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Fujita, Fumiko, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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"BOYS, BE AMBITIOUS!": AMERICAN PIONEERS ON THE JAPANESE FRONTIER, 1871-1882

by

FUMIKO FUJITA

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1988

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAC	William Smith Clark Papers, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
CFE	Correspondence between Foreign Employees and the Kaitakushi. University of Hokkaido. Sapporo, Hokkaido.
CLC	Horace Capron Papers. The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
CUM	William Smith Clark Papers. University of Massachusetts. Amherst, Massachusetts.
CYU	Horace Capron Papers. Yale University. New Haven, Connecticut.
DNA	Despatches of U.S. Minister to Japan to the Department of State, 1871-1900. U.S. National Archives. Washington, D.C.
FLC	Hamilton Fish Papers. The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
GRU	William Elliot Griffis Collection. Rutgers University. New Brunswick, N.J.
HSI	Joseph Henry Papers. Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.
KK	Kaitakushi kobunroku [Official Records and Correspondence of the Kaitakushi]. Hokkaido Prefectural Office. Sapporo, Hokkaido.
JPL	J. Peter Lesley Collection. American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia, Penn.
LAPS	Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection. American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia, Penn.
LFL	Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection. Forbes Library. Northampton, Mass.
LHSP	Benjamin Smith Lyman Papers. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Penn.
MCHS	Henry Smith Munroe Collection. Connecticut Historical Society. Hartford, Conn.
MCU	Henry Smith Munroe Collection. Columbia University Library. New York. N.Y.

ROL — Reports and Official Letters by Horace Capron, Commissioner and Advisor, and His Foreign Assistants (Tokyo: Kaitakushi, 1875).

WUM — William Wheeler Papers. University of Massachusetts. Amherst, Mass.

INTRODUCTION

The use of foreign technicians, teachers, and advisers in developing countries is a common phenomenon today. Whether such foreign assistance is paid for by the client country or comes as part of foreign aid programs, it is often accompanied by the story of frictions and frustrations, thus raising questions about the usefulness of transactions between different cultures and different values. How to understand and how to deal with an alien culture is an issue of vital importance in a world closely knit by advanced technology and communication, seeking ways to narrow the economic gap between the developed and less developed countries and to enable different cultures to live together without losing their identities. While aid technicians on the spot are compelled to grapple with current problems, historians are tempted to look backward and examine past cases of intercultural transactions. This dissertation is concerned with one such case: the experience of Americans employed by the Japanese government for the development of Hokkaido in the 1870s.

Hokkaido is the northernmost of Japan's four main islands, occupying 32, 247 square miles,[1] one fifth of the whole area of Japan. Today the area is well-developed with

a population of more than five and a half million; its capital, Sapporo, is the fifth largest city in the country, with a population of over one and a half million. However, when the Meiji government replaced the Tokugawa feudal regime in 1868, this northern island was only sparsely settled: the people, numbering about fifty-eight thousand, lived mainly along the coast and were engaged in the fishing industry, while the rest of the island was thinly populated by the Ainu aborigines.[2] In 1869 the new government, deeply concerned about the possible threat of a Russian advance over Japan's northern frontier and at the same time hopeful about the potential resources of the area, created a department called the Kaitakushi, which was specifically designed to administer, defend, and develop Hokkaido. The leaders of the new government, however, soon realized that they lacked the knowledge and techniques required to develop their northern frontier and quickly decided to employ foreign advisers.

In February 1871 Kuroda Kiyotaka, who, as Deputy Commissioner and later as Commissioner, was the most powerful man in the the Kaitakushi, left for Washington to ask the U.S. government for help in securing able advisers. The sixty-six-year-old General Horace Capron, U.S. Commissioner of Agriculture, agreed to head an American mission to Hokkaido. Subsequently, until its abolition in 1882, the Kaitakushi employed forty-eight Americans, in addition to seventeen Europeans and thirteen Chinese.[3] The corps of

American experts played a far more important role than the other foreigners, not only because of their number, but also because of their pivotal positions in the Kaitakushi. Foster Rhea Dulles thus observes in Yankees and Samurai that "in Hokkaido, as in no other part of Japan, the foreign influence that has helped to shape the life of its people is distinctively, almost exclusively, that of the United States." Surveying American technical mission abroad in the nineteenth century, Merle Curti and Kendall Birr also point out that "only the mission to Japan [among which the mission to aid the development of Hokkaido was by far the largest in scale] approach some of the twentieth-century ventures in scope and complexity."[4]

These Americans who worked for the development of Hokkaido have not been entirely forgotten in their homeland but have not received as much attention as they deserve, either. In 1913 the Journal of American History carried an article on Capron written by his sister. This was followed by two more biographical articles in the 1920s--one on Capron written by Merritt Starr, a friend of the Capron family, and the other on another member of the mission, Edward M. Shelton, written by his friend Herbert H. Gowen--which largely consisted of excerpts of the papers the subjects had left.[5] A quarter of a century later, during the U.S. occupation of Japan, two Ph.D. dissertations were written on the development of Hokkaido. John Armstrong Harrison's "Yezo, the Japanese Northern Frontier, 1854-1882,"

briefly discussing the American involvement, emphasized the obstructive nature of Japanese tradition in utilizing American instruction, while David Forsyth Anthony's "The Administration of Hokkaido under Kuroda Kiyotaka--1870-1882," overviewing the whole enterprise, gave more optimistic evaluation, as was indicated by the subtitle of the dissertation, "An Early Example of Japanese-American Cooperation."[6] Then Curti and Foster Rhea Dulles dealt with the mission briefly in their respective books.[7] After the publication of Dulles's book in 1965, however, the episode was largely laid aside by Americans, although two members of the mission were fortunately picked up as the subjects of two important studies. One was a biography of William Smith Clark--the first President of Sapporo Agricultural College set up by the Kaitakushi--written by John M. Maki in 1975. The voluminous biography, impressive in its extensive research, still remains in manuscripts in the University of Massachusetts Library, although Maki's much shorter article on Clark was published in 1983.[8] The other was Donald Roden's article on Capron (1986), which dealt not so much with Capron himself as with the historiography of the Japanese view of Capron.[9]

The Japanese have naturally taken a considerable interest in the episode. Histories and reminiscences of Hokkaido as well as biographies of those Japanese deeply involved in the early phase of the development of Hokkaido in many cases discussed or referred to the work of the

Americans, demonstrating that it formed an integral part of the history of Hokkaido. These books, together with comprehensive books on foreigners employed by the Kaitakushi, biographies of several American experts, and translations of both primary sources, such as Capron's memoirs and Clark's letters, and American works such as Maki's biography of Clark, amount to an enormous volume.[10]

The overall impression of these works, both in English and in Japanese, is, first of all, that, while the work of the Americans employed by the Kaitakushi has been considerably well explained, their experiences--especially their ideas, sentiments, and attitudes--have not been sufficiently discussed from the perspective of intercultural transactions. Also, while a few biographical studies take the ideas of the subject into consideration to some extent, a study dealing with one individual has inevitably one limitation: it cannot tell how common or how unique the ideas of the subject were. Furthermore, previous studies used only a very small portion of the copious records left by the Americans in the form of reports, private as well as official letters, diaries, unpublished memoirs, and articles--the kind of material which reveals the excitement, hopes, ambitions, sense of fulfillment as well as frustrations and disillusionment these Americans went through during their contact with the unfamiliar culture.

This dissertation intends to describe and analyze the experience of the Americans, who left the postbellum America

to aid the development of the Japanese frontier, paying particular attention to their ideas and attitudes. While the study takes into consideration the whole group of Americans in order to understand the scope and the nature of the mission, it specifically focuses upon the prominent members who left personal records, in order to probe into their minds. What kind of cultural values did they carry to Japan? What sort of experiences did they go through there? What did they think, through their experience in Japan, about an alien culture, about their own country, and about the mission to transplant Western techniques and practices in an alien soil? And what did they make of their Japanese experience when they returned home? By dealing with these questions, the study aims to present part of the postbellum American mentality. In view of the current state of the study of 19th-century American-East Asian relations, about which one reviewer expressed an apprehension that "we face the discouraging prospect of a substantial--perhaps even the major--research effort being devoted to mining a variety of narrow and already well-worked historical veins, with diminishing yield to show for the effort invested,"[11] a study of American attitudes and values expressed through their contact with an alien culture might suggest that there are non-governmental source materials, not yet well-worked and promising to make our search of the past interesting as well as meaningful. It is also hoped that, by dealing with the American mission as a case study, the dissertation will

offer some lessons for those who are interested in larger issues of foreign assistance and cultural confrontation.

NOTES

[Japanese names in this thesis are given in the Japanese order, that is, the surnames first. However, when citing English language materials written by Japanese, the order is reversed if the authors themselves write their names in the Western order.]

1. This figure of the area includes 1,929 square miles of four adjacent islands which both Japan and the Soviet Union have been laying claim to.

2. Population figures for this period can be only rough estimates. The figure of 58,000, however, seems to be most widely accepted. See, for example, Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 9 vols. (Sapporo: Shin Hokkaido-shi Insatsushuppan Kigyotai, 1969-81), vol. 9: Shiryo III [Documents III], 764. The memorandum Kuroda and Mori handed to Capron in April 1871 gives the population of Hokkaido as "about twenty to one hundred thousand inhabitants," quoted in Merritt Starr, "General Horace Capron, 1804-1885," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society 18 (July 1925): 290. The large difference between the minimum and the maximum population is in part explained by a large number of migrant workers who were engaged in fishing in Hokkaido during warmer seasons. Also, about 15,000 Ainu were then living in Hokkaido. Takakura Shinichiro and Seki Hideshi, Hokkaido no fudo to rekishi [The Environment and History of Hokkaido] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 1977), 114.

3. The Chinese were mostly employed as ordinary farmers.

4. Foster Rhea Dulles, Yankees and Samurai: America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 174; Merle Curti and Kendall Birr, Prelude to Point Four: American Technical Missions Overseas, 1838-1938 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954), 204.

5. Louis Kerwin Thiers, "An American Advisor to the Japanese Government," The Journal of American History 7 (October-December 1913): 1415-25; Merritt Starr, "General Horace Capron," 258-349; Herbert H. Gowen, "An American Pioneer in Japan," Washington Historical Quarterly 20 (January 1929): 1-23.

6. Harrison's "Yezo, the Japanese Northern Frontier, 1854-1882: A Preliminary Study in Japanese Expansion and

Colonization with Particular Reference to the Role of the Kaitakushi in Modern Japanese History" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1949) was published as Japan's Northern Frontier: A Preliminary Study in Colonization and Expansion with Special Reference to the Relations of Japan and Russia (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1953); Anthony, "The Administration of Hokkaido under Kuroda Kiyotaka: An Early Example of Japanese-American Cooperation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1951).

7. Robert S. Schwantes also briefly refers to the American mission to Hokkaido in Japanese and Americans: A Century of Cultural Relations (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955).

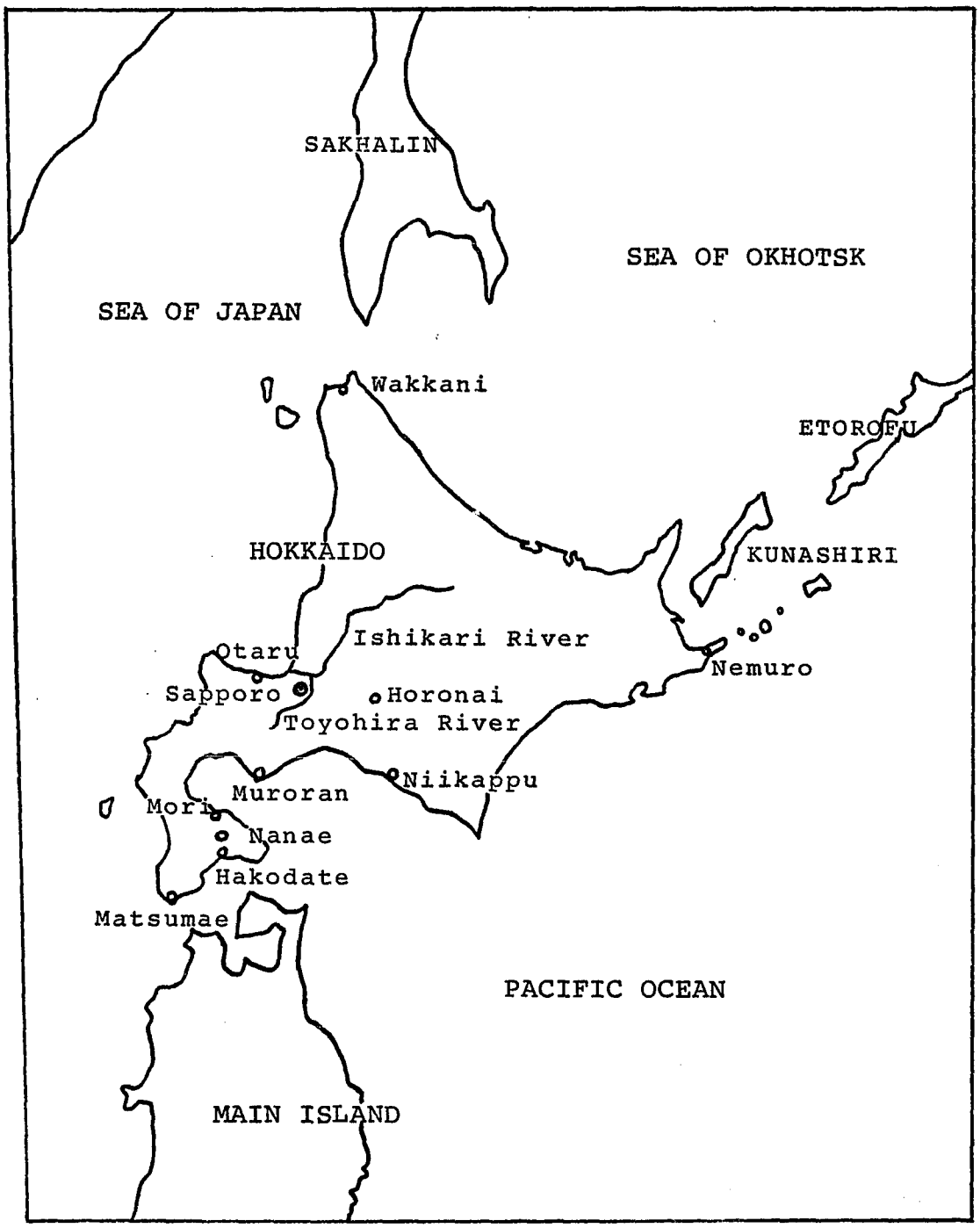
8. John M. Maki's "William Smith Clark: A Yankee in Hokkaido" (1975) was published in Japan as Kuraku: Sono eiko to zasetu [Clark: His Glory and Failure], trans. Takaku Shinichi (Sapporo: Hokudai Tosho Kankokai, 1978); Maki, "The Japan Helpers," in Aspects of Meiji Modernization: The Japan Helpers and the Helped, eds. Clark L. Beck and Ardath W. Burks (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1983), 21-39.

9. Donald Roden, "In Search of the Real Horace Capron: A Historiographical Perspective on Japanese-American Relations," Pacific Historical Review 55 (November 1986): 549-75.

10. It is impossible to enumerate all the Japanese works which discuss or refer to the American experts, but some of them will be discussed in the seventh chapter of this dissertation.

11. Michael H. Hunt, "New Insights But No New Vistas: Recent Work on Nineteenth-Century American-East Asian Relations," in New Frontiers in American East Asian Relations: Essays Presented to Dorothy Borg, ed. Warren I. Cohen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 17-18.

MAP OF HOKKAIDO



CHAPTER I

THE SETTING FOR THE AMERICAN MISSION

American advisers were hired by the Japanese government in the 1870s because the Japanese found Hokkaido in need of speedy development, because they considered American advice valuable in fulfilling the task, and because Americans welcomed such a mission. This chapter discusses the history of Hokkaido prior to the coming of American advisers, as well as Japanese views of the United States and American views of Japan, as the backdrop against which the experience of American advisers should be considered.

The History of Hokkaido Prior to 1871

For centuries Japan's northern frontier, consisting of the large island now known as Hokkaido, the island of Sakhalin, and the island chain of the Kuriles, had been vaguely known as Yezo, which meant the land of barbarians. Hokkaido was sometimes specifically designated as "Yezo-ga-shima," the island of Yezo. Although the area was regarded as Japanese territory for centuries, it received little attention from the Japanese to the south. A feudal family, the Matsumae, had held Yezo in fief during almost the entire period of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868), but the clan

actually controlled only the southwestern part of the island of Yezo while the rest remained the sphere of the Ainu aborigines.[1]

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, the central government, faced with a financial impasse, entertained the idea of probing into the economic opportunities of Yezo; sea-weed, for instance, had already proved profitable as the chief staple exported to China. Also, at this time, the news of Russian penetration into the Kuriles and occasional landings on the islands of Yezo and Sakhalin aroused among government officials and other concerned Japanese the fear of a Russian menace to the unsettled and unprotected northern frontier. In 1785 the Shogunate began by sending an investigating team to survey Yezo. Taking over direct control of the eastern half of Yezo in 1799 and the rest in 1807 from the Matsumae, the Shogunate pushed forward the survey of the area and encouraged migration from other parts of Japan, offering subsidies of land and food. A few governmental farms and dairies were laid out, and the Shogunate sought to placate the Ainu to prevent them from turning to the Russians. Soon, however, the fear of immediate Russian invasion somewhat subsided, and the Shogunate, faced with mounting economic and political difficulties on the main islands, found the enterprise of developing Yezo too costly. In 1821 the island returned to the jurisdiction of the Matsumae.

The Tokugawa Shogunate, however, was compelled to give

consideration to Yezo again by the time that Commodore Matthew C. Perry, Commander of the Far Eastern Squardron of the U.S. Navy, succeeded in opening Japan to the outside world. The treaties Japanese enacted with the United States and other foreign powers in 1854 stipulated the opening of two ports--Shimoda on the mainland and Hakodate, the southernmost port of Yezo--where foreign ships could obtain fuel and supplies, and where consular officials could be stationed. Besides, the renewed Russian demand for a delineation of the northern boundary revived the fear of Russian expansion.

A temporary agreement with the Russians in 1855 assigned the two large southern islands in the Kuriles to Japan and placed Sakhalin under joint occupation.[2] At the same time the Shogunate resumed direct control of the area and again set to its development with a haunting fear of Russian advance. The Shogunate sent a governor to Hakodate and set up a Magistrate's Office there. It encouraged immigration in general and ordered six feudal clans in the northern part of the mainland in particular to supply settlers and garrison forces; the settlers were in turn to receive land grants, tools, and a daily rice ration good for the initial years of residence in Yezo. For the development of agriculture, the Hakodate Magistrate's Office set up new farms and sought to improve existing ones for the purpose of experimenting with various kinds of vegetables and of diffusing useful information among settlers. Old dairies were

expanded, and new farms were established for horses, cattle, swine, and sheep. These farms and dairies were designed not only to help settlers but also to meet the demand of foreigners in Hakodate; thus there was experimentation with Western vegetables such as potatoes, wheat, rye, and beans. Also, in part responding to demand for fuel from foreign vessels dropping in Hakodate, the Shogunate encouraged the survey and exploitation of coal as well as other mineral deposits.

The efforts of the Shogunate for the development of Yezo in the 1850s and 1860s were not only more extensive than the previous ones, but also included a novel feature: the utilization of Western knowledge. The Shogunate, keenly aware of the vulnerability of Japan to the expanding Western powers, turned to importing Western technology to strengthen the nation, and the Hakodate Magistrate's Office too contemplated the application of Western methods and technology to the development of Yezo. Japanese scholars already immersed in Dutch studies and possessing knowledge of the West were mobilized; foreigners in Hakodate were valued as other sources of information from the West; and ultimately a few foreigners were employed to work in developing the mineral deposits in Yezo.

The assistance of foreigners could be obtained without much difficulty, for Hakodate had taken on a somewhat cosmopolitan outlook by the late 1850s. An American commercial agent, George E. Rice, settled in Hakodate in 1857. In the

following year Russians arrived, demonstrating their interest in the area by sending a party of fifteen members including not only a consul and a secretary but also a naval officer, a doctor, and a missionary. In 1859 the British sent a consul and the French sent a secretary. The arrival of these representatives encouraged their respective countrymen to stay in or visit Hakodate. From these foreigners the Japanese sought not only to learn languages but also to absorb practical knowledge. Observing foreign ships in the Hakodate Harbor, for instance, one ingeneous Japanese, Tsuzuki Toyoji, constructed two vessels which surpassed any previous Japanese vessel in strength and speed. Also, utilizing the knowledge obtained both from foreigners and from books, a so-called Dutch scholar, Takeda Ayasaburo, and his disciples succeeded in building a Western-style lighthouse at the mouth of the Hakodate Harbor and a Western-style castle for the Magistrate's Office in 1864. Inquisitive Japanese learned other wonders of Western techniques from foreigners in Hakodate such as medicine, photography, and Western painting, as well as making bread and cigars.

For the development of agriculture, however, the Magistrate's Office felt the piecemeal information obtained from foreigners to be inadequate, and accepted a proposal made by R. Gaertner, a merchant and brother of the Prussian Consul in Hakodate, to set up a Western-style model farm in 1867, on the eve of the collapse of the Tokugawa regime. Although little was achieved in the midst of the subsequent

turmoil, Gaertner set a farm into operation using implements and machines he had imported for this specific task.[3]

For the development of the mineral resources of Yezo, the Magistrate's Office obtained the assistance of foreign experts. The Shogunate and some regional clans were already employing foreigners as a means to import Western knowledge quickly: from 1854 to the end of the Tokugawa regime in 1868, at least two hundred foreign technological and language instructors were hired.[4] Through the efforts of U.S. Minister Townsend Harris and the Japanese commercial agent in San Francisco, Charles W. Brooks, the Shogunate hired two American mining engineers and geologists and sent them to Hokkaido. One was twenty-four-year-old Raphael Pumpelly, who, after training at the Royal School of Mines in Freiberg, Saxony, had been engaged in the exploration of silver mines in southern Arizona. The other was thirty-six-year-old William P. Blake, who, after graduating from the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale in 1852, had worked for various chemical outfits in New Jersey and Baltimore, investigated geology and mineralogy in various parts of the country, and become editor and proprietor of the Mining Magazine.[5] Although they stayed in Hokkaido only for one year and the scope of their surveys of the geology and mines of Yezo was limited, the results were still quite helpful to the Capron party in obtaining prior knowledge of the area.[6] Besides, they introduced powder blasting into Japanese mining and gave instructions in mining and metallurgy to

their Japanese assistants whose "anxiety to learn, as well as rapid comprehension of what was taught" favorably impressed Pumpelly.[7] A few years after the departure of these two Americans, the Hakodate Magistrates employed two British engineers who happened to be in Hakodate: E.H.M. Gower and James Scott. These two worked some mines, and Gower even attempted to lay a railway to transport the coal from a mine.

However, the disintegrating government of the Tokugawa Shogunate in fact could do little for the systematic development of Yezo. The settlement was not extensive either in the number of settlers or in the area where they lived. Most settlers were concentrated in previously settled areas and the economy continued to depend upon fishing. The feudal government, however, at least laid the foundation for a more vigorous future regime. The Shogunate's surveys and explorations, the inducement of settlers with subsidies, experimental farms and dairies, and the employment of foreigners--all were inherited by the new government, and so was the overwhelming concern with the defence of Yezo against Russian expansion.

Leaders of the new imperial regime, whose slogan was fukoku kyohei, "a prosperous country and strong army," considered the development of Yezo crucially important for both economic and strategic reasons. However, the government could not implement any substanial plans for Yezo until it could get the island back from the hands of loyalists to the

Shogunate. The loyalists, refusing to accept the new regime, followed Enomoto Takeaki, Commander in Chief of the Shogunate navy, who fled to Hakodate in early December 1868, and when their request to colonize the island in peace was rejected, they declared their control of the island. Government troops under the command of Kuroda Kiyotaka defeated Enomoto's army in June 1869, thus wiping out the last remnant of the Shogunate forces. The irony of history was that Enomoto and several other rebels were soon to occupy high positions in the Kaitakushi through Kuroda's good offices, thus devoting their lives to the new regime which they had once struggled against.

In August 1869, soon after the victory in Hakodate, the Meiji leaders reorganized the central government and created the office called Kaitakushi which meant the "Commission for opening up and developing" Hokkaido. The office, whose function was restricted to the administration of one area, was not a ministry but was placed directly under the Council of State, like a ministry, and its head, the Commissioner [Chokan], was given the same rank as a minister. A month later Yezo was renamed Hokkaido, meaning the "Northern Sea Circuit," but the island continued to be called Yezo by many Japanese and Yesso by foreigners.

After the first Commissioner left office because of his ill health, the second Commissioner Higashikuze Michitomi made two important moves. In the first place, during his inspection trip of Hokkaido in the fall and winter of

1869-1870, he accepted the idea that Sapporo, located near the middle of the island, be the future capital of Hokkaido and directed the construction of buildings including a temporary office, a school, a hospital, and houses for officials and settlers. Then, on his return to Tokyo, he proposed to the government to set up a separate division of the Kaitakushi specifically in charge of Sakhalin, in view of its increasing vulnerability. Higashikuze's advice led to the appointment of Kuroda Kiyotaka in June 1870 as Deputy Commissioner of the Kaitakushi with the main responsibility for the affairs of Sakhalin.

Although only twenty-nine years old, Kuroda had been through the tumultous decade of the 1860s and, like other leaders of the Meiji government, had won speedy promotion.[8] His notable appreciation of Western knowledge and techniques was to a large extent shaped by currents of thought in the domain of Satsuma where he was born in 1840 as a son of a low-ranking samurai. When Kuroda was in his teens, Shimazu Nariakira, the lord of his domain (1851-58), launched various new industrial and military enterprises as well as modern scientific research. Shimazu articulated the rationale for the pursuit of Western learning: "We are not spending money on Western-style culture out of mere curiosity; this is an investment on behalf of the wealth and military strength of our realm."[9] The progressive enterprises, although temporarily halted by the conservative faction which succeeded Shimazu Nariakira, were promoted with more

enthusiasm when a momentous incident forced the domain to realize the overwhelming strength of the West. In 1862 an Englishman who had interrupted the procession of the Satsuma lord was killed by Satsuma samurai. The British exacted an indemnity of 100,000 pounds from the Shogunate and in the summer of 1863 sent a squadron of seven ships to Kagoshima, the Satsuma capital, to assure punishment of the culprits and the payment of an indemnity by the domain. While negotiations were under way, the British ships in Kagoshima Bay were fired upon. In the battle which ensued, they sank several Satsuma ships and silenced the shore batteries. Although the British too suffered some losses, they fully demonstrated the superior armaments of the West to the Japanese; Satsuma paid an indemnity of 25,000 pounds and agreed to execute the culprits in the presence of the British representatives. Kuroda was in the procession and then witnessed the display of the British military power. Like many Satsuma samurai, once he understood the enormous military superiority of the West, Kuroda quickly shed whatever antiforeignism he had had and sought to learn Western scientific techniques.[10]

After the debacle at Kagoshima, Satsuma authorities encouraged promising youths to study at schools out of the domain and later in foreign countries--mostly Britain and France--to obtain advanced instruction. Kuroda was sent by the domain to Edo (present Tokyo) to study artillery. He was about to go to Russia to pursue his study, but the

turmoil on the eve of the Restoration forced him to take part in political activities under his lord who lent his great influence to the overthrow of the Shogunate. Although Kuroda himself missed a chance to go abroad, he valued the knowledge and talent of those who had such experience, and this was the main reason why he interceded to save the life of Enomoto who had studied in the Netherlands for three years and was learned in navigation, engineering, and chemistry.[11]

Under the new government where those coming from Satsuma were most influential, Kuroda successfully quelled uprisings against the new regime, and then served as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice-Minister of Military Affairs. He was a man of drive and vigor, and essentially a man of action rather than a man of thought. He was honest and dedicated to whatever mission he was assigned to, and enjoyed the confidence of one of the most powerful Meiji leaders, Okubo Toshimichi. But he was also a notoriously heavy drinker. It was not rare that Kuroda, intoxicated, behaved outrageously toward his colleagues and superiors and the following day he, sober and repentant, sent them letters of deep regret and apology.[12]

Appointed Deputy Commissioner of the Kaitakushi in June 1871, Kuroda betook himself to the new task with characteristic zeal. He soon went to Sakhalin and Hokkaido for inspection. On his return to Tokyo, he submitted his views to the government. Realizing the enormous military superi-

ority of Russia, Kuroda proposed to expend money for the development of Hokkaido alone rather than wasting a great sum on Sakhalin. In Kuroda's estimate Japan could not hold on to Sakhalin for more than three years if Russia was determined to occupy it. Also, seeing the current attempts toward colonization sporadic and wasteful, he called for large-scale and systematic plans. Toward this end, he recommended not only a sharp increase in the annual budget for the Kaitakushi but also the employment of foreign experts as well as sending Japanese students abroad to learn Western technology.[13]

The Council of State, accepting Kuroda's recommendations, instructed him to go abroad to obtain experts and to purchase tools and machinery to be used for the development of Hokkaido.[14] On February 22, 1871, Kuroda left for the United States accompanying Japanese students sent by the Kaitakushi. Before his departure Kuroda confided his hope to another high official of the Kaitakushi, "I would like to search for and obtain and bring back what will become supreme assets of our Empire."[15]

Japanese Image of the United States

The idea of using foreign technicians for the development of Hokkaido was not novel: there were precedents during the Tokugawa regime. Nor was the ready acceptance of the idea by high officials of the Meiji government surprising, for they were employing foreigners on a large scale as a

means to import Western techniques swiftly. Throughout the Meiji period (1868-1912), the number of foreign employees was well over three thousand in all areas of government, and the majority were hired in the early decades of Meiji. Among the more than twenty-five national groups represented, the British provided the largest number, accounting for half of all nationals; French, Americans, and Germans followed.[16] If there was anything unique about the employment of foreigners for the development of Hokkaido, it was the fact that these foreigners were predominantly American.

Although Kuroda's itinerary included Europe and China as well as the United States, he seemed to have the United States primarily in mind when he left Japan for the search of advisers; moreover, the instruction he had received from the Council of State specifically designated the United States as a place to purchase farm machinery. The preference for the United States in this case, although partly a matter of chance, was based on the image of America entertained by Japanese officials and intellectuals.

By the beginning of the 1870s the Japanese had accumulated a certain amount of knowledge about the history, geography, and contemporary affairs of the United States. Even during the time when the Tokugawa Shogunate virtually closed Japan to the West except for the carefully supervised trade with the Dutch, information on the West trickled into Japan through imported Dutch books and journals as well as through Dutch residents in Nagasaki. In the early nine-

teenth century there were more than one hundred so-called "Dutch scholars" in Japan. Some wrote books on the outside world, deriving from Dutch sources. Their interest was mostly in Europe, but it also came to embrace America. For instance, Mizukuri Seigo's Konyo zushiki [Illustrated World Geography] published in 1845 devoted forty-six pages to the United States. He mentioned George Washington and Benjamin Franklin respectively as "military" and "civil" leaders who had led the American people to independence from Britain. He did not fail either to point out the egalitarian nature of American society and its diversity: "There is no king in this country. Each state nominates several wise men to the government. Inhabitants are of several stocks, and manners and customs vary in different localities. There is, however, no distinction of rank among them."[17]

The Japanese learned about America also from Chinese books. Probably the most popular book on foreign countries in mid-nineteenth-century Japan was Kai Gen's Kaikoku zushi [Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations] published in China in 1842. When dealing with the United States, the book drew on Rempo shiryaku [A Short History of the United States] written in 1838 in Chinese by Elijah C. Bridgman, an American missionary in China. Bridgman's book itself was imported into Japan about 1853 and eagerly read by Japanese concerned about the future of Japan in the face of the expanding West. Its Japanese translation published in 1854, however, indicated that although the Japanese could learn

about events and facts concerning the United States, they, living in a feudal society, had difficulty in comprehending concepts such as liberty and republicanism.[18]

The Japanese still could show off some of their knowledge about the United States in front of Commodore Perry's party. The narrator of Perry's expedition wrote down his amazement about the knowledge demonstrated by the Japanese:

> When a terrestrial globe was placed before them, and their attention was called to the delineation on it of the United States, they immediately placed their fingers on Washington and New York, as if perfectly familiar with the fact that one was the capital, and the other the commercial metropolis of our country.... Their inquiries in reference to the United States showed them not to be entirely ignorant of the facts connected with the material progress of our country.[19]

After the opening of the country, the Japanese knowledge of the United States increased and became somewhat more accurate and lively than before. Americans staying in Japan as diplomats, missionaries, merchants, or employed instructors provided the Japanese with information on the United States, and so did Japanese who had direct experience of the United States as shipwrecked sailors, students, or members of the embassy sent to Washington by the Shogunate.

Most influential in explaining Western civilization to the Japanese on the eve of the Meiji Restoration and thereafter was undoubtedly Fukuzawa Yukichi, a leading intellectual and educator of the new Japan. Based on trips to the United States and Europe both as a member of the embassy and on his wide reading, he wrote Seiyo jijo [The Conditions of the West] in 1866 with sequels in 1868 and 1870. Meeting

the desire of people eager to know about the newly-opened outside world, the book won a reputation as "the bible of overseas information"; in 1866 alone it sold no less than 250,000 copies, an unprecedented number for those days.[20] The book contained an outline of United States history and a description of its government system, Army and Navy, and the income and expenditures of the U.S. government. It also gave a translation of the complete texts of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution for the first time in Japan. In Seiyo jijo as well as in Sekai kuni zukushi [All the Nations of the World], another enormously popular book Fukuzawa wrote mainly for juvenile readers in 1868, he described independence, republicanism, liberty, equality, and prosperity as characteristic features of the United States. For instance, Fukuzawa praised the United States in Sekai kuni zukushi as follows: "The government keeps its word, and since there is no king, everything under the heaven belongs to the people.... Laws made through discussion prevail but do not tyrannize. The wealth of the nation has been accumulated ... and nothing necessary is wanting there." He also called attention to the fact that Americans had "kept on opening up a new land and pushing back the frontier," thus increasing the number of states from the original thirteen to thirty-six.[21]

Fukuzawa's favorable presentation did not necessarily mean that he viewed the United States as a model or a potential ally for Japan. He initially wrote these books "simply

as stories of the West or as curious tales of a dreamland," but the success of his books soon led him to recognize that the Japanese were so eager to learn about the West. When he set to his mission to "bring in more of Western civilization," he embraced the vision of Japan as "a great nation in this far Orient which would stand counter to Great Britain of the West."[22] Great Britain, not the United States, was the leading power of the West. For Fukuzawa, as for many other Japanese Meiji leaders, however, the differences among the Western countries were not so important as the enormous difference between Japan and the West--a vague concept including both Europe and America and symbolizing prosperity and power. Fukuzawa's mission was in essence to affirm not so much specific features of any specific country as the general principles--"science in the material sphere and a sense of 'independence' in the spiritual sphere"--which he regarded as keys to the success of the West.[23]

Some Japanese, however, considered the United States specifically important for Japan. Among them was Mori Arinori, one of fourteen students sent to England by the Satsuma clan in 1865. During his residence in England, he came to have a favorable impression of the United States, apparently influenced by Laurence Oliphant, who had served briefly in 1861 as first secretary at the British legation in Japan and at the time was Member of Parliament and preceptor of the Satsuma students.[24] Mori, an eighteen year old youth, wrote to his brother at home in 1866:

> Although barely two hundred years have passed since the opening of their country, the government of the Americans, in matters both great and small, proceeds in consultation with all of the people. Their political life is based on justice and impartiality. The Japanese are not yet aware of the sudden emergence of the United States upon the stage of world affairs. But Europeans all describe it as the rising power of the future. The English, even though they harbor an aversion to Americans, are very much agreed on this point.... Secretly, I have come to the conclusion that America is the country with which the greatest mutual advantage is to be secured by establishing friendly relations.[25]

Mori soon had a chance to see the United Staes himself. In the summer of 1867 when his clan could not afford to send funds to students abroad any longer, Mori and five other students accepted Thomas Lake Harris's offer of free passage plus room and board and additional schooling in his religious community, the Brotherhood of the New Life, in Brocton, New York--a spiritual offshoot of Anglo-American Swedenborgianism. Mori spent almost a year there and, although his life was isolated from an ordinary American life, he nevertheless had chances to observe the American scene under the tutelage of Oliphant who had also joined the community, and returned home retaining his generally favorable impression of the United States.[26]

The Japanese leaders of the Meiji Government had various sources through which they obtained fragmentary knowledge of the United States, and their image of America as a new emerging power seems to have been generally a favorable one. Kuroda and Fukuzawa were friends who occasionally visited each other.[27] Kuroda was also well acquainted with Mori, since they both came from the Satsuma clan. It is

very probable that Kuroda's image of the United States too was favorable. However, the leaders of the new government, including Kuroda, were interested in the outside world primarily because of their overwhelming concern for the survival of their own country and because of their determination to make their country rank among the Western powers, or to see "the imperial prestige glow throughout the world"--the favorite phrase among Japanese leaders, including Kuroda, in those days.[28] Their consciousness of the fragility of their country therefore made them extremely cautious in dealing with other countries. They did not wish friendship with one country at the expense of their relations with others. This was the rule in employing foreign advisers; the Japanese generally kept to the principle of acquiring the best talents available from whatever country surpassed others in a specific field.

In his memorandum which proposed the employment of foreign advisers for the development of Hokkaido, Kuroda gave a warning which sounded somewhat like George Washington's farewell address. Pointing to the case of the Tokugawa Shogunate which earned animosity from the British because of their favor to the French on the eve of its collapse, Kuroda wrote: "Japan should observe the principle of sincerity and never hold a biased view of any country." With regard to Hokkaido in particular, Kuroda recommended that an adviser experienced in the opening of a new land should be recruited from a country whose meteorological and

topographical conditions were similar to those of Hokkaido.[29]

Kuroda's preference for the United States was therefore due to the Japanese image of the United States as a country with more experience in the development of new land than any other country at that time. The meteorological similarities between Hokkaido and the northern part of the United States were crucial too. Moreover, America's noninvolvement in international controversies, particularly with Russia, must have been a favorable condition for the Kaitakushi. Finally, the fact that Kuroda's friend, Mori, was to arrive in Washington, D.C. as the first Japanese chargé d'affaires shortly before Kuroda's departure probably led Kuroda to visit the United States first.

The American Image of Japan

In the first week of April 1871, Kuroda, accompanied by Mori, called on Horace Capron in the Department of Agriculture. They carried a letter of introduction from Acting Secretary of State John C. Bancroft Davis, who, consulted by Mori on the search for qualified advisers, had recommended Capron as a suitable person who would be interested in the project and could help them.[30] It turned out that Capron showed an interest in undertaking the task himself, and stipulated the conditions upon which he would accept it: an annual salary of ten thousand dollars with all expenses paid by the Japanese government including transportation to and

from Japan, a furnished house "suited to the rank and position" of Capron, servants, guards, and attendants; and the right to select scientific assistants.[31] Kuroda and Mori, overwhelmed by the good luck of obtaining the current Commissioner of Agriculture as an adviser, accepted all of these conditions and informed Capron that the contract would be effective on May 15 although Capron and his assistants were not expected to arrive in Japan until August.[32] After the agreement was made, Capron accompanied Kuroda around the United States, visited shops, mills, dockyards, farms, nurseries, schools, and military headquarters, and placed orders for seeds, farm machinery, mechanical equipment, nursery stock, and livestock, all for future delivery to Japan.[33]

Although Capron soon informed Grant of his decision to resign his post to undertake a new mission, Grant asked him not to make his resignation public for the time being in order to facilitate his search for a successor. While Capron secretly searched for the assistants to accompany him to Japan, he finally handed in his resignation on June 27 since the scheduled date for departure was approaching.[34] The announcement of Capron's mission roused a considerable interest and revealed the American image of Japan.

When Capron decided to accept the mission, he was keenly aware of the American's interest in the island empire which the arrival of Perry's "black ships" had forced out of a long seclusion and which also had negotiated her first comprehensive commercial treaty with the United States. He

was therefore convinced that the "friendly spirit existing in this country ... would be gratified at seeing its citizens engaged in building up the prosperity of the Great Empire of Japan."[35]

Capron's friends in Washington generally agreed with him. Finding Japanese solicitation of American assistance "extremely flattering" to the United States, Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson expressed his belief that Capron's mission would "result in cementing the friendship, and in widening and making valuable to both the intercourse between the two governments." General William T. Sherman, commander of the U.S. Army, joined Robeson in expressing his hope that the mission "will tend to bring that people into more intimate and friendly relations with those of Our country." Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, one of the few who had known of Capron's mission before it became public, extolled the mission as "a means of extending the blessings of high civilization and more Christianity to a very interesting portion of the human family."[36]

Not every one was excited. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish was somewhat cool and detached when Capron showed him the memorandum of the agreement with Mori. Fish noted in his diary: "[Capron] is entering into a contract which this Govt. cannot undertake to interfere with, or protect; a mere private arrangement.... I cannot undertake to give him my advice on the subject. Officially the Secretary of State

can have nothing to do with it." To Fish, Japan was not only "a country bearing what we regard as an imperfect civilization" but also a peripheral interest for the United States.[37]

Fish, however, was an exception. Acting Secretary of State Davis was far more favorably disposed and took care to introduce Capron's party to the U.S. diplomatic and consular agents in Japan. Explaining that Capron's party was entrusted with the mission "to inaugurate a system for the development of the agricultural and mineral resources of the Island of Yesso," Davis conveyed the responses at home and asked for their cooperation:

> The President and the American public have manifested a most cordial interest in the success of the important undertaking in which these gentlemen have embarked, and which it is hoped will give an increased impulse to the friendly intercourse social and commercial between the two countries.
>
> It will be a source of gratification to the President and to this Department to know that you have been instrumental in facilitating and promoting, by every proper means at your command, the attainment of the objects above referred to by a Commission composed of citizens of the United States.[38]

President Grant certainly had shown "a most cordial interest" in Capron's mission when he wrote Capron:

> I look upon the department [of agriculture] as a very important one, and full of benefit to the country if wisely administered. But with all its importance it is not equal in value to your country to your new mission. From it I expect to see early evidence of increased commerce and friendly relations with a hitherto exclusive people, alike beneficial to both.[39]

And Grant did not forget to ask Capron in the same letter whether a position was available for a friend of his son in

Capron's party: the request Capron faithfully carried out after his arrival in Japan.

The American press was even more enthusiastic about the so-called "American Commission."[40] Newspaper stories exaggerated Capron's position and described it as "not only one of dignity, but also of incalculable influence." His salary was somehow doubled and reported as twenty thousand dollars a year. Also, the impression was given that his task concerned all Japan, not merely Hokkaido. While a few newspapers such as the New York Times accurately wrote that Capron's party was employed for the development of the agricultural and mineral resources of Hokkaido, many did not report the limits of Capron's mission. Some newspaper said that he would "make a thorough mineralogical and agricultural survey of that country," and others wrote: "His mission is nothing short of the reconstruction of Japanese productive industry."

The press moreover praised the Japanese as "the most intelligent and practical of Oriental nations, the Yankees of Asia," and wrote of Japan: "Instead of allowing itself to be crushed by the march of progress it proposes to keep step with it." Americans in turn flattered themselves by thinking that the Japanese did "naturally look to the most progressive people in the world for ideas of progress." One newspaper wrote: "It must be a matter of pride to all Americans that the most enlightened of the Eastern Nations looked to this country, and not to the Nations of Europe, to find a

representative of the most advanced civilization." It seems that Americans were generous in praising the Japanese exactly because the latter did not fail to "recognize the superiority of our progressive civilization."

The press took it for granted that the mission would result in many and enduring benefits to the people of Japan: "The Japanese will learn the arts that have made us a mighty nation in a single century." At the same time the press was unanimous in expecting that the mission would bring abundant material returns to Americans at home. They predicted: "One of the first results of this movement will be a great enlargement of our trade with Japan, and a great increase in our manufacturing operations." The New York Times, which knew the limits of the scope of Capron's mission, also reported that "in results to us this Commission is regarded as most promising; far more so, indeed, than the Burlingame Chinese mission, since it will affect directly our foreign commerce, and perhaps afford the opportunity of regaining in the Pacific what we have lost in other seas." According to the New York Times, the leading manufacturers were eager to provide the commission with models of machinery, samples of their manufactures, catalogues, and illustrated price lists. Pittsburgh Gazette, referring to a possible Japanese demand for the products manufactured in the United States, simply wrote: "Imagination cannot picture the magnificent results which this mission of General Capron may accomplish."

The American image of Japan, specifically revealed in

connection with Capron's mission, was abstract in the sense that the description similar to "the most intelligent and practical of Oriental nations" or "the Yankees of Asia" seems to have been applied to almost any people who acknowledged the American superiority and asked for their help. Their simplistic assumption that Japanese would readily absorb or, in the expression of the press, "imitate" the Western civilization instructed by Capron's party went hand in hand with their romantic expectation of obtaining not only the Japanese friendship but also an enormous market for American manufactured goods. While the Japanese leaders were extremely cautious about favoring any particular foreign country and never thought of the relationship between employing foreigners and increasing in imports, Americans--Capron's friends as well as the press--expected exactly such returns from Capron's mission.

NOTES

1. The history of Hokkaido discussed in this chapter is based, except as otherwise noted, on the following books: Hokkaido-cho, ed., Shinsen Hokkaido-shi [Newly Compiled History of Hokkaido], 7 vols. (Sapporo: Hokkaido-cho, 1936-37), vols. 2, 3; Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 9 vols. (Sapporo: Shin Hokkaido-shi Insatsushuppan Kigyokyodotai, 1969-81), vols. 2, 3; Takakura Shinichiro and Seki Hideshi, Hokkaido no fudo to rekishi [The Environment and History of Hokkaido] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 1970); John A. Harrison, Japan's Northern Frontier: A Preliminary Study in Colonization and Expansion with Special Reference to the Relations of Japan and Russia (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1953); Hokkaido Prefectural Government (Archives Section, General Affairs Department), Foreign Pioneers: A Short History of the Contribution of Foreigners to the Development of Hokkaido (Sapporo: Hokkaido Prefectural Government, 1968); Harada Kazufumi, Oyatoi gaikokujin: Kaitaku [Foreign Employees: Development of Hokkaido] (Tokyo: Kashima Shuppankai, 1975); and Sapporo-shi Kyoiku Iinkai, ed., Oyatoi gaikokujin [Foreign Employees] (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shimbunsha, 1981).

2. In 1875 Japan ceded its interests in Sakhalin in return for Russia's relinquishment of its claims to the central and northern Kuriles. By the Treaty of Portsmouth signed in 1905, Japan regained the southern half of Sakhalin, but at the end of World War II Russia occupied the Kurile islands and southern Sakhalin. Japan demands, and Russia refuses, to have talks over the Kurile islands.

3. In the confusion of the Restoration, Gaertner obtained a 99-year lease of 2,450-acre land near Hakodate. The Meiji government barely managed to take back the land from him after paying him $62,500. The farm itself survived as the Kaitakushi experimental farm in Nanae. Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], vol. 7: Shiryo I [Documents I], 789; Foreign Pioneers, 16. With regard to Foreign Pioneers, there are two editions published in 1968. Although the contents are the same, their arrangement is different and so is their pagination. The edition which starts with "Foreigners and the Colonization of Hokkaido" as Part I is quoted here.

4. Of these foreigners more than eighty were French, more than sixty were Dutch, about thirty were British, and Americans and Germans constituted the remainder. Hazel J.

Jones, Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 1.

5. Dictionary of American Biography, 1935 ed., s.v. "Pumpelly, Raphael"; Pumpelly, Across Asia and America: Notes of a Five Years' Journey Around the World and of Residence in Arizona, Japan and China (2d ed. rev.; New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1871); Dictionary of American Biography, 1929 ed., s.v. "Blake, William Phipps"; Rossiter W. Raymond, "Biographical Notice of William Phipps Blake," Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers 41 (1910): 851-64.

6. Before Capron left for Japan, he asked Blake to provide him with a report on Hokkaido, whose abstract was later contained in ROL, 1-15. There are two editions of ROL with different pagination. The only distinction is their sizes, and the edition of smaller size is quoted here.

7. Pumpelly, 155.

8. The best biography of Kuroda Kiyotaka is Iguro Yataro, Kuroda Kiyotaka: Umoretaru Meiji no kiseki [A Buried Cornerstone of the Meiji Era] (Sapporo: Miyama Shobo, 1965).

9. Quoted in Ivan Parker Hall, Mori Arinori (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 53. Trans. by Hall.

10. Iguro, 11-12.

11. Iguro, 32.

12. See, for example, Iguro, 17-18, 160-61. Albert M. Craig describes Kuroda as "a dipsomaniac who murdered his wife and was sent off to develop Hokkaido to get him out of the capital" in "Kido Koin and Okubo Toshimichi: A Pycho-historical Analysis," in Personality in Japanese History, eds. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 264. When Kuroda's wife died, there was indeed a rumor that Kuroda, deadly drunk, might have killed her, but she died in 1878, more than seven years after Kuroda became Deputy Commissioner of the Kaitakushi and also he stayed mostly in the capital, not in Hokkaido.

13. The entire text of Kuroda's memorial is in Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 7: 785-88.

14. Ibid., 7: 788.

15. Kuroda to Matsumoto Juro, 4 December 1870 (24 January 1871, according to the solar calendar), Matsumoto Juro monjo [Papers Relating to Matsumoto Juro], ed. Iguro Yataro (Sapporo: Hokkaido Kyodoshiryo Kenkyukai, 1963), 22. Trans.

by this writer.

16. Australians made up a large portion of the "British" category. Jones, xv, 7.

17. Quoted in Kamei Shunsuke, "The Sacred Land of Liberty: Images of America in Nineteenth Century Japan," in Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations, ed. Akira Iriye (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 53. Trans. by Kamei.

18. Kamei, 56.

19. Francis L. Hawks, comp., Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854 under the Command of Commodore M.C. Perry, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Beverley Tucker, Senate Printer, 1856; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1967), 1: 248.

20. Carmen Blacker, The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1969), 6-7; Kamei, 58.

21. Fukuzawa Yukichi, Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshu [Complete Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi], 21 vols., ed. Keio Gijuku Daigaku (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958-64), 2: 635-637. Trans by this writer.

22. Fukuzawa Yukichi, The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi, trans. Eiichi Kiyooka (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 334.

23. Ibid., 502.

24. Hall, 86-87.

25. Mori to Yokoyama Yasutake, 6 March [3 June, according to the solar calendar] 1866, in Mori Arinori zenshu [Collected Works of Mori Arinori], ed. Okubo Toshiaki, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Senbundo, 1972), 2: 53-54. Trans. by Hall, 85.

26. Hall, 105, 124, 126.

27. The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi, 257-58.

28. Kuroda's memorial of October 1870 in Shin Hokkaidoshi [New History of Hokkaido], 7: 788. Trans. by this writer.

29. Ibid. Trans. by this writer.

30. Capron wrote in his journal that he had a visit of Kuroda and Mori on April 1, but Davis's letter of their

introduction to Capron was dated April 6. "The Memoirs of Horace Capron," 2 vols, typed copy, National Agricultural Library, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Maryland, 2: 1; Davis to Capron, 6 April 1871, CLC.

31. Capron, Memorandum, 17 April 1871, CLC.

32. Kuroda to Kaitakushi, 1 March 1871 [20 April 1871, according to the solar calendar], KK, vol. 5484; Mori and Kuroda to Capron, 3 May 1871, CLC.

33. Harrison, 69; Shinsen Hokkaido-shi [Newly Compiled History of Hokkaido], 3: 240.

34. "The Memoirs of Horace Capron," 2: 2-3.

35. Capron, Memorandum, 17 April 1871, CLC.

36. Robeson to Capron, 12 July 1871, CLC; Sherman to Capron, 7 July 1871, CLC; Henry to J. Peter Lesley, 8 May 1871, JPL.

37. Fish, Diary, 17 May 1871, FLC; Fish to Charles DeLong, 21 May 1871, copy, FLC.

38. Davis to the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States in Japan, copy, 6 July 1871, FLC.

39. Grant to Capron, 23 June 1871, CLC.

40. The following comments of the press were gathered from the New York Times, 29 June 1871; Prairie Farmer, July 1871, quoted in "The Memoirs of Horace Capron," 1: 170; and from newspaper clippings contained in CLC: Boston Cultivator, 8 July 1871; Chicago Journal, 10 July 1871; Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 10 July 1871; Massachusetts Ploughman, 8 July 1871; New York Farmer, 8 July 1871; Pittsburgh Gazette, 8 July 1871; and Rural New-Yorker, 8 July 1871. The press accounts were overlapping, indicating that the same stories were sent to several papers.

CHAPTER II

THE AMERICAN EXPERTS AND THEIR WORK

When Capron accepted the position of Commissioner and Adviser to the Kaitakushi, one of his conditions was that he had the right to select his own assistants. From May 1871 to March 1875, Capron recruited most American experts: twenty-nine Americans, including Capron, were employed by the Kaitakushi. After his departure, the Japanese legation in Washington generally undertook the search for American experts, and nineteen more Americans were employed. This chapter discusses how and what kinds of Americans were recruited, their working conditions in Japan, and their major work for the development of Hokkaido.

The Composition of the American Personnel

When Capron sailed from San Francisco on August 1, 1871, he was accompanied by three assistants: Thomas Antisell, a geologist and mineralogist; A.G. Warfield, a topographical and civil engineer; and Stuart Eldridge, a secretary. While Assistant Secretary of State Davis described them, in his letter to the U.S. diplomatic corps in Japan, as "Scientific Assistants of distinguished ability in their respective specialities, and ... an accomplished

Secretary,"[1] they were not necessarily the best talents Capron could bring but rather the best he could sign up within the short period before his departure.

In accepting the job, Capron understood that his first task in Japan was to supervise a preliminary survey of Hokkaido and prepare a plan for the development of the island based upon the survey.[2] He was confident of his own knowledge of agriculture. Although he started his apprenticeship at cotton manufacturing mills in New York and then operated his own mills in Maryland, he had earned a reputation as a scientific agriculturalist for his successful renovation of the worn-out land surrounding his mills. Also, he made himself known as a breeder of superior Devon cattle in Illinois on the eve of the Civil War. This reputation in the field of farming and breeding had helped him to obtain the Commissionership of Agriculture in 1867.[3] But he felt he needed specialists in other fields, such as geology, mineralogy, topography, and civil engineering. The time available, however, was limited: only two months between his acceptance of the Japanese offer and his scheduled departure. Besides, the search had to be done clandestinely since President Grant requested him not to announce his decision to resign until his successor was obtained.

Capron's friends helped his search, but no one worked so enthusiastically and conscientiously as Joseph Henry, "a founder of the American scientific community,"[4] who had been serving as secretary of the Smithsonian Institution since it

was established in 1845. From the time of his taking office as Commissioner of Agriculture, Capron kept in touch with Henry and favorablly impressed him as "a gentleman of excellent character." Henry's concern was clearly shown when he asked J. Peter Lesley, an eminent geologist in Philadelphia, to recommend a person who would accompany Capron as a mining and topographical engineer. Describing many characteristics required for a desirable candidate, Henry did not fail to add: "I need not to say to you that this is not a position to be given to a friend from motives of kindness; but one which is to be filled by the best man that can be obtained. The head and not the heart is to be consulted in this choice."[5] Lesley immediately recommended his nephew, Benjamin Smith Lyman, who, after graduating from Harvard, had studied at the Ecole Impériale des Mines in Paris and the Royal Academy of Mines in Freiberg. But Lyman, who had just come back from the survey of oil fields in India, declined the offer, seeing the compensation offered [three or four thousand dollars a year with all expenses paid] "decidedly insufficient."[6]

Henry's approach to James D. Dana, professor of geology and mineralogy at Yale, did not succeed either. As the best candidate Dana recommended James D. Hague, a graduate of the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard who subsequently studied at the University of Göttingen and the Royal Academy of Mines in Freiberg, but Hague replied to Henry that his current engagement did not allow him to leave for

Japan on so short a notice.[7] When Hague declined, it was already past the middle of June, and Capron had less than a month before his scheduled departure from Washington.

In the meantime Harry D. Pratt, chief of the first diplomatic branch of the Department of State, also helped Capron's search for assistants. Among mining geologists Pratt sounded out was William P. Blake who had had experience in surveying the mines of Hokkaido during the Shogunate. Blake, professor of mineralogy and geology in the College of California (the present University of California at Berkeley), showed great interest in the continuation of the work which he and Pumpelly had undertaken, but he said that he could not leave home because of his old and feeble parents; he regretted that otherwise he would "most enthusiastically" have accepted the offer.[8]

Only when the search in various directions did not bring out any desirable geological assistant, Capron offered the job to Thomas Antisell, chief chemist in the Department of Agriculture, and Antisell promptly accepted. Antisell, born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1817, was educated at Trinity College in Dublin, the Dublin School of Medicine, and the Irish Apothecaries' Hall, and graduated from the Royal College of Surgeons in London with an M.D. in 1839.[9] After pursuing chemical studies in Paris and Berlin, he practiced medicine in Dublin and lectured on chemistry at the Dublin School of Medicine. In 1848 Antisell, an active member of the Young Ireland Party, was sentenced to exile and fled to

New York with his family. In the new world, he had a varied career: he practised medicine, taught chemistry, gave public lectures, made a geological reconnaissance of southern California and Arizona Territory, and was chief examiner in chemistry in the U.S. Patent Office on the eve of the Civil War. During the war he served as surgeon in the field as well as at Harewood Military Hospital in Washington; he was mustered out with the rank of brevet lieutenant colonel. From 1858 to 1869 he was also professor in the Medical Department of Georgetown College, teaching chemistry and various other subjects. Capron regarded Antisell, who had been working in the Department of Agriculture since 1866, as "a good chemist with some knowledge of geology and mineralogy," and hoped that, although he did not rank among eminent geologists, "his various acquirements would make him useful" in Japan.[10]

As for a civil and topographical engineer, Major A.G. Warfield, assistant engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, accepted the job. Little is known about his background, except that he was originally from Kentucky.[11] When Joseph Henry asked Benjamin H. Latrobe, a well-known civil engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, of a possible assistant, the latter strongly recommended Warfield. Only when Latrobe later learned of Capron's satisfaction with Warfield's work in Hokkaido, he confessed that "as [Warfield] was young & also untried in anything like his new sphere of action, I could not but feel that I was running

some risk in endorsing him, as strongly as I did."[12]

In addition to scientific assistants, Capron thought of bringing a secretary with him. His first choice was Henry S. Poole, a young mining geologist, suggested by Henry and Lesley. Poole was willing to go, but Capron soon concluded that he was not well qualified.[13] Capron therefore offered the job to Stuart Eldridge who had more or less satisfied Capron with his performance as a librarian in the Department of Agriculture. Eldridge was born in 1843 in Philadelphia and grew up in Waukesha, Wisconsin.[14] His father was an early resident of Waukesha, which Eldridge later recalled as "the dullest little place on the face of the earth."[15] During the Civil War he served in the twenty-eighth Wisconsin Infantry Regiment and was promoted to lieutenant. After the war he joined the staff of General O.O. Howard in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau in Washington. During his assignment in Washington, he attended the Medical Department of Georgetown College and obtained an M.D. in 1868. Upon graduation, he taught anatomy at the college for a short period, and since June 1869 he had been a librarian at the Department of Agriculture.

