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A Voyage in Time

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This essay chronicles events leading up to the 1865 voyage of 19 Satsuma (modern-day Kagoshima) students to the UK, covering political, social, geographical and technological conditions surrounding the journey. The connection to Thomas Glover is outlined and shows how Glover was pivotal in facilitating the Satsuma students reaching the UK. What the students perceived as technologically different or advantageous in comparison to Japan in that period drove a remarkably young (by current Japanese norms) set of representatives to influence the subsequent direction of Japan. Historical reporting of certain events allows an alternative view of the time. The irony of a feudal society sending students to a country trying to break out of the aftermath of feudalism is of note.

Key Words: [Satsuma Students] [Thomas Glover] [1865] [Kagoshima History]

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On the 17th of April, 1865, a group of young Japanese scholars set off for a distant destination on what was essentially time travel. Their time machine was not something the modern-day science fiction buff might recognize, but a ship similar to the clippers of the time, such as the Thermopylae and the Cutty Sark, which were breaking speed records for running Chinese tea back to the UK.

This group of students are immortalized in a large statue outside Kagoshima's Central railway station, and in a connection that ties Japan and the UK together in this story even more strongly, the Kagoshima statue is itself modelled on The Shaftesbury Memorial Fountain in Piccadilly Circus, London.

Japan had at the time been closed to the outside world for over 200 years and the government was showing no signs of interest in becoming part of a wider, if not yet global, community. As such it was left to individual Lords to take the lead in bringing Japan up to speed with what was happening in the rapidly developing world outside the Tokugawa Shogunate's influence.

Satsuma province, now Kagoshima, was far from the central Shogunate government,

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but for that same reason had more contact with outside forces. It is worth pointing out to a modern-day readership familiar with American influence both worldwide and upon Japan itself, that at the time of this undertaking the trans-Pacific route, specifically the route between Japan and the West Coast of the U.S.A., was far less important than the Asian route to the far east. When Admiral Perry came to Japan in 1853 with his black ships, he came round Africa, across Asia and through the Ryukyu islands (now Okinawa). Because the arrival of many commodities and ideas (like guns, Christianity, and most other introductions to early Japan) was via Asia and not Trans-Pacific, the arrival point was often in Satsuma at the very southern end of the Japanese archipelago. When the Chinese monk Jianzhen (Ganjin in Japan) came to Japan in 753 it was via Kagoshima (specifically Yakushima and then Bonotsu). Similarly, when the Portuguese first came to Japan in 1543, they arrived on the Kagoshima island of Tanigashima (visible from the neighboring island of Yakushima where Jianzhen had arrived some 800 years earlier), and were introduced by the Chinese ship's captain as "Southern Barbarians" because they had come to China from Malacca. This route from Europe to Asia, which gave the appearance of Europeans arriving in China from the south rather than the west, was the only viable option for ships at the time (Dougill).

That is not to say that America was unknown or unimportant at the time the Satsuma students made their voyage, simply that the trans-pacific crossing was, as yet, relatively unused. In fact, prior to the Satsuma students travelling in secret to the U.K., the Japanese government had sanctioned a delegation to America (The U.S.A.) to ratify a temporary trade treaty. This was out of necessity rather than desire; Tokugawa Nariaki's initial response to Perry's demands had been to advise the Bakufu to "Wage war on the arrogant and discourteous Americans" (Hillsborough). Nariaki, lord of Mito, was involved in several other extreme plots to stymie foreign involvement in Japanese affairs. The Bakufu however, realized that this was not a realistic stance to take, and Ii Naosuke judged that a trade treaty would spare Japan a devastating war, which they could not win given the technological disadvantages in place at the time. He only had to look at the situation in China to see what might happen if the trade treaty were not signed. When the second opium war in China was ended by a treaty, British and French ships were suddenly freed to turn their attention to Japan. A temporary trade treaty with America was signed on board the Powhatan in Edo Bay on June 20, 1858. The treaty allowed for the opening of Kanagawa (Yokohama), Nagasaki, Niigata and Hyogo (Kobe). Treaties with Holland, Russia, Britain and France followed. In 1860, five years before the Satsuma students would make the journey to the U.K., the Kanrin Maru, Captained by Katsu Kaishu and aided by an American ships captain, John Brooke, set out for America with a delegation to ratify the temporary trade treaty. This was Japan's first officially sanctioned trip abroad, and in San Francisco captain Kaishu duly noted the ramifications of automated mass production. He

