the commercial treaty that Dutch Commissioner Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius signed on August 18, 1858. That honor fell to nearby Kanagawa, a thriving post town on the strategic Tokaido road that linked Edo to Kyoto.

This road was always crowded with a stream of travelers, many of them samurai who were passionately against Japan opening its borders. Not surprisingly, the Tokugawa shogunate feared trouble if large numbers of foreigners settled there. Instead, it built the foreign settlement in Yokohama, just across the bay from Kanagawa.

The shogunate made a wise decision. As it later turned out, their fears were warranted. Additionally, Yokohama harbor could accommodate large foreign vessels whereas the waters at Kanagawa were too shallow.

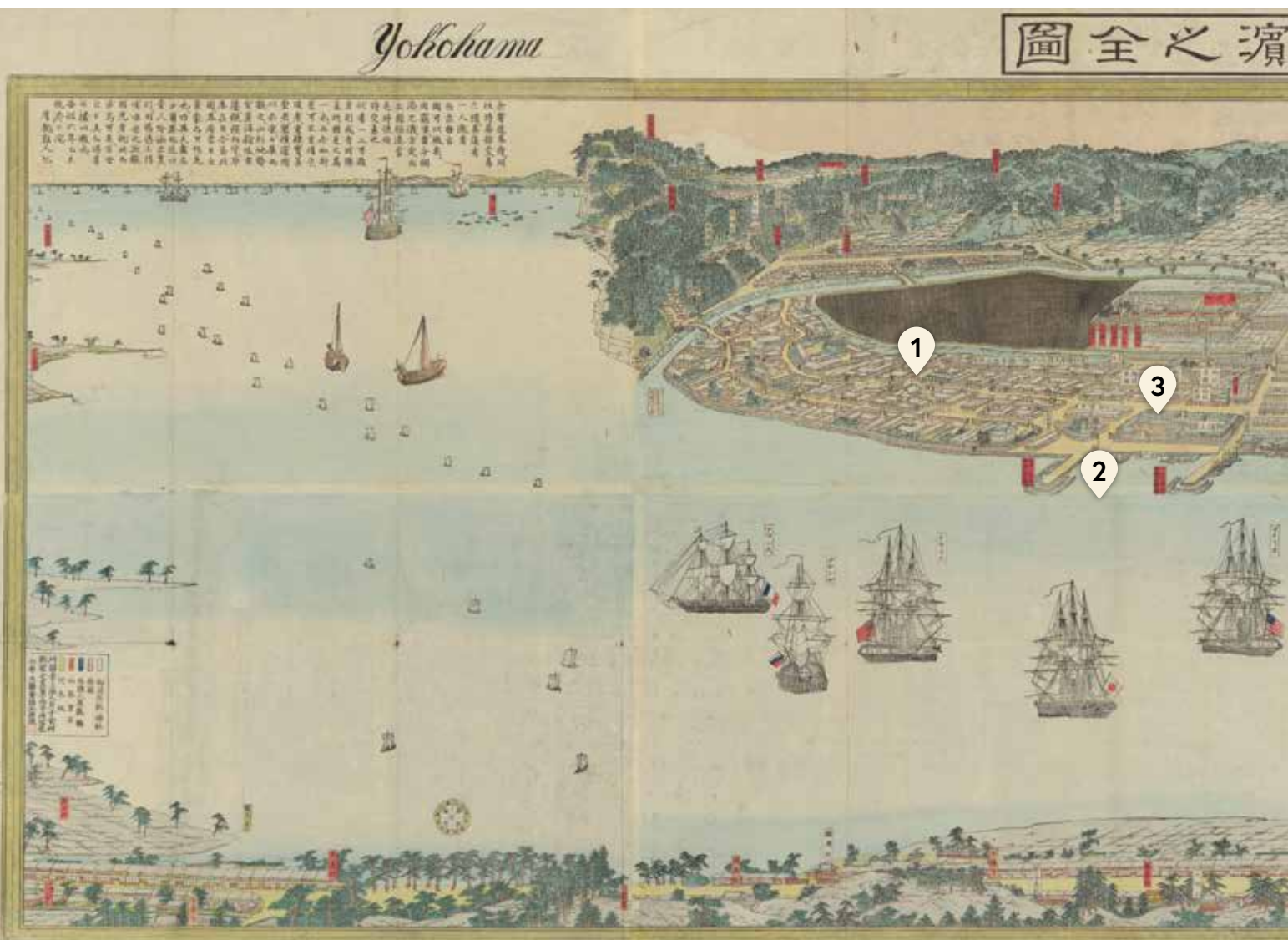
Merchants saw Yokohama as a potential gold mine. Dutch officials, who confusingly called Yokohama “Kanagawa,” were less optimistic. “I am of the opinion that the great expectations that

people might have conceived of Kanagawa as a trading place will initially cause great disappointments,” wrote Dutch naval commander J. H. van Capellen, after he surveyed Yokohama in May 1859.

Especially telling is that no preparations had been made to open a consulate at the new port. The decision to do so was made just two weeks before Yokohama was to open, and only because an opportunity presented itself. Donker Curtius’ young secretary Dirk de Graeff van Polsbroek had established a trading company and was planning to move to Yokohama. The commissioner asked him if he was interested in becoming vice-consul there. He was.

Donker Curtius seems to have had such a lack of confidence in Yokohama’s prospects that he dared not make the decision public. “The appointment should be kept secret and shall only take effect in case you decide to establish yourself for your company at Kanagawa and stay there,” he wrote in his instructions. Dutch merchants moving to Yokohama were told to rely on the British representative.

The very first Dutch consulate in Japan was the result of an afterthought, and a not very optimistic afterthought at that.



A TEMPLE ACROSS THE BAY

De Graeff van Polsbroek arrived off the coast of Yokohama on the Dutch merchant ship, the *Princes Charlotte* on July 3, 1859. It was around nine in the evening and already dark. He got his first sight of the new town the next morning when he was received by officials who showed him around.

From the landing piers he could see the newly built customs building with the offices of the bugyō (the administrator of the area). On the left was the area reserved for foreign merchants. On the right, the new Japanese town where some merchants were still building their shops. On the far right was Shukan Bentensha Shinto shrine, hidden from view in a small forest.

Left of the customs building were five houses intended for consuls. De Graeff van Polsbroek immediately told Bugyō Muragaki Norimasa that he would not prevent Dutch merchants from settling in Yokohama, but that the Dutch government had appointed him as Consul of Kanagawa and he had to reside there and not in Yokohama.

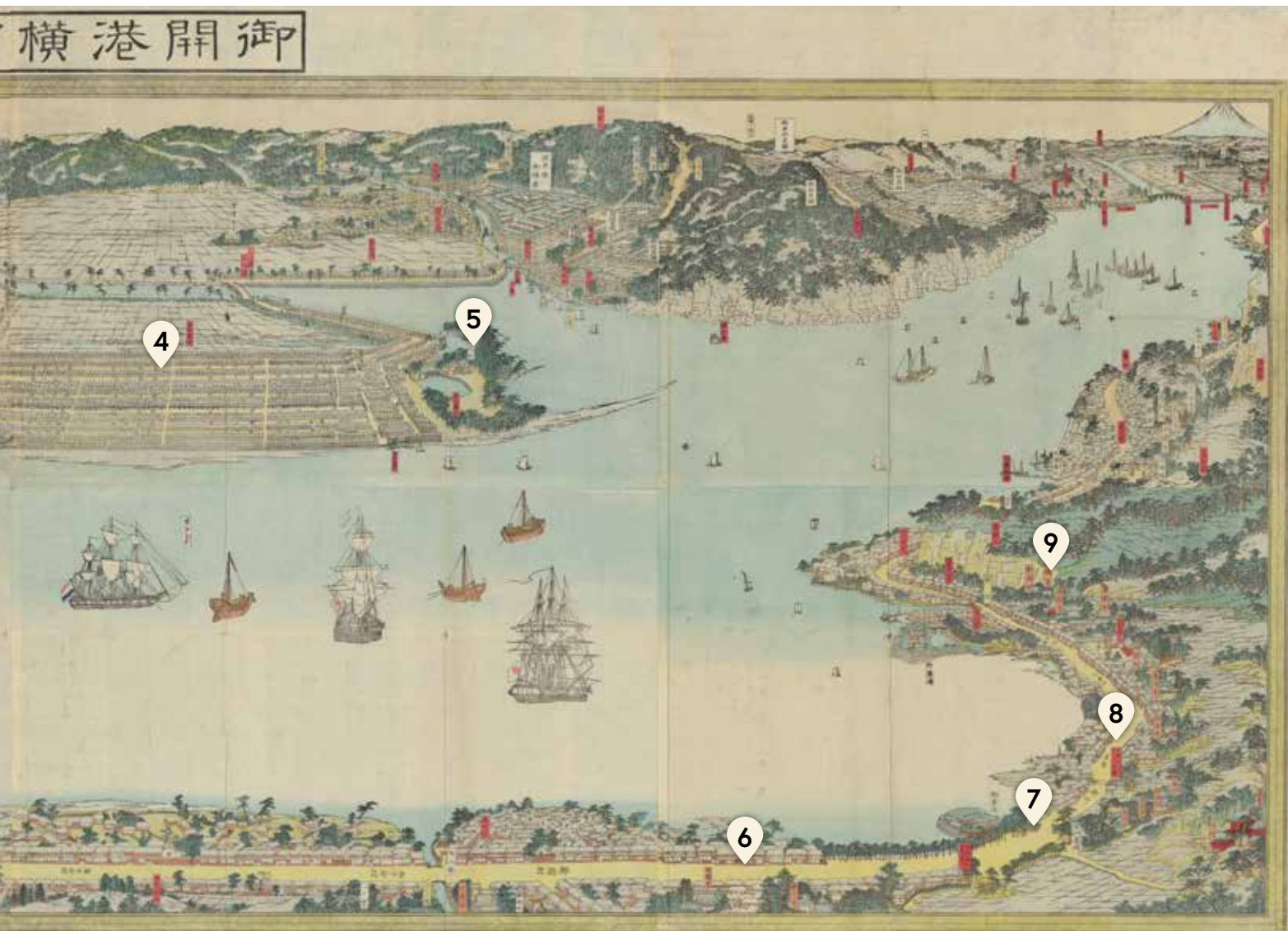
Muragaki was deeply troubled. “The Governor urged me to reconsider my decision. If you go to live there, the other consuls who are yet to come will follow your example,” De Graeff van Polsbroek wrote in his diary. The bugyō argued that this would make it difficult to protect them.

De Graeff van Polsbroek however refused to move into one of the assigned consul houses. He remained on board the *Princes Charlotte* until a residence was found in Kanagawa. As a result, the Japanese officials started calling the vessel the “consulate ship.” In a letter to Dutch newspaper *Java-bode*, captain Klaas Lourenz Hille wrote that even half a year later his ship was still called by that name.

On July 10, Japanese officials gave De Graeff van Polsbroek the Jōbutsuji Temple in Kanagawa as a place to reside. It was located “on a narrow side street, completely separated from the main road and very dilapidated,” *Java-bode* reported. The vice-consul was not satisfied and complained. Some time before October, he moved to the Chōenji Temple, located right next to Kanagawa’s main gate on the Tokaido (Figs. 10–13).

10. Map of Yokohama in 1860.

1. Foreign Settlement.
2. Landing piers of Yokohama Port.
3. Customs building.
4. Japanese town.
5. Bentensha shrine.
6. Tokaido.
7. Kanagawa gate.
8. Chōenji temple.
9. Jōbutsuji temple.



It was a conspicuous location. The first thing that travelers coming from Edo saw when approaching Kanagawa was an enormous flagpole with the Dutch flag flying from it.

The location may have been perfect for showing the Dutch colors, but most of De Graeff van Polsbroek's work was across the bay in Yokohama. So he rented a small house there and furnished it as a consulate. It is not yet clear where this house was located.

“Every day I crossed from Kanagawa to Yokohama with a boat I had rented, manned with five men. That crossing, which took half an hour with a favorable wind for sailing, was often unpleasant. Frequently, my suit was all wet when I arrived. I had to keep it on until I had returned to Kanagawa around 6 o'clock, grateful to be able to enjoy some rest after a day full of troubles.”

THE FIRST BUILDING

The Japanese officials had been right to be cautious. Disaffected samurai were organizing under the rallying cry “Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians” (Sonnō jōi) and a violent mood hung in the air.

In August of 1859, a Russian officer and sailor were brutally murdered on the street in Yokohama. Five months later, in January 1860, the Japanese interpreter of British diplomat Rutherford Alcock was stabbed to death at the English legation in Edo. Only a few days later the French legation in Edo burned down. It was believed to be arson.

On February 26, two Dutch captains, Wessel de Vos and Jasper Nanning Dekker, were slaughtered on the main street of Yokohama while on their way to do some shopping. De Vos' right hand and some of his fingers were found between the two bodies, which were 50 paces apart. The following March, Ii Naosuke, the Chief Minister of the Tokugawa shogunate who espoused cooperation with foreign nations, was assassinated as he was about to enter Edo Castle. More attacks followed.

The biggest shock came when Henry Heusken was ambushed in Edo on January 14, 1861. He died the following morning. Heusken was the Dutch-American interpreter for American Consul Townsend Harris, and a close friend of De Graeff van Polsbroek.

11. Map of Kanagawa on the Tokaido as it looked in 1860:

1. American consulate.
2. British consulate.
3. French consulate.
4. American missionaries Hepburn and Brown at Jōbutsuji Temple (previously used as the Dutch consulate).
5. Dutch consulate at Chōenji Temple
6. Kanagawa gate on the Tokaido.





12. View of Kanagawa from Mt. Gongen, looking towards Edo, ca. 1859. The Tokaido is clearly visible.



13. Chōenji Temple on the Tokaido, ca. 1837.

The Japanese government, still eager to have the consuls reside in Yokohama, promised De Graeff van Polsbroek that it would build him a new consulate building there. Only ten days after the death of his friend, he moved the consulate from Kanagawa to his company's office in Yokohama.

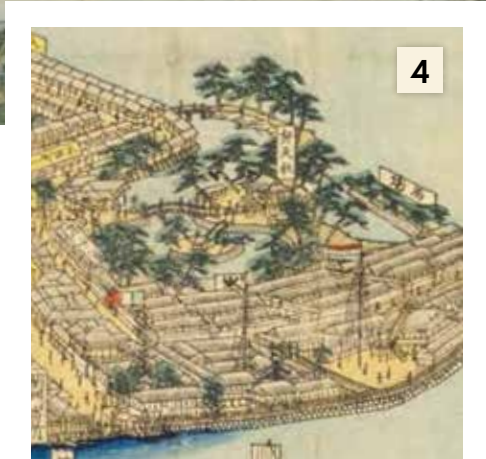
No address has been found for this office, but an 1861 woodblock print map of Yokohama by Japanese artist Utagawa Sadahide (also known as Hashimoto Sadahide) shows a lot on the Bund with the text "Dutch consulate" and a flagpole displaying the flag of the Netherlands (Fig. 14). The lot is located almost halfway between the customs house and Yamate, popularly known as the Bluff. This might be the same location that De Graeff van Polsbroek rented in 1859.

The move was important, because the Netherlands was the first country to agree to move from Kanagawa to Yokohama. Soon after, the other consuls followed De Graeff van Polsbroek's example.



14. Map of the Foreign Settlement of Yokohama in 1861. The Dutch consulate can be seen in the center left bottom.





15. Map of Yokohama in the early 1860s.

1. Foreign settlement.
2. Brothel district.
3. Japanese town.
4. Location of the Dutch legation—notice the Dutch flag
5. Kanagawa gate.
6. Chōenji temple.



16. The legation and consul-general's residence in Bente, Yokohama, ca. 1863-1865. On the far left of the group, De Graeff can be seen with his son Pieter.

The shogunate erected the promised new consulate building on land that was previously part of the Bentensha Shrine (Fig. 15). It was the first purposely built Dutch diplomatic structure in Japan. De Graeff van Polsbroek is believed to have moved in on May 1, 1862.

It was the only foreign building in the Japanese town and impressive. German diplomat Rudolf Lindau who lived in Japan between 1859 and 1862, wrote that it was “Yokohama’s largest and most beautiful residence in 1862.”

The square building combined Japanese and Western architectural features, and was made of brick, wood and earth (Fig. 16). A high veranda surrounded the building on the west, north and east. “Like Swiss huts,” wrote Swiss politician Aimé Humbert (1819–1900) who stayed at the house when he visited Japan in 1863–64 to conclude a treaty for Switzerland.



There was a spacious dance and reception hall, a library, a large dining hall, and even a wine cellar (Figs. 17, 18). The rooms, all with doors to the veranda, were furnished with antique government pieces brought over from Dejima, as well as furniture, curtains, and carpets shipped in from London.

As was common in traditional Japanese architecture, the house only had a ground floor. This was perfectly adapted to Japan's hot and humid summers. "Thanks to the height of the ceilings and the beautiful dimensions of the corridor and the kitchen, the air circulates freely," wrote Humbert.