Apart from Warfield, Capron's original party was made up of three high-ranking officials of the Department of Agriculture, whose departure appeared almost as "a general clearing out" in the department.[16] While Capron himself did not have any high academic background, he had a rather prestigious status as the current Commissioner of Agricul-

ture, which, together with the presence of two M.D.s, gave an impressive outlook to the composition of Capron's original team. Capron only hoped that his assistants would "prove competent and true men," believing that the success of his mission would greatly depend on them. He wrote in his journal: "God grant I may find them all that is desired, not only on my own account, but on account of the effect that any failure in this expedition may have upon the future development of the important Island of Yesso ... and also upon our intercourse, as a nation, with Japan."[17]

By the spring of 1872 eight more Americans joined Capron's party. James R. Clark and James R. Wasson were assigned to help Warfield who was about to supervise the construction of a road in Hokkaido. Clark, who had been staying in Tokyo, was hired as both Warfield's assistant and interpreter.[18] Lieutenant Wasson, a classmate of President Grant's son at the West Point, was recommended by the President as a young man who had "graduated head of his class in almost every branch of studies."[19] Taking a leave of absence from the War Department, Wasson came to Japan and waited until Capron obtained a position for him as a teacher at the Kaitakushi Temporary School. Wasson soon got a new assignment as Warfield's assistant.

Six other Americans arrived from the United States in May 1872 to work on the farms and in the workshops operated by the Kaitakushi. They were Edward M. Shelton (farmer), Louis Boehmer (nurseryman), Thomas Taylor (stockman), N.W.

Holt (mechanic), Sandford Clark (Holt's assistant), and Matthias Werve (tanner). In obtaining these assistants, Capron solicited not only the help of Joseph Henry and William S. Saunders, the Superintendent of Gardens in the Department of Agriculture, but also that of Albert B. Capron, his son living in Kenosha, Wisconsin.[20] These assistants included two immigrants. Shelton, a son of a tenant farmer and a young graduate of Michigan State Agricultural College, was originally from Huntingtonshire, England. In 1855 when he was nine years old, his family moved to the western New York and then settled in Michigan. He was recommended by Professor Manley Miles as "a good scientific scholar & a thoroughly practical man."[21] Boehmer left Germany at the age of twenty-five in 1866, and in the United States continued his occupation as a nurseryman and gardener. He was working at a New York nursery (Elwanger-Barry and Company) when he accepted the Kaitakushi job. Holt and Clark were from Dayton, Ohio, and Werve was from Kenosha, Wisconsin.[22]

By the beginning of 1873 two mining geologists joined Capron's party. The original mining geologist, Antisell, was dismissed by the Kaitakushi in March 1872 because of a disagreement over his new contract. At the request of the Kaitakushi, Capron looked for Antisell's successor with the assistance of Joseph Henry. James D. Hague, Capron's first choice, was not available, but Benjamin Smith Lyman this time accepted the position, the salary for which had been

raised to $7,000.[23] Almost at the same time, a young mining geologist, Henry Smith Munroe, was hired by the Kaitakushi. Munroe, a graduate of Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute and then of the School of Mines, Columbia College, had been an assistant to Antisell in the Department of Agriculture and, since the time he saw off three members of the department to Japan, he had been waiting for a chance to join them.[24] When Antisell was securely connected with the Kaitakushi, he successfully persuaded the Kaitakushi officials of the need for an assistant and called for Munroe. In December 1872 Munroe arrived in Japan, and so did Lyman in January 1873. Although Antisell had managed to regain his position in the Kaitakushi by the time these mining geologists arrived, Capron gave the position of chief mining geologist to Lyman, whose credentials Capron believed were superior to Antisell's. Therefore Munroe became Lyman's assistant while Antisell had to be content with the task of Assistant Director of the Kaitakushi Temporary School and other minor assignments such as chemical analysis of rocks.

Other sections also witnessed a turnover of American personnel. In November 1872 Warfield was dismissed by the Kaitakushi due to a couple of misdemeanors he had committed under intoxication. While Wasson became the surveyor-in-chief, Capron asked Secretary of Navy George M. Robeson to send a man who would serve as assistant surveyor in the trigonometrical survey of Hokkaido. Revealing his bitter disappointment with the members of his original party, Cap-

ron emphasized to Robeson that "it is of the utmost importance to me that in the future none but competent, and in every way reliable men should come out to this country under my auspices." Robeson granted Lieutenant Murray S. Day a furlough for the mission to Japan, assuring Capron that the records of the Department showed Day was "unexceptionable as a gentleman and a zealous and capable officer."[25] In June 1873 Day became Wasson's assistant, and in the spring of 1874, when Wasson quit the Kaitakushi to work for the War Ministry, Day became the surveyor-in-chief without any foreign assistant; James Clark had been teaching at a school in Sapporo since fall in the previous year.

In the spring of 1873 Taylor and Shelton left Japan on the expiration of their one-year contract. Their positions were taken by Edwin Dun, a son of a wealthy Ohio dairy farmer, and Samuel Brown. Dun, twenty-four years old, was employed by Capron's son Albert when the latter visited Dun's farm to purchase cattle for the Kaitakushi.[26] Brown was, however, employed by the Kaitakushi without obtaining prior approval of Capron but through Charles W. Brooks, a Japanese commercial agent in San Francisco, and thus he was a constant reminder to Capron that the Kaitakushi had ignored his authority to select his assistants.[27]

There were two more groups of Americans employed by the Kaitakushi during Capron's residence in Japan: teachers and sailors. In May 1872 the Kaitakushi set up a school in Tokyo to provide young Japanese with the skills and knowl-

edge necessary for the development of Hokkaido. The school, called Kaitakushi karigakko [Kaitakushi Temporary School], was to be transferred to Hokkaido as a college in the near future. During the period when the school was in Tokyo, the teaching staff included one or two Americans at a time. As already mentioned, Antisell served as Assistant Director, and Wasson was for some time affiliated with the school as a teacher of science and the English language.

With an intention of offering specialized courses, the Kaitakushi then asked Capron to obtain a professor of mechanical arts. After some search, Henry selected John C. Randolph, a graduate of the College of New Jersey [the present Princeton University] and Munroe's classmate at the School of Mines of Columbia. Randolph, who had spent several years in German universities as well and served in the Lighthouse Department as mechanical engineer, signed a provisional contract with the Japanese chargé d'affaires in Washington in December 1872 and left for Japan.[28] However, the Kaitakushi had by then concluded that they had to postpone raising the school to a college level mostly due to financial difficulties. Lengthy and bitter negotiations took place between Japanese officials who asked Randolph to teach at the Temporary School and Randolph who insisted that his contract specified that he would teach only at a college-level institution; regarding the students of the Kaitakushi school as "very very ignorant," Randolph found it "almost an insult to ask me a scientific man" to teach them.

He was determined, as he told his friend Munroe, "I will do no baby work in Japan." Finally, Randolph left Japan without teaching.[29]

Albert Bates, a nephew of Goerge B. Williams who was under the employ of the Japanese Finance Ministry, was only nineteen years old when he was hired as a Kaitakushi school teacher in February 1873 and free from Randolph's prestige problem. Bates was described by Lyman as "amiable and in his work faithful, but ... not very highly educated."[30] When Bates died two years later from the fumes of charcoal that heated the water of his bath, his position was filled by twenty-three-year-old George J. Rockwell, who, after graduation from New York University, studied chemistry at the School of Mines, Columbia. Rockwell had been to Siberia with the U.S. Transit of Venus Expedition in 1874 and on his return home he stopped in Japan, hoping to find a job. Rockwell did not need to make much effort, for, as Lyman observed, "Mr. Rockwell seems to be a very good fellow.... The General Capron is trying to get him."[31]

Finally, nine sailors were employed: two captains, four engineers, and three mates. They came to Japan, operating the two ships--Gembu maru and Capron maru--purchased by the Kaitakushi. Half of them were hired only for the period of the voyage from San Francisco to Yokohama, and the rest were engaged longer for voyages between Yokohama and Hokkaido.

Most of the Americans employed as Capron's assistants

stayed for a shorter period than Capron. In May 1875, when Capron left Japan, six Americans--Lyman (geologist), Boehmer (botanist), Holt (mechanic), Day (surveyor), Dun (farmer), and Rockwell (teacher)--were still working for the Kaitakushi, and one year later only Boehmer and Dun remained. They were however joined by three groups of Americans: six teachers; two experts in canning and preparing fish for market; and ten engineers--eight for railroad construction and two for developing mines.

The employment of a substantial number of teachers was a result of the Kaitakushi's decision in the spring of 1875 to move the Temporary School from Tokyo to Sapporo. As the first step, the Sapporo School was opened in August 1875 with a young American from the state of New York, William Corwin, on the staff.[32] In the meantime, with a view to establish an agricultural college in Sapporo, the Kaitakushi instructed Yoshida Kiyonari, Mori's successor as charge d'affaires in Washington, to obtain three professors, one of whom should serve as Vice-President. Kuroda specifically told Yoshida that, since an agricultural college was something new in Japan, the Vice-President should be a person who had thorough knowledge about the management and curriculum of an agricultural college.[33] This request was fully met when William Smith Clark, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College (MAC), accepted the mission.

Birdsey G. Northrop, secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Education, a friend of Mori, and a guardian

of four Japanese girl students sent to the United States by the Kaitakushi, acted as an intermediary for Yoshida and Clark.[34] Northrop, who had served as agent of the Massachusetts State Board of Education from 1857 to 1867, probably knew Clark well. Also, Northrop must have been aware of some links which tied MAC and Hokkaido. In the spring of 1871 when Mori inquired of Capron what was "the best educational institution" in which to place a young Japanese, Capron recommended MAC and asked President Clark to accept the youth in his college.[35] From the time when this young man, who was later to become Clark's interpreter in Japan, was admitted, to the time of Clark's departure for Japan in 1876, six Japanese students, mostly sent by the Kaitakushi, came to MAC.[36] At one time Mori himself visited the college, and President Clark took him to the college farm and other institutions as well as to the scene of the military batallion drill which was required of land-grant colleges by the Morrill Act. Mori then allegedly said: "That is the kind of institution Japan must have, that is what we need, an institution that shall teach young men to feed themselves and to defend themselves."[37] Therefore, even before the Kaitakushi started to search for American professors, its officials had been examining the curriculum of MAC as a possible model of a school which they hoped to build in Hokkaido.[38]

Born in 1826 in western Massachusetts, Clark studied at Amherst College and obtained a Ph. D. in chemistry from

Goergia Augusta University in Göttingen. Except during the Civil War, in which he led the Twenty-first Massachusetts Volunteers, he had been an energetic and popular professor at Amherst from 1852 to 1867. Since 1867 he had been President of the new land-grant college in Massachusetts.[39] In March 1876 he signed a contract with Yoshida for one-year service starting from May 1876 as "Assistant Director, President and Professor of Agriculture, Chemistry, Mathematics and the English Language" of the new college in Sapporo, and took a one-year leave of absence from his college. The fact that the word "President" was inserted in Clark's handwriting and initialled by Yoshida in the English version of the contract while no equivalent word was found in the Japanese version, indicated that a sort of compromise had been worked out between Clark, who would accept no less than the presidency, and the Japanese authorities, who adhered to the principle that an employed foreigner be placed under a Japanese titular superior.[40]

Clark brought with him two young graduates of MAC: William Wheeler as professor of civil engineering, mechanics, mathematics, and the English language, and David P. Penhallow as professor of chemistry, botany, agriculture, mathematics and the English language. Twenty-four-year-old Wheeler was born and grew up in Concord, Massachusetts, before he entered the newly-opened Massachusetts Agricultural College. After graduation in 1871 he was engaged in engineering work with local railroad companies for two

years. Then, opening his office in Boston, Wheeler undertook the building of the Concord waterworks, the construction of stone bridges, and other engineering works. Penhallow, two years junior to Wheeler, was born in Kittery Point, Maine, and after graduation from MAC in 1873 remained at school as an assistant. From Sapporo, Clark called for another graduate of MAC, William P. Brooks, as professor of agriculture and superintendent of the College Farm. Brooks, born on a farm in South Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1851, entered the college at the age of nearly twenty, and, after graduation in 1875, continued his studies in botany and chemistry at college.[41]

In 1878 the Kaitakushi employed two more American professors for the college, John Clarence Cutter and Cecil Hobart Peabody, both recommended by Wheeler.[42] After graduating from MAC, Cutter obtained an M.D. from Harvard Medical School and had the experience of working at a Boston hospital. He taught physiology, anatomy, and English literature in Sapporo.[43] Peabody, born in Burlington, Vermont, in 1855, studied at MAC for three years but graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1877. His father, Selim H. Peabody, was a professor of physics at MAC from 1871 to 1874 but quit the college because of a dispute with President Clark and later became the President of the University of Illinois.[44] Cecil Peabody succeeded Wheeler as professor of mathematics and civil engineering. The American professors at Sapporo Agricultual College were thus

predominantly from New England and had MAC connections.

Two experts in canning and preparing fish for market, recruited through Capron in Washington, arrived in the fall of 1877. When Capron, in response to the request of the Kaitakushi, sounded out Burnham & Morrill, packers and wholesale dealers in hermetically sealed goods in Portland, Maine, he suggested that the job would offer "a good chance for a smart young man to have his expenses paid to travel around the world." It was, however, Ulysses S. Treat in his mid-sixties who accepted the job. Treat, reportedly one of the first to inaugurate canning of fish, vegetables and fruits, had been for more than thirty years constantly employed in starting the business in various parts of the United States and at the time operated a large establishment of his own at Eastport, Maine.[45] Trescott Swett accompanied him to Japan as his assistant.

In 1878 the Kaitakushi decided to develop coal mines and at the same time construct a railroad for the transportation of coal. When Yoshida Kiyonari, by then promoted to the minister to the United States, consulted Thomas A. Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the Texas & Pacific Railway Company, he strongly recommended Joseph U. Crawford working for the Texas & Pacific Railway Company. Crawford's record was solid both in his academic background and practical experience. Born in Pennsylvania in 1842, he studied at the University of Pennsylvania and Polytechnic College in Philadelphia. His professional expe-

rience ranged from the development of coal mines in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, and service in the Civil War as an engineer of field fortifications with the rank of captain, to the survey and construction of various railroads. In 1874-76 he was chief engineer and superintendent in charge of the construction and operation of the Los Angeles and Independence Railroad in California.[46] After Crawford did some preliminary work in Japan, he returned to the United States in order to recruit engineers and to order the necessary materials. Besides three of his former assistants at the Texas & Pacific Railway--G.D. Brown (civil engineer), John Reynolds (railroad builder), and John Whelan (assistant railroad builder), Crawford obtained Dwight T. Strickland (rolling stock engineer), Stephen D. Winn (railway bridge builder), and H.C. Holloway (mechanic). Holloway later called for William McCune as his assistant. These engineers apparently came from various scattered areas in the United States, reflecting the extension of the railway from East to West; while Strickland and Winn, for example, came to Japan from the East, Holloway and McCune came from California.[47]

In the beginning of 1879, shortly after Crawford's arrival in Japan, the Kaitakushi employed two Americans--Ernest Gaujot and Joseph Daws--and one British to develop mines. Gaujot, the chief engineer, was French-American in his mid-forties. After graduating from the Polytechnic School of Paris, he spent several years in machine shops in Alsace. In the United States John F. Blandy, chief engineer

and later president of the Little Schuylkill Railroad and Coal Company, placed him in charge of the mining machinery of eight mines in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania for four years. Subsequently Gaujot embarked in mining coal on his own account, but then moved around in the South and the Far West as a mechanical and mining consultant. In 1872 he joined Blandy again and took charge of mines in the copper district of Lake Superior, but because of the low price of copper, Gaujot was, in his own words, "looking around for something new." When Japanese Minister Yoshida asked Richard P. Rothwell, an editor of the Engineering and Mining Journal and one of the founders of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, to recommend a mining engineer, Rothwell approached four engineers, including Blandy, and found Gaujot, recommended by Blandy, "the best qualified of all the present applicants for the position."[48]

When the Kaitakushi was abolished in February 1882, Dun, Brooks, Cutter, Holloway, and McCune were still in Hokkaido and continued to stay for some time to pursue their work. Brooks was the last to leave Hokkaido; he did so in 1887. Although Sapporo Agricultural College continued to employ American professors on a smaller scale and some foreign experts, such as Danish experts of dairy industry, were occasionally employed, the people of Hokkaido were never again to see so many Americans working in the northern frontier of Japan.

The Kaitakushi also employed thirty foreigners other

than Americans. There were four Russians (three carpenters and one engineer), four British (two teachers, one superintendent of foreigners and foreign ships in Hakodate, and one mining engineer), four Germans (one teacher and three sailors), three Dutch (two teachers and one civil engineer), two French (one teacher and one photographer), and thirteen Chinese (ten farmers, two leather tanners, and one interpreter).[49] They were simply overwhelmed by the large number of Americans who left a much more profound impression in the minds of the Japanese.

Although records are fragmentary, it may be still possible both to present a general group portrait of the American experts and to point out the variant features they showed in their backgrounds. In general they tended to be young, well-educated, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant males who came from the East. This generalization, however, needs qualifications.

The Americans employed by the Kaitakushi were mostly young. Among twenty-nine Americans whose ages (or approximate ages) at the time of their engagement were known, one was nineteen, seventeen were in their twenties, six in their thirties, two in their forties, one in his fifties, and two in their sixties. Thus the majority were in their twenties. But it is also true that those older than thirty-five such as Lyman and Crawford (in their late thirties), William S. Clark (almost fifty years old), Antisell (in his fifties), and Capron (in his late sixties) assumed responsible posi-

tions and gave a dignified outlook to the whole group of Americans, particularly for the Japanese who showed a traditional deference to age.

The academic backgrounds of these Americans were impressive for the 1870s. Besides one graduate of the West Point and another of the polytechnic school in Paris, there were at least fourteen college graduates, including one Ph.D., three M.D.s, and three M.E.s. The Massachusetts Agricultural College, Columbia College, and Harvard College were represented by more than one graduate. Capron's formal schooling, however, was minimal; writing to his son from Japan, he had to add, "If you show this letter to any one outside of the family, let Amelia run her eye over it, and correct its errors, of which I am sure there must be many."[50] Also, Dun, who turned out to be one of the most important foreign employees of the Kaitakushi, did not have a college degree. But they were the exceptions, for one remarkable feature of the prominent members of the American mission was that they were conscious about their professional expertise and expected to make full use of it in their Japanese mission. For some, it was more important than money, as was clearly demonstrated by the case of Randolph who left Japan when he found he could not teach at a college-level institution.

The American experts were all male and predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Some came from very old families. Capron, Lyman, Munroe, Wheeler, Penhallow, and

Peabody, for example, could trace their lineage back to ancestors who had migrated from England to Massachusetts in the early seventeenth century. But there were also immigrants, such as Antisell from Ireland, Boehmer from Germany, Gaujot from France, Shelton from England, and McCune from Scotland.

With regard to geographical background in the United States, Massachusetts sent the greatest number because of its virtual monopoly of the American professors of Sapporo Agricultural College. While the prominent members were mostly from the East, many experts were also recruited from the Midwest and some from the West. It is, however, often difficult to tell exactly where they were from. For example, although Capron was born in Massachusetts, he soon moved to New York, then to Maryland, Texas, Illinois, and to Washington, D.C. before he came to Japan. Also, Lyman grew up in Massachusetts and was proud of his New England heritage, but after his graduation from Harvard, he lived in Philadelphia. Then he went to Paris and Freiberg for study and on return home moved around the country as well as abroad (Canada and India) for surveys. What is significant about these Americans seems to be not so much where they were from as the fact that many had been continuously moving in pursuit of a better chance, and some even had crossed the Atlantic to try and improve their lot in the United States. Then they all chose to cross the Pacific.

The State of Things in the Kaitakushi

Once in Japan the American experts worked for the Kaitakushi under differing conditions in regard to length of engagement and salary.[51] Except Capron, whose term of employment was not specified in his contract, the Americans agreed in their original contracts to come for three years or less. For the contracts made in the United States, the term included the period of travel, so a one-year term, for example, actually meant about eight months of service in Japan. When the contract was renewed, the term was always shorter than that of the original one: usually six months to a year. Thus, for example, Boehmer's contract was renewed twelve times, and Dun's ten times. Americans served for two years and five months on the average. The longest engagement was that of Brooks, ten years and seven months, followed by Boehmer's ten years and three months, Dun's nine years and nine months, Cutter's eight years and four months, Penhallow's and Holt's four years and three months, and Capron's four years.[52] The shortest engagement was that of some sailors who were employed only for the period of the voyage.

The salaries were generally high. The highest annual salary of foreign employees in the Kaitakushi was Capron's $10,000.[53] Although a few foreigners employed by the Japanese government received more than Capron, he was still among the most highly-paid foreigners in Japan.[54] Moreover, his salary exceeded those of Japanese highest officials; in

1874 the highest Japanese salary was $9,600 paid to the Chief Councilor of State Sanjo Sanetomi. The department ministers received $6,000 a year and the salary of Kuroda as Deputy Commissioner of the Kaitakushi was $4,800.[55] Capron's salary was followed by those of William S. Clark ($7,200), Lyman ($7,000), Treat ($6,000), Randolph ($5,000), Crawford and Gaujot ($4,800), and Antisell, Warfield, Wasson, Munroe, and Day (all $4,000). Salaries were often raised during their engagement. Eldridge, whose original salary as secretary was $2,000, signed a formal contract with the Kaitakushi as secretary and physician a few months after his arrival in Japan, and received $4,000 the first year, $5,000 the second year, and $6,000 the third year. Antisell ultimately received an annual salary of $8,000, Crawford $6,800, Warfield, Wasson, and Day, $6,000, and Gaujot $5,800.

These salaries were generally much higher than those they had received at home. In the Department of Agriculture, Commissioner Capron had received $3,000 a year, Antisell $2,500, Eldridge $1,800, and Munroe $1,250.[56] As President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, Clark had received $4,250 a year with an annual rental allowance of $750, but there had been some pressure to reduce the sum from economy-minded people in Massachusetts.[57] Besides, foreign employees were provided with dwelling places and servants, often received bonuses in addition to their regular salaries, and their official expenses such as travelling

expenses during surveys were paid by the Kaitakushi. Thus Antisell could assure Munroe that he would be "able to save a good deal" during his service for the Kaitakushi. Clark in fact sent home $5,000 during his eight-month stay in Japan.[58]

Not all the Americans, however, received so high salaries. The initial salaries of Americans who worked on the Kaitakushi farms, teachers of the Kaitakushi Temporary School, and most of the technicians for railroad construction ranged from $1,200 to $2,100 a year. In the case of Dun, his original salary was $1,500 a year and, even after his five-year service for the Kaitakushi, his salary was still $3,000. The salaries of young professors at Sapporo Agricultural College ranged from $2,500 to $4,800.

Even the lower salaries of these Americans were still better than what they could get at home, but the existence of inequality among American experts irritated some. For example, Holt's original salary, $1,500, in 1872 was sharply raised to $3,200 the following year. But thirty-seven-year-old Holt felt that this was not sufficient, particularly in view of higher salaries paid to other American experts including Munroe, who was a dozen years junior to him and had far less experience. Holt, described by Munroe as "an ordinary man but an extraordinary mechanic," apparently believed that experience, not educational background <u>per se</u>, should be the criterion. Besides, Munroe and others visited Hokkaido only during warm seasons while Holt stayed

with his family all year round in Sapporo where he found everything cost much more than in Tokyo. He told Capron that he would be satisfied only if his salary be made equal to that of Munroe ($4,000).[59] But two years later Holt's salary ($3,600) still did not reach the goal he had set.

The large compensation was one of the powerful attractions which brought these Americans to the shores of Japan, and Capron had been deluged with almost incessant requests for a raise in salary from his assistants and sought to satisfy them as much as he could. A conspicuous discrepancy in the pay of the various members, however, could not avoid bringing discord among the American experts, particularly so when highly-paid Capron was reigning as their chief.

The American experts, who were employed at different times and stayed with the Kaitakushi for different lengths of time, did not form a tight, coherent group. But at least for four years when Capron was in Japan, he acted as their chief. Only he had the authority to choose his foreign assistants, although he had to obtain the approval of the Kaitakushi. He tried to protect this right from the intervention not only of the Japanese but also of other Americans. Lyman, for example, found out that, in spite of Capron's "extremely friendly" attitudes toward him, Capron "seemed to look rather coldly upon any slight approach" that Lyman made toward recommending his acquaintance.[60] Furthermore, Capron not only presented the plans of the development to the Kaitakushi but also suggested what kinds of plants,

trees, seeds, stock, tools, and machinery should be purchased, and, with the consent of the department, placed orders abroad, mostly in the United States. He sometimes sent orders directly to firms or directed American experts, who were about to leave for Japan, to make purchase for the Kaitakushi. But in many cases, especially in the case of livestock, he depended upon his son Albert whom he had designated as a purchasing agent of the Kaitakushi. This arrangement certainly brought profits to his son but also assured Capron that his orders were in the hands of the one whom he could trust. He wrote Albert: "I shall trust to your own good judgment, knowing that you will act for the best interest of this government in whatever you do, also not losing sight of ... my own reputation."[61]

In consultation with Kuroda, Capron also exercised the power to assign his assistants to specific activities. If his assistants, with rare exceptions, did not like their chief to possess such prerogative power, they did not like the way Capron treated them, either. Munroe wrote his parents: "General Capron seems to imagine that he is as the head of a small army and that we other Americans are his 'orderlys' & high privates." To clarify his point, Munroe reproduced a letter he had received from Capron which read:

Tokyo, Japan, Feb'y 10th, 1873

Mr Henry S. Munroe

Sir:

Upon the receipt of this order you will report for duty to Benj Smith Lyman, Geologist & Mining Engineer.

By order &c

Horace Capron[62]

Shelton, a lowly-paid young American, was of the same opinion, describing Capron as "a fussy old man with extravagant notions as to his own importance." Another junior member, Dun, also noticed Capron's "immensely superior air" and aloofness from his American staff. Dun deplored that Capron was not willing to exchange opinions with his assistants so that each American was "assigned to his special little job and each endeavored to do it in the best of his ability, but there was no view in common."[63] Capron's attempt to exercise supervision over his assistants obviously failed to bring about harmony in the American mission.

With Capron or without Capron, American experts had to work under the reign of the Kaitakushi. Soon after Capron's party arrived in Japan in the summer of 1871, the Japanese government had made a few decisions which were to increase the power of the Kaitakushi as well as that of Kuroda. First, in October the government decided to grant the Kaitakushi ten million ryo (approximately equivalent to ten million dollars) for a period of ten years. The magnitude of the Kaitakushi budget comes clear when compared with the budget for all other prefectures. In those days the population of Hokkaido occupied only 0.36 % of the nation, but the Kaitakushi allowance for 1873, for example, was 1,516,125 yen, while the total allowance for all other prefectures for the same year was 3,792,608 yen.[64] Then all the lands in

Hokkaido previously allotted to clans, temples, and various other groups, had been surrendered to and unified under the Kaitakushi. Accordingly the Commissioner of the Kaitakushi was given full authority and responsibility for all the lands and people in Hokkaido, and it was also provided that in the absence of the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner would have complete authority. Although it took nearly three years before Kuroda formally became Commissioner, he was the virtual chief of the Kaitakushi after Commissioner Higashikuze was made Imperial Chamberlain in November, 1871. Under Kuroda's vigorous leadership, the Kaitakushi set to launch its full activities.

However, the activities of the Kaitakushi were seriously hampered by its ill-coordinated organization. By the spring of 1871 the headquarters was established in Sapporo, and the Resident Governor there supervised local administration. Many officials worked in the headquarters and at many branch and sub-branch offices in Hokkaido. But, because Kuroda remained in Tokyo except for his occasional inspection trips to Hokkaido, the office in Tokyo, nominally a branch office, came to have a large clerical force and ultimate decision-making power. Because of the distance and poor communication between Sapporo and Tokyo, such arrangement made it difficult for the Kaitakushi to devise effective and economical measures responsive to the need of the people in Hokkaido. Usually it took from half a month to a few months for a request sent from Hokkaido to be answered.

While a few officials of the Kaitakushi in Hokkaido asked Kuroda to move to Sapporo, the latter, deeply involved in national politics besides the task of developing Hokkaido, refused to do so.[65] Although Kuroda continued to take a strong interest in the mission of the Kaitakushi, his attention was increasingly diverted to other issues such as the dispute over policy toward Korea which ended in splitting the Meiji leadership toward the end of 1873 or a punitive expedition to Taiwan in 1874 to avenge the killing of shipwrecked Ryukyuans by the local aborigines.

The American experts too worked both in Tokyo and Hokkaido. Some of the Americans who worked on the Kaitakushi farm or at the Kaitakushi Temporary School in Tokyo left Japan without even seeing Hokkaido. As for Capron, he felt relieved and took it even "an honor" when he learned that he could stay in Tokyo.[66] He made an inspection trip to Hokkaido once a year in the summer when the climate was agreeable; and he visited Hokkaido only three times during his four-year stay in Japan. On the other hand, some, like Holt, stayed in Hokkaido throughout the year and looked askance at those mining geologists working in Hokkaido during warmer seasons and leaving for Tokyo to spend winter.[67] But from 1875 the Kaitakushi started to shift the focus of its activities from Tokyo to Hokkaido, and soon all American experts were stationed in Hokkaido.

Whether in Tokyo or in Hokkaido, Americans found themselves caught in the complex Kaitakushi organization which

consisted of many bureaus and branch offices. From 1869 to 1881 there were on the average five to six hundred Kaitakushi officials almost exclusively recruited from former samurai.[68] The great deal of contact with these official was inevitable and often frustrating for Americans. Especially the presence of supernumerary officials irritated economy- and efficiency-minded Americans. Besides, the Kaitakushi, like other departments, adhered firmly to a policy of Japanese control and management in employing foreigners. Capron had to report to Kuroda. Other Americans, Capron's assistants, were required to report to Japanese officials for "direction and advice" when they were in Hokkaido.[69] After Capron's departure, American experts were directly placed under Japanese officials. For freedom-loving Americans, such restriction of their power was always a sore source for their frustration and at times the major cause for an open confrontation with the Kaitakushi.[70]

The American Activities

The first American work was a preliminary survey of Hokkaido undertaken by Warfield and Antisell in the fall of 1871. Directed by Capron to inspect the climate, soil, topography, and general resources of Hokkaido, the two Americans left Tokyo on September 27, taking different routes to Sapporo in order to see wider area of Hokkaido, and, on their return in mid-December, they presented reports to their chief. Although their reports both described Hokkaido

as a promising land abundant in waterpower as well as in mineral, agricultural and forestry resources, they sharply differed with regard to the desirability of Sapporo as the capital of Hokkaido. Warfield was favorably impressed with the valley of Ishikari, where Sapporo was located, as a "fertile, beautiful and inviting" place and predicted that Sapporo "must eventually become the great commercial and manufacturing centre of the island." But Antisell, who arrived in Sapporo later than Warfield and had experienced a bad snow storm on his way, located Sapporo in the "sub-frigid zone" and expressed his concern that, not only because of the cold winter but because of the hard access to the place, the people who would gather in the new capital were likely to face the danger of starvation.[71]

Capron ignored the adverse part of Antisell's observation, and, making use of their reports as well as other available information, he wrote his first report and submitted it to Kuroda on January 2, 1872. Besides supporting Sapporo as the site for the capital, Capron's report contained a long list of recommendations for the development of Hokkaido, which included further surveys of its topography and mineral resources, the improvement of transportation, the expansion of agriculture and the establishment of mechanical shops.[72] His recommendations were promptly endorsed by Kuroda and began to be translated into action.

Because maps of Hokkaido previously made by Japanese explorers were not accurate, obtaining precise knowledge

about the island was a prerequisite for its development.[73] In the spring of 1872 Warfield surveyed the area between Hakodate and Sapporo in order to construct a road, and, after his discharge, Wasson and Day took over a survey around Sapporo. A trigonometrical survey of the Ishikari River and its tributaries was mostly conducted by Day who used the methods of the U.S. Coast Survey and the apparatus constructed in Washington under the direction of Julius E. Hilgard, a well-known geodesist of the U.S. Coast Survey. It was the first trigonometrical survey in Japan, but because of various reasons--the delay in the arrival of instruments, the bad weather, and inexperienced Japanese assistants (with some exceptions)--Day could survey only one-fiftieth of the island before his departure in 1876.

Geological and mineralogical surveys were entrusted originally to Antisell but soon were transferred to Lyman and his assistant Munroe. They investigated various mineral deposits, with Munroe focusing his efforts on silver and gold fields and Lyman on oil fields and deposits of coal. While silver, gold, and oil in Hokkaido were found to be of little value, coal was promising. Lyman found the coal at Horonai particularly promising and recommended the working of the mine and laying a railway for the transportation of coal.

The painstaking surveys made by Lyman and Munroe resulted in 18 geological reports and 26 maps. Lyman's General Report on the Geology of Yesso (1877) was particu-

larly ambitious in classifying the area of Hokkaido into seven strata and described the order of strata, stones and rocks, volcanoes, and the mineral products of each stratum. Accompanying this was a colored and lithographed map of all Hokkaido on a scale of 1/2,000,000 which was based on his own surveys, surveys of his colleagues (Antisell and Munroe), and the work done by his Japanese and American predecessors (Ino Tadataka, Matsuura Takeshiro, Blake, and Pumpelly). The seven strata were marked in seven different colors, together with the order and thickness of each stratum, quantities of coal deposits, and origins of various minerals. The map was the first geological map in Japan and his classification, although later heavily criticized, was still a pioneering attempt to describe the general geology of Hokkaido.

The construction of a road from Hakodate to Mori and then Muroran to Sapporo with a steamer connecting Mori and Muroran started in March 1872. The choice of the route was largely due to the unanimous view of the Americans--Capron, Antisell, and Warfield--that Muroran was superior to other places as an entry port to Sapporo. While Warfield, assisted by Wasson and Clark, went ahead surveying, Japanese tree cutters, road-clearing workers, road-laying workers, and bridge builders followed them. It was a large-scale enterprise using more than five thousand laborers in 1872 alone and over two hundred Kaitakushi officials. The survey was mostly done by Warfield; but after his dismissal, the

remaining work was completed by Wasson in June 1873. It was the first long-distance wagon road in Japan, but, because the Kaitakushi, eager to finish the road quickly, recruited a huge force of labor, the construction of a 110-mile-long road cost approximately $840,000.

The Toyohira River, which ran along the eastern side of Sapporo and supplied water for a canal which connected with the Ishikari River, needed a good bridge, but its construction was extremely difficult partly because of wild torrents and partly because of the lack of good stone in the neighborhood. In 1875 Holt drew up plans for two wooden truss bridges and lent his hand in their construction. The bridges completed at the end of the year were broken in the next spring. They were replaced by a bridge whose plan was drawn by Wheeler, but this bridge too was soon severely damaged.

The construction of a railroad for the transportation of coal in Horonai started in 1879. In the previous year the Kaitakushi authorities, learning that they could get a part of the public loan raised by the government for the development of industry, had set up a coal mining bureau with the intention of exploiting coal resources and constructing a railroad for their transportation. Even before then, the Kaitakushi had solicited the opinions of American advisers on the best route to lay a railroad. Opinions were divided. The majority--Capron, Antisell, Warfield, Lyman and Wheeler--were favoraly impressed with the harbor of

Muroran and suggested that railroad run from the coal mines to Muroran, but some, like Clark, who doubted the prospect of Muroran's economic development, recommended another port town, Otaru. Arriving in February 1879, Joseph Crawford examined available maps and reports, and also made his own surveys. His conclusion was that, considering the connection between the first railroad and other railroads to be constructed in the future, the first railroad should be constructed from the Horonai coal mines to Otaru. Under the direction of Crawford, the Japanese succeeded where they had failed earlier in constructing a road in the cliffy area between Sapporo and Otaru. While Crawford went to the United States to recruit American engineers and purchase locomotives and the materials for constructing a railroad, a Japanese engineer who had studied at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York, Matsumoto Soichiro, supervised the construction of a road and tunnel.

In July 1880 Crawford, accompanied by American engineers, came back to Hokkaido. Two months later an American ship arrived in the port of Temiya near Otaru, carrying 1,900 tons of materials which Crawford had ordered. The American engineers set about laying rails, opening tunnels, constructing bridges, and assembling engines in the factories. On November 28, 1880, Temiya and Sapporo were joined with great jubilation; it was the third railway in Japan. The construction of the twenty-two-mile railroad took only eleven months including the period when only the Japanese

worked, and cost about one million dollars or 45,000 dollars per mile. The cost was impressively low, compared with that of the wagon road from Hakodate to Sapporo. The railroad was extended to Horonai in 1882.

Capron's own work started with establishing experimental farms in Tokyo. About 112-acre land, cleared by eight hundred Japanese workers, consisted of three sections: a farm for grain and vegetable crops; a nursery for fruit trees, forestry stock, and shrubs; and a farm for livestock breeding and raising animal feed. They were supervised by Capron's assistants--Shelton, Taylor, Boehmer, Dun, and Brown. In Hokkaido, there were three Kaitakushi farms directed by Japanese officials and annually inspected by Capron. The farms both in Tokyo and Hokkaido were intended for experimentation in the production of food plants (some were native, but most of them were from abroad, particularly from the United States), the introduction of improved breeds of livestock, and the introduction of farm implements and machinery. In addition, the farm in Tokyo was a way station for imported livestock and nursery plants, and a place where young Japanese would receive practical training from American experts.

After Capron's departure, Hokkaido became the main stage of American activities. By 1876 Boehmer and Dun moved to Sapporo, and in the same year Sapporo Agricultural College opened with American professors on the staff. Boehmer walked all over Hokkaido to examine fruit trees and plants,

and then devoted himself to the cultivation of a variety of fruit and plants in Hokkaido, achieving remarkable success, especially in cultivating apples; and his research on hops ultimately led to beer brewing industry in Sapporo. He also supervised a planthouse of his own until it was transferred to Sapporo Agricultural College. Dun worked for the development of cattle breeding. He set up a sheep pasture, a cattle ranch, and a dairy in the neighborhood of Sapporo, and expanded the Niikappu farm into a large stud farm. On the dairy farm he made butter, cheese, condensed milk, ham, and sausage as experiments. Constructing a race track in Sapporo was also his idea; he conceived it as a means of stimulating Japanese interest in the improvement of horses.

The establishment of Sapporo Agricultural College accelerated the activities to introduce Western agricultural methods into Hokkaido. No sooner than the college started, Clark obtained 247-acre land from the Kaitakushi to establish an experimental farm. The farm was modelled after the College Farm at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, as was a large barn, 50 by 100 feet, with a manure cellar, some 84 feet by 50 feet, whose plans were drawn by Wheeler. It was the first Western-style barn in Japan. Brooks worked as a superintendent of the farm for nearly a dozen years. During this period the farm, which was expanded to contain 1,200 acres in addition to its 835 acres of uncultivated land, was used to produce various crops, cultivate animal

feed, experiment in dairy products, introduce drainage-pipes and other numerous kinds of farm implements and machinery imported from the United States, distribute seeds among farmers, and offer farmers the service of cross-breeding between their cattle and a better breed of cattle imported from the United States. Furthermore, an agricultural fair started in 1878 at the suggestion of Brooks, and an agricultural monthly was also published with an intention of distributing useful information among settlers.

Taken all together, in the Kaitakushi farms and the college farm, a great number and variety of agricultural products, farm implements and machinery, and livestock were introduced by American agricultural experts during a relatively short period. They demonstrated, among other things, the use of plows, harrows, rollers, drills, cultivators, harvesters, hay-making machines, threshers, cleaners, small hand implements, and stock farm utensils. Many varieties of field crops such as wheat, oats, barley, millet, corn, potatoes, onions, and cabbages were planted. Pasturages were not only covered with many kinds of American grasses but also dotted with a variety of cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses imported from the United States. Almost all kinds of vegetable seeds and fruit plants were imported from the United States and their suitability to the soil of Hokkaido was tested; for example, seventy-five varieties of apples, fifty-three varieties of pears, thirty varieties of grapes, and twenty-five varieties of cherries were experimented.

There were successes as well as failures. Among notable failures was sugar beet which Clark believed would produce a high farm income in Hokkaido but which Dun and Brooks judged otherwise after three-year experimentation of a wide variety of seeds.

With a view to convert natural resources of Hokkaido into commercially profitable products, Capron directed to establish a model plant in Sapporo, where Holt and his assistant, Sandford Clark, constructed a forge, a steam lumber mill, a water-wheel lumber mill, and a grist mill, and instructed Japanese in their operation. These mills were expected specifically to promote lumbering and flour milling industries in Hokkaido. Tanneries were also started at Hakodate, Sapporo, and Nemuro under Werve's supervision. Finally, Treat and his assistant, Swett, gave Japanese instruction in canning salmon, which led to the construction of the Kaitakushi canneries for salmon, oysters, and later fruit, at several spots in Hokkaido. Treat also introduced artificial hatching of salmon for the first time in Japan.

Although no American was specifically in charge of housing in Hokkaido, suggestions and advice given by a few Americans somewhat changed the landscape. The building of the Kaitakushi headquarters in Sapporo constructed in the fall of 1873 was based on an outline plan drawn by Holt and looked very much like a state building in the United States. Capron's suggestion that houses in Hokkaido should stand the cold climate also led to the building of Western-style

houses with glass windows, doors, and wooden floor for employed foreigners as well as for Kaitakushi officials. The woods used were those provided by Holt's mills. When Wheeler drew plans for college buildings such as a barn, a storage, a military hall (later called Clock Tower due to the installation of a large clock made in the United States), he introduced the so-called "balloon frame" structure popular in the frontier of the Midwest. The style was soon copied when the Kaitakushi built houses for militia settlers.

In order to train young Japanese for leadership in the development of Hokkaido, the Kaitakushi not only sent students, including girls, abroad, mostly to the United States,[74] but also set up a school in Tokyo. The Kaitakushi Temporary School opened in May 1872 offered basic courses to about one hundred students, who were obliged to work in Hokkaido for several years in return for exemption of tuition and an allowance for living expenses supplied by the Kaitakushi.[75] In March 1873 the school was temporarily closed because many students were found to be neither capable nor well-disciplined enough to follow class work. The school reopened the following month with fifty students who had passed screening examinations. A girls' section was also established in October 1872, reflecting Kuroda's view that the future Kaitakushi officials would need to have educated wives. This meant that, after graduation, the girl students were expected to marry the graduates of the Kai-

takushi school.[76]

Apart from their titles, the substance of the activities of the American teachers is not clear. Antisell was Assistant Director, and Wasson was a teacher of the English language and science. Somehow the subjects Americans were expected to teach increased cumulatively. Bates was a teacher of "reading, mathematics, geography, and history," and Rockwell who succeeded Bates was a teacher of "reading, astronomy, geography, history, composition, dictation, and writing," later holding an additional post of "a professor of science." When the Kaitakushi Temporary School moved to Sapporo and was opened as Sapporo School, Corwin was a teacher of "reading, astronomy, geography, history, natural philosophy, composition, mathematics, dictation, and writing"--almost a jack of all trades. Bates in particular was remembered by some Japanese as the first foreigner who introduced baseball by teaching the Kaitakushi students with a bat and three balls he had brought from the United States.[77] When the school was still in Tokyo, although not formal teachers, Lyman and Munroe gave students instruction in subjects related to mining and geology and took them as assistants during their survey and engaged them in the making of maps afterwards. The girls' school was taught by two Dutch women when it was in Tokyo and by a British in Sapporo, but it was closed in September 1876.

In the meantime the plans for establishing an agricultural college were under way. The four Kaitakushi offi-

cials, including the two who had studied at the Massachusetts Agricultural College (MAC), were ordered to prepare a plan for a new school, and in the beginning of 1875 they recommended the establishment of a four-year agricultural college whose curriculum would more or less follow that of MAC. This initial influence of MAC was greatly augmented by the arrival of the President of MAC, Clark, and two graduates of MAC, Wheeler and Penhallow, in May 1876.

In September 1876 Sapporo Agricultural College opened with twenty-four freshmen and a faculty of four Americans (the three from MAC and Corwin) and five Japanese besides Director Dzusho Hirotake; Sapporo School had become a preparatory class which had twenty-six students. Clark prepared the curriculum of Sapporo Agricultural College which, largely modelled on that of MAC, aimed to offer a wide variety of subjects--practical as well as theoretical ones, and scientific subjects as well as the liberal arts. Soon military drill, manual labor, and field trips, especially in botany and zoology, were added to the curriculum, again like that of MAC. One unique aspect of Sapporo Agricultural College was that the graduates were obliged to become employees of the Kaitakushi for a term of five years in return for free education and an allowance for living expenses.

Clark taught the English language and botany at college.[78] He also taught the Bible for moral education, thus successfully making the college one of the three major centers of Protestant Chistianity in the early Meiji Ja-

pan.[79] Wheeler taught algebra and Penhallow taught chemistry at college; they also taught the English language and arithmetic in the preparatory course. Corwin taught geography to preparatory class. It took two years, however, for the staff of the college to achieve a certain degree of variety worthy of an agricultural college. Then agriculture was taught by Brooks; chemistry, botany, geology by Penhallow; mathematics, physics, civil engineering by Wheeler; and physiology, anatomy, veterinary science, and English literature by Cutter. When Wheeler left for the United States, his field was entrusted to Peabody. Classes by these Americans were conducted in English, and textbooks, reference books, laboratory equipments as well as agricultural implements and machines for farming practice were all ordered from the United States.

While these Americans devoted themselves to teaching, they also acted as experts for the Kaitakushi in their respective fields. Especially because Capron was no longer in Japan, Clark was often consulted on the programs relating to the general development of Hokkaido. Wheeler set up a weather station to compile meteorological records, surveyed routes for possible roads and railroads, and drew plans for the Toyohira bridge as well as for college buildings. Penhallow helped to establish a botanical garden and a college laboratory, and worked on various pilot projects such as manufacturing soap, candles, improved leathers, and fish oil. Brooks spent a dozen years for supervising the

experimental farm, and Cutter served as a medical adviser to the Kaitakushi and Sapporo Hospital during his eight-year residence in Sapporo.

Although much smaller in scale and less formal in organization than either the Kaitakushi School or Sapporo Agricultural College, there was a medical school in Hakodate set up by Eldridge. In May 1872 Eldridge, relieved from his duties as Capron's secretary, was sent to Hakodate Hospital as a surgeon-in-chief of the Kaitakushi. While treating patients, he taught seventeen students at the small medical school attached to the hospital. He gave lectures for two hours every day and let the students observe his operations.[80] In the beginning of 1874 Eldridge started to publish a medical bi-monthly titled Kinsei-i-setsu [Modern Medical Science] in order to provide Japanese doctors and medical students with information on "the newest and most valuable improvements in medical science together with more or less instruction." When the third issue was published, his term came to an end. In spite of its short life, the publication of the journal meant to Eldridge, in his own words, "the honor of establishig the first regular medical journal of the Empire."[81]

Even a quick survey of the American work shows that the American experts worked extensively for the development of Hokkaido. What they thought and felt through their experience of working in an alien land will be discussed in the following chapters.

NOTES

1. John C. Bancroft Davis to the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States in Japan, 6 July 1871, copy, FLC.

2. Capron, Memorandum, 17 April 1871, CLC.

3. For a more detailed background of Capron, see chapter three of this dissertation.

4. Nathan Reingold, ed., The Papers of Joseph Henry, vol.1: The Albany Years, December 1979-October 1832 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), xviii.

5. Henry to Lesley, 8 May 1871, JPL.

6. Lesley to Henry, 9 May 1871, CLC; Lyman to Henry, 9 June 1871, CLC. For a more detailed account of Lyman, see chapter four of this dissertation.

7. Dana to Capron, 16 June 1871, CLC; Hague to Henry, 20 June 1871, CLC.

8. Blake to Pratt, 16 June 1871, CLC.

9. The sources for Antisell's background are The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1926 ed., s.v. "Antisell, Thomas"; Wyndham D. Miles, "CSW'S First President, Thomas Antisell," The Capital Chemist 18 (January 1968), 7-9; Antisell to Henry, 29 September 1848, HSI; and Capron to Kuroda, 9 October 1873, draft, CYU.

10. Capron to Kuroda, 9 October 1873, draft, CYU.

11. Herbert H. Gowen, "An American Pioneer in Japan," Washington Historical Quarterly 20 (January 1929), 15.

12. Latrobe to Henry, 28 May 1871, HSI; Latrobe to Capron, 15 September 1872, CLC.

13. Henry to Lesley, 17 May 1871, JPL; Poole to Lesley, 18 May 1871, JPL; Capron to Mori Arinori, 22 May 1871, copy, CLC; Mori to Capron, 25 May 1871, CLC; Henry to Capron, 14 July 1871, CLC.

14. The sources for Eldridge's background are Onishi Yasuhisa, ed., Oyatoi ishi Erudoriggi no tegami: Kaitakushi

gekaicho no shogai [The Letters of the Employed Doctor Eldridge: The Life of the Surgeon-in-Chief of the Kaitakushi] (Sapporo: Miyama Shobo, 1981); "Charges Made by Gen. H. Capron Against Doct. Stuart Eldridge," 18 August 1872, draft, CYU; and Frederic Heath to Mrs. E. Tallmadge, 10 November 1943, Waukesha County Museum, Waukesha, Wisconsin.

15. Quoted in Waukesha Freeman, 31 August 1893.

16. Horatio Smith to Henry M. Smith [later Henry S. Munroe], 17 July 1871, MCU. According to a list of 79 employees of the Department of Agriculture, Capron ranks the first, Antisell fourth, and Eldridge ninth. "Clerks and Employees, July 1870," CLC.

17. Capron, "The Memoirs of Horace Capron," 2 vols., typed copy, National Agricultural Library, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Maryland, 2: 6.

18. Kuroda to Seiin [Central Chamber of the Council of State], 14 February 1872 [22 March 1872, according to the solar calendar], KK, vol. 5495.

19. Grant to Capron, 23 June 1871, CLC.

20. Capron to Henry, 20 September 1871, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Capron to Albert B. Capron, 29 October 1871, CLC; William S. Saunders to Capron, 24 January 1872, CYU.

21. Gowen, 12-23; Miles to Capron, 7 March 1872, CYU.

22. The sources for Boehmer's background are Hokkaido Prefectural Government, Foreign Pioneers: A Short History of the Contribution of Foreigners to the Development of Hokkaido (Sapporo: Hokkaido Prefectural Government, 1968), 117; and Saunders to Capron, 24 January 1872, CYU. For Holt and Clark, see Foreign Pioneers, 125; and Capron, "The Memoirs of Horace Capron," 2: 104. For Werve, see Capron to Albert B. Capron, 20 December 1871, CLC; and David F. Anthony, "The Administration of Hokkaido under Kuroda Kiyotaka, 1870-1881" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1951), 142.

23. Capron to Hague, 26 March 1872, copy, LHSP; Capron to Henry, 26 March 1872, HSI; Henry to Capron, 26 July 1872, LHSP.

24. For a more detailed account of Munroe, see chapter five of this dissertation.

25. Capron to Robeson, 22 March 1873, copy, CYU; Robeson to Capron, 20 May 1873, CYU.

26. For a more detailed account of Dun, see chapter

five.

27. Capron to Yasuda Sadanori, 14, 18, 30 October 1873, copies, CYU.

28. Randolph's background here is gathered from Munroe to Capron, 22 September 1872, CYU; Munroe to Henry, 9 November 1872, HSI; Randolph to Munroe, 12 July 1875, MCU.

29. Randolph to Capron, May 1873, CYU; Randolph to Munroe, 29 May 1873, MCHS. For the dispute between Randolph and the Kaitakushi, see Harada Kazufumi, Oyatoi gaikokujin: Kaitaku [Foreign Employees: Development of Hokkaido](Tokyo: Kashima Shuppankai, 1975), 149-59.

30. Lyman to Mary [Lyman], 22 January 1875, copy, LFL.

31. Ibid. For Rockwell's background, Rockwell to Henry, 13 April, 1877, HSI; and Rockwell's records at New York University and Columbia University.

32. Little information is available about Corwin, except his description by Wheeler as "a young New York man." Wheeler to his mother, 10 August 1876, WUM.

33. Kuroda to Yoshida, 10 August 1875, in Hokkaido Daigaku, ed., Hokudai hyakunen-shi: Sapporo nogakko shiryo, I [The Centennial History of the University of Hokkaido: Documents of Sapporo Agricultural College, I] (Sapporo: Gyosei, 1981), 176.

34. Clark to Northrop, 4 November 1876, in Hokkaido Imperial University, The Semi-Centennial of the Hokkaido Imperial University, Japan, 1876-1926 (Sapporo: Hokkaido Imperial University, 1927), 7-8.

35. Capron to Clark, 9 May 1871, copy, CLC.

36. Ohta Yuzo, Clark no ichinen: Sapporo nogakko shodai kyoto no nihon taiken [Clark's One Year: The Japanese Experience of the First President of Sapporo Agricultural College) (Kyoto: Showado, 1979), 10.

37. Amherst Record, 17 May 1876. According to the record of "Gathering in Honor of William P. Brooks, January 14, 1919" (University of Massachusetts Library, Amherst), H.E. Stockbridge, a graduate of MAC who taught at Sapporo Agricultural College much later than Clark's group, also recalled the comment as given by the first Japanese minister to the United States. Clark, however, attributed the comments not to Mori alone but to the Japanese mission which Mori accompanied, writing in his article that "they exclaimed at once, 'This is the institution for Japan, for this will teach our people both to feed and to defend them-

selves.'" "The Agriculture of Japan," Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture (Boston: Rand Abery, Co., 1879), 112.

38. Hokkaido Daigaku, ed., Hokudai hyakunenshi: Tsusetsu [The Centennial History of the University of Hokkaido: Survey] (Sapporo: Gyosei, 1981), 32-33.

39. For a more detailed account of Clark, see chapter six.

40. Clark's contracts, both in English and Japanese, are in CFE.

41. For more detailed accounts of Wheeler, Penhallow, and Brooks, see chapter six.

42. They happened to be both substitutes. Wheeler named Dr. Emerson as the first candidate of professor of physiology and comparative anatomy and J.H. Morse of Salem as the first candidate of professor of mathematics and engineering. Wheeler to his mother, 28 January 1878, WUM; Wheeler to his sister, 21 October 1878, WUM.

43. Foreign Pioneers, 121.

44. Dictionary of American Biography, 1934 ed., s.v. "Peabody, Selim Hobart"; The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1935 ed., s.v. "Peabody, Cecil Hobart"; Girling, Katherline Peabody, Selim Hobart Peabody: A Biography by His Daughter (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1923); and Peabody to William E. Griffis, 14 July 1923, GRU. The dispute was concerned with the experiment on the circulation of sap in plants, conducted by Clark, Peabody, and a few others. Peabody, who took a leading role in the experiment, resented the publication of the report in the name of Clark. Girling, 110, and John Maki, "William Smith Clark: A Yankee in Hokkaido" (1975), IV, 34-38.

45. Capron to Burnham & Morrill, 21 June 1877, copy, CYU; Burnham & Morrill to Capron, 28 June 1877, CYU; Capron to Kuroda, 16 July 1877, copy, CYU.

46. Scott to Yoshida, 17 September, 3 October 1878, CFE.

47. Michael Van Remortel, "Poronai tetsudo no Amerikajin gishitachi" [American Engineers Employed for the Poronai Railroad], in Sapporo Kyoiku Iinkai, ed., Oyatoi gaikokujin [Foreign Employees] (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shimbunsha, 1981), 69-70.

48. Gaujot to Rothwell, 4 November 1878, copy, CFE; Rothwell to Yoshida, 5 November 1878, copy, CFE; Blandy to Yoshida, 15 November 1878, copy, CFE.

49. Harada, 59-62.

50. Capron to his son [Albert], 7 September 1871, CLC.

51. The following account of the length of engagement and salaries of the American experts was mostly based upon Harada, 108-115; and his article, "Sapporo eno michi" [The Way to Sapporo], in Sapporo Kyoiku Iinkai, ed., Oyatoi gaikokujin [Foreign Employees], 25-27.

52. In the cases of Brooks, Dun, and Cutter, the length of engagement includes the period when they were under the employ of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce which took over the most part of the work of the Kaitakushi after the latter was abolished.

53. Some American experts received salaries in U.S. or Mexican dollars and others in yen, but, since at the rate of exchange then current the yen and the dollar were almost the same in value, the salaries of foreign experts as well as those of Japanese were all described in dollars here.

54. The highest paid foreign employee was W.W. Cargill (1872-77), director of the government railways and telegraphs, who received an annual salary of $24,000, but this was an extreme case. Hazel J. Jones, Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 87.

55. Kaninroku [Records of Officials] (Tokyo: Juntakusha, 1874), reprinted in Meiji shoki no kaninroku shokuinroku [Records of Officials and Clerks in Early Meiji], ed. Teraoka Juichi, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Teraoka Shodo, 1976-81), 2: 36.

56. The salaries of Capron, Antisell, Eldridge in the Department of Agriculture were listed in "Clerks and Employees, July 1870," CLC; Munroe's salary was mentioned in Neddy H. Chandler to Munroe, 2 August 1870, MCU.

57. Some alumni of the college, for example, recommended the reduction of the president's salary to $2,250 instead of the third of the college income it represented. An Address to the Trustees of Massachusetts Agricultural College Concerning Its Management, from the Associate Allumni, Boston, January 13, 1879 (Boston: Press of George H. Ellis, 1879), 4-8.

58. Antisell to Smith [Munroe], 20 July 1872, MCHS; Clark to his wife, 5 March 1877, copy, CUM.

59. Munroe to his parents, 9 March 1873, MCHS; Holt to Capron, 15 November 1873, CYU.

60. Lyman to Delham, 7 November 1874, copy, LFL.

61. Capron to his son, 4 December 1872, CLC.

62. Munroe to his parents, 23 February 1873, MCHS.

63. Munroe, Journal, 23 August 1874, MCHS; Shelton's remarks, quoted in Gowen, 15; Dun, "Reminiscences of Nearly a Half Century in Japan," typed copy, Unversity of Hokkaido Library, Sapporo, Hokkaido.

64. Iguro, 51.

65. Matsumoto Juro monjo [Papers Relating to Matsumoto Juro], ed. Iguro Yataro (Sapporo: Hokkaido Kyodoshiryo Kenkyukai, 1963), 31-34.

66. Capron to his son, 7 September 1871, CLC.

67. Holt to Capron, 15 November 1873, CYU.

68. Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 9 vols. (Sapporo: Shin Hokkaido-si Insatsushuppan Kigyotai, 1969-81), 3: 696.

69. Kuroda to Capron, 8 April 1873, CYU.

70. For disputes arising from the Japanese control, see especially chapter four of this dissertation.

71. A. G. Warfield, "Report," in ROL, 25-26. Capron intentionally did not include any report written by Antisell in ROL, so Antisell's report on his survey is available only in Japanese translation as "Antisell chosho" [Antisell Report] in Kyoshi hobunroku [Advisers' Reports], handwritten copy, University of Hokkaido Library, Sapporo, Hokkaido. Antisell refers to his experience of the snow storm in his letter to Capron, 12 November 1871, CLC.

72. Capron, "The First Annual Report," in ROL, 39-51.

73. The following account of the American work is based upon Foreign Pioneers; Sapporo Kyoiku Iinkai, ed., Oyatoi gaikokujin [Foreign Employees]; Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], vol. 3 ; Hokkaido-cho, ed., Shinsen Hokkaido-shi [Newly Compiled History of Hokkaido], 7 vols. (Sapporo: Hokkaido-cho, 1937), vol. 3; and Tohoku Imperial University [predecessor of the University of Hokkaido], College of Agriculture, American Influence upon the Agriculture of Hokkaido, Japan (Sapporo: Tohoku Imperial University, 1915).