cited a list of technological advances in his reports, including railway cars, gas streetlights, sewing machines, iron foundries, printing presses, mechanical saws and other steam-powered industrial enterprises (Ibid). Although the Satsuma students' voyage to the U.K. is often spoken of in terms of breaking the code of isolation in place in Japan at the time, the government did have prior, officially sanctioned business with other countries, albeit in a very limited capacity.

The Satsuma clan, based at the southern end of the long Japanese archipelago and therefore the first to come into contact with arriving foreign forces, were perhaps more aware of this technological disparity than anyone else. They also held the opinion that the national government (Edo Bakufu) should have responsibility for the national defense. However, when it became clear that this was not going to be the case, the Satsuma Lord, Nariakira Shimazu, took on this role himself, declaring that "if the government cannot or will not do this, I will do it".
His idea was that by strengthening both its military and industrial bases Japan could avoid colonization. Hong Kong had recently become a British colony and Nariakira was aware of what could happen if Japan didn't make an effort to avoid falling too far behind the rapidly developing technology of western nations.

It was an ambitious idea considering the relative development of Western and Japanese technology. At the time of the plan's inception, the UK had the technological capability to get a message from London to Shanghai in around 8 hours. A message arriving in Nagasaki on the other hand took around 4 days to go the remaining distance to Edo (Tokyo). While this technological gap was apparent to some in Japan, the Edo-based Japanese government was still intent on a policy of strict control, one aspect of which was that no Japanese subject should leave the country, and that if they did, they should not be allowed to return.

Designed to ensure that no challenge to the Bakufu's authority arose from within Japan, this policy caused Japan to lag ever further behind Western advances in technology. One clash showcasing this technological disparity took place in the Shimonoseki straits, where cannon-equipped British vessels engaged troops on the north side of the straits, who were themselves armed with bows and arrows. Ironically, and probably to Japan's ultimate benefit, Japanese troops on the south side of the straits, not wishing to aid the northern Lord, who they were in conflict with, didn't join in. Had they done so the British, who were in a much tougher fight than they'd bargained for, might have been forced to withdraw. Had those forces combined, and the British ships been seen off with existing arms, the case for acquiring western technology would have been dealt a blow.

If Britain at the time had a not unjustified reputation for gunboat diplomacy, it should be noted that the sentiment was not universal. *The Glasgow Herald* in 1864, in an article about the way Britain was approaching trade in Japan, notes that " . . . the opening of the country is unsettling its balance . . ." and that although it is generally deemed mutually beneficial for trade to take place it is noted that "Armstrong guns are not the instruments most naturally adept to produce a friendly and conciliatory feeling, and the less we (The British) use them the better" The paper went on to state that," a patient wait for results and the possibility of friendship is better than forcing the issue" This sentiment, at odds with historical events, was clearly voiced in the press, and allows us to see that not everyone's sentiments were in alignment with the decisions of the military and large trading companies that were to follow. *The Glasgow Herald* was urging Britain to show Japan due consideration.

Trade and Military Muscle

On August 11, 1863, seven Royal Navy warships appeared in Kagoshima Bay. The objective of the British side was not to wage war but to negotiate directly with the Satsuma clan over reparations for the Namamugi Incident, in which a British national had been killed.