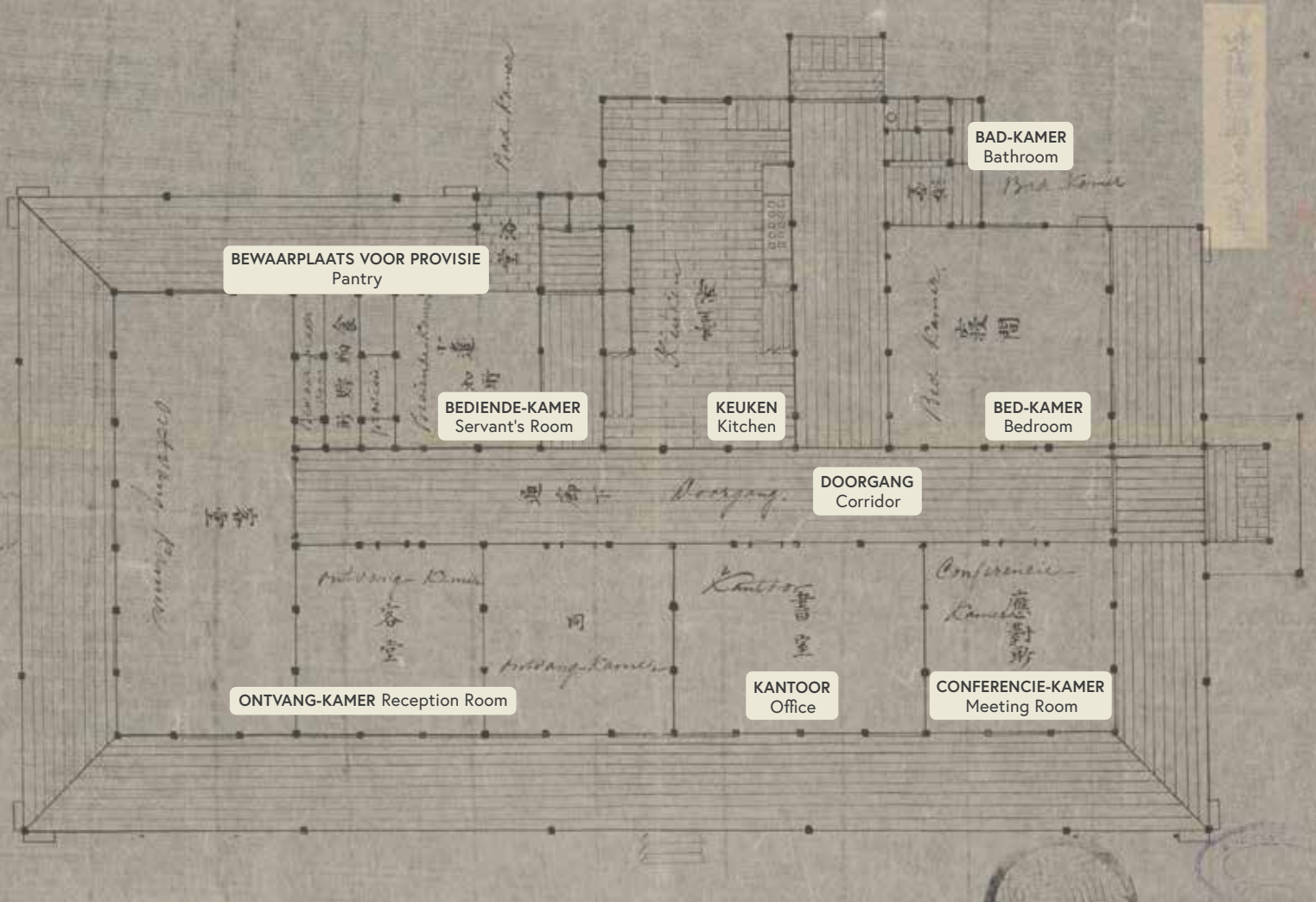
A balcony on top of the roof allowed a free view on Tokyo Bay. Humbert and De Graeff van Polsbroek would often go here to await the arrival of the steamer carrying the mail from Europe.

De Graeff van Polsbroek was especially happy with the "very extensive" garden the Japanese government had built for him. "The garden was beautifully landscaped and provided with the most beautiful flowers and plants. Camelias, orange trees, azaleas, lilacs, etc. Too many to mention," he wrote in his memoirs.

The house was surrounded by stables, a coach house, eight small servants' houses, a godown (storehouse), and a two-storied house for his Japanese common-law wife, Koyama Ochō, who was at that time pregnant with their son Pieter. The total acreage came to 6,491 m².

17. Grand ball at the home of De Graef van Polsbroek, 1863.





18. Floor plan of the consulate general at Benten.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BENTEN

Benten lived up to the importance the building expressed. De Graeff van Polsbroek was promoted to consul in March 1861, and he became political agent and consul general in July 1863, at which point the consulate general was moved from Dejima to Benten.

When De Graeff van Polsbroek became the first minister resident of the Netherlands in Japan in July 1868, it effectively transformed the consulate general into a legation, comparable to an embassy today.

The location at Benten played an important role that reached far beyond it being the first purposely built Dutch diplomatic structure in Japan and its contributions to diplomatic relations between the two countries. For example, Swiss envoy Humbert stayed here while concluding a commercial treaty for Switzerland (1864). And treaties for Sweden, Norway, and Denmark (1868) were negotiated by De Graeff van Polsbroek from Benten.

Over the years, the surroundings changed drastically. Initially, the Dutch consulate was the only foreign outpost in the Japanese town, sheltered and partly hidden by the Bentensha forest (Fig. 20). Later, the French and German legations became neighbors. In 1869, the shrine moved to Hagoromo-cho and the forest made way for streets and buildings. When the railway



19. Area around the Dutch legation in 1878.

1. Dutch Legation.
2. German Legation.
3. Bentenbashi Bridge over the Ōoka-gawa River.
4. Yokohama Station (current Sakuragichō Station).

connection between Tokyo and Yokohama was opened in 1872, the terminal was built right across the Ōoka-gawa River from Benten. The legation conveniently ended up being just a short walk from the station (Fig. 19).

This situation did not last long, though. Around 1880, the legation moved to Yokohama's elegant residential area for foreigners at Yamate. First at No. 245, then No. 244 and finally No. 17. It left Yokohama and moved to Tokyo in 1886, one of the last legations to do so.



20. Panorama of Yokohama, 1863.

1. Dutch Legation.
2. Japanese town.
3. Foreign Settlement.
4. Yoshidabashi Bridge.
5. Miyozaki brothel district.
6. Yamate (Bluff).

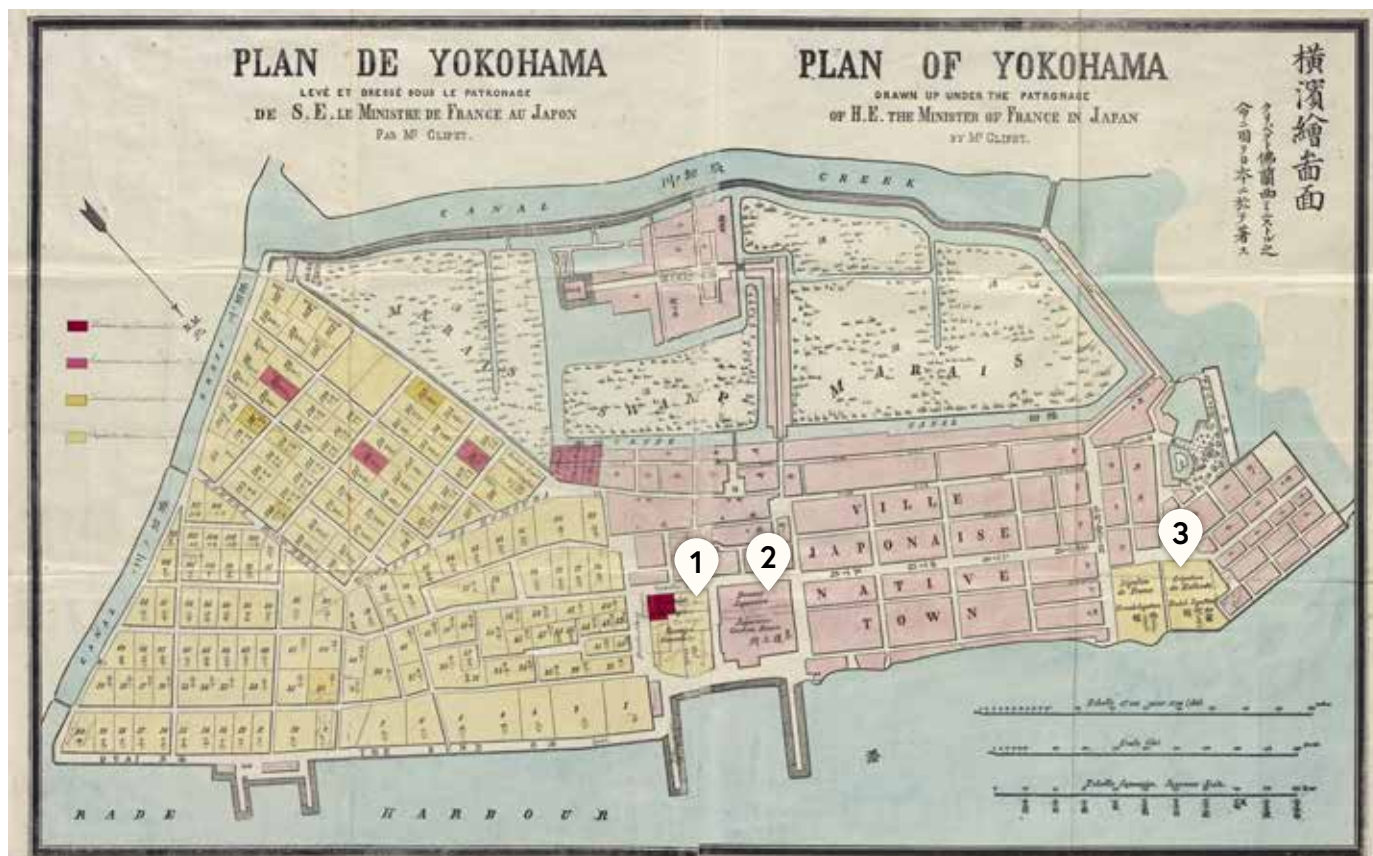
MORE THAN ONE

Shortly after the consulate general was moved to Yokohama in 1863, an additional Dutch consulate was established in Yokohama. The Dutch merchant George Frederic Plate, only 25 years old, became acting consul on May 1, 1863. He was appointed consul for this new consulate in January 1864.

No exact address has been found. But as a result of this study a map was discovered at the Swiss Federal Archives that features a handwritten notation that places the Dutch consulate next to the customs house (2) on the other side of the Japanese town from the Dutch legation (3).

The Japanese government sent De Graeff van Polsbroek a letter in 1865 that mentions Kamagatamachi as the location of the “piece of land ceded for official business” (i.e. the consulate). Several other documents in the consulate’s archives also mention this area, one specifically describes the consulate building as standing “east of the customs office.”

21. This map of Yokohama from around 1865 features a handwritten notation placing the Dutch consulate (1) next to the customs house (2) on the other side of the Japanese town from the Dutch legation (3).





22. The Dutch consulate and offices of the Netherlands Trading Society (Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij or NHM) on the Bund in Yokohama, 1868.

Kamagatamachi is the general area around the location marked on the map from the Swiss archives, and the marked building is east of the customs office. An article in the *Japan Times* from around this time mentions that godowns were erected on the “Dutch Consulate Lot close to the Custom house [sic],” to serve as a bonded warehouse. Maps of the 1866 fire that devastated Yokohama have the above-mentioned location indeed marked as a bonded warehouse.

It therefore seems reasonable to assume that the spot marked on the map in the Swiss archives was indeed the location of the new consulate. This would effectively make it the first location of the Yokohama consulate that served the city until it was closed in 1967.

The Yokohama consulate was to have a painfully turbulent life. After Plate returned to the Netherlands for health reasons, the agent of the Netherlands Trading Society (NHM) Willem Martinus van der Tak became the acting consul on February 12, 1866. He transferred the consulate to his residence at Number 5 on the Bund, the exclusive avenue fronting Yokohama Harbor.

In November, only nine months later, disaster struck. “A terrible fire on the 26th destroyed almost this entire city,” De Graeff van Polsbroek wrote in a letter to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was feared, he explained, that the whole foreign

settlement would be “reduced to ashes” after three-quarters of the native city had burned down. “The beautiful fireproof and stone warehouses could not withstand the pillar of fire propelled by the storm.”

In the *Daily Japan Herald*, Scottish journalist John Reddie Black wrote about what happened next:

“At length, it was determined to blow up a number of buildings across the line the flames seemed likely to take, and a commencement was made in the house of Mr. Van der Tak. A protest was made by the owner, and, it is said, by some of the Consuls; but the Admiral, deeming it the only thing that could be done to cut off the communication, persisted. Whether the step was judicious we will not pretend to say, for the débris of the house caught [fire] and burnt to ashes.”

The house was rebuilt, and for the next few years the consulate and the NHM office were located on Bund no. 5. The luxurious Western-style, two-story building featured a spacious covered balcony that offered a beautiful panoramic view of the port (Fig. 22).

From around 1875, the consulate started to move pretty much each time a new consul took over. Over the next 48 years, it had 18 different addresses. During the 1880s, the Belgian and



23. News of the death of Yokohama Vice-Consul Visser in Dutch daily *De Courant Het Nieuws van den Dag* (pp. 6) on September 12, 1923.

German consuls looked after the Dutch interests in Yokokama. Around 1891, it was reestablished as a vice-consulate.

Then, disaster struck once again just before noon on September 1, 1923. A powerful earthquake flattened the area and destroyed the vice-consulate. The body of Vice-Consul Willem Delinus Visser (1893–1923) was never found (Fig. 23).

His story is a sad one. He had only started the year before on November 2, had celebrated his 30th birthday six days prior, and had just returned to Yokohama from vacation. His very last message to the legation was a telegram that he was back at the office.

Dutch journalist Henriette Holst-Hendrix (1877–1933), who had lived in Yokohama for sixteen years and lost her house in the disaster, returned on September 29 in the hope of saving some of her family’s belongings. In her report on the visit, she wrote about Visser:

“We go to Main Street where our young sympathetic consul Visser must have died. On that awful first day of September, he had returned to Yokohama at ten o’clock. During August, he had been on vacation and had traveled. He arrived at the consulate in awe of Japan, reportedly so enchanted with the beauty of the country that he wanted to spend the rest of his life in Japan. The rest of his life consisted of two hours...”

After the disaster, the vice-consulate in Yokohama was left unattended until November, when Dutch shipping agent Menno Simon Wiersum was appointed honorary vice-consul at his make-shift office on 25A Yamashita-cho. A contemporary photograph shows a simple corrugated steel building as you would find at a construction site. It is surrounded by rubble and ruins.

The vice-consulate was upgraded to a consulate in 1929. It had to be closed after the start of hostilities between Japan and the Netherlands in December 1941.

In July 1948, almost three years after Japan capitulated, Wiersum restarted consular duties in Yokohama. No address has yet been found for the early years of the reopened consulate, but between 1959 and 1963, it was located at the previous address, 25 Yamashita-cho, Naka-ku.

The consulate was moved to the Strong Building at 204 Yamashita-cho, Naka-ku in 1964. Only a few years later, around 1967, the Yokohama consulate was permanently closed. Later, Yokohama had an honorary consul.

TIMELINE

- 1859** The first Dutch consulate in Japan is established at Kanagawa after the opening of Yokohama Port on July 4. Initially at Jōbutsuji Temple, later at Chōenji Temple.
- 1861** The consulate is moved from Kanagawa to Yokohama after the assassination of Van Heusken.
- 1862** The first Dutch diplomatic building in Japan is completed at Bente, Yokohama.
- 1863** The consulate effectively becomes the consulate general.
- 1864** An additional consulate is opened in Yokohama. Over the following century, the Dutch consulate in Yokohama is housed at more than 20 locations.
- 1868** The consulate general at Bente effectively becomes the legation.
- 1880** The legation is moved from Bente to Yamate (aka the Bluff).
- 1886** The legation is moved from Yamate to its current location in Tokyo.
- 1967** The consulate is closed. At some later point, Yokohama has an honorary consul.

DIRK DE GRAEFF VAN POLSBROEK

AUGUST 28, 1833 – JUNE 27, 1916

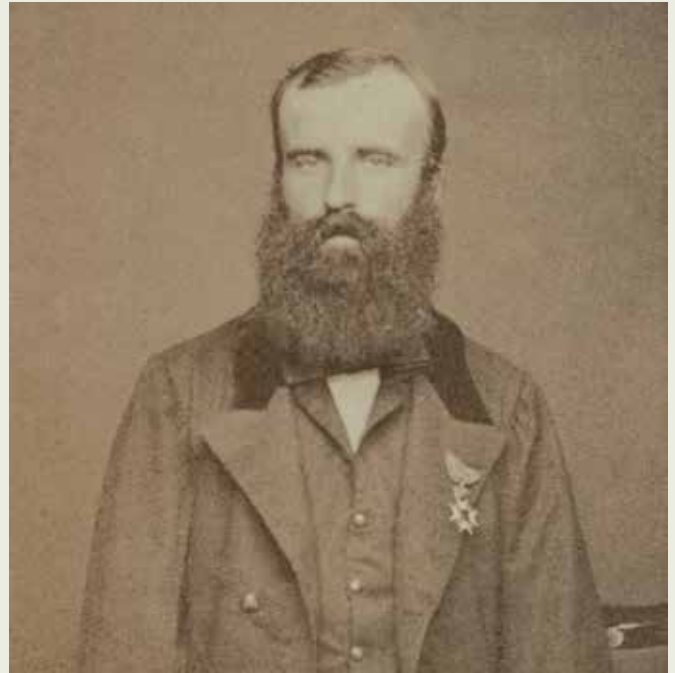
Dirk de Graeff van Polsbroek is arguably one of the most consequential diplomats the Netherlands has had in Japan. He laid the foundations for modern Dutch diplomatic representation in Japan, and was the country's first Dutch minister resident (comparable to a modern ambassador). He helped negotiate treaties with Japan for Denmark, Sweden and Norway, as well as Prussia and Switzerland. He also oversaw the construction of the first purpose-built Dutch diplomatic structure in Japan, the consulate building in Yokohama, completed in 1862. And he was the first foreign diplomat to present his credentials to Emperor Meiji.