74. In 1871-72 the Kaitakushi sent 24 students to the United States, six to Russia, and three to France. Hokudai

hyakunen-shi: Tsusetsu [The Centennial History of the University of Hokkaido: Survey], 5-6. While none of the five girl students sent to the United States by the Kaitakushi made any direct contribution to the development of Hokkaido, Tsuda Ume, who went to the United States at the age of seven and later graduated from Bryn Mawr, founded Joshi Eigakujuku [Women's English School], the predecessor of the present Tsuda College, in 1900 and made a great contribution toward training capable and independent women. See Yamazaki Takako, Tsuda Umeko (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1962).

75. The students who paid tuition were obliged to work for five years and those on free tuition for ten years. The best sources for the history of the Kaitakushi Temporary School and Sapporo Agricultural College are Hokudai hyakunenshi: Tsusetsu [The Centennial History of the University of Hokkaido: Survey] and Hokudai hyakunenshi: Sapporo nogakko shiryo I [The Centennial History of Hokkaido: Documents of Sapporo Agricultural College I].

76. The regulation was removed in November 1874.

77. Oshima Masatake, Clark sensei to sono deshitachi [Professor Clark and His Students] (3d ed. rev.; Tokyo: Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1958; rept. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1973), 64-65.

78. The teaching burden changed from time to time in the case of Clark as well as in those of other American professors.

79. The other two centers were Yokohama under the influence of American pioneer missionaries and Kumamoto under the influence of Captain Leroy L. Janes, a graduate of the West Point.

80. Onishi Yasuhisa, 22-23.

81. Eldridge to His Imperial Majesty, 26 March 1874, copy, CFE.

CHAPTER III

HORACE CAPRON: A MESSENGER OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Horace Capron, who stayed in Japan as the chief foreign adviser to the Kaitakushi for three years and nine months, from August 1871 to May 1875, played the most influential role in providing the department with information, advice, and plans for the development of Hokkaido. He devoted himself to what he called "the great Mission"[1]--the mission of introducing Western civilization into Japan, believing that its success would not only benefit Japan but also enhance his reputation as well as the prestige of the United States. However, Capron, almost sixty-seven years old when he set foot on Japan, often became frustrated in the pursuit of his mission, painfully realizing the great gulf not only between Western and Japanese cultures but also between his patrician and paternalistic values and the more individualistic values of some of his American assistants.

A Long Prelude

Horace Capron was born on August 31, 1804, in Attleboro, Massachusetts, the fourth son of Seth Capron, a physician.[2] Horace came from a not especially distinguished but

a substantial old Yankee family. He was the sixth generation in descent from Banfield Capron, a native of Cheshire County, England, who migrated to Massachusetts in 1660.[3] Horace's father served in the Revolution and studied medicine under an eminent and wealthy physician, Bezaleel Mann, whose daughter he later married. Horace's mother traced her ancestry to the Reverand Samuel Mann, who was born in Attleboro in 1647, graduated from Harvard College and became the first minister of Wrentham, Massachusetts. Horace Mann, a famous educator, was also among Samuel Mann's descendants.

When Horace was two years old, his family moved to Oneida County, New York. Though his father practiced medicine there, he was too much a man of energy and enterprise to be content simply with a single profession. In tune with the rise of mills on the east coast of the United States at that time, Seth Capron, organizing a company of leading men in the area, erected a cotton mill in 1807 and a woollen mill two years later. These pioneering achievements foreshadowed the future importance of the area in the textile industry.[4] Encouraged by handsome profits during the War of 1812 and motivated by patriotic zeal as well, Capron organized another cotton mill near New Hartford in 1814, but his factories could not survive the free admission of foreign manufactured goods after the war was over. In 1825 he moved to Orange County, where he worked with others to establish the manufacturing village of Walden. The great disappointment for Horace was that he could not afford to receive the

college education which his older brothers had enjoyed when his father's business was successful.[5] After his hope to receive an appointment to West Point did not materialize, he "very naturally drifted into the manufacturing business" in which his father and oldest brother were extensively engaged at Walden.[6]

Fortunately, Horace inherited his father's energy and spirit of enterprise. In 1829, after having learned various aspects of manufacturing business, including the construction of mills and machinery, as an apprentice at his father's mills and also at the large mills operated by the Schencks in Dutchess County, he was entrusted with the supervision of textile factories in Maryland, and his successful management soon brought him into favorable notice in the area. In 1833-34 when riots broke out among Irish workers on the Baltimore and Washington Railroad, creating, in Capron's words, "a reign of terror" throughout the whole surrounding country, he assumed the responsibility of organizing a volunteer force to handle these "desperadoes" and "scoundrels." Capron and others "rode down upon [rioters] shouting and firing." In recognition of his service, the Governor of Maryland, James Thomas, appointed him major in the summer of 1834 and promoted him to colonel in March 1835.[7]

Capron's life went on smoothly when he married a daughter of the wealthy and aristocratic Snowden family in Montpelier, Maryland, in 1834. He came to possess a large

estate in Prince Georges County partly through purchase, but mainly through his wife's inheritance. In 1836 Capron organized a cotton mill, and over the years he established the flourishing village of Laurel. Just as the mansion the Caprons lived in overlooked the village, so Capron took a distinctly paternalistic attitude toward the villagers. While the factories built by Capron--two cotton mills, one foundry, one machine shop--gave employment to over seven hundred operatives and supported a population of over two thousand, he saw to it that they received intellectual, moral, and religious instruction by providing them with an assembly room, a lyceum, a school, and three churches for different denominations (a Catholic chapel, a Methodist meeting house, and an Episcopal church), in addition to fifty blocks of two-story stone and brick houses. Capron was satisfied to see the villagers "who were taken mostly from the half starved and idle population of Virginia and Maryland placed in comfortable--nay to them--luxurious quarters." Capron maintained the "generally orderly character of the village" by prohibiting the sale of liquor. He also resolved all private disputes of the villagers, and was pleased that "there was no legal, municipal, or majesterial authority exercised or required over that population" during his superintendence of some fifteen years.[8]

Like other old Maryland farms, Capron's large piece of land surrounding the settlement had been worn out by successive cultivation of tobacco and corn. To improve the

general aspect of the village, he set out to renovate the land. By the liberal use of fertilizers, effective drainage, deep ploughing, cultivating grass and crops suitable to the soil, Capron developed a prosperous dairy farm and raised the value of the land from seven dollars per acre in 1836 to sixty dollars in 1847.[9] By his successful management of his farm and his frequent contributions to the agricultural press, Capron became widely known as a progressive scientific agriculturalist. Capron recalled: "It is no fiction of the imagination to say that these improvements and my communications attracted the attention of the press from Maine to Georgia. I have in my library over one thousand comments taken from the papers and agricultural publications of that time--and have no reason for the belief that one half of what was said and written ever reached me."[10] Capron's claim may not be so exaggerated, for the editor of the American Farmer wrote in 1848, "The name of Col. Horace Capron, of Laurel, Prince George's county, is as familiar to agricultural readers throughout the country as the names of their immediate neighbors."[11] Capron's farming led to his election as Vice President of the Maryland State Agricultural Society in 1848.[12] In 1849 Capron, a Whig who had generously given his time and money to the party in the state,[13] was invited by President Zachary Taylor to the White House, and the President in turn visited and stayed at Capron's farm. In 1850 the Governor of Maryland, Phlip F. Thomas, appointed Capron, widely regarded as "a benefactor

to the farming interests of Maryland,[14]" to represent the state at the London International Exhibition.

By this time, however, Capron's good fortune was slipping away. He suffered severely from the tariff of 1846 and had to struggle desperately against the subsequent depression. In the meantime his wife died, and in 1850 he had to give up his estate as well as his share of the manufacturing corporation. Influential friends helped him obtain a commission as special agent to the Indians in northern Texas in March 1852; his assignment was to persuade the Indians to move across the Red River to the reservations in Oklahoma.

Capron's "sympathies were entirely with the Indians"; he pitied "oppressed and starving" and "helpless" natives hovering around the borders of Texas "without one foot of territory they [could] call their own." He condemned the frontiersmen who committed all kinds of treachery in their transactions with the natives; they were, Capron charged, "a mixture of all the baser elements of Europe, Mexico and America ... who had fled their country to avoid the punishment which, the laws properly administered at home, would have consigned them to the penitentiary or the gallows," and who "were far more dangerous, and much more to be dreaded than the most savage of our Indian tribes." The U.S. government made things worse. As Capron reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea, he learned, for example, that, based upon false rumors of Indian depredations, one commanding general issued orders to kill the Indians;

some were killed, their camp burnt, the tribe scattered, and their property taken away as trophies of war. Capron felt that Indians could not but become "brutal and savage" under such circumstances. Capron's mission was terminated in December 1853 by the new Democratic administration. Prior to his departure, he called the attention of the new Commissioner George W. Manypenny to the sufferings of Indians. He entertained little hope that his suggestions would be heeded, and in this he was not mistaken.[15]

Having accumulated some capital, he decided to devote himself to agriculture and planned a peaceful life with his children and his new wife. In 1854 he settled in northern Illinois, where he was engaged in the breeding of cattle and the raising of horses. As "the country's most famous breeder of Devon cattle,"[16] Capron was appointed to the executive committees of state and national agricultural societies. In the fall of 1859, he moved to Peoria County, Illinois, considering its genial climate more suitable for cattle.

However, Capron's peaceful life was suddenly interrupted by the Civil War. Although nearly sixty, Capron was commissioned to raise a regiment--the 14th Illinois Cavalry. He took part in thirty-four engagements, including General Stoneman's raid on Andersonville, Georgia, and witnessed the horrors of war. It was "painful," Capron later recalled, to observe "the terrific destruction of valuable property" and "the barbarities which so often followed in the wake of these raids by both parties to the contest."[17]

Wounded severely in November 1864, Capron was discharged and in March of the following year he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers by brevet. But the war had disrupted his life: all his three sons went to war, and the eldest was killed, while two others came home wounded. Besides, while Capron and his sons were on the battlefield, his neglected farm fell into poor condition. Capron had to find means to support his family.

His friends, including governors and senators of Maryland and Illinois, intervened to get him the position of Commissioner of Agriculture, vacant since the death of the first Commisioner, Isaac Newton. Although there were about thirty candidates, including Frederick L. Olmstead, a well-known land-scape architect, Capron's national reputation in the field of farming and breeding and Middle Western and conservative border state support made him a generally acceptable compromise. He was confirmed by the Senate with only three dissenting votes in November 1867.[18]

The Department of Agriculture had been established only five years before and its head, the Commissioner, was not a cabinet member. Although the functions of the Department were mostly limited to the collection and distribution of seeds and plants, and the gathering and publishing of agricultural information, it nevertheless faced the traditional fears of centralized control. Senator James W. Grimes of Iowa, for example, charged: "The idea of one man here at Washington undertaking to tell the people of this

country, extending as it does through so many parallels of latitude and longitude, what may be the particular fruits or cereals adapted to a particular kind of soil or climate, is a great humbug."[19] There was also a widely-shared suspicion that the Department would be another refuge for place-hunters; and actually not a few useless or incompetent hangers-on encumbered the payrolls. Furthermore, even those who had welcomed the Department were bitterly disappointed at the incompetent first Commissioner.[20]

Capron, sensitive to the criticism that the Department had been wasting money, set to reduce its expenditures by dismissing a considerable number of, mostly female, employees: nearly two hundred clerks and laborers under his predecessor were reduced to less than one hundred under Capron.[21] His commitment to economy was also displayed when he completed the erection of a new building for the Department within the original appropriation, which was not an ordinary achievement. At the same time, Capron not only expanded practical services for farmers but also established the division of botany under a scientific botanist; his appreciation of a specialized range of work enabled him to avoid the dissension between scientists and administrators which had often afflicted the Department.[22]

Capron's efficient administration won general approval. Even the press of the East, which, with less interest in agriculture than other sections, had been unappreciative of the Department of Agriculture, shared the general senti-

ment that "we have the right man in the right place," as the Massachusetts Ploughman put it. The fact that Capron was not a professional scientist but a dairy farmer who had toiled his land might have been one reason for his popularity. Rural New Yorker wrote: "He knows the capabilities and the wants of the North, the South and the West, and appears to realize his opportunity, through the agency of his office, to increase by millions the wealth of the country. Yet his enthusiasm for progress ... is tempered by the discretion of age and wisdom gained in the school of experience."[23] Members of Congress were also favorably impressed. In the Senate Justin Morrill of Vermont praised Capron saying that he was "not spending anything extravagantly," and that the Department was "managed with extreme economy, showing more work for the amount of money appropriated to his Department than any other department of the Government." Joseph Henry too found that members of Congress, including the powerful Senator Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, regarded Capron as "by far the best man that has ever been in that office."[24] Capron maintained the confidence of the farming interest, Congress, and the administration so fully that there was no thought of a new Commissioner until Capron himself decided to resign to head the mission to Japan.[25]

Capron's considerable record of achievement--supervision of textile factories, renovation of worn-out land, developing one of the finest stock farms in the country, and raising the Department of Agriculture in the estimation of

the public--all indicated his capacity for systematic, orderly, and efficient management as well as his appreciation of scientific progress. Also, stories of the Revolutionary War in which his father fought, the memory of the War of 1812 when his father built American factories, the Civil War in which Capron himself fought for his country, and his subsequent service for the federal government--all made Capron an American proud of his country and concerned with its prestige. His paternalism toward the villagers of Lawrel and the Indians of Texas as well as his contempt for rioters and the frontier adventurers also manifested his sense of being a custodian of traditional American values.

Capron's background suggests that he took the new job offered by the Japanese government in May 1871 in the conviction that his varied and extensive knowledge would be of the greatest value for the development of the Japanese frontier. Also, the task appealed to his patriotism, for its execution by Americans seemed to him "to contribute to the friendly relations which are growing up" between the United States and Japan.[26] It cannot be denied, however, that Capron had pecuniary needs in mind too; his youngest son, severely burnt in a hotel fire the previous winter, became totally blind and had to depend financially upon his father.[27] Capron's salary ($3,000) as Commissioner of Agriculture was far from sufficient, and the generous remuneration Capron received from the Japanese government ($10,000) was most helpful for his family. Besides, there was no guaran-

tee that Capron had tenure in the position of the Commissioner of Agriculture, as his experience as Indian agent no doubt reminded him. Finally, the success of the mission would greatly enhance Capron's own reputation. The mission to Japan was expected to be one of the last glorious chapters in his "long and checkered" life.[28]

A Hopeful Start

Sailing from San Francisco on August 1, 1871, and surviving a typhoon which almost engulfed the vessel on the way, Capron and his three assistants--Thomas Antisell, A. G. Warfield, and Stuart Eldridge--landed at Yokohama on August 25. They were soon taken to Tokyo and settled in their lodgings located in the elaborate Shiba Temple compound.

Not only the Kaitakushi officials but also the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs immediately paid them a formal call; and there were calls of other high officials from the various ministries, who showered Capron not only with courteous greetings but also questions covering almost every subject about the United States.[29] U.S. Minister Charles DeLong reported to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish that the American advisers were "most cordially and honorably received," and that he felt sure of the success of the comission.[30]

Capron himself was overwhelmed by the cordial reception; he felt it was characterized by "the splendor of Oriental hospitality and taste." His first letters home

were full of detailed descriptions of the treatment his party received. "My present residence which has been fitted up with great taste for my express use," Capron wrote his son, "contains all that could be desired, partly with European and American furniture, but reserving enough of the Oriental to give it an air of elegance and refinement." Also, the American advisers had "the retinue of a Prince, a carriage and pair-saddle horse for each member of the party, servants ad libium, guards, ostlers, mounted escort when riding out, with runners on foot ... clearing the track more like a greyhound than anything else." The meals were served in courses with three kinds of wine daily, and tea at all hours. After a banquet presided over by the Prime Minister and attended by leading members of the government in honor of Capron and his party, he wrote in his journal: "Twenty-five courses were served, which kept us at the table four hours."[31]

What pleased Capron more than anything else was the formal introduction of the American advisers to the Emperor in September. He noted with great satisfaction that few foreigners, other than accredited representatives of foreign governments, had been given an imperial interview and that he was the second American civilian admitted to such a "high honor." Capron claimed that although ex-Secretary of State William H. Seward was the first, Capron's honor was "the more creditable as it was entirely unsought by [him]," while "Seward managed to get in after a weeks [sic] working of

[U.S.] Minister." The imperial interview of Capron's party consisted simply of the bowing of the Americans to the Emperor, the reading of the Emperor's address by the Prime Minister, its reading in English by an interpreter, Capron's reply, and its reading in Japanese by an interpreter, but the occasion was elaborated with great formality and display. Capron found government troops in full marching order lining both sides of the avenue from his quarters to the imperial palace, one-and-a-half miles; they presented arms on the approach of Capron's carriage. In the palace numerous officers of high rank in full court dress had been assembled for the occasion. Capron was pleased to notice that the formality shown to him was "far exceeding that to Ex-Secretary Seward," and he was so touched by the dignified treatment of his party that he called the day "probably the grandest day of my life."[32]

Before Capron left the United States, his image of Japan was simply one of "a far-off and semi-barbarous country," of which "so little is really known."[33] When he arrived in Japan, he was indeed overwhelmed by the novelty and peculiarity of the people and society. Capron felt as if Japanese customs and temples took him some centuries back in history. Two months after arrival, he still felt so: "I have hardly been here long enough to get my eyes open, and everything is so strange, and so entirely different from anything I ever saw before that I must acknowledge some bewilderment."[34]

Capron observed that many activities, even the most common ones, displayed "exactly the reverse of all European or American ideas": for instance, a Japanese mounted his horse from the right side instead of the left; he drew a saw up, instead of pushing it down; he drew a plane towards him, instead of pushing it away from him; he passed people on his right (in this case, like an Englishman) instead of on his left, "like an enlightened American."[35] Japanese music, entirely different from Western music, struck Capron even as "an infliction." While proud of his ability to "appreciate a concord of sweet sounds" due to his "advantage of much cultivation in music," he found listening to Japanese music an ordeal. After attending a dinner at which Japanese music was performed, Capron wrote in his journal: "Never did I before experience greater agony ... than through this lengthy performance. I did not, although I tried to do my best, detect the slightest approach to a tune." Therefore he was "almost led to laughter to see at the closing of each piece the applause and great distinction it met with from the Japanese portion of the assembly."[36]

Capron was far more favorably impressed by Japanese crafts, landscape, and some of its architecture. He saw many temples and shrines "decorated in the highest Japanese art" and surrounded with beautiful grounds and grand old trees. He described them "truly magnificent," "truly works of art," "superb," and "beyond description." He found it painful to witness decay or destruction due to neglect or

vandalism of these temples and shrines, "the work of these ingenious people for over two hundred and fifty years." Sometimes Capron seemed to be primarily impressed by the materialistic aspect of the art, such as the generous consumption of lacquer, gold, and bronze. At other times his judgments were more aesthetic. When he observed figures of gods carved in wood, he marveled at the fact that so much expression could be given to a block of wood. "No sculpture in marble, or painting upon canvas," Capron thought, "could convey a better idea of the peculiar virtue or passion they were intended to represent, such composure, such majesty, so much heavenly expression in one and agony in another."[37]

In Capron's mind, these temples and shrines, with all their beauties, belonged to the past and had little to do with progressive civilization. Capron pointed out that, although the Japanese excelled in bronze and lacquer work and a certain kind of architectural skill, the work had been done more than two hundred years earlier. It seemed to Capron that the Japanese had almost lost the art of working in bronze and lacquer. In the case of architecture Capron saw no evidence of advance: "It is to day exactly as it was centuries past."[38]

Capron confirmed his original image of Japan as a "semi-barbarous" country when he actually saw "Japan ... was deficient in nearly all the comforts and conveniences of civilized life." In clothes, the ordinary Japanese appeared to him "all nearly naked, both male and female." In basic

foodstuffs, they were limited to rice and fish, supplemented by a few roots such as daikon, "the great worthless fibrous turnip radish" and a few varieties of fruit.[39]

Capron also discovered that the Japanese, employing human muscle as their only motive power, were entirely deficient in the use of "the ways and means by which foreign nations have reached such a high state of civilization." He was amazed to find the propelling of drays upon the streets, the hulling of rice, the manufacturing of silk and cotton, and even the transportation of people all done either by hand or by foot. Although he praised the Japanese method of working the soil as "perfect," he was dismayed by the fact that it was "done at an enormous expenditure of human labor" only with the use of one "heavy and clumsy tool"--the grubbing hoe. Seeing no shovels, forks, rakes, plows, cultivators, harrows, rollers, carts, wagons, horses, or oxen, he wondered: "How it is that a people naturally so intelligent, ingenious, appreciative, and so capable of imitating everything they see, should remain so long in a state of semibarbarism, is perfectly incomprehensible."[40]

Yet, in spite of their deprivation in the benefits of civilization, Capron noticed "cheerfulness and good nature" among the Japanese. The experience "to pass through the throngs which filled the streets and witness so much happiness"--"cheering beyond expression"--led him to think: "Truly these are a happy people having few wants and these easily supplied, and many, very many sources of innocent

amusement." He even wondered "how much their happiness will be augmented by their intercourse with 'outside barbarians.'" Also, when he was favorably impressed by the Ainu living in Hokkaido, especially by their intelligence and peaceful disposition as well as by "a real natural grace in all their movements," he again asked himself "how far the introduction of the wants, habits and ideas of civilized society, with all its concomitant of evils and vices, may add to their real happiness in this world." The Japanese attitudes in adversity seemed to Capron even more "commendable." Observing, at the scene of a fire, that there was "not a word of murmur at their lot, not a tear or complaint but a calm resignation ... and an almost cheerful submission to their fate," he was moved to remark, "Truly a most wonderful people."[41]

There were such rather rare moments when Capron seemed to find some value in the non-Western way of life, but most of the time he was deeply committed to his mission to introduce Western civilization into Japan. In fact, the westward movement of civilization seemed to Capron to be a matter of inevitability. He wrote to the editor of the California Farmer: "The great tidal wave of civilization which ... was sweeping across the American continent, seems only to have paused upon the western coast to gather strength for its passage over the broad Pacific in its westward progress around the world. It has reached the Asiatic continent."[42] Capron was aware that a change was about to take place in

Japan: "There is a wonderful determination to break the shakles [sic] which have bound them for ages" and to "emmerge [sic] from a state of barbarism to a state of highest civilization." It gave Capron a thrilling sensation to consider himself a messenger of "the light of the most advanced civilization."[43]

Capron also pointed out the potential of the Japanese drive for progress: "An immense field will be opened to the commerce of the world." For he had a vision of about thirty million Japanese who were "without nearly all of the requirements of a highly civilized people" but "destined at some future day to attain" them. "They [the Japanese] want everything," Capron reported to his former colleague in Washington, "from a cambric needle to a steam engine, every kind and description of farming implement and machine, from the hoe (inclusive) up, also all kinds of stock, and every description of wearing apparel, from a shirt collar, to the most elaborate toggery you can put on."[44] Capron naturally expected that his mission to help the Japanese would also help the Americans who dreamed of expanding markets for their ever-increasing production.

Capron's plans for the development of Hokkaido, which he presented to Kuroda on January 2, 1872, were full of his hopes and ambitions. What he especially emphasized in the report was that the climate, soil, and natural resources of Hokkaido were of such character as would bring prosperity to the island. When he first met Kuroda and Mori in Washing-

ton, they had assured him of the great potential of Hokkaido. Upon his arrival in Japan, however, Capron realized that one serious obstacle to the development of Hokkaido was the view held by the Japanese and by British residents in Japan that the climate of Hokkaido was Siberian and unsuited to cultivation. That was why he was bitterly disappointed at Antisell's report which alleged a "sub-frigid climate"; Capron feared that such a report would "put an end to [his] mission as useless."[45] Since Warfield presented a more genial view, and even Antisell's report contained information which could be given a more favorable interpretation, Capron wrote in his report that "the climate [in Hokkaido], without being unexceptionably fine, is as healthy and invigorating as that of the northern American States, and offers no impediment to successful agriculture." Besides, he pointed to the fertile soil, good supply of timber, rich sources of minerals (especially coal, silver, and sulphur) rivers abundant in fish, fine water power, excellent navigation, and other promising conditions. His conclusion was that "the resources of Yesso [Hokkaido] seem to be all that the most ardent friend of our enterprise could desire."[46] The prosperous development of such a promised land would not be difficult if the proper means--the ones which Capron would suggest--were adopted.

In the report, Capron presented both general ideas as to how the development should be carried out and concrete suggestions to implement it. Throughout the report Capron

stressed "systematic," "scientific," "practical," and "economical" operations as essential to the successful development of Hokkaido. This meant that, in the case of the mining industry which "neither judgment nor skill in the past characterized," "more scientific and intelligent methods" should be utilized, and "systematic, energetic and economical management" should be adopted. Capron then suggested that such rules and regulations as would induce private parties to work under a system of royalties paid to the government should be adopted because the experience in England and the United States indicated that "such enterprises are never productive of so satisfactory results under government auspices as when left to individual effort." Capron however later modified his position and suggested that it would also be possible to work the mines by the government under the immediate supervision of experienced mining engineers.[47]

In the field of agriculture, Capron proposed the establishment of experimental farms in Tokyo and Hokkaido for the purpose of introducing Western plants, fruit, vegetables, crops, improved breeds of livestock, and farm implements and machinery; in addition, he recommended the erection of agricultural schools connected with these farms as another means to promote "scientific, systematic and practical agriculture."[48] Furthermore, Capron urged that settlers switch from the traditional Japanese staple, rice, to wheat, for not only was wheat more suitable to a northern climte

than rice, but also rice, "the most expensive" in the cost of production, was "the least nutritive of the food grains." Such changes in food habits would help Hokkaido become self-sufficient in food production and at the same time would make the settlers sturdier. In his eagerness to promote the eating of bread, Capron wrote: "It is the cheap production of bread food, together with the great variety of fruits and vegetables, that enables the American people to enjoy many of the luxuries of life, and leaves many of them free to swell by other pursuits than the production of food the aggregate wealth and commerce of the nation."[49]

For Capron, the introduction of labor-saving machines and implements in the field of agriculture and industry was an extremely important part of his mission. Like many Americans, he believed that mechanization had made the United States a first-rank country in a short period. He thus emphasized the significance of mechanization in his report, identifying it as a source of "an increase of [national] wealth," "the enhancement in value of human labor," and a prerequisite to "a higher civilization."[50] In addition to the introduction of agricultural machines, Capron proposed to set up in Sapporo grain and saw mills and also wheelwright's, blacksmith's, and carpenter's shops. Although he thought such enterprises might be more properly left to individual efforts, he admitted that it was "indispensable that the government should take the initiative" in the case of Hokkaido.[51]

Capron expressed his belief that settlement "should be a voluntary act on the part of the immigrants." Aware of the Japanese concern about the possible Russian threat, Capron stressed compatibility of self-interest and national defense: "Drawn by their individual interests, having a title to the soil they occupy and liable at any time to be called upon to defend that soil, such a people ... will be an enduring strength to the nation, and will serve as a bulwark against the encroachments of any foreign power." At the same time, Capron, not totally sanguine about the Japanese pioneering spirit, suggested "the introduction of a certain foreign population accustomed to the more rigorous climates of Europe and America" who could teach the native methods of overcoming difficulties by example. With the conditions and resources of Hokkaido, Capron could not help thinking that "the settlement of Yesso were an easy matter, had we to deal with the hardy people who settled America."[52]

The crucial role of the Kaitakushi was to improve the environment of Hokkaido so as to attract voluntary settlers. In the first report, Capron recommended the continuation of topographical, geological, mineralogical, and meteorological surveys started by Warfield and Antisell and also the improvement of transportation to Sapporo, the new capital of Hokkaido. In subsequent letters addressed to Kuroda, while Capron made various suggestions such as the extension of the fishing industry and the improvement of settlers' houses, he especially emphasized the importance of improving transpor-

tation on the island as well as between Hokkaido and the major ports of the main island.[53] Capron remained to believe that the introduction of foreign capital and enterprise was desirable, although he was aware of the difficulties in the country placed under exterritoriality. The feasible plan he suggested was to open Hokkaido to foreign capital and enterprise "subject to laws and regulations imposed by the Government of Japan, and enforced by the tribunals of the countries to which such foreigners as settle in Yesso [Hokkaido] belong." "It is hardly a matter of doubt," Capron told Kuoda, "that the infusion of foreign energy and skill will quicken into life and activity the forces upon which depend the prosperity of Yesso."[54]

Finally, Capron was ambitious in his hope to exert his influence not simply on the development of Hokkaido but on the progress of the whole of Japan. For example, viewing the almost total reliance of the Japanese on human muscle as "sub-barbarian," Capron was determined to lend his hand to "a revolution in the whole labor system of the Empire" by the introduction of machinery.[55] Also, confident of his knowledge and experience in agriculture on one hand, and strongly aware of the Japanese deficiency in foodstuffs on the other, he intended to revolutionize the agriculture of Japan, not simply that of Hokkaido. While the Kaitakushi experimental farms set up in Tokyo were in part conceived as a way station for imported livestock and nursery plants to be sent to Hokkaido, Capron at the same time expected that

they would have the "advantage of being under the immediate eye of the Emperor and his Court, and more likely to attract the attention of the Government and people, than if our operations were confined to that far-away island." He expected that by introducing a variety of plants, fruit, crops, livestock, machines, and implements, and by demonstrating Western methods of agriculture, the farms would be "destined to work the most wonderful changes in this Empire."[56] As he put it in the first report, he after all thought that "the work of this Department [of the Kaitakushi] should be recognized as having not merely a local but a national significance."[57]

Frustrating Experience

Capron's first difficulties in Japan arose not because of his encounter with a strange culture but because of his stormy relations with the American assistants whom he had brought over with him--Eldridge and Antisell. As another American expert, Edward M. Shelton observed, "violent quarrels, wholly personal, chiefly between General Capron and his colleagues, broke out almost before they set foot in Japan."[58]

The discord between Capron and Eldridge was partly due to the latter's ambitions. Capron recalled that, when he offered Eldridge the job of being his secretary in Japan with a salary of $2,000, Eldridge "very promptly accepted [it] with many protestations of thanks, and a promised

devotion."[59] However, Eldridge, who had obtained a medical degree at Georgetown College a few years earlier, was not content with the prospect of remaining Capron's secretary. Even before he left the shores of San Francisco, he was thinking about the possibilities of promoting his medical career in Japan. On the eve of his departure for Japan, He asked Henry to write a recommendation letter for him, specifically reminding Henry that Eldridge had an experience of teaching anatomy at Georgetown College; Eldridge felt, "It will be well for me to have something to fall back on in the line of my chosen pursuit, should it become necessary at any time."[60]

Eldridge found such an opportunity only a few months after his arrival. In the fall of 1871 Capron succeeded in having the Kaitakushi hire James Wasson for the following spring. Since Wasson's salary was to be much higher than that of Eldridge, Capron persuaded the Kaitakushi to raise Eldridge's salary to the same level: four, five, and six thousand dollars respectively for the three years of his contract. The new contract also specified Eldridge's position as "Secretary and Surgeon of the Kaitakushi." When Capron informed Eldridge of the promotion, he found Eldridge "apparently so overcome as to shed tears of gratitude" and "rising from his seat he grasped [Capron] by the hand in the most feeling manner and said 'he never would forget [Capron's] kindness.'" However, according to Capron, this was also an occasion when he and Eldridge became estranged

because of Eldridge's "deliberate attempt to commit a great fraud upon the Japanese Government." Eldridge's contract, which said that "if the Kaitakushi shall desire the said Eldridge to take charge of a medical school or college he shall do so," was handed to Eldridge so that he could make copies. When it came to signing the contract, however, Capron discovered that Eldridge had rewritten a part of the contract so that it read that "if Doct Stuart Eldridge shall desire to take charge of a medical school or college he shall do so." Capron believed that while he prevented the change only by his "timely discovery of it," after the incident Eldridge had "pursued a course towards [Capron] of gross vituperation and calumination."[61]

When Capron visited Hokkaido in the summer of 1872, he learned from N.W. Holt and Sandford Clark stationed in Sapporo that Eldridge had written Antisell, who was at the time visiting Sapporo, that his new contract would have been a much better one "if old Capron had been out of the way."[62] These two American engineers also testified that, on their arrival in Japan, Eldridge warned them to keep clear of Capron in all their dealings because his object would be only to promote his own interests. Eldridge, moreover, gave them "his version of the frauds, perpretations [perpetrations] and actions of Gen Capron," such as Capron's appropriation of some ten thousand dollars in money and other things not belonging to him to his own use and for friends at home; Capron, Eldridge told them, "was at any time liable

to arrest for his swindling and behavior in Japan that he would better carry himself strict or [Eldridge] would cause his arrest and publish the whole transaction in America." Eldridge moreover asserted that "everything [Capron] had done in Japan for the Govt was a stepping stone to his ignorance and foolish ideas," and that the Japanese government would soon discharge him. Holt and Clark also heard Eldridge call Capron "a scoundrel," "a liar," "an old fool," "half Idiot," and the like.[63]

Capron immediately prepared "Charges against Eldridge" in which he detailed not only Eldridge's rewriting of the contract and his insulting remarks about Capron but also other examples of his "dishonest dealings and practices." Capron charged, for example, that some of the articles Eldridge purchased for the use of the American commission at the charge of the Kaitakushi were used by him or disposed by him so that he could get the proceeds, and that, when Eldridge ran the mess hall for the Americans employed by the Kaitakushi, he collected a much larger sum from them than he paid the cook. Capron expressed his indignation by describing Eldridge's activities in various ways such as "an utter disregard to every principle of honor and to ... moral obligations," "such a flagrant case of perfidy and base ingratitude," or "disreputable and lewd conduct."[64]

Eldridge, who had been working as chief surgeon of the Kaitakushi in Hakodate, Hokkaido, since May 1872, learned by the end of the year that Capron was accusing him of publish-

ing attacks on Capron in the American press and also that Capron probably had filed charges against him with the Kaitakushi. Eldridge sent a note to Capron, denying Capron's suspicions but also adding a threatening message: "Do you wish war? If you do you shall have it, and rest assured that anything which I may furnish for the press shall not be vague and general in character."[65]

Eldridge at the same time asked Kuroda and Charles DeLong, U.S. Minister in Japan, to give him a copy of Capron's charges against him if they had been filed. Kuroda simply answered him that he did not know.[66] While DeLong denied that Capron had filed any charges with him, he told Eldridge that Capron had informed him of Eldridge's attempts to impair Capron's standing with the Japanese officials and to produce insubordination among the American employees of the Kaitakushi. Pointing out that Eldridge's efforts to injure Capron would bring "eventual ruin upon [Eldridge] and frustrate entirely the scheme of Japanese advancement by the aid of [their] Commission," DeLong urged Eldridge to take a conciliatory course for the sake of "the great interests of civilization and ... American influence in this Empire." DeLong, however, warned that, if conciliation was impossible, he would advise the Japanese to thoroughly investigate the whole affair even if it meant that "every American employee should be dismissed and their places be filled by Europeans." DeLong, whose zeal for promoting American commercial interests in Japan was well known, wrote Eldridge:

"What at last is dearer to our people than commerce is their national honor, which would be sullied if incompetent, unworthy and dishonest Americans are kept in place by my official influence merely that the commerce of our country might be benefited."[67]

Eldridge's response to DeLong was conciliatory. He explained: "I imagine that much that I have said has been exaggerated or garbled in repetition to General Capron and that action for which I was in no way responsible or have even protested against has been ascribed to me."[68] After this, Eldridge continued to treat patients and train medical students in Hakodate until his contract expired in May 1874. Although he conveyed to Kuroda his hope "to remain for a long time in the service of the Kaitakushi,"[69] there was little chance when Capron was still an adviser to the Kaitakushi. Eldridge moved to Yokohama to work at a hospital for foreigners there.

The discord between Capron and Antisell came to the fore in February 1872 when Antisell asked for a raise in salary, but their relationship seems to have begun to deteriorate much earlier. As early as September 20, 1871, even before Antisell, a chief geologist and mineralogist, left for a survey in Hokkaido, Capron sent Joseph Henry a "Strictly Private" letter, asking him to obtain a good mineralogist and geologist and to have the search "managed quietly."[70]

What especially irritated Capron was the superior air

of Antisell, who could proudly point to his outstanding academic career in Dublin, London, Paris, and Berlin. To Capron, Antisell claimed to "possess all the brains of the Commission."[71] Indeed, Antisell frequently told the Kaitakushi officials that, although Capron knew about agriculture, he was not learned in any other subject and that Antisell wanted to be separated from Capron since he felt awkward in a subordinate position; Antisell suggested that the position of the president of a school to be built in Hokkaido might be good for himself.[72] However, when Antisell located Sapporo in a sub-frigid zone in his report, Capron considered it "a great deficiency of judgment in matters of great interest and importance" and found "little grounds for the high preeminence he claims."[73]

Immediately after his return from Hokkaido, Antisell went to Capron with a proposition for a new contract which would raise his salary from $4,000 to $8,000. When Capron did not support his cause, Antisell brought his demand directly to the attention of the Kaitakushi officials, who, in consultation with Capron, decided to raise his salary up to $6,500 for the first year and $7,000 for the second year under a new contract of two years, but Antisell insisted on the salary of $8,000. When the Kaitakushi authorities, painfully aware of the need of a geologist, succumbed to his demand on the condition that the new contract would start on April 1, 1872, Antisell further demanded that his new contract should start on March 1 because the Kaitakushi was

responsible for the delay in concluding the negotiation; otherwise, Antisell warned, he would immediately return home. The Kaitakushi responded to his request decisively: he could go home. At the request of the Kaitakushi, Capron promptly wrote Henry to send another geologist. Pointing out that "the Doct [Antisell] had by his captious and intriguing disposition lost the best chance a man ever had to secure fortune and fame," Capron expressed his hope that Antisell's successor would be "a true man, and a gentleman, two traits of character quite essential to success in this country."[74]

However, Antisell "of captious and intriguing disposition" did not leave Japan. He too wrote Henry to warn him that anyone who would take Antisell's position would face difficulties such as the lack of independence, the intervention of Capron, and the hardship of living in Hokkaido. Antisell also presented through the U.S. Legation a claim to the Japanese Government for full pay for the remaining period of his service under his old contract and for the expenses for going home. He also filed charges with Charles O. Shepard, Acting Minister during DeLong's leave, against Capron as the instigator of his troubles with the Kaitakushi. When these tactics did not work, Antisell changed course; after Capron left Tokyo for his first inspection of Hokkaido, Antisell sought to repair his relations with the Kaitakushi authorities by presenting a letter of apology which expressed the hope that "this assurance of regret on

my part, thus voluntarily given, will be deemed sufficient to obliterate the remembrance of these disagreements."[75] On his return to Tokyo, Capron was greatly distressed to find that the Kaitakushi had entered into a new contract with Antisell starting July 1, with a salary of $8,000 for the period of one year and nine months; his new position was "Geologist in Chief, Director of Mines & Manufactures & Chemical Operations generally, and Vice President & Professor of the College of the Kaitakushi."[76]

The arrival of Benjamin S. Lyman, Antisell's successor, in January 1873 posed a problem. Foreseeing difficulties, Antisell took the initiative. "In my capacity as Geologist in Chief," Antisell submitted to Kuroda the plan of a geological survey of Hokkaido for the coming summer. According to his plan, Lyman and Munroe were respectively to be engaged in a survey of different parts of Hokkaido, while Antisell was to explore the area surrounding Sapporo, examine the reports to be submitted by Lyman and Munroe, and supervise their making of maps.[77] Capron was furious:

> He [Antisell] completely usurps the larger part of my duties in this department, and ignores my presence here, and with a high hand proceeds to dispose of my whole corps of assistants in a way to suit himself and to throw disrespect upon me; he could not have done much more to make his acts grossly insolent, unless to have issued his mandate assigning me to some menial position.[78]

Although Capron insisted that "in no case have I ever allowed my private feelings to prejudice my public duties," he might not have always been successful in meeting such a

high standard.[79] In the conference of February 5, 1873, attended by Kuroda, Enomoto, Capron, and Lyman, the Japanese suggested that, while Lyman should be the chief geologist, Antisell who had the experience of exploring some of the mines in Hokkaido also be engaged in a survey, but Capron did not change his opinion that Antisell should devote himself to teaching at the Kaitakushi Temporary School and the analysis of minerals.[80] When Capron informed Antisell of these new assignments, Antisell "felt so hurt" by the action of the Kaitakushi which he believed was "due to Mr. Capron and instigated by personal enmity."[81]

Antisell's last skirmish with Capron took place in late March 1873, when Antisell was told that, because the Kaitakushi Temporary School was temporarily closed, his main assignment was to superintend the mineral analysis at the Bureau of Resources in the Kaitakushi. Antisell, "deeply mortified, deeply degraded" by becoming "a professional analyst in a room 12 ft. by 20," appealed to DeLong that it was "not the act or intention of Mr Kuroda but it was Capron's act." Told by DeLong to bring the case directly to Capron, Antisell demanded that Capron reinstate him in the position of the chief of the geological survey on the very day (April 15, 1873) when Lyman and Munroe left for Hokkaido for the survey.[82]

Although Antisell sometimes looked toward the United States, hoping to get a professorship at one of the new universities in the West or more preferably in the South,[83]

he ended by remaining in the Kaitakushi until his contract expired in March 1874. One time Antisell submitted a report on the postmortem examination of cows at the request of the Kaitakushi. Capron read it and made marginal notes: "a positive desgrace [sic] to any man of science. What an ass." Under such circumstances, Antisell's reengagement by the Kaitakushi was impossible. With Kuroda's help, however, Antisell obtained a position as a chemist in the Finance Ministry where he remained for two more years. Learning that Antisell was making ink for printing notes, Capron presumed, "Some of it will be used to blaken [sic] the reputation of his neighbors."[84]

Capron could never forgive those assistants who assailed his reputation. He felt "heartburnings arising from a consciousness of great injustice done by those most infamous of all fiends, who from the shades of civilized society, stalk abroad in the shape of human beings, skulking behind, misrepresenting--although not misunderstanding--your every act and motive ... to gain what they can through fraud and misrepresentation."[85] Capron's strong antipathy against Eldridge and Antisell was demonstrated in 1875 whe he made the Kaitakushi publish his reports, his official letters, and reports written by other American assistants in a volume of more than seven hundred pages. Although the book contained even a report written by William Blake, who was not a member of Capron's mission, it did not include any report written by Eldridge or by Antisell nor mentioned even their

names. Capron only referred to Antisell here and there as the person whose erroneous judgment on the climate of Hokkaido would have wrecked the mission without Capron's judicious perception.[86]

Among Capron's original assistants, only Warfield satisfied the chief with his work. His report on Hokkaido, which, unlike that of Antisell, was reassuring about the climate, pleased Capron. Also, when Capron visited Hokkaido for the first time in the summer of 1872, he was greatly impressed by the new road which Warfield was constructing. He wrote Benjamin H. Latrobe, who had recommended Warfield: "I cannot leave this place ... without expressing the very great pleasure I have had in reviewing the splendid work Major Warfield has now in charge."[87]

In August 1872, barely one month after Capron's visit, however, Warfield caused trouble: drinking at an inn and irritated by barking dogs, he shot them, killing six and wounding one. Since the dogs belonged to the Ainu who were engaged in hunting as a means of livelihood, an alarming rumor spread that the Ainu might attack the Kaitakushi office.[88] Two months later Warfield again made trouble. Holt informed Capron that Warfield "got beastly drunk" at night and the following morning started drinking before breakfast. In a violent mood he broke a door and other furniture at his inn. Japanese officers who tried to stop him were wounded by his knife. "I must say," Holt lamented, "it was shameful the way he behaved." Holt also advised

Capron to be cautious in defending Warfield because "there is [sic] more grounds for the charges made than you may perhaps be aware of." The Kaitakushi decided to dismiss Warfield not only on account of the two incidents but also of his "ugly behavior."[89] Capron did not intervene, but simply told the Kaitakushi officials: "I cannot object to any action you may think proper to take to protect the interests of the Kaitakushi and the Government of Japan." Although Warfield made a protest against his dismissal and appealed to DeLong, he ultimately accepted a compensation of $8,666, half the amount remaining from the balance of his full contract, and his return expenses home.[90]

Capron's original team thus disintegrated one year after its arrival in Japan. This could not but help exert a demoralizing influence upon Capron's entire mission. DeLong wrote privately to Secretary of State Fish on December 4, 1872, that Warfield would be dismissed for his "all sorts of mischief," Edridge's dismissal would be requested by Capron, and Antisell, reengaged under the efforts of Shepard during DeLong's absence, was doing "all in his power to thwart [Capron]." DeLong was grieved: "Such is the sad condition of that Embassy which promised so much."[91]

Capron's relationship with the officials of the Kaitakushi, although cordial, was quite unsatisfactory in the performance of duty. First of all, Capron was extremely bitter about the violation of his agreement with the Kaitakushi concerning the selection of foreign assistants.

Actually, there was no formal contract: only his memorandum stating his intention "to take charge and direction of the measures for the development of the resources of Hokkaido" upon certain conditions, and a short notice from Mori and Kuroda which accepted his conditions.[92] Although his contract therefore was not explicit about all details, one of the conditions mentioned in Capron's memorandum was that he should "have the selection and appointment of competent and scientific chief assistants." Capron was therefore distressed when the Kaitakushi employed Samuel Brown, reemployed Antisell, and renewed the engagement of some foreign experts without obtaining his sanction. He repeatedly protested such cases.[93] He must have naturally worried that the actions of the Kaitakushi were to encourage his assistants to ignore his own authority. Moreover, he knew the importance of selecting capable as well as trustworthy experts not only for the Kaitakushi but also for his own reputation. Therefore, when a large number of cattle died on the farm supervised by Brown, Capron immediately informed the Kaitakushi that Capron would "not be responsible for anything that may take place there" since Brown had been employed contrary to his advice.[94]

Capron also found his authority "to watch over, direct and by [his] counsel, advice and cooperation with the Government authorities here to promote" the development of Hokkaido seriously undermined by what he saw as "the want of candor on the part of the officials of this Department, and

entire exclusion from [him] of all information touching the designs or plans of operations, or the means appropriated in whole or in part to carry out those plans." Capron was frustrated with the "onesided" communication between him and the Kaitakushi: he was constantly interviewed on a vast scope of American topics, from government organization, systems of taxation, commercial regulations, to farm management, but, when he thought his turn had come to ask questions about the task in hand, the interview was closed. As a result, Capron often found himself "compelled to grope [his] way on the dark, expected always to be prepared to advise and cooperate."[95] He thought that such a situation was not only a violation of his contract but it also meant a great loss to the Kaitakushi. "How much greater benefit I could have been to you and to this people," Capron appealed to Kuroda, "could the terms of my contract have been adhered to and I received your full countenance and support."[96]

To Capron, his faithful devotion marked a sharp contrast to the negligence of the Kaitakushi in observing their side of the bargain.

> Although frequently meeting with disagreeable, disheartening, and often mortifying circumstances, never anticipated under a great Government like this; deprived of all home comforts and associations, exposed to hardships, fatigues and often dangers incidental to a frontier life in an unpeopled country like Yesso, I have never faltered or hesitated in the performance of my duties, always acting in a good faith, and with an eye to the promoting the best interests of this Department and the Government of Japan.[97]

It was during his first visit of Hokkaido in the

summer of 1872 that Capron first realized that many projects had been carried out without his knowledge and also that his advice had not been fully implemented. He immediately wrote Kuroda that "I must not be held responsible for anything beyond that upon which I am consulted." By the early summer of 1873, when he visited Hokkaido again, his grievancies against the state of things had simply accumulated, especially because he felt he had been made "the 'scape goat' for all the delinquencies of the Kaitakushi" and "subjected to the daily criticism of the press and by individuals both in this country and America" for many things the Kaitakushi had carried out in Hokkaido "without [his] advice or approval." Capron explained to Kuroda why he worried. "I have a heart felt interest, that is sincere, for your own personal fair fame as the head of this great enterprise, but I have another equally as sincere, and that is my own reputation, which I value more than gold and which I fear is being jeopardized."[98]

Capron particularly abhorred the waste and inefficiency characteristic of the Kaitakushi operations, which he attributed in part to supernumerary officials. When he inspected salmon fisheries, for instance, he found "one official for every hundred fish taken, and at some of the landings to every ten." At the Kaitakushi farm in Nanae, he found spacious buildings erected for the accommodation of eighteen officials whose duty was to oversee eighteen laborers. When the whole army of officials received him and

escorted him over the place, Capron "could not disguise [his] astonishment and perfect disgust of the whole matter," thinking that" one good American farmer and his two sons on a farm of 40 acres, with a yoke of oxen, a pair of horses and a cow, would have produced better results."[99]

According to Capron's observations, no sooner was anything started and fairly got under way before an important official made his appearance and took charge, and trouble would start at once. For example, although Capron rejoiced to see a great Illinois breaking-plow drawn by six bulls "cut a straight handsome furrow in the virgin soil of Japan," he was dismayed when an official, a "pest" in his word, appeared and appointed assistants "to an unlimited number" while money was "lavished, recklessly spent in searching and bringing forward bulls from all parts of the country" just for one breaking-plow. The establishment of a simple blacksmith's forge on the American plan was another such example. While it required one smith and two coolies as strikers, Capron was surprised to see an office opened at once and two or three officials take their seats upon the floor with a Japanese writing table before them, thus assuming the appearance of a great business; in fact these officials succeeded in making any business, even the supply of one horseshoe nail, cumbersome. To Capron, "every imaginable plan to spend money and retard progress seem[ed] to be pursued." He therefore could not but wonder whether the introduction of a machine or an implement intended to save

labor and money could perform its function or rather just help officials to spend money in an extravagant way.[100]

Another cause for both the reckless expenditure of money and almost ridiculous inefficiency of Japanese work was obvious to Capron: the "overweening vanity" of the Japanese who did not humbly admit their incompetence and ask for his guidance. A pasture for ponies in a little village of Ishikari was one example. When the chief officer of the village took Capron there, he saw sand, "a few scattered worthless weeds," and a tall fence, but no pasture. He was sure that the rails were so far apart that a thin pony, taking a flying leap, could pass through between the rails without even touching them. Seeing the fence "out of all character for the object proposed" and also noticing "an immense collection of crows hovering around," Capron amused himself by asking the chief official "whether this had not been erected to keep out the crows."[101]

In Capron's views, the canal of the Toyohira River and the pier at the harbor of Mori were also good examples to show Japanese inefficiency and their vanity. The Toyohira River cut its way through Sapporo with a rapid current; if judiciously constructed, the river channel would supply water power, clear water, and the means for irrigating the great plain; otherwise, it would remain a source of serious damage to the town. In the summer of 1872 Capron directed Holt to stake out the proper course for the canal as far as it was required for the mills, but during Capron's stay in

Tokyo, the Japanese officials set to making it navigable. In the summer of 1873, when Capron visited Sapporo, the Japanese showed him a large bulkhead which they had planned and constructed, expecting it to stand as a bulwark against all freshets in the river and also to regulate the supply of water which was to flow through it into the canal. Capron was "surprised and amazed and mortified" to see their "great work." He told them that the bottom of the gates of the bulkhead and of the canal was so far above the level of the stream that no water could enter it, and also that the dam at the point would not stand a moderate rise of the river because of the low banks. A large force immediately set to filling up bags with sand in order to raise the water to a sufficient level. But, when the officials raised the gates with a cheer, water rushed down the steep grade of the canal with such force that, in less than two hours, it ripped and tore away the banks, carrying away the sheathing of plank.[102] Then the winter floods of 1873-74 entirely cleaned out the bulkhead.

In the summer of 1874, when Capron inspected the Toyohira River again, he found the new bulkhead "a great improvement" in its location and construction. Nevertheless, he was still repelled by Japanese vanity, for they "attempted to deceive [him] into the belief that it was the same old work." Capron, of course, did not believe them. When he discovered the whole structure of the original bulkhead some distance below the banks of the river, he

found it "quite amusing to see the duplicity of these Japanese officials." He "called their attention to it afterwards, and they slunk away without any remarks."[103]

Although Capron found Sapporo "greatly improved" during his absence, he still found many faults with the Japanese work, including the construction of a part of the Toyohira canal supervised by Resident-Governor Matsumoto Juro. Capron wrote Lyman, the only confidante he had among his assistants: "The Governor let the water into the Grand canal with a great flourish of trumpets ... and it went straight out at the other end like lightening, not even deigning to stop even to look at the mill." Capron waited to see "what the next move wood [sic] be." Finding the head gates three feet too high as Capron had previously warned him, Matsumoto undertook to force things by having extensive groins removed in part and also by erecting a dam, some six feet high, just below the entrance to the canal. Then a great flood ripped out the foundations along the wooden shields erected to protect the bunks of the canal, tumbling them down into the flood; the gate at the entrance of the canal and the temporary dam were all swept away. Matsumoto "at last" came over to consult Capron. While Capron thought that the experience "taught them a good lesson," he was soon dismayed again to see them making a dam too low at a certain point and too high at the entrance. He was sure that they would have to fall back onto the old channel or maintain a battery of sandbags certain to be washed away every time

there was more water than would run through the gates. Giving all these details of the Japanese work, Capron asked Lyman, "Did you ever in your life come across such a stupid affair?"[104]

As for the pier at Mori, Capron admitted that the plan was good (it had been given the Japanese by his assistant, Warfield) but pointed out that the structure would rot in a few years because the material used was perishable, and that, worst of all, it was constructed where it could never be of any use. On learning of the importance of having a sufficient depth of water to float a vessel along the side of the pier, the Japanese continued adding to the pier until it reached far out into the sea. Capron observed, "It now stands as a monument of their egregious folly and self conceit."[105]

Capron thought that both these projects originated not from any Japanese intention to interfere with his plans, but from the "great defect in the Japanese character," that is, "overbearing confidence in their own judgment, and overweening vanity, which pushes them forward to cover up an error in their judgment when their attention is brought to it and to squirm out of it in some way at whatever cost." Capron, specifically referring to the canal and the pier, wrote: "In two cases of this character they have gone from bad to worse, expending vast sums to cover errors which have only ended in disaster."[106]

There were two more problems which Capron had to deal

with in performing his duties. One was the barrier of the language. For example, when he saw a translation of the stenographic records of his conversation with one Kaitakushi official, he discovered that, in two instances in the course of a five-minute conversation, he was made to give opinions quite contrary to what in fact he had said. Since his conversation with the officials was not always recorded nor submitted for revision and correction, he could not but worry about "the false position in which a foreigner is liable at any time to be placed in his relations with Japanese officials." Capron suspected that many misunderstandings and misapprehension of his advice on the part of the Japanese might be attributed to the want of reliable interpretation. At the same time, he felt that the problem was not simply the language, but "the novelty of everything proposed, which no single interpretation of the language could make clear to their comprehension."[107]

Another problem was Kuroda's frequent absence from the Kaitakushi. Capron's relationship with Kuroda remained amicable and his trust in Kuroda never faltered; but he had a much lower appreciation of other Kaitakushi officials. Therefore, it was unfortunate for Capron that Kuroda became more and more deeply involved in national affairs. Capron knew that Kuroda could give "very little attention" to the business of the Kaitakushi and worried that the Kaitakushi would "suffer by being turned over to some of those common fellows." In the fall of 1873 when Capron complained to the

Kaitakushi about the violation of his rights to select his assistants, he told Yasuda Sadanori, who was then acting for Kuroda, that Kuroda had a better understanding of Capron's rights but "it is evident that the subordinate authorities do not understand [them]." At times Capron had to turn Kuroda's attention to the pressing Kaitakushi business. In the spring of 1874, for example, he wrote Kuroda that, although survey parties should leave for Hokkaido soon, Capron was "thus far without information as to the plans and designs of the Kaitakushi for the present year."[108]

Seeing his reputation victimized by the inefficient and wasteful Kaitakushi operations, Capron became cautious in dealing with the officials. He, for example, suspected that the subordinate officials of the Kaitakushi "very ingeniously attempted" to shift the responsibility on to him when they showed him the work they had clandestinely constructed and sought to obtain some expression from him that could be construed into an approval. Therefore, after Capron observed the work in the construction and repair upon the canal in Sapporo, he sent a letter to Resident-Governor Matsumoto, pointing out "an entire ignorance" and "great want of judgment and experience" on the part of the persons in charge of the work. As Capron told Matsumoto, "the object of this letter is simply to place upon the records of this department the fact, that I was not consulted, neither did I advise or plan the work, but was kept in ignorance of it, until I first saw the work."[109] In like manner Capron

condemned other projects and expenditure which he had not approved in his reports and in his letters to Kuroda and other Kaitakushi officials. "In all these cases," Capron could console himself, "the records of the Kaitakushi will show my condemnation of them."[110]

Among the Kaitakushi constructions condemned by Capron, most expensive were a pier at Mori, docks, piers, and warehouses at the mouth of the Ishikari River, a large reservoir, a dam, and a bulkhead on the Toyohira River, and a stone quarry opened on a very extensive scale in an almost inaccessible place. Among other projects Capron criticized were the construction of "thin Japanese houses" entirely unsuitable for winter residence in Hokkaido; a supply of free rice to settlers for three years after their settlement in Hokkaido, which seemed to Capron not only to deprive them of the incentive to work but also to cause a heavy financial drain on the budget of the Kaitakushi; the construction of numerous extensive rice mills; the importation of many "lewd women" and the construction of costly buildings for their accommodation; the transportation of coolies from the mainland at great expense who would only return after their engagement was over. Although Capron himself had proposed the establishment of an agricultural school in his first annual report, he could not support an institution of higher learning which did not seem to be directly connected with the development of Hokkaido.[111]

Capron furthermore enumerated many items the Kaitaku-

shi had purchased without his sanction. Among them were old worn-out steamers and costly omnibuses fit only for paved streets in a large city. Capron considered the steam fire engines bought by the Kaitakushi not only useless because people in Hokkaido lacked proper arrangements for a supply of water and the necessary knowledge for their working but also dangerous because these engines created false sense of security. The diamond drill, which Capron understood had cost the Kaitakushi nearly ten thousand dollars but, according to Holt, was a second-hand machine worth about $2,500, was in Capron's views "for all practical purposes worthless" in Hokkaido. Kaitakushi officials were "like children" with "their tendency to buy eveything and anything in the shape of an old carriage, old machinery, tools of which they have no idea of their uses and which are to be found stored away in the godowns in all quarters."[112] Contrasting his competence and Japanese incompetence, Capron bluntly told Kuroda: "There is not an item of expense that has ever been made by my advice that has not proved an entire success ... on the other hand all that has been done outside of me and without my approval has proved a failure."[113]

Capron was deeply concerned about his own reputation but, almost alone among American advisers, he was also concerned with the prestige and interests of his country. When he accepted the mission, one of his motives lay in his belief that it would promote good relations between the United States and Japan. He was pleased with his cordial

reception by Japanese high officials and his interview with the Emperor, regarding these occasions not only as a high honor given to him but also as a clear indication of "a disposition to cultivate the friendly relations between the two Governments" on the Japanese side. It also seemed to him that the Japanese wanted to shake off the then predominant British influence. Capron hoped that the United States would increase its influence in Japan as well as its share in the Japanese market. Yet Capron at the same time feared that, unless the government and people of the United States paid more attention to the matter, no "advantages in geographical position" would enable the United States to counterpose the British government which "with her enlightened policy, and far-reaching energy, has already strong influence here, and is now supplying the rapidly growing wants of the country."[114]

While Capron's mission contributed to the increase in American influence through orders for American plants, livestock, implements, machines, and steamers by the Kaitakushi, he saw foreign influence and intrigue as an enormous obstacle to his efforts to promote American interests. There was always a "foreign tramp who had a penny to make, and had no scruples as to the manner of making it out of these confiding and over zealous [Japanese] people." He was, for example, distressed to learn that "some English tramp" had persuaded the Kaitakushi officials to purchase, without consulting Capron, two worthless horses. Mortified by hear-

ing these and other horses of poor quality called American horses, Capron declared to Kuroda "for the credit of that country" that "I am sure I know no part of the United States where such useless stock is grown."[115]

Capron was also disturbed to discover, when he intended to order instruments for a trigonometrical survey of Hokkaido, that some foreign interests had led the Kaitakushi to think the United States "too young and inexperienced in the manufacture of such instruments," and to consider ordering them from England or France. Capron had to spend time and use "some diplomacy" before he could convince the Japanese to the contrary. Anxious to see the work completed under American control "for the credit of our country," and fearful of further complications through foreign intrigue or change of ministry, Capron asked Henry and Secretary of Navy Robeson to help Julius E. Hilgard of U.S. Coast Survey so that Hilgard could forward the instruments at the earliest practical moment.[116]

Capron was convinced that foreigners, particularly the British, were "always antagonistical to everything American," and constantly "intriguing to disturb matters and create distrust in the minds of Japanese." It seemed to Capron that the British singled out the Kaitakushi as an "object for covert aspersions and open attack" because no department other than the Kaitakushi employed so many Americans.[117] One of his assistants, James Wasson, confirmed such Capron's suspicions when he reported from Hokkaido that

British Minister Harry Parkes, during his visit to Hokkaido, impressed Wasson "as a man likely to be about as unfriendly as possible toward this Dept [of the Kaitakushi]." The young but influential Asiatic Society set up by the British in Japan also kept on denigrating the climate of Hokkaido and even in 1874 insisted that such crops as maize would not grow in Hokkaido in spite of the crop successes and the exhibition of its sample at the Kaitakushi buildings in Tokyo for two seasons.[118]

Unfortunately for Capron, the British had abundant opportunities to express their critical views, for three of the four foreign newspapers in Japan at the time were owned by the British and the remaining one by the French.[119] The Japan Mail, for example, repeated its warning against "the danger to [Japan] arising from its proximity to America"--"the land of free institutions, but also of dangerous experiments; of progress, certainly, yet of shallow legislation, and the domination of the wise by the ignorant." Its verdict on the project of the Kaitakushi was always negative: "a failure." The antagonism of the Japan Gazette to the Kaitakushi was often presented in the form of a correspondence from a "Matsumai" allegedly living in Hokkaido. In January 1874, for example, Matsumai criticized "the mismanagement and peculation" of the Kaitakushi by producing forty questions about its operations. When Capron's departure for the United States approached, the Japan Mail concluded that "the work done in Yezo [Hokkaido] during these years amounts

to nothing," and "there is no more roots in the thing than in an artificial flower; no more life in it than in a straw man." When Capron protested, the Japan Mail carried his letter, but soon reinforced its position by introducing testimony allegedly from Hokkaido that "the colonists are leaving one by one."[120]

What exasperated Capron was his suspicion that "the impertinent criticism" of the foreign press was "instigated most undoubtedly by someone or more actually employed in the Department"; Antisell and Eldridge, among others, were suspected as guilty parties. In his mind, there was no doubt that "the baleful opposition of a prejudiced foreign press with contaminating presence of unprincipled adventurers, as well of our own, as other nationalities did more to distract the attention of the Japanese, and retard our work than all else combined."[121]

Criticism of Capron's mission was also carried by the American press, which was especially disheartening for Capron, who viewed himself as working in Japan with "pride and responsibility in sustaining our [U.S.] national reputation and interest." In the spring of 1872, following the dismissal of Antisell by the Kaitakushi, Capron heard, from his former colleague John B. Russell, that "a thousand stories" about the collapse of Capron's party and its imminent return to the United States were reported in the newspapers at home.[122] Then, in October 1872, an anonymous article in E. L. Godkin's influential weekly The Nation dealt him a shat-

tering blow. While pointing to "the most friendly regard" the Japanese had for the United States and their willingness to accept American methods and experiences as their models, the article asserted that the Americans in Japanese employ were incompetent. The article explained that when the Japanese minister in Washington was directed to obtain advisers for the home government, he made a mistake in turning to United States government officials; he simply did not know that the civil service in the United States rewarded party services, not qualifications and ability. Capron in particular "had no standing or recognition in the professional circles of the country" and "would have found it extremely difficult to earn a living in any other than Government employment," and certainly could not "prevent the Agricultural Bureau from being what it yet is, the laughing-stock and contempt of every educated agriculturist, wool, cotton, and grain dealer throughout the country." The article reinforced its argument by citing a report from Japan: "The letter, which is from an accomplished and trustworthy citizen of the United States temporary sojourning in Japan, says that Mr. Capron, ex-Commissioner of Agriculture, and employed by Japan in a similar capacity in that country with a number of American assistants, is regarded by the Government as almost useless, and that his commission has broken to pieces."[123]

While Capron assured Henry that his relations with the Japanese government "have never been more satisfactory than

at the present time," he asked Russell to find out the person who offered the malicious information to the Nation writer. Failing to do so, Russell consoled Capron: "To be annoyed in this way, was a tax that public men have to submit to, in most countries. They come like shadows, so depart." But the unfavorable comments could not but tarnish Capron's reputation to some extent. Lyman, for example, was prejudiced against Capron "owing to newspaper lies about him," and only when he became acquainted with him in Japan, found him "a far more honorable man than [he] had supposed."[124]

Capron not only felt that the American press smeared his own reputation but also worried about the adverse effect upon the prestige of the United States. Toward the end of 1874, after he had spent more than three years in Japan, he wrote Henry that current events of the United States viewed from Japan and "in the shades thrown over our institutions by the American press" so depressing that he found his confidence in his own country "greatly shaken." An Ameican resident in Japan was "daily called upon to blush for his country and to defend it against his own fears." If the reports from the United States were true, Capron even felt that he would "really care but little to return again to the United States." "If such is the effect upon a native born and true friend to his country," Capron worried, "it is really a wonder that we as a nation or as a people can command respect and credit abroad for purity of sentiment or

even decency." While he found hope in the possibility that "we are furnished with the worst phases in our public and private charcter [sic], by the press," he was concerned about the impact of the press on the prestige of the United States.[125] He explained to Henry:

> It must be borne in mind that we are surrounded by representatives of every nation in Europe, who are not only inimical to Republics, but have a personal interest here in misrepresenting our Government and our people, and who take much pains [sic] to emblazen [sic] to the world with many additions every case of public or private scandal, which can reflect disgrace upon our Government or our people, and with which the public press of our country teems to the exclusion of every other intelligence.[126]

Capron could only add: "It is horrible."