The Satsuma forces opened fire on the British from batteries fixed in Tenpozan and fought a fierce battle. The north part of the castle town of the Satsuma domain was burnt to ashes, and some of the artillery units destroyed. The number of British casualties reached more than sixty even though their military power was superior to Satsuma's. The British fleet found themselves in an unexpectedly fierce fight, and left Kagoshima Bay to return to Yokohama. Shortly afterward, the British and the Satsuma clan entered into negotiations at the British legation in Yokohama. The third negotiation eventually brought about a reconciliation and the Satsuma clan agreed to pay Britain reparations of £25,000, the money for which was borrowed from the Tokugawa shogunate. While both sides were in negotiations, the Satsuma clan requested the good offices of the British in order to purchase warships, which consequently enabled the two sides to build a good and close relationship.
Interestingly, UK newspaper reports at the time present the story in a different light. The *Launceston Weekly News and Cornwall & Devon Advertiser* gives us some insight into feelings at the time when it reported the following:

> Because Satsuma agreed to pay reparations, Lord Palmerston is a 'Lucky Dog'. Rumors of an assault on his position followed the "deplorable bombardment of Kagoshima", but talk of reparations has let him off the hook.

Circumstances conspired to help both parties out, with Lord Palmerston getting a popularity boost and Kagoshima using the short military engagement to profit technologically.

This confrontation, though causing loss of life on both sides, had yet other positive, if unexpected, consequences. The British had simply intended a summary show of strength, but the unexpected Satsuma fightback led to a stronger show of Naval force. The British side, meeting more resistance than they had bargained for, were driven to take stronger measures and this proved instrumental in convincing the Satsuma clan that they needed to acquire better technology. During the confrontation on August 15th Britain seized three steamships owned by the Satsuma clan in order to make the negotiations more advantageous. Koan Matsuki and Tomoatsu Godai, two of the students who were later selected as members of the party that journeyed to the U.K., voluntarily surrendered to the British side at that time.

Because Godai and Matsuki had voluntarily surrendered to the British during the war, they had to hide themselves from shogunate officials and the Joi faction (a group who supported the exclusion of foreigners). The two fugitives were suspected as traitors by both the Satsuma clan and the Tokugawa shogunate. This period of internal exile and concealment was to prove fortuitous.

While Godai was concealing himself in Nagasaki, he became acquainted with Thomas Blake Glover, a Scottish trader working for a British company. Being on friendly terms with Glover allowed Godai access to information from outside Japan, and he began to understand world affairs in a more objective way than his peers. With a sense of urgency, somewhere around June of 1864 Godai submitted a written report to the Satsuma clan regarding reforms aimed at modernizing Japan. The thrust of his report was that Japanese nationals should study abroad and learn Western technology so that they could help facilitate the modernization of Japan, otherwise Japan, already behind the times, would fall ever further adrift. This report was the spur for the clandestine voyage that the Satsuma clan would sponsor eight months later.

It should be noted that the Satsuma clan were worried about Japan lagging behind western technology in all areas, not specifically weapons. In fact, by the end of the 1500's, following the warlord Nobunaga's decisive use of muskets in the battle of Nagashino, Japan was reputed to have the world's best guns (and, surprisingly, the world's highest gun ownership rate), so the ability to manufacture quality technology was not the issue, it was simply the isolation from all areas of technological advance that was taking a cumulative toll (Schurhammer).

The written report submitted by Godai included the following specific points:
-to modernize the industry of the Satsuma clan by purchasing state-of-the-art machines
-to dispatch students who would learn modern technology and acquire knowledge about

Western civilization overseas
-to employ foreign engineers
-to make money necessary for these projects (including specific details, such as trading with Shanghai, for instance).

The Satsuma clan had already been trying to strengthen military power, and was determined to send fifteen students, with a further inspection team consisting of four more senior figures, to Great Britain. Godai's written report was instrumental in triggering the dispatch of these Satsuma students.

As an interesting aside, it is also very likely that the Anglo Satsuma war incidentally saved the life of the famous Japanese business pioneer, Eiichi Shibusawa. Shibusawa, who went on to become a pioneer of innumerable businesses in Japan, was at the time on his way to burn down Yokohama City in the then prevalent spirit of "Expelling the Barbarians" (The Joi faction again). Luckily for Shibusawa's long-term prospects, the appearance of British battleships in Kagoshima Bay, armed with cannon, was a timely reminder that the 100 spears and swords distributed amongst his 70 followers might not be enough to sack Yokohama, and so he turned back from what would almost certainly have been a futile, and very likely fatal, endeavor. Like many of his compatriots, his turn to a western business model was born out of the realization that Japan couldn't rid themselves of foreign influence unless they first caught up with western technology (Masakazu). In an ironic twist, when Shibusawa later went to Paris as a member of the Japanese delegation to the 1867 Expo (he handled general affairs and accounts), the French steamer he sailed aboard departed from the same port he had been planning to burn down four years earlier (Ibid).