De Graeff van Polsbroek was born into the prominent De Graeff family of Amsterdam, and several of his ancestors were regents, mayors, or city councilors. He, however, saw his future outside Amsterdam.

After having worked for the colonial government in the Dutch East Indies, he moved to the Dutch trading post at Nagasaki's Dejima in 1857. Here, he became assistant to the Dutch commissioner in Japan, Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius. He worked on treaty negotiations and accompanied the commissioner on a trip to Edo for an official visit with the shogun. The experience would serve him well after he became vice-consul in Yokohama in 1859, and later consul, consul general, and minister resident.

De Graeff van Polsbroek was a diplomat at a time when Japan had no experience with modern diplomacy, and the Netherlands did not yet have a system of professional consuls with clear instructions and jurisdiction. Meanwhile, communications between the two countries took many months. During enormous upheaval and change, De Graeff van Polsbroek often had to quickly respond to challenging situations without any guidelines or consultation with the home office.

25. HMS. *Medusa* battling in the Strait of Shimonoseki, 1863.



24. Dirk de Graeff van Polsbroek, ca. 1869.

Occasionally, these situations were life-threatening. When the Dutch warship *Medusa* transported him to Yokohama in 1863, she was bombarded from batteries ashore while in the Strait of Shimonoseki (Fig. 25). Four sailors were killed and five wounded. De Graeff van Polsbroek narrowly escaped death. In January 1868, he had to hurriedly escape from Osaka when the city was overrun by the shogun's enemies. He spent a freezing night hiding from pillaging troops in a fishing hut with paper windows.

Repeatedly, his survival and success came down to wits, good sense, and creativity.

There is one episode especially illustrative of his unique character and creative problem-solving skills. Japanese customs officials would not allow a Dutch merchant to import a tiger. Tigers were not mentioned in the list of items that could be imported, they argued. De Graeff van Polsbroek told them that the merchant then had no choice but to set the animal free. The tiger was quickly cleared.

Though eminently capable, De Graeff van Polsbroek had no influence over politics back in the home country. He could therefore not prevent that the Netherlands rapidly lost its special position to Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States while he was representative.

He resigned in 1870, just as the dust was settling in Japan and the foundations of a modern state started to become visible.

TRADING PLACES

THE STORY OF EARLY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

between the Netherlands and Japan cannot be told without mentioning the *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* (Netherlands Trading Society, or NHM). On the initiative of King Willem I, the company was founded in 1824 to stimulate Dutch trade.

Initially, the aim was to encourage all Dutch trade. After 1827, however, the company focused exclusively on the Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia). This focus would open the road to Japan, as the trading post at Dejima was managed by the Dutch East Indies government at Batavia (present-day Jakarta).

In 1859, NHM sent Albertus Johannes Bauduin (1829–1890) as representative to Nagasaki to effectively take over management of Dutch trade in Japan from the Batavia government. Over the following years, NHM also opened offices in Yokohama (1864), Kobe and Osaka (1868), Tokyo (1869), and Niigata (1869).

NHM was initially quite successful. It inherited both a monopoly on Dutch trade with Japan, and age-old connections with the Tokugawa government and the daimyo (hereditary local lords). For two centuries, the Netherlands had been the only European nation allowed to trade in Japan. This had built a lot of trust and familiarity.

However, the Meiji Restoration of 1868, and the resulting abolishment of the daimyo system, drastically upset NHM's commercial position in Japan. The company saw its traditional client base essentially disappear overnight. It had to completely rebuild its commercial network.

It is not the company's trade in Japan however, that necessitates a spotlight on this company. What makes NHM important to a study about the history of Dutch diplomatic locations in Japan is that each local NHM representative became a consul for the Netherlands.

The consulates in Nagasaki, Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama, and briefly Niigata and Tokyo, were eventually all located at the NHM offices in these cities.

In the 19th century, it was common for traders and merchants to be appointed as consuls. But it was quite unusual for a company to monopolize the consular appointments in a country.

This happened partly because in its early years, NHM more closely resembled a public institution than the private enterprise it technically was. The company's very objective was to play a national role in reviving the Dutch economy.

Possibly of even more importance was that King Willem's direct involvement in NHM's establishment led to an unusually close relationship between the Dutch government in the Hague and NHM's Managing Board in Amsterdam.

Considering the level of trust required to carry out consular activities, it is no surprise that the government wished to keep such appointments within NHM as much

as possible. From the government's viewpoint, it also made the consular reports about economic and political developments more reliable.

These merchant-consuls had no diplomatic status, so their activities were officially limited to the civil administration of Dutch nationals. Nonetheless, the position offered great prestige, and provided a level of access to the Japanese government that otherwise might have been far more difficult to obtain.

This could, and did, cause tension with competing trading houses. Dutch traders like Cornelis Theodor Assendelft de Coningh, who wrote the book *A Pioneer in Yokohama*, and representatives of the trading house Carst & Lels repeatedly wrote anonymous letters to newspapers in the Dutch Indies and the Netherlands, alleging collusion between NHM and Dutch Consul, later Consul-General and Minister, De Graeff van Polsbroek.

The confrontations became especially heated in 1865 when a scathingly critical article about such alleged collusion was published in the Dutch weekly for trade and industry, *De Nederlandsche Industriëel*. It led to discussions in the Dutch parliament, and a personal letter of concern to De Graeff van Polsbroek from the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs. De Graeff van Polsbroek clarified the situation and the affair faded away.

The tensions remained, though. On March 30, 1868, the Rotterdam daily *Handelsblad* wrote that "people in Japan do not seem to be particularly satisfied with the way in which De Graeff van Polsbroek provides for the needs of trade there by appointing provisional consuls, mostly 'employees' of the *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij*."

The paper quoted a private letter from Hyogo (Kobe): "We have now received consuls in Hiogo and Osacca [sic], all employees of NHM. In Osacca, a young man of 21 or 22 years, to whom we must entrust our interests. It seems that the treaties with Japan have only been concluded for the benefit of NHM."

These confrontations ended in 1880. NHM had been unable to adapt to the changes brought by the change in Japan's government, and the company pulled out of the country. It took until 1919 before NHM returned. This time as a banking office in Kobe, because the company had transitioned from a trading company into a banking conglomerate.

The word *handel* (trade) disappeared from its name when NHM merged with Twentsche Bank in 1964 and became Algemene Bank Nederland (ABN). In 1991, the ABN merged with AMRO Bank to form the Dutch bank ABN AMRO, which is still active today.



WILLEM KORTEKAAS was employed by ABN from 1965 to 1990 and was posted in Japan in 1969–1975 and 1983–1990. He is researching the history of NHM in Japan.



EDO-TOKYO

THE FIRST "HOME" IN TOKYO

During the two centuries that the Dutch ran a trading station in Japan, there was never a Dutch residence in the Shogun's capital. When the chief agents of the Dejima trading station visited, they stayed at the Nagasakiya Inn, in Edo's Nihonbashi area. Commissioner Donker Curtius, being a diplomat, was accommodated at Saiōji Temple, and at Shinpukuji Temple in Atagoyama Shita when he negotiated a commercial treaty between March and June 1858 (Fig. 26).

It was this treaty that for the first time allowed the Netherlands to appoint a diplomatic agent to stay in Edo, thereby making it possible to create a permanent legation. Signed on August 18, 1858, it came into effect on July 4, 1859.

Soon after, vice-consul Dirk de Graeff van Polsbroek rented and furnished the Chōōji Temple for an expected visit by Donker Curtius. It was located on a hill in the Takanawa district, with a beautiful view of Edo Bay (Figs. 28, 29). Because of fears of attacks by samurai opposed to the opening of Japan, the shogunate had fortified the temple. The grounds were heavily guarded by Japanese soldiers (Fig. 27).

Just as the Dutch traders had been at Dejima, De Graeff van Polsbroek was a privileged prisoner. But he did not mind. He enjoyed the peace of mind.

"That temple was completely surrounded by a high double palisade, between which patrols were made all night long. At the entrance and exit there was a guardhouse. I did not mind this. On the contrary, I found it wonderfully quiet and safe."

In spite of all these preparations, Donker Curtius remained at Dejima. Chōōji, however, did not go unused. According to De Graeff van Polsbroek's memoirs, he regularly stayed here when he visited Edo to arrange affairs with the Japanese government.

Consul General Jan Karel de Wit, who replaced Donker Curtius in 1860, also remained at Dejima. He visited Edo only four times during his almost three-year term in Japan. During his first and last visit he appears to have stayed at Chōōji for several

weeks, but his second visit was a brief day trip, while he stayed for only three days on the third one.

It is remarkable that De Wit decided to stay in far-away Nagasaki while the other treaty powers opened legations in the capital. What may have played a role is that each visit east was marked by terrifying violence. Dutch-American interpreter Henry Heuskens was assassinated, the British legation was attacked twice, there was an attempted assassination on Rōjū Andō Nobumasa, one of the highest-ranking Japanese government officials, and a British trader was hacked to death while traveling on the Tokaido.

But likely more important was that the Dutch East Indies Government seemed unwilling to bear the cost of a consulate in Edo, and would not provide a warship for protection.

As a result, De Wit even gave evasive responses when the Japanese government introduced plans to build more secure foreign legations at the Gotenyama area in Edo. He did however visit the proposed location on his second visit to Edo.

As it happens, the Gotenyama plan never came to fruition. In January 1863, the British legation here was burned down by samurai from the Chōshū domain while it was still under construction. The development was eventually given up.



27. De Graeff van Polsbroek (right) and consulate staff members surrounded by their Japanese security escort, ca. 1863. Likely photographed in front of Chōōji.

PAGE TOP: 26. Detail of the woodblock print Atagoshita and Yabu Lane by Japanese artist Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858). The red gate is the entrance of Shinpukuji.

During De Wit's term as consul general, De Graeff van Polsbroek—the de facto Dutch diplomatic representative in Edo—also seems to have barely stayed at Chō'oji. In his memoirs, he wrote how he visited Edo on exhausting day trips:

“Repeatedly, with or without instructions from Consul General De Wit, I visited the Gorōjū [Council of Ministers] in Edo. Because of the anarchy in that city, the trips were surprisingly riveting, exhausting, and also extremely dangerous. The horseback ride there, at a brisk trot, lasted four hours. I changed clothes at the Dutch Legation in Edo, mounted another horse and reached the Gorōjū in an hour. The meeting lasted an hour, and I returned in the same way. So, I would be on horseback for ten hours. Coming home, I was often too exhausted to eat, and after taking a bath, went to bed.”

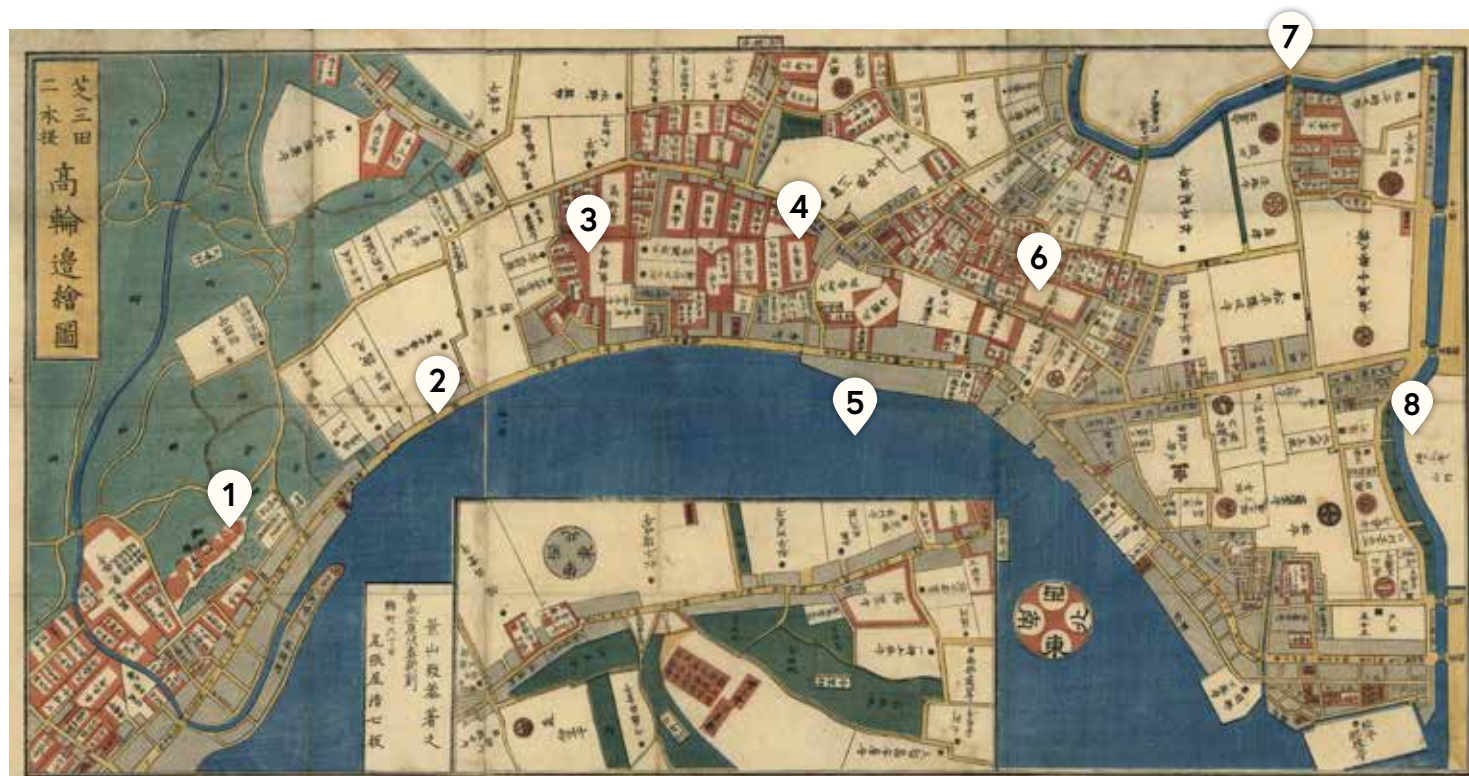
Chō'oji was occasionally made available by De Graeff van Polsbroek to other diplomats. Swiss politician Aimé Humbert (1819–1900) stayed here twice during his 1863–64 mission. Assisted by De Graeff van Polsbroek, he negotiated with Japanese government officials in Edo to conclude a treaty for Switzerland.

Thanks to the Swiss diplomat, who wrote that he would have gladly spent the summer months there, we have a beautiful description of the temple (Figs. 30, 31, 32):

“As this small abandoned temple is surrounded on all sides by other sacred places almost as solitary, one finds there the calm of the countryside near the liveliness of the large streets of the city.

“The road that leads to it from the Tokaido is partially cut into steps. Convent walls and a large black gate, topped by a roof, announce the entrance of the legation. The old cloister courtyard is bordered on two sides by wooden buildings, including a porter's lodge, a guardhouse, horse stalls and a feed store.

“At the end of the courtyard, in front of the entrance, a large staircase of about twenty steps made of granite slabs, leads to an open area. On the right, another guardhouse, and on the left, the dwellings of monks. Finally, above this open space, a staircase that is narrower and shorter than the first, leads to the garden in front of the temple. A third guardhouse is installed there, at the foot of the poles where the flags of Holland and Switzerland fly.”



ABOVE. 28. Map of Edo's Takanawa area.

1. Gotenyama (this famous cherry blossom spot immortalized in Meisho Edo Hyakkei was designated to be the new location for the foreign legations, but the plan was scrapped in 1863).
2. Tokaido (approximate location of current day Shinagawa Station).
3. British Legation at Tōzen-ji Temple
4. Dutch Legation at Chō'oji Temple.
5. Edo Bay.
6. French Legation at Saikai-ji Temple.
7. Bridge for road leading to American Legation at Zenpukuji Temple (located just outside the frame of this map).
8. Zōjōji Sannai.

LEFT. 29. Edo's Takanawa area as seen from Shinagawa, ca. 1860s. Chō'oji was located in the hills around the center of the photograph.



LEFT. 30. The Dutch legation at Chōōji Temple in Edo (current Tokyo), 1863.

BOTTOM LEFT. 31. A fanciful illustration of the garden at Chōōji based on a sketch by Swiss diplomat Humbert. Published in French travel journal *Le Tour du monde* in January 1867.

BOTTOM RIGHT. 32. Map of the Dutch Legation at Chōōji Temple, ca. 1860s. The stairs marked on the bottom left are those visible in the photograph (fig. 30). The pond described by Humbert can be seen at the top.



Humbert then describes his meeting with the guards and the “mass of buildings, roughly in line with the flagpoles.” One end of these buildings was used as a kitchen, a photography workshop, and a display area for products introduced by local businessmen.

The other end, which extended into a semicircular enclosure behind the temple, consisted of a living room, a bedroom, and a dining room, all surrounded by an open gallery. This was the most peaceful and coolest part of the temple according to Humbert, and seemingly his favorite:

“A pond lined with iris and lily pads occupies the center of the enclosure; it is fed by a spring which oozes out of a nearby cave lined with climbing plants. Next to this cave, in a niche surrounded by foliage, one can see an ancient sandstone deity,

which still has its small altar and its torii. A rustic bridge over the stream leads to a path that winds through the trees and rocks, to the upper palisades of the enclosure. There, under a shelter of pines and laurels, a resting place has been carved from which the view dominates the gardens and buildings of Tjoōdji [*sic*], and the harbor and the forts that protect it.

“At sunset, this little picture is full of charm. The sky and the bay come alive with the richest colors. The foliage of the hills shines with a sudden illumination. The pond is colored with purple hues. Then the shade invades the green enclosure and gradually covers the groups of trees which surround it. The birds of the beach come in great numbers to seek shelter there. Soon, the clumps of foliage are contrasted in black against the silvery sky, and the pond reflects, like ice, the trembling rays of the stars.”