A Firm Belief in the Success in His Mission

When Capron dropped in a small fishing village on his way to Sapporo in July 1872, he conceived himself as a pioneer and wrote down in his journal: "I stand solitary and alone, a pioneer, as it were, upon the outpost of civilization." Eight thousand miles away from home, and particularly in the sparsely-populated environment of Hokkaido, Capron was almost overwhelmed by a sense of loneliness. Although he was surrounded by not a few Japanese during his trip to Hokkaido--an interpreter, an official in charge of travel arrangements, a cook, a servant, and coolies with pack horses--he still felt alone "surrounded by a strange uncivilized people," missing a companion with whom he "could while away the hours in an interchange of sentiment or comparison

of impressions." Unfortunately, his young interpreter, Yuchi Sadamoto, who had spent some years at Massachusetts Agricultural College and later became the governor of the prefecture of Kagoshima, struck him as "a man at best of few words and less ideas" and could not prevent him from falling into "a condition considerably demoralized." Besides, for Capron, an aged pioneer, travels in Hokkaido meant "great fatigues, and very great hazards." Betrayal by his assistants, great quandaries he felt he had been put in by ignorant and conceited Japanese officials, and criticism in the foreign and American press all deepened his sense of isolation and frustration. What was to compensate him for "great sacrifice," Capron often asked himself and found only one answer: "Without success in your great Mission, nothing."[127]

Capron did believe in the success in his mission. Although he could not say that the work had been entirely satisfactory, he, nevertheless, fully believed that it had "resulted in much good" to Japan.[128] As early as the spring of 1873 he was satisfied with the Kaitakushi farm in Tokyo, observing fruits, grains, vegetables, and flowers "flourishing," and cattle, horses, sheep, and swine "doing well." He felt particularly honored by visits of the Emperor and the Empress to the farm, demonstrating that the farm had "so largely improved and advanced as to attract the attention of the Emperor himself, as well as the ladies of his household." Such visits encouraged Capron who had hoped the farm to become the "means of introducing throughout the Empire,

all of our American varieties of cereals, fruits, grasses, live stock, &c &c."[129]

When he visited the farm in Sapporo in the summer of 1873, he again found it "really very encouraging to witness" the first-rate growth of all American grains, fruits, vegetables and grasses. When he lent a hand in directing the Illinois breaking plow to cut the first furrow in Hokkaido, he was proud to say, "I did it." The following summer Capron continued to be favorably impressed by the farm, observing that nearly all the implements used in America were put into use there. He was especially proud to point out that the first flour ground in Japan was by a mill erected by his party in Sapporo, and the first flour ground there was from wheat grown in Sapporo from seed introduced by him from Oregon and cut by an American reaper made in New York.[130]

In May 1874 Capron found even the Nanae farm, the supernumerary officials of which had disgusted him before, "much improved since [his] last scolding," although he still noticed room for improvements. Three months later, when he passed the farm again on his way back to Tokyo, he was still more satisfied with "the very great improvements since [his] last visit." He observed that the crops were promising, the stock of horses, cattle, and sheep imported from the United States were in first-rate condition, and the place in all respects had greatly improved. When he was treated to a "glorious" bowl of cool rich Devon milk and boiled rice, he

was moved to say: "Ye Gods--was ever anything more refreshing?"[131]

While Capron seemed to be most confident about the results of his mission in the field of agriculture and introduction of machinery, he considered that his party had "the right to claim also the inauguration of the first regular system of geological, mineralogical and land surveys ever attempted in Japan, and the first successful lithographing of maps." The work of the Kaitakushi "exclusively under American direction" thus enlarged the boundaries of Japan to the extent of the domain of Hokkaido which "up to the period of 1871, when this Island was first taken in hand by the American Commission, was an encumbrance to the nation." He further pointed to Japanese youths educated in useful trades and professions under the guidance of American experts. In his views, the good effects of the American work were, of course, not confined to Hokkaido; in modifying and improving the habits and conditions of the people, they were "of incalculable value to the Japanese as a nation." If his work had not been entirely satisfactory, the blame should be put on the Japanese. "My suggestions," Capron wrote Kuroda, "... had it been strictly carried out, would I feel convinced have given more general satisfaction than the course adopted."[132]

Capron and his wife, who had spent three years in Japan with him, left for the United States in May 1875. Capron long cherished the farewell address of the Emperor,

which in part read:

> You have so assiduously and faithfully executed your responsible duties, and advised the Chokwan [Kuroda], that the important work of the Department has been successfully carried out and is daily progressing to our satisfaction. Indeed your services were valuable and deserve my high appreciation, and it is hardly a matter of doubt that the future progress of that island, the fruit of your labor, will much advance the happiness of my whole Empire.[133]

A few months after Capron's departure for the United States, Reports and Official Letters to the Kaitakushi, compiled by Capron, was published by the Kaitakushi. While the book was concluded with the Emperor's tribute of praise to Capron, it also contained many letters Capron had written to Kuroda which formed a long tirade against the Kaitakushi. It was his idea that these letters be published so that he would not be held responsible for blunders committed by the Kaitakushi.[134] But publication also provided his enemy, the foreign press in Japan, with much ammunition.

The Japan Gazette, for example, called attention, among others, to the omission of the reports written by Antisell and Eldridge as Capron's narrow-mindedness, and to American chauvinism which, "apparent throughout the entire volume," led Capron to "inaccuracies, and wanton disregard of observations of previous explorers" of Hokkaido who happened to be not Americans. Also, taking notice of Capron's claim that "My suggestions contempated a systematic plan of operations," the Gazette responded, "In going through the 'Reports and Official Letters' ... we have been unable to find any trace of 'a systematic plan of operations' and

therefore we cannot see how General Capron can blame the officials of the Kaitakushi for not having acted upon it."[135]

Such attacks probably did not reach Capron, by then safely settled in Washington. Instead, in December 1875, he received a eulogistic letter from John A. Bingham, the former congressman, part author of the Fourteenth Amendment, and U.S. Minister in Japan since 1873. Informing Capron that Kuroda and other Japanese ministers had spoken most kindly of him and his work and predicted that "[his] name would live in the grateful remembrance of their people," Bingham wrote: "So you see, my dear General, although you have been barked at by the small critics who control the English press in Japan, it all goes for nothing." Exercising his imagination fully, Bingham pictured the way Capron would be remembered by the Japanese: "Long after you shall have joined those who have gone before you, when Yesso shall be covered with cattle and sheep and fields of golden wheat and corn, and its mountains clothed to their summits with the purple vine, will it be said of you, this was the work of Genl. Capron." Bingham then quoted some "great Roman Senator" who had allegedly said that "in nothing do men approach nearer to the Gods than in founding new states or in perpetuating those already founded." In case of Hokkaido, Bingham wrote Capron, "there was no State ... when you took charge of the Island, and it may also be said when you left it a State was founded."[136] The implication was too

obvious to fail to exhiralate Capron.

Back in Washington, Capron had chances to speak about his experience in general, including several interviews with newspaper men.[137] In May 1876 he read a paper before the Philosophical Society of Washington, later published as a sixteen-page pamphlet under the title of "Japan: Some Remarks in Connection with the Visit of Horace Capron to Japan in 1871-1875." His introductory remarks, the typhoon he had encountered on his way to Japan, the cordial reception of his party by Japanese officials, his interview with the Emperor, and the description of his georgeous dwellings consumed forty percent of the speech. He then set forth some observations: the Meiji Restoration, of which he gave an oversimplified as well as incorrect explanation in claiming that "the imperial decree which destroyed at a single stroke the entire feudal system ... which constituted one of the most arbitrary forms of government that ever existed, was promulgated in July, 1871"; a pair of "handsome" American horses imported by the Japanese government for Capron's use, which moved the Emperor to thank Capron, saying "I never knew before that they existed on the face of the earth"; and the wonderful change in Tokyo during his stay to houses built of stone and brick, large public buildings erected after improved styles of architecture with modern means of heating and glass, thoroughfares lighted by gas, a railroad, omnibuses, and stores well-stocked with foreign goods.[138]

The speech was more than half over before he at last addressed himself to his mission. Describing Hokkaido and his work briefly, Capron again emphasized his achievement in combatting the prejudice of the Japanese and the view of a member of his mission who had located Hokkaido in a sub-frigid zone, and also his contribution to the inauguration of "a complete revolution ... in the system of labor and the character of the food supply." But Capron had time only to talk about "a few of the many aids to a general advance of the whole empire to which our labors were devoted."[139] Subsequently he gave a rather lengthy description of the fisheries of Hokkaido and a reference to rice and tea as exportable commodities of Japan.

Before concluding what Capron modestly admitted to be "crude and disconnected remarks," he presented his views of the Japanese. The Japanese, he told the Washington audience, were "quiet, good natured, easily controlled, and measurably happy and contented, notwithstanding the absence of almost everything the average American or European considers essential to personal comfort." Travellers were thus secure in Japan. "Neither on lonely road in the interior nor amid the crowded streets of the cities was I ever insulted by act, word, or look, nor was I ever a witness of a turbulent assemblage." In a striking contrast to America or Europe where "the throng which fill the thoroughfares and gather in crowds at every open space would almost certainly insure some exhibition of human depravity," Capron found

that Japanese gathered to listen to some reader of Japanese history, or to witness the feats of some juggler or a theatrical performance, and "their only noisy demonstrations [were] laughter and applause."[140]

Capron then said that the Japanese were "truly a contented race" notwithstanding their low standard of living because of their "blissful ignorance of the luxuries of the outer world." It was not difficult to imagine that "intercourse with foreigners and an intimate acquaintance with their luxurious and expensive habits may ... effect discontent and consequent unhappiness among [the Japanese]." But taking notice that the seeds of Western civilization had been already sown and Japanese leaders were eager to "become better acquainted with our more advanced humanity," he asserted: "Whatever the result, the change was necessary for the elevation of the race to a higher condition of civilized life and to position and power among Christian peoples, and therefore attempts to render it permanent are in the highest degree justifiable." His firm belief in the superiority and universality of Western civilization left little room for Capron to rethink his culture and values in the light of his Japanese experience. He thought that Japan's advance in the direction of adopting Western civilization would not be rapid because the country lacked in accumulated public or individual wealth. But, calling the Japanese "the most industrious known," "incomparably frugal," possessing "ambition ... in an eminent degree," and skilled in "all works of

art requiring delicate manipulation," he predicted that "[Japan's] skilled labor will, if rightly utilized, advance the empire to wealth and power."[141]

For Capron, Japan was not simply a matter of memories; he kept in close touch with the country through correspondence with and assistance to the Kaitakushi officials. Japanese dependence upon him was clearly indicated when Kuroda, in January 1876, on the eve of his departure for Korea as ambassador extraordinary, asked Capron to "furnish any information to the officers who are remaining in the Kaitakushi very generously as before should they happend [sic] to put you some question or request your trouble for something on behalf of this Department in future." In 1877 correspondence between Kuroda and Capron became much more frequent because of the outbreak of the Satsuma Rebellion, the last of the feudal risings against the Meiji government. In the course of the battle which had lasted for half a year, Kuroda first served as the Emperor's emissary and subsequently commanded an imperial army, for which Capron purchased Gatling guns, Remington rifles, and a large amount of ammunitions: more than fifty thousand dollars had been remitted to Capron for the purchase. During the fighting, Kuroda also solicited Capron's help for a more peaceful purpose--the employment of a man acquainted with the process of canning salmon. After the war ended in government victory, Kuroda asked Capron to buy hop roots enough to fill a three-acre land and books on the cultivation of hops.[142]

In the fall of 1878 the Kaitakushi sent Capron salmon cans made by the Kaitakushi under the guidance of U.S. Treat, asking his advice for improvement. Capron distributed them among dealers, officials of the army and the navy, and his acquaintances, and reported to the Kaitakushi that, although he worried a little about the high duties (30 percent) charged on fish imported int the United States, tinned Japanese salmon could compete with the local products in view of "the most satisfactory" responses he had obtained. Capron told an official of the Kaitakushi that he was gratified "beyond measures" with the success of the Kaitakushi in their attempts to develop the resources of Hokkaido and "particularly in those directions in which I have in any way been identified." In 1879 Capron continued to buy the items requested by the Kaitakushi--two hundred sheep, three boilers for steamers, two sleighs, and two stallions.[143]

In offering these services, Capron was not entirely altruistic. After he bought weapons and ammunitions, he reminded Kuroda that he had made no charges for commission and Kuroda immediately sent him five percent of the cost as a compensation for his service. Two years later, Capron again wrote Kuroda that "I would much prefer to attend to all your orders without any compensation, rather than not to do it all, although my present income as I have withdrawn from public employment necessitates my great economy." Kuroda soon sent Capron a check of $1,000.[144]

Approaching the end of his seventies, Capron looked back on his "long and active life." He toyed with the idea of having his Japanese journal revised by a competent person so that his family could print it sometime in the future.[145] Also, he started to record his life up to the time of his departure for Japan. Looking backward, not only did he feel that "the rapid growth of this country both in population and wealth, when measured by the life of one man, is so immeasurably great," but also he was proud of his own "useful work" contributing to it. However, while he vividly recalled, for example, the days when he was hailed as a successful manufacturer and scientific agricultulist in Laurel, Maryland, he painfully felt, "I have lived to see this all forgotten." He only observed that "many families now are rolling in wealth, whose parents were apprentices or overseers, in some of the many works of my creating," and those who had "received their education, and their first start in life in works of my creating" became successful manufacturers and even Senators. When Capron attended a lecture at the Department of Agriculture on the renovation of worn-out lands in southern states, the lecturer quoted Capron's work without giving the name of the author. Sitting "amidst an assemblage of the Scientific workers in Agriculture of the present age," Capron noticed that no one, except the presiding officer, knew that the author was in the room or that the very building under the roof of which they were assembled had been erected by the same person.[146]

Capron's Japanese connection seemed to be more viable than his past glory in Laurel. In his home situated, as Capron put it, "at the seat of the Government," he surrounded himself with specimens of Japanese art; and it was his pleasure to see them greatly admired by those who visited his home, including justices of the Supreme Court, members of Congress, and heads of departments. Capron regarded himself still working for friendly relations between the United States and Japan. As he told Kuroda, "The wonderful skill developed by the Japanese excites their admiration and often leads to much conversation in relation to your country, and I know that it has, and is abiding to develop better understanding and a desire for more intimate relations with a people so naturally gifted."[147] His collection of Japanese works of art caught the attention of more Americans when it was exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution. In the spring of 1883 Capron happily engaged himself in preparing another edition of a catalogue for his collection after seven hundred copies of the first edition were sold out at the Institution.[148]

Capron soon learned that the Japanese indeed did not forget his contributions to their country. In January 1884 the Japanese government, in the name of the Emperor, conferred upon Capron the Decoration of the Second Order of the Rising Sun, which he received "with feelings of profound emotion."[149] While he found a decoration "a slendid affair," he most valued the diploma with the autograph of

the Emperor, which recited the results of his labors in Japan and the benefits derived by the country. Now Capron heartily felt assured about the results of his misssion. "In fact," Capron told his son, "I dont see how any one can find fault with my work there after this endorsement by the Emperor after so many years experience in following up the plans laid out by me for the development and settlement of that long neglected but splendid Island."[150]

One year later, on February 21, 1885, Capron attended the ceremony for the dedication of the Washington Monument. It was a moving occasion for Capron, who was one of the few who had participated in the laying of its corner stone forty-one years ago. But, although sunny, the day was cold and windy. Capron died the following day at the age of eighty.[151]

NOTES

1. Horace Capron, "The Memoirs of Horace Capron," 2 vols., typed copy, National Agricultural Library, Department of Agriculture, Beltsville, Maryland [hereafter cited as "Memoirs"], 2: 88. The second volume of Capron's memoirs is a journal kept by Capron from the time he met Kuroda in Washington. The date, however, is sometimes unreliable.

2. Capron's biographical sources are the first volume of "Memoirs"; Louisa Kerwin Thiers, "An American Advisor to the Japanese Government," The Journal of American History 7 (October-December 1913): 1415-25; Merritt Starr, "General Horace Capron, 1804-1885," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society 18 (1925): 259-349; and various newspaper clippings contained in CLC.

3. Thiers, Starr, and Frederick A. Holden, the author of The Capron Family Book: Genealogy of the Descendants of Banfield Capron from A.D. 1660 to A.D. 1859 (Boston: Rand & Avery, 1859), all write that the first Capron, Banfield, came to the United States in 1660. Capron, however, traces his ancestors back to a French Huguenot who left France for England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. "Memoirs," 1: 2-4. Starr also suggests the French origin of the name Capron, which means "Chief Strawberry." Starr, 259.

4. David M. Ellis et al., A History of New York State (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 184.

5. Capron's three elder brothers studied respectively at Brown University, Hamilton College, and West Point Military Academy. "Memoirs," 1: 11.

6. Ibid., 1: 38.

7. Ibid., 1: 42-44.

8. Ibid., 1: 67-68.

9. Rural New-Yorker, 5 March 1870.

10. "Memoirs," 1: 66.

11. "A Visit to Col. Capron's," The American Farmer 4 (July 1848): 6.

12. Capron included in the list of appointments his

election to Vice-President of the U.S. Agricultural Society in 1848. "Memoirs," 1: n. p. But the national society was established in 1852, and Journal of the United States Agricultural Society published for the years from 1852 to 1860 show that Capron was a member of the executive committee only for the year 1859-60.

13. Reverdy Johnson to Webster, 26 November 1851, CLC.

14. John H.B. Latrobe to Daniel Webster, 22 November 1851, CLC.

15. "Memoirs," 1: 94, 99; Capron to Luke Lea, 18 February 1853, copy, CLC; Capron to Geo. W. Manypenny, n.d., 1853, copy, CLC.

16. Earle D. Ross, "The United States Department of Agriculture during the Commissionership: A Study in Politics, Administration, and Technology, 1862-1889," Agricultral History 20 (1946): 134.

17. Quoted in Albert B. Capron, "The Stoneman Raid," CLC.

18. Ross, 134.

19. Quoted in William Salter, The Life of James W. Grimes (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1876), 306.

20. Ross, 133-34, 137.

21. Cincinnati Daily Gazette, 10 July 1871.

22. Starr, 281-83; Ross, 138.

23. The Massachusetts Ploughman, 29 April 1871; Rural New-Yorker, 5 March 1870.

24. Morrill's speech, quoted in "Memoirs," 1: 150; Henry, Desk Diary, 14 April 1871, HSI.

25. Ross, 134.

26. Capron, Memorandum, 17 April 1871, copy, CLC.

27. "Memoirs," 2: 9. Capron's collection at Yale University contains Albert's letters to his father which indicate that Albert constantly informed Capron of the expenses for his younger brother in an asylum for the blind and Capron regularly sent money from Japan.

28. "Memoirs," 2: 6.

29. Ibid., 2: 20.

30. DeLong to Fish, no. 239 (4 September 1871), DNA.

31. Capron, "Japan: Some Remarks in Connection with the Visit of Horace Capron to Japan in 1871-1875" (Philadelphia: Collins, 1876), 7; Capron to his son [Albert B. Capron], 7 September 1871, CLC; "Memoirs," 2: 21.

32. Capron to his son, 19 September 1871, CLC; "Memoirs," 2: 26.

33. "Memoirs," 2: 5, 9.

34. Capron to his son, 7 September, 29 October 1871, CLC.

35. "Memoirs," 2: 38-39.

36. Ibid., 2: 162, 168.

37. Ibid., 2: 29-32, 52.

38. Ibid., 2: 38.

39. Ibid., 2: 18, 38; Quoted in Starr, 313.

40. "Memoirs," 2: 38-40.

41. Ibid., 2: 50-51, 56, 93-94.

42. Capron to Colonel Warren, 25 February 1872, copy, CYU.

43. Capron to his son, 7 September 1871, CLC.

44. Capron to John B. Russell, 25 February 1872, copy, CYU.

45. "Memoirs," 2: 233.

46. "The First Annual Report," in ROL, 45.

47. Ibid., 41-42; "The Second Annual Report, November 1873," in ROL, 99-100.

48. "The First Annual Report," in ROL, 48-49.

49. Ibid., 47.

50. Ibid., 49.

51. Ibid., 44.

52. Ibid., 45-46, 48.

53. Capron's summary of the measures he had recommended in his first annual report and in his subsequent letters is in "The Second Annual Report," ROL, 99-100.

54. Capron to Kuroda, 20 March 1875, in ROL, 577.

55. "The First Annual Report," in ROL, 49.

56. Quoted in Starr, 313, 324.

57. "The First Annual Report," in ROL, 49-50.

58. Quoted in Herbert H. Gowen, "An American Pioneer in Japan," Washington Historical Quarterly 20 (January, 1929), 16.

59. "Charges Made by Gen. H. Capron Against Doct. Stuart Eldridge, August 18, 1872," draft, CYU [hereafter cited as "Charges Against Eldridge"].

60. Eldridge to Henry, 31 July 1871, HSI. Underlining by this writer.

61. "Charges Against Eldridge."

62. Quoted by Capron in "Charges Against Eldridge."

63. Holt and Clark, "Memorandum of a conversation at Saporo [sic], Japan, between Dr Stuart Eldridge, Sandford Clark and N.W. Holt, August 17, 1872," CYU; and Holt and Clark, "Memorandum of a conversation at different times and places, vis. at Yedo, Yokohama, Hakodate & Sapporo between Mr Clark, Dr Eldridge, and N.W. Holt, concerning Gen Capron and party belonging thereto, August 3, 1872" (signed and sworn before DeLong on April 8, 1873), CYU. In his "Testimony, March 5, 1873," signed and sworn before DeLong, A.G. Warfield also testified that Eldridge had told him the stories on Capron similar to those Holt and Clark had reported. CYU.

64. "Charges Against Eldridge." Capron also scribbled "scoundrel" in referring to Eldridge on the margin of the letter from Eldridge to Capron, 7 August 1872, CYU.

65. Eldridge to Capron, 29 December 1872, CYU.

66. Eldridge to Kuroda, 29 December 1872, CFE; Eldridge to DeLong, n.d., copy, in DeLong to Fish, no. 384 (22 April 1873), DNA; Kuroda to Eldridge, 8 January 1873, copy, KK, vol. 5742.

67. DeLong to Eldridge, 4 January 1873, copy, in DeLong to Fish, no. 384 (22 April 1873), DNA. Regarding Americans

employed by the Japanese government as "quasi commercial agents," DeLong had expected that they would contribute to the opening of the Japanese market to American exports. DeLong to Fish, no. 307 (21 November 1872), DNA.

68. Eldridge to DeLong, 9 January 1873, in DeLong to Fish, no. 384 (22 April 1873), DNA.

69. Eldridge to Kuroda, 18 September 1874, CFE.

70. Capron to Henry, 20 September 1871, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

71. "Memoirs," 2: 286.

72. Kuroda to the Foreign Ministry, 23 February 1872 (31 March 1872, according to the solar calendar), KK, vol. 5495.

73. Capron to Kuroda, 9 October 1873, draft, CLC.

74. Kuroda to the Foreign Ministry, 23 February 1872 (31 March 1872, according to the solar calendar), KK, vol. 5495; Capron to Henry, 26 March 1872, HSI.

75. Antisell to Henry, 24 March 1872, HSI; Harada Kazufumi, Oyatoi gaikokujin: Kaitaku [Foreign Employees: Development of Hokkaido] (Tokyo: Kashima Shuppankai, 1975), 131; Capron to Kuroda, 9 October 1873, draft, CLC; Antisell to Kuroda, 29 June 1872, CFE.

76. Capron to Kuroda, 14 October 1873, copy, CLC. As for Antisell, he conveyed to another American expert, Munroe, his entire satisfaction with the new contract: "I ... have leisure to fight my way back, and am finally settled here again with my new contract in my pocket and a position better than I would have had before." Antisell to Henry M. Smith [Henry S. Munroe], 20 July 1872, MCHS.

77. Antisell to Kuroda, 5 February 1873, in DeLong to Fish, no. 428 (19 June 1873), DNA.

78. Capron to Kuroda, 9 October 1873, draft, CLC.

79. Capron to Kuroda, 14 October 1873, copy, CLC.

80. The minutes of the conference of 5 February 1873 are in KK, vol. 5514.

81. Capron to Antisell, 10 February 1873, copy, CLC; Antisell to DeLong, 28 March 1873, in DeLong to Fish, no. 428 (19 June 1873), DNA.

82. Antisell to DeLong, 28 March 1873, DNA; Antisell to

Capron, 15 April 1873, copy, CYU.

83. Antisell to Henry, 15 September 1873, HSI.

84. Antisell to Yasuda Sadanori, 23 October 1873, copy, CYU; Capron to Benjamin S. Lyman, 23 July 1874, LAPS.

85. "Memoirs," 2: 88.

86. ROL, passim.

87. Capron to Latrobe, 4 July 1872, copy, CLC.

88. Kuroda to Capron, 8 October 1872 (8 November, according to the solar calendar), CYU.

89. Holt to Capron, 1, 8 November 1872, CYU; Kuroda to Capron, 8 October 1872 (8 November, according to the solar calendar), CYU. For instance, Warfield allegedly demanded Kaitakushi officials to provide him with prostitutes. See Maeda Kiyoteru's report on Warfield, in KK, vol. 5742.

90. Capron to Tanaka and Dzusho, 26 December 1872, copy, CYU; DeLong to Fish, no. 390 (29 April 1873), DNA.

91. DeLong to Fish, 4 December 1872, FLC.

92. Capron, Memorandum, 17 April 1871, copy, CLC; Mori and Kuroda to Capron, 3 May 1871, CLC.

93. Capron to Kuroda, 6 October 1872, copy, CYU; Capron to Yasuda, 14, 18, 30 October 1873, copies, CYU.

94. Capron to Yasuda, 30 October 1873, copy, CYU.

95. Capron to Kuroda, 13 August 1873, copy, CLC.

96. Capron to Kuroda, 18 July 1873, copy, CYU.

97. Capron to Kuroda, 13 August 1873, copy, CLC.

98. Capron to Kuroda, 8 July 1872, in ROL, 55; Capron to Kuroda, 15 June 1873, copy, CYU.

99. "Memoirs," 2: 118, 212.

100. Ibid., 2: 188-91.

101. Ibid., 2: 124-25, 210.

102. Ibid., 2: 209.

103. Ibid., 2: 237.

104. Ibid.; Capron to Lyman, 23 July 1874, LAPS.

105. "Memoirs," 2: 177-78.

106. Ibid., 2: 208-209.

107. Capron to Dzusho, December 1874, copy, CYU; "Memoirs," 2: 285.

108. Capron to Lyman, 23 July 1873, LAPS; Capron to Yasuda, 18 October 1873, copy, CYU; Capron to Kuroda, 9 April 1874, copy, CYU.

109. "Memoirs," 2: 241; Capron to Matsumoto, 12 July 1874, copy, CYU.

110. "Memoirs," 2: 241.

111. Capron's criticism of the Kaitakushi projects and expenditure appears in many of his letters to Kuroda. Especially see his letter to Kuroda, 15 June, 18 July 1873, copies, CYU, and his second annual report in ROL, 95-109. There are also a copy of "Memoranda of expenditure by the Kaitakushi of Hokkaidof[sic] not recommended or approved of by General Capron" among CYU and a slightly different version of the memorandum among CLC.

112. "Memoirs," 2: 149.

113. Capron to Kuroda, 18 July 1873, copy, CYU.

114. Capron to his son, 19 September 1871, CLC; Capron to Russell, 25 February 1872, copy, CYU.

115. "Memoirs," 2: 149, 173; Capron to Kuroda, 15 June 1873, copy, CYU.

116. Capron to Hilgard, 7 December 1873, copy, CYU; Capron to Robeson, 7 December 1873, copy, CYU; Capron to Henry, 7 December 1873, copy, CYU.

117. "Memoirs," 2: 285; Capron's correspondence in The Japan Mail, 10 March 1875.

118. Wasson to Capron, 25 September 1873, CYU; "Memoirs," 2: 233-34.

119. A correspondent of the New York Daily Tribune wrote from Tokyo that "it is to be regretted that Americans have not mouthpiece here." New York Daily Tribune, 4 November 1871. It was in 1877, two years after Capron's departure from Japan, that an American citizen, E. H. House, started to publish the Tokyo Times which provided Americans with opportunities to advocate their own views.

120. The Japan Weekly Mail [a forthnightly edition of The Japan Mail], 18 October 1873; The Japan Gazette, 14 January 1874; The Japan Mail, 24 February, 10, 25 March 1875.

121. Capron to Kuroda, 18 July 1873, copy, CYU; "Memoirs," 2: 305.

122. Capron to Russell, 25 February 1872, copy, CYU; Russell to Capron, 30 May 1872, CLC.

123. The Nation, 3 October 1872, 213.

124. Capron to Henry, 18 November 1872, copy, CYU; Russell to Capron, 25 January 1873, CYU; Lyman to Henry, 25 March 1874, HSI.

125. Capron to Henry, 24 October 1874, HSI.

126. Ibid.

127. "Memoirs," 2: 78, 89, 132, 211.

128. Capron to Griffis, 3 February 1876, GRU.

129. "Memoirs," 2: 158.

130. "Memoirs," 2: 187-88, 246; Starr, pp. 246, 313.

131. "Memoirs," 2: 234, 259.

132. Capron to Griffis, 3 February 1876, GRU; "Memoirs," 2: 173, 283, 303-304; Capron's correspondence in the Japan Mail, 10 March 1875; Capron to Kuroda, 30 April 1875, in ROL, 640.

133. "The Majesty's Address" (translation), CLC.

134. Capron to Griffis, 3 February 1876, GRU.

135. The Japan Gazette, 25 September 1875.

136. Bingham to Capron, 29 December 1875, CLC.

137. During his stay in Japan, Capron wrote a paper on Japanese agriculture, hoping to offer "an instructive lesson for the American paper." Capron to Henry, 14 May 1874, HSI; Capron, "Agriculture in Japan," Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1873 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), 364-74.

138. Japan: Some Remarks in Connection with the Visit of Horace Capron to Japan in 1871-1875, 9, 11.

139. Ibid., 14-15.

140. Ibid., 17.

141. Ibid., 17-18.

142. Kuroda to Capron, 4 January 1876, CLC; Kuroda to Capron, telegram, 16 May, 2, 7, 21 June 1877, CYU; Kuroda to Capron, 9 December 1877, CYU.

143. Yasuda Sadanori to Capron, 12 October 1878, CYU; Capron to Yasuda, 8 January 1879, copy, CYU; Capron to Nishimura Sadaaki, 24 February 1879, copy, CYU; Kuroda to Capron, 12 February, 10 June, 1, 20 November 1879, CYU.

144. Capron to Kuroda, 12 August 1877, copy, CYU; Kuroda to Capron, 28 September 1877, CYU; Capron to Kuroda, 17 December 1879, copy, CYU; Kuroda to Yoshida Kiyonari, 29 March 1880, CYU; Yoshida to Capron, 10 June 1880, CYU.

145. Capron to Griffis, 31 March 1883, GRU.

146. "Memoirs," 1: 56-57, 83.

147. Capron to Kuroda, 17 December 1879, copy, CYU.

148. Capron to Griffis, 31 March 1883, GRU. His collection exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution was bought by the U.S. government at the sum of $10,000 after his death. Frank W. Hackett to Margaret Capron, 19 February 1889, CLC.

149. Capron to Naito Ruijiro, 19 January 1884, copy, CLC. Although Capron thought that he was the first foreigner who received the Second Order ("Memoirs," 2: 281), it had been already conferred upon foreigners, including his fellow countryman Charles LeGendre.

150. Capron to his son, 18 March 1884, CLC.

151. Starr, 348-49; The Washington Evening Star, 21, 23 February 1885.

CHAPTER FOUR

BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN: A DISILLUSIONED HELPER

Benjamin Smith Lyman, a thirty-seven-year-old geologist and mining engineer, possessed a highly creditable record in experience as well as in academic background when he entered into a three-year contract with the Kaitakushi in December 1872. While he decided to go to Japan primarily because he regarded the job offered as an attractive professional opportunity, he soon came to view his host country as "the Sleeping Beauty, that the young Prince (America) came to awaken to fresh life and renewed loveliness."[1] But because the Kaitakushi was not responsive to his advice nor was Lyman conciliatory, the service for the Kaitakushi turned out to be a nightmarish experience for him.

The Making of an Established Mining Geologist

Born on December 11, 1835, in Northampton, Massachusetts, Benjamin Smith Lyman was an eighth-generation American, descended from Richard Lyman, who sailed from Bristol in company with the wife and the eldest son of John Winthrop and arrived in Boston in 1631.[2] Lyman's ancestors were, in his own evaluation, "worthy men, respected in the rural community, without there being any very celebrated person-

ages among them." They were also typical New Englanders, religious, stressing education, accumulating wealth by industry and frugality, and demonstrating an acute sense of social responsibility. Benjamin's grandfather, Joseph, was typical. After graduating from Yale in 1783 and obtaining admission to the bar four years later, he first practiced law in Westfield, Massachusetts, and then spent nearly fifty years at the courts of Northampton, serving as clerk, judge of the common pleas and probate, and ultimately as sheriff of Hampshire county. While he enjoyed "a very handsome salary" as sheriff (1816-45) and as president of the Hampshire Bank (1812-35), he was well known both for his generosity toward the needy and for his deep involvement in the Unitarian movement which earned him a reputation as "one of the 'river gods' of the Connecticut River Valley."[3]

Benjamin observed that Joseph Lyman's children were inculcated with "decent frugality," yet free from "any vulgar jealousy or snobbish strains after anything higher," and implanted with the sense of "noblesse oblige." One of Joseph Lyman's eleven children was Catherline Lyman, a grandmother of the future President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Another was Benjamin's father, Samuel, who was born in 1799 in Northampton. Samuel Fowler Lyman went to Harvard under the Bostonian influence of Anne Jean Robbins whom Joseph Lyman remarried when Samuel was twelve; Anne, a daughter of Edward Hutchinson Robbins, had ancestors highly respected and well-known in Boston, including Anne Hutchinson. After

graduating from college, Samuel followed in his father's footsteps by working at the courts of Northampton; he served as register of probate for twenty-eight years and judge of probate and insolvency for fifteen years. Also, Samuel as well as his wife Almira Smith, a cousin of Sophia Smith who founded Smith College, were both "zealous Unitarians."[4] But Samuel was not so successful in accumulating wealth as Benjamin's grandfather or some of his uncles. At the time of his father's death, Benjamin felt that "the beauty of his character have [sic] not been altogether appreciated by some even of his friends who would have perceived and esteemed them [sic] better if united ... to more successful money-getting propensities." For Benjamin, however, Samuel was a warm father: "Father's kindly interest and harmless, not unjustifiable, pride (vanity, if you please) in the little successes of his children was a chief incentive to exertions towards gaining such successes, and the greatest pleasure they could give was the consciousness of his enjoyment of them." Even after his death, Lyman felt that "the desire to carry out his wishes and do credit to him and to his name" never lost its force.[5]

Benjamin Smith Lyman attended Phillips Exter Academy, where he ranked "among the very foremost, if not the <u>foremost</u>, of its members," impressing his teacher with "the exactness and thoroughness" of his recitation. At Harvard, Lyman was "a diligent student" and obtained "very high testimonials ... for his fidelity, his talents and his

successful pursuit of the studies" from his professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.[6] Lyman graduated from college in 1855 at the age of nineteen. His classmate Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, who later became author, journalist, and philanthropist, and was known for his support of John Brown, remained Lyman's life-long friend. Sanborn's close intercourse with well-known literary figures of Concord gave Lyman a chance to visit Ralph Waldo Emerson's house in his college days and later to have dinner together with Henry David Thoreau and listen to his rare singing.[7]

During his college days, Lyman decided to enter into the mercantile business after graduation, apparently seeing the success of his uncle Edward engaged in the China trade. Upon graduation, however, Lyman did not take up work but made many excursions in order to cure him of "a troublesome tendency of blood to the head."[8] Half a year later, considering his health satisfactory, he taught temporarily at the old Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts. For the following few years he was engaged in various assignments; he taught off and on; he accompanied J. Peter Lesley, his uncle by marriage and an eminent geologist, on topographical geological surveys in Pennsylvania; he travelled extensively through the middle and southern states to collect statistics on iron-works for Lesley, Secretary of the American Iron Association; and he also joined the Iowa State Geological Survey as assistant geologist. By the fall of 1858 Lyman thus found himself deeply involved in geological and topo-

graphical surveys. He did not care for a geologist's "most unsettled and precarious life," but he thought that if he were to become a geologist, he would be able to "make the life as little precarious as possible, and also most profitable every way, by making [himself] a good geologist"; it seemed to him that a good geologist would constantly find employment in the United States abundant in land to be surveyed, to say nothing of the rest of the world. Also, the fact that a good geologist might need the experience of studying in Europe had a great appeal to Lyman's studious nature. "If this business would give me better opportunities of studying than trade would," Lyman wrote Lesley, "I think I should prefer it."[9] A year later, in September 1859, scraping together a small legacy and his own savings, Lyman left for Europe to obtain a first-rate geological education.

The education Lyman received in Europe was extensive, covering a variety of theoretical as well as practical courses. He first attended Ecole Impériale des Mines in Paris for two years, studying organic chemistry, metallurgy, machinery, mining, mineralogy, geology, and paleontology. He then studied at the Royal Academy of Mines in Freiberg for one year, taking courses on analytical chemistry, assays by the dry way, blowpipe, deposits of ore, the construction of machines, and practical courses at the furnaces and in the mines. Furthermore, he spent vacations making excursions to various points of geological, mining, or metallurgical interest.[10]

Lyman greatly enjoyed himself in Europe. While he was struck with the French lack of interest in the United States, he was impressed by "a general mania for foreigners" in Germany and particularly pleased to see that Americans commanded respect more than other foreigners. He considered the German society, divided into numerous ranks, the least democratic country he had ever yet been in, but he was willing to take advantage of the fact that American students were easily admitted to the most aristocratic circles in Freiberg. He enjoyed music, dances, and other amusements, explaining to his sister at home that they were necessary diversions for a student who had to work nearly the whole day with his brain and was apt to underrate the need of preserving bodily and mental health.[11]

During his stay in Paris, Lyman anxiously observed his country heading toward civil war. On the issue of slavery, Lyman had been an abolitionist, at least, since his college days, when he admired William Lloyd Garrison's "noble generosity which has prompted so great self-denial." So, when he learned of John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry, he viewed Brown as "a hero."[12] Then, after the outbreak of the war, Lyman became deeply disappointed in the U.S. government which showed "no disposition ... to improve the opportunity of abolishing slavery." Distrusting "the attempt to conciliate any part of any state by avoiding emancipation," Lyman strongly hoped that Linoln would make a decisive declaration. After he returned home in September 1862, Lyman

remained critical of the government; he was, for example, "quite disgusted" to learn that Lincoln, addressing deputation of blacks, called attention to the inherent inequality between whites and blacks, and felt "disinclined to much sacrifice for a government with such views."[13] Moreover, the inefficiency of the government in conducting the war greatly bothered him. Although Lyman for a while toyed with the possibility of joining the navy or the army as an engineer, his taste and his distrust of the government ultimately led him to take up civil employment such as doing a survey of coal lands in Cape Breton for a Canadian client. Living "much the same as if there were no war going on," Lyman confided to his friend: "At present, I only seek for advancement in my profession."[14]

After the war was over, business was not active, but Lyman remained optimistic. In 1867, he declined a professorship at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, for he believed that the demand for geological reports would increase and that his business reputation would extend in accordance with his accumulation of information on different localities. Besides, Lyman feared that a professor tended to "become a mere schoolmaster and fall onto a humdrum routine that would end his career" while a field worker appeared to be "so constantly and so variously spurred on, and at the same time given such opportunities."[15]

Therefore, Lyman was willing to accept employment which appeared more exciting than the professorship at

Troy--a survey of the petroleum fields in the Punjab, India. In 1869 he entered a one-year contract with the British Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, Edward Thornton, on a term of receiving 125 pounds sterling a month.[16] While Lyman's survey showed that the Punjab did not have oil worth exploiting, he enjoyed his experience in India. His report was praised by the secretary of Punjab Public Works Department as "very full and clear" and also gave Joseph Henry, who had recommended Lyman to Thornton, "full satisfaction."[17] On his way home, Lyman made a "charming" trip through China and Japan and left Asia "fairly bitten with Orientalism and a desire to spend ten years in studying Chinese and Persian and travelling through central Asia." However, he was "just as much interested in American geography and geology" and looked forward to work at home.[18]

While Lyman headed home, another opportunity to go to Asia was waiting for him. When Henry, searching for Capron's assistants, asked Lesley to recommend a young geologist and topographer who was "well-skilled in the practical operation of his profession, as well as fully informed in its theoretical principles, of strict integrity, good judgment, industrious habits, gentlemanly deportment; and who would cordially, and faithfully cooperate with the head of the survey," Lesley immediately recommended his nephew Benjamin, writing Henry that "I know but one person who will meet your numerous requirements." After a little hesitation, Lyman turned down the offer, writing Henry that an

annual salary of $3,000 to $4,000 was "decidedly insufficient."[19] Henry could not understand why Lyman, who had accepted much-lower-paying employment in India, regarded the sum offered by the Japanese government too low. Only one thing seemed clear; Lyman did not share a sense of mission with Henry, who had written Lesley that "the position should not be viewed merely in regard to its remuneration in the way of money, but also with reference to its importance as a means of extending the blessings of high civilization and more Christianity to a very interesting portion of the human family."[20]

One year later, however, when Lyman was in West Virginia, doing a geological survey for New York clients, he was offered the position of geologist which had become vacant due to Antisell's dismissal. This time Lyman was excited about the offer, the notice of which, he admitted, "no doubt brought about many mistakes in my ciphering." Although he still considered the increased salary, $7,000 a year, "rather lower than it should be," he was ready to accept the offer on the condition that it be paid in specie and that his expenses during the whole engagement be paid. Adverse press accounts of Capron's mission made Lyman apprehensive of the difficulties of working for him, but he put this anxiety aside as "not an insuperable obstacle" to his taking up the offer. Although the work in Japan would temporarily break up business connections at home, he fancied that "it might lead to some sort of notoriety" which in turn would

lead to business afterwards. While Lyman felt "pretty well content to stay in America," his "great interest in exploring so new a country" as Japan and his hope that he might "accomplish something of use to science" enticed him to the mission to Japan.[21] In October 1872 Lyman entered into a three-year contract with Mori Arinori, Japanese chargé d'affaires, in Washington D.C.; his employment was to start in December 1872, when he set out for Japan.[22]

Lyman was the very kind of person whom Henry had been seeking for the Japanese government: an expert with a highly creditable academic background and rich practical experience. Lesley assured Henry that Lyman was not only capable but unexceptionally industrious:

> His maps show genius. His exactness is his chief charm for me. His integrity is unshakable, and penetrates all his science. I consider him the best field worker we have in America, but he is slow. On the other hand he does not know what fatigue means. He works from sunrise to sunset. His enthusiasm is of that sturdy & unwavering kind that never is thrown over by any excitement.[23]

Besides, Lesley added that Lyman's "complete sympathy with the poor, & cordial benevolence to the suffering" would exert an exemplary influence upon the Japanese.[24]

In some respects, however, Lyman was not a typical American. First of all, he was almost thirty-seven years old but remained a bachelor. He at one time indicated that he did not marry because of his mother's interference. He was twenty-nine when he wrote his mother: "I am very glad to learn that you are willing to have me choose a wife.... Such willingness on your part might perhaps done some good ten

years ago, but it is rather late in the day since a man of thirty is less likely to wish to marry than one of twenty."[25] Then, although his parents were enthusiastic Unitarians, Lyman had not been to church for many years, finding it difficult to accept the notions based on supernaturalism.[26] For Lyman, vegetarianism, to which he had adhered since he was twenty-eight years old, seems to have aroused his sense of devotion.[27] Furthermore, he was an exceptionally quiet man. While Lesley praised Lyman highly, he at the same time admitted that Lyman "is not exactly a genial companion, because he is a silent man." Lyman himself knew that he was not an easy talker. While "I determined to cultivate the gift of garb," he once wrote Sanborn, "I don't perceive yet any increase of my power of speech." Lyman's assistant in Japan, Henry S. Munroe, certainly found him "very modest & quiet" and "somewhat eccentric in his habits."[28] Although Lyman was reticent in conversation, however, his letters show that he did express his opinions freely and sometimes even bluntly. In this regard he bears some resemblance to his uncle Lesley whose writings were described as "full of expressions which, for terseness and unpolished emphasis, are unequaled."[29]

The Turbulent Years in Japan

Lyman's first year in Japan was like the lull before a storm. When Lyman arrived in Tokyo in January 1873, Kuroda Kiyotaka, accompanied by Horace Capron, immediately came to

pay respects and "repeatedly begged" Capron to see to it that Lyman would be well taken care of. At a grand dinner Kuroda gave in Lyman's honor, Lyman was favorably impressed by the chief of the Kaitakushi, "a very intelligent looking man" who was "especially kind in his manner toward me." Both Kuroda and Capron assured him that the whole charge of the geological and mineralogical survey of Hokkaido would be entrusted to Lyman in spite of the reengagement of Antisell. Lyman wrote his father: "I am very well pleased not only with the cordial reception given me, but with the general prospect."[30]

During the few months Lyman spent in Tokyo before the start of a survey in Hokkaido, he ordered instruments from the United States, and, working together with his American assistant Munroe, gave instruction in surveying, mapping, mathematics, mineralogy, and other related subjects to a dozen of Japanese assistants; most of the assistants were recruited from the Kaitakushi Temporary School and the rest were Kaitakushi officials. In the meantime, like other foreigners, he enjoyed sightseeing in and around Tokyo. Unlike most of the other foreigners employed by the Japanese government, however, Lyman immediately set to studying the Japanese language and spent a good deal of his time at it. Less than two months after arrival, he reported to his father that he could read children's fairy tales in Japanese. As for speaking, he thought that he could already make himself "tolerably understood on ordinary matters,"

perhaps better than he could understand, for he had more practice in talking than in hearing owing to "the persistent desire to learn English" on the part of his Japanese assistants.[31]

The first year's geological survey in Hokkaido lasted for seven months from April to November in 1873. Soon after the start of the survey, Lyman decided to divide his party into two so that they could cover a wider area, and he easily obtained the sanction of Matsumoto Juro, Resident-Governor of Hokkaido, for his proposal.[32] Directing Munroe and five Japanese assistants to survey the principal mineral deposits in the southern part of Hokkaido, Lyman, accompanied by his Japanese assistants, started to make a journey north toward the headwaters of the Ishikari River; he intended to make a rapid survey of the southern places later with the help of the maps to be prepared by Munroe.

The survey in Hokkaido was extremely hard. In the wilderness Lyman's party often struggled through almost impenetrable trees, shrubs, and bamboos, and at times waded a long way in brooks.[33] For Lyman, however, such hardships were greatly mitigated by the company of his assistants. He did not miss his American assistant Munroe, who was "very fond of taking the initiative" and made Lyman feel as if he were Munroe's assistant, and he greatly enjoyed working with Japanese assistants whom he found "so bright, so anxious to learn, so quick at understanding outlandish things, so good humored, so polite."[34]

As the survey plan he pesented to Capron demonstrated, Lyman fully realized the need for training Japanese assistants; he knew that even the beginners could be of great help in the survey and also strongly felt that Japanese should be able to do geological work independent of foreign assistance in near future. It was fortunate for Lyman that his assistants fully met his expectations. Although they were at the outset "for the most part wholly ignorant" of geology, surveying, drawing and even much of common arithmetic, they "eagerly and rapidly learned what they could in a very short time." Moreover, Lyman observed that his assistants, "with a laudable desire to do even more than their mere duty and to help forward the interests of the survey, and with eagerness for their own improvement, have done more than could be reasonably exacted from them ... bearing many hardships cheerfully."[35]

Lyman taught his Japanese assistants what he called the "American Pennsylvania topographical method." According to Lyman's explanation, the method, devised by Lesley and somewhat modified by Lyman, "strives to determine the extent and position of mineral deposits both underground and at their outcrop, by means of laying down on paper the shape of the surface of the ground (by contour lines), as well as all the dips and strikes of the rocks that can be observed; so that the contour of any rock bed or vein may be drawn as it is even underground, and its contents above or below any given level or within any given limits may be calculated."

However, this method was not widely adopted in those countries where labor cost was high because it required much more time and work than ordinary surveying, "in spite of its abundantly countervailing advantages."[36] When he was in India, for example, Lyman painfully felt that "although [Lesley's] method of geological surveying is by far the most valuable of all for practical purposes, it happens unfortunately that there are very few in the world who understand it, and still fewer who have had much experience in it."[37] Therefore, Lyman found in Japan a good opportunity to make the best of Lesley's method and let it be known to the world.

The Kaitakushi officials in Hokkaido were also generally cooperative, showing Lyman "the greatest liberality ... and the greatest anxiety to do all that can be done under the circumstances." When poor-looking ponies were assigned to Lyman and Munroe, for instance, Lyman, through his paymaster, immediately called the attention of Resident-Governor Matsumoto to "the great importance of our service and ... the loss that would result to the Kaitakushi, in respect of our costly time and attention, if we should be provided with bad horses." Lyman and Munroe were then allowed to pick up the best Japanese horses left in the Kaitakushi stables, although Lyman regretted that he had not been so successful as to obtain superior foreign horses.[38]

Furthermore, Lyman was satisfied with the results of the survey. Although it was limited to lower Hokkaido, he

visited all the places where useful minerals had been reported to exist and studied not only the minerals but also the general geology of the region. As a matter of fact, with an exception of two large coal fields--Kayanuma and Horonai--Lyman found other mines "too poor to work," "quite too thin to work," "worthless," "insignificant," or "wholly unimportant." However, Lyman explained that these unpromising findings were nevertheless important because "the chief directly practical benefit of a geological survey is far more in saving the expense of foolish outlay in mining worthless deposits than even in guiding productive work." Lyman called Japanese attention to the value of his work by pointing to the past mistakes made by Japanese: "Much money would have already been saved in Yesso [Hokkaido] if competent men had long ago been employed to examine the deposits properly, and authoritatively discourage the working of mines whose ruins now remain as marks of the hopefulness of human nature."[39]

In his first year in Japan, even "a rather uninteresting ceremony" such as the interview with the Empress still aroused Lyman's curiosity because of its novelty. Soon after his return from Hokkaido, Lyman amusingly observed that the notice of the Empress's visit to the Kaitakushi Temporary School, where Lyman was teaching his assistants, caused "a great racket all over the building" such as various kinds of repairs and scrubbing off the accumulated dust. On the day, Lyman and other foreigners were led into

the presence of the Empress; the chief officer of the Empress's household gave her a signal; she stood up and slightly nodded to the foreigners; the chief officer of the Kaitakushi told them in English that she was pleased to see them; she sat down; and the foreigners bowed and withdrew. During this brief interview, Lyman simply "stared at her and her attendants with great curiosity." Later on that day, when the Empress visited the room where Lyman had waited, he gave her a lecture on astronomy, geology, paleontology, mining, mineralogy, cloitology, and surveying--all within half an hour or so, one half the time taken up by the interpreter, and some time by Kuroda and others. Lyman wrote his father: "Here then behold your hopeful son, radical of radicals, giving a lecture to the (until lately at least) perfection of aristocratic exclusiveness, the empress of Japan!" Although Lyman said he was "quite upset," he still coolly observed the Empress:

> She has rather a long face, with a long chin, a good enough nose but turned up and slightly roman in shape and small in size, a very small rather pressed up mouth with extremely red lips probably painted. Her nose and the rest of the good part of her face was artificially whitened with some kind of powder which made at a distance rather a dazzling effect; but close at hand you could see near the edge of the face internal complexion, pretty dark.[40]

Although her face reminded Lyman slightly of his cousin, the Empress certainly looked to him "far less intelligent." To Lyman, "the oddity of the whole occurrence was quite a novel sensation."[41]

When his first year in Japan drew to an end, Lyman was

in general satisfied. He had begun to feel a strong attachment to his Japanese assistants. His relationship with the Kaitakushi had been generally smooth. Lyman planned to celebrate the end of his first year's service for the Kaitakushi by a little dinner at which Kuroda would be the chief guest, and Kuroda accepted the invitation.[42] On New Year's Day Lyman also sent his "good interpreter and faithful friend Mr. Sato" an atlas as "a little token not only of friendship but of gratitude for the very many favors" Lyman felt he owed to Sato.[43] In retrospect, if Lyman had left Japan in 1873 after a single year, his impressions would have been quite different from those he later formed.