DECEPTION AT THE HEART OF THE MATTER

On February 13, 1865, four inspectors and fifteen students, most of whom had been studying at the Satsuma domain's school called "Kaiseijo," were selected and ordered to study abroad in Great Britain. However, the written appointment actually stated that they should embark on much shorter journeys to inspect the island groups of Koshikijima and Oshima, both of which were governed by the Satsuma clan. Because of the national seclusion policy in place at the time in Japan, the report never revealed that those students would actually be dispatched to Great Britain.

On the day before they set out from the castle town of Kagoshima, three of the group who had been selected raised objections. Citing their adherence to the spirit of Joi, (the exclusion of foreigners—which at the time was national policy), Jonosuke Hatakeyama, Shikinosuke Shimadzu and Kaname Takahashi, requested to remain with the Satsuma clan. Hisamitsu Shimadzu, who was the father of the lord of the Satsuma clan, tried to persuade the three

to study abroad. Hatakeyama alone was persuaded while the other two refused to be swayed. What the two who withdrew might have done we will never know, but one of the replacements, Naoe Murahashi certainly worked out well. Upon his return, in addition to founding a brewery, Murahashi contributed to the establishment of a winery, a silk mill, a stock breeding farm, a salmon hatchery, a bird egg hatchery and an agricultural examination station.

TRAVELLERS' VERSE:

Some students, understandably concerned by the magnitude of what they were about to undertake, left written compositions recording their feelings. Among these, Yoshinari Hatakeyama's verse shows the concern the students had at leaving home at a time when the very act of travelling outside of Japan was forbidden.

"How can I even bear today's last farewell? Only by knowing I must endure this voyage for my lord."

Composed by Sumitsune (Yoshinari Hatakeyama)

In yet another ironic twist, having written this verse voicing his regret at leaving Japan, Hatakeyama would go on to become one of the most well-travelled of the group. He was a high achieving individual but, sadly, one of the most short-lived of the group. He studied in Britain, traveled to France, moved to the USA and studied there at Rutgers University before returning to Japan.

After his return to Japan, he worked at the Ministry of Education and became president of Tokyo-kaisei-gakko (now Tokyo University) and served as director of Tokyo-shojakukan (now the National Diet Library) and the Museum (now the Tokyo National Museum).

He passed away on a ship at the age of 34 on October 20, 1876. He was on his way back to Japan from an inspection trip for an exposition held in Philadelphia, and had achieved a huge amount in a very short time.

Changes Abound

The students' trip marked the beginning of a period of great change in Japan. The government changed, the shogun ceded power to the emperor, and the technology that followed the exchange of the sword for the factory was to shape modern Japan right into the 21st century.

Keeping track of the times was not easy—Japan in 2021 still uses a name (*gengou*) to designate the period of governance by the emperor. As this paper is written the *gengou* has recently changed from Heisei to Reiwa (though the name is now the product of a meeting of many minds rather than the sole responsibility of the emperor). When the students travelled

to the UK in 1865, the emperor had the power to change the period's name, and in fact Emperor Koume changed the *gengou* six times, the last two of which coincided with the start of the students' voyage. Emperor Koume died Jan 30th, 1867, after which the Meiji Emperor came to power on February 13th.

Glover's Connection

The fact that the students were able to leave Japan in the first place hinged on the presence of the previously mentioned trader, Thomas Blake Glover. Born in Fraserburgh in Northeast Scotland in 1838, Thomas Glover was the fifth of eight siblings. His father worked with the coastguard, while two of Glover's elder brothers (Charles and James) were clerks with an Aberdeen shipping company and another (William) was in the merchant navy (Aberdeen City Council publication).