In September 1865, De Graeff van Polsbroek requested that the Japanese government make Chō'ōji habitable. Plans for enlargement were submitted in January and construction was started around summer.

Chō'ōji may have been used more often after these improvements were completed. But if so, this use was brief in duration. De Graeff van Polsbroek no longer used the temple after December 1867, and the rental agreement was ended in June 1870.

SIGNIFICANCE

The treaty signed in 1858 allowed the Netherlands to have a permanent legation in Edo. Yet, it has become clear from this study that, though called a legation, Chō'ōji essentially functioned as a convenient branch office for occasional use. The real legation was at Yokohama's Benten.

This is affirmed by what happened after De Graeff van Polsbroek's departure in 1870. His successor, Minister Resident Frederik Philip van der Hoeven (1832–1904), immediately informed the Japanese government that Chō'ōji was no longer needed.

Chō'ōji was nonetheless significant. It symbolically represented the Dutch presence in the Japanese capital during a period when anti-shogunate forces violently advocated the expulsion of foreigners. It deserves to be remembered as having played an important role in Dutch diplomatic history in Japan.

Sadly, this role turned out to be ruinous to the temple itself. It could no longer be used for religious activities and lost many parishioners. By the end of the century, Chō'ōji was sold. The proceeds were used to start a farm in Hokkaido. Where it once stood, nothing remains of the temple, nor of the Dutch legation.

A NEW START

It took two decades before a return was being considered to Tokyo, as the city was now called. In 1881, the former chief agent for Japan of Dutch trading giant NHM, Joannes Jacobus van der Pot (1843–1905), was appointed minister resident.

Having lived in Japan for at least a decade, Van der Pot knew the country extremely well and quickly launched a search for a new location in Tokyo. In July, almost immediately upon his appointment, he approached the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs about a plot in Tokyo for the legation of the Netherlands. He wrote the minister that he envisioned “a permanent residence in Tokio.”

Only a few weeks later, Van der Pot requested permission to rent a lot he had inspected at Shiba Kiridōshi (later renamed Sakae-cho, and now known as Shibakōen). None of the lots that he inspected had a house suitable for a legation, so he had selected a place that he considered “convenient for the purpose.”

“The bungalow at present standing on the front lot can be removed to the rear and used as a house for the secretary of [the] legation, while there is in front plenty of space to allow me to build a two stories [*sic*] brick house,” he wrote.

Shiba Kiridōshi was an attractive location (Fig. 33). It was surrounded by temples, and located just a short stroll from the magnificent Zōjōji Temple, last resting place of seven shoguns.

The area was known for its many trees and beautiful gardens. The 1890 edition of the respected *Keeling's Guide to Japan* described the area in glowing terms:

“Shiba (Grass-plot). May be called the garden of Tokio; the roads are clean, wide and well laid out, many trees are planted on both sides of the road, affording delightful shade. In pretty



33. Map of the area around the future location of the embassy, ca. 1852.

1. Future location of the embassy.
2. Zōjōji Temple.

The red-colored lots are temples, while the lots with kamon family crests are daimyo residences. These daimyo sold their lots after the feudal system was discontinued during the early years of the Meiji period, explaining why so many foreign embassies ended up in this corner of Tokyo. The kamon on the future lot of the embassy is that of the Uemura clan.



34. The Dutch legation building in Tokyo, 1893. The house is already surrounded by lush greenery because the original trees and shrubs on the property were included in the rental agreement.

35. This photo of the Dutch envoy's carriage shows a Japanese style building behind the legation, 1893. On the left stands Léon van de Polder.



gardens priests with shaved heads and wearing their sacerdotal robes are met with at every turning; but the chief attraction of Shiba is its temples, the most celebrated among them being the Zojoji. ... Space not allowing a detailed account of many interesting and curious things to be seen at the different buildings in these grounds, we can not speak of the ornamental ceilings, of the panels artistically wrought in arabesques and high-relief, of the monolith lavatory, of the monumental urn or the depository of sacred utensils, but leave the visitor to survey and admire everything at his leisure.”

It took until March 1883 before the legation was able to sign the contract with Tokyo Prefecture. But there were still more negotiations to come. The area turned out to be too small for all the needed buildings, and more land had to be acquired. This was completed in 1886.

In November of that year, Secretary Léon van de Polder was able to move in. Minister Resident Van der Pot followed in April 1887. Almost six years after he first approached the Japanese government, the legation had finally completed its move from Yokohama to Tokyo.

Although the Dutch government was paying the rent for the land—in 1895 an adjusted lease contract was concluded between the Japanese and Dutch governments—the buildings belonged to Van de Polder and Van der Pot. The Dutch government finally purchased the buildings in 1916, three decades after moving in.

The documentation of the sale, and comprehensive improvements carried out in 1919, lists the following buildings: the two-story legation building (No. 1), the seven-room secretary’s residence (No. 2), the joint interpreter and chancellor’s residence (No. 3), as well as a kitchen, servant quarters, two outhouses, and the gate keepers’ lodgings.

It is not yet known what all the buildings looked like, or who originally designed them. So far, this study has only found a few photos of the legation building (Figs. 34, 35).

DISASTER

Unfortunately, the investments of 1916 and 1919 did not last very long. On Saturday, September 1, 1923, a massive earthquake devastated Tokyo, Yokohama, and their surroundings. The magnitude 7.9 Great Kantō Earthquake caused the 121-ton Great Buddha statue in Kamakura—over 60 km from the epicenter—to shift almost 60 centimeters.

The disaster killed or left unaccounted for an estimated 105,000 people, including former Counselor Van de Polder and his wife, Vice-Consul Visser in Yokohama, and five other Dutch nationals. Over 370,000 homes were lost, and 1.9 million people became homeless.

Tiles had fallen off the roofs, the chimneys had broken off, and there were cracks in the plaster, but the Dutch legation buildings in Shiba miraculously survived the tremors. However, the real danger was still to come. Immediately after the initial earthquake, fires swept across the disaster area, some of them developing into firestorms. These fires would actually cause 87% of the fatalities.

Dutch envoy Jean Charles Pabst had only arrived in mid-June. But he had previously worked in Japan and was keenly aware of

the dangers of fire in tightly built cities of wooden houses with paper doors and straw mats. He kept a close watch all day.

“In the evening I personally made sure that the neighborhoods around the mission were completely calm. No one there was thinking of fire, but for fear of new earthquakes they were getting ready to spend the night under the open sky.

“Around midnight I saw a fire, which was raging about 3/4 hours north, northwest of the legation, gradually spreading. It depended entirely on the direction of the wind whether this could cause danger to our buildings. After midnight, the fire spread in our direction. But the danger did not yet seem great, because the legation buildings stood completely in the open, and were partly covered against sparks by high trees on the side of the fire. Moreover, there was plenty of time to keep the roof wet and clear some dangerously situated buildings which could spread the fire to us.”

His precautions were in vain. At five in the morning, the legation building caught fire and burned down. All of his furniture, which had arrived only two days prior, was lost. As was a significant part of the legation’s archives.

The secretary’s residence (No. 2) survived the inferno. This was mainly thanks to the resolute action of former chauffeur Uda, Pabst wrote in a report to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs. Although it had been “some time” since he was employed by the legation, he nonetheless showed up “to help out if necessary.”

“Going back and forth on the roof, Uda managed to defuse the falling sparks, so that the building was saved, and the State of the Netherlands was spared great loss. It seems to me that Uda has deserved a reward for this and I therefore recommend him to Your Excellency for a Royal decoration, which in this case could consist of the Silver Medal in the Order of Orange-Nassau.”

Having done all he could at the legation, Pabst took the lead in the rescue efforts of the Dutch community. According to a contemporary report in the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, one of the largest daily newspapers in the Dutch East Indies, Pabst drove to Yokohama as far as he could, then boarded a Japanese destroyer which took him to Yokohama, which had been completely flattened by the disaster.

While walking in the dark, he fell from a bridge without railings, resulting in a sprained ankle and bruised ribs. Some two weeks later, he nevertheless managed to travel to Kobe where most of the survivors had sought shelter, to conduct the relief efforts there.

“A you can see,” he wrote his sister, “I have had more adventures in ten days as a diplomat than in my thirty-year military career. If this continues, I have a long road ahead of me.”

A NEW LEGATION BUILDING

Provisional repairs were made on buildings No. 2 and No. 3, and barracks were constructed to replace the burned down servants’ quarters. Pabst moved into No. 2, which he shared with Secretary Willem Johan Rudolf Thorbecke (1892–1989), grandson of one of the most important politicians in Dutch history. The chancery was temporarily housed there as well.



36. Front view of the main legation building in Tokyo shortly after construction was completed in 1928. The extension on the right is the chancery.



37. Back view of the main legation building in Tokyo. On the far left, the servants' quarters can be seen.



38. Southern half of the room facing the garden.



39. Entrance hall with stairs to the second floor.



40. Northern half of the room facing the garden.



41. Dining room of the residence.

American architect James McDonald Gardiner (1857–1925) designed the new legation building. After his death in 1925, Japanese architect Kanbayashi Keikichi (1884–1960) took over. Shimizu-Gumi (present-day Shimizu Corporation) was contracted to construct the building.

The plan for the new No. 1 included a main building, with an attached chancery, a kitchen, and servants' quarters. The two-story building featured a basement and attic. Because of the experience of the Great Kantō Earthquake, experts advised the use of reinforced concrete for the new building rather than wood, as was done with the burned down building.

Completed in August 1928, several extensions were added and removed over the years. But the building essentially remains as it was built (Figs. 36–41). Today it is used as the Official Residence of the ambassador.

Documents from 1940 also mention a building No. 4., vacated and needing repairs. It featured an entrance hall, dining and drawing rooms, a bedroom, a sitting room, a veranda, a bathroom and toilets, a kitchen and pantry, a Japanese-style bedroom, and a lodging for servants. It is as yet unknown when this building was built, where on the premises it was located, how it was used, or what it looked like.

SECOND WORLD WAR

After the Imperial Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the Dutch government in exile declared war on Japan. The legation of the Netherlands was immediately sealed off by the Japanese authorities, its diplomats becoming prisoners in their own homes.

The Dutch government requested neutral Sweden become the Protecting Power and its diplomatic representative in Japan, the first country to do so. Swedish Minister Widar Bagge (1886–1970) managed to speak to Pabst on December 10. A report of the meeting was sent via Stockholm to London, where the Dutch government in exile was based.

Thanks to the efforts by the Swedish legation, most Dutch nationals were evacuated on July 30, 1942. Bagge now arranged for former Japanese staff to occupy and take care of the Dutch legation buildings. This arrangement failed, so Swedish legation members Erik von Sydow (1912–1997) and Nils E. Ericson moved in to protect the legation. This ended up working well for both the Swedish legation members and the Dutch government.

Swedish businessman Carl-Erik Necker (1910–2003), who started working at the Swedish Legation in 1943, wrote in his memoirs about an episode at the Dutch Legation during one of the earliest WWII bombing raids on Tokyo:

“It became worse on June 16, 1944, the “old King’s” birthday, when the first legation secretary Erik von Sydow and his wife had invited the diplomatic corps in Tokyo to the former Dutch embassy, where they then lived. The party began with cocktails out in the beautiful garden, and just as the first glass was drunk, everyone felt a strong tremor. It may not have been very noticeable outdoors, but when we then entered the stately dining room, everyone saw the beautiful crystal chandeliers shake so much that one thought they would fall down.”

OVERCOMING WAR

By the end of the war, in August 1945, more than half of Tokyo had been flattened by American air raids. Yet, the Dutch legation building, and the legation and consulate archives, somehow survived. The three other buildings on the Dutch legation grounds had burned down.

Lieutenant Admiral Conrad Emil Lambert Helfrich (1886–1962), of the Royal Netherlands Navy, signed the Japanese Instrument of Surrender on behalf of the Kingdom of the Netherlands aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945. The next day, this leading Dutch naval figure of World War II visited the Dutch legation in Tokyo. He handed Swedish Legation Counselor Ericson a Dutch flag which was immediately raised there.

“We also visited the Dutch embassy building in Tokyo. It was in good condition, and well cared for by the Swedish Legation during the war. I found numerous packed suitcases and boxes of the former deceased envoy, General Pabst, waiting to be transported to the Netherlands. And I had a Dutch flag hoisted, kindly donated by the captain of the Dutch hospital ship *Tjitjalengka*, anchored in Tokyo Bay.”

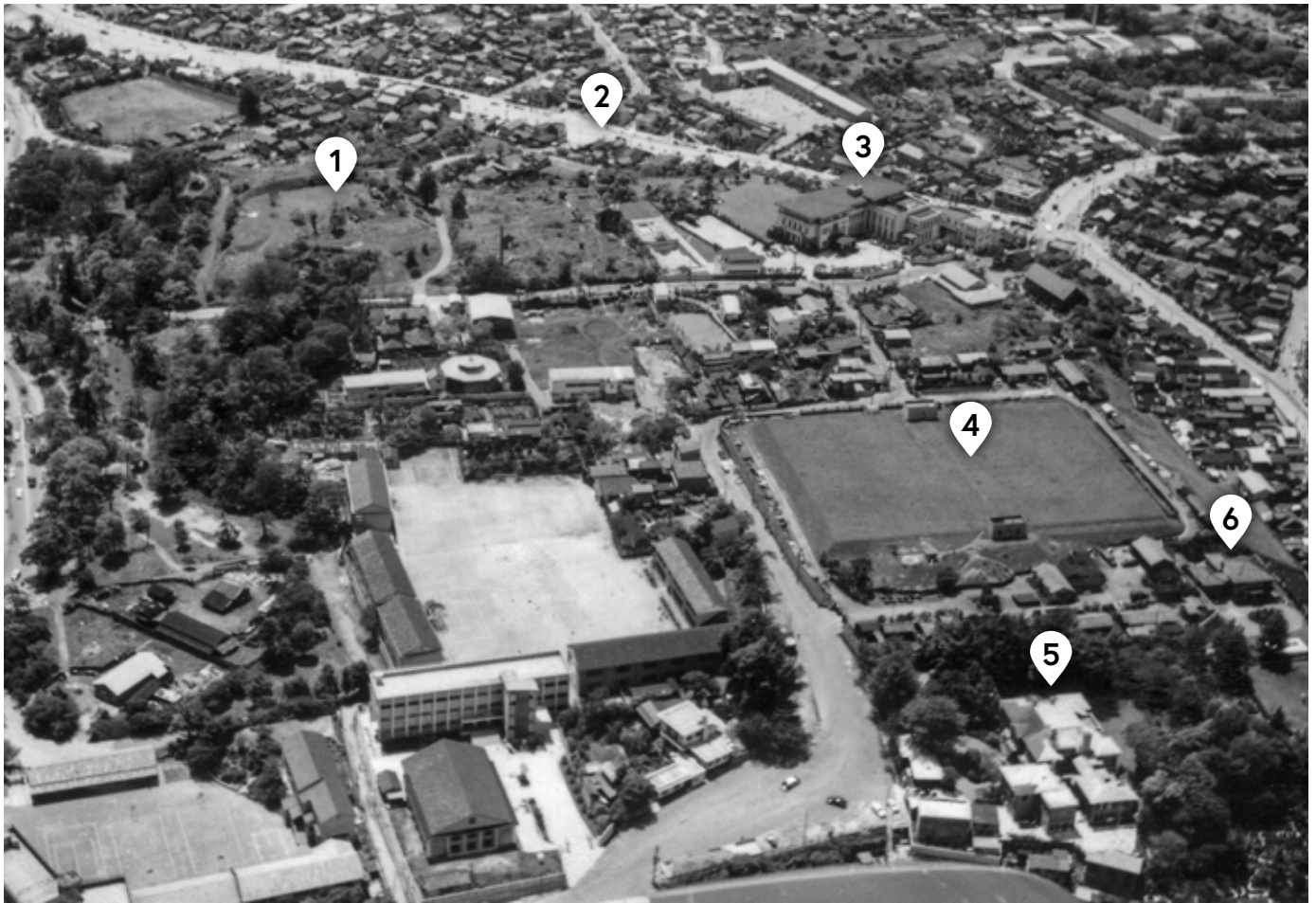
The Dutch government decided to establish a Dutch Military Mission in Tokyo in February 1946. It was headed by General Wijbrandus Schilling (1890–1958). Johan Burchard Diederik Pennink (1886–1967), consul general in Kobe before the war, was appointed as diplomatic representative.

Schilling arrived in Tokyo on May 20, 1946 and moved into the Imperial Hotel where he would stay until his departure in 1948. Pennink arrived several days later. He stayed at the Imperial for a few days before moving into the legation building with his wife. Here, in late August 1946, General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964), who oversaw the occupation of Japan from 1945 to 1951, toasted to the health of Dutch Queen Wilhelmina (1880–1962) on the celebration of her birthday.

Over the next few years, mission personnel were housed at several locations in Tokyo, provided through military procurement. One of the more interesting locations was “Holland House” (Fig. 42), the former mansion of the Hosokawa family, a prominent samurai clan during the Edo Period (1603–1868) who became influential nobility in the Meiji period (1868–1912).



42. The Dutch flag raised at Holland House, the former mansion of the Hosokawa Family, early 1950s.



During the Korean War (1950–1953), the Dutch military used it for the rest and recuperation of soldiers. The building in Tokyo’s Mejirodai still stands. Since 1955 it has housed Wakeijuku, a dormitory for male students.

The military mission was replaced by a civil one in September 1948. First under deputy head Evert Joost Lewe van Aduard (1912–1975), and from January 1949 under Hendrik Mouw (1886–1970).