In the first few months of 1874, when Lyman was in Tokyo, drawing maps with his assistants, dealing with Japanese officials, and socializing with other foreign employees, he became sharply critical of the Kaitakushi. In April, Lyman started by urging Kuroda to abolish the "oppressive" regulation of the Kaitakushi Temporary School which required its students to serve the Kaitakushi for a certain number of years after graduation in return for their free education and an allowance for living expenses. As Lyman pointed out to Kuroda, many students would be over twenty-one years old when they finished schooling and service for the Kaitakushi. Since they were sent to school by their parents, or, even if they had consented, they were too young to make judicious decisions, Lyman warned that the rule would enable the parents "so absolutely to control the

life of their children long after these have passed the age of discretion." Lyman enumerated the cases of "civilized" countries including the United States whose military or naval academy allowed a student, although provided with free education and living expenses, to leave the service if he wanted to. If the Kaitakushi would exempt a graduate of the school from the service on repayment of the expenses of schooling, "none could then say that the Kaitakushi scholars had virtually been sold into what might prove in some cases an irksome slavery however attractive the condition might be." Furthermore, since "there is no better sign of enlightenment in a government than a jealous regard for the personal liberty of the individual," Lyman told Kuroda, "the known existence of it in Japan would lead quicker than anything else to the abolition of the exterritorial rights of foreigners."[44]

A few days later Lyman drafted a more radical letter to an unnamed Sangi [Councilor of State]. The letter, a sharp indictment of Kuroda, was not in fact sent, but is significant in revealing Lyman's state of mind at the time. First of all, he denounced Kuroda as responsible for the wasteful expenditure of money appropriated to the Kaitakushi. He pointed to seven million dollars Kuroda had allegedly spent in three years in Hokkaido in spite of meager results; for example, Lyman heard that Kuroda "allowed about half a million dollars to be stolen outright, twice as much as by a liberal estimate would have built the road." Lyman moreover

charged that Kuroda had sanctioned "most costly and palpably useless engineering works." In Lyman's view, Kuroda "has either connived at robbery of the government or ... he has through intellectual incapacity been unable to prevent it." In short, Lyman declared: "He is either a knave or a fool; and on either account is wholly unfit to act as the head of a department."[45]

Lyman then blamed Kuroda for not revoking the oppressive regulation of the Kaitakushi School which bound students to serve the department after graduation. He again attacked the regulation as "a disgrace to any country," and "especially harmful to Japan, where the exterritorial rights of foreigners are maintained on the very ground that the rights of individuals are not sufficiently respected here." This time, however, Lyman indicated that his objection to the regulation had much to do with his own interests too, for he brought up "an honorable proposal of marriage" he had made to a girl student of the Kaitakushi School. Lyman had apparently found out that a school regulation obliged the girl student to marry a graduate of the school and work together with him for the development of Hokkaido. According to Lyman's account, Kuroda was at first opposed to allowing an exception, but then favored it; however, "with a vacillation most unworthy of his position," Kuroda entrusted the final decision to the principal of the school, Dzusho Hirotake. Seeing Dzusho opposed to the exception, Lyman made "a threat ... to disgrace the Kaitakushi and Japan by a

public exposure of the outrageous regulation." When his threat seemed to bring about a favorable decision, "a most contemptible and disgraceful piece of cunning was adopted to prevent it having any effect"; for, under the influence of Fukudzumi San, the superintendent of the girls' school, the girl to whom Lyman had proposed marriage was "undoubtedly induced to refuse the proposal," and Fukudzumi then introduced another girl student to Lyman as an alternative partner. Here again, Lyman blamed Kuroda for having "stooped to join in such shameful intrigues" and failing to punish the officers involved in it.[46]

Finally, Lyman accused Fukudzumi of having annoyed Dutch women teachers at the girls' school and particularly of having attempted to drive one of them from school so as to give the post to a British missionary woman. Lyman not only considered the British woman far less fitted for the position both by education and breeding, but also suspected that her major aim was to propagate Christianity at school. Lyman concluded his lengthy letter both with a demand that Kuroda, Dzusho, and Fukudzumi be all dismissed from the Kaitakushi and with a threat that the whole matter "would disgrace the empire if published to the world."[47]

Instead of sending the letter, Lyman met Kuroda and handed in another letter which requested the dismissal of Fukudzumi alone on a charge of "gross rudeness" to a Dutch teacher, interference with Lyman's proposal of marriage, and "so bad a character" in general as to make him unfit for his

position. Although Lyman was assured by his interpreter Sato and another high official of the Kaitakushi, Arai Ikunosuke, that Kuroda was a man of integrity, Lyman was bitterly disappointed when Kuroda answered that the Dutch Minister Albertus J. Bauduwin would explain to him about the circumstances of the Dutch teacher. He added that Lyman should present a substantial evidence of Fukudzumi's interference with Lyman's marriage proposal to the Kaitakushi through Capron. Lyman was ready to fight Kuroda: "I am at any rate determined to do my best to improve the Kaitakushi by urging [Kuroda's] removal if he still persists in being led so widely astray by dishonest men."[48]

While Lyman decided to lay aside the intricate issue of the marriage proposal, he continued to accuse Fukudzumi of "so well known low character," demanding the Kaitakushi authorities to make a thorough investigation of his behavior. But Kuroda supported Dzusho and other officers who contended that Fukudzumi was "always diligent in carrying his duties, and never did anything wrong." Letters passed between Lyman and Kuroda, and finally Kuroda suggested that Lyman file the charges against Fukudzumi through the U.S. Minister.[49] Capron then intervened and told Lyman: "I may be allowed to appeal to you as a friend to let it drop, as a matter unworthy of your consideration, and because an official expose would be disagreeable to all concerned." Lyman complied with Capron's advice, but at the same time he asked Capron to convey his intention to resign to Kuroda, for "it

is hardly possible, after what has passed between Mr. Kuroda and myself of late, that we could ever have towards each other such cordiality it is desirable between the head of the department and one of its servants; it is not unlikely that he may think it best to release me from my engagement here. If so, I should be on my part more than willing." Kuroda, however, expressed his satisfaction with Lyman's retraction of complaints and assured Capron that "we never had the slightest intention to dispense with his service." Capron hoped that the outcome would be "entirely satisfactory" to Lyman.[50] There was no record of Lyman's response either to Kuroda's letter or to Capron's hope, but two weeks later, Lyman simply left for the second year's survey of Hokkaido.

In the midddle of the survey, another conflict arose between Lyman and the Kaitakushi over an interpreter for the Kaitakushi, Sato Hideaki. While Sato accompanied Munroe's party in the previous year's survey, Lyman, so pleased with his service in Tokyo, specifically asked the Kaitakushi to let Sato join in the second year's survey, and when he divided the party, he saw to it that Sato was included in his, not Munroe's, party.

In August 1874, however, Lyman suddenly ordered Sato to go to Munroe's party and work as his assistant. According to Lyman's explanation to Capron, he made such a change because "Munroe ... has more need of two interpreters in his work than I have of one in mine," and that, with regard to

training Sato as a useful geological assistant, "the fatigue of my journey would not permit to give it while Munroe could give him training, experience and knowledge." As for his proficiency in Japanese, Lyman considered it "imperfect" but good enough for the transaction of business. "There has been no trouble while travelling in getting along without an interpreter since more than a year ago, as all the Kaitakushi very well knows," wrote Lyman to Capron.[51]

But Lyman met with a protest from Sato, who insisted that, as an officer of the Kaitakushi, he had to adhere to the order of the department which had assigned him to Lyman. When Lyman would not change his mind, Sato appealed to Resident-Governor Matsumoto, who supported Sato's stand and directed him to go with Lyman. Lyman then received two versions of a letter from Matsumoto--one written in Japanese and another in its English translation. The English version, notably poor in comparison with other official translations even in those days, had a hauty tone:

> Mr. Layman,
> Dear Sir;--
> This time you sent back our interpreter Satoo he told me that you do not need him hereafter during your travelling and to go to Mr. Munroe's party because you can speak Japanese very well. But Mr. Kuroda's subject is entirely to make a convenience both of Kaitakushi and you. So you cannot judge yourself to sent back him alone. I am not understand that when you was at Tokei [Tokyo] you wished Mr. Otori [a Kaitakushi official] to accompany him very much why you are now will be contrary from before. The benefit or unbenefit of sending Satoo is only our power of course you will not concern about it.
> So I sent him back again to you. Hoping that you will be fully understand the above meaning.[52]

Lyman found the language of the translation "insolent," but he learned that the original, read to him by his assistants, was "less discourteous in form" and did not contain the latter part of the translation.[53] The whole text of the original said:

> Sato, an interpreter, came here to report that he was told by you a few times to accompany Mr. Munroe since you have learned Japanese and no longer need an interpreter on your journey. However, I have to point out that he has been ordered by Deputy Commissioner Kuroda to accompany you not only to serve you as your interpreter but also to convey your views accurately to our government. I beg you to understand this.[54]

Lyman, therefore, did not make an issue of the insolent language of the translation which he attributed "to the translator's gross ignorance of English and misunderstanding of the matter," but he decided to protest against Matsumoto's interference. Lyman had been accustomed to the Western system in which "an assistant is expected to look to his principal for instructions and to no one else" and was not going to accept the Japanese system which seemed to him that "a man must serve two masters" and which he feared "must always give rise to misunderstandings and confusion."[55] Therefore, reminding Capron that "there is no court in the civilized world that would not justify me in saying that ... in my work I was to have undisputed control of my assistants," Lyman asked him to convey his demand to the Kaitakushi that they should either give him "undisputed control" of his assistants or accept his resignation. Lyman, moreover, explained to Capron that Sato should be regarded primarily

as one of his assistants--not as a Kaitakushi officer--because Sato, like other assistants, attended geological lessons and practical exercises and was provided with instruments, and because the Kaitakushi did not raise any objection when Lyman mentioned Sato as an assistant in his first year's report.[56]

Lyman's letter greatly distressed Capron because Capron put the greatest confidence in Lyman among all his American assistants. Capron's entire satisfaction with Lyman's first year's work led him to write Henry: "Could I only have had him in the place of the other [Antisell], what a world of trouble I should have been spared." During the second year's survey, Lyman did not fail to please Capron by sending him a "very interesting" letter at every opportunity and informing him of "most wonderful discoveries" he had made.[57] Since Lyman's work seemed to Capron to be proceeding "so harmoniously and so effectively," Capron felt it even "cruel" that "anything whatever that could be distasteful" to Lyman should occur. Capron, already critical of the Kaitakushi, expressed his deep sympathy to Lyman: "If the great work you are doing for this department and the sacrifice you are making, even to the jeopardising of your life, in their cause will not command their respect, then I am clear to say some steps must be taken to command it"[58]

Forwarding Lyman's letter to Kuroda, Capron himself asked for an "entirely satisfactory explanation" for "the very objectionable meaning" of Matsumoto's letter. He sup-

ported Lyman, explaining that the change in Sato's duties was made in order to save expense to the department as well as to place Sato where his talents would be most useful, and besides, that "this was Mr. Lyman's province strictly, and no one could, with any show of right or justice, interfere with it." Capron, furthermore, did not forget to call Kuroda's attention to Lyman's "most faithful and self-sacrificing" service for the Japanese government.[59]

In his letter of October 31, 1874, Kuroda explained to Capron that there was no insolent language in Matsumoto's letter and the translator simply made a mistake. Kuroda, moreover, supported Matsumoto's action, pointing out that although Sato had assisted Lyman in the survey, his main duty was that of an interpreter. Kuroda called Capron's attention to Lyman's contract which specified his obligation to obey all orders issued to him by the authorities of the Kaitakushi, and in Kuroda's view, this meant that Lyman should follow Matsumoto's direction in Hokkaido. Besides, even if the change in Sato's duties was "profitable," Lyman "ought consult it with the Department, instead of judging it by himself," because it was contrary to the order previously given to Sato by Kuroda. Kuroda asked Capron: "I ... beg you will use all your influence to persuade him so as to appease his passion."[60]

Lyman was more furious to learn that Kuroda claimed not only for himself but also for his subordinate, Resident-Governor Matsumoto, the right to give orders to Lyman's

assistants even in contradiction of Lyman's orders. He was even more determined to be released from his engagement, "so ruinous to my reputation"; he also demanded compensation until the end of the full term of three years as well as heavy damages for service from August 12, when the contract was seriously broken, until the release. Determined to keep Lyman, however, Capron negotiated with Nishimura Sadaaki, acting for Kuroda during the latter's absence, and had him recognize Lyman's right to direct his assistants. Capron also succeeded in persuading Kuroda to write a note dated November 15 which said: "The Kaitakushi accords to Mr Lyman the full and exclusive right to direct the work of all the assistants assigned to him whether in Hokkaido or elsewhere and that all orders to them by the Kaitakushi shall be given through him, but the control of their personality is to remain with the Kaitakushi."[61]

Lyman thus emerged victorious. He was not only pleased to learn that the Kaitakushi at last yielded to his claim but also flattered by "a lively desire" the Kaitakushi authorities expresed to keep him in the department. When his second year in Japan drew to an end, he felt rather optimistic about his remaining service in Japan. He particularly cherished the idea that he would be able to save money so that, when he returned to the United States, he would be "able to scrape along as a single man, even without working for pay." He confided to his friend at home, "Those lines of the Lyman book always very much took my fancy: 'How

happy is he born and taught, who serveth not on others' will!"[62]

The proximity betwee Lyman and the Kaitakushi seems to have worsened their relationship by accelerating the speed at which bitter words passed between them. This was shown in the winter of 1874-1875, when Lyman, staying in Tokyo, not only wrote reports and drew maps but also fought with the department over one issue after another. A series of conflicts started with the removal of Akiyama Yoshimaru, a junior officer of the Kaitakushi, from Lyman's party in December 1874. Akiyama had accompanied Lyman to Hokkaido in the first year's and the second year's surveys and impressed him so favorably as to make him say: "[Akiyama] showed indeed such spirit, activity and intrepidity as to deserve promotion in the field had I been able to give it."[63] When Lyman's party returned to Tokyo from the second year's survey, however, Lyman learned that Akiyama was assigned to the Kaitakushi office instead of continuing to work with him. Lyman then protested that this reassignment was a violation of the explicit agreement guaranteed in Kuroda's note of November 15, 1874. Nishimura Sadaaki, acting for Kuroda, responded the particular agreement was not applicable to a Kaitakushi official like Akiyama. But Lyman was certain that Akiyama had been distinctly assigned to him as an assistant by the Kaitakushi, and regarded Nishimura's "extremely disingenuous" response as another "elaborate tissue of prevarications" and "a studied repetition of in-

sults." Harboring "not only a complete distrust of the Kaitakushi but a thorough disgust with its management," Lyman felt he had no choice but to demand a complete release from the department which was "so blind to its own promises."[64]

It did not take much time before Nishimura admitted that Akiyama had been indeed Lyman's assistant, but at the same time he informed Lyman that Akiyama would be dismissed due to a "certain improper act" committed by him. Lyman cynically responded to Nishimura's notice. Through Capron, Lyman told Nishimura: "The information ... that [Akiyama] had so misbehaved ... as to deserve dismissal from the Kaitakushi, if it came from anybody less distinguished than the Kaitakushi managers for high honor and truthfulness, would be too transparent a falsehood to be perpetrated by an intelligent child of twelve years." In view of Akiyama's "thoroughly honorable and loyal character," Lyman was convinced that the Kaitakushi had committed "another gross error ... only from an ignoble desire to annoy me." Nishimura then wrote Capron that Akiyama was dismissed not because of Lyman's sake but because Akiyama "behaved so arrogantly" in Hokkaido as to become a source of criticism in the press. Lyman explained to Capron that in the summer of 1874, when a young man guided Lyman and Akiyama, looking for an inn to stay overnight, to "a mean-looking place," Akiyama indeed got "so indignant at his taking so important a character as [Lyman] to such a place" that he struck the

man, but that the incident was "by Japanese reckoning so small an affair." Lyman therefore continued to believe that Akiyama's dismissal was "made entirely on my account."[65]

Almost concurrently with Akiyama's case, another dispute arose between Lyman and the Kaitakushi, again involving his authority to control his assistants. Soon after his party came back to Tokyo, Lyman discovered that the Kaitakushi officer had instructed his assistants to make accounts of travel expenses incurred in Hokkaido. Lyman sent a strong note of protest against another infringement of his authority, but Nishimura answered that the Kaitakushi officer "only by friendly kindness" gave advice to Lyman's assistants so that they could produce the accounts without difficulties but "he never gave any direction to them for any of other duties, such as to interfere with Mr. Lyman's authority." Lyman, however, continued to send a protest, and Nishimura only repeated that no more explanation was necessary because he believed the matter "has fully been explained."[66]

The decision of the Kaitakushi to move the Bureau of Surveyor and the Bureau of Production to Sapporo became another source of friction between Lyman and the Kaitakushi. In February 1875, the Kaitakushi notified both Murray S. Day, surveyor in chief, and Lyman that, because of the transfer of the two bureaus to Hokkaido, their parties too would remain in Hokkaido after their surveys during the

summer were over. While Day accepted the order without raising any objection, Lyman reacted sharply.[67] But it took more time than usual this time before Lyman sent a strong note of protest; he had been suffering from smallpox, which might have lingered long because he refused to take any medicine.[68] As soon as he was on the way to recovery, he explained to the Kaitakushi, through Capron, why he was opposed to the order of removal: "I could have demonstrated to the satisfaction of the dullest comprehension that the winter work of the survey could be done at Yedo [Tokyo] far more economically, satisfactorily and conveniently than at Sapporo." Although Lyman himself "happily" did not need to stay in Hokkaido beyond the beginning of the coming winter when his term would expire, he worried that his "faithful assistants should be subjected to so much inconvenience at a positive loss to the survey, apparently for the sole purpose of increasing the population of Yesso." Convinced that the Kaitakushi authorities were intent to harrass him, Lyman privately told Capron, "It would have done their hearts good no doubt to see how much the removal to Sapporo order depressed me for several days, such a piece of consummate folly!"[69]

To make matters worse, Lyman soon realized that the order of removal meant that the Kaitakushi would not keep his house in Tokyo until after his return from Hokkaido. Lyman therefore set out to demonstrate that the order was a violation of his contract. First, he contended that at the

time of his engagement Mori Arinori verbally gave him "the express understanding" that his residence would be at Tokyo and only summers be spent in Hokkaido. Also, Lyman pointed to the passage of the written agreement made between him and Mori, which said: "The aforesaid Department shall pay his travelling expenses from New York to Yedo and the expenses of his travelling on official business during his term of service and the expense of returning from Yedo by San Francisco to New York." Lyman argued that if his residing in Hokkaido had been contemplated at that time, the expense of going to or returning from Hokkaido would have been "of course" mentioned.[70]

Kuroda responded by bringing up Lyman's formal contract which obligated him to "perform all work, labor and service and instruct Japanese students assigned at any place within the Japanese Empire"; besides, Kuroda pointed out that the passage "to pay the expenses for the return from Hokkaido at the expiration of his term of service" was specifically inserted in the formal contract because of the expectation that he might live in Hokkaido. With regard to "the express understanding," Mori answered that "I neither recollect to have then expressed anything to such an effect nor do I now think it possible that I could have done so." Moreover, he expressed his view that the passage of the written agreement Lyman quoted had "no connection whatever with the matter about his residence." Lyman was not persuaded at all. "My recollection on the point is clear," he

asserted, "and I cannot doubt that any court would consider the expression I quoted from his memorandum of agreement as fully confirming my statement."[71]

Lyman and the Kaitakushi were also feuding over the transmission of the Kaitakushi letters to three officials who had been assigned to Lyman as assistants. When Lyman was asked to forward the letters which ordered these officials to be stationed in Sapporo from the time of leaving Tokyo, he flatly refused, viewing the request as another violation of the agreement explicit in Kuroda's note, which, Lyman claimed, guaranteed that "in future all orders to my assistants should be given '<u>through</u>' me, that is, by me." In response, Kuroda explained that the Kaitakushi exactly followed the agreement by giving all orders through Lyman and also that a student-assistant and an officer-assistant could not be treated entirely in the same way. Lyman, however, took this explanation as "an admission that my assistants might look for instruction to somebody besides myself," and thus adamantly refused to transmit the letters.[72]

By late February of 1875 Capron became deeply concerned over the growing friction between Lyman and the Kaitakushi authorities. Advising Lyman to go on with his work rather than demand a release, Capron wrote that

> you cannot expect to have everything pleasant, they do not know how to make it so. I shall not be here myself to see your work completed, but for your own credit sake, and the good of American interests here I feel very anxious to see you make another survey's work--try to put up with these disagreeable things as far as

> possible, and go on with the survey. I have tried my best to have things go smoothly.... [A]t any rate don't let d___ English come in soon and take the credit of what you have done as they certainly will do, if you withdraw.[73]

Lyman answered, "I don't care so much for the English or for myself, and have no fear that any one will steal the credit of what has been done." But he did care to "leave my assistants sufficiently grounded in our method to be able to make geological surveys by themselves and fix the method permanently in Japan and indeed all eastern Asia." Lyman expressed his profound feeling of disappointment and sorrow to Capron: "That has been my dream, but this cursed Kaitakushi changes all to a nightmare."[74] Furthermore, referring to Capron's words that "you cannot expect to have everything pleasant," Lyman asked Capron if he "had shown some signs of expecting any such thing" and stressed his dedication to the cause of the Kaitakushi in spite of his harassment by its managers:

> You must admit ... that I have never demanded anything in the slightest degree unreasonable. I do not ask that the Kaitakushi managers shall like me personally, nor even that they shall treat me personally with common decency; all I insist on is that they should carry out in good faith tacit and explicit agreements that are essential to the proper transaction of business and that would insure far more to the benefit of the Kaitakushi than to mine. Your own observations too must fully bear out the statement that neither the personal insults and injuries received by me from those managers nor their official outrages, dispiriting though they might be, have never lessened in any perceptible degree the fidelity, I might say even zeal, with which I have striven to serve the Kaitakushi and the Japanese Government until released from my contract.[75]

By the end of March 1875, no dispute between Lyman and

the Kaitakushi had been settled, and his animosity against the department was extremely strong. When he learned that a Kaitakushi official named "Nishimura" would fill Akiyama's place as Lyman's paymaster, he immediately suspected that the man must be a relative of Nishimura Sadaaki, "that very Kaiakushi manager who has been the means through false statement and delays of depriving me of [Akiyama's] services through the whole winter." Conveying such suspicion and repeating his request for a release to the Kaitakushi officials, he reminded them that "little good work can be accomplished while my attention is so continually taken up by such conduct of the Kaitakushi managers and its result and while they are plainly so little disposed to show me, not merely personally but in business matters, the slightest consideration." He added that the department would "no doubt also be glad to rid itself of one for whom it has so little respect." Although Kuroda expressed displeasure at Lyman's "somewhat insolent" language and criticized his suspicion about the connection between his new paymaster and Nishimura Sadaaki as "a nonsense" and "a childish statement," he laid aside Lyman's demand for a release and at last assured him that he could keep a house in Tokyo until the end of his term. Kuroda then repeated his request that the letters be transmitted to the officers. This request was again flatly rejected by Lyman.[76]

With his departure near at hand, Capron made his last effort to ameliorate the relationship between Lyman and the

Kaitakushi. Concerning the transmission of the letters, Capron explained to Lyman that "Mr Nishimura disclaimed any intention or desire on the part of the department officials to throw away obstacle in the way of the prosecution of your work, but on the contrary desired to afford you every facility to prosecute your labors, and appeared to fully recognize and properly to appreciate your valuable services to the department." Capron then suggested that, "in order to bring over this difficulty and at the same time preserve the self respect of both parties," Lyman would return the letters to the Kaitakushi and Kuroda would subsequently notify the officials that, on the completion of their season's work under Lyman, they would be required to live in Sapporo. Capron was "much gratified" when the issue was solved in the way he had suggested.[77]

Capron next asked Kuroda to issue the orders for the immediate departure of Lyman's party for the field and to give him all necessary assistants and supplies for carrying out his operations. Capron sought to view the conflict in an optimistic light:

> I could wish, for the best interest of this department and for the credit of all concerned, that the complications which have arisen between the Kaitakushi and Mr. Lyman might be overlooked at least for the present, for I feel assured they have arisen from a misapprehension of each other's actions and motives, more than from any intentional rong [sic] on either side, or want of proper personal respect.[78]

Kuroda, however, replied that Lyman's frequent complaint against the department as well as his disposition in general

"to fight even on so small difference in the business way" often hindered the operation of the Kaitakushi work. Kuroda asked Capron to ascertain whether Lyman was inclined to do his work, accepting some difference of management and "overlooking such the trifle matter" as Lyman had been complaining about. Lyman sharply responded that control of his assistants was not a matter of trifling consequence and that he would refuse to work under such conditions. Capron received Lyman's letter less than a week before his departure. While Munroe, full of antipathy against Lyman, observed that "[Lyman] grows more & more eccentric every day & even Genl Capron, who has heretofore been his champion, declares the man is certainly crazy!" it seems to be at least certain that Capron was grieved.[79]

After Capron's departure, however, the relationship between Lyman and the Kaitakushi rather improved; the worst period seemed to have passed. Perhaps, as Lyman conjectured, the Kaitakushi managers, who had regarded him as "a dangerous wild beast whom the General [Capron] had been holding back from an onset upon them," had no choice but to endeavor to appease his "furious disposition." Lyman was moreover pleased to notice that his particular "aversions," Kuroda and Nishimura, were out of his sight, and other officials had "done almost all they could to make things agreeable to me."[80] In the middle of June, although much later than in previous years, Lyman left for the third year's survey.

While Lyman fought with the Kaitakushi mostly over his authority to control his assistants, his antipathy against the department also derived from fundamental differences between his liberal values and the general operation of the department. Lyman, who believed in individual initiative and free competition as primary forces in developing Hokkaido, considered the major role of the Kaitakushi should be to expand opportunity for all by promoting internal improvements. The Kaitakushi, he believed, not only fell far short of performing such a role but rather hindered the progress of Hokkaido by wrong-headed and undue interference, favoritism, and corruption.

For Lyman, who believed that settlemet in Hokkaido should be "voluntary," it was incomprehensible that the Kaitakushi spent an enormous amount of money for transporting settlers and providing them with rice for years. He repeatedly advised the Kaitakushi that such money should instead be spent for roads, schools, and other public improvements, because, he argued, they "would probably attract a much larger, wholly voluntary immigration, which would entail no unusual responsibilities upon the Kaitakushi."[81]

What seemed to him most urgent was the construction of good wagon roads. Immediately after his first visit to Hokkaido, Lyman appealed to Kuroda for the construction of a network of roads, comparing the life of a farmer without such facilities to "a comfortless, cheerless slavery." In his 1874 report, he again emphasized the urgency for road

construction, describing one existing road in Hokkaido as "no disgrace to a community of goats or to the deer who probably laid out for the most part, but to men ... far from creditable," and another road as "so barbarously laid out as to require thousands of feet of needless climbing."[82] Lyman felt that his advice was unheeded.

In the field of his utmost concern, mining, Lyman was critical of what he considered the undue interference of the Kaitakushi. As soon as he learned that the Kaitakushi was about to work mines in Hokkaido on the basis of his survey, he protested the project. Leave the work to private individuals, he urged; government operation would be "wastefully or injudiciously managed by officials" in sharp contrast to "the carefulness of men who are laying out their own money." The government, he suggested, should only charge a royalty and enforce "such regulations as would be necessary to prevent ... injudicious, wasteful and unsafe modes of working or the harm that might result from an uncontrolled monopoly."[83]

Lyman, moreover, advised the Kaitakushi to encourage foreigners to undertake mining in Hokkaido. In his view, "no argument is needed to convince the inhabitants of most countries of the advantage of having the aid of foreign capital in the development of their natural resources." However, realizing that foreigners were unwilling to submit themselves to Japanese laws and courts and Japanese were reluctant to give foreigners full discretion, Lyman advo-

cated a joint enterprise between Japanese and foreigners as the best way for introducing into Japan "those excellent modern methods of business, that are the result of centuries of experiment and progress, and are so greatly lacking in Japan."[84] But here again Lyman found his warning against government operation as well as his argument for foreign capital put aside by the Kaitakushi.

Lyman sharply criticized several other measures as granting privileges to a few. One was a program of low-interest loans the Kaitakushi offered to merchants as incentives to do business in Hokkaido. Lyman feared that the few who availed themselves of such loans would become "monopolists" and "easily raise the price of all goods to such extravagant rates as to make the cost of living extremely dear, and so put a stop to all voluntary immigration." Besides, it seemed quite probable to him that the Kaitakushi managers would share in the exhorbitant profits of these merchants. The political influence of the merchants would also be a serious problem: if they "should happen to be bound together" not only for the sake of business but also for politics, there would be "scarcely any limit to the harm they might do." Indeed, Lyman thought that "they might even become practically the rulers of the whole nation, perhaps even embroil it in foreign wars."[85]

The lease of the coast for fisheries was another Kaitakushi policy criticized by Lyman. This system gave rise to "the practical monopoly" of fisheries by a few

lessees who behaved almost like "daimios [feudal lords] ... having the whole population, men, women and children, dependent on them in health and in sickness." Although a lessee seemed to "care well for his dependents," Lyman nevertheless sensed an element of "oppression" and the danger of "crushing out individual enterprise" in the arrangement. Besides, Lyman worried that the lessees might be receiving low-interest loans as well. "If the fisheries can be carried on only under such encouragement," Lyman felt, "it would be cheaper for the Kaitakushi to leave the fish in the sea."[86]

The distribution of land by the Kaitakushi also met Lyman's disapproval. In his 1875 report, he called attention to "a very bad plan" to reserve the better situated lands for future immigrants and expressed his anxiety that "the earliest comers ... lose the natural reward of their being the first immigrants, and have their hardships increased, and must consequently give to the friends they left behind a less pleasing picture of their experiences and hold up to them much smaller inducements to immigrate likewise." Lyman furthermore saw another source of privileges in land distribution. "However desirable it may be that government officials should become personally interested in the country by owning land there," Lyman warned, "any tendency on their part or on that of their friends to retard the progress of settlement, by buying up the best tracts of lands and letting them lie idle until they can be sold at high prices,

should be severely discouraged."[87]

Capron agreed with Lyman's criticism of the Kaitakushi to a large extent but had a markedly different view of Kuroda. Capron trusted Kuroda and regretted that other Kaitakushi officials were so much less capable. Lyman, on the other hand, viewed Kuroda and "his immediate circle of friends" as preying upon the department.[88] Too many offices of the Kaitakushi, particularly its high posts, Lyman thought, were occupied by men from Kuroda's native province, Satsuma. He also remarked on the enormous gap between the large budget of the department and the meager results in the development of Hokkaido. The accounts of the department, he wrote, were "kept in any but the obscurest, loosest way, the one most easily admitting of fraud." In this connection, Lyman was particularly critical of the failure of the Kaitakushi to make "full and frequent authentic publication of what is done." Appealing in his report for "complete freedom of public inquiry into the facts and of public criticism" with regard to the activities of the government, Lyman warned that "concealment"--even if unintentional--would be "suspected to arise from dishonesty and corruption."[89]

Toward the end of 1875, with rumors of imminent war between Japan and Korea, Lyman was ready to suspect that Kuroda wanted war and that the two million dollars a year received by the Kaitakushi were "in great part used for fomenting these warlike troubles, which originate chiefly or

wholly in Kuroda's native province, Satsuma."[90] Lyman's hostility against Kuroda was fully revealed at the end of his contract, when Kuroda sent him gifts as a token of Japanese gratitude for his service and Lyman "most respectfully but firmly" declined to accept them. He in fact liked the gifts--a piece of bronze, silver and gilded work representing birds and a complete set of Japanese tea-things, finding them not only "handsome and valuable" but also "chosen with special thoughtfulness." But, when Kuroda sent the gifts again, asking him to "receive them without any ceremony," Lyman again flatly refused to do so.[91]

After three year's service for the Kaitakushi, Lyman reached the conclusion that the Kaitakushi had no raison d'ĉtre and Hokkaido would be "better off" without it. He admitted that a separate government for Hokkaido "might promote its settlement very much by making life there so much more attractive than it is to many in Japan that they would gladly emigrate there." But after a half decade under the jurisdiction of the Kaitakushi, Lyman argued, Hokkaido was left "without schools, without roads, with living made dear by practical monopolies that the Kaitakushi has created by loans to merchants ... and with the best land kept out of the hands of immigrants." "Give Yesso the same government advantages as the rest of the empire has already," urged Lyman, so that the settlers in Hokkaido could have for themselves "at least something better than this petty disposition of an almost independent little viceroyalty."[92]

In spite of his hostility to the Kaitakushi managers, Lyman was truly dedicated to his geological work for the Kaitakushi. When the expiration of his engagement approached, he was greatly worried by his father's serious illness but he remained in Japan, being anxious to finish maps and reports on his surveys. As he wrote his sister, he considered finishing maps and reports "extremely important" and knew it would not be properly done without him. Moreover, he believed that, if finished, "they will be some day very useful indeed to the Kaitakushi and the Japanese government and indirectly to the world at large, as well as rather creditable to myself and perhaps ... to our family." The subsequent news of his father's death only made Lyman determine more than ever to get what reputation he could by his work in Japan and thus to carry out the wishes of his father who had always shown great pride in the successes of his children. Several months later, when the reports and maps were all completed, he was exultant: "At last! at last the great work is finished."[93]

In February 1876, when Lyman was still working on his maps and reports of Hokkaido, he was employed by the Home Ministry on a two-year contract as chief geological and mining engineer. The offer of the new employment resulted mainly from the efforts of Yamauchi Tokusaburo, a Kaitakushi official who had been Lyman's chief assistant, and Otori Keinosuke, a high official of the Home Ministry, who had been one of the leaders of a rebel army fighting against the

Meiji Government in Hakodate and, after release from prison, had worked for the Kaitakushi for a short period. The offer was attractive, because Lyman could first finish maps of Hokkaido and then undertake a survey of several major oil fields on the main island of Japan. Also, Lyman's assistants would be transferred to the Home Ministry so that they and Lyman could continue to work as a team. This pleased Lyman more than anything else, because, as he wrote his sister, "in any geological surveying elsewhere I shall greatly miss their aid, and I have been anxious to establish our method of work as thoroughly in Japan (and Asia) as possible." There were other favorable conditions. Lyman was to receive the annual salary of ten thousand dollars, in addition to allowances for house rent and travelling expense on official duty. Moreover, reflecting Lyman's wishes, the new contract specified that his "assistants shall be ... wholly under the said Lyman's control," and that "the usual orders and correspondence on the business of work from the government, shall be communicated to the assistants only indirectly and through the said Lyman," although "orders referring to their dismissal shall be issued to them directly by the Commissioner." Lyman was satisfied with such an explicit agreement and also with the officials of the department whom he expected to be "much more enlightened and experienced in business" than those of the Kaitakushi who were "somewhat like children."[94]

Nearly a year later, Lyman and his assistants moved to

the Publics Works Ministry, following Otori, who became its Chief Secretary and Director of Kosakukyoku [Bureau of Engineering]. In February 1878 Lyman's contract was renewed for another year and a half with a slightly increased salary of $11,400. In April 1879, when his contract drew to an end, he felt that he and Japanese officials "got along much better than was the case in the Kaitakushi," mainly because most of his business with the government was done through Otori.[95] However, his relatively agreeable experience with the Public Works Ministry was shadowed by occasional frictions and ultimately turned into another bitter disappointment for him.

When the proposal to renew Lyman's contract was made at the end of 1877, for example, his advocacy of a raise in the salaries of his assistants caused friction. Lyman told Otori that unless the salaries of his assistants, reduced at the time of their transfer to the Public Works Ministry, were raised along with his own salary, he would not sign a new contract. Otori apologized but explained that the salaries of all the government officers, which had been reduced a year before because of financial stringency, remained unaltered and asked Lyman to enter upon the new engagement, promising his utmost efforts to meet Lyman's request. But Lyman refused to be "satisfied with any mere verbal promise or even with a written expression of hopes" and accusing the ministry of "a deliberate and most outrageous breach of faith." Lyman, after all, entered a new contract, but he

did so only after so large a correspondence had passed between him and Otori that Otori sadly concluded, "we have no better proposals which seem likely to enable us to come to mutual understanding."[96]

More serious friction arose over the digging of trial wells in Niigata. In the fall of 1878, when Ito Hirobumi, Minister of Public Works, visited the oil fields in Niigata, Lyman had already departed for a survey of the southern part of Japan, leaving behind a few assistants, including his chief assistant, Yamauchi. Taking Yamauchi's promising opinion about the oil deposits, Ito directed him to start digging. Lyman became "as mad as hornet," not only because such communications took place over his head but also because he thought his opposition to the plan of government operation had been clearly conveyed to the government. Lyman understood that Yamauchi expressed his positive opinion to Ito, "very innocently being misled" to believe that Lyman's instructions on digging wells meant that he had approved the government operation although he sent them under "peremptory orders" from the government. But Lyman thought there was no excuse on the part of the government. When Otori explained that Ito would have certainly consulted Lyman if he had been in Niigata or in Tokyo and that Otori too understood that Lyman's instructions meant that he had approved the government operation, Lyman simply felt Japanese response "filled ... with prevarications and lies and insolence."[97]

But the ultimate clash was avoided when Otori accepted Lyman's proposal that the government would remove the project of well digging from Lyman's charge and take from him as many assistants as necessary for carrying it out. Lyman reconciled himself to spend the rest of his term writing up his reports, while his chief assistant as well as Akiyama Yoshimaru, whom Lyman had regained as his assistant, were engaged in the project which Lyman "wholly disapproved." Finding himself "bodily almost used up," he wrote to his friend in India: "You will say it is because I am a vegetarian of course; but I am sure that if I had not been one I should have been paralyzed by this time, or died of brain fever or something of the sort."[98]

But, most distressing for Lyman in his final days in Japan was to witness a young German taking the reins of a geological survey of Japan. When Lyman renewed his contract with the Public Works Ministry in early 1878, he made the ministry agree to his proposal that his work hereafter "should be not merely a geological survey of Japan but the (only) Geological Survey of Japan," and that geological, mineralogical, mining, and metallurgical investigations undertaken by other ministries be all reported to him. Lyman at that time hoped that, although he himslf could undertake only a hasty reconnaissance of the whole country, he still could, with the aid of information from other sources, make a rough geological map of the entire Japan so that his assistants or any other geologists would find it

easy to fill in the details or make corrections later.[99] However, in the spring of 1879, Lyman learned that twenty-four-year-old Edmund Naumann, a graduate of Munchen University, who had been employed as professor of mineralogy, geology, and mining at Kaisei Gakko [the predecessor of the Imperial University of Tokyo], had proposed to the Japanese government a project of a geological survey of Japan under his supervision with a half dozen of his students and a few others from Kobu Daigakko [Polytechnical College] as assistants and also that the Home Ministry had already decided to sponsor his project. The fact that the Japanese government had accepted such a proposal without consulting Lyman seemed to him as "a mark of grave dissatisfaction" the Japanese entertained for his service. Moreover, he felt it "extremely absurd and ridiculous" that his own assistants with half a dozen years of practical experience were not invited to participate in the new project. He did protest to Otori, but suspecting that Naumann and his friends might consider him as "interloper and meddler," Lyman decided to take himself out of the way without making any further protest.[100]

When his term expired in July 1879, Lyman was left with more than one hundred notebooks, two hundred pages each, of sketches and notes of the places he had visited, yet to be drawn up for publication. But, with the inauguration of Naumann's twelve-year plan of a geological survey with a budget of $58,000, he found the Japanese government

had "little interest or means for finishing up" his work. Lyman, however, decided to stay in Japan "for the mere satisfaction of seeing the work finished," and it took him and his assistants more than a year to complete the survey map of the oil fields of Niigata.[101]

After another bitter experience with the Public Works Ministry, Lyman came to the conclusion that the Japanese were, after all, "so ignorant of modern methods of business, and so different from Anglo Saxons in temperament." He observed that "they are forgetful of their promises, annoyed at being bound by them, arbitrary, ashamed to correct anything they have done wrong towards an official subordination, unwilling to acknowledge that a subordinate has any rights (by previous agreement or otherwise) beyond dependence on their good will and amiability." To a friend who had expressed an interest in seeking employment in Japan, Lyman gave a warning that, although "[the Japanese] are a gay, lively people, somewhat like the French and very agreeable to get along with socially or to guide as assisants ... it is almost impossible for us westerners to get along with them in business." Lyman, a long-time bachelor, described his experience vividly: "Serving them is like being subjected to a lot of girls--ignorant, arbitrary, fickle, vain, wilful, faithless."[102] Also, observing that these Japanese officials, mostly of Lyman's age or younger, fell far behind him in education, he could not but wonder, "How little brain it takes to run a government of thirty odd

millions."[103]

On January 20, 1879, Lyman wrote to his former chief assistant Yamauchi, reminding him that Lyman had met him exactly six years ago after first going to the Kaitakushi office on the preceding day. "If I could have foreseen the whole of the six years," Lyman wrote Yamauchi, "I should probably have shrunk back with horror; but I have now, at least, much pleasure in reflection on the happiness I have found in your friendship and that of the other assistants."[104] Indeed, it was the warm relationship between Lyman and his assistants which supported Lyman through his ordeal in Japan, although at the same time his paternalistic concern for them often led him into dispute with government officials.

Lyman showed great interest in the success of his assistants. When he wrote his first year's survey, he is almost eulogistic in praising them and predicted that "Japan will become in a few years independent of foreign countries" in surveying and geology. Although a British reviewer of his report jeered his remark as an "oriental exaggeration," Lyman was firm in his belief.[105] Two years after the appearance of the British review Lyman was satisfied to see even the youngest assistants able to draw maps which "scarcely needed a hair's breadth of correction and that too in very complicated regions" and asserted that "there are hardly three men outside of Japan who happen to know how to do the like." He even thought that each of his assistants

was "worth a dozen such as Munroe."[106]

Before he left Japan, Lyman encouraged his assistants to organize the Geological Society of Japan and publish a journal which he hoped "will serve very well to reunite all the geological work that the present assistants will do." On the eve of his departure from Japan, he donated his large house and estate in Tokyo to the Society, suggesting that the rent be spent for buying specimens and books, printing geological papers and maps, and doing any other things which would "promote the interests of the Society and of Geological science in Japan." He felt, "my time here is brief and my accomplished work in so small a scale must necessarily be small"; but at the same time he believed his work would be carried on by his assistants. He evaluated his accomplishment in Japan: "An oak is an oak even when it is only a foot high."[107]

LASTING TIES WITH JAPAN

In May 1881 Lyman returned to Northampton. After eight years' absence, he found his fellow Americans--the "pushing, energetic, forceful, selfish" Saxon people--were "in some respects less amiable and less agreeable ... than the yielding, considerate, selfdenying, sociable peoples like the Japanese." Although he recognized "the extraordinary excellence of New Englanders," he did not appreciate their tendency to be "eternally bound to impose their own will on others."[108] Whatever he felt about his hometown

people, however, Lyman soon involved himself in social and civic affairs, appreciating the fact that he did not need to work for money, at least for the time being, owing to his savings in Japan. He was particularly active in the Village Improvement Committee; in 1885-1886 he served as a member of the common council.

Although far away, Japan was still very much part of his life. A year after his return, he sent for the ten-year-old son of his former Japanese servant. Lyman lived with the boy, directing him to do domestic chores and sending him to school.[109] Lyman also received visits from several of his former Japanese assistants and, acting as their guardian, saw to it that they had chances to get practical training in the field during their stay in the United States. Furthermore, he worked on the unfinished survey map of Japanese oil fields with one of his former assistants. When he completed the map which gave a bird's eye-view of all his survey work with regard to oil, he paid for its printing and let the assistant bring it back to Japan.[110]

Lyman's connection with Japan was moreover demonstrated when his friends, who took his authority on Japan for granted, provided him with chances to speak and write about the country. His forty-page article on "The Character of the Japanese" in the Journal of Speculative Philosophy (1885), although somewhat redundant, most clearly revealed the image of Japan he sought to convey to the Americans. In

the beginning Lyman gave his general observation that "perhaps the most striking feature of the character of the Japanese is their socialness"; in other words, the Japanese had "less of the instinct of self-preservation or self-help and more of the instinct of association" in comparison with other peoples.[111] Then Lyman discussed Japanese intelligence, their taste, and their behavior.

In Lyman's view, the most outstanding characteristic of the Japanese intelligence is that they were "remarkably quick" in "external perception." As a result, they were "very quick in action, and adroit and deft in movements of the hands or body," as was evidenced in their being "conspicuous for excellence as acrobats and jugglers." Their remarkable perception also made them good imitators. Aware of "the superiority of Western enlightenment to what they have so long received from China," Japanese were eagerly adopting Western ways of life. Although their imitation of Western civilization was mostly restricted to superficial matters, it was noteworthy that Japanese, with their "insatiable thirst for knowledge," had hit upon "the imitation of one most important and radical thing"--the universal introduction of public schools.[112]

Lyman pointed out that, because of their quick perception, Japanese might appear "at times remarkably acute and brilliant," but they were in fact "unreflecting and not deep in reasoning and originality," precisely because "their very quickness of habit makes them impatient ... at the careful,

close observation of internal processes or reflection that is required for reasoning or invention." Japanese too reasoned, but they did it "so rapidly as to seem often to arrive at the result rather by intuition or instinctive perception," and they themselves were "unable or unwilling to explain it in full." Their deficiency in reasoning was clearly demonstrated when they made a request: "a favorite (and among themselves often the most efficient) final argument is ... a mere appeal to personal regard or deference." The same deficiency was also apparent in their inability to accept doubtfulness or half-way statement. In Japan, Lyman wrote, "everything must be said sharply, definitely, precisely; it is less matter whether it be exactly and truthfully said."[113]

Their unreflective nature inevitably made Japanese "lacking in deep originality." There was no better evidence of this than their past history which showed "they have for ages adopted the civilization of others without any important additions of their own." Describing Japanese discoveries and inventions as "none but those of a kind that needs little deep thinking," Lyman perdicted that "a profound discovery will rarely at any future time be made by the present race of Japanese." They, Lyman explained, "work with especial success in those branches that require the observation of external facts, such as meteorology and surveying, and are well capable of ordinary generalization from the observed facts; but will doubtless always be found

deficient in the power to make more profound generalizations." In literature, too, "original traces of profound wit or wisdom are looked for almost in vain," and in future "Japanese literature will not be found rich in masterpieces" and "the most successful of its works will be of a light, comic character." The superficiality of Japanese intelligence was also exhibited in their religion. "The popular idea of the gods is a very low one, and they are supposed to be appeased by very external forms"--such as by "walking repeatedly round the outside of a temple," or by "vain repetitions of prayers with loud utterance (to be heard by god)."[114]

With regard to the aesthetic character of the Japanese, Lyman pointed out that the Japanese showed "the same love of outward observation, and the same lack of the profound" as was characteristic of their intelligence; they could produce "the picturesque," but not "the profound that is essential to high art." They excelled in decorative art, in the painting of flowers and birds, and especially in landscape gardening. "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that every house, however humble, has something to represent an ornamental garden," even though it might be simply "a box a foot or two long with miniature streams, ponds, islands, bridges, houses, temples, and with dolls for men and women." But, Lyman declared, the "high art" was hard to be found. The principle of Japanese architecture was that "beauty is only skin deep." Japanese temples contained many wooden

"grotesque rather than majestic" images of gods as well as bronze images of Buddha which, "however interesting as specimens of foundry-work and ingenuity, have no great merit as sculptures." Japanese pictures showed "an endless variety of admirably skillful trifles ... but never a combination into anything grand or thoroughly and consistently beautiful." Japanese lacquer-ware, bronzes, pottery, and cloisonne also exhibited "lightness, variety, pleasing colors, and graceful decoration," but, Lyman pointed out, "the more difficult merit of fine form is often lacking." Besides, Japanese art lacked originality, mostly consisting of imitations of the Chinese art.[115]

Finally, Lyman discussed Japanese behavior in detail. "The ruling principle" of Japanese activity was "regard for others rather than self-respect." This "genuine readiness to comply with the will of others, and to further their interest" gave rise to "the incentive to good conduct," and produced "a much more pleasing effect in the eyes of others than conscientiousness and self-respect which lead almost invariably and necessarily to goody-goodness, if not to pride and real selfishness." The regard for others also enabled Japanese to "get along together without disagreeable friction;" and when associated on a piece of work, even strangers could "pull together" well. Lyman highly praised the Japanese in this regard: "If the word civilization as distinguished from enlightenment means natural or trained adaptation and skill for human association, then the Japa-

nese are among the most highly civilized races in the world."[116]

Another striking characteristic of Japanese behavior was that their "feelings are not so deep." In Lyman's view, this was why Japanese were "cheerful and gay" even "in the most serious predicaments"; their "lack of deep feeling" enabled them to bear the disappointment of wishes and bereavement and even to find it "comparatively easy to part with life itself." While their cheerfulness and gaiety of manner was extremey pleasant, such disposition, Lyman warned, often went hand in hand with the lack of prudence. Japanese were "very sanguine and hopeful, ready to look on the bright side of every circumstance, and to believe encouraging language about any dubious matter." Worse still, their light-heartedness made them even "forgetful of duties."[117]

The Japanese behavior, furthermore, reflected their hierarchical values that "in any association of human beings, one must lead and the others be led, and dutiful obedience to the acknowledged head is reckoned a virtue." Lyman observed Japanese acquired the highest respect of all for their parents, and parents, on the other hand, "with their own life-long training of self-control in favor of others" as well as with the expectation of "so great a return from their children," were "very gentle and kind" toward their children. In the case of wife and husband, although "thorough subjection of woman to man might have a

very pernicious effect upon the man's character," it was beyond doubt to Lyman that "its effect upon the woman's character is extremely beneficial, and the result is most enchanting." Lyman was convinced that "nowhere else can be found such entire, sincere, unquestioning, cheerful, seemingly unforced, submissive humility and meekness." Next to filial duty and faithful wifehood came fidelity of service in the relations of servant and master, client and patron, protege and protector, and pupil and teacher. Foreigners, who had had Japanese assistants or pupils, knew the fact by experience, and would, "without exception, admit that nothing could be more charming than the respectful attention and submission" they had enjoyed from Japanese assistants or pupils. However, the very respect for others and submissiveness toward superiors carried with it a dangerous tendency to make Japanese "ready to be subjects of despotic power." In fact, "their Government has ever been 'an absolute despotism tempered by assassination.'"[118]

Also, remarkable Japanese politeness had its limit because they were "polite out of regard for others' opinion and not out of self-respect." Therefore, they could be "extremely rude and overbearing" or "even treacherous" toward those for whom they did not have any particular respect or those who they knew could never do them any harm. This was what foreigners also often experienced in Japan. Although foreigners were "in the beginning highly admired and looked up to both as novelties and as evidently more enlightened,"

minor officials, after becoming slightly accustomed to dealing with them, were tempted to enhance their own consequence and dignity by giving foreigners small annoyances, such as keeping them waiting at a public office. The selfish ones in particular were "very ready to use secret, underhand, sly, deceitful methods" in order to carry out their ends. Thus the first impression of a foreign visitor was "nearly always an extremely pleasant one," but it was "apt to be entirely reversed by annoyances that occur in a longer stay."[119]

Lyman's article showed that Lyman was free from the kind of prejudice which would take every difference as a mark of inferiority. Lyman noted that, because many Japanese customs were "exactly the reverse of ours," it was sometimes taken for granted that they were consequently "inferior or foolish, and evidence of stupidity," but he thought that such observations were superficial; in many cases the two opposite ways of doing a thing were "equally satisfactory" or circumstances commonly overlooked by a foreigner made the Japanese method even "more rational." For instance, it might strike a Westerner as "irrational" to mount a horse from the right side because it was almost impossible to do so with a sword on, but the two Japanese swords were worn in such a way as to be no obstruction to mounting on the right and in fact the free right hand was of better service than it could be on the other side.[120]

However, Lyman's article was sharply critical about the more fundamental character of the Japanese. This was

partly due to his bitter experience in Japan but also due to a large gap he found between the Japan he had experienced and the progressive image of Japan his contemporary Americans hailed. In Lyman's mind, there was no quesion that the Chinese were superior to the Japanese and that the really progressive force in Asia was China. He wrote in the article:

> The Japanese are proud that centuries ago, with the help of the weather, they valorously repelled invasion attempted by the Chinese; but it would probably have been much more fortunate for themselves if they had had the wisdom to submit at once, as they would have done most quietly and cheerfully after defeat. Their country would have enjoyed ever since greater peace and prosperity, and have made far greater progress in enlightenment.[121]

Furthermore, Lyman did not give a high evaluation to the Japanese art partly because he felt there was "too much nonsense" and "exaggeration" in the Western admiration for the Japanese art. During his stay in Japan, he witnessed that "some travellers go into such ecstasies" about Japanese temples which looked to him "as much inferior to the severe simplicity of the Panthenon as the glow worm is inferior to the sun." Not a few friends at home, includng Sanborn, asked Lyman in Japan to buy Japanese curios for them, but he always tried to dissuade them by pointing out not only that they "would be throwing away money" to purchase such things through Lyman who knew nothing of their proper prices but also that "the rage for oriental oddities has been enormously overdone."[122]

While Lyman was convinced of the correctness of all

his views expressed in the article, he, at the same time, was afraid that "the paper may give some annoyance to the Japanese," because "few people would feel quite satisfied to have the strictest truth told about them." He circulated a copy of the article only sparingly, always accompanying it with "a request not to let it come to the sight of any Japanese." He could not, however, prevent his article from attracting some Japanese attention.[123]

In Northampton Lyman pursued a free and independent life without taking up any job. It was the kind of life he had longed for while he was an employed foreigner in Japan, but it did not take Lyman many years before he found the life in Northampton "very dull," for "scarcely anybody takes any interest in any pursuit that interests me." Less than three years after his return home, "geological work in the field or even employment in some city [had] ... begun to seem very attractive again" to him. For three more years, however, he put up with "the humdrum dullness" of Northampton, and in 1887 he at last moved to Philadelphia, obtaining the position of assistant geologist of Pennsylvania, which he held until 1895.[124]

Lyman engaged himself in a few surveys and in the meantime purchased land in the Shippen and Weatherill Tract, Pennsylvania, confident of its richness in coal. But geological survey business, like business in general, became extremely depressed in the 1890s and Lyman found himself out of remunerative work for years.[125] However, his life in

Philadelphia was not dull, owing to his participation in many professional associations such as the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Amerian Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, the American Oriental Society, the American Philosophical Society, the Franklin Institute, and the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society. He not only enjoyed attending a continual round of meetings but also had chances to present papers. The topics of his papers were varied, but Japanese topics dominated, such as old Japanese standard foot measure, Japanese swords, Japanese compounds, Japanese tea, and the future of Japan in its relations with China and Russia. In Philadelphia, Lyman also enjoyed the contacts with Japanese living in the city and nearby who had met at Lyman's place from time to time.