Thomas and his three younger siblings attended the Gym, Chanonry House School, in Old Aberdeen (now a Biology Department building in Aberdeen University) and his name survives on a school register from 1854. In 1856 the British Foreign Office issued Thomas Glover with a passport allowing overseas travel and "he arrived in Shanghai in 1857, aged 19, to work for the Scottish firm of Jardine, Matheson and Co, one of the largest British trading firms working in the Far East at the time." In the context of Japan's current predilection towards rather senior figures in positions of power, it is interesting to note that two such young men , Glover at the time was 25 and Tomoatsu Godai (whose report triggered this venture) was then 27, were destined to have a profound effect on the future of Japan.

In stark contrast to Glover's government-sanctioned ability to work abroad, Japan had at that time been closed to foreigners for over two hundred years. With the exception of some limited trade with the Dutch through the island of Dejima near Nagasaki, it was inconceivable that a Japanese national might be given permission to have any contact with people from abroad. The resultant lack of industrial development and the ever-increasing gap between Western and Japanese technology had left some Japanese increasingly frustrated at the practices and technology of the government. This lack of knowledge was not limited to technical matters but to knowledge of the world outside Japan in every sense. In 1690 a German doctor named Kaempfer working at the Dutch trading area in Dejima, where only Dutch nationals were permitted, circumnavigated this requirement by explaining to Japanese translators (who couldn't place his accent) that he was from the Dutch mountains (Keene and Shiba). Anyone visiting Holland today would struggle to find hills let alone mountains (at 323m, the three-border region of Dreielandenpunt, where

Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands meet, is the highest point in the country). Using this ruse he passed himself off as "Mountain Dutch" to an audience who had no way to check whether it was true. With the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry's fleet in 1853 it was obvious that one way or another Japan would have to trade with the outside world. Before Glover arrived in Japan, the conditions for change were in place if the technology could be obtained.

When Nagasaki, Yokohama and Hakodate were designated as treaty ports that could deal in foreign trade, Glover went to Nagasaki in the North West of Kyushu, arriving on September 19, 1859. He was an agent of Jardine, Matheson and Co and immediately began to trade and learn the language.

Initially Glover traded green tea out of Japan but gradually moved into arms and ship brokering. During the 1860's legitimate business was restricted to trade with the government. However, Glover began to sympathize with factions of clans that opposed the government's tight restrictions on trade, and did business with both the Shogunate and these clans directly.

In 1863 and 1864 the ships Sarah and Satsuma were brokered for the Satsuma clan, with the Satsuma launched in Aberdeen and captained by Thomas Glover's brother William on its maiden voyage. Between 1864 and 1867 the Glovers sold 20 ships to Japan. Thomas Glover also brokered a number of arms deals for the clans, often travelling in person to Shanghai and Hong Kong to buy the weapons.

During this period Glover and his brothers sold ships to both the Shogunate and to rebel clans. They sold weapons to anyone who wanted them, and were also involved in helping the Choshu students (Choshu Five) to go to Britain to study. Glover then had a major part in facilitating the Satsuma students (Satsuma Nineteen) going to Britain. Both of these groups of young men would go on to play major roles in reforming the Japanese government and transforming Japanese society by pulling it into a technologically modern, westernized world. However, at the same time as Glover was helping Satsuma Clan students to make an illegal voyage to the U.K., he was simultaneously dealing with and entertaining pro-Shogun officials. This willingness to deal with both the Japanese Shogunate (government) and rebel clans who were breaking the Shogun's laws resulted in one particularly difficult situation for his brother, Charles Glover. Charles was preparing to launch the ship *Owari* in Aberdeen for visiting Shogunate officials, but had the added headache of trying to make sure they didn't get wind of the presence of Kanae Nagasawa, the youngest of the Satsuma students, who was staying and studying in Aberdeen at the time and whose presence was inextricably

linked with Charles's brother, Thomas, who would potentially have been in serious trouble for facilitating Nagasawa's journey out of Japan.