The Treaty of Peace with Japan came into force on April 28, 1952. Almost simultaneously, the treaty was ratified by the Dutch parliament and diplomatic relations between Japan and the Netherlands were restored. As a result, Petrus Ephrem Teppema, who had replaced Mouw in 1951, became the first Dutch ambassador in Japan. The former legation was now an embassy.

THE QUESTION OF HOUSING

The civil mission had continued to use the housing originally provided by the U.S. occupying forces. So, when the treaty ended military housing procurement, the embassy faced a severe housing crisis.

Some temporary solutions were arranged. For example, three secretaries staying in Holland House were moved to rooms at the Masonic Building near the embassy. While the rental term for the house used by Counselor Herman Hagenaar (1908–1986) and his family—in effect the replacement of the burned down House No. 2—was extended by a year. This was very much against the will of the owner, who managed to charge an extortionate rate.

A more lasting solution was needed quickly, so the embassy commissioned famed American-Japanese architect William Merrell Vories Hitotsuyanagi (1880–1964) to design replacements for the three buildings burned down in 1945. Vories did so, but went a step further. He also suggested and designed a plan for an apartment building to be erected on the embassy grounds instead (Fig. 44).

“Careful consideration of the entire situation leads us to the conviction that it would be unwise to attempt to crowd three or four separate residences, with as many garages (or a single large one), and all service quarters, into the available space. In fact, it has become questionable, in a city as large as Tokyo, to build separate residences, with individual gardens. The logical conclusion is that it will be highly advantageous to erect modern Apartments for the Embassy staff.”

The embassy proceeded on this course. But just as construction was about to start—the area of the embassy grounds where the building was to rise had been leveled already—the plan was scrapped by the Dutch government.

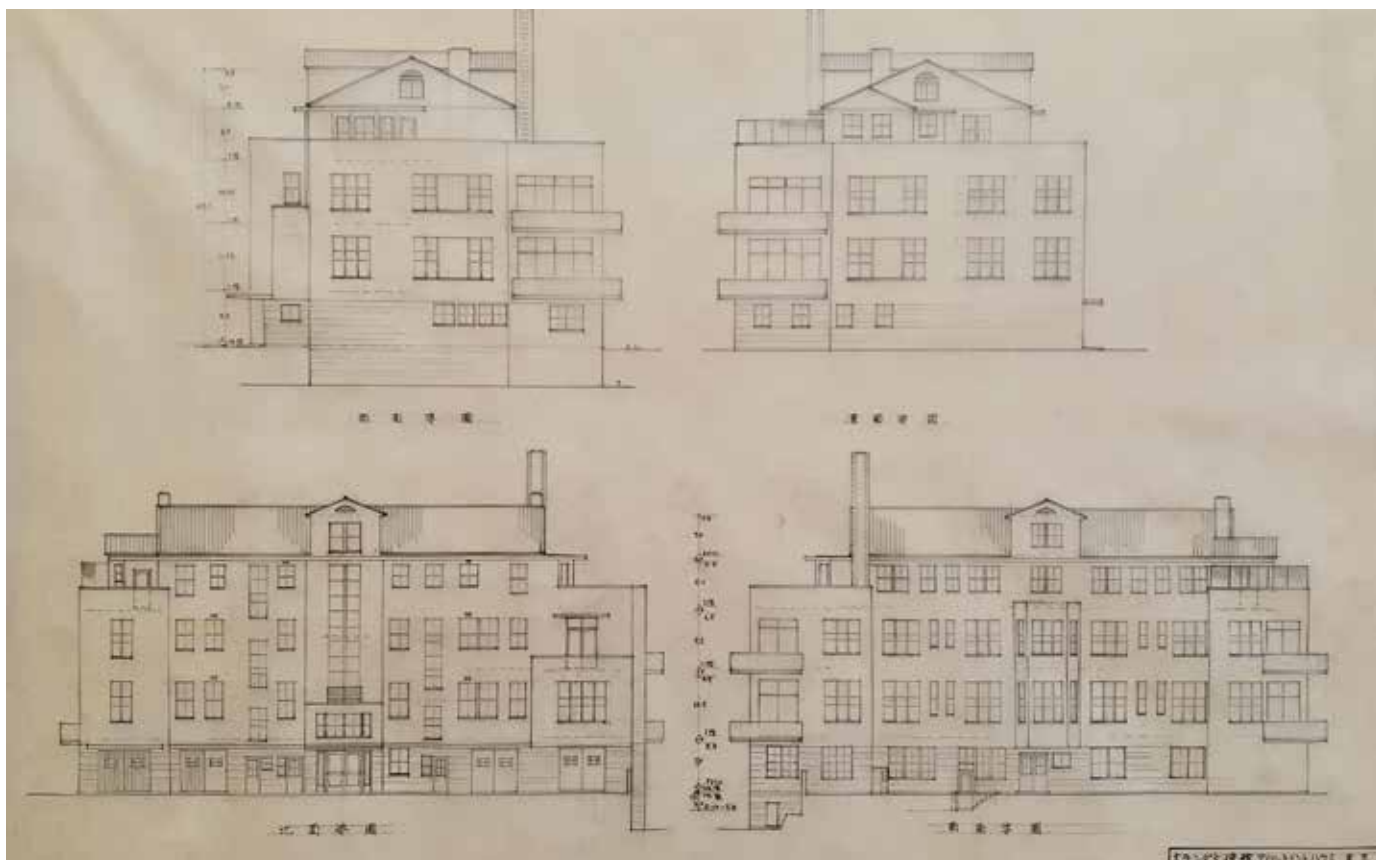
Instead of the apartment building, a new residence for the counselor was built to replace the lost building No. 2. This is believed to have been completed in early 1954, and was extended around 1956. Unfortunately, this study has not yet been able to find clear photographs of this building. But there are design plans, as well as aerial photos of the property, taken just a few years after the villa was completed (Figs. 43, 45).

OPPOSITE PAGE. 43. Aerial photograph of the area around the embassy in 1956.

1. Future location of Tokyo Tower.
2. Sakurada-dori Avenue.
3. Masonic Building.
4. Shiba Water Station.
5. Embassy residence, chancery and servant quarters (No. 1).
6. Villa of the embassy (No. 2).

TOP. 44. Plan of the apartment building, designed by the company of William Merrell Vories Hitotsuyanagi in 1953.

BOTTOM. 45. Plan of House No. 2, designed by the company of William Merrell Vories Hitotsuyanagi in 1953.





46. Aerial view of the ambassador's residence (bottom left), the large garden, the crescent shaped chancery, and the embassy's surroundings, 2022.

1. Tokyo Tower.
2. Shiba Water Station.
3. Holland Hills.
4. Chancery.
5. Ambassador's residence.

47. Ambassador's residence, 2022.



THE PRESENT

Over the following decades, the work of the embassy increased substantially. By the late seventies, it had become painfully obvious that the office wing of the main building was far too small. This was finally solved when a large five-story chancery, separate from the official residence, was opened in October 1991 (Fig. 46). Interestingly, it was constructed by Shimizu Corporation, the same company that built the legation building in 1928.

The fan shaped building, reminiscent of the shape of Dejima island, was designed by Dutch architect Hans van Os. The landscaping was done by Dutch environmental designer Karin Daan. She incorporated the old ginkgo trees that survived the 1923 disaster, to make them dominate a ginkgo leaf-shaped red square with white inlay in front of the building.

In a way, this new building echoed Vories' plan as it was a modern multi-story building featuring apartments for staff members. The biggest difference was that it was mainly an office building. Still, one could say that, after almost four decades, Vories' vision had been vindicated. Sadly, the villa he designed had to be torn down to make room for the new building.

The next important step in the history of the embassy came in 2005. That year, almost exactly 110 years after the adjusted landlease contract had been concluded, the Dutch government purchased the property from the government of Japan. Now, the embassy was ready for the future.

48, 49. Interior of the ambassador's residence. Entrance hall (top) and living room.



TIMELINE

- 1859** Chō'ōji temple rented and furnished by vice-consul Dirk de Graeff van Polsbroek.
- 1867** **December:** Chō'ōji used for the last time by De Graeff van Polsbroek.
- 1870** **June:** Rental agreement with Chō'ōji is ended.
- 1881** **July:** Minister Resident Joannes Jacobus van der Pot approaches the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs about a plot in Tokyo for the Legation of the Netherlands.
- 1887** **April:** Van der Pot moves in.
- 1923** **September:** The legation building burns down because of the Great Kantō Earthquake.
- 1928** **August:** A new legation building is completed.
- 1941** **December:** The legation is sealed because of World War II. Swedish diplomats watch over the legation during the war.
- 1946** **February:** Johan Burchard Diederik Pennink, diplomatic representative of the Dutch military mission, moves into the main building.
- 1952** Diplomatic relations between Japan and the Netherlands are restored. The former legation becomes an embassy. Petrus Ephrem Teppema becomes the first Dutch ambassador in Japan.
- 1991** A large five-story chancery is completed.
- 2005** The Dutch government purchases the property from the government of Japan.

LÉON VAN DE POLDER

FEBRUARY 6, 1851 – SEPTEMBER 1, 1923

While De Graeff van Polsbroek was the father of modern Dutch diplomatic representation in Japan, Léon van de Polder was the legation's soul.

From 1876 through the early 1920s, he served as an interpreter, chancellor, secretary, and finally as councillor, which would be rendered as counselor in modern American English. In between—to bridge the gaps between old and

new representatives—he functioned as chargé d'affaires an astounding twenty times. No other Dutch diplomat has served in Japan as long as Van de Polder; he personified the legation.

Van de Polder's career developed as Japan became a modern nation. He arrived at Yokohama in 1865. It was only six years after the port opened to international trade, just a year before the town burned down in a devastating fire, and three years before the Meiji Restoration.

After studying Japanese at the Foreign Language School at Yokohama, he worked as a translator at the French Legation during a time when it had a remarkable influence on Japanese affairs. Consul General Léon Roches (1809–1901), for example, was instrumental in the construction of the Yokosuka Naval Arsenal, now a port under the control of the United States Fleet.

Van de Polder left the French legation to work as an interpreter at the Foreign Mixed Court at Kobe for several years before starting as translator-secretary with the Dutch legation in 1876. He worked under one of the most influential diplomats in Asia at the time, British representative Sir Harry Parkes (1828–1885), who looked after Dutch interests for a brief period.

He also performed duties for Sweden, Norway and Denmark, whose interests were looked after by the Dutch legation. His work brought him an astounding sixteen decorations from seven countries.

As an author, Van de Polder wrote about Japanese statesman Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883), Japanese peerage, bamboo culture, Japanese agriculture, and old coins. The *Japan Chronicle* described his Japanese coin collection as “very remarkable.”

Gregarious and outgoing, he was the very first person to receive an honorary membership of the Tokyo Club, a British-style gentlemen's Club established in 1884 by Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue Kaoru (1836–1915). The club is still active today.

This photograph seems to encapsulate the kind of person he was (Fig. 50). He dressed up as Dutch burgher for a dance at the German Embassy. Van de Polder gifted the photo to the attaché of the Austrian-Hungarian legation, who also attended, and left a personal message on the back.

Only a year after he and his wife moved to Yokohama's elegant Yamate area, they were killed in the 1923 earthquake that left the city in ruins. Van de Polder was working on his autobiography at the time. He said it might offer a clearer view on the events described in Sir Ernest Satow's *A Diplomat in Japan*.

We will never know. All his papers were lost in the disaster. If they had not been, his name would certainly be known today. Now, just a few errant traces remain.



50. Léon van de Polder dressed up for a costumed party, 1908.

JEAN CHARLES PABST

MARCH 8, 1873 – JANUARY 24, 1942

Jean Charles Pabst was the Dutch envoy in Japan from 1923 through 1942.

Pabst's appointment surprised many. He was not a diplomat, but a general who had served most of his military career in the Dutch East Indies, present-day Indonesia.

He had been the military attaché for Japan and China at the Dutch legation in Tokyo from 1910 through 1916. Thanks to this experience, he understood the region well, had many connections, and spoke the language. A helpful background for a post that was about to deal with severe crises.

One was economic. From the late 1920s, the Dutch East Indies and Japan effectively fought a trade war—at its highest point in 1934, 32% of imports came from Japan while exports to Japan were negligible. The resulting trade imbalance persuaded the colonial government to impose massive trade restrictions on Japan. Another was Japan's aggressive expansionism, culminating in the end of diplomatic relations when Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941.

A letter that Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Herman Adriaan van Karnebeek (1874–1942) wrote to Pabst after his appointment suggests that he foresaw such issues, and considered Pabst's military experience crucial. Van Karnebeek asked Pabst to keep him informed on how Japan was dealing with the 1921 Four-Power Treaty intended to prevent further territorial expansion in the Pacific.

The minister expected Japan to consolidate its position in the region and specifically wanted Pabst to find out how Japan was "making China subservient to its plans." He added that the former general should pay attention to Japanese plans "for expansion in a southerly direction"—which could threaten the Dutch East Indies—and to keep "a watchful eye" on Japan's army and fleet.

It took a while before Pabst could fulfill this assignment. Only two and a half months after his arrival in June 1923, Tokyo was devastated by the Great Kantō Earthquake. It destroyed the Dutch legation and killed eight Dutch nationals. Countless others were homeless and without financial resources. Suddenly, Pabst had to lead rescue efforts, and build a new legation.

When Pabst got back to his original assignment, he was seen as alarmist. Pabst's warnings about Japan did not lead to adequate protection of the Dutch East Indies. Even American ambassador Joseph C. Grew (1880–1965) wrote in his diary that Pabst was "essentially a pessimist" when the Dutch envoy told him in 1936 that he worried about the Japanese navy making a "southward advance" towards "some part of the Netherlands Indies producing petroleum."

But this was exactly what happened in 1942. When Grew published his memoirs in 1944, he titled the entry, "Holland's Minister Foresees Japan's Southward Thrust."

Against his wishes, Pabst's term was extended several times. In 1938, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Jacob Adriaan Nicolaas Patijn (1873–1961) wrote Pabst that he was "irreplaceable" and persuaded him to stay on for another year. When war broke



51. Minister Pabst at the Jichinsai (Shinto purification ceremony) for the new legation building, 1927.

out in Europe in 1939, Pabst was asked to extend his term again. In early 1941, it was extended again.

As a result, Pabst was still the Dutch representative in Tokyo when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in December of that year. On December 10, he handed the Dutch declaration of war to the Japanese Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ohashi Chuichi (1893–1975). Like all the diplomats of enemy nations, Pabst was put under house arrest by the Japanese authorities. He never enjoyed freedom again. On January 24, 1942, Pabst died of a heart attack, a year short of his 70th birthday.

His funeral took place at the Anglican church of St. Luke's Hospital. It was a most unusual affair. In the middle of the brutal war representatives of several of the adversaries in the conflict crowded together in a Tokyo church surrounded by police in civilian clothes. The heads of foreign missions—including those of Allied nations under house arrest—were assembled under the same roof as Japan's political, administrative, and economic leaders.

The service concluded with the Dutch national anthem, included as a hymn from the Dutch Bible. When it was sung, everybody in the church, including all the Japanese, stood up as one—Japan's leaders effectively honoring an enemy.

Although he was a general and diplomat, Pabst's cultural legacy is especially important. Deeply interested in Dutch history in Asia, he frequently gave speeches about this, and attended unveilings of memorials that still exist. He owned a near complete collection of Nagasaki-e—Edo period (1603–1868) woodblock prints showing the Dutch in Nagasaki. Today, part of this collection is held by the British Museum. Occasionally, a former Pabst print still shows up in the art market.

Pabst's most visible legacy is undoubtedly the legation that he built. The beautiful building miraculously survived the Second World War and now serves as the Dutch ambassador's residence. It has become the embassy's face.

WHAT IS A CONSUL GENERAL?

UNTIL 1855, THE NETHERLANDS DID NOT HAVE A DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE IN JAPAN. There was only a trading post, managed by a chief agent known as Opperhoofd.

This changed when the last Opperhoofd, Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius (1813–1879), was made “Dutch Commissioner in Japan.” Although the Dutch government invented the title to make Donker Curtius appear important without giving him a diplomatic rank, he was nonetheless a true diplomat. He negotiated the first trade treaty with Japan and met with its government in Edo as the diplomatic representative of the Netherlands.

His replacement, Jan Karel de Wit (1819–1884), posted in Japan between 1860 and 1863, was appointed consul general. As was De Wit’s successor, Dirk de Graeff van Polsbroek (1833–1916).

Between 1868 and 1901, Dutch diplomatic representatives in Japan were ranked minister resident. Afterwards, the rank was upgraded to envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. The Dutch legation in Tokyo finally became an embassy, headed by an ambassador, in 1952.

Why do all these fancy titles exist, how do they differ, and what does an ambassador, minister plenipotentiary, or consul general actually do?

CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1815

Since resident diplomatic missions came into being in Europe in the fifteenth century, diplomats were ranked according to the importance of their states. This was easy to disagree on. So diplomatic titles and status were notoriously imprecise.

The Congress of Vienna—a conference of European diplomats to rebuild the political order after the chaos of the Napoleonic Wars—brought clarity. It decided that diplomatic representatives should take precedence in their respective classes according to the official date of notification of their arrival, and ranked them as follows:

1. Ambassador
2. Envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary
3. Minister resident (added by the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818)
4. Chargé d'affaires

The ranks determined ceremonial details such as order of introduction at official meetings, table seatings at banquets, position at processions, and so on. The system is essentially the same today.

DIPLOMATIC MISSION

The functions of a diplomatic mission—codified in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961—include the following:

- a. Represent the home country in the host country.
- b. Protect the interests of the home country and its citizens in the host country.
- c. Negotiate with the government of the host country.
- d. Report on conditions and developments in the host country.
- e. Promote friendly relations between the home and the host country, and develop their economic, cultural and scientific relations.
- f. Provide consular services such as issuing passports, travel documents, and visas, and assist the home country’s citizens in the host country.