To Lyman, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 was a matter of serious concern. In fact, Lyman noticed Japanese came to his place less often, mostly because of his lack of sympathy in "their unjustifiable and outrageous war" about which "they have felt a warmly and blindly patriotic zeal." What particularly frustrated Lyman was the accounts given by American newspapers "blindly in favor of the Japanese side of the war." "The absurd prejudice against the Chinese" seemed to him due to "the agreeable impression generally made by the Japanese students here, as compared with the Chinese laundrymen." He also suspected that Sinophobia was caused by "the very vigor and

success of the Chinese commercial and industrial competition ... feared and hated by less vigorous illiberal competitors in all parts of the world" and particularly by "more ignorant immigrant populaton" in the United States.[126]

In December 1895, Lyman read a paper on "The Future of Japan in its Relations with China and Russia" at the meeting of the Contemporary Club of Philadelphia, "a large, somewhat fashionable dilettanteish literary club." Lyman's mission was to "convert the audience of perhaps 300, in great part ladies, from their enthusiastic prejudice in favor of the reverend Japanese gentleman" who had talked about the political future of Japan.[127] At the outset in his speech, Lyman called the "cool argument" of the Japanese minister "blasphemy" since it intended to justify Japan in "unblushingly following, as in the past, her warlike bent." Lyman explained that "a part of the ruling classes of Japan have inherited for many centuries such pernicious and disgraceful habits of thought" and the war with China indicated that these leaders, who had "opposed the government's plans for the peaceful development of the country," at length "succeeded in forcing it, as it were, into the invasion of Corea and the war against China." Once the war had begun, "the strong patriotism of so thoroughly centralized a country as Japan and the martial vanity of a large part of the ruling classes were, of course, instantly roused." However, Lyman pointed out that "Corea much preferred Chinese protection to Japanese intervention," and that, if the country had to

choose between "perishing in the embrace of Russia," in the Japanese speaker's words, and Japanese custody, "she has every reason to prefer the protection and cooperation of her northern neighbor, so much more powerful in wealth, resources, vigor, population and enlightenment."[128]

The results of the war, Lyman warned, were alarming both for Japan and other countries. In order to maintain its "aggressive military character ... at all hazards, regardless of cost," Japan would have to consume the indemnity "extorted" from China and, in addition, greatly increase taxes at home. Other countries--China, Spain, Hawaii, South America, Central America, Mexico, the United States, among others--would then have to be on guard against Japan as a potential enemy. "For, though Japan be so much smaller, poorer and weaker than we are, yet with her constant cultivation of the fighting disposition, she might for a time gain as weighty advantages over us as she did ... over her great, peaceable, industrious, commercial, unmilitary, unprepared neighbor." Lyman warned that unless Japan would restrain herself from "such an uneasy, conquest-seeking, war-loving habit," she would "soon deserve to be called, in the worse sense, the gadfly of the east." His speech was concluded with his high expectation for the Chinese people: "From their character, and from what they have already accomplished, we may feel confident that in the many-sided progress of civilization they will eventually not be far from holding the leadership in the Far East, and from

excelling all others there" in every conceivable field. On the impact of his speech Lyman felt that, although "it was hopeless to convert the audience ... at least, their extravagance was somewhat tempered."[129]

To his Japanese friends in Japan, Lyman also conveyed his "regret that Japan should latterly have become so devoted to warlike matters" and his fear that Japan would greatly enlarge military expenses in order "to keep up her new character of an aggressive military power thirsting for glory and (men will say) for conquest, and (men will also say) without the burden of too many scruples, and, I fear, with the distrust of many other countries." He urged that Japan should compete with other countries not in war, which "is too apt to be merely violent robbery on a large scale," but in "the proper rivalry between nations," that is, in "the peaceful one of industry and commerce." Although American newspapers were "publishing much about the dangers we shall experience from the competition of Japanese manufacturers," he assured his Japanese friends that "in such competition there can be no just reason for complaint" and "in such work your countrymen will find an excellent field for the exercise of their adroitness, ingenuity, and skill and artistic taste." Lyman, however, wrote his British friend that he doubted "whether their pleasure-loving disposition and inconstant habits and imperfect, superficial training in essential matters will ever allow them to become dangerous competitors of the Anglo-Saxon, or even of the

Chinese, in commerce and industry."[130]

Lyman, who was alarmed by Japanese expansion, heartily supported aggressive American foreign policy at the turn of the century, for he firmly believed in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons who had "almost a monopoly of the capacity for successful government" and "could undoubtedly keep the rest of the world in order."[131] In the middle of 1896, observing the turmoil in Cuba, Lyman considered it "unavoidable that we should take Cuba before long." When the war with Spain broke out, he supported it, arguing that "there was no decent escape" from it. Less than a month later he was pleased to see some of "the happiest results of the war" already attained such as "the increased friendliness between the British and the Americans" and "the complete healing of the soreness between our own North and South."[132] When the Americans were faced with the problem of what to do with the Philippines, Lyman supported the annexation, regarding it as a chance for the United States to "do for [the Philippines] what Great Britain has been doing for Egypt, only still better." The best arrangement seemed to him to be a temporary control of the islands by the United States with a preparation of the people for self-government. Lyman moreover urged for constitutional amendments or laws to the effect that naturalization for federal voting be restricted to those who had a good knowledge of English and of the American system of government and that a sufficiently large number of voters so qualified be required for any admission

as a state.[133]

Lyman, however, fully realized that "many Americans are strongly averse to our taking any such duties and responsibilities" as to protect the Philippine islanders and give them a stable government. He particularly sensed so wide a gap between his opinion and those of his New England friends that he wrote his cousin: "In your part of the world, which naturally thinks the rest of the universe is hardly fit to be connected on anything like equal terms with superior, intelligent, sensible, educated New England, you are probably regretting that our government has found that humanity and honor required it to insist upon freeing the Philippines from Spanish rule." He wryly added that he himself was "so debased by long absence from the home of knowledge, and so accustomed to fraternizing with Asiatics" that he felt "gratified with the prospect of the spread of republicanism and selfgovernment and common schools on the other side of the world."[134]

Lyman was totally optimistic about the outcome of American annexation of the Philippines. He believed that it would be drastically different from Japanese possession of Formosa, where there were many Chinese, "a more vigorous race than [Japanese] themselves, and in some respects are more advanced," and Chinese as well as numerous aborigines were "not altogether friendly to the Japanese." In the Philippines, however, there were comparatively few Spaniards, and the "imperfectly enlightened" natives were "very

friendly to us." The United States could depend upon their "heartiest cooperation" because they should know "great privileges and advantages could never be expected from any other government" but the United States. In a few generations "American enterprise would have introduced railroads and many other improvements there, and added in a hundred ways to the welfare of the people." Lyman even anticipated that if the United States would succeed in the Philippines, "perhaps other countries in that quarter will likewise be desirous of admission."[135]

Lyman believed that the annexation would bring profits to the United States as well. Although he admitted that the possession of far-distant islands would at first require a large U.S. navy and incur heavy expenses on the part of the United States, he repeatedly stressed to sceptical friends and relatives that such burdens would be eventually overbalanced by "great material and commercial benefits." As a matter of fact, Lyman, who had been out of geological work for some time, hoped to see "some of the benefits come immediately in the way of a commission to investigate some of the mineral resources of our new possessions."[136]

Lyman's expansionist view of U.S. foreign policies went hand in hand with his support of laissez-faire economy at home. Although his financial situation was in a marked contrast to the wealth of his second cousin, J.P. Morgan, he did not agree with Sanborn's criticism of trust owners. Lyman, "a stout defender of the trusts," reminded Sanborn

that "the qualities that have made them rich are indeed enviable, untiring energy, prudence, avoidance of over-selfindulgence for law or high purposes and of lewish [sic] generosity, so that they must keep up a philosophic (if not a hardened) heart against the omnipresent ... miseries of their less careful, less able fellow men." Besides, it was not the rich alone who were selfish: "Even scientific men appear to be mainly governed more by selfishness than by justice in striving for reputation or glory, if not for money." Indeed, Lyman asserted that the formation of trusts was "a step in the progress of the enlightenment of industry."[137]

Lyman believed what deserved censure was not trusts but the combinations of working men. Lyman, an owner of a tract of coal land which remained undeveloped, sided with "coal barons," in Sanborn's words, when a large-scale anthracite strike broke out in 1902. Lyman was critical not only of the "tyrannical" Miner's Union and its president, John Mitchell, but also of politicians "yielding" to the demands of the Union including President Roosevelt who did "beg" Mitchell to order the strike to cease in return for his promise to have the whole affair investigated by a government commission. In Lyman's view, the strikers were the Lithuanians, Poles, and Hungarians who "are to be sure very ignorant of American conditions and are consequently led astray by such demagogues as Mitchell, and are indisposed to submit to any less authority than military, espe-

cially cavalry force." Lyman, furthermore, felt it deplorable that the public, fed with one-sided statements, had "a very exaggerated belief in the hard treatment the miners have been enduring," while the fact was, Lyman believed, "their wages have been very high, compared with their skill and the conditions of their work; and that, if they do not earn more in the year, it is mainly because of their own disinclination to work more than a very small number of hours daily." He predicted that if the government commission should order an increase of wages, not the operators but "the public, with poetic justice, will have to pay for the ill-informed, headlong sympathy with which it encouraged the strikers to persist."[138]

To Lyman, his firm belief in the United States seemed to be vindicated in 1906-1907, when he visited the Philippines, at the age of seventy-two, to make a survey of coal lands near Mt. Lantauan in Cebu for a New York company that was building a railroad there. He informed his friends at home that he found the city of Manila "improved in the scanty eight years of American occupation to an altogether astonishing degree" and the people showing "in their faces a striking degree of contentment and confidence in Americans, as well as respect for them." Therefore, Americans "should not be misled by the clamorous outcries of a few Filipino demagogues, who strive to make the most of their fluency of speech to their own personal benefit, working on the mere principle of the outs who simply wish to be in, and there-

fore seize upon every opportunity to pick flaws in the present management." The travel to the Philippines reassured Lyman that "it is a happy thing for the Filipinos that we possess their country, happy for us, and happy for the world."[139]

In spite of his belief in the United States, Lyman's financial situation remained difficult for a long time. He was deeply in debt because he repeatedly borrowed money from his wealthy uncle and cousin simply to pay the mortgage interest on his coal tract, but was willing to "scrape along and hold on to the very valuable anthracite tract," always believng it "soon to be amply productve." Sometimes his former Japanese assistants helped him, such as when he received one thousand dollars from them as a New Year's present; the gift, which arrived just at the moment when he was at a loss what to do with the tax due the following day, seemed "almost a miracle" to him. But his tract remained undeveloped and in 1913 Lyman finally sold it without seeing its "really great intrinsic value" realized.[140]

What enriched Lyman's life in his declining days was, at least in part, his ties with Japan. While he continued to be sharply critical of Japan's expansionist moves in Asia, he came to cherish the memories of his old experiences in Japan which he found were "mellowed as they naturally are with time." In retrospect, Lyman admitted that his general survey of Hokkaido was "merely a hasty reconnaissance" and his findings were "necessarily so imperfect" and "in great

measure out of date," but he believed that his detailed survey and mapping of some of the coal fields were still of much value. This belief seemd to be vindicated a quarter century after he worked in Hokkaido, when he learned that Japanese were working the coal in Hokkaido on a large scale and "very appreciative" of his work. His former assistant also wrote him, "Your method of the topographical geological surveying is now successfully employed at principal mines and general geological surveys." In 1902 he was informed that he had been elected an honorary member of the Mining Institute of Japan. The Sapporo Mining Journal too paid him "unexpected and pleasing" compliment by carrying his large portrait and his "elaborate" biographical sketch written by Yamauchi. Lyman was indeed pleased to see that Japanese "very kindly makes much of me as the father of their [coal] industry" in Hokkaido.[141]

Furthermore, his former assistants did not fail to keep in touch with him and particularly inform him of their professional success which was always a source of delight to Lyman. In 1906, when Lyman's ship stopped briefly in Japan on its way to the Philippines, he enjoyed a reunion with them as well as with several former Philadelpha students and found himself "quite overwhelmed but delightfully charmed with so many unexpected, touching demonstrations of hearty friendliness." He learned from his assistants that "a plan promising success was on foot to induce the Government to bestow a very high grade decoration on [Lyman]." While

Lyman, in view of his "firm belief in the political equality of all men," felt obliged to tell them to stop their efforts, he confided to his friend Sanborn that he might have been wrong in declining decoration: "I have had no good chance to consider it quietly, and get information about its real significance.... If you had only been here to be my Mentor and guide me!" His assistants moreover asked Lyman to come to Japan again on his way back home so that they could entertain him "with a 'personally conducted' grand tour of all the coal fields of Japan, including Yesso [Hokkaido] and the principal oil fields," although Lyman's five-week illness in the Philippines prevented him from accepting the offer.[142]

Through his remaining years, he was comforted by his former assistants who were concerned about his health as well as his financial situation. One of his assistants, for example, wrote in 1910, "We are very anxious to know your health and present condition about your monthly income, if you need any aid please tell me without restraint, we will gradsly [sic] assist to you as far as we could." They in fact continued to send him letters, money, and Japanese food. When a box of food including seaweed arrived, Lyman could not but recall those days when he and his assistants not only struggled through the wilderness but also "enjoyed greatly the soup made from this seaweed." When Lyman received "a beautiful handsome, brocade-bound album of all [his assistants'] families" including 121 members, he must

have been reminded that he, although unmarried, had a large family in Japan who cared him. It certainly rekindled his hope to visit Japan again, especially in the spring so that, as he told his Dutch friend from his Japanese days, he could "enjoy the plum and cherry blossoms in company with my former assistants." When Lyman published a book entitled Vegetarian Diet and Dishes in 1917, the largest purchaser was his Japanese assistants who immediately ordered one hundred copies.[143]

Three years later, on January 21, 1920, Lyman died at the age of eighty-four. To those who knew him well, his connection with Japan seemed to be the most significant feature in his life. Writing an obituary for the Mining and Metallurgy, his cousin, Frank Lyman, observed that "Mr. Lyman's work in Japan was his most noteworthy achievement." Four years after Lyman's death, when his former house in Northampton was sold to Smith College, a Springfield newspaper also reminded the readers of Benjamin Smith Lyman as "a remarkable man in himself and in his connections," and "a man who knew Japan and the Japanese as well, perhaps, as any American." Lyman's connection with Japan was fully revealed in a great amount of published and unpublished writings he left; of about one hundred and fifty papers he wrote on geology, survey, and a wide range of other subjects, more than one third dealt with Japan. Furthermore, a collection of some four thousand books Lyman bequeathed to Forbes Library in Northampton contained more than two thousand

books written in Japanese, including seventeenth century editions. These books were not only a testimonial to Lyman's deep interest in Japan but also a monument to perpetuate his connection with Japan, serving as rich sources to those who would take a great interest in the country just as Lyman did.[144]

NOTES

1. Benjamin Smith Lyman, "Geological Survey of Hokkaido: Report of a Geological Trip Through and Around Yesso," in ROL, 430.

2. Lyman Coleman, Genealogy of the Lyman Family in Great Britain and America (Albany: J. Munsell, State Street, 1872), 35.

3. Lyman, "Edward Hutchinson Robbins Lyman" (11 July 1887), 1-2, LAPS; Lyman to the unidentified, 11 July 1887, copy, LAPS; Coleman, 393-96.

4. Lyman, "Edward Hutchinson Robbins Lyman," 2-3; Lyman to E. Gilbertson, 9 July 1900, copy, LFL.

5. Lyman to Mary [Lyman], 10 January 1876, copy, LFL.

6. I.G. Hoyt to whom it may concern, 14 December 1855, LAPS; Charles F. Choate to whom it may concern, 18 December 1855, LAPS; Joseph Lovering to whom it may concern, 27 December 1855, LAPS.

7. Franklin B. Sanborn, Recollections of Seventy Years, 2 vols. (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1909), 2: 397, 437.

8. His experience after graduation from college to 1865 is described in his letter to Edwin Hale Abbot, 23 June 1865, Abbot Family Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

9. Lyman to Lesley, 26 September, 26 October 1858, LFL.

10. Lyman to James Hall, 19 September 1862, copy, LFL.

11. Lyman to Lesley, 3 January 1860, LFL; Lyman to Mary, 2 September 1861, copy, LFL; Lyman to Sanborn, 4 & 5 September 1861, copy, LFL; Lyman to Lizzy [Elizabeth Lyman], 22 February 1861, copy, LFL.

12. Lyman's theme (1855) in Gompei Kuwada, Biography of Benjamin Smith Lyman (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1937), 48-53; Lyman to Lesley, 10 November 1859, LFL. Lyman was a typical New Englander when he commented on a fellow American studying at Freiberg: "Moss is a Jew who hails from New Orleans, and is a rabid secessionist. He has a very small amount of brain." Lyman to Sanborn, 4 & 5 September, 1861, copy, LFL.

13. Lyman to Joseph Lyman, 18 March 1862, copy, LFL; Lyman to Ang. Langel, 30 August 1862, copy, LFL; Lyman to Sanborn, 19 September 1862, copy, LFL.

14. Lyman to Lesley, 19 September 1862, copy, LFL; Lyman to Joseph Lyman, 19 September 1862, copy, LFL; Lyman to Sanborn, 9 September 1862, copy, LFL; Lyman to Elizabeth B. Langel, 6 April 1863, copy, LFL.

15. Lyman to Lesley, 1 March 1867, LFL.

16. Articles of Agreement between Lyman and Thornton, 8 December 1869, copy, CYU.

17. Colonel R. MacLagan, R.E. to the Secretary to Government of India, Public Works Department, 23 February 1871, LHSP; Henry, Desk Diary, 8 June 1871, HSI.

18. Lyman to Lesley, 14 May 1871, LFL.

19. Henry to Lesley, 8 May 1871, JPL; Lesley to Henry, 9 May 1871, CLC; Lyman to Henry, 9 June 1871, CLC.

20. Henry, Desk Diary, 9 June 1871, HSI; Henry to Lesley, 8 May 1871, JPL.

21. Lyman to Lesley, 21 May, 2 June 1872, LFL.

22. Both Lyman's preliminary contract (25 October 1872, copy) and his formal contract (April 7, 1873) are among CFE.

23. Lesley to Henry, 9 May 1871, CLC.

24. Ibid.

25. Lyman to his mother, 10 May1865, copy, LFL. At another time, however, he hinted interference from other sources: "I laugh now in my sleeve at those prudent papas of marriageable daughters that used to think it so necessary to turn a cold shoulder towards me." Lyman to Mary, 9 February 1878, copy, LFL.

26. Lyman to Hannah [Brewer], 20 December 1896, copy, LFL.

27. Lyman to Beukema, 11 April 1914, LHSP.

28. Lesley to Henry, 9 May 1871, CLC; Lyman to Sanborn, 20 March 1863, copy, LFL. Munroe to his parents, 21 January 1873, MCHS.

29. George P. Merrill, The First One Hundred Years of American Geography (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press,

1924; rept., New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1964), 498.

30. Lyman to his father, 22 January 1873, copy, LFL.

31. Lyman to his father, 3 March 1873, copy, LFL. Later in his years, Lyman, in a reflective mood, thought, "The politeness of the Japanese ... tends to make us overestimate our skill in using their language." Lyman to Rankin, 26 September 1902, LFL.

32. Lyman to Matsumoto, 25 May 1873, copy, LAPS; Matsumoto to Lyman, 28 May 1873, LAPS.

33. For instances of his hardships, see Lyman to James [Lyman], 16 August 1873, copy, LAPS; Lyman to R. Maclagan, 24 August 1873, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Capron, 22 September 1873, CYU.

34. To Aunt [Susan Lesley?], 8 June 1873, copy, LFL.

35. Lyman to Capron, 27 January 1873, CYU; Lyman, "Preliminary Report on the First Season's Work of the Geological Survey of Yesso," in ROL, 119-20.

36. Ibid., 117-18.

37. Lyman to Lesley, 4 January 1871, LFL.

38. Lyman to Capron, 26 April 1873, CYU.

39. Lyman, "Preliminary Report," in ROL, 122, 124-25.

40. Lyman to his father, 7 December 1873, copy, LFL.

41. Ibid. Lyman found an imperial interview not only dull but even insulting when its novelty was gone. Declining such an interview, he explained to a Japanese official: "The ceremonies of the presentation, as witnessed by me last year, do not agree with my ideas of propriety nor with what I believe to be customary in all western civilized countries, where, unless I am greatly mistaken, it is considered rudeness if even the representative of a whole nation fails to observe in the main the same forms of civility as those who are admitted to his presence, though it be not necessary to return in the same degree excessve marks of respect.... Last year, though we ... bowed five times to the Mikado, we had not even a single nod in return." Lyman to Otori Keinosuke, 28 December 1877, copy, LAPS.

42. Lyman to Kuroda, 3 December 1873, copy, LFL. Kuroda to Lyman, 4 December 1873, LHSP.

43. Lyman to Mary, 22 December 1873, copy, LFL; Lyman to

Sato, 1 January 1874, copy, LAPS.

44. Lyman to Kuroda, 12 April 1874, CFE.

45. Lyman to Sangi [Councilor of State], 16 April 1874, draft, LFL. The slightly modified version Lyman wrote the following day is somewhat more reserved in his use of words: Lyman to Sangi, 17 April 1874, draft, LFL.

46. Lyman to Sangi, 16 April 1874, draft, LFL. According to a Japanese source, the young girl whom Lyman wanted to marry, Hirose Tsune, simply did not want to marry him. Matsumoto Juro, Ezo mokuzushi [Reminiscences of Hokkaido], handwritten copy, University of Hokkaido Library. The girl got married to Mori Arinori in February 1875 in a Western-style civil ceremony in which both signed a contract and Fukuzawa Yukichi added his signature as witness. Eleven years later they were divorced. Mori Arinori zenshu 3 vols., ed. Okubo Toshiaki (Tokyo: Senbundo, 1972), 1: 770-778.

47. Lyman to Sangi, 16 April 1874, draft, LFL.

48. Lyman to Kuroda, 17 April 1874, copy, LAPS; Kuroda to Lyman, 17 April 1874, LAPS; Lyman to Sato, 17 April, 1874, copy, LAPS.

49. Lyman to Kuroda, 17 April 1874, copy, LAPS; Kuroda to Lyman, 18 April 1874, copy, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 19 April 1874, CFE; Kuroda to Capron, 24 April 1874, CYU. The letters between Lyman and the Kaitakushi passed through Capron after April 19 in compliance with Kuroda's request. Lyman's charges against Fukudzumi might have been substantial. The major reason for the closing of the Kaitakushi girls's school was a rumor about an allegedly loose relationship between some girl students and Kaitakushi officials, especially Fukudzumi, whom Resident-Governor Matsumoto dismissed shortly before Matsumoto decided to close the school. "Matsumoto keifu" [Autobiography of Matsumoto], handwritten copy, University of Hokkaido Library.

50. Capron to Lyman, 25 April 1874, LAPS; Lyman to Capron, 27 April 1874, CYU; Kuroda to Capron, 3 May 1874, CYU; Capron to Lyman, 4 May 1874, LAPS.

51. Lyman to Capron, 26 August 1874, CYU. Not all the Kaitakushi officials knew very well that there had been no trouble. Sato at least attributed frequent misunderstanding between him and Lyman to Lyman's insistence on speaking only Japanese. Sato to Kaitakushi, 15 October 1874, KK, vol. 5983.

52. Matsumoto to Lyman, August 12, 1874, copy, LAPS. There is a more correct translation of the original Japanese letter among CYU, which might have been made after the

Kaitakushi received a protest from Capron.

53. Lyman to Capron, 26 August 1874, CYU.

54. Matsumoto to Lyman, 12 August 1874, LAPS. Translated by this writer.

55. Lyman to Misawa, 27 August 1874, copy, LAPS.

56. Lyman to Capron, 26 August 1874, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 2 September 1874, CYU.

57. Capron to Henry, 7 December 1873, HSI; Capron to Murray S. Day, 21 July 1874, copy, CYU.

58. Capron to Lyman, 3 October 1874, LAPS.

59. Capron to Kuroda, 8 October 1874, copy, LAPS.

60. Kuroda to Capron, 31 October 1874, CYU.

61. Lyman to Capron, 4 November 1874, CFE; Capron to Kuroda, 31 November 1874, copy, LAPS; Kuroda to Capron, 15 November 1874, CYU.

62. Lyman to Delham, 9 November 1874, copy, LFL; Lyman to Mary, 24 November 1874, LFL.

63. Lyman to Capron, 5 August 1874, CYU.

64. Lyman to Capron, 9 December 1874, CFE; Nishimura to Capron, 27 December 1874, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 28 December 1874, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 16 January 1875, CFE. A letter from the Kaitakushi certainly informed Lyman that "Mr Akiyama Yoshimaru, as you desire, has been appointed to join to the Bussan qua (Bureau of production) and to be your assistant." Yasuda Sadanori to Lyman, 27 November 1873, LHSP.

65. Nishimura to Capron, 28 February 1875, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 2 March 1875, CFE; Nishimura to Capron, 5 March 1875, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 6 March 1875, CYU. Lyman wrote Capron that he himself did not witness the particular incident but later learned about it from Akiyama.

66. Lyman to Capron, 18 December 1874, CYU; Nishimura to Capron, 27 December 1874, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 28 December 1874, CYU; Nishimura to Capron, 28 February 1875, CYU.

67. Kuroda to Capron, 12 February 1875, CYU; Day to Capron, 14 February 1875, CYU.

68. Munroe to his parents, 11, 22 February 1875, MCHS. While Munroe called Lyman "insane," Lyman had different thoughts about the effectiveness of medicine. When he later

became ill again, he wrote Lesley, "I put [Dr. Beukema's] medicine in my pocket and had a nice chat and so got better rapidly." Lyman to Lesley, 10 February 1877, LFL.

69. Lyman to Capron, 28 February 1875, CFE; Lyman to Capron, 28 February 1875, CYU.

70. Lyman to Capron, 8 March 1875, CFE.

71. Kuroda to Capron, 25 March 1875, CYU; Mori, Memorandum, 15 March 1875, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 28 March 1875, CFE.

72. Lyman to Capron, 15 March 1875, CFE; Kuroda to Capron, 25 March 1875, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 28 March 1875, CFE.

73. Capron to Lyman, 29 February 1875, LHSP.

74. Lyman to Capron, 6 March 1875, CYU.

75. Lyman to Capron, 12 March 1875, CYU.

76. Lyman to Capron, 27 March 1875, CFE; Kuroda to Capron, 15 April 1875, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 17 April 1875, CYU.

77. Capron to Lyman, 30 April 1875, LHSP; Kuroda to Lyman, 6 May 1875, LHSP; Capron to Lyman, 8 May 1875, LHSP.

78. Capron to Kuroda, 13 May 1875, copy, CYU.

79. Kuroda to Capron, 15 May 1875, CYU; Lyman to Capron, 17 May 1875, copy, LAPS; Munroe to his parents, 21 May 1875, MCHS.

80. Lyman to Mary, 23 May, 10 June, 1875, copy, LFL; Lyman to Capron, 10 June 1875, CYU.

81. Lyman, Geological Survey of Hokkaido: Report of Progress of the Yesso Geological Surveys for 1875, and Seven Coal Survey Reports (Tokyo: Kaitakushi, 1877), 28.

82. Lyman to Kuroda, 28 November 1873, CFE; Lyman, "A Geological Trip Through and Around Yesso," in ROL, 524.

83. Lyman to Dzusho & Yasuda, 25 May 1875, CFE.

84. Lyman, Geological Surveys for 1875, 14.

85. Lyman's draft dated 14 November 1874, LAPS.

86. Ibid.; Lyman, "A Geological Trip Through and Around Yesso," in ROL, 440.

87. Lyman, Geological Surveys for 1875, 30.

88. Capron to Lyman, 23 July 1873, LAPS; Lyman to Lesley, 25 October 1875, LFL.

89. Lyman's draft dated 3 October 1874 and 14 November 1874, LAPS; Lyman, "A Geological Trip Through and Around Yesso," in ROL, 440.

90. Lyman to Mary, 9 December 1875, copy, LFL.

91. Kuroda to Lyman, 4 December 1875, LAPS; Lyman to Kuroda, 5 December 1875, CFE; Kuroda to Lyman, 8 December 1875, LAPS; Lyman to Kuroda, 10 December 1875, CFE; Lyman to Mary, 9 Decemer 1875, copy, LFL. Half a year later, when the Kaitakushi presented him eight hundred dollars for the service he rendered the Kaitakushi after the expiration of his engagement, Lyman again declined to receive it. Lyman to Nishimura, 30 May 1876, CFE. He expressed his feelings to his uncle: "They have done me too many personal and official unkindness for me to be willing to receive any such gift." Lyman to Lesley, 22 June 1876, LFL.

92. Lyman to Otori, 27 September 1876, copy, LAPS.

93. Lyman to Mary, 3 January 1876, copy, LFL; Lyman to R. Yamauchi, 17 September 1876, CFE.

94. Lyman to Mary, 28 January 1876, copy, LFL; "The Contract Between Kawase Hideharu [Vice Commissioner of the Board of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Interior Department] and Benjamin Smith Lyman, 1 February 1876," English translation, LFL; Lyman to Lesley, 11 February 1876, LFL.

95. Lyman to J. Poole, 14 April 1879, copy, LFL; Lyman to Alexander Agassiz, 14 November 1891, copy, LHSP.

96. Lyman to Otori, 26 December 1877, copy, LAPS; Otori to Lyman, 28 December 1877, LAPS; Lyman to Otori, 29 December 1877, copy, LAPS; Otori to Lyman, 14 January 1878, LAPS; Lyman to Otori, 24 January, 1878, copy, LAPS; Otori to Lyman, 26 January 1878, LAPS; Lyman to Otori, 27 January 1878, copy, LFL; Otori to Lyman, 28 January 1878, LAPS.

97. Lyman to Otori, 31 October 1878, copy, LAPS; Otori to Lyman, 13 November 1878, LAPS; Lyman to Yamauchi, 10 December 1878, copy, LAPS; Otori to Lyman, 25 December 1878, LAPS; Lyman to Lesley, 20 March 1879, LFL; Lyman to Wynne, 13 December 1878, copy, LFL.

98. Lyman to Otori, 10 December 1878, copy, LAPS; Otori to Lyman, 25 December 1878, 28 January 1879, LAPS; Lyman to

Lesley, 20 March 1879, LFL.

99. Lyman to Otori, 15 January 1878, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Mary, 9 February 1878, copy, LFL.

100. Lyman to Otori, 22 March 1879, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Lesley, 30 May 1879, LFL.

101. Lyman to Wynne, 9 April 1879, copy, LFL; Lyman to J. Waterhouse, 15 August 1879, copy, LFL.

102. Lyman to Poole, 14 April 1879, copy, LFL; Lyman to Waterhouse, 15 August 1879, copy, LFL.

103. Lyman to Lesley, 28 May 1879, LFL.

104. Lyman to Yamauchi, 20 January 1879, copy, LFL.

105. Lyman, "Preliminary Report," in ROL, 120. Lyman to The Geological Magazine, 9 January 1875, copy, LAPS.

106. Lyman to Susan Lesley, 23 March 1876, copy, LAPS; Lyman to J.P. Lesley, 21 June 1876, LFL.

107. Lyman to Kada, 22 December 1880, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Pruine, 5 April 1879, copy, LFL.

108. Lyman to Ma chere petite fille [Margaret Lesley?], 29 May 1881, copy, LFL; Lyman to Tourgueneff, 28 August 1881, copy, LAPS.

109. The boy, Nakajima Tokumatsu, later graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, but died young in 1901. His relations with Lyman were not smooth. Lyman was particularly displeased to see Toku "indulged in his manners" and "led to feel that he was a sort of adopted son rather than merely a servant boy." Lyman to Hannah, 2 May 1895, copy, LFL.

110. Kuwada, 95-96.

111. Lyman, "The Character of the Japanese," Journal of Speculative Philosophy 19 (1885): 133.

112. Ibid., 135, 137-39.

113. Ibid., 135-36.

114. Ibid., 139-40.

115. Ibid., 141-45.

116. Ibid., 146-47, 155, 160.

117. Ibid., 147-50.

118. Ibid., 152, 154, 160.

119. Ibid., 167.

120. Ibid., 166.

121. Ibid., 151.

122. Lyman to Mitchell, 11 March 1879, copy, LFL; Lyman to Wifie, 27 March 1879, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Sanborn, 2 January 1880, copy, LFL.

123. Lyman to Fred, 16 September 1888, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Gilbertson, 22 December 1895, copy, LFL; Lyman to J.B. Clark, 17 October 1897, copy, LFL. Nitobe Inazo, for example, commented on Lyman's article: "Lyman's conclusions, so far as they go, are ingenious. Had he tried to verify them by historical facts, without which a generalization of national character is a dangerous venture, he would have modified some of his views." The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan: A Historical Sketch (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1891), 171n.

124. Lyman to James Hall, 3 January 1884, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Macqueen, 31 March 1884, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Lesley, 24 January 1886, JPL.

125. Lyman to Mary, 22 May 1895, 13 June 1897, copy, LFL.

126. Lyman to Sanborn, 19 May 1895, copy, LFL; Lyman to McCartee, 25 May 1895, copy, LFL; Lyman to Gilbertson, 3 June 1895, copy, LFL; Lyman, The Future of Japan in its Relations with China and Russia (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1897), 7.

127. Lyman to Gilbertson, 7 September 1896, copy, LFL.

128. Lyman, The Future of Japan, 3-4.

129. Ibid., 5-8; Lyman to Gilbertson, 7 September 1896, copy, LFL.

130. Lyman to Otori, 25 January 1896, copy, LFL; Lyman to Yamauchi, 9 June 1895, copy, LFL; Lyman to Noguchi, 12 July 1896, copy, LFL; Lyman to Gilbertson, 18 December 1896, copy, LFL.

131. Lyman to Gilbertson, 7 September 1897, copy, LFL.

132. Lyman to Gilbertson, 6 July 1896, copy, LFL; Lyman to Fanny [Brewer], 23 April 1898, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Gilbertson, 13 May 1898, copy, LAPS.

133. Lyman to Mary, 31 May 1898, copy, LFL; Lyman to Gilbertson, 13 May 1898, copy, LAPS; Lyman to W.R. Hearst [Editor of the New York Journal], 8 July 1898, copy, LFL.

134. Lyman to Beukema, 21 August 1898, copy, LFL; Lyman to Hannah, 30 November 1898, copy, LFL.

135. Lyman to Gilbertson, copy, 1 July 1898, LFL; Lyman to Beukema, 21 August 1898, copy, LFL; Lyman to Fanny, 7 August 1898, copy, LFL.

136. Lyman to Hannah, 30 November 1898, copy, LFL; Lyman to Fanny, 7 August 1898, copy, LFL. After the Sino-Japanese war, too, Lyman thought that China, wakening to the necessity of modern method of warfare, must begin, among others, coal mining which would require geological surveys and that he was "willing to be employed upon them." Lyman to Beukema, 28 May 1895, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Nishiyama, 9 June 1896, copy, LFL.

137. Lyman to Gilbertson, 22 February 1901, copy, LFL; Lyman to Sanborn, 7 September 1902, 4 October, 10 November, 24 December 1896, copies, LFL.

138. Lyman to Gilbertson, 11 October, 1902, copy, LFL; Lyman to Sanborn, 9 November 1902, copy, LFL; Lyman to Gilbertson, 28 November 1902, copy, LFL.

139. Lyman, The Philippines (Phildelphia: By the Author, 1907), 7, 19, 20.

140. Lyman to Mary, 31 March 1898, copy, LAPS; Lyman to Adachi, 4 April 1898, copy, LAPS; Lyman to McCartee, 22 February 1899, copy, LFL.

141. Lyman to Yamauchi, 26 April 1896, copy, LFL; Lyman to J. Edmund Woodman, 26 March 1896, copy, LFL; Lyman to R.S. Raymond, 23 February 1902, copy, LFL; Lyman to Fanny, copy, 23 February 1902, LFL; Lyman to Wynne, 27 July 1905, copy, LAPS.

142. Lyman to Yamauchi, 30 December 1906, copy, LHSP; Lyman to Sanborn, 15 Decemer 1906, copy, LHSP; Lyman to Beukema, copy, 19 January 1908, LHSP.

143. Adachi to Lyman, 10 March 1910, LHSP; Lyman to Mary, 23 August, 1915, copy, LHSP; Lyman to Beukema, 1 August 1911, copy, LHSP; Lyman, Vegetarian Diet and Dishes (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1917); Nishiyama to Lyman, 4 July 1917, LHSP; Lyman to Adachi, 8 March 1918, copy, LHSP; Adachi to Lyman, 18 April 1918, LHSP.

144. Frank Lyman, "Benjamin Smith Lyman," Mining and Metallurgy, no. 170 (February, 1921), 23-24; The Springfield

Sunday Republican, May 11, 1924. "The Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Trustees of Forbes Library" (1921), 16, announces, "The Lyman collection given to Forbes Library contained 4,105 books. Of these something more than two thousand were in Japanese." Five College East Asian Newsletter, 7 (Fall 1982): 1, however, reports that there are some 1,700 Japanese pieces. Some books might have gone astray through the passage of time.

CHAPTER V

HENRY SMITH MUNROE AND EDWIN DUN: CONTRAST IN COMMITMENT

Henry Smith Munroe and Edwin Dun were both young--in their early twenties--when they arrived in Japan to work for the Kaitakushi. However, their cultural backgrounds differed, and their experiences in Japan turned out to be of quite different character. Many of Munroe's letters to his parents as well as his journal are available. Dun has left only unpublished memoirs in addition to official letters to the Kaitakushi and dispatches to the U.S. Department of State. While it is not possible to deal with Munroe and Dun in an even-handed way, the available sources still do not fail to demonstrate the striking contrast between these two Americans in their attitudes toward an alien culture.

Henry Smith Munroe: A Transient

Munroe's original name was Henry Munroe Smith. "For various reasons, the force of which anyone bearing the name of Smith will acknowledge,"[1] he legally changed his name in 1872, adopting his mother's maiden name. He was born on March 25, 1850, the eldest son of Horatio Southgate Smith, a physician in Brooklyn, New York, who had graduated from Dartmouth College and obtained a medical degree from Bowdoin

College in Maine. Horatio Southgate Smith came from an old stock, tracing back to Francis Smith who migrated from England to Hingham, Massachusetts, sometime before 1635 and also to Richard Southgate, a planter, who came to Boston in 1715.[2]

Both Henry's mother, a devout member of the Church of Christ, and his father, reticent and serious, placed their hope on their "first and best child," Henry, and sought to set him on the track to a successful career. His mother used to tell young Henry, "Do your duty faithfully, & never neglect prayer morning & night," or "Do be industrious, My boy. Your 'constitutional inertia' is something to be struggled against & conquered if you would succeed in life." His father's attitude was revealed in his response to one of Henry's letters: "Your last letter, with a whole side occupied by a 'funny'! song was neither interesting nor amusing. Try & find something better to write about. Many things which do very well acted or sung--for fun--are scarcely worth the dignity of pen, ink & paper."[3]

Meeting the expectations of his parents, Munroe smoothly moved through schools; graduating from Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute, he entered the School of Mines, Columbia College, in 1867. In the summer of 1870, immediately after he graduated from Columbia with the degree of Engineer of Mines, Munroe was engaged as an assistant geologist in the Ohio State Geological Survey under the direction of a Columbia professor, John S. Newberry. Then

he received a note from Neddy H. Chandler, a brother of Professor Charles F. Chandler at Columbia, that a position as chemical assistant was available in the Department of Agriculture; the annual salary was $1,200 and the chief was Thomas Antisell, "an agreeable person with whom to be associated." Munroe accepted the job; but apparently sensing the contrast between the excitement of excavation and the routine work of the department, he left Ohio, his father noticed, "with reluctance, not liking the Agricultural Dept's work."[4]

His parents did not fail to shower him with advice. His mother said, "Keep your accounts daily to a penny.... [and] strive to be what we have tried to train you for, a good pure Christian man, serving God & your fellow-men in love & charity." His father added: "Do not forget that I shall require specific accounts from you, just as if I was supplying you with money.... I mean to help you save both for your present good & future interest." His parents moreover demanded that he write home regularly, and, when he failed to write a once-a-week letter, his father told him: "Write regularly, my dear boy, don't push the Monday letter into the middle of the week. We always fancy something has happened."[5]

Munroe soon confirmed his apprehension that the job of the Agricultural Department would be dull. He was required to work only for six hours a day, and was thus free after three o'clock. "The wheels of the Government machine are

hard to start and move very slowly," he observed, "so I have considerable waiting to do." It did not take long before Munroe's parents too became dissatisfied with seeing their son engaged in analyzing cereal, yampee, grapes, and the like. His father regarded Munroe's "tolerably full occupation of a certain kind" as "very pleasant no doubt but not exhausting." He told Munroe straight: "I am not satisfied to have you quite contented in your present position. It is good ... socially & pecuniarily, but it must be routine work & not in your elected line, & quite too easy for one not naturally fond of hard work." Munroe's father constantly reminded him that he ought to pursue "a profession, one of yr [sic] own choice." His mother was also dissatisfied with his job but her emphasis was rather upon its pecuniary aspect. "I am not as well satisfied with your present position," she wrote, "since you told me of the small salaries to be attained even by rising into the higher ranks. Your education should open higher prospects to you." But Munroe's parents learned that there was at least one good thing about his position in the Department of Agriculture: he was placed under Antisell, "so pleasant & cordial & well-posted a chief, and one too who seems to take a personal interest in [Munroe]."[6]

Scarcely one year had passed after Munroe's arrival in the Department of Agriculture when he learned that Capron and Antisell had resigned their posts "to civilize the Japanese according to the 'American' plan"; moreover, he had

the inflated notion that Capron and Antisell would receive salaries of $25,000 and $20,000 respectively from the Japanese Government. When his father was informed of the news, he immediately advised his son to ask Capron and Antisell if any assistants were wanted. Suggesting that "two or three years passed in Japan, on such an enterprise, might be both pleasant and profitable," his father asked, "Could I assist you in yr [sic] decisions by coming to Washington?"[7]

After the departure of three high-ranking members of the Department of Agriculture, Munroe's dissatisfaction increased. "I should like to be somewheres [sic] where my work will be appreciated; there is no inducement to work, faithfully and well, here." His father advised Munroe to write Antisell that he would be ready to go whenever Antisell wanted an assistant: "Nobody gets anything nowadays, without asking. It may be many years before you will be in a position to want to be asked." In the meantime the Department seemed to Munroe increasingly demoralized. He reported to his parents at the beginning of 1872 that the chemical appropriation had been cut down to $500 in the House Committee, and the salary of the chief chemist from $2,500 to $2,000 a year. Also he found Antisell's successor idle, spending "most of his time on his back on the lounge, reading back volumes of the Chemical News &c." His mother sharply remarked: "You can't expect much for $2,000."[8]

At last, in February of 1872, Munroe received the notice from Antisell which he had been long waiting for.

Antisell wrote: "I have at last succeeded in getting the Govt here to let me have an assistant in making the survey of Yesso; and as I have selected you, I have been authorized to offer you the position of assistant under me; with an engagement for two years at a salary of four thousand dollars for year." Munroe welcomed the engagement, regarding it as "a promised trip with all its advantages in the way of work & study." Munroe's teacher at the Polytechnic, D. H. Cochran, congraturated him, writing, "Were I not fastened by family I would go even at my age." His teacher at Columbia, Charles F. Chandler, said: "It seems to me that the offer is an excellent one and I advise you, by all means to go out to Japan, as the opportunity for experience and the advantage of foreign travel, in connection with a good salary, is not to be sneezed at." His parents, although saddened with the idea of sending their son to a distant land, were prepared to bear with it, believing that it was for his good, a chance for him to work in his profession which could not be found nearer home than Japan. While Munroe's brother was a little sarcastic when he extolled Munroe's "heroism in ... burying [himself] in this scientific mission to the heathen Japanese," it was rather striking that Munroe and most of those surrounding him were of one mind in viewing his assignment as a chance to promote his career.[9]

However, a month later Antisell dropped Munroe a hint of the difficuties arising between him and the Kaitakushi, and wrote in "Confidence": "I would recommend you to delay

accepting until you hear again from me on this matter, and when the offer is made again I think you might ask for $4500 the first year & $5000 the second year should it be made to you a second." In the following "very confidential" letter, Antisell announced that he might leave Japan soon and warned Munroe that "in case I am not here you may find yourself not at all as independent as you could wish or able to carry out satisfactorily many of your plans." Munroe could not change his mind, however, because he had already quit the Department of Agriculture. Nor could he successfully implement Antisell's advice on raising his salary, for Mori Arinori, Japanese charge d'affaires, simply told Munroe: "You will receive a salary the same in amount as that already fixed in Japan for the services and not the amount you mention in your letter."[10]

Because of Antisell's difficulties with the Kaitakushi and also, according to Antisell, of Mori's misunderstanding,[11] Munroe's departure was delayed until the fall of 1872. It was on the eve of his departure that he changed his name. He explained to Joseph Henry:

> For some time past I have been much annoyed by the ambiguity of my last name, "Smith"; very few persons remembering me by name, usually recognizing me only by sight. As my profession, mining, will continually lead me into new places, making my life a very migratory one, it is important that I should have a more definite name.[12]

The change of his name thus clearly demonstrated his ambition to succeed in his profession. Munroe's trip to Japan meant that a young man, whose mind had been implanted with

such Yankee values as thrift, piety, and diligence, and directed toward a goal of success by his parents, was now about to embark upon the preliminary stage of his professional career.

After his arrival in Japan on November 26, 1872, the twenty-two-year-old Munroe observed people and things Japanese with "plenty of amusement." His first letter home reported among others about "the awkward shaped junks, Japanese & Chinese, with their half-naked or absurdly-wrapped-up crews of natives" whom he found "jabbering & chattering" but "perfectly polite and perfectly good-natured"; jinrikisha or "large baby-wagons drawn by coolies!!!"; and "a very comfortable 'waiting-room'" of a train station and cars "finished in very good taste" which took fifty minutes in going eighteen miles, the average for Western roads. He did not attempt to theorize on what he saw except to venture a comparison: "The Japanese seem to be the Frenchman of the East."[13]

He was soon attracted by Japanese curios. When he was invited to see the collection of Japanese art to be exhibited at the Vienna Fair, he "spent four hours, every minute the invitation allowed," and thought, " I could have spent twenty four hours ... in looking at these beautiful things." As for himself, he intended to refrain from indulging himself in curios because he had discovered that handsome bronzes and fine lacquer cost money in Japan as everywhere else. However, with his enthusiasm roused by the sight of

an American friend's curio hunt, he at first bought a few curios "but nothing very valuable," and later ended up with buying "a magnificent pair of old bronze vases--carved in high relief--really works of art."[14]

Munroe was satisfied with the food in Japan, reporting to his parents, "Everything is very nicely cooked, though rather in the French style." However, when Munroe was invited to what Kuroda Kiyotaka said would be a "very poor dinner," Munroe took it literally without realizing that this was a typical Japanese way of paying respect to guests. Munroe therefore felt relieved when he "managed to get safely through all without finding anything very bad," but still thought that he might not be competent to judge because Munroe's cook whose cooking he had been used to prepared the dinner for the occasion.[15]

Munroe's observation extended from curios and food to the Kaitakushi officials. He learned that Kuroda, "a big, bushy, bully-headed fellow with close-cut hair and English side-whiskers," did not speak a word of English and his favorite Japanese word was "Nari-hodo! [Naru-hodo is the correct word,]" meaning "I see." Munroe found the chief interpreter of the Kaitakushi, "tall, slender, quite handsome" Yamanouchi Tokusaburo, to speak good English showing "good teeth, and a very happy smile."[16] Munroe had "a very pleasant lunch" with another interpreter, Sato Hideaki; although Munroe "did all the talking, he [Sato] however said yes! yes! quite frequently, which served to fill up the gap

in the conversation." Later, when Munroe got better acquainted with Sato and thus had more time to observe him, he described Sato as "about 24 or 25 years old, head large, body long, legs very short," with a face "not handsome, presenting a level appearance, as if he had been pressed against a board when he was a baby."[17] Munroe was greatly impressed with the amount of work Enomoto Takeaki, the chief officer of the Bureau of Natural Resources, had done in visiting mines and collecting statistics. Munroe thought: "He must be a very extraordinary Japanese. He is very energetic, seems very well informed on mining subjects, had some ideas of mineralogy, metallurgy, &c." But Munroe at the same time observed that Enomoto had "very wild notions about capital, profit & loss, economical work &c." and felt, "Some of his project for the development of a coal mine near Otaronai [Otaru] would be very amusing if I were sure that they may not be adopted."[18] Nevertheless, Munroe anticipated that he and Enomoto, "a very pleasant fellow," would get along very well together. Finally, the Emperor too was a subject to be observed by Munroe. Munroe viewed the Mikado, or the "Micky" in his term, as "painfully ugly" with a "negro face except in color."[19]

Munroe was generally satisfied with the prospect of his work in Japan. When his two-year contract was formally signed after his arrival in Japan, he found all his demands satisfied.[20] Besides, Antisell saw to it that Munroe's interests would not be jeopardized. Munroe wrote his

parents: "Dr. Antisell will not allow [the Kaitakushi officials] to impose on me by asking me to teach English Grammar or anything outside of my line!" at the Kaitakushi Temporary School. Antisell told Munroe that he could teach mathematics if he wanted, but Munroe thought that it would not be necessary, for the Japanese "do nothing of that sort mentally as yet."[21] Munroe thus started to give lectures on crystallography and other subjects of mineralogy and mining, in addition to giving instruction in mechanical drawing. He was pleased that he was "getting on finely" with his lectures. Besides, students seemed to "show considerable knowledge & comprehension of the subject."[22]

His experience of teaching the Japanese soon encouraged a sense of superiority. Two months after his arrival, Munroe gave an exhibition of the capability of a blowpipe at the request of Enomoto Takeaki. A select audience--Enomoto and his friends and their friends--all took notes listening to Munroe. He wrote his parents: "It must have been a funny sight. Your beloved son sitting at the table with his cheeks puffed out, and this crowd of barbarians, three deep, holding their breaths, and watching the gradual disappearance of the globule of lead as it soaked into the cupel." Munroe enjoyed not only his superiority to the Japanese but also his power. He proudly told his parents that he had written to San Francisco ordering $10,000 worth of mining tools for his survey in Hokkaido. "This is a pretty good beginning I think! The government seems anxious to give me

every facility for work and I expect to have a pretty busy time within the next few months."[23]

As Antisell had warned him, Munroe was not, it developed, Antisell's assistant but Lyman's. Munroe saw that Lyman's arrival in January 1873 greatly upset Antisell: "Dr Antisell seems to smell a row! and he has got his back up ready for a fight!... The Doctor suspects everybody of having evil designs upon his place and so keeps himself in a pot of hot water most of the time." As for himself, however, Munroe noticed the merits of the new arrangement: "I am now relieved from responsibility, and I have a successful Mining Engineer and Geologist, of considerable reputation, under whom to work and study.... I think it is the best thing that could have happened to me." Discovering that Lyman was the first cousin of his old friend and classmate at the Polytechnic, Joe Lyman, Munroe was optimistic: "No doubt we shall make very good friends."[24]

Munroe was not very busy in the early part of 1873; instead, he had more time for study and amusements. While he sometimes spent his time in "the Gaiety Theatre" owned by the foreign residents in Yokohama, seeing, for example, a comic operetta, "Cox & Box," he felt his life becoming "monotonous" as he got accustomed to the Japanese and their ways.[25] Seeing Munroe settled in Japan, his mother called his attention to the mission that he might perform: "Let the heathen about you see that there is reality in religion. I don't know how much you may do by direct influence. I think

a consistent life governed by a desire to serve God and our fellow creatures has more power than mere preaching. I will only add, remember your high calling." It was, however, impossible for Munroe to let even his fellow Americans see the power of religion. Although Munroe occasionally held a sort of service and invited his fellow Americans, Antisell declined to attend because he could not sit in the same room with Capron, and Lyman, who had not been in a church for years, answered Munroe's invitation by going out to take a walk.[26]

Munroe was relieved from his "monotonous" life in April 1873, when he and Lyman, accompanied by assistants and coolies, left for Hokkaido. Although Munroe sometimes found the field trip disagreeable, such as when they had to push through bamboos for hours, he generally enjoyed the survey of the island--"very beautiful and interesting, and in some places quite dangerous enough to be exciting." Munroe's expectations of having "a very pleasant time" were not betrayed.[27] He was favorably impressed by his assistant-students; they had "stood the fatigue and exposure" and performed their work "wonderfully well."[28] Moreover, since Lyman divided the survey team into two, Munroe could enjoy his privileged position as the chief of one party consisting of his assistants, servants, and coolies; under such a condition, even his experience of camping turned out to be, for Munroe, far from what he had anticipated as "roughing it." He described:

> As far as I am concerned the roughness is of the softest & most luxuriant kind. My tent is provided with a board floor raised above the "cold, cold ground" with straw matting & rugs; my iron bedstead with ... clean white sheets & soft "futons [comforters]," the dinner table with its French china & cut glass, smoking dishes and most dainty desserts; and my "number one" cook & "number one" boy are all of the class of comforts rarely to be met with in the "back-woods" and which I fully appreciate & enjoy.[29]

Although his survey of gold and silver deposits in the southern part of Hokkaido revealed their poor quality, such results themselves were of a secondary concern to him. More importantly, he was steadily accumulating the material and experience which should be of great value in his professional career. Back in Tokyo, he wrote his parents: "I have been here now more than a year, but it seems a very short one and a very pleasant one to look back upon."[30]

While Munroe generally enjoyed his experience in Japan, he found his association with Lyman increasingly unpleasant. In fact, as soon as the geological survey of Hokkaido was initiated in the spring of 1873, their relationship started to deteriorate. Munroe noticed in Lyman "some 'small' traits of character" that he disliked, such as Lyman's "holding his ground with the pertinacity of an old woman," or his "impetuous way" which sometimes let him go ahead of his guide and led the entire party in the wrong direction. Therefore, Munroe regarded Lyman's decision to divide the survey team into two as "the kindest act of his."[31]

The difficulties between them arose not so much be-

cause they were dissimilar in character as because they were similar in their insistence on their own rights and interests. Munroe was almost single-mindedly interested in promoting his own career, while Lyman was concerned with his authority over his subordinates including Munroe, in his view an indispensable condition for the fulfillment of his service for the Japanese government and the protection of his own reputation. Munroe thus feared that Lyman's "arbitrary exercise of power without warning or consultation"--the legitimate exercise of his authority in Lyman's view--would greatly jeopardize the success of his own survey. Munroe was distressed, for example, when Lyman appropriated some of the instruments which Munroe had ordered from San Francisco for the use of himself and his assistants. Seeing Lyman "take credit to himself for not keeping more than half!!" of the instruments, Munroe could not but feel: "I am afraid I shall never quite love him." Lyman in turn sensed Munroe's disregard for his authority and thus wrote Kuroda: "I beg to be informed in the clearest manner possible whether or not Mr. Munroe has in regard to the man and material employed in the survey any authority whatever beyond what is given by me to him as my assistant." In this Lyman easily obtained Kuroda's confirmation.[32]

The following year, 1874, saw a further deterioration of the relationship. One issue of dispute was the publication of Lyman's report on the Hokkaido's survey. At first Lyman suggested to Munroe that he should complete his report

so that it could be printed as a supplement to Lyman's; but, when Lyman found Munroe's report quite long, half as long as his report with many tables, Lyman recommended it be printed separately. Munroe suspected that Lyman was opposed to having Munroe's report printed at all, and told his parents that he did not care because he would publish the substance in the American Chemist.[33] However, when Lyman's report appeared in print, Munroe could not take it calmly. In his report, Lyman wrote:

> Mr. Henry S. Munroe, the American assistant, was, by his former studies, much better fitted than the Japanese assistants for undertaking such work, although it was in great part particularly new to him. He entered upon it with interest and intelligence, and has worked industriously and faithfully. He was especially useful at first in teaching the others drawing, and in the field has had charge of the details of the work of one-half of them and the whole management of the gold surveys, under very general instructions.[34]

Munroe paid little attention to Lyman's appreciation of his work but was aghast to find himself referred to as an "assistant," the same category in which Japanese students were placed. With the advice of Antisell, then, Munroe sent his friend, an editor of the Engineering & Mining Journal, a long letter which was not intended for publication but would have the effect of producing a criticism of Lyman's paper in the columns.[35]

Munroe's parents were displeased with Lyman's paper but reacted more cautiously than their son. Munroe's mother certainly found Lyman's identification of her beloved son as an assistant "galling & aggravating as any language" and

"most positively abusive," and Lyman's statement that "Mr. Munroe ... by some mistake had left none of his mapping behind" when Lyman subsequently visited the area, "the most vexating." She nevertheless consoled her son that it was not worth while to be troubled by it. Munroe's father was also offended: "The attempt to class you with the Japanese assistants is very shabby & insulting." But at the same time he thought Munroe's idea of producing a criticism of Lyman's paper "neither prudent nor dignified." He found that Munroe's friend too felt "no ground--nor good--in criticizing Mr L in the way [Munroe] suggest[ed]." He moreover doubted that Antisell was a reliable adviser, judging from the fact that he "had always been in trouble." Munroe's father called his attention to the fact that, although Munroe might be fully competent to do the work he had at hand, he still did not have long theoretical study nor large practical experience which his father supposed essential to the making of a professional geologist. Reminding Munroe that his experience in Japan would be most valuable for his career, he encouraged Munroe: "You have certainly been most fortunate in your professional life thus far.... If you have the chance show your better training and culture. Do not get soured."[36]

At the time Munroe's parents were writing to calm him down, Munroe was disturbed by another case of what he considered Lyman's "arbitrary exercise of power." At the outset of the survey of the summer of 1874, Lyman reorganized

his and Munroe's parties, and Munroe was greatly disappointed to see Sato Hideaki, an interpreter, transferred from his party to Lyman's. Munroe had highly appreciated Sato because "Mr. Sato ... secured me so much attention last summer by his interest in my welfare & by his high rank." Besides, Sato, a member of Union Church in Yokohama, was Munroe's valuable companion when he held services during the trip. Munroe wrote his parents: "I am afraid you are getting disgusted with so much of Mr Lyman in every letter but really, I keep myself so much bottled up here that it does me good to let out a little about once a month!"[37]

Although Munroe left Sato's case alone, he took a "determined stand ... for [his] rights (as a scientific man)" in other matters, and, as a result, he believed that Lyman had become somewhat more reasonable. Munroe observed, for example, that Lyman allowed him to do the work as he liked, promised that Munroe should have full credit on the face of the map and for any work he might have unfinished, and sanctioned his taking time from his other work to finish his map of the previous year's work, although Lyman had "refused, point-blant, to allow it" before.[38] Actually Lyman took what Munroe considered the determined stand of a scientific man simply as evidence of "his intolerable conceit." In retrospect Lyman recalled how "intensely selfish" his "fledgeling" Munroe was:

> Munroe was always so much afraid that I was going to steal his glory from him and so anxious therefore to do his work all by himself that I not only gave him as far as possible separate work from mine (as I was disposed

> to do at any rate); but interfered with him as little as possible when I found he was so sensitive about my approach and in short I handled him with gloves generally as a very brittle article.[39]

Lyman was not, however, so generous in direct dealings with his rebellious assistant. He wrote in the summer of 1874 to Munroe: "I am much shocked at having nothing later from you, only your first fortnightly letter in nearly three months, and it corresponds so with last year's experience that I should attribute it to malicious design did I not know you better and also know that you could not have the shadow of a reason for such a design."[40]

When Munroe finished a paper on the gold fields of Hokkaido in May 1875, Lyman recognized that it was "the result of a painstaking and thorough examination" of all the most promising gold fields of Hokkaido and recommended to Capron that it be printed. The report, Lyman explained to Capron, showed conclusively "the very small value of even the best of them and the complete worthlessness of almost all" and would prevent the waste of money in ill-judged attempts to wash gold on a large scale. However, when Munroe presented another report on a geological survey of Hokkaido, Lyman discovered that Munroe's view did not conform to his own on a few points such as the assessment of the age of rocks. Lyman then asked Munroe to conform to Lyman's views already expressed in his reports as far as might be possible without doing violence to Munroe's conscience or detracting too much from his legitimate claims to

originality. "Although I could elsewhere argue against you on any particular point," Lyman wrote Munroe, "it seems to me that it would be more creditable to both of us, we should look less like a house divided against itself, if we could arrive privately at some agreement on disputed points instead of exhibiting our discordance to the world." Not simply their papers but the relations between these two individualistic Americans were in fact "a house divided against itself." Each had to sacrifice part of his time and energy simply to work with a partner to whom he was not suited.[41]

No friction with Lyman prevented Munroe from his single-minded pursuit of professional success. Almost half a year before his contract expired, Munroe thought that he should lose no chance to establish his name as a specialist on the mines in Japan and asked the Kaitakushi for permission, upon the expiration of his contract, to come back from Hokkaido to Tokyo by land, instead of travelling by sea, with leave to visit mines and smelting works. He was in the firm belief that "I shall be amply repaid for any time and trouble I may so spend." Since Japan was then under extra-territoriality imposed by foreign powers, the Kaitakushi at first hesitated, but finally consented to Munroe's repeated requests. However, when the Kaitakushi was informed that Munroe could not hand in his report by the end of October, 1874, when his contract expired nor would he be able to do so in the near future, one official expressed his dismay:

"We thought that his application of visiting several places for his own interest and study ... should have originated from his view to finish all the report & maps of his summer's work, before the term of his contract shall expire." To enable Munroe to finish his report, the Kaitakushi found it necessary to extend his engagement for five months until March 1875, and requests for the report were repeated by Kuroda and Capron, until Munroe finally presented it in May 1875.[42]

In February 1875, when he was still working on the report, he obtained the position of professor of geology and mineralogy at Kaisei Gakko (the predecessor of the present University of Tokyo). His friend John Randolph, who had been back home, congraturated him, writing, "I am thoroughly glad you are no longer under Lyman. I think him to be a prig & disagreeable, & find that to be his U.S. reputation." Munroe indeed enjoyed his new title as well as his authority, unhindered by Lyman's surveillance. He reported to his parents that the school would let him order collections of rocks, minerals, fossils, models and the like from Europe and America which would cost over $17,000. When Lyman learned of it, he was certainly critical: "Although so very young he talked so very big as to draw money well out of the government."[43]

When his one-year contract with the school drew to an end, Munroe was ready to leave Japan. He wrote Joseph Henry, "Although I have had a very pleasant and profitable

three years in Japan,... still I feel that my life-work is in America, and the sooner I begin the better." When his father learned of his decision to come home, he for the first time confided to Munroe that he had been suffering from cancer which he knew could "have but one ending." He was heartily satisfied with his son's achievement in Japan: "You have a mass of material that ought be made very useful to Japan, to the scientific world, & mostly to yourself in identifying your name with Japanese geology & mineralogy." He believed that the use Munroe could make out of the accumulated material would be of "vital importance to [his] future reputation." One thing about which he was not sure was whether Munroe should stay longer in Japan to complete his work. This concern alone had deterred him from expressing any strong wish to Munroe to come home. But, now learning of Munroe's intention, his father could say what had been on his mind for many months: "I do hope, oh how strongly, to see you once more, my best son." Munroe left Japan immediately, arriving home in March 1876. One month later his father passed away.[44]

Munroe had started to give thought to his future career in the United States during his stay in Japan. In February 1874, he wrote his parents that perhaps he should like to be a professor and specifically pointed to Columbia: "If I could get Professor Vinton's place in the School of Mines, four or five years from now, when I am fitted to hold such a chair, I think my present ambition would be satis-

fied." And he added, "If you like the place, I wish you would take care that the opportunity does not slip by & some other fortunate gets the prize."[45] In the fall of 1877, three and a half years after he expressed such a hope to his parents, Munroe became adjunct professor of surveying and practical mining at Columbia. In contrast to Lyman, he also married and had one daughter and one son. He then became professor in 1891 and retired in 1915 as professor emeritus after thirty-eight years' service at Columbia. He occupied various positions including vice-president of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, president of the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America, and president of the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education.

A testimonial dinner to Munroe took place at his retirement. His speech there was generally concerned with the training of young mining engineers, and specifically with the necessity for cooperation between professionals and mining industries for that purpose. Munroe warned that without some sort of apprenticeship in practical mining, the graduate of the School of Mines would "quickly become reduced to the ranks of 'consulting engineer,'" in which the supply greatly exceeded the demand, and fail to become an executive officer. Munroe therefore urged for apprentice schools organized by mining companies and conducted under "the joint direction of an enthusiastic and capable instructor and a hard-headed and rigorous business manager." Such schools, Munroe believed, "should prove valuable to the

mining company, as well as of inestimable worth to the profession."[46] He himself had been deeply involved in mining business; he served, among others, as the secretary of a mining company in Tennessee organized by his relatives, or as a consulting engineer and an acting general manager of a mining company in New York. Such experience probably led him to perceive a new wave of industry-university cooperation which would gather strength in twentieth-century America.