As it turned out, the young Nagasawa (Originally Isonaga Hikosuke), then studying at the same school Glover himself had been to−and which was at the time achieving a reputation for being an educational establishment of international renown−remained undetected and went on to become something of a star pupil, winning school writing prizes within two years of his arrival in Britain. In fact, Nagasawa was never to return to Japan and ended his long and successful life in California at the age of 82.

The sums of money and the stakes involved were considerable. In 1865 alone the Glovers built five ships destined for Japan, made £40,000 in profit on an arms deal for Armstrong guns for the shogunate, and simultaneously made £100,000 in funds available to Japanese rebel clans to fund various purchases. The sums were substantial. As a guide to the amounts involved, £100,000 was equivalent to around £12,888,000 pounds in 2020. At the same time, Thomas Glover arranged for the construction of three modern warships for the Japanese navy (Thomas Blake Glover: The Story of the Scottish Samurai).
Looking back now with the knowledge of how controlled the Japanese political landscape was at the time, the possibility must arise that the Japanese government knew about Glover's involvement with the clans (after all they were ordering ships and munitions, not items that can be hidden away) but looked the other way. This would not have been the first time that trade was made an exception to a law governing all other aspects of life. When in 1587 Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued an edict expelling foreign missionaries, he was careful to include a clause stating that foreign traders would still be permitted (Dougill).

Leaving Kagoshima

Having left the city of Kagoshima on the 15th of Feb 1865, the group travelled to the port of Hashima and spent two months preparing for their trip to Britain. On the 16th of April, 1865 the steam sailing vessel, the "Australian", arranged by Thomas Glover and on which they were scheduled to board, appeared off Hashima. They stored their belongings on the ship and stayed one night anchored off-shore before departing on April 17th.
The nineteen-strong party from Satsuma then set out on their stated mission of checking on the Satsuma-administered islands of Koshiki, off the west coast of modern-day Kagoshima, but in a feat of startlingly bad navigation overshot their destination (visible to the naked eye from that coastline) by around 9500km.

The current trip from Tokyo to London takes around 12 hours, though to go from

Kagoshima as the students did would push that closer to a full day. When the Satsuma party made their voyage, they were setting out on a journey that would take over two months; by modern day standards an inordinate amount of time. However, it afforded the students valuable opportunity to become accustomed to any number of cultural oddities along the way, and therefore lessen the shock upon arrival in the UK. These cultural information updates ranged from the everyday—the party were shocked to see Dutch passengers kissing their families goodbye in public—to the truly monumental in the case of the Suez Canal, which was under construction at the time.

Their travel schedule conformed to the following dates:
Kagoshima 15 Feb 1865
Hashima 17th April, 1865
Hong Kong 21–29 April 1865
Singapore 5–6 May 1865
Penang 8th May 1865
Bombay 22nd–24th May 1865
Galle 15th–18th May 1865
Aden 31st May–1st June
Suez 8th June 1865
Alexandria 9th June 1865
Malta 12th June 1865
Gibraltar 16th June 1865
Southampton 21st June 1865
London 21st June 1865

For purposes of comparison, it is helpful to remember that the first railway line in Japan, between Tokyo and Yokohama, would not open for another seven years (Tokyo Metropolitan Government information site), so the technology on view to the students would have been striking. There are all sorts of tales involving the reaction of the students to what they saw, ranging from the technologically marvelous to the humorous. One episode recalls the astonishment at the availability of ice cream in hot weather, an occurrence we wouldn't give a second thought to these days with the widespread availability of refrigeration.

The students disembarked at the port of Southampton into a balmy temperature of 79 degrees Fahrenheit (Exeter and Plymouth Gazette), entering a world where a change in British politics was being championed, the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* stating " ...feudalism subjugated our language, laws and customs. The votes of the descendants of serfs were the

property of the landowners. Votes were the privilege of the proprietors of the soil." And yet there was a change coming, with the article continuing, "...The old policy of driving tenants like flocks of sheep to the poll ... is yet here and there falling out of fashion."