DIPLOMATIC RANKS

HEADS OF MISSION

Ambassador

The ambassador represents the home country in all aspects of the bilateral relationship and builds a network to open doors at the highest levels. Historically, issues of war, peace, and security were the main focus. Later, trade issues became more central. Nowadays, the agenda is much broader, featuring issues from cultural exchange to cooperation on innovation.

Ambassadors used to be rare. Only great powers, close allies, and related monarchies sent them to each other. “Lesser” nations had legations and envoys. After the end of WWII in 1945, the United Nations decided that all sovereign states were of equal rank. Legations and envoys became embassies and ambassadors. The Dutch legation in Japan became an embassy in 1952.

Envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary

Usually called “minister,” this diplomatic officer headed the lower status legation. The head of the Dutch legation was ranked at this level from 1901 onwards. The full title is no longer used, but today the second ranked person at the Dutch embassy in Japan is a minister plenipotentiary.

Minister resident

A third ranked head of mission. The Dutch legation in Japan was headed by a minister resident between 1868 and 1901. This rank was deleted at the Vienna Convention of 1961.

Chargé d'affaires

This title indicates the diplomatic officer—generally the highest ranked diplomat after the ambassador—who serves as the chief of mission when the chief is absent, or in-between chiefs.

OTHER STAFF

Counselor

A senior diplomatic rank still in use. There can be multiple counselors at the same time. In the early 20th century this was the Dutch legation’s main advisor, second in rank, and was spelled councillor.

Secretary

The secretary used to have clerical and advisory responsibilities. Secretaries at the Dutch embassy today are diplomats concerned with politics, trade, economy,

culture, etc. They report on Japan to the Netherlands and communicate with Japan’s ministries. The Dutch diplomatic service only has first and second secretaries. The rank of third secretary has been discontinued.

Chancellor

The chancellor was the chief administrative clerk. The Dutch embassy in Japan no longer uses this title. It has an operational manager, responsible for managing the buildings, grounds, personnel, and related matters.

Consul general

The head of a consulate general, a subordinate branch office of the embassy. The Dutch consulate general in Osaka is responsible for consular, economic, and cultural issues in Western Japan.

Between 1860 and 1868, the Dutch ‘diplomatic’ mission in Japan was a consulate general. But because the Dutch consul general was also a political agent, it was effectively a legation. Dutch Consul General De Graeff van Polsbroek helped negotiate trade treaties with Japan for Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

A consul general today does not deal with political issues or negotiate treaties; this is the ambassador’s domain. Incidentally, the Dutch ambassador no longer negotiates trade treaties either. That responsibility has been transferred to the EU.

The first Dutch consulate general in Japan in the modern sense was opened in 1930, in Kobe.

Consul

The consular rank immediately below consul general and immediately above vice-consul. The term is commonly used as a synonym for all consular officers.

Honorary consul

Honorary consuls are not career diplomats. They are often citizens of the host country and perform their work on an honorary basis. They represent Dutch commercial interests and help Dutch nationals abroad in emergency situations.



G. R. BERRIDGE is the author of *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, 6th ed. (Palgrave-Macmillan) and other books about the practice of diplomacy.

KOBE-OSAKA

A NEW PORT On January 1, 1868, the port of Hyogo (present-day Kobe)—a narrow strip of land squeezed in between the Rokko mountain ridge and Osaka Bay—was opened to international trade. The moment was celebrated by a “thunderous roar of the guns of 12 English, 5 American and 1 French warship,” wrote Consul General De Graeff van Polsbroek in a letter to the Dutch Minister of Foreign affairs.

At noon, the English, American and French flags—no Dutch warship was present—were saluted with 21 rounds by the Japanese warship *Kaiyō Maru*, a three-masted, steam-powered frigate built in the Netherlands. These salutes were in return answered by the guns of the foreign warships.

The people in the area seemed to have been happy about the opening. “The Japanese inhabitants of this place walked through the streets of the city in their festive garb, singing and dancing, and proved by their clamor how much it pleased them that the city had been opened to foreign trade,” wrote the consul general.

Perhaps they were celebrating the outrageous rents they were able to charge. According to De Graeff van Polsbroek’s letter, one month’s rent was equal to a third of the value of the house. In an anonymous letter published by Dutch daily *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, a Dutch merchant wrote that a month’s rent was equal to the total purchase price.

The merchant had no choice but to pay the exorbitant rent, because no housing had yet been built for the foreign merchants and diplomats. The promised foreign settlement was just an empty sandlot.

“We flattered ourselves in the hope that the Japanese government would have built some houses for us, and warehouses for our merchandise, so we would have safe shelter for the time being. But we were sorely disappointed, because except for a half-completed customs house, nothing had been prepared for our arrival. With all our belongings, we literally stood on an empty beach.”

FIRST CONSULATE IN KOBE

Notwithstanding this lack of housing, De Graeff van Polsbroek was able to inform the Minister of Foreign Affairs that “a very good temple” had been arranged for Consul Albertus Johannes Bauduin (1829-1890), chief agent of the *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* (Netherlands Trading Society or NHM). The Dutch flag was immediately hoisted there.

De Graeff van Polsbroek does not name the temple, but the research for this book strongly suggests that it was Zenshōji. This was a large temple of distinction located on the Saigoku Kaidō Road, the important highway that connected the ancient capital of Kyoto with Shimonoseki, at the western end of Honshu Island.

Zenshōji stood at a central location, right behind the former Kobe Village Assembly, which was temporarily used as the Meiji Government’s foreign affairs office after it came to power in early 1868 (Figs. 52–54). Japanese politician and statesman Itō Hirobumi often visited here when he was governor of Hyogo Prefecture (1868–1869). The buildings were located at what is now Motomachi 3-chome, relatively close to Motomachi Station.



LEFT. 52. Nakamachi on the Saigoku Kaidō Road in Kobe. The building with the fire lookout tower is the Kobe Town Hall, formerly the Kobe Village Assembly. Near this building was an entrance way to Zenshōji.

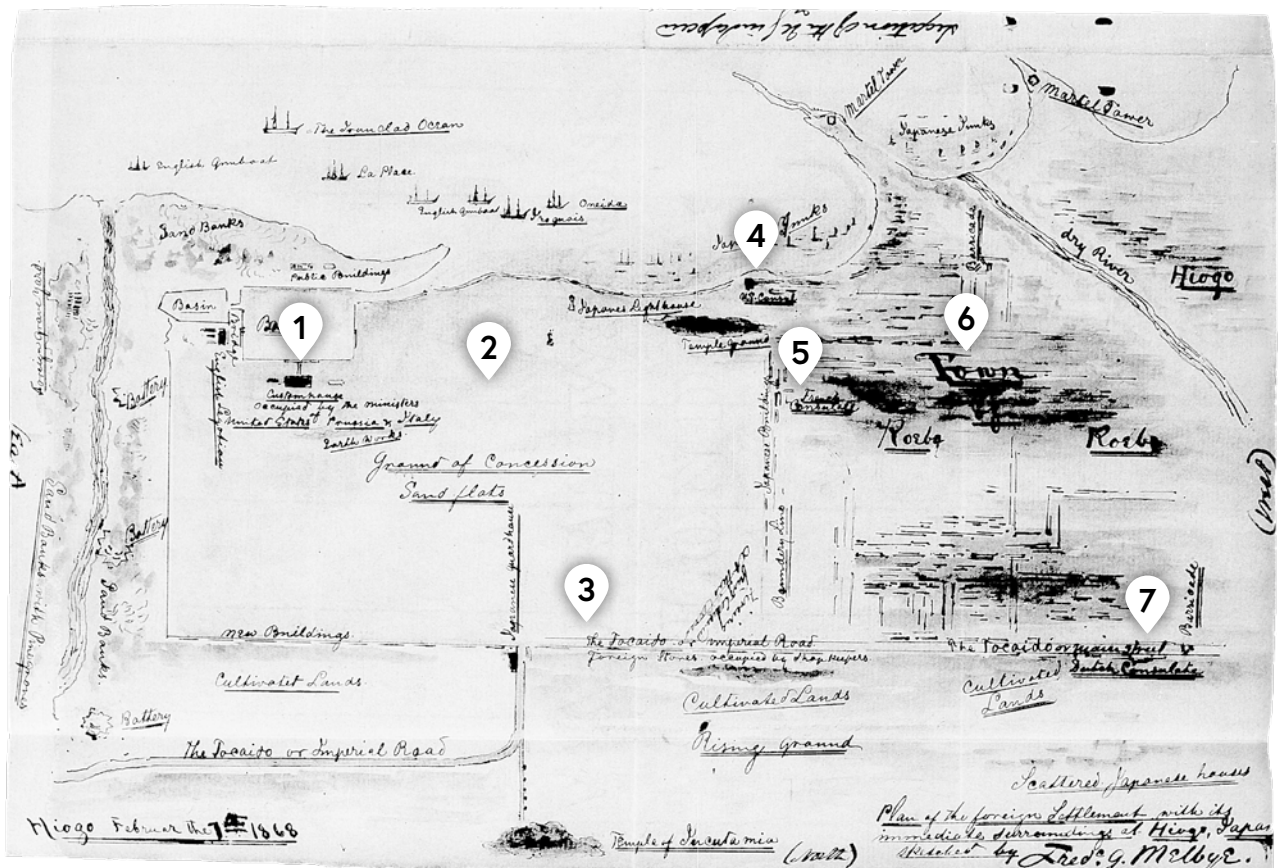
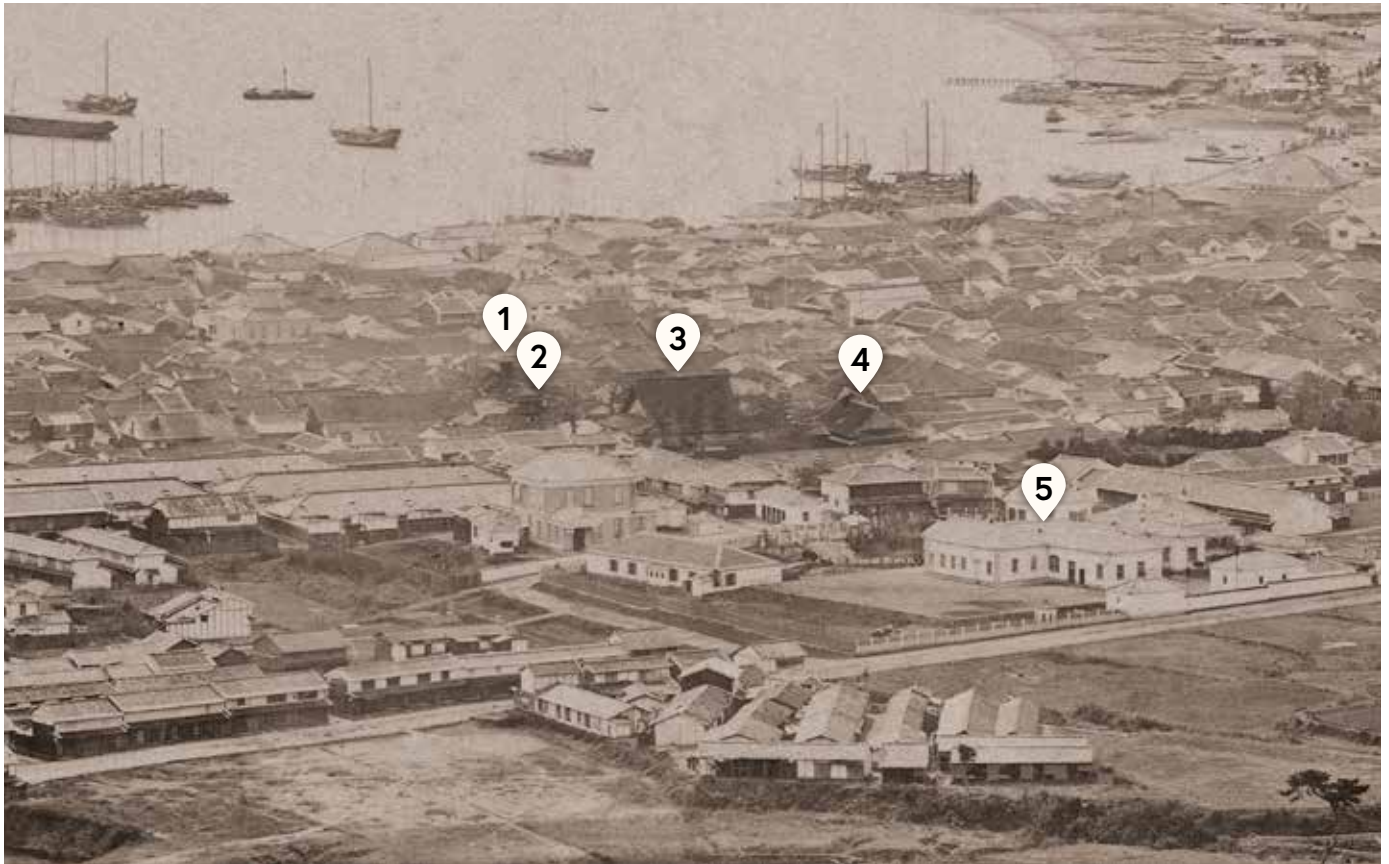
OPPOSITE PAGE BOTTOM.

54. “Dutch Consulate” written at the approximate location of Zenshōji on a hand-drawn map of Kobe dated February 1868. This map corroborates data found in other sources that the Dutch consulate was located at Zenshōji.

1. Customs House.
2. Foreign Settlement.
3. Saigoku Kaidō Road (marked Tocaïdo).
4. U.S. consulate.
5. French consulate.
6. Kobe.
7. Dutch consulate.

53. Zenshōji Temple in Kobe's Motomachi area, ca. 1870s.

1. Fire lookout tower on Saigoku Kaidō Road.
2. Bell tower.
3. Zenshōji main hall.
4. Additional temple building.
5. Location of Consul Korthals's residence, later purchased by Hyogo Prefecture and used as the Hyogo Prefectural Office (Kenchō). It was moved to this location in 1873.





55. The road along which the second Dutch consulate in Kobe was located lead to Ikuta Jinja Shrine and was known as Ikuta no Baba, late 1860s. In this photograph, the photographer had his back turned towards the consulate, located behind him on his left.

On February 4, hundreds of soldiers of the Bizen domain marched past this building just before a violent altercation between them and the inhabitants of the foreign settlement took place near Sannomiya Shrine. The incident created a crisis that caused the nations with consulates in Kobe to briefly occupy the city with their military forces and seize Japanese warships in the harbor.

It was the first major international incident that the imperial court faced as it began to take over power from the Tokugawa shogunate during the Meiji Restoration. The crisis was ultimately defused when a Bizen officer, Taki Zenzaburo, was forced to commit ritual suicide at Eifukuji Temple on March 3.

Dutch Chancellor Leonardus Theodorus Kleintjes, who attended the execution together with the secretaries of the other foreign legations, wrote a sober report. After a factual description of the people who were present, and the interior of the temple, he described the seppuku ritual suicide.

“The convict was 30 to 34 years of age, of strong physique and had a good appearance and medium stature. His clothing consisted of a white undergarment, a black outer garment, a blue ceremonial cloak and dark pants.

“No sooner was he seated, or one of the executioners brought him a small white pinewood wooden table, on which lay a short Japanese sword in a white paper sheath. When this was in front of him, he made a short speech with a trembling voice and a highly affected and moved expression, in which he announced that he was the person who on the 11th day of the 1st Japanese month had given orders to the soldiers under his command to fire on the foreigners, and that he would now, as atonement for this act, cut his abdomen.

“After having said this, he stripped himself to the middle of his clothes, took the short sword in his hand and stabbed himself in the abdomen, which made him assume a somewhat stooped posture. At the same time, the executioner, who had waited with a raised unsheathed sword behind the back of the condemned person for the moment when some blood would gush from the wound, delivered the blow and separated the head from the torso in a single cut.”