The speeches given by his old students at the dinner indicated that Munroe himself was an enthusiastic, capable, hard-headed and rigorous professor dedicated to the training of mining engineers without making blunders but also without leaving conspicuous success or even interesting or heart-warming episodes to be told about. Munroe's speech too was not such as would reveal his inner thoughts other than his commitment to his profession of mining. His daughter recalled, "Father was a very close mouthed man, and there wont be any juicy gossip, of that I am sure."[47]

Munroe died on May 4, 1933, at his home in Litchfield, Connecticut, at the age of eighty-three. Although he left, his daughter observed, "trunks and trunks of old letters,"[48] these letters, which now rest at the Connecticut Historical Society and Columbia University, indicate that Japan was a topic rarely mentioned after his return home. No one at the dinner including Munroe himself referred to his experience in Japan.[49] Soon after his return home, he published a 67-

page book entitled The Mineral Wealth of Japan.[50] But that was all; his connection with Japan did not last. For Munroe, the Japanese experience was simply a stepping stone to his professional success, and after he obtained it, Japan was no longer a subject to be reflected upon.

Edwin Dun: A Settler

Edwin Dun was born in Springfield, Ohio, on July 19, 1848, nearly two years earlier than Munroe.[51] His grandfather, emigrating from Scotland, settled in Fayette County, Kentucky. While working as a land surveyor for the U.S. government, he obtained 15,000 acres of land in Springfield, Ohio. In the so-called "Dun Plains," Edwin's father and uncles engaged themselves in stock farming--mostly raising cattle for the Eastern market but also rearing thoroughbred short horn cattle, horses, pigs, and sheep for the improvement of the breed. One of Edwin's aunts married Allen G. Thurman, who later became a prominent Senator from Ohio. Edwin, after quitting Miami College in Oxford, Ohio, at the age of eighteen,[52] began to learn stock farming on his father's and his uncle's farms. In 1871 he started to engage himself in the livestock business in partnership with his cousin, a son of Senator Thurman's.

According to Dun's account, the environment where young Dun grew up seems to have had more of the Southern mentality of chivalry and paternalism than the Yankee ethic of piety, thrift, and industry; not only Dun's father,

uncles and aunts, but also his mother, a Virginian, made the life style of Dun Plains what Dun described as "lordly." In his memory Dun Plains, during the summer and autumn months, was "the scene of almost daily or nightly festivities" consisted of dinners, dancing and riding parties while the cold winter nights were also "merry with the jingle of sleigh bells and jolly gatherings." Moreover, his father and uncles were concerned with big plans, such as investment, which they amply made, but left routine operations to tenant farmers. They were also kind to those in need; when a tenant farmer or a neighbor wanted, for instance, ten bushels of seed corn or a young ram, he would simply be told to help himself. In spite of their hospitality, however, the Duns were conscious of class distinction. Dun recalled: "We looked on life and lived it in a different way from the families of neighboring land owners and, although the hospitality of our homes was free to all and bed and board gladly given to the stranger, our intercourse with them was limited to what kindly feeling and courtesy demanded."[53]

However, this life of self-made aristocracy did not last long. The waste resulting from "lordly" farm management was great and Dun saw thrifty small farmers become steadily more wealthy. Then depression hit the Duns hard, although the rapid increase in the value of land and the better equipment of the farm enabled them to hold their own. But, since the Duns had invested heavily in the livestock business, the continuing depression left them with an in-

creasingly heavy burden of mortgage. Young Dun's two-year-old business also seriously suffered, and in the spring of 1873 he found himself with but a few hundred dollars.[54]

In May 1873, when Albert B. Capron, Horace Capron's son, came to Dun Plains to purchase cattle for the Kaitakushi, the Duns were struggling against hard times. Capron, who bought eighty cows and heifers, mentioned that he was looking for a man well-experienced both in cattle breeding and practical farming who would be willing to accompany the cattle to Japan and subsequently work for the Kaitakushi; the salary was to be $1,500 a year. Capron's proposition interested Dun; it seemed to him that the depression would continue for another year or more, and that "he would lose nothing by leaving home" at that time. Besides, Dun expected the job would offer "an excellent opportunity to see Japan." So he immediately signed a contract for one year, and left home with the good wishes of his relatives who looked upon his expedition "rather as a joke than as a business enterprise."[55]

Dun arrived in Yokohama on July 9, 1873, barely two months after Albert Capron's visit to Dun's farm, and seven months after Munroe's arrival in Japan. Dun soon set to taking care of cattle at a Kaitakushi farm in Tokyo. He also gave Japanese students instruction in farming as well as in the care of livestock. He found himself "on the best terms" with the students and his relations with the Kaitakushi officials "excellent." He especially liked the two

officials who daily accompanied him, appreciating their "evident desire to lessen the loneliness of the stranger so far from his home." Dun moreover felt that Kuroda regarded [him] with respect and esteem" and that many interviews with Kuroda, in which they discussed not only agriculture and stock raising but also various other topics relating to the development of Hokkaido, were fruitful.[56]

While his work on the Kaitakushi farm was generally uneventful, one forgettable incident for Dun was the visit of the young Emperor to see the farm. Dun appeared in full evening dress, high hat, white necktie and gloves, and started to demonstrate the wonder of American labor-saving machines. First, seating himself on a machine, he reaped a few rounds of barley and wheat; next he cut a few swaths of rye grass with a mowing machine; subsequently he moved his team to a big wheat drill and a corn planter. Then the Emperor was driven to a steam thresher and watched Dun feeding it. While Munroe had enjoyed a sense of superiority when he gave a lecture on a blowpipe in front of Japanese dignitaries, Dun, when he finished his demonstration, modestly pronounced himself "about the dirtiest individual ever seen in evening clothes and high hat."[57]

When his one-year contract came to an end, Dun decided to stay longer. Although his raise in salary from $1,500 to $2,100 was not so great as he had hoped, it still reinforced his decision to stay.[58] Also, he found himself increasingly attached to his task. "I have learned to take a personal

interest," Dun wrote Capron, "in the success of the great undertaking which is the object of the department to carry through."[59]

Dun, who never thought that the Kaitakushi farm in Tokyo would help the development of Hokkaido, once ventured to tell Capron that it should be transferred to Hokkaido, but found his chief "not ... altogether pleased" with his act of offering advice. In the spring of 1874, Dun again expressed a similar opinion to the Kaitakushi officials and this time learned that the authorities had already decided to move the whole Tokyo establishment to Hokkaido as soon as possible. But only in the spring of 1875, shortly after Capron's departure for the United States, Dun was sent for the first time to inspect the Kaitakushi farms in Hokkaido.[60] While staying at the Kaitakushi farm in Nanae, he met his future wife, a daughter of an official there. While Lyman observed, in early 1876, that Dun was "impatient to be authorized to go to Yesso ... so as to begin his farming operations there in good season,"[61] Dun had certanly more than one reason for his eagerness to go to Hokkaido.

Dun settled in Sapporo in June 1876. After that he spent six years and a half in Hokkaido, devoting himself to the raising of cattle, sheep, and horses. The establishment of a sheep pasture, a cattle ranch, and a dairy in the neighborhood of Sapporo, and the expansion of the Niikappu farm to a large stud farm and ranch demanded much of his time and energy. While supervising all these farms and

teaching the Japanese, among other things, the care of cattle, the method of obtaining fodder, and crop care, he also inspected Japanese settlements in various parts of Hokkaido to provide both settlers and the Kaitakushi with advice, and, in response to the request of the Kaitakushi, experimented the suitability of various plants to Hokkaido, including beets for the sugar industry and barley for the brewing industry.

His life through not only the cool, pleasant summers but also the bitterly cold winters was made somewhat lively by the presence of his Japanese wife and their little daughter. Dun felt that through his wife he became acquainted with "the most beautiful part of Japan." He was convinced that "there cannot be a more unselfish, self-sacrificing and lovable creature on earth than a good Japanese woman." Dun apparently became a beneficiary of the Japanese tradition that, in his words, "the exclusive mission of woman is to minister to [her husband's] comfort and pleasure, to take proper care of his house and to bear his children," while "he never forgets that he is one of the lords of creation and that favors shown should be gratefully received as condescensions on his part." At the same time, however, Dun regarded his wife as "my comrade through many years of Hokkaido life which would have been indeed lonely without her."[62]

Apart from the luxury bestowed by his wife's devotion, Dun's life in Hokkaido was a very plain one. His salary was

$3,000 at its highest--considerably lower than that of Munroe who did not have a wife or a child to support. Dun knew that some foreign advisers of the Kaitakushi made journeys in Hokkaido, accompanied by interpreter-accountants, cooks, waiters, and tablecloths and dinner sets. He observed: "The retinue of a geologist or mining expert, for instance, on inspection tours resembled that of a daimyo [a feudal clan lord] travelling to visit the Shogun." In contrast, Dun travelled light when he inspected the farms outside of Sapporo. He recalled that on his ordinary trips of three or four days he carried coffee, a little sugar, lots of tobacco, and an extra flannel shirt in his saddle bags, and a blanket and water-proof strapped behind his saddle. On longer journeys he took with him an Ainu who carried extra supplies on his horses.[63] His recollection somehow did not mention a rather large quantity of liquor included in a list of provisions Dun requested from the Kaitakushi for his trip,[64] but he certainly made his trips in a style much more modest than the surveys undertaken by Munroe.

Some of his trips were nevertheless hard ones. For example, when a messenger boy came from the Niikappu Farm, 110 miles away from Sapporo, with news that the best thoroughbred stallion was very ill, Dun set out on a journey in the rainy night. It took him twenty hours, changing horses several times: his weight, 185 pounds, was a rather big load for a skinny Hokkaido pony. He later recalled his feelings at that time: "I realized the utter folly of the job I had

undertaken but a sense of duty and pride sent me on."[65]

As for the introduction of American methods and techniques of agriculture in Hokkaido, he heartily supported it, although he also realized that it would take time in bearing fruit. As he wrote Kuroda, he believed that, if his instructions for breeding be followed, the breed of horses of Hokkaido would become as good as that of any country in the world, but he conceived it in a time span of twenty years.[66] Dun knew that his efforts would serve only as a stepping-stone for future success. But even during his residence in Hokkaido, he was pleased to observe some progress. Through the efforts of the Kaitakushi, Dun wrote in 1879, "the superiority of working animals and agricultural machinery over hand labor is becoming generally felt throughout the farming settlements." He believed, "It will lead to a better method of agriculture than the old, and induce a more thrifty and comfortable mode of life than is to be found in Hokkaido."[67]

Dun at the same time noticed that there was much room for the improvement of the Kaitakushi operation and from time to time expressed his views to the officials. In the same report of 1879 he also stressed the need of more markets and better facilities of transportation. While Dun did not oppose the Kaitakushi assistance to settlers as such, he thought that the "system that rewards the worthy and unworthy alike" should be radically changed. "Rewards should be offered for industry and skill, but nothing should be

given to encourage an able bodied man in his slothfulness." In order to reward the worthy, Dun suggested, "Make a market ... and if necessary, let the Government buy [their] products of the soil." Dun moreover pointed out that the Kaitakushi assistance to the Niikappu stud farm was far from being sufficient. Unlike England and the United States where "the demand for good horses is so great that private individuals pay great attention to the improvement of the horses," Dun observed, "in Hokkaido the people have neither the knowledge, capital, or enterprise necessary to make much improvement in the horses of the country, and the only way to effect a change for the better, is for the Government to use its money and power to bring it about." Dun expressed his hope that "the Department in the future will afford more liberal help to me, and the officers and students directly engaged in our endeavor to improve the horses of this island than has been given us in the past."[68]

Dun always presented his suggestions and advice in a courteous manner. For example, on November 5, 1878, after he inspected the Nanae Kaitakushi Farm, Dun reported to Dzusho Hirotake that the new barn erected there was "a splendid structure," indicating "the workmanship ... of a superior order," and that the cattle, foreign stallion and mares, colts, and horses all "look[ed] exceedingly well," but he also pointed out some minor faults with the barn and made some suggestions for taking better care of the cattle. He then added: "I hope the officers at Nanai [Nanae] will

not suppose that I have written this letter with any desire to find fault with that place or with their work there, which is deserving of all praise. And any criticisms which I have made on what I have seen at Nanai have only been with a desire to be of assistance to them in their work of progress." When he offered the Kaitakushi a most valid piece of advice about Niikappu farm, he almost surpassed Japanese in being polite. "The most important changes which I consider necessary for the future welfare of Nicap," Dun wrote Dzusho, "is so directly contrary to the usual method of management of all establishments of the kind under the control of the Kaitakushi, that I hesitate to suggest it, but as I consider it extremely important, I venture to make it. It is to give the officer nominally in charge of Nicap full control of the place."[69]

It was also characteristic that Dun believed the introducion of American methods and techniques should have been carried out without any great fanfare, but on a step-by-step, practical basis and with differences of the climate, soil, and other conditions always in mind. In this regard, Dun specifically criticized American advisers in his memoirs. For example, he pointed to the case of Edward M. Shelton, a graduate of Michigan Agricultural College, who, although "learned in agricultural chemistry, in botany, in plant life, in all that books can teach in higher agriculture,... had no practical knowledge whatever." Since Dun did not know Shelton personally, who had left before Dun

arrived in Japan, Dun's criticism of Shelton was probably based on what Dun observed of the work Shelton had done or what Dun heard about him from the Japanese or it might have been simply a reflection of Dun's prejudice against a college graduate.[70] In contrast to Shelton, Dun found his early training at home "invaluable" in offering practical information to the students and officials of the Kaitakushi, particularly because they were, as he realized, mostly former samurai or their sons who were completely new to agriculture and so Dun had to teach them everything from the beginning. Dun was proud that he could "answer [questions] correctly, and almost without thought, in a thousand details, almost any one of which would have stumped the college-bred, book-learned expert." In fact, Dun, showered with all sorts of questions, felt that an agricultural adviser needed to have not only the special knowledge in his field but also to be a "jack of all trades."[71]

Dun's concern with practicality also gave rise to his reservation about Sapporo Agricultural College. He admitted that the college had become "a most admirable institution of learning," staffed by competent men such as William S. Clark, "an able man, a good leader and organizer of men," and filled with carefully selected students, "intellectually and morally of a very high class." Dun, however, doubted the value of the institution founded on the model of the Massachusetts Agricultural College for the development of Hokkaido. Dun thought that an agricultural college which

offered little practical instruction was important in the United States since most students, coming from farm families, had practical farm experience beforehand; but in Japan, where the sons of farmers rarely went to college, Dun pointed out, a similar institution was "valueless." Moreover, it seemed to Dun that methods of agriculture were so different that the introduction of American methods into Hokkaido "could only be accomplished by practical work in the field." The school Dun considered helpful for the development of Hokkaido was a small school of technology where classroom work was limited to the winter when it was too cold for work in the field. But Dun knew too well that Japanese were unduly deferential to institutions of higher education. Dun asked: "Who knows or cares what might have been had the simple school of common sense been established instead of the institution of learning?" In reality, Dun observed a college was built at a great cost and President Clark was "canonized as a benefactor of Japan generally and Hokkaido in particular," overshadowing all other American advisers, including Dun and his close friend Louis Boehmer, a horticultulist, who spent many years in Hokkaido, doing substantial services.[72]

Dun reserved his harshest criticism for Capron. First of all, Dun criticized the Kaitakushi farm in Tokyo, Capron's pet project. The greater part of the expensive agricultural machinery purchased by Capron--threshing machines capable of threshing out 1,000 bushels of grain per day,

self-binding reapers that could cut twenty acres of grain per day, mowing machine, gang plows, corn planters, and innumerable smaller machines and implements--struck Dun as being "as useful in Japan as a fifth wheel would be to a wagon." Dun, moreover, questioned the breeds of sheep and cattle Capron had imported. He wondered why mutton sheep had been imported instead of wool-bearing animals, and why the cows imported did not include milkers as well as beef producers. Dun did concede that the farm contributed to the spread of foreign fruit in Japan through its distribution of over two million foreign fruit trees and vines over the mainland of Japan. He thought, however, that the farm in Tokyo was, "owing to difference in climate, soil and almost all other conditions,... practically of no value in connection with the colonization and development of the natural resources of Hokkaido."[73]

Dun knew from his experience of living in Hokkaido that it was far from the promising land Capron had described in his reports. Dun painfully learned this when he experimented in sheep raising, hoping to lay the basis for a wool industry in Hokkaido. He induced the Kaitakushi to purchase Merino ewes and rams from the United States in 1876, and successfully demonstrated that sheep would thrive in Hokkaido if properly handled. However, Dun found at the same time that, since the ground in Hokkaido was covered with deep snow for half a year, the extra cost of keeping sheep was considerable, resulting in the high cost of wool produced in

Hokkaido--three or four times greater than the same article imported from Australia. Besides, 90 per cent of the island was unfit for cultivation because of its mountainous character and the extensive sterile soil covered with volcanic ash. Dun had to conclude that the idea of extensive sheep raising in Hokkaido should be abandoned, for arable lands were more urgently needed for the production of food for people than for the growing of grass for sheep.[74]

Dun questioned Capron's competence as the head of the American mission. He considered Capron "a fine dignified looking old gentleman," but "nil as an organizer or leader of men." "Instead of being a help and support to his staff," Dun declared, "he was constantly a hindrance in their way. If one of us had a suggestion to make regarding our speciality he would blandly refer us to the Japanese in our department. If we ventured to question the advisability of his suggestions, he would intimate that it was impertinent to question the wisdom of the acts of our chief." Dun even suspected that President Grant welcomed Capron's departure "only as an excellent opportunity to get rid of an occupant of an important government office and make a place for some one of more political value." Dun "often wondered if President Grant's conscience never troubled him for the crime he perpetrated upon a friendly and trusting people."[75]

What rewarded Dun's efforts was the Emperor's visit to Hokkaido in the summer of 1881; Dun took it as an "honor" to accompany the Emperor to several farms and arrange horse

races for his review.[76] It was in a sense the last little glory in his long service for the Kaitakushi, for the department was abolished half a year later. Dun stayed for another year in Hokkaido with the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, but in December 1882 he left for Tokyo with his family. The Emperor granted him the fifth order of the Rising Sun in recognition of his service. Looking back at his long connection with the Kaitakushi, Dun thought: "The ten best years of my life were spent in its service. Little to my personal advantage but I treasure the thought that they were not altogether useless wasted in the service of the people of Japan whom I had learned to esteem so highly." As for the work of the Kaitakushi, Dun gave a moderate appraisal: "While it accomplished enough to save it from being classed as a failure it left undone so much that might have been accomplished that it cannot be classed as a success."[77]

In February 1883 Dun left Japan for Dun Plains, taking his daughter but leaving his wife behind, intending to bring her when he was settled at home. He enjoyed his reunion with the old folks, but he soon began to feel that there was no place for him there: "I was not the same man that had left them ten years before.... While enjoying their affection I felt that, of my own making, I was a stranger among them." He thought he had learned a lesson: "Never leave your own country with the idea of making a permanent career in a foreign land with the intention of returning home some

day to enjoy the fruits of it."[78]

Then, fortunately for Dun, his uncle Thurman managed to get President Arthur to appoint Dun to the newly-created position of Second Secretary of the U.S. Legation in Japan.[79] In the spring of 1884 Dun arrived in Japan to take a post for which he humbly admitted that he "was about as poorly qualified by previous training as any poor mortal could very well be." But soon he learned that the requisite of a diplomat was to be cautious: "The first requisite was to ascertain what the other fellows were doing and what they were doing it for. To make friends whenever possible, to put on no side at all but to defer, when possible, to those who did."[80]

Dun was gradually promoted until he was appointed as U.S. Minister to Japan by President Cleveland in 1893. During the Sino-Japanese War, American Legations in Tokyo and Peking served as a channel of communication between the Japanese and Chinese governments, so Dun went through extremely busy days. But, in 1897 when the new Administration appointed Dun's successor, his diplomatic career suddenly came to an end. He felt hurt by this sudden dismissal, but found some solace in his achievements as a diplomat: "During my term of four years as minister my relations with the Japanese authorities and a hundred of others in private life were of the most cordial nature and I have reason to believe served to strengthen the good and friendly relations already existing between the two countries."[81]

Subsequently, Dun found a role in developing Japan's industries by introducing foreign capital and management techniques. He persuaded a manager of the Yokohama branch of the Standard Oil Company to work the oil fields in Niigata Prefecture whose potentialities had been predicted by Benjamin Smith Lyman. The International Standard Oil Company was thus established in 1900 with Dun as a manager. While the plant was of the largest scale of its kind in Asia and run with modern techniques and management, the project was not successful and was given up in 1907. However, Dun's project did contribute to the development of the oil industry in Japan because Standard Oil sold all its facilities to the Japan Oil Company, one of the leading oil firms in Japan. The next enterprise Dun undertook was the establishment of a salvage company in Nagasaki with the cooperation of a Japanese firm, Mitsubishi, and in this field too he played a pioneering role in Japan.[82]

Dun spent his last years in Tokyo. His wife whom he loved throughout his life died in 1888. He married another Japanese woman and had four sons, but she too died in 1906. His relations with his sons were not amiable; two of them left him for the United States. His memoirs written around 1919-1920 tell little about his life after his diplomatic career ended. He simply summed it up in brief and sad remarks: "The story of my continued residence in Japan, my second marriage and happy life until death again left me alone, my efforts to support my children and myself would

interest no one and would be a rather sad tale for me to tell."[83]

Dun's unpublished memoirs titled "Reminiscences of Nearly a Half Century in Japan" presents his views on the value of cultural exchange as well as on his adopted and native countries. As Dun supported the introduction of American agricultural methods and techniques, he favored the general introduction of Western techniques into Japan, but here again Dun perceived that the process would take time, as was indicated in his counterargument against foreign criticism of the Japanese. Some foreigners found the Japanese "secretive and wanting in frankness and truthfulness in their dealings and if not absolute liars by nature deceitful and untrustworthy." This criticism, Dun thought, arose not because of the inherent character of the Japanese but because Japan was "still young in the ways of the West and her workmen unskilled in the requirements of the new life she has entered." Dun in fact witnessed incidents which other foreigners would have taken as evidence of the Japanese deceit: the Japanese might fill a hole with slime from the gutter nearest by, sprinkle a few shovels of gravel on the top, and smooth it over, thus making it certain that the next automobile would scatter the covering gravel and the filthy muck below; or a beautiful chair might without any provocation collapse on the floor leaving a mass of beautiful sticks; or the doors of a house, so substantial in appearance in summer, might in the dry cold months allow

more ventilation than even a fresh air fiend would approve. Instead of criticizing the Japanese, however, Dun kept his optimism by looking at the matter from a long-range perspective: "There is hope that time and that stern mentor, competition, will remedy the defects so apparent today. As a witness of the progress this wonderful people have made in almost half a century I have lived with them I hope and believe they will make good in the end."[84]

While Dun considered the introduction of technical aspects of Western civilization as useful for the Japanese life, he had a strong doubt about the value of transplanting the political, economic, or social institutions of the United States. He thought that, because a culture was by nature unique, the kind of institutions effective in one culture would not necessarily operate well in another. Japanese progress, Dun believed, had to be in tune with Japanese tradition. He wrote: "The Japanese of today was a civilized being three thousand years ago and the teachings, traditions and gradual development of thirty centuries has made him what he is now. He is not a European, American or Chinaman.... He must advance as a Japanese." And he was convinced that the Japanese would "in time develop along Japanese lines into a great people and nation."[85]

The predominant features of Japanese society perceived by Dun were its hierarchy, paternalism, and the absence of individualism. Although individual liberty and equality were fully recognized under the law in Japan, "in practice

and spirit the feudal system of class distinction" was still fully maintained in Meiji Japan. The Emperor was endowed with supreme authority, and representatives in the Diet exercised certain functions of government delegated to them by the Emperor. Most of the Japanese did not have voting rights, but they seemed to Dun to be content with their government not only because they had been taught through centuries of discipline to obey the commands of their superiors, but also because the government had always been "benevolent and paternal."[86]

Paternalism seemed to Dun to permeate Japanese society as a whole. He was particularly impressed by the relations between employer and employee in Japan "entirely different from those prevailing in the West." The firm would provide the employee with a sense of security for life, for he would be supported by insurance in case of accident or disease, and by a pension after his retirement; the employee in turn, with the sense of being "part of the firm," would devote himself to it. Dun regarded "a feeling of mutual respect and esteem" as characteristic of Japanese firms.[87]

Individualism was not congenial to such a society, and the Japanese, instead of asserting themselves, behaved with "respect for the feelings of others." Dun noticed it, for example, in their readiness to "go more than half way to secure the good will of foreigners." In adversity it took the form of stoicism. Dun was struck by the way the frequent visitations of pestilence, famine, and fires were

"accepted stoically by the people as beyond the power of man to control." Dun observed that the Japanese in fact expressed emotion in front of terror but they soon gave in to resignation, and he attributed this to "centuries of training during which they have been taught to suppress their emotions." Dun however did not think that the Japanese lacked sensibilities. Referring to the samurai and the soldier who were ready to take their lives without showing regret or repugnance for their duty or honor, Dun could not but wonder: "If one could read the hearts of these men what a story of suffering might be revealed."[88]

Because he appreciated the Japanese tradition, he was extremely critical of the Japanese "excessive craze for everything foreign" which reached its zenith around 1886. When that craze began to decline, Dun felt relieved to see that "the beauties of their own old customs, ceremonies and dress together with the fitness of old social restraints for the government of Japanese social life began to re-assert itself [sic]." Dun however was grieved to discover that Japanese women for ever abandoned "the beautiful old court costume" for "the ugly, ever-changing fashions of dress of Europe." Dun regarded the change as "an unforgivable crime against good taste," committed by "young fools who had been sent abroad to study western ways and manners and in the glamour and glitter of what they saw became ashamed of their own country and of whatever it differed from what was considered the proper thing in the West."[89] Probably Dun could

not imagine the Japanese women in western dress would continue to be self-sacrificing and devote themselves to the men.

Dun was also skeptical about other changes which he feared would disrupt the "harmonious working" of Japanese society. He regretted the impact of urbanization, seeing that the Japanese, particularly those living in cities, had "to some degree, broken loose from old restrictions and customs," and "lost all sense of subservience to family restraint" in particular. He was also grieved to see that the young were not so deferential toward their seniors as they used to be. His daughter-in-law, Dun Michiko, vividly remembered that, although Dun's Japanese was imperfect, he sharply reacted when a younger member of a group did not use honorific expressions in addressing to an older member; Dun would admonish him that it was a shame that Japanese could not speak right Japanese. While the daughter-in-law admired Dun as a true samurai, it might not be so difficult to conjecture why Dun's relationship with his sons became tense.[90]

Neither could he support the tendency to organize labor unions which in his view were detrimental to the paternalistic relations between workers and employers. Most of all, Dun could not endorse the demand for universal suffrage, regarding it as "the work of politicians, mischievous agitators and misguided students." He thought that even in the United States universal suffrage did not work

well. Revealing his prejudice against blacks and immigrants, he asked: "In what respect has it improved the ten millions of negroes, two millions of whom have the right to vote? and what benefit have real Americans derived from the privilege granted to ignorant foreigners who value their right to vote only as something they can sell to the highest bidder?" He feared that in Japan universal suffrage would simply mean "to add several millons of ignorant voters to the large number of slightly less ignorant persons" who already had voting rights. Dun therefore warned: "To advocate the abolition of the old feudal life that has been the very spirit of the people of Japan for twenty-five-hundred years for an ideal democracy untried and misunderstood is, to my mind, the height of folly."[91] The fact that universal suffrage for men became a reality only a half decade after Dun wrote this might demonstrate that Dun was more attached to the old, passing Japan than many Japanese.

For all his love of Japan, when Dun said "my country," it was always the United States. Dun's daughter-in-law recalled that when he was in a good mood, he used to sing American songs such as "Silver Threads among the Gold." When talkies came to Japan, she sometimes bought five tickets at a movie theater so that she could place a sofa there for old Dun. When Dun heard his countrymen on the screen speak, his joy was beyond description. Dun himself wrote on the emotions of a man who left his country: "His love of country may remain unimpaired, his glory in its

progress as keen as when he left it. In fact, I believe the exile's interest in his country's wellbeing is, as a rule, keener than that of the resident who accepts whatever comes as a matter of course."[92]

Dun's view of America, however, was critical, particularly with regard to the lack of "human brotherhood." He perceived American society as individualistic and competitive with little regard for those who were too weak to join a race. "American democracy has certainly taught individualism," Dun wrote, "it has inculcated the belief in 'every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost,' but as for the human brotherhood as practiced in Japan for the past two thousand years, the idea is preached in our churches but its practice is left to charitable institutions maintained for the purpose."[93]

Dun specifically picked up the example of a public servant who from age and illness was unable to continue to work: "He is ruthlessly cast out as [a] worn-out shoe is discarded without care or thought for the suffering of one who has spent his life in the service of his country." Apparently Dun remained bitter that he too was relieved of his diplomatic post in the "brutal manner" that thousands of others had experienced at every change of administration. Dun charged that the Department of State "had not the decency to notify" him of the appointment of his successor, who introduced himself to Dun, showing his credentials together with Dun's letter of recall. Dun believed that "it would be

difficult to find a parallel in any civilized country in the world of such an absence of dignity and unqualified brutality as was exhibited by our Department of State on that occasion."[94] Although Dun's recollection was wrong and the Department of State had informed him of his recall before the arrival of his successor,[95] his charge concerning the fate of conscientious public servants in the United States was not so off the point.[96]

Dun was also greatly distressed by American views of Japan. He was chagrined when one Senator mentioned that the Japanese "only fifty years ago were emerging from barbarism." His indignation seems to have carried Dun to emotional polemics:

> That such a colossal fool should live and even be a senator of the United States did not strike me as very extraordinary but that such a foul, brutal insult to a friendly people, whose civilization was far advanced when we had none at all, was not rebuked, was permitted to pass unchallenged by a body of men selected for their ability and enlightenment to form the Senate of the United States caused a feeling of shame for my country that I can never forget.[97]

Dun moreover noticed the gap between what Americans professed as their principles and what they really practiced. One case Dun referred to was the abolition of extraterritoriality in Japan. Dun pointed out that although the Unted States had practically conceded that the time for its abolition had come, she had not moved for more than ten years until Britain and other European powers were prepared to do likewise. While he admitted that the United States had a better record than the rest of the world in this

matter, he was disturbed by the idealistic pretence of Americans. He remarked: "But none of the other great powers have, so far as I can remember, pretended to be guided by anything but self interest in their dealings with this country."[98]

Dun called attention to another case--the confiscation of the property of Japanese immigrants. He was mortifed to see that Americans "allowed a lot of California gas bags to make endless trouble." Dun hoped that the United States government would rectify such teatment of the helpless immigrants, but was afraid that this might not be the case. Writing immediately after the First World War, Dun warned: "Then let this blatant sentimental cant of love of justice, desire to benefit humanity, love of freedom and equality among men, of which we have heard so much during the past few years, cease as it only proclaims us a nation of hypocrites and liars."[99]

Dun warned in his memoirs that Japan should build up their defenses against the "onward march" of Bolshevism, but he remained optimistic about Japanese-American relations. "An armed conflict between the two countries," Dun thought, "if not impossible, is extremely improbable."[100] Dun died in Tokyo on May 15, 1931, two years before Munroe's death and a decade before the extremely improbable became a reality.

NOTES

1. Henry S. Munroe [hereafter cited as Munroe, including the time when his name was still Henry M. Smith] to Horace Capron, 22 September 1872, CYU.

2. Munroe, comp., Ancestry of Henry Boynton Smith, Frederick Southgate Smith and Horatio Southgate Smith (Litchfield, Conn.: Enquirer Press, 1922), 7, 29, 155.

3. Mother to Munroe, 30 June [n.y.], 17 July 1868, MCU; Father to Munroe, 21 August 1865, MCU.

4. Neddy H. Chandler to Munroe, 2 August 1870, MCU; Horatio [Smith] to Susan [Smith], 13 August 1870, MCHS.

5. Mother to Munroe, 11 September 1870, MCU; Father to Munroe, 6 October 1870, 26 January 1871, MCU.

6. Munroe to his parents, 21 August 1870, MCHS; Munroe to his mother, 11 September 1870, MCHS; Father to Munroe, 7 December 1870, 11 February 1871, MCU; Mother to Munroe, 13 February 1871, MCU; Mother to Munroe, 20 March 1871, MCHS.

7. Munroe to his parents, 28 June 1871, MCHS; Father to Munroe, 29 June 1871, MCU.

8. Munroe to his parents, 15 October 1871, MCHS; Father to Munroe, 9 November 1871, MCU; Munroe to his parents, 25 January 1872 [perhaps mailed on January 22], MCHS; Mother to Munroe, 23 January 1872, MCU.

9. Thomas Antisell to Munroe, 22 January 1872, MCHS; Munroe to Capron, 21 May 1872, CYU; C [D.H. Cochran] to Munroe, 2 March 1872, MCU; Charles F. Chandler to Munroe, 4 March 1872, MCU; Father to Munroe, 2, 14 February 1872, MCU; Mother to Munroe, 5 February 1872, MCU; Ned Smith to Munroe, 25 March 1872, MCU.

10. Antisell to Munroe, 27 February, 25 March 1872, MCHS.; Mori Arinori to Munroe, 3 September 1872, MCHS.

11. Antisell to Munroe, 20 July 1872, MCHS.

12. Munroe to Joseph Henry, 11 September 1872, HSI.

13. Munroe to his parents, 1 December 1872, MCHS.

14. Munroe to his parents, 6 January, 6, 22 December 1873, 18 January 1874, MCHS.

15. Munroe to his parents, 2 December 1872, 21 January 1873, MCHS.

16. Munroe to his parents, 6 January 1873, MCHS.

17. Munroe, Diary, 4 December 1872, MCHS; Munroe to his parents, 7 June 1873, MCHS.

18. Munroe to his parents, 6 January 1873, MCHS.

19. Munroe, Diary, 8 January 1873, MCHS.

20. Munroe to his parents, 5 December 1872, MCHS.

21. Munroe to his parents, 1, 5 December 1872, MCHS.

22. Munroe to his parents, 5 December 1872, MCHS; Munroe, Diary, 4 December 1872, MCHS.

23. Munroe to his mother, 21 January 1873, MCHS.

24. Ibid.; Munroe to his parents, 23 February, 9 March 1873, MCHS.

25. Munroe to his parents, 23 February, 9 March 1873, MCHS.

26. Mother to Munroe, 18 January 1873, MCHS; Munroe to his parents, 2 December 1872, 13 July 1873, MCHS.

27. Munroe, Journal of Travel, 8, 14 May, 16 June 1873, MCHS.

28. Munroe to his parents, 25 May, 21 September 1873, MCHS.

29. Munroe to his parents, 25 August 1873, MCHS.

30. Munroe to his parents, 6 December 1873, MCHS.

31. Munroe to his parents, 14 May, 7 June 1873, MCHS.

32. Munroe to his parents, 13 July, 1873, MCHS; Benjamin S. Lyman to Kuroda Kiyotaka, 15 October 1873, Hakodate Municipal Library, Hokkaido; Kuroda to Lyman, 9 November 1873, LAPS.

33. Munroe to his parents, 6 April 1874, MCHS.

34. Lyman, "Preliminary Report on the First Season's Work of the Geological Survey of Yesso," in ROL, 119.

35. Munro to his parents, 24 April 1874, MCHS.

36. Mother to Munroe, 5 June 1874, MCHS; Father to Munroe, 5 June 1874, MCHS.

37. Munroe to his parents, 16 June 1874, MCHS.

38. Ibid.

39. Lyman to J. Peter Lesley, 21 June 1876, LFL.

40. Lyman to Munroe, 11 August 1874, MCHS.

41. Lyman to Capron, 12 May 1875, CYU; Lyman to Munroe, 2 February 1876, MCHS.

42. Munroe to Otori Keinosuke, 25 May, 28 July 1874, CFE; Nishimura Sadaaki to Capron, 28 December 1874, CYU, underlining by this writer.

43. Randolph to Munroe, 12 July 1875, MCU; Munroe to his parents, 9 June 1875, MCHS; Lyman to J. Peter Lesley, 21 June 1876, LFL.

44. Munroe to Henry, 28 March 1876, HSI; Father to Munroe, 7 December 1875, MCHS.

45. Munroe to his parents, 23 February 1874, MCHS.

46. "Retirement of Prof. Henry S. Munroe," The School of Mines Quarterly 36 (July, 1915): 283-305.

47. Eleanor Munroe Green to Thomas T. Read, 25 September 1935, Columbiana, Columbia University, New York.

48. Ibid.

49. His obituaries, however, referred to his survey of Hokkaido and his professorship at Kaisei Gakko. See Washington Post, 5 May 1933.

50. The Mineral Wealth of Japan (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1878). It was originally an article: "The Mineral Wealth of Japan," Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, 5: 283-305.

51. Dun's life discussed here relies, unless otherwise mentioned, on his unpublished memoirs, "Reminiscences of Nearly a Half Century in Japan," typed copy, University of Hokkaido Library, Sapporo, Hokkaido [hereafter cited as "Reminiscences"]; Takakura Shinichiro, "Edouin Dan shoden [A Brief Biography of Edwin Dun]" in Edwin Dun, Nihon ni okeru hanseiki no kaiso [Reminiscences of Nearly a Half Century in

Japan], trans. Takakura Shinichiro (Sapporo: Edouin Dan Kenshokai, 1962], 1-30; and Hokkaido Prefectural Government, Foreign Pioneers: A Short History of the Contribution of Foreigners to the Development of Hokkaido (Sapporo: Hokkaido Prefectural Government), 43-55. The copy of Dun's "Reminiscences" available at the National Agricultural Library, Department of Agriculture, in Beltsville, Maryland, is slightly different in contents and quite different in pagenation from the copy available at the University of Hokkaido. The existence of the original is not known.

52. The reason why Dun quit the college is not clear. In his memoirs, Dun simply writes: "For reasons unnecessary to mention, I left school." "Reminiscences," 1.

53. Ibid., 2-3.

54. Ibid., 3-4.

55. Ibid., 6-7.

56. Ibid., 14, 17, 54.

57. Ibid., 16.

58. Ibid., 28.

59. Dun to Capron, 6 April 1874, CFE.

60. "Reminiscences," 27-28.

61. Lyman to Murray S. Day, 16 February 1876, copy, LFL.

62. "Reminiscences," 30, 75.

63. Ibid., 40.

64. Dun to Kojima, 12 November 1878, CFE.

65. "Reminiscences," 41-43.

66. Dun to Kuroda, 4 December 1875, CFE.

67. Dun, "Report on the Farming Operations, and Live Stock, Under the Control of the Kougioka of Sapporo for the year Ending December 31st 1878, January 5th 1879," CFE [hereafter cited as "Report"], 12-13.

68. Ibid., 13, 29-30, 23-25.

69. Dun to Dzusho, 5 November 1878, CFE.

70. "Reminiscences," 14; Although Shelton himself gave an assessment on his work that "good was done," Dun's charge

that Shelton's instruction was more in tune with books than with the field might have been to the point, for Shelton remembered "rather wordy, but always polite, disputes between the interpreters as to the Japanese meaning of this or that word of the lecture," and observed that "there was always danger that the agricultural significance of what I had to offer would be lost in the etymological." Herbert H. Gowen, "An American Pioneer in Japan," Washington Historical Quarterly 20 (January 1929): 20-22.

71. "Reminiscences," 14.

72. Ibid., 56-57.

73. Ibid., 13-14, 27.

74. Ibid., 31-32.

75. "Reminiscences," 27, 58-59.

76. Ibid., 53.

77. Ibid., 62.

78. Ibid., 63.

79. Lucius F. Sinks [great-great grandson of Allen G. Thurman] to this writer, 4 December 1979.

80. "Reminiscences," 74.

81. Ibid., 95, 76.

82. Foreign Pioneers, 54-55.

83. "Reminiscences," 97.

84. Ibid., 20-21.

85. Ibid., 92-93.

86. Ibid., 82-84, 18.

87. Ibid., 87-88.

88. Ibid., 88-89, 19-20.

89. Ibid., 78.

90. Ibid., 18, 84; Dun Michiko, Meiji no bokusaku: Edouin Dan no sokuseki [Fenced Cattle Raising in Meiji: Edwin Dun's Footmarks] (Tokyo: Dun Michiko Koenkai, 1968), 103-104.

91. "Reminiscences," 83-85, 91-92.

92. Dun Michiko, 98, 118; "Reminiscences," 63.

93. Ibid., 90.

94. Ibid., 90-91, 96.

95. Acknowledging the receipt of a letter of recall from the President, Dun wrote: "As requested by the Department, I shall defer the presentation of these letters until the arrival of my successor," in Dun to John Sherman, no. 489 (29 May 1897), DNA.

96. Joseph Henry, for example, informed Capron of such a case: "We are very sorry to inform you that Mr Peale was a few days ago removed from his office as one of the principal examiners in the Patent Office to that of a position three grades below and this, too <u>without a moments notice</u>. Indeed his successor was appointed <u>before</u> he knows that he himself had been removed! The degradation is so humiliating that Mr Peale has concluded to refuse the lower position and is now making preparation to leave the city. His case is a hard one since he has been in the government service for more than 40 years and has saved nothing." Henry to Capron, 27 January 1873, copy, HSI.

97. "Reminiscences," 89.

98. Ibid., 79.

99. Ibid., 80.

100. Ibid., 93.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM SMITH CLARK AND GRADUATES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

On August 14, 1876, when Sapporo Agricultural College was opened for the purpose of educating young men to become officers of the Kaitakushi, William Smith Clark, the incumbent president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College on leave, was there as the president, along with two young graduates of the Massachusetts Agricultural College--William Wheeler and David P. Penhallow--as professors. Five months later, another young graduate, William Penn Brooks, joined the staff, and after Clark's departure, more graduates came to teach. This chapter deals with William Smith Clark, still one of the most famous Americans in Japan, and with the three young professors who, along with Clark, assiduously worked not only to teach but also to provide their expertise for the development of Hokkaido.

William Smith Clark: A Winner of a Good Name

William Smith Clark was born on July 31, 1826, the son of a country doctor of moderate means in Ashfield, Massachusetts.[1] When he was about ten years old, the family moved to Easthampton, and he studied at the newly established

Williston Seminary in the town. In 1844 Clark entered Amherst College, where he was a diligent student with a strong interest in science, particularly in mineralogy and chemistry. He was also "a poverty-stricken youth," in his own words; his parents could not fully bear the expenses of his college education and more than once he thought of quitting school. Fortunately, however, he managed to continue his studies, at least, in part by "turning [his] knowledge of mineralogy to money"; that is, he hunted rare specimens of rocks and sold them to collectors. To his satisfaction, the discovery of new specimens of rocks and fossil footmarks earned him not only money but also "the esteem and perfect confidence" of President Edward Hitchcock and Professor Charles U. Shepard, both noted geologists, who showed a great interest in his discoveries.[2]

During his college days Clark experienced conversion. Although a liberal arts college, Amherst, "born of the spirit of revivals and mission," remained strongly religious in its orientation; it was estimated that up to 1860 more than half its graduates had entered the ministry--a larger proportion than from any other American college.[3] Also, Clark's parents, pious evangelical Christians, seem to have exerted a strong influence upon him.[4] In the spring of 1846, when the college was in the midst of another revival, Clark wrote his mother that "your prayers for a long lost son are ... answered." He quoted to her as the essence of Christ's message--"I am the bread of life; he that cometh to

me shall never hunger; & he that believeth on me shall never thirst," and "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." This revealed his benevolent image of God, but he was also aware of human frailty as he further wrote his mother: "The way is so plain that the wayfaring man though a fool need not err therein. Yet how many go down to destruction. 'Tis strange what depravity there is in the human heart."[5]

Clark's conversion, however, apparently did not reduce his competitive inclinations. He later used to recall that he had been an ambitious boy who "always made it a rule to run faster, jump farther and higher, fight harder and swim more strongly, than any of his companions."[6] His hero too was an ambitious man who had challenged the unknown and achieved success by solitary, strenuous efforts. In the fall of 1846, when young Clark stayed at a small village of New Hampshire, collecting minerals, he read a life of John Ledyard, a traveller and explorer through Europe, Asia, and Africa. Deeply impressed, Clark conveyed his thoughts to his mother:

> His is the character for me, bold & sirited [sic], preserving & sure of success. Though baffled in every undertaking he was never disheartened. Though wretchedly poor his motto was "ahead" & without money & without friends except such as he made where he chanced to be, he travelled through the whole length & breadth of Europe & Asia, mostly on foot, & finally recieved [sic] the entire charge of an expedition for the exploration of the interior of Africa with money in plenty & the favor of the King of England to boot.[7]

Clark's graduation speech titled "The Alchemist" also

revealed his strong sympathy with a lonely pursuit of success in an unexplored field. Rejecting the popular image of alchemists as "knaves" and "fools," Clark described them not only as "the most ambitious men that ever toiled for wealth or power or immortality" but also as "earnest, honest men." He believed that "the unquenchable fires of avarice and ambition" as well as "the loftiest hopes, the most ardent desire, and the most unwavering confidence of success" drove them to ceaseless attempts to transmute base metals into gold. "For more than ten centuries, multitudes thus driven onward, without a moment for reflection, labored with unwearied, indefatigable spirit, to the end of life." Even "though thousands were yearly forced to relinquish their fondest hopes, and in bitter despair to die as they had lived, friendless and alone," and "though the last of their fires has been extinguished and the philosopher's stone, not discovered," Clark declared, "they toiled not in vain." They made a great contribution to modern chemistry by showing that "all inquiries into the nature and affinities of material substances, must be the subjects of experiment and not of speculation." But "perhaps the greatest advantage to be derived from the labors of the Alchemist," Clark concluded, "lies in the example he has left us, of independent, efficient and constant effort."[8]

After having graduated from college with Phi Beta Kappa in 1848, Clark taught science at Williston Seminary. But apparently his ambition was not satisfied with the

prospect of remaining a high school teacher in a small New England town. In the fall of 1850, with money saved from teaching, he left the country to pursue graduate study in chemistry at Georgia Augusta University in Göttingen.

In Germany Clark found himself "enjoying the finest opportunities for acquiring knowledge and at the same time living cheaply and very pleasantly." The experience of an alien culture also led him to reflect upon his own country. The education provided in the United States now appeared "dreadfully superficial," and he pointed to a sharp contrast between a German student acquiring "accurate and complete knowledge" about his special field and an American student studying everything without really learning anything. Clark judged educational facilities in Germany as "vastly superior to those in America." Calculating that the United States would have to spend many years and a vast amount of wealth before she could boast educational facilities of equal quality, he feared American short-sighted practicality. It might be difficult to persuade his countrymen that "learned men must be liberally paid and allowed to spend most of their time in their studies without being asked every day what direct good they have done, or what they have discovered to eat, drink or wear."[9]

Yet Clark still had a firm belief in American moral superiority and was especially proud of New England as "the home of religion." He believed that while ninety-nine percent of the inhabitants of Easthampton observed the Sabbath,

most Germans did not, and he simply could not understand how those German professors, who gave dinners, made excursions, and studied on Sundays, could still consider themselves good Christians. Clark was convinced that religion and learning should not be separated from each other: "The former must be firmly established among a people, before they are exposed to the flood of evil influences resulting from the pride, false delicacy and excessive refinement of unsanctified knowledge." From this stand Clark was optimistic about the future of his country: "Happy indeed will that land be where true spiritual religion shall be combined with the highest attainments in learning! This will one day be done, and I believe, in America first."[10]

In Germany, while Clark reaffirmed that he would "stick by the old Puritans for ever," he was, nevertheless, fully aware that he had "by nature a strong desire to excell and to 'be something,'" feeling his sentiments well expressed "in the words of a heathen writer, 'the Gods help those who help themselves.'" "Though I believe most sincerely in an overruling Providence," he wrote his father, "I also believe that 'every man is the architect of his own future.'" At times, however, even Clark found his own ambition overwhelming, as he wrote his sister: "I labor continually and accomplish but little.... Everything I attempt is at best but poorly done; all, all bears the stamp of human weakness and imperfection. Why is it, Hattie, our aspirations are so much above our powers?"[11] Thus, it

might be possible to view that in Clark ambition and faith in God were inseparable because the anxiety that his soaring ambitions provoked could be tranquilized only by his belief in the benevolent God.

Clark's ambition was fulfilled, however, when he completed his dissertation on the chemical composition of metallic meteorites only in two years--an achievement he himself "little dreamed" of when he left the United States.[12] In the summer of 1852 he triumphantly came home as the first Amherst graduate to receive a doctorate in chemistry from a leading German university and in the fall he obtained the professorship of chemistry at his alma mater.

In May of the following year Clark married Harriet Richards Williston. In the long run, this marriage seems to have strengthened Clark's religious orientation and implanted a missionary impulse in him. Harriet's foster father, Samuel Williston, was a devout Calvinist, and although he gave up a clerical career because of amblyopia, his father and both his grandfathers had been all pastors. Harriet's real father, William Richards, was also an ordained minister who had studied at Andover Theological Seminary. Richards and his wife entrusted their children to others' care because they dedicated their lives to missionary work on the Sandwitch Islands.[13] Clark's association with Samuel Williston, a founder of Williston Seminary as well as an outstanding patron of Amherst College, obviously helped promote his academic career. Soon after Clark's marriage, for exam-

ple, Williston made a donation to the college for a new building whose lower floor was wholly occupied by a chemical laboratory--the facilities Clark found indispensable for his studies and teaching.

At Amherst Clark immediately impressed both students and colleagues with his "astounding vitality and mental energy" as well as with his "enthusiasm." One student, John W. Burgess, remembered him not only as a professor who introduced some methods and results of German investigators to Amherst but also as "an interesting lecturer" and "an experimenter of some brilliancy, bordering on recklessness." Clark's colleague, William S. Tyler, who was especially struck by "his industry and energy," observed, "He did everything with all his heart and with all his might. When he studied, he studied intensely, when he worked, he worked ferociously, and he liked to have others, especially those who worked for and under him, do the same."[14] Therefore, it was not surprising that, when the Civil War broke out and Lincoln called for volunteers, Clark took the lead in the enlistment movement among the students; in August 1861 he was commissioned as major in the Twenty-first Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers.

While Clark was eager to perform his "whole duty as a patriotic citizen soldier fighting for republican institutions and for human freedom," he was also attracted by the heroic image of war, at least in the beginning. In September 1861 he reported to Newton S. Munross--his close friend

who had studied with him at Göttingen and now replaced him teaching chemistry at Amherst--that he was "enjoying the very romance of war" and "progressing rapidly in [his] knowledge of military matters"; and he expressed his "hope to become an accomplished officer." After heavy fighting at Roanoke Island in February 1862, Clark remarked that "it is a glorious sight to see a thousand men marching straight forward into the fire from a thousand muskets aided by a battery of cannon and men never feel more manly than when they are doing it." The subsequent heavy fighting at Newbern did not daunt his ardor. He again wrote Munross: "We came--we saw--we conquered! and now we rejoice to march beneath the star-spangled banner which though faded, worn and pierced by bullets waves more proudly than ever above us bearing the memorable words 'Roanoke' and 'Newbern.'" Clark was quickly promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel in February 1862 and colonel in May 1862, and was recommended by General Ambrose E. Burnside for a well-deserved promotion as brigadier general in September of the same year.[15]

The excitement of war, however, did not last long. In the battle of Chantilly in the summer of 1862 his regiment suffered the severest losses. It was followed by the news that his friend Manross was killed at the opening of his first battle. In December, after the costly battle of Fredericksburg, Clark expressed his anguish: "Alas! that so many thousands of our bravest and best should thus perish in vain." By March 1863, frustrated at the prolongation of war

and at the dwindling size of his regiment, he could only hope that "the President won't wait till all the old regiments are annihilated before drafting." Then, on April 22, he suddenly submitted his resignation, explaining to Lieutenant Colonel Lewis Richmond that the decision was due to "the reduced condition of my regiment and my belief that I can be more useful at home than in the army under existing circumstances."[16]

Although Clark returned to his chair at Amherst, he soon got involved in another campaign--this time a peaceful one to attract an agricultural college to Amherst. Since the Massachusetts state legislature passed a law in March 1863 calling for the establishment of a land-grant college under the Morrill Act, several towns had competed to become the site of such an institution. Clark, elected as a representative to the state legislature, fought for Amherst, and in 1864 the town was selected as the seat of the college. Three years later, on 2 October 1867, when the Massachusetts Agricultural College was opened, Clark was its president and professor of botany and horticulture.[17]

At the new college, Clark was, again, an inspiring and energetic teacher. On his "rare gift of imparting instruction, equalled by few," his colleague, Henry H. Goodell, explained, "The wide range of his experience, upon which he drew, the pleasant anecdote and the immense amount of facts, brought forward to illustrate the dry details of his subject, combined to make his recitation the most attractive in

college." Goodell, moreover, observed that Clark, "boyishly impetuous in his nature and boiling over with animal spirit," took a strong interest in the activities of the students:

> Who that witnessed it can ever forget that day at Ingleside, when rushing along the banks, tumbling into the water in his excitement he shouted himself hoarse as the winning crew swept grandly up the stand, or that same night when at half past nine he burst into town, with horses on a dead run and covered with foam, while he shouted at the top of his voice 'the Aggies have won!' 'the Aggies have won!'[18]

For David P. Penhallow, a class of 1873, most impressive was Clark's "determination to excel" and his activism symbolized by his simple watchword "Do it." Penhallow, who felt that "the force of his living example was of inestimable benefit to his students," recalled that when a graduate student, assigned to a new task by Clark, pleaded his inability, Clark simply responded with "the very curt command 'Do it'" and this led the student to accomplish it. Clark's command, however, was not always so effective. In the spring of 1869, students launched a strike against the requirement of manual labor. Clark, declaring that the students must either sign a document of recantation and obedience to college authority or else suffer expulsion, and leaving behind the document of recantation and an inkstand and pen, marched out of the room, William H. Bowker, a class of 1871, observed, "with that air of command of which he was so capable, and which we are agreed generally so well and worthily became him." But Bowker, William Wheeler who later

accompanied Clark to Hokkaido, and others did not go back to class until other teachers promised to improve the program. Yet Bowker too admitted that Clark was "undoubtedly the hero of the boys of my time."[19]

Clark's activities as an administrator were even more energetic. In order to win popular support for the college, Clark restlessly planned projects to interest the public--holding the meeting of the State Board of Agriculture in the town; or a national exhibition of agricultural implements on college grounds; or a trial of plows under the auspices of the New England Agricultural Society. Clark also visited agricultural societies around the state, explaining in detail the plan and scope of the college. It appeared to his colleague Goodell that "he threw himself into the work as if his very life depended on it."[20]

The college, a modest operation at its inaugural with a faculty of four, about fifty students, and three buildings, steadily grew under Clark's presidency; in 1876 the enrollment was twice as large as the first class, the faculty consisted of eight professors, two regular lecturers, and one instructor, and the number of college buildings had increased to ten. In the fall of 1876 a 14-page article in Scribner's Monthly on the "Massachusetts Agricultural College" said that "under [Clark's] efficient administration the organization of the college was effected and its subsequent success has been achieved." The article traced the history of the college, described its facilities and opera-

tions, and called particular attention to the experiment of the circulation of sap in plant undertaken by Clark and his colleagues, which "created much wonder and amazement," inducing Professor Agassiz to say that it "alone more than repaid all the money expended upon the college." The author concurred, believing that although "the college has scarcely begun its labors yet,... the fruits are already ripening" and it "is steadily gaining a reputation, at home and abroad, as a strong educational power."[21]

The innovative public institution sought to combine the basic curricula in most colleges--the mental, physical, esthetic, and moral disciplines--with the practical application of the arts and sciences to the business of agriculture. However, it faced criticism from various directions: educators charged it with low standards; farmers continued to see it with utmost mistrust; and legislators, expecting the college to support itself on revenues from the land-grant fund, tuition fees, and the produce from the college farm, became severely critical of its failure to balance its meager budget. Even Clark, whose energy struck his colleagues as "unbounded and never flagged," seemed to have become discouraged and frustrated by the incessant criticism. In his 1876 annual report of the college, he wrote that, "as no appropriation was granted by the legislature, and no gifts of considerable value were received during the year of 1875," necessary expenses had been met, as in years past, by borrowing. The debt of the college, already

amounting to $20,000, would increase at the annual rate of $7,000 under current revenues. Clark saw that it was "obviously impracticable for the Trustees to preserve the Institution in its present form without the required funds," and he especially regretted that high tuition and the total want of pecuniary assistance discouraged applicants in the midst of the depression. Moreover, with much bitterness, he lamented that the college "has been forced to struggle for its very existence against the prejudices of the ignorant and the jealousy of the educated among its opponents, and has often in times of need its nominal friends greatly lacking in hopefulness, courage and enthusiasm." His anger was vented particularly against newspapers which, he charged, "continually scatter broadcast disparaging and false statements" about the college.[22]

For almost fifty years of his life Clark had been remarkably successful in fulfilling his urges for achievement: Phi Beta Kappa at Amherst, a Ph.D. from a distinguished German university, a professorship at his alma mata, and the presidency of a new agricultural college. Although he was more sophisticated than the average frontiersman whose motto was "go ahead," he too energetically moved forward on the frontier of opportunities. When he came to a standstill, as he did on the battlefield during the Civil War, he simply left for another frontier. After eight years at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, he found himself in a similar stalemate, perhaps feeling strong urges for a

new frontier where his energy and enthusiasm could find full scope.

It was not surprising, then, that in November 1875 Clark conveyed to Birdsey G. Northrop, an intermediary between him and Japanese Minister Yoshida Kiyonari, that he was willing to take a year's leave of absence and undertake the mission to establish an agricultural college in Hokkaido.[23] On March 30, 1876, he signed a contract to serve for one year from May 20, 1876, as assistant director, president and professor of agriculture, chemistry, mathematics, and the English language. Although Clark did not articulate the reasons why he accepted the job, it might not be difficult to make some conjectures. The mission to a distant, little-known land was not only an opportune break from the increasingly frustrating management of the Massachusetts Agricultural College but also exactly the kind of task which would appeal to his innermost longings for achievement as well as for romance. His extempore farewell speech to the faculty and students, reported by a local weekly, The Amherst Record, indicated that Clark viewed the current changes in Japan as "the marvels of the age" which "surpass all the stories of romance." He was thrilled that "an agricultural college is going to be established in that most promising empire, modeled as nearly as possible after ours, selected from all the institutions of the world."[24] This meant that the mission to help the Japanese would also help to enhance the reputation of the Massachusetts Agricultural

College.[25] Clark was fully confident of his ability to carry out the mission; he had assured Northrop that although he could be away from his college only for one year, he could accomplish in one year what others could do in two years.[26] Finally, the job offered good remuneration; while his salary at the Massachusetts Agricultural College was at the time $4,250 per annum in addition to a rental allowance, he would receive an annual salary of $7,200, apart from a house and travelling expenses, from the Kaitakushi, and, in addition to it, he would get $2,000 and a rental allowance from the Massachusetts Agricultural College during his leave of absence. Such a financial arrangement must have been most helpful for Clark who was supporting a large family with eight children.[27]

Clark, together with his young colleagues, Wheeler and Penhallow, landed in Japan on June 29, 1876. They stayed a month in Tokyo, going through conferences, inspection tours, sightseeing, and other social events; subsequently they spent two more weeks in Sapporo before the college started. Clark's initial impressions suggested not only that he was relatively free from ethnocentric prejudices against an alien culture but also that the frustrations he had been through at home inclined him to view his host country in a most favorable light.

While Clark must have obtained some information about Japan from Japanese students at the Massachusetts Agricultural College,[28] his impression of the Japanese that "every-

body seems fat, jolly and lazy" with an amazingly simple life style was in itself rather typical as a foreigner's comment on the Japanese at the time.[29] However, unlike other foreigners, he observed the peculiarities of Japanese habits and customs with a remarkably detached air as if he were observing an unfamiliar specimen of rock or plant. It was the case when he described the Japanese living style for his wife.