While British citizens continued their struggle to escape the ties of serfdom, the Japanese students were in the UK in exactly the opposite capacity. Just a day after the above article was published in a British newspaper, and at the bidding of their feudal lord, they had come half way round the world to Britain in order that their homeland (and the feudal lord who ruled it) might prosper. The students' support was for a system that was ultimately doomed to fail, but out of that change Japan would arise stronger than before. Although their studies would not save the feudal society Satsuma championed, it would be instrumental in helping Japan modernize.

In fact, when the students returned to Japan the pace of modernization was exceptional. Starting in Kagoshima, within fifty years this industrial revolution had spread throughout Japan. When Kagoshima applied for world heritage status for its Meiji period industrial sites, inspectors who came to vet the application at first refused to believe that the technical expertise needed to cast metal to such a high standard could have been produced without outside help (Yoshimitsu). It was testimony to just how well the students who went abroad had used their time. Upon their return to Japan the country launched into the Meiji Restoration and the information and technology brought back by those travelling students was an integral part of that transformation.

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Appendix 1: Time period changes in Japan at the time the Satsuma students made their voyage.

The Formal induction of the Emperor was held on Oct 12th, 1868 (a year after he actually was in the position).
Genji March 1864−April 1865
Keio May 1865−Oct 1868
Meiji Oct 1868−July 1912

Appendix 2
Students involved in the 1865 expedition from Japan to the UK and their age at death.
An average age is given below.

- **Hisanobu Niro** Passed away age 57 on December 10, 1889.
- **Munenori Terashima** Passed away age 60 on June 6, 1893.
- **Tomoatsu Godai**, Passed away age 49 on September 25, 1885.
- **Takayuki Hori** Passed away age 67 in 1911.
- **Hisanari Machida** Passed away age 59 on September 15, 1897 when he was under medical treatment at a temple, Kaneiji Myooin in Ueno, Tokyo.
- **Yoshinari Hatakeyama** Passed away on a ship at the age of 34 on October 20, 1876.
- **Tokinari Nagoya** Passed away age 65 on November 7, 1912.
- **Hisanari Murahashi**, Passed away age 49 on September 28, 1892.
- **Moriaki Asakura** Passed away age 81 on January 24, 1925.
- **Naonobu Sameshima**, Passed away at 35 while on duty in France on December 4, 1880.
- **Junzo Matsumura** Passed away age 76 on January 7, 1919.
- **Arinori Mori** He was assassinated at the age of 41 by a nationalist on February 11, 1889, when the Constitution of the Empire of Japan was proclaimed.
- **Yaichi Takami** Passed away age 52 on February 28, 1896.
- **Ainoshin Togo** He served in the Boshin Civil War and was killed at the age of 26 on July 8, 1868.

• **Kiyonari Yoshida** Passed away age 46 on August 3, 1891.
• **Kanaye Nagasawa** He settled permanently in the United States and passed away there at the age of 82 on March 1, 1934.
• **Shinshiro Machida** On September 25, 1872, he handed over the leadership of the family to Tatewaki Komatsu's eldest son and his life afterwards is unknown.
• **Seizo Machida** His personal history is unknown. However, he was adopted into the family of Takarabe. His memoirs, "Takarabe Saneyuki Kaikodan," tell how things went during his study abroad.
• **Hakuai Nakamura** Passed away age 58 on October 30, 1902.

Average age = 55.1
Average age excluding those killed = 58
This average age, despite the fact that several of the party were killed rather than dying of 'old age', was still substantially higher than the average for the time.

Appendix 3: Average Life Expectancy UK/Japan 1860−2020

By 1900 in Britain, average life expectancy was 48.5.
The figure in 1900 for Japanese citizens was 38.4 (average for men & women).
Things continued to improve in Britain in the early 20th century. In particular death in childhood became far less common and by the early 1930s life expectancy at birth was about 60. In Japan the figure was around 47. By the 1950s it had risen to about 65, while in Japan the figure was 54. Things improved more slowly in the late 20th century in the UK, but by 1971average life expectancy in Britain was 70. By this point Japanese life expectancy had caught up and was 71. In 2015 life expectancy was 81 in the UK. Japanese life expectancy was 83, and is currently (2020) 84.4, the world's 2nd highest, after Monaco.