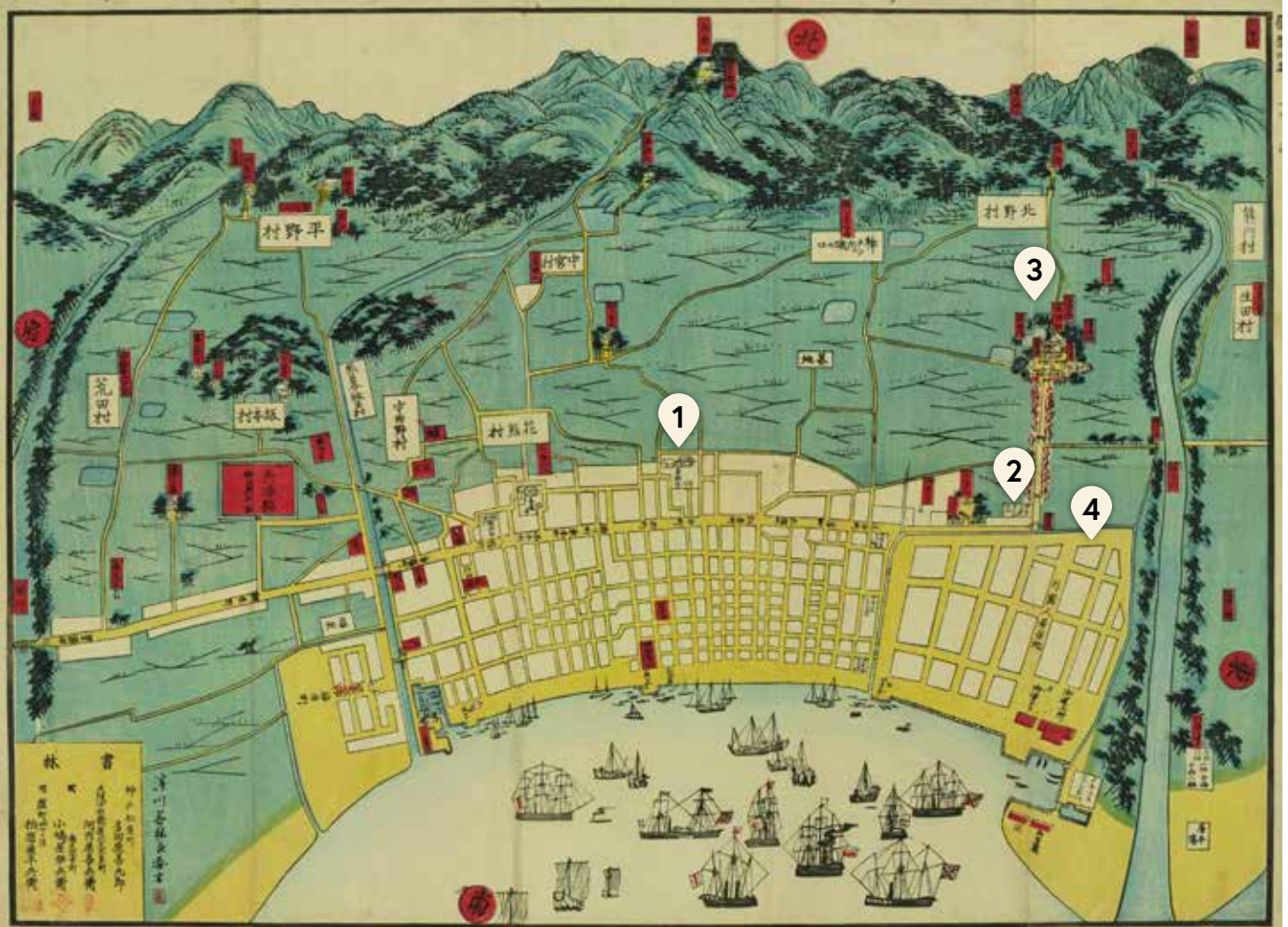
The incident was extremely important in that it demonstrated to the foreign representatives, who all happened to be in Kobe and had actually ducked the bullets of the Bizen troops, that power had effectively been transferred from the shogun to the emperor.

Even more significant was that the new government agreed to the execution demanded by the foreign representatives. This told the diplomats of the foreign powers that the Meiji government intended to change its policy from expelling foreigners (jōi) to establishing friendly relations (kaikoku washin) long before this policy change was made official. The first public proclamation that the emperor would fulfill the foreign treaties would not be announced until late March.

It was a historically significant start for the fledgling Dutch consulate.

PLANTING ROOTS

Around May, when the dust had settled in the area, the consulate and NHM office were moved to a Western style house on Ikuta no Baba, originally a beautiful tree-lined road leading from the beach to Ikuta Jinja Shrine (Figs. 55, 56). According to the *Nihon Shoki*, the second-oldest book of classical Japanese history, this shrine was founded by Empress Jingū at the begin-



56. 1868 (Keio 4) map of Kobe.

1. Zenshōji Temple.
2. Dutch consulate at Ikuta no Baba.
3. Ikuta Jinja Shrine.
4. Foreign settlement.



LEFT TOP. 57. View of Kobe, ca. 1870s.

1. Kobe foreign settlement.
2. Buildings previously housing the Dutch consulate and office of the Netherlands Trading Society.
3. Ikuta no Baba.



LEFT BOTTOM. 58. Ground view of the building on Ikuta Baba that housed the consulate and office of NHM, ca. 1870s. The foreign settlement can be seen in the back.

ning of the 3rd century AD. A rather illustrious location for the new consulate.

The house, which interestingly was located just outside the boundaries of the foreign settlement, was built by Evert and Marten Caspar Bonger, two brothers from Amsterdam. They rented it to NHM. No description of the premises has yet been found, but this study has for the first time identified photographs showing the building (Figs. 57, 58).

The foreign settlement's first land auction was held on September 10. NHM purchased one of the best plots, number 5 on Kaigandori, the avenue fronting the harbor which was also known as the Bund. The large plot was located conveniently near Kobe's main pier and not too far from the customs house. Dutch captains and merchants would not have to walk too far to get business done.

An NHM warehouse was nearing completion here around May 6 of the following year, while the framework for a residence

and an office were being erected around October 27. These were “two substantial stone buildings” reported the *Hiogo News*.

Around May 1870, almost two and a half years after the opening of the port, the consulate finally moved to its exclusive new location on the Bund (Figs. 59–62).

The consulate was a typical two-story stone and wooden treaty port building with a pillared corner porch covered with a roof overhang. A second-floor balcony overlooked the Bund, while another balcony on the Japanese tiled roof offered an unobstructed view of Kobe Harbor.

It is unknown who designed the building. But because of the close connections between Consul Bauduin and the Bonger brothers, who advertised as architects, it is likely that the house was built and designed by them.

The consulate is believed to have remained at this address until around 1877.

It turned out to have been extremely well-chosen. Over the next century, the German, Italian and American consulates would also use this lot, as well as the Kobe office of one of the largest shipping companies in Japan, Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK), now known as Mitsui O.S.K. Lines. The influential Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, the present HSBC, moved into nearby number 2 in 1881, while the famed Oriental Hotel moved to the neighboring plot, number 6, in 1907. Many world-famous people would stay here, including American actress Marylin Monroe.



59. The Dutch consulate and the Netherlands Trading Society's office at No 5 in Kobe's Foreign Settlement, ca. 1870s.



60. The Dutch consulate and the Netherlands Trading Society's office at No 5 in Kobe's Foreign Settlement, ca. 1873.



61. Map of the Dutch Consulate and the offices of the Netherlands Trading Society at Kaigandori No. 5 in Kobe, 1872.



LEFT. 62. The Dutch consulate and the Netherlands Trading Society's office at No 5 in Kobe's Foreign Settlement as seen from the back, ca. 1870s. The street in the center is Maemachi. No. 2 is believed to have been the residence. No. 3 is a stone godown (warehouse).

BOTTOM. 63. The Crescent Building at 72 Kyomachi. The Consulate of the Netherlands in Kobe was located here from around 1923 (Taisho 12). It was a two-room office measuring 27 tsubo (89 m²).

MOVING AROUND

Between 1878 and the early 1920s, the consulate constantly moved. It was located at no less than twelve addresses, after which it finally settled in the Crescent Building, a modern office building at 72 Kyomachi (Fig. 63).

It would become the last building in Kobe to house a Dutch consulate. In 1928, Dutch envoy Jean Charles Pabst wrote a letter to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs arguing that the Kobe consulate should become a consulate general.

Around this time, Japan's trade with the Netherlands East Indies was increasing rapidly. It ranked fifth in the list of countries that Japan exported to, while ranking eighth for imports. The Dutch consular representation in Japan, "a consulate in Kobe for the whole of Japan, and a vice-consulate in Yokohama for this port and its surroundings," no longer represented the importance of the Netherlands, wrote Pabst:

"Countries far less important to trade from and to Japan than we are, e.g. Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Bolivia, Columbia, Romania, Italy, have a consulate general in this country; even Luxembourg has followed suit. In Yokohama, the Dutch vice-consulate is the only one of its kind; countries like Greece, Guatemala, Peru and Portugal have a consulate there.

"Such a consular office may be a superfluous luxury for countries like the ones mentioned above, but for a country like ours it is certainly not; Japan's growing importance for our export trade gives us the same significance as France, Germany and Italy have.

"If our consular representation does not accord with this, as it does at present, our interests and prestige suffer; especially in Oriental countries — and Japan is still Oriental in this respect — it makes a painful and damaging impression that on official occasions our consular representative at Yokohama always comes last, while at Kobe he has to give precedence to consuls general of countries such as Argentina, Columbia and Italy.



"Furthermore, I feel I must draw attention to the fact that Japan is the only major power where we do not have a consul general. They are not insensitive to this sort of thing here, especially since we do have consuls general in other places in the Far East and in Australia."

Pabst's argument carried the day. In 1930, the Consulate of the Netherlands in Kobe became the Consulate General for Japan and Kwantung (the leased territory of the Empire of Japan in the Liaodong Peninsula).



INVENTARIS VAN HET RIJKSBOEKHUIS AAN HET
 GOVERNEMENT-GENERAAL VAN NEDERLAND-INDIË.

In de kamer van het hoofd van den afdel.

- een bureau (werk tafel)
- een schrijftafel
- een armstoel
- twee gewone stoelen
- een bureaukast
- een archiefkast
- een lampenstand
- een tafel
- een portret in lijst van hare Majesteit de Koningin
- een landkaart in lijst (Oost-Indië)
- een elektrische weaver
- een papiermand

In de algemeene kamers (kantoors)

- een bureau met bank
- twee schrijftafels
- twee gewone stoelen
- een bureaukast
- een kast met vakkerverdeling
- een tafel
- een in lijst
- twee schrijfmachines (Underwood en Remington)
- twee landkaarten (Nederlands en Oost-Indië)
- een elektrische weaver
- drie papiermanden
- een papiermand

In de talkeken afd.

- twee schrijftafels
- twee bureaukasten
- twee gewone stoelen
- een bureaukast
- een open boekrek
- een draaibare bureaukast
- twee archiefkasten
- drie landkaarten (wereld, Oost-Indië en Nederlands)
- twee papiermanden
- een in lijst

Talkeken

- een bureaukast
- een elektrische weaver
- een kast voor administratieve
- een kast met papiermand

Batavia, 21 December 1921.
 Voor de overzacht,
 De Commissaris-Generaal.

[Handwritten signature]

Voor de overzacht,
 De Commissaris-Generaal, te Batavia.
 De Commissaris van den
 Gouvernements-Generaal.

[Handwritten signature]

Inventaris van het rijkseigen bezit van het Gouvern-
 oment-Generaal der Nederlanden te Batavia.

In de kamer van het hoofd van den afdel.

- een bureaukast (werk tafel)
- een schrijftafel
- een armstoel
- drie gewone stoelen
- twee bureaukasten
- een draaibare bureaukast
- een archiefkast
- een tafel
- een portret in lijst van hare Majesteit de Koningin
- een landkaart (Oost-Indië)
- een elektrische weaver
- een papiermand
- een draaibare schrijfmachine merk Royal

In de algemeene kamers (kantoors)

- een bureau met bank
- vier schrijftafels
- een draaibare bureaukast
- acht gewone stoelen
- een papierkast
- een kast met vakkerverdeling
- een ladenkast
- een bureaukast
- drie schrijfmachines (merk Olympia Standard, van Huberman, Standard m. 2)
- twee landkaarten (Nederlands en Oost-Indië)
- een elektrische weaver
- een elektrische klok

In de talkeken afd.

- twee schrijftafels
- een armstoel
- een gewone tafel
- een schrijfmachine tafel
- drie gewone stoelen
- een bureaukast
- een archiefkast
- een open boekrek
- een draaibare bureaukast
- een portret in lijst van H. N. de Koningin
- twee landkaarten (wereld, Oost-Indië)
- twee papiermanden
- een elektrische weaver
- een draaibare schrijfmachine merk Olympia

221

OPPOSITE PAGE.

TOP. 64. A view of Kobe's Akashimachi in the 1930s.

1. Osaka Shosen Kaisha at 5 Kaigandori, the location occupied by the consulate during most of the 1870s.
2. Meikai Building at No. 32. The consulate was located here from 1930 through 1941, and after WWII. The Meikai was surprisingly close to the first location inside the foreign settlement.

BOTTOM. 65. Minister Pabst's view that the consulate in Kobe needed to be made a consulate general was borne out by the increase of work that occurred during the 1930s. These inventory lists of 1933 (left) and 1938 illustrate the increase in employees and office furniture. Within just five years, the number of desks in the general chancery room doubled from two to four, while the total number of typewriters in the office went from two to five. By the time the office was closed in December 1941, the number of rooms had doubled to six.

Because the space at the Crescent Building was too small and noisy, the consulate general moved to a three-room office in the Meikai Building at 32 Akashi-machi in December of that year (Fig. 64).

The multi-story Meikai was one of the best office buildings in Kobe, and easily accommodated the expanding consulate general. Over the next decade, the office doubled from three to six rooms: the consul general's room, the consul's room, a general office, rooms for the interpreter and secretary, and a drawing and store room (Fig. 65).

It remained at the Meikai until the Second World War forced its closure. The Japanese authorities sealed the consulate general on December 13, 1941.

Sweden now assumed the task of being the Protecting Power of the Netherlands and became its diplomatic representative in Japan. On February 25, 1942, Consul General Johan Burchard Diederik Pennink transferred the "archives and other properties" of the consulate general to Swedish consul Lorens Wirén. Pennink, his wife, Consul Nicolaas Arie Johannes de Voogd, and two other consulate officials were interned at the Pennink residence until they were evacuated on July 30.

As the Meikai Building was just around the corner from the consulate's first location inside Kobe's foreign settlement in 1870, number 5 on the Bund, the closing somehow feels symbolic. The consulate had moved all around the settlement, and a few locations outside, and then returned close to its starting point inside the settlement. As if an imaginary circle was completed.

A NEW BEGINNING

The Japanese empire surrendered on August 15, 1945, and the allied occupation of Japan began two weeks later. As a result, Sweden ceased to represent Dutch interests in Japan some ten months later, on June 20, 1946.

This left a gap. There was a need for Dutch representation in the region around Kobe and Osaka, but General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (GHQ) did not allow "formal consular offices" or the "formal functioning of consular officials." So instead, a temporary representative of the



66. Oil painting of the Dutch consulate on Yamamoto-dori, Kobe in 1947, shortly after the end of WWII, by Japanese artist Komatsu Masuki (1904–2002). Entered in the 14th Shinseisaku Art Exhibition, 1950.

Netherlands Military Mission for Western Japan, C. W. Brand, was appointed in early September.

GHQ however specifically stressed that "it is understood that neither the Mission nor its branch in Kobe will have direct official relations with local Japanese Government officials, and that all matters requiring communication with the Imperial Japanese Government will be cleared through the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers."

On October 8, 1946, acting Swedish Consul Per Björstedt transferred the remaining "documents and archives" of the consulate general to Brand. An office was set up at 139 Yamamoto-dori 3-chome. This was soon moved to number 150. In 1947, the facade of this office, complete with Brand's military jeep, was immortalized in a painting by renowned Kobe based artist Komatsu Masuki (Fig. 66).

The consulate remained at this address for several years. It then temporarily moved to the office of the Nationale Handelsbank at the Bank of Tokyo Building at 24 Kyomachi in the old settlement, sometime before 1951.

By 1951, things had markedly improved in Japan. Dutch envoy Petrus Ephrem Teppema wrote a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs arguing that "the growth and scope, as well as the nature of the Dutch economic interests in Japan make it necessary, in my opinion, to once again place a consul general in Kobe/Osaka (the Kansai area)." He wrote that not to do so "would be irresponsible." Teppema believed that a consulate general in Kobe had to be seen "as comparable in importance to the consulates general in Sidney, Singapore, Hong Kong, or San Francisco."

One month before the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Netherlands on April 28, 1952, the president of Kobe City council stated a similar case in a letter requesting the reopening of the consulate general. The Hague listened. On June 17, 1952, W. H. de Roos arrived in Kobe to become the first post-war consul general.

It is believed that the office returned to the Meikai Building around this time. Around 1957, it was moved to the 5th floor at the Denden Building at 64 Naniwa-chō, Ikuta-ku. It would stay here through 1977, after which it moved to the 20th floor of the Kobe C.I.T. Building at 5-1-14 Hamabedori, Fukiai-ku.

FAREWELL

In the early morning of January 15, 1995, a major earthquake devastated Kobe and surroundings. The Kobe C.I.T Center Building survived the disaster, but the consulate general had been shaken to its core. Press and culture officer Hans Kuijpers was the first to enter the office. He was shocked. "It was a huge mess. The office was strewn with paper and things that had fallen over. Nothing was left standing. Even the safe had fallen over."

The disaster became an unexpected turning point. Within several weeks, the office was moved to room 2726 at the Hilton Hotel in Osaka, across from Umeda Station, the busiest station in western Japan. Some three months later, it moved to its new location at Twin 21 MID Tower, right next to the iconic Osaka Castle (Fig. 70).

After 127 years, Kobe was no longer home.



67. 1885 map of Osaka.

1. Kawaguchi foreign settlement.
2. British consulate.
3. Dutch consulate and the offices of the Netherlands Trading Society, 1868-1874.
4. Enokijima. Between 1874 and 1926, Osaka's Prefectural Office was located here.
5. Presumed location of Dutch consulate, 1874-1876. The Chinese consulate general is located here today.
6. Nakanoshima.
7. Osaka Castle.



68, 69. The Dutch consulate and office of the Netherlands Trading Society at the Kawaguchi foreign settlement in Osaka, ca. 1870.



70. The Twin 21 MID Tower behind Osaka Castle in 2006. Of the two identical towers, the one on the right, partly hidden behind the Matsushita IMP Building, housed the consulate general.

OSAKA

Over the years the Dutch consulate in Kobe also covered Osaka. But when Kobe and Osaka were opened for international trade on January 1, 1868, separate consulates were actually established for each city.

Initially, Osaka seemed the bigger prize to merchants. It was much larger and was a well-developed merchant town. Thus it was important to have a consulate to support the Dutch merchants who decided to settle here.

But big ships could not enter the harbor—landing in Osaka was even life-threatening during stormy weather—and land prices were high. Merchants eventually realized that Kobe offered far better opportunities. But until this realization took hold, Osaka had its own consulate.

As in other cities, it was located at the local NHM office. NHM employee Pieter Eduard Pistorius became the vice-consul. He rented a residence of “one of the most prominent Japanese merchants,” wrote Consul General De Graeff van Polsbroek in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Here he raised the Dutch flag.

On January 21, Chancellor Kleintjes wrote in his diary that Pistorius moved into his own house at the Foreign Settlement at Kawaguchi (Fig. 67). However, things did not start off well.

Only six days later, a civil war started in Kyoto, a mere fifty kilometers away.

The hostilities reached Osaka within days. All the foreigners, including all the foreign diplomats, who happened to be in Osaka for talks with the shogun, were forced to retreat to Kobe. By mid-March, they were back in Osaka though, and the new consulate was in business.

Thanks to photographs taken by Dutch army physician and chemist Koenraad Wolter Gratama—today known as the founding father of chemistry in Japan—we know what the consulate looked like (Figs. 68, 69). The combined NHM lot and consulate was an almost fort-like collection of Japanese buildings, including several *kura*, traditional Japanese storehouses built from timber, stone or clay. The lot was located at Umemotocho, right on the edge of the settlement.

The NHM office was discontinued on June 30, 1874. Around this time, the consulate was moved to 4 Hakodate Yashiki (fig. 67 #5) where it was overseen by vice-consul Johann Carl Jacob Klein. It is believed that Hakodate Yashiki was the area previously used by the Hakodate Products Distribution Center in what is now 3-chome Utsubohonmachi. The consulate remained here until about 1876, when the consular presence in Osaka was discontinued.

AFTER 1995

Over the next 119 years, there was no Dutch representation in Osaka. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs briefly considered opening a separate consulate in Osaka in 1936, but deemed it unnecessary.

This all changed in 1995, when the consulate general moved from Kobe to Osaka because of the earthquake.

The new office at the Twin 21 MID Tower was impressive. The high-rise office tower was one of the most prestigious addresses in Osaka, housing a number of blue-chip corporations and consulates general.

After two decades at the Twin 21 MID Tower, the consulate general moved to the nine-story Kitahama 1-Chome Heiwa Building in Osaka's Kitahama district in September, 2016.

TIMELINE

- 1868** Consulates opened in Hyogo (present-day Kobe) and Osaka.
- 1870** The Kobe consulate moves to its first permanent location at number 5 on the Bund.
- 1876** Osaka consulate is closed.
- 1930** The Consulate of the Netherlands in Kobe becomes the Consulate General for Japan and Kwantung.
- 1941** Japanese authorities seal the consulate general on December 13 (World War II).
- 1946** A temporary representative of the Netherlands Military Mission for Western Japan, stationed in Kobe, is appointed.
- 1952** The consulate general is reopened.
- 1995** The consulate general is moved to Osaka after the Great Hanshin Earthquake.

OTHER LOCATIONS

IN ADDITION TO Nagasaki, Kobe, Osaka, Kanagawa, Yokohama, and Tokyo's Takanawa and Shiba districts, the Dutch government has been active at other locations.

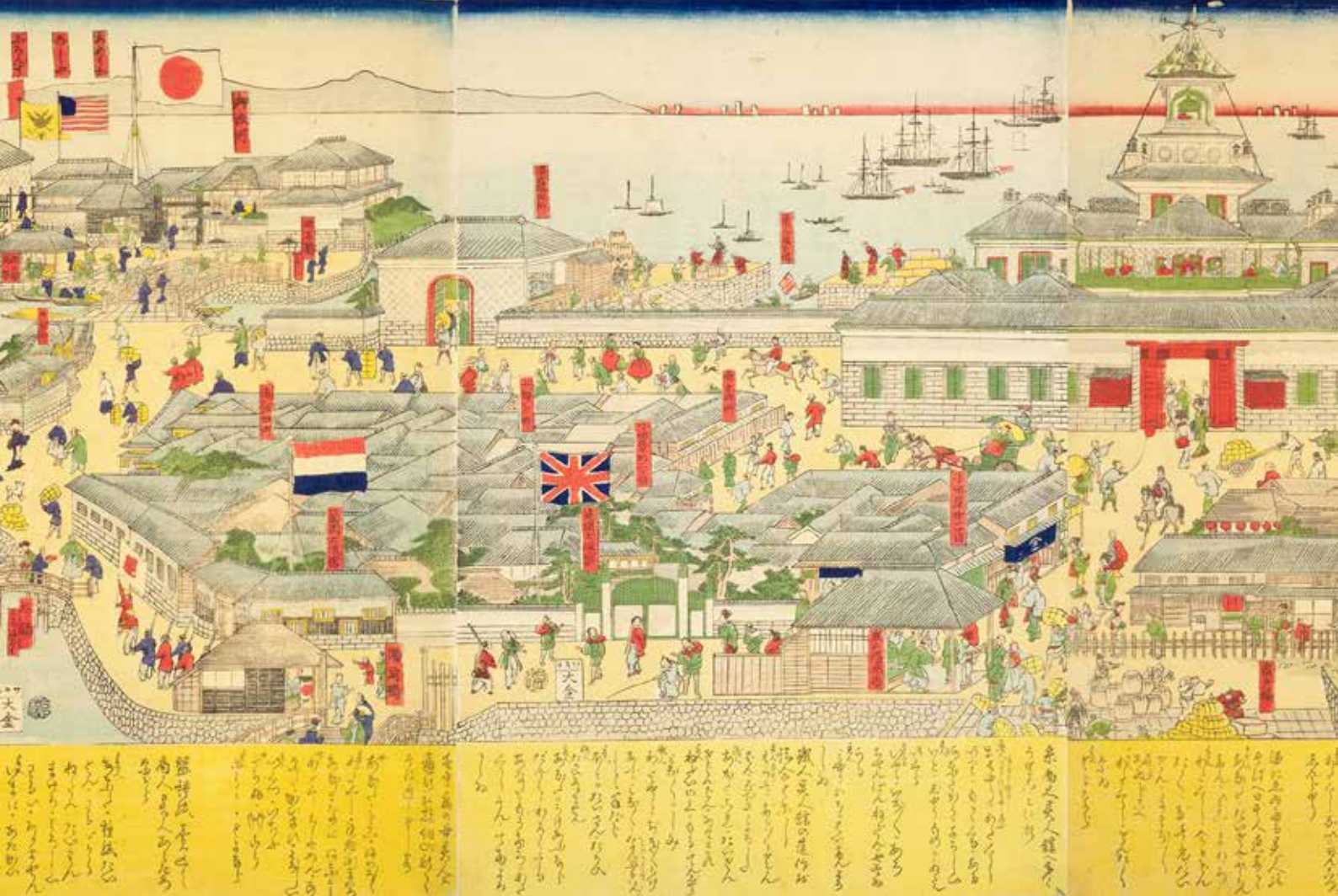
From January through October, 1869, there was a vice-consulate at the NHM office at the foreign settlement in Tokyo's Tsukiji area (Fig. 71). It was housed at Minami-Odawara-machi 4-chome 2-banchi, near the famed Tsukiji Hotel, and fell under the Yokohama consulate managed by Consul Van der Tak.

As there was little or no business to conduct in Tokyo, both the office and the vice-consulate were quickly

closed. NHM-employee and Vice-Consul Adriaan Mees was then sent to Niigata to set up an NHM office and vice-consulate there. The address is as yet unknown. This also quickly closed.

In 1927, a new vice-consulate was set up in Tokyo. It became a consulate in 1939.

Other Japanese towns that have housed diplomatic missions—mainly vice and honorary consulates—are Hakodate, Sapporo, Nagoya and Shimonoseki.



71. Tokyo Tsukiji Teppouzu (1869) by Ichiyosai Kunitaru showing the Tsukiji Hotel in Tokyo's foreign settlement. The Dutch flag near the hotel denotes the location of the Dutch consulate.

Acknowledgments

This study was possible thanks to the generous cooperation of many organizations and individuals.

We especially thank G. R. Berridge, Brian Burke-Gaffney, Frederik Cryns, Willem Kortekaas, Herman J. Moeshart, Isabel Tanaka-van Daalen, Yokoyama Yoshinori, and the staff of the following organizations:

Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History
 Kobe City Archives
 Kobe City Central Library
 Kobe City Museum
 Kobe University Library
 Koninklijke Verzamelingen, Hague
 Musée d'ethnographie in Neuchâtel
 Nagasaki University Library
 Nationaal Archief, Hague
 Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden
 National Archives, Kew
 National Diet Library, Tokyo
 National Maritime Museum Amsterdam
 Nationalmuseet i København

Netherlands Embassy and Consulate General in Japan
 NTT Urban Value Support, Inc.
 Osaka Museum of History
 Raymond Architectural Design Office, Inc.
 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
 Shimizu Corporation
 Swedish Embassy in Japan
 Swedish National Archives
 Swiss Federal Archives SFA
 Tokyo Tower Co., Ltd.
 Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden
 W.M. Vories & Company Architects Ichiryusha
 Yokohama Archives of History

Image Credits

1. Unattributed, albumen print, SMA1.2A, Het Scheepvaartmuseum, National Maritime Museum, Amsterdam. Modified. Detail.
2. Felice Beato, albumen print, Dejima, KITLV 89931, Leiden University Libraries. Modified.
3. J. Lobatto, copperplate engraving, Decima, KITLV 51A3, Leiden University Libraries.
4. Baron Raimund von Stillfried, albumen silver photograph, Nagasaki, Desima, Main Street, Views and Costumes of Japan. H95.62/52. LTW 56, LaTrobe Picture Collection, State Library Victoria.
5. Unattributed, drawing on paper, Plattegrond van het hoofdgebouw van de factorij, 2.21.024 77, Nationaal Archief, Hague.
6. Hendericus Octavus Wichers, drawing on paper, Dejima zoo als het was vóór den brand in 1859, B II 108 A, Het Scheepvaartmuseum, National Maritime Museum, Amsterdam.
7. Kjeld Duits, 60331-7852.
8. Unattributed, collotype on postcard stock, Kaigandori, 80107-0061, MeijiShowa.
9. Robert Severin, albumen print, FA-0233A-02, Koninklijke Verzamelingen, Hague. Modified.
10. Gountei Sadahide, woodblock print, Gokaikō Yokohama no Zenzu, Yokohama, Kaart van Yokohama, 4.AANW 48, Nationaal Archief.
11. Unattributed, lithograph, Yokohama City History Manuscripts Supplementary Maps, Tokaido Kanagawa-juku Pictorial Map, 1932, Yokohama City, 211124-0006, MeijiShowa.
12. Pierre Rossier, albumen print, SMA1.10, Het Scheepvaartmuseum, National Maritime Museum, Amsterdam. Modified.
13. 煙管亭 喜莊 書, 神奈川砂子, woodblock print, 200017585, National Institute of Japanese Literature.
14. Hashimoto Sadahide, woodblock print, Gokaiko Yokohama oezu nihen gaikokujin jutakuzu, ル11 00972 0002, Waseda University Library.
15. Hozendo Maruya Tokuzo, Woodblock print, Gokaikō Yokohama no zenzu, 210125-0011-OS, MeijiShowa. Detail.
16. Felice Beato, albumen print, Het Nederlandse Consulaat Generaal in Japan, KITLV A735, Universiteit Leiden.
17. Felice Beato/Charles Wirgman, albumen print, 4 September 1863, SMA2.52, Het Scheepvaartmuseum, National Maritime Museum, Amsterdam. Modified.
18. Unattributed, ink on paper, 1864, 2.05.10.08 36 0100, Nationaal Archief, Hague.
19. 錦誠堂 尾崎富五郎, woodblock print, Meiji 11, 改正 横浜分見地図 全, 140303-0042, MeijiShowa.
20. Felice Beato, albumen print, 161124-0003-OS, MeijiShowa. Detail.
21. L.F. Clipet, Plan of Yokohama, E6#1000/953#169*, Swiss Federal Archives SFA.
22. Unattributed, albumen print, 6201, Nagasaki University Library.
23. De Courant Het Nieuws van den Dag (pp. 6), September 12, 1923. Delpher.
24. Felice Beato, albumen print, SMA2.1B, Het Scheepvaartmuseum, National Maritime Museum, Amsterdam. Modified.
25. Jacob Eduard van Heemskerck van Beest, oil on canvas, HMS Steam-Powered Battleship Medusa Opening the Shimonoseki Straits, SK-A-2725, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.
26. Utagawa Hiroshige, woodblock print, ink on paper, 131004-0112.1-OS, MeijiShowa. Detail.
27. Felice Beato, albumen print, SMA2.53A, Het Scheepvaartmuseum, National Maritime Museum, Amsterdam.
28. Kageyama Muneyasu, woodblock print, ink on paper, 1855, Edo Kirie-zu, Shiba Mita Nihon-enoki Takanawa-hen Ezu, 221203-0030, MeijiShowa.
29. Felice Beato, albumen print, 210125-0012-OS, MeijiShowa.
30. Felice Beato, albumen print, 1863, 6215, Nagasaki University Library. Modified.
31. Alexandre de Bar after a sketch by Aimé Humbert, engraving, Le Tour du monde, January 1867, 211210-0049-302, MeijiShowa.
32. B12082764300, 芝長応寺和蘭仮公使館地租家租徴収一件, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records.
33. Uemura Daizo, woodblock print, ink on paper, Edo Kiriezu, Shiba Atagoshita Ezu, 211201-0026, MeijiShowa.
34. Jhr. mr. Govert J. van Tets, De Nederlandse legatie te Tokyo, Coll.no. RV-A109-1-66, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Modified.
35. Jhr. mr. Govert J. van Tets, Rijtuig van de Nederlandse gezant in Tokyo, Coll.no. RV-A109-1-72, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Modified.
- 36–41. Unattributed, gelatin silver prints, Shimizu Corporation.
42. Collectie A.W. Rups, 2164-034-003, Collectie Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie, Ministerie van Defensie.
43. Unattributed, gelatin silver print, Tokyo Tower Co., Ltd.
44. Pencil on tracing paper, Sep 26th,1952, JOB# A-7011 SHEET No.5 elevation, W.M. Vories & Company Architects Ichiryusha.
45. Pencil on tracing paper, Aug 24th,1953, JOB# A-8640 SHEET No.5 elevation, section & some details, W.M. Vories & Company Architects Ichiryusha.
- 46–49. Kjeld Duits, 220729-6560, 220729-6614, 220729-6525, 220729-6528.
50. S. Gō, gelatin silver print, 211210-0014, MeijiShowa.
51. Unattributed, gelatin silver print, Shimizu Corporation.
52. Unattributed, albumen print, 190511-0001-PP, MeijiShowa/Pump Park Collection.
53. Unattributed, albumen print, View on Kobe, 140302-0041, MeijiShowa. Detail.
54. National Archives, Washington. Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Japan, 1855-1906 Item: Jan. 2, 1868 - Apr. 8, 1868, 127.
55. G.A. Escher, albumen print, Kobe, Coll.no. RV-A96-2-47, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen.
56. Wakabayashi Ryō, Kaikō Kobe no Zu, 1868, 210125-0008-OS, MeijiShowa.
57. Tamamura Kozaburo, albumen print, View on Kobe, 100301-0004, MeijiShowa. Detail.
58. Unattributed, albumen print, Kobe Photograph: Road and torii, Kobe City Museum.
59. Unattributed, albumen print, Statische gebouwen aan de Bund te Hiogo in de provincie Settsu, Nippon op de westelijke oever van de Baai van Osaka, 1870s, Coll.no. RV-2732-16b-8, Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen.
60. Unattributed, albumen print, 2.20.01 Inventaris van het archief van de Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij, 5098 Agent in Hiogo, Nationaal Archief, Hague. Modified.
61. C.E. Hart, ink on paper, Plan of the Foreign Settlement or Kobe 1870-1872, MFC 40 Harold S. Williams Map Collection, Item 44, Folder 3, National Library of Australia. Detail. Modified.
62. Unattributed, albumen print, Foreign Settlement, 120410-0025, MeijiShowa.
63. Unattributed, collotype on postcard stock, Crescent Building, 211206-0027, MeijiShowa.
64. Unattributed, collotype on postcard stock, Akashimachi, 211206-0041, MeijiShowa.
65. 2.05.38 Inventaris van het archief van het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: B-dossiers, 1372 Kobe, 1921–1940: 0135, 0192, Nationaal Archief, Hague.
66. Komatsu Masuki, oil on canvas, Dutch Consulate, 221204-0013, MeijiShowa.
67. Torii Tadanosuke (editor), 1885, Shinban Osaka Saiken Zenzu, 210125-0004-OS, MeijiShowa.
68. Koenraad Wolter Gratama, albumen print, ca. 1870, 6191, Nagasaki University Library. Modified.
69. Koenraad Wolter Gratama, albumen print, ca. 1870, 6190, Nagasaki University Library. Modified.
70. Kjeld Duits, 60315-0070.
71. Ichiyosai Kuniteru, woodblock print, ink on paper, MeijiShowa. Detail. Cover top. Kawahara Keiga, 1833–1836, ink and color on silk, Het eiland Deshima, NG-1191, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

This study is the first complete history of Dutch diplomatic locations in Japan. It has been commissioned by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Tokyo.

In the 1850s, Japan signed commercial treaties that ended Japan's 220-year-old policy of national seclusion. Soon after, the old Dutch trading post on the island of Dejima in Nagasaki was closed.

For over two centuries the relationship between Japan and the Netherlands had been based on exclusivity. Now, Dutch diplomats in Japan had to find new ways of working and new places to do this work, in a country that was opening to the world and radically reorganizing itself.

Little was known about the locations where these Dutch diplomats created this new relationship between the two countries. This study fills that gap and introduces new discoveries, deepening our understanding of how Dutch envoys moved from Dejima to Tokyo.



THE FOOTNOTES, RESEARCH NOTEBOOKS, AND SOME OF THE PRIMARY DOCUMENTS OF THIS STUDY CAN BE ACCESSED AT DEJIMA-TOKYO.COM