> The houses have neither floors to scrub nor windows to wash. There are no carpets to shake, no paint to clean, no furniture to dust, and very little cooking to do. The people wash themselves and wear scarcely any clothing and that is usually of dark bright colors which requires little aid from the laundryman. Mats of straw or rushes answer for carpets, chairs, beds, etc. and as custom requires street clogs to be left outside and clean slippers are provided at the door there is no need of defiling them.[30]

The expenses for supporting his large family and maintaining his impressive house in Amherst might have crossed his mind when he remarked that he was "surprised to see how easy it is to support a family and keep house in this country."[31]

Also, when he informed his sister that "this strange people, who do almost everything as we do not, have no liking for milk, butter or cheese and eat all their melons, pears, peaches, plums and apples perfectly green," he did not add any further comment on such peculiarities.[32] Similarly, his observation of the emperor and the empress, whom he had happened to see at the railroad station, was not accompanied by any normative judgment. About the empress and her attendants who came to the station to greet the

emperor, he wrote home:

> They wore no headdresses, but their hair was elaborately plastered and spread out so as to look from behind somewhat thus [Clark apparently drew the picture]. Their faces were enameled snow-white, their lips painted of a brilliant vermilion and their teeth, I suppose, jet black, as that is the fashion for all married ladies. They displayed no jewelry, nor ribbons, but wore white waists and crimson satin skirts.[33]

He then described the emperor:

> The Mikado, ungallant man, did not condescend to notice the ladies, but marched coldly past them as if wholly absorbed in more important matters. He is unusually tall for a Japanese and has a good pair of legs upon which he stands firmly and walks gracefully. His dress was rich, but plain and without any trimming but black braid. He wore a black cocked hat with a neat plume of black and on the whole appeared well. He is 26 years old and in vigorous health, and is highly revered by the people.[34]

However, it was striking that Clark's cool observation of Japanese society was swept away when the memory of his frustrations at the Massachusetts Agricultural College came to his mind. The sight of American reporters at a party in Tokyo, for instance, led Clark to extol almost impulsively the Japanese press control by the government.

> Thank God in this country editors are held responsible for what they print and a considerable number are kept where most of ours ought to be--in jail. I love liberty and believe in a regulated freedom of the press, but in many respects we have gone in America far beyond the golden mean in many things. I find it very pleasant to read a daily paper which is not full of false and slanderous statements concerning public men and institutions.[35]

As for himself, he felt "really happy to be free from the foul slanders of the <u>free</u> press."[36]

Clark's appreciation of Japan was greatly reinforced by Japanese customary hospitality. Although Clark asserted,

on his arrival in Japan, that "everything is about as I expected to find it," the "grand style" in which the Japanese government treated Clark's party surpassed even his expectations. It was quite to Clark' taste that the day after their arrival in Japan, the "triumvirate" from the Massachusetts Agricultural College "dashed through the streets, each drawn by two men, tandem in a fine jinrikisha" to attend an official reception. The next day Kuroda in turn came to pay his respect and promised to do everything for Clark. Clark's group was invited to parties one after another and also taken around to see whatever they wanted to see--all at government expense. Appreciating that they were constantly treated with "the greatest consideration," Clark at the same time even worried "lest we should be killed with kindness" and that "the year will pass away before I can set to work." He indeed felt somewhat guilty when he received a salary of $1,200 before he left for Hokkaido; although Clark and his young colleagues, at least, performed the duty of examining the applicants to the college during their stay in Tokyo, he still felt that "I have not had an opportunity to earn a cent." The Japanese hospitality was not always pleasant, for it sometimes meant that he had to bear listening to "simply horrible" Japanese music. Even so, the cordial Japanese reception was extremely gratifying to Clark, who still remembered his criticism at home with much bitterness. Pointing out that "not only have all my requests been granted, but a thousand favors I had no right to

expect have been freely bestowed upon me by the high officers of the [Japanese] government," Clark wryly wrote his brother-in-law, "I should only be too happy to be as well treated at home."[37]

From the beginning, Clark, who "kept his military bearing long after the war," found it easy to communicate with Kuroda, a career military man who, Clark learned, had done "eminent services in the civil war." Their first meeting went off smoothly enough to make Clark write home, "the General [Kuroda] and Colonel [Clark] fired fine speeches at one another," with Naito Seitaro, Clark's former student at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, serving as interpreter.[38] Then, during "a most delightful excursion" up the Ishikari River in Hokkaido, Clark had "a splendid opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with [Kuroda's] private and public life and his views on many subjects of education, politics, and religion." Clark was impressed by Kuroda as "a very remarkable man and in many respects of admirable character," partly because Kuroda was the type of man who always appealed to Clark: an ambitious and successful self-made man. "Though born a poor boy and trained only as a private soldier," Clark explained to his wife, "he has become one of the ablest statesmen and generals of the empire." But more importantly, Clark greatly appreciated Kuroda's "wisdom" to set up an agricultural college even when the idea "only recently received due consideration in Europe and America." When Clark saw "very

good" college grounds and buildings prepared in Sapporo and "everything ... better than [he] expected," he was moved to remark, "it is most surprising to see what has been done by a few men like Gen. Kuroda (now only 35) for the improvement of Japan in the last seven years."[39]

Clark was, furthermore, satisfied with the place where he was assigned to--Hokkaido. Not only did he find it comparable to New England in climate but also he noticed some romantic features there. Suggesting to his sister, half in joke, that her husband might be interested in emigrating to Hokkaido, he described the place around Sapporo:

> In the valley of Ishikari ... salmon and deer will come to his door and ask to be eaten, and magnificent bears will bring him their skins for robes. Wood and coal are just as convenient and of the best quality.... The climate here is very much like that of Guilford but not quite so cold. Plenty of snow all winter. Hydrangeas, magnolis, spiraeas, roses, reonies and the most beautiful evergreen trees and shrubs are abundant. Volcanos and earthquakes serve to order.[40]

What was still better, while Clark was surrounded with beauties of primitive nature, he lived, with his two American colleagues, in a building "constructed in a mixed style of architecture, one third Japanese, one third American and one third German," which, along with a janitor, a cook, and two servant boys, enabled him to "live in very comfortable style."[41]

Clark arrived in Sapporo on July 31, 1876, his fiftieth birthday. He was, as Wheeler observed, "very active and youthful in appearance for a man of his years," and Clark too was fully aware that "nobody thinks me over forty years

old and many guess me to be not over thirty-five." Feeling young and seeing that "the prospect in regard to the new College surpasses my expectations," Clark directed his characteristic energy and enthusiasm to his work--organizing a college, giving advice to the Kaitakushi, and teaching students.[42]

Sapporo Agricultural College was opened on August 14, 1876, two weeks after Clark's arrival in Sapporo, with Director Dzusho Hirotake, President Clark, two other American professors--Wheeler and Penhallow--and 24 students; moreover, in the preparatory department there were 26 students taught by William Corwin, Wheeler, Penhallow, and four Japanese teachers.[43] Clark, who understood his mission was essentially "rebuilding M.A.C. with variations and possibly some improvements,"[44] soon introduced the curriculum similar to that of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, including such unique programs as manual labor on the farm, scientific excursions, and military drill.[45] Moreover, the fact that classes were conducted in English by the incumbent professor and the young graduates of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, probably more than anything else, made Sapporo Agricultural College much closer to the model in Amherst than to any other Japanese college.

When there were differences between the two colleges, however, Clark tended to favor the Japanese style, and this was the case with the regulation of Sapporo Agricultural College which obliged its graduates to become employees of

the Kaitakushi for a term of five years in return for their tuition and other expenses paid by the department. While the similar regulation of the Kaitakushi Preparatory School struck Benjamin Smith Lyman as a violation of individual freedom, it was heartily endorsed by Clark, who believed the high tuition and the lack of scholarships at the Massachusetts Agricultural College seriously hindered the growth of the college. Therefore, not only did he assert to his colleague at home that the students "maintained and educated at government expense ... are certain to be studious and well-behaved" but also he positively viewed their future official positions almost as a privilege.[46]

Clark had a firm belief in the importance of good facilities for higher education, at least from the time when he studied in Germany. He told Northrop, in accepting the mission to Japan, that the new college should be well organized and equipped and nothing short of it would persuade him to accept the invitation. One of the first things he did on his arrival in Sapporo was to persuade the Kaitakushi to erect a chemical laboratory. His next move was to urge Kuroda to set up a "well-equipped" college farm which Clark insisted should "be placed under the exclusive control of a foreign Professor of Agriculture, who shall be under the direction and authority of the President of the College." While Kuroda's prompt approval led Clark to send for William Brooks as professor of agriculture and farm superintendent, Clark in the meantime enjoyed a virtual autonomy in the

operation of the 250-acre farm and a free access to an annual budget of $15,000 appropriated for the ordinary expenses of the farm. Then, Clark requested the establishment of a barn, emphasizing its extreme importance to his mission: "In order to feel any real satisfaction with the condition of Sapporo Agricultural College upon my return to America, I must see the proposed barn ready for use by the first of June next. If that is accomplished, I shall be satisfied with the results of my mission." As soon as Clark obtained Kuroda's consent, he directed Wheeler to draw a plan of the barn, inevitably, after the model of the Massachusetts Agricultural College.[47]

Clark was entirely satisfied to see that "Governor Kuroda consults me constantly and always follows my advice." He especially relished large discretionary powers entrusted by Kuroda, whose will he favorably observed as "supreme in Hokkaido"; he wrote home: "I believe I am the first foreigner who has been entrusted with the entire control of valuable property, with full power to buy and sell, employ and discharge help, build and make improvements, and draw money from the treasury with my official seal, without the slightest supervision from a Japanese officer." His respect for Kuroda seemed to have increased even more for that reason. Clark not only confirmed that Kuroda was "really a remarkable man" but also predicted, "I should not be surprised to hear of his appointment as prime minister any time," which Kuroda indeed became a decade later. Moreover, Clark be-

lieved that Kuroda's trust in him promptly bore fruits. In mid-November, calling the attention of his brother-in-law to "a splendid farm" with a complete outfit of American stock, tools and machines, and a barn under construction, Clark conveyed his satisfaction: "I am having wonderful success in all my work here, and have done more in four months towards the organization and equipment of the College than even I would have deemed possible." "Thus having plenty of business, plenty of influence, plenty of money and plenty of health," Clark felt, "I should be a most unworthy wretch if I had not plenty of happiness."[48]

As the president of the agricultural college, Clark had occasions to offer advice concerning agriculture in Hokkaido. What he emphasized most was the importance of using domestic animals both as labor force and food resources. In this regard, he basically approved of the work done by other American advisers--Horace Capron and Edwin Dun--but he had his own ideas too. For example, Clark recommended the importation of a large number of cheap and hardy cattle from California, pointing out that Shorthorn cattle purchased by Capron were not suitable for the purpose of producing dairy products and Thoroughbred horses, again introduced by Capron, could not be preserved in satisfactory conditions by "ignorant and half-civilized farmers" in Hokkaido. Also, while Clark recognized Dun's great contribution to the breeding of horses, cattle, sheep and swine, he nevertheless pointed to the lack of suitable barns--"the

indispensable wants of a successful agriculture"--and of enough cultivated grasses as "the greatest obstacle in the way of entirely satisfactory results." He strongly hoped that foreign grasses would be cultivated widely, that the barn on the college farm would be copied extensively, and that the college farm as a whole would serve as a model for "the most rational and approved system of farm economy," which meant, among others, economical management and the use of animals and machines "as far as practical."[49]

Clark's advice was not restricted to agriculture. For example, regarding the Japanese style of living altogether inappropriate for the wintry climate of Hokkaido, he recommended various changes such as the building of cellars and chimneys; the use of glass windows, thicker boards, and singles; the use of woolen clothes, leather boots and shoes; and the consumption of much meat. When Kuroda sought for his opinion about American immigration to Hokkaido, Clark asked whether the Japanese government would naturalize the immigrants, provide them with free transportation to Sapporo, land them in such place as they might select, exempt them from taxation and military service for a term of years, and allow them to form "a self-governing municipality without annoyance from Japanese officers." While Clark felt sure that "the universal depression of business in the United States renders the present an exceedingly favorable time for attempting such an enterprise," Clark's many conditions probably made Japanese authorities confirm the impos-

sibility of the project. Sometimes Clark's advice was not very farsighted. With regard to the preservation of forest resources, for instance, pointing to the noninterference policy of the U.S. government, he advised the Kaitakushi that "in the present state of Hokkaido it is not wise to expend much money upon nurseries and plantations of forest trees, at least near Sapporo," because he believed that "the vast extent of mountainous and wooded country to the west and south is quite sufficient for all the wants of this community for the next hundred years."[50]

Clark seems to have greatly enjoyed his role as an adviser to the Kaitakushi. It was a flattering experience that his opinions were sought after as a source of wisdom and were politely listened to. Besides, Clark indeed wanted to help by offering his store of knowledge, experience, and practical intelligence. He was ready to respond to any inquiry made by the Kaitakushi, even when he felt he "[had] not access to the necessary information" on the subject. And the experience became another source for his favorable image of the Japanese who, as he later said in front of an American audience, were "not conceited" but "determined to have the benefit of all the whole world knows."[51]

When Clark accepted the mission to Japan, he regarded teaching as a matter of secondary importance compared with the task of organizing a college,[52] but the energetic and inspiring teacher which Clark was in the United States could not be otherwise in Japan. At the opening ceremony, Clark

eloquently made a pledge on behalf of the three American professors: "We ... will zealously do our part in our noble and inspiring vocation. We will by our example and our teachings endeavor to develop in the young men ... those qualities of mind and heart which will best fit them for usefulness in life." Then, Clark demonstrated that he counted ambition as one of the most important "qualities of mind and heart," by calling attention to the career of Kuroda, "who has already achieved for himself by patriotic devotion to his country's service a competent fortune, enduring fame and offices of the highest honor and responsibility," and by declaring that the "wonderful emancipation from the tyranny of caste and custom," which made Kuroda's illustrious success possible, "should awaken a lofty ambition in the breast of every student to whom an education is offered."[53] Clark then called for their strenuous efforts for achieving their goals:

> Let every one of you, young gentlemen, strive to prepare himself for the highest positions of labor and trust and consequent honor in your native land, which greatly needs your most faithful and efficient service. Preserve your health, and control your appetites and passions, cultivate habits of obedience and diligence, acquire all possible knowledge and skill in the various sciences, which you may have an opportunity to study. Thus you will prepare yourselves for important positions, which are always in waiting for honest, intelligent, and energetic men....[54]

Clark soon began to give two hours of instruction daily, chiefly in agriculture and botany, to students whose record in the entrance examination suggested that they could "write and read English better than the average of our

M.A.C. candidates for admission." As the term progressed, he was satisfied that "my regular College work ... goes swimmingly," and did "enjoy teaching Japanese students very much."[55] The students obediently made strenuous efforts to overcome the enormous difficulties of understanding English lectures on specialized subjects of which they had little knowledge. One student, Oshima Masatake, who described their difficulties as "beyond description," recalled that, although the students were exhausted after attending classes in the morning and working on the farm in the afternoon, they used to get together in the evening to compare their notes and fill in blanks;[56] no idea would have been more alien to them than making such a protest as the students of the Massachusetts Agricultural College did. Clark's comparison between Japanese and American students was decidedly favorable to the former. "The [Japanese] students are," he wrote home, "as good and enthusiastic as possible and so polite and grateful for instruction as to make American students seem like savages."[57]

For Clark, teaching Japanese students turned out to be not only a pleasant experience but also a clear challenge when he saw the possibility of Christianizing them. While Clark did not demonstrate any specific interest in missionary activities at the time of his departure from the United States, he obtained, during his stay in Tokyo, thirty copies of the Bible from Luther H. Gulick, an agent of the American Bible Society for China and Japan. Soon after his arrival in

Sapporo, Clark confided to his brother-in-law that he would "try to introduce them into the College as textbooks." According to Clark's account, Kuroda initially opposed his request to teach the Bible at the college on the ground that it was not allowed at a government school, but Kuroda, who had once closed the Kaitakushi Preparatory School because of the lack of discipline among students and wanted Clark to instruct the students in moral education, finally gave implicit permission to use the Bible for that purpose.[58]

In mid-November Clark saw, with much satisfaction, that "in the Sapporo Agricultural College the Bible has become a textbook though forbidden by law in all schools and colleges under the control of the Japanese government."[59] He started every morning's lecture by reciting a hymn (which made his students wonder whether he could not sing or opposed singing as a principle), a discourse on a Bible passage, and a prayer. He also gave Sunday services at the college, the evangelical style of which was vividly described by his student Oshima:

> Sometimes, [Clark] sat still for a few moments, and then burst out into a strong prayer, so impressive as to penetrate the heart of every one present. Sometimes, he read sermons, and essays from newspapers, journals and books. Sometimes, he stood up and spoke himself. He was naturally an eloquent speaker. His speech was always full of fire. When he spoke, it was so powerful that we felt, as if the whole building were shaken by his energy. Even dogs outside were frightened and barked and barked while he was preaching. At other times, he gave us gentle talks. Then, his delivery became sometimes dictative and sometimes persuasive, as a father talks to his children."[60]

Clark in a way simply introduced another practice of the

Massachusetts Agricultural College, where the students were provided with opportunities for daily morning devotions, Sunday morning church services, and afternoon Bible classes; however, in Japan, where the government removed the edict-boards prohibiting Christianity only four years ago, it was a thrilling challenge for Clark, who was determined that "I shall not allow such a glorious opportunity to do missionary work to pass unimproved."[61]

One thing which Clark promptly did as part of his missionary work was to draw up a paper which pledged the signers to abstain from drinking, smoking, gambling, and profanity; and he successfully obtained signatures from all his students and American colleagues. When Clark duly reported his success to his Amherst colleague William S. Tyler, he conveyed not only his satisfaction with "what heathen college students are capable of," but also his almost blindly favorable image of the Japanese: "So far as can be seen or learned by me, the heathen Japanese are far less given to vices of any kind and are far more kind, industrious and temperate than nominal Christians of America. I have not seen a person so drunk as to be quarrelsome or unable to walk, nor have I seen one person attempt to strike another in anger."[62]

The students all lived in dormitories, a small college community almost isolated from other migrants in the northern frontier. In such a setting most suitable for conversion, Clark preached the Gospel at every possible occasion;

the newcomer, Brooks, noticed that the students would visit Clark in his room night after night to hear his talks which "ranged over all things in the earth below and the heaven above." Thus, in early March--a month before his departure from Sapporo--he won a decisive success: he got all his students to sign a paper entitled the "Covenant of Believers in Jesus," the first passage of which read that "the undersigned, members of Sapporo Agricultural College, ... do solemnly covenant with God and with each other from this time forth to be his [Christ's] faithful disciples, and to live in strict compliance with the letter and the spirit of his teachings." Clark was so exhilarated that he immediately wrote his wife: "Today they have signed a paper which I prepared for them, which is the nearest I can come to organizing them into a church.... Who would have thouht I would become a successful missionary!"[63]

While various factors explained Clark's success, the most decisive was indisputably Clark himself. His student, Oshima, testified: "We saw it [Christianity] in the personality of President Clark. We believed in the validity of the religion he professed and made implicit obedience to him in his leading us to Christ." It was also important that Clark's Christianity struck his students as a "practical religion, unlike that taught by ordinary missionaries."[64] One difference between Clark and missionaries might be found in that Clark sought to instill in the students both secular ambition as well as belief in God. In other words,

Clark, who encouraged the students to ambition by his words--as he did at the opening ceremony--and by his own example, at the same time provided them with the same benevolent God who had comforted the ambitious and restless Clark in his own young days; he wrote in the "Covenant" that "all who sincerely repent, and, by faith in the Son of God, obtain the forgiveness of their sins, will be graciously guided through this life by the Holy Spirit, and protected by the watchful providence of the Heavenly Father." Moreover, Clark differed from missionaries when he included his own version of eight commandments, instead of the original ten, in the "Covenant." While most of the commandments written by Clark were in contents similar to the original, one of them read, "Thou shalt obey and honor thy parents and rulers." Whether the idea of obeying rulers came from Clark's interpretation of the Bible or from the works of Confucius which Clark claimed to have looked into in order to seek "an insight into Chinese and Japanese philosophy,"[65] it seems to suggest his readiness to comply with the indigenous culture, which most missionaries would have rarely done.

Clark's last days in Hokkaido passed pleasantly as he relished a sense of fulfillment of his mission. He knew that Kuroda was satisfied with his work, for Kuroda expressed a hope that Clark would renew the contract for three more years.[66] Clark's satisfaction was in turn fully attested by his annual report submitted to Kuroda on March

2, 1877, in which he not only enumerated his achievements but also expressed his "sincere thanks for the exceeding courtesy with which I have been treated on all occasions, and especially for the unusual confidence reposed in me, as shown by the promptness with which my suggestions have been followed, and the independent authority with which I have been closed"; these were exactly what, Clark told Director Dzusho, "enabled me to accomplish my mission in a manner satisfactory to the Kaitakushi and most agreeable to myself."[67]

Actually, like other foreign employees, Clark was not free from frictions with the Kaitakushi. In November 1877, for example, in response to the notice from the Kaitakushi that the proceeds of the crops of the College Farm should be given to the Kaitakushi office, Clark protested that "it is certainly a remarkable system of farm management which allows the sale or removal of the fodder grown during the summer, and leaves no food for the sustenance of the domestic animal." Dzusho, however, insisted that it was the "existing regulation." Clark apparently accepted it, for the list of bills shows that after mid-November the farm purchased a great amount of beans, barley, and rice bran.[68]

Clark, however, seems to have minimized frictions by his readiness to comply with indigenous habits and customs. When he proposed to Dzusho that the College business should be simplified by disconnecting unnecessary employees such as tailors and shoemakers, he added: "I am confident that such

a course as I advise would promote the interests of the Department, and be very beneficial to the students. At the same time I have no wish to disturb existing arrangements or change Japanese methods too hastily." He took a similarly conciliatory attitude in making his students Christians. Not only did he include the service for one's country among Christian duties but also he stressed to his students that they should avoid any frictions with non-Christians; one of his students rememberd his instruction that "we should never give any offense to the people on account of our belief in the true religion." Such efforts of Clark were fully rewarded; he enjoyed the sense of achievements and especially the appreciation expressed by the Japanese for his work. "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches," so wrote Clark to Dzusho.[69]

On April 16, 1877, Clark bade farewell to his students, the members of the faculty including three young American professors, and Kaitakushi officials, who, each on a horse, accompanied Clark up to the village of Shimamatsu, fourteen miles south of Sapporo. Oshima described the last scene for parting:

> The students sat around the Professor, and full of sorrow of parting, were absorbed in their last talk with him. Their teacher looked wistfully into their faces and shook hands firmly with each, and said, "Please write to me once in a while; even a single card will do. Now I must say good-bye. I hope you will be well and strong and not forget to pray always." The moment he sprang on his horse, he exclaimed, "Boys, be ambitious!" and swinging a long whip turning around again and again, he went away along the slushy road and was lost behind a thin woods.[70]

Clark knew he had left "a good name" behind, but even he could not have imagined that his parting words "Boys, be ambitious!" would be spread by his loyal students and ultimately enshrined, along with the heartwarming story of Clark's relationship with his students, in Japanese textbooks, thus making his name almost immortal in Japan.

Clark left Japan on May 24, 1877, after he had been through another round of cordial receptions and dinners in Tokyo.[71] About the refreshing effect of the Japanese experience, he wrote his wife from shipboard: "The appreciative treatment I have experienced from all classes of the polite Japanese has effectually healed all my wounds and left my skin as fresh and sound and I feel as tender as that of a new-born babe." Such gratification was naturally accompanied by the "increased admiration for Japan and the Japanese" with which he headed home. After arriving in San Francisco a half month later, he enjoyed such adventures as climbing 14,000-feet Mt. Shasta in face of "great danger of losing [his] footing and being dashed into pieces on the ice below," inspected salmon-canning factories in Astoria in order to write a report for the Kaitakushi, and finally reached home on July 28.[72]

When his homecoming reception took place at his home three days later, Clark did not wait to express his admiration for Japan. According to the account of the Amherst Record, the main thrust of Clark's speech was that "he had had a good deal of conceit taken out of him since he went

away." "He had found as good men in heathendom as there were in Amherst," the Amherst Record reported, adding that he had observed since returning home "several instances where the American people did not compare favorably with the Japanese"; among them were the great hostility Californians showed against the Chinese because the latter were willing to work at a low wage, the blind following of "polygamous scoundrel, Brigham Young," by a hundred thousand people in Salt Lake City, and the occupation of railroads by a mob in Chicago. The town band welcomed Clark by playing "Home, Sweet Home," but his remarks indicated that he was not so much sure how sweet home was.[73]

For a few years, his connections with Japan continued lively. Correspondence and gifts passed between Clark and Kuroda; Clark continued to provide the Kaitakushi with advice and to serve the college by ordering books, apparatus, seeds, fertilizers, implements, machines, and cattle; and the students, sometimes the teachers, constantly informed him of the happenings at the college. Clark was especially delighted when one of his students, Sato Shosuke, informed him that his students had been formally baptized. "I read [your letter] eagerly," Clark wrote Sato, "before leaving the post-office, and then reread it to a circle of Christian friends in the same place, and I have read it to my Bible Class, to my family, and to many other persons."[74] To his townsfolk, his Japanese connections were also demonstrated both by the occasional appearance of letters from

Japanese students in the Amherst Record and by Clark's "animated," "exceedingly interesting and instructive" speeches on Japan.[75] Among the several speeches he made between the fall of 1877 and the spring of 1878, the one delivered for the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture and later published under the title of "The Agriculture of Japan" was the most substantial, revealing Clark's acquisition of a considerable amount of information about Japan in spite of his brief stay. The most conspicuous feature which ran through this speech as well as others carried in the Amherst Record was his extremely favorable image of Japan.

Clark, first of all, talked about the natural environment of Japan, endowed with physical beauty, mild climate, fertile soil and abundant resources, but he praised, more than anything else, the people whom he described as "exceedingly polite and amiable," "intensely patriotic," and "more vivacious, progressive, and courageous than the Chinese"; indeed, Clark asserted, "they are apt scholars, ingenious artisans, successful farmers, excellent sailors, and brave soldiers."[76]

In the last ten years, Clark declared, the Japanese had made political, educational, and industrial progress "never before been equalled, either in history or romance." Yet he also called attention to the fact that the Japanese had "steadily improved in learning and civilization" even before their contacts with the West. Thus, "notwithstanding their total ignorance of Western science," they produced

remarkable industrial arts, such as the paper "thinner, smoother, and tougher than that of any other nation," lacquered ware "infinite in the variety of its forms and applications, elegant in shape, beautiful in color, and exceedingly durable," "the heaviest and most elaborately-wrought castings of bronze in the world," and porcelain "never ... surpassed in the excellence of its form, color, or quality." Likewise, the Japanese "art of agriculture has been long since brought to remarkable perfection," Clark pointed out, "by a people who had no knowledge whatever of the sciences to which we are accustomed to ascribe so much of our progress." They imported from the neighboring countries, especially from China, many varieties of vegetables, grains, fruits, flowers, and various methods of cultivation, but they greatly improved them, and as a result, "in practical agriculture the Japanese are remarkably skilful [sic], and have numerous methods and customs which might well be imitated by us [Americans]." For example, although the Japanese made little use of domestic animals and machinery, their farming was still distinguished by elaborate irrigation, fertilization, cultivation, tillage, and cropping of lands so that, Clark declared, "there cannot be found in any other country extensive fields which produce more human food to the acre, or which are more free from weeds, or which maintain their fertility from generation to generation more perfectly, or which more completely charm the eye of an intelligent traveller."[77]

It was also characteristic that Clark found positive aspects in elements of Japanese life which struck most foreigners as "semi-civilized." For example, Clark too recognized that about the "surprisingly simple and inexpensive" living mode of Japanese farmers, who wore "very little clothing, and that of the cheapest sort," and whose houses, provided with few conveniences, were "just about as comfortable in all weathers as a good canvas tent." He was, however, ready to point out that such "inexpensive but showy surroundings" as ornamental hedges, evergreen shrubs, shade and fruit trees, and flowers, which they liked to have around their houses, "greatly relieve the cheapness of their dress, and the scantiness of their furniture, and give a general impression of cheerfulness." Furthermore, when Clark discussed peculiarities of Japanese food habits such as that they rarely ate bread and meat, that they ate rice without salt, sugar, milk, butter, or oil, or that they highly esteemed several species which Americans would discard, for example, burdock roots, lily bulbs, and a certain kind of radish, he abstained from presenting differences as marks of inferiority and instead described rice as "both easy of digestion and very nutritious," lily-bulbs as possessing "nearly the same chemical composition as the potato," and radish (which Capron called "the great worthless fibrous turnip radish") "indispensable to the health of a Japanese."[78]

Clark not only presented Japanese traditional way of

life far more favorably than other foreigners, but he also emphasized the Japanese eagerness to learn. Clark pointed to a large number of schools and especially to Sapporo Agricultural College, which they "liberally furnished with everything requisite to its highest usefulness." Besides, in Clark's view, the Japanese were not only eager to learn, but "unlike some Americans, they are fully able to carry out their ideas of right"; Clark certainly had in mind his students who abstained from smoking and drinking on learning that they were "useless, foolish" habits and who became Christians when Clark preached the Gospel. With regard to their long-range missionary influences, he optimistically predicted that they would rule Hokkaido, a fourh part of Japan, as Christian officers, thus effecting "great results ... in Christianizing the people of this mighty empire [Japan]," or that in view of their ability to read Chinese, they would be "destined to aid in Christianizing China," or even that they would "exert a mighty influence in effecting the evangelization of the world."[79]

Throughout his speeches on Japan, his references to Americans were mostly made in a critical vein. When Clark, for example, mentioned Japanese willingness to learn, he added, "This is enough to prove that the Americans are not the smartest people in the world, and that the Japanese beat us on some lines, at least." When he praised Japanese farms, he remarked, "It would make an American ashamed to behold the beauty and order of these farms." But he was

harshest to his fellow countrymen when he criticized California as an antithesis of Japanese society. "For with all her boasted advantages, her beautiful scenery, her land the richest and perhaps most arable in the world, and her climate the most favorable for agriculture," Clark pointed out, "California has neither society, churches nor school." Charging that the system of agriculture in California "takes everything away but gives nothing back to the soil," he predicted that there would be "no bright prospect awaiting her" and the place "will one day be like the plains of Judea, a desolate and barren waste."[80] Also, Clark added a warning against the mining business prevalent in California:

> Mining is a lottery, because when money comes easy it goes easy. The prices of goods is[sic] fluctuating and the money market becomes unsettled. A man usually does nothing in a miners' camp but drink and gamble. Few come back to their homes honest men; and when a man has once earned one hundred dollars a day, no matter how hard he worked, he will never be satisfied to work again for $1.00 a day in some honest trade.[81]

In retrospect, it is ironical that Clark would soon find himself trapped in the very temptation that he had warned against.

As for Clark personally, no contrast between Japan and the United States struck him more sharply than the one concerning the appreciation of his work. Toward the end of his speech for the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture, Clark gave a brief account of his activities at Sapporo Agricultural College, and concluded the speech with his sweet recollections: "We may properly congratulate ourselves,

that, however little we may be appreciated at home, our honest and zealous efforts for the advancement of scientific agriculture are receiving a most gratifying acknowledgement, and producing abundant and most precious fruits, in the romantic land of Dai Nippon."[82]

The liberal budget for Sapporo Agricultural College, which had enabled Clark to carry out all his ambitious schemes without hindrance, provided him with a pleasant memory but also made him less willing to cope again with the financial difficulties of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. Clark's 1878 annual report showed that, confronted with the financial exigency of the college, he could not help looking back on his Japanese experience and regretting that "the apparent indifference of recent legislatures, as well as of wealthy citizens of the State, in reference to the welfare of its Agricultural College, contrasts strangely with the enthusiastic and enterprising spirit of the 'Yankees of the East.'" In fact, the newspapers of Massachusetts were at the time mostly critical of the college; the Boston Post, for example, described the college as the "Amherst elephant," "this hungry buzzard," "the water-logged and beggary instituion," the Boston Globe hinted at the desirability of abolishing the college, and the Springfield Republican urged its conversion into a trade school under the control of the State Board of Education.[83]

In October 1878 Clark asked the Board of Trustees for another leave of absence to run from 1 May 1879 to 1 Septem-

ber 1880 so that he could take charge of an experimental floating college, but the tustees refused the request. Clark then submitted his resignation, which the trustees promptly accepted on the understanding that it would become effective on May 1, 1879.[84] By then, criticism of the college came to be voiced by some alumni too. For example, the five alumni members, chosen at a meeting of the alumni association, submitted a report to the Board of Trustees a few days after Clark's resignation had been accepted, in which they enumerated a long list of the examples of "mismanagement" under Clark's presidency and declared that "it is unwise to seek any aid from the State for current expenses" and "the institution can, and should be, conducted within its present income," that is, within the regular income (about $12,000) from the endowment and a small amount of other income such as the room rent. The solution the alumni urged for was "rigid economy on the part of every one," starting with a nearly fifty percent reduction of the president's salary. Moreover, from the standpoint that "the college should be kept strictly to its legitimate work as a technical school for the special education of young men for agricultural pursuits," they demanded various changes in the course of study. They suggested, among others, that manual labor, "valueless from an educational standpoint" and "as exercise or discipline ... worse than useless," should be abolished; the botanical department should be made more practical because students spent "too much time ... in

learning the names, for example, of lichens, and scouring the country for rare plants" whereas some graduates were even "unable to name the common grasses grown on the farm"; and the department of veterinary science should be created.[85]

When the report was immediatey carried and favorably reviewed in the Springfield Daily Republican, Clark sent an indignant reply to the Republican, charging that the authors of the report either "have become demoralized by residence in the city and daily intercourse with enemies of their alma mater and have actually thrown down their arms in despair, or ... have entered into an organized conspiracy to get possession of the property and manage the college according to their own ideas and for their own purposes."[86] While Clark thus quit the college, viewing criticism of his management totally as unjustified, his difficulties were perhaps most judiciously and sympathetically observed by Henry H. Goodell, who himself became president in 1886 and wrote in his first annual report:

> For twelve years [Clark] stood at the helm, and maintained his course despite the opposition he encountered. His nervous energy and strong will carried him triumphant over every obstacle, and it was during his administration that the college reached its highest point of prosperity.... But his ardent temperament and oversanguine nature led him to extremes. He could not brook delay, and his desire to gather about him a great university made him lose sight of the necessity of a slow and steady growth. He could not wait; and the foundation on which he built was not broad enough for the edifice with which he would fair have crowned it.[87]

After his departure from the college, Clark fully

engaged himself in the project of the floating college whose presidency he had accepted; it was an ambitious scheme, launched by a young wealthy realtor, Janes O. Woodruff, which aimed to provide students with scientific studies combined with a tour around the world.[88] Relishing the possibility of revisiting Japan, Clark wrote one of his former students: "If I should be so fortunate as to reach Japan next year with my Floating College, I shall visit Sapporo, if possible, and shall certainly hope to meet somewhere many of my old friends." But the college never had a chance to float, because the death of Woodruff and the insufficient number of applicants forced the abandonment of the enterprise. In the spring of 1880, when Clark informed Kuroda that he had purchased amber cane seeds to be shipped to Hokkaido, he slipped in the line that "I expect to be disengaged after June 1st, 1880 and shall be most happy to serve Japan either at Sapporo or elsewhere should a suitable opportunity offer." But no offer came from Japan; Wheeler learned more than two years before that "the Kaitakushi will not renew Pres. Clark's contract" and that "high salaried foreigners in Japan are not be sought to renew very universally now-a-days, and as many are being dispensed with as circumstances will admit" because "the country is laboring under a heavier financial pressure than since it was opened to foreigners."[89]

Clark, who had been brought to New York by the floating college project, then turned to a more ambitious

project-- a mining venture--with John R. Bothwell as his junior partner.[90] Bothwell, the editor of a mining journal to which Clark subscribed had a dubious record of fraud and a mania for gambling prior to coming to New York, but Clark apparently did not know it at the time.[91] In October 1880 Clark and Bothwell started mining operations in Nevada by organizing the Starr Grove Silver Mining Company, and subsequently, in March 1881, they set up a mining-stock brokerage firm, Clark & Bothwell, in New York, which soon controlled seven gold, silver, and copper mines scattered from Nova Scotia to Mexico but mostly concentrated in California and Nevada; Clark was president and Bothwell secretary. Although he was "exceedingly occupied," he took time to answer a letter from his Japanese student, writing him, "Each of the four mines will produce from $30,000 to $50,000 per month. I hope before many years to have money and leisure so I can visit my beloved friends in Japan and see with my own eyes the wonderful progress you are making." He also sent one hundred dollars to help his Japanese students to support a pastor for their church.[92]

Within a year, Clark allegedly acquired a fortune of more than a quarter of a million dollars, and his success, accompanied by his standing in Amherst, engulfed the town with the craze in mining speculations; almost every family bought the shares of Clark's companies. But the end also came quickly; by May 1882 Clark's firm had collapsed. While, according to the account of the New York Times, Clark

"threw the entire burden of wrong-doing upon the shoulders of Bothwell, of whose whereabouts he said he knew nothing," he could do nothing about the loss of his fortune as well as thousands of dollars invested by others. Few doubted Clark's sincerity but probably realized, as the Hampshire Gazette in Northampton did, that he was "not a safe man for people with money to invest to tie to," for "the Colonel is a man of hopeful disposition and buoyant spirits.... and there is in his mind no room for doubt."[93]

When Clark & Bothwell crashed, Clark's career came to an end. The four remaining years of his life were clouded over by legal difficulties stemming from the mining disaster and by failing health which largely confined him to his home. What comforted and supported him through his last difficult days seems to have been the Japanese experience. William S. Tyler found "it was touching in [Clark's] last sickness to hear him talk of the satisfaction beyond any other work of his life, with which he looked back upon the missionary work which he did in Japan, and tell of the letters which he had received from the young men whom he had there won to Christ and gathered into an embryo Christian church."[94] To Clark, the missionary work in Sapporo was an idealistic achievement which fulfilled both of his secular ambitiousness and religious orientation.

On March 9, 1886, Clark died of heart disease at the age of fifty-nine. When the news of his death reached Sapporo, it created the profoundest feelings of sadness. On

the following day, instead of regular classes, a meeting in commemoration of Clark took place, and Clark's old students talked about their teacher, especially about "the mutual love" between him and his students.[95] Although Clark's hope to "visit my beloved friends in Japan" was not fulfilled, his memory never faded in the hearts of his students.

William Wheeler: A Critical Observer

William Wheeler was born on December 6, 1851, in Concord.[96] George Wheeler had migrated to Concord from England before 1640 and was considered an important figure of Concord's first years, judging from the appearance of his name on the Concord records the first year they were kept and every year thereafter till he died: William was his descendant in the eighth generation. William's maternal ancestor, Edmund Rice, settled in the nearby town of Sudbury in 1639. Major Simon Willard, one of the co-founders of Concord, was also William's ancestor both on his father's and on his mother's side. Apart from the long ties with the community, however, William's family had nothing in particular to be distinguished but was, in his own words, "a quiet and undemonstrative family" of eight children.[97]

William received his early education in the Concord public schools, and after graduation from the Concord High School, he was enrolled in the first freshman class of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. In 1871 he graduated from the college at the age of nineteen, ranking second in

the class, and was subsequently engaged in engineering work with the Oswego Midland Railroad and the Massachusetts Central Railroad for two years. Then, shortly after he opened his office in Boston in 1873, he was employed by the water commissioners of Concord to make surveys and plans as well as to direct construction of the Concord water works. Wheeler's first major work won a high evaluation from the water commissioners, who wrote in their report to the town: "The engineering of the whole works has been most carefully and accurately performed by Mr. Wheeler and his assistants and to our entire satisfaction."[98] In January 1874, he took his cousin into partnership with him and for the following two years he was occupied with various engineering projects such as the construction of stone bridges and the preparation of plans for gas and water works. Also, Wheeler was active in the social life of Concord, taking part in amateur theatricals, teaching in the Sunday school, and attending town meetings. He had a strong and moralistic interest in public affairs, as he wrote in his journal that his "ideas of political duty was strong, but independent, making it the duty of the individual to exercise his influence by conforming only to his convictions of right principles."[99]

In early 1876, when he was offered a mission to Japan, he had some hesitation in leaving the business he had built up. But his family as well as his fiancée were of the opinion that he should not miss the chance to go; his older brother, Harvey, even said to William, "You are more of a

fool than I thought if you don't go."[100] Wheeler decided to enter into a two-year contract to serve as professor of civil engineering, mechanics, and the English language at an annual salary of $3,000. Although Wheeler did not explain exactly why he decided to go to Japan or why his family considered the offer a chance which he should not miss, the salary considerable for a young man of his age, the depression of business in the United States, and an opportunity to travel abroad might have been among enticing factors.[101] Besides, Wheeler seems to have regarded the mission not only as an opportunity but also as a duty, for he wrote his mother on his way to Japan, "Do not fear that I shall not appreciate the true spirit of the duties, opportunities or fruits of the life before us, for with all the attachments of family and friends behind me, my duty to them before me, and one's duty to himself and his calling, all these and the sympathy which goes with them are sufficient, and more, to bear any man up manfully and faithfully." In his first letter from Japan, he again expressed his wish to "attend thoroughly to duties of the present ..., taking of course a broad view of what the highest duty may be," because "the greatest foresight is that which contemplates the fulfilment of present duties as the best preparation to meet the future and its work."[102]

Wheeler, a serious and hard-working young man, was more or less satisfied with what a simple New England community could offer him when he left for Japan. The West--

including the fertile soil of the Mississippi Valley--which he observed on his way to Japan, did not attract him but instead made him think highly of his home. "For profit I would prefer a market within a thousand miles of my farm," he wrote his mother "so that I might realize something over twelve cents a bushel for corn delivered at the nearest R.R. and should then hope to be able to keep my small house painted and blinded, to plant a few trees beside cottonwood, and to be able to pay my proportion of a tax sufficient to have passable highways &c." "For a home to my taste also," he added, "let me have a native tree to look upon within the horizon of my dwelling, a hill or mountain to break the monotony of the landscapes, and a neighbor within a half mile or less to give life to the select society of my vicinity."[103]

Yet, for all his provincial background and taste, Wheeler also had a characteristic of the generation emerging after the Civil War: an attachment to a profession. On his way to Japan, Wheeler recorded in his journal a statement of his practical professional experience to that time, "particularly in anticipation of the possibility," he wrote, "that I may endeavor to join the American Society of Civil Engineers at no very distant day in which case such a record would be required."[104] Whatever specific expectations he had had of his experience in Japan, the pursuit of his profession was the ambition that the quiet but strong-willed young man carried with him to Japan.

Wheeler's impressions of Japan were in part similar to Clark's. Like Clark, for example, Wheeler observed that "man is the principal motive power" in Japan and that Japanese agriculture "presents a good many points of interest, and some of undoubted value"; he noticed "nature's bounty and beauty" as well as the "picturesque features of Japanese landscape gardening"; and he described Kuroda as "one of the ablest appearing Japanese I have met." Moreover, in his first letter home, he too praised "the polite and commendable deportment of the people and scholars, and the honesty of all classes uncorrupted by unprincipled foreign adventurers."[105]

However, Wheeler's impressions were in general much more critical than those of Clark from the beginning. Even when he praised Japanese deportment, he did not fail to notice "many things to be deplored" and explained that they were "not to be unexpected among the people whose civilization for ages has been of a crude character, and who have had few inducements to lead them to high effort." While his stay in Japan for over a month resulted in his discovery that "these people resemble the rest of humanity in the affairs or sentiments of the heart, or human nature," he also became convinced that they differed strikingly in "all those intellectual qualities, which give to the western nations their foremost rank in mental and material progress." "These contrasts are not strange," Wheeler understood, because "Japan has not yet thrown off, or rather

outgrown, the stupor which ages of absolute monarchism had implanted into the very life and being of her people" and because their "only intellectual culture, or industrial enterprise, has been for centuries the memorizing and imitation, by each generation, of the literature and crude arts of the preceding generation." Wheeler's tendency to view an alien society in the perspective of his own culture was specifically demonstrated, for example, in his observation of the emperor and the empress. In contrast with Clark whose report about them was mostly restricted to what he observed, Wheeler was inclined to judge; the emperor was, then, commended because, "although neither handsome nor intellectual in appearance,... he has manifested a spirit of reform and progress," while the empress was described to be "quite as pretty as any" he had seen but "like all of her sex here ... devoid of that intelligent expression of countenance and vivacity of feature which we admire in ladies of our own country."[106]

Wheeler's attitude toward the alien culture was closely intertwined with his pride in his own country. Again, in contrast with Clark, who told Wheeler that he was relishing "some relief" from the American newspaper, Wheeler felt that his strong interest in his own country was "not driven out by aquisitions [sic] in a new one"; instead, the contact with the alien culture reinforced his attachment to and pride in his country. "I never realized what 'My Country' signified," he wrote his mother, "until the cords that bound

me to it were stretched half way round the world. Then the tension upon them brought to me a full consciousness of their strength, and lent a deeper meaning to all that is suggested by home, friends, and country."[107]

It was therefore natural that, while Clark promptly became a Japanophile, Wheeler kept his critical point of view. Not only did Wheeler view the Japanese past as the opposite of progress but also he cautiously looked upon "their newly awakened efforts to stand among the progressive nations of the world." For, although the Japanese were "striving to vivify and strengthen the national character," they were, in Wheeler's view, only "accumulating into the offices of their departments, the practical and scientific literature of all progressive nations" and "imitating many of the outward forms or agencies of national progress, without the capacity for imbibing the genuine spirit of improvement," that is, the "spirit of freedom and independence." He thus believed, "generations must pass, ere they can travel, unaided, in the march of true progress."[108]

But Wheeler also had apprehensions for the effectiveness of those who came to aid Japanese development. Japanese hospitality seemed to Wheeler to demoralize "a genuine Yankee [who] needs the opportunity to accomplish good works." Although Wheeler's party appreciated "interesting and instructive" entertainment during their stay in Tokyo, they were "also brimming over with a desire to get to work to some more definite purpose, and to give practical scope to

some of [their] enthusiasm." Their eagerness to work was not only for the sake of Japanese but also for themselves; for Wheeler believed that "to travel and live upon a salary without expense, and without a compensating effort in return or the opportunity to make one, may not be the best discipline to prepare one for severe contests in the future, when the circumstances of life call for personal vigor and strength."[109]

Wheeler, however, apparently got a warning from other foreigners who had an experience of serving the Japanese government--especially from his fellow New Englander, Lyman--that a more formidable obstacle to effective foreign assistance was the Japanese "systems of managing the various works of the government" which were "so complicated, so interwoven under different heads, and the officials in each and all departments so numerous, as actually to impede rather than promote the effective progress of affairs." It meant, he understood, that "foreign employes are quite hedged in, in their opportunities to do the best work for their employer, and that an energetic worker feels compelled to push matters in order to keep his own faculties fresh & strong." On his arrival in Sapporo, therefore, Wheeler, "ready for active, and ... effective endeavor," hoped that the prosecution of his duties would not be interrupted by "the delay, the official red tape, and the native obtuseness which are characteristic of the people."[110]

Shortly after the opening of Sapporo Agricultural

College, Wheeler became optimistic, seeing that his party "enjoy a goodly measure of the confidence of the first officers of the Kaitakushi," and thought that "the way will be open for good works and experience." Wheeler indeed had a lot to do and "little time unoccupied"; besides teaching four hours and making meteorological observations three times daily, he was engaged in the making of plans and specifications for various articles and works to be manufactured or erected, such as a stone-crusher, a pump, a weather-station, a college barn, and a soldier-farmer's house.[111] Like Clark, Wheeler too was satisfied with "the continued success of the college" and especially with the progress of the students who "have surpassed [his] highest anticipation," but he, Unitarian, did not take any special interest in Clark's missionary activities, which he never mentioned in his lengthy letters to his mother. What excited him most was the opportunities to do the work in his line. By early winter, at the request of the Kaitakushi, he made a preliminary examination of the area between Sapporo and the Ishikari River at Shinoro for a canal and river improvement and a reconnaissance of the area between Sapporo and Otaru for the possible construction of a railroad. Thus he was encouraged by the prospect that "the field is evidently open for me to prosecute works in the line of my profession."[112]

After Clark's departure in April 1877, Wheeler, whom Clark expected to become "the main spoke in the wheel" at

the college, had to bear greater responsibility for the college as acting president and later as president, although from time to time he engaged in civil engineering work such as the construction of Toyohira Bridge. For Wheeler, who increasingly hoped to do the work in his line, the duties at the college were not only "a very unexciting routine" but also the role of an adviser to the Kaitakushi was an unwelcome obligation. It was simply astonishing to Wheeler that the officials came to him for information on a wide variety of subjects which ranged from dog laws, the relationships of the aborigines to the government, the legal control and regulation of criminal offences, all kinds of products experimentally manufactured, to "a hundred other subjects which could hardly claim kinship nearer than that of sixth cousin to one's professional knowledge, or pretended claims thereto." Such Japanese inquisitiveness, which gratified Clark, gave Wheeler the impression that they were "a queer people." While Wheeler wryly observed that "a grand field is Japan for one who delights to spread himself over a large dominion of unsolved problems," he recalled what he had heard from a teacher in his student days: "The more a man spreads himself, the thinner he'll become." Wheeler felt in the same way, "however much," he regretted, "it may seem to be disregarded in my practice here."[113]

Therefore, it was after much vacillation that Wheeler decided to renew his contract which was to have expired in May 1878. When Director Dzusho suggested him the renewal in

June 1877, what was utmost in Wheeler's mind was that, in order to resume his profession, "it would hardly be wise, perhaps, to defer that time beyond the expiration of the present contract," although he at the same time thought of some professional opportunities available in Japan; "if the war [in Satsuma] closes soon," Wheeler presumed, "there will undoubtedly be calls or opportunities to be had in important engineering works--or, in case the war does not cease meanwhile--in works of less magnitude." Then, toward the end of 1877, Wheeler decided to renew his contract, thinking that it would afford his fiancée, whom he intended to marry at home and bring to Sapporo, a good opportunity for "an exceedingly interesting and valuable journey, which would undoubtedly be a source of pleasant recollections ever after." But soon he doubted the wisdom of the renewal since, as he wrote his mother, "I do not yet propose to give up Engineering as profession, for teaching." In February 1878 he declined the renewal; he explained to his sister, "I chose rather to resume my own business--or former business, than to accept a College presidency--with all its dignity--in Japan." Wheeler, mostly concerned with the future of his career, no longer used the term "duties," and probably he was aware of it when he wrote his sister, "I am pretty thoroughly convinced that the writer is not a very 'unselfish laborer.'" One month and a half later, however, he again reversed the decision, finally agreeing to the renewal of the contract for fifteen months at an annual

salary of $3,600.[114]

His hopes to work in his profession were to some extent realized during his second term because his teaching duties were taken over by Cecil Peabody, who had been called for from Massachusetts, and thus Wheeler could more freely engage in the survey for road construction in various parts of Hokkaido. By this time, however, Wheeler had come to feel it extremely unpleasant to work with the Japanese. Learning that the Japanese had been "highly eulogised by no less an observer than Pres. Clark since his return," he remarked, "I too praised them highly when I had known them but a year." It would be more correct to say that Wheeler, critical from the beginning, became more displeased the longer he stayed in Japan. Even before the first semester at the college was over, Wheeler, accepting the necessity of patience in Japan, was at the same time determined that "it will not become a confirmed habit of submission, to the ways and delays of oriental life and customs." When he felt "everything goes on smoothly" at the end of the first academic year, he was nevertheless wary of such difficulties "as may arise from the inherent qualities of Japanese official methods and character of work, all of which," he again vowed, "I shall do my best to cure, so far as it lies in our course of duty, by simply showing them its faults, or rather, better ways."[115] Before another academic year passed, Wheeler came to "detest" not simply Japanese inefficiency but also the Japanese character in general. In his

letter to his sister dated 11 February 1878, he wrote:

> [T]here is lacking that nobility of mind and character which we all admire, and which is essential to elevating influence. Pettiness, jealousy, and insincerity, are faults which several Japanese have acknowledged to me to be national characteristics, particularly with the official and sophisticated classes. Deceit in servants, and shop-keepers, and officers (not all however) is proverbial. All this does not trouble me particularly, but to live too long under such influences and in such an atmosphere is not very desirable.[116]

Wheeler, however, kept his temper under control. Having seen Clark responding to the alumni report by "throwing mud," Wheeler thought that "one thing expected of a man in his position ... is dignity and temperate speech," and Wheeler himself behaved in such a way as president of Sapporo Agricultural College. Therefore, even when he was "not a little annoyed ... at delays of the most aggravating nature" with regard to the publication of the second annual report of the college, he nevertheless found himself "acclimated as not to fuss, fume or pet over matters very much." As a result, he kept an amicable relationship with Kaitakushi officials; referring to his return from the United States for his second term, he wrote his mother, "I believe that every officer whom I have had relations, would give me all the welcome I deserve," and his wife in fact found him "a favorite with the Japanese" and free from "all the petty annoyances the later arrivals have had." But such a relationship between Wheeler and Kaitakushi officials was possible not only because of his unruffled posture but also because the college was more or less independent of the

complicated bureaucracy of the Kaitakushi. Sympathizing with other frustrated foreign engineers, Wheeler found his own situation much more fortunate than theirs and wrote his mother, "Officers! Officers!! Officers!!!--are Japan's burden--the practical object of the gov't is their support. I know no other place where foreign employs are so independent as in the College Faculty--now that most of the essentials are secured."[117]

When his contract, further renewed for four months till December 1879, approached the end, Wheeler relished the thought that he was "soon to be a free man once more, and an independent citizen of the first nation of the earth." Although he knew that at home no one would pay him so generously as the Japanese government did and instead he would have to compete with others for life, he was ready to commit himself to what he once called "ambitious (?) designs," that is, "the fight at home" in his profession. Besides, after the Japanese experience, he keenly felt the value of independence in one's activities. In his last letter from Japan, he wrote, "I hope that I have about finished my salaried endeavors for a livelihood. Independent ones may prove less fruitful for a while, but more inspiring and congenial."[118]

After his return home in early 1880, Wheeler, who resumed his engineering practice, was "called to lecture on Japan on several occasions."[119] He also wrote one article about Sapporo Agricultural College for the journal of his

alma mater, which revealed his mixed evaluation. A full-fledged college, "in all material aspects, at least," has taken root, he wrote, "under the wise bounty of a government which, if but a learner of western nations in matters of technical and industrial education, shows at all events striking contrasts with some of these in the readiness and thoroughness with which it adopts the suggestions of a good and well proved example." At the same time Wheeler pointed out serious drawbacks: "the peculiar traits which have descended to the present generation of this oriental race." Without explaining what these traits were, he suggested that they derived partly from Japanese tendency "to cultivate the memory to the highest degree and to neglect the powers of thought" and partly from the social system in which "the helpless masses, in yielding their substance to the powerful, learned to be content with a mere life-sustaining pittance" and "the powerful, whose strength was in the subjection of the weak, planted deep the root of helplessness in themselves." About the recent Japanese progress which Clark already described to the Amherst audience as "never before ... equalled, either in history or romance," Wheeler expressed only cautious optimism: "Now, fortunately, the entire regime is changed; but the seeds of the past cannot be eradicated at once. Traits which have been ages in the making must need generations in the breaking."[120]

Wheeler's Japanese connection was also demonstrated five years later, when he called his house built on Nashaw-

tuc Hill in Concord Round Hill House after the name of the mountain in Sapporo. One more slight sign which made his friends think of his association with Japan was his behavior distinguished by "calm and poise;" they conjectured that "his years of close contact with the men and manners of the upper classes of the orient may have added to his native dignity a touch of reserve and reticence."[121]

It seems that Wheeler's ties with Japan were in fact overshadowed by his energetic activities as a hydraulic engineer; under his supervision, water companies were organized and water systems built and operated in municipalities in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Kentucky, Wisconsin, even Tennessee and Florida. Also, he was frequently called in as a consulting engineer, an expert witness, a commissioner, or an arbitrator, both in water cases and in many others involving engineering issues. Moreover, Wheeler, with an inventive mind from boyhood, was busy perfecting some hundred or more devices, among which was the Wheeler reflector for increasing the power of office and street lights widely sold by the Wheeler Reflector Company. When Wheeler answered to Lyman's letter in 1896, he referred to Japan as "that fairyland of ancient and also modern civilization," he was far more enthusiastic about the newly discovered acctylene gas. Wheeler also served as trustee of Massachusetts Agricultural College for forty-six years, during the last three years of which he was chairman of the board.[122]

Wheeler's main province, however, remained Concord. In addition to his ties with the Middlesex Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Concord as its director, the Middlesex Institution for Savings as its trustee and president, and the Concord National Bank as its director, he continuously served the town from 1881 to 1932, a period of fifty-one years, either in some office, on some committee, or as moderator of the town meeting; while his services in connection with the town water and sewerage works, including chairmanship of the board for twenty years, were most notable, he also served as secretary of the school committee, a member of the Board of Health, the Municipal Light Board, and the corporation of the Concord Free Public Library, of which he was also president for twenty-eight years.[123]

In 1924, forty-four years after he left Japan, Wheeler was decorated with the Fifth Order of the Rising Sun at the occasion of Prince Regent's wedding. The news reached the press in New York before it got to Wheeler. When reporters came to interview him, the "reticent Concord citizen" was reported to have said simply that he knew of "no special reason" why he should be selected for decoration in connection with the wedding of the Prince Regent.[124] On July 1, 1933, Wheeler, who spent, in his friend's words, "a life unassuming but distinguished" and "peaceful but full of the strife of professional work and public service," died at the age of eighty-one.[125]

David Penhallow and William Brooks: Sympathizers

That the differences between Clark and Wheeler in their responses to the alien society did not derive from a generation gap could be demonstrated by the other two young professors--Penhallow and Brooks--who kept pleasant recollections about their experiences in Japan.

David Pearce Penhallow, two years junior to Wheeler, was born on May 25, 1854, at Kittery Point in Maine, as the sixth descendant of Samuel Penhallow, who emigrated in 1686 from Cornwall to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and became chief justice of the supreme court there.[126] David entered the Massachusetts Agricultural College in 1869 at the age of fifteen. Two years later William Penn Brooks, born the tenth of eleven children on a farm in South Scituate, Massachusetts, on October 19, 1851, entered the college at the age of nearly twenty after having taught in public schools.[127] After graduation, both respectively remained at the college, engaging themselves in researches, which included the joint experiment on the circulation of sap in plant. In May 1876, Penhallow entered into a two-year contract with the Kaitakushi as professor of botany, chemistry, and English, while Brooks entered into a three-year contract as professor of agriculture and farm director in January 1877; both received an annual salary of $2,500--a little lower than that of Wheeler.

Like Wheeler, both Penhallow and Brooks diligently performed a great deal of work, besides teaching students,

but unlike Wheeler, they were more or less satisfied with their work, partly because they had not given up any professional stake at home in coming to Japan. Their duties in Sapporo, although some, like teaching English, were quite out of their lines, generally provided them with abundant opportunities which satisfied their professional interest. Penhallow, for example, prepared drawings and specifications for a chemical laboratory and analyzed innumerable specimens of plants, agricultural products, minerals, and soils. He also made full use of his chemical knowledge in pro-viding the Kaitakushi with directions on the manufacture of such products as soap, candles, matches, leather, and fish oil. He especially enjoyed excursions with students to collect specimens in botany, zoology, and entomology as well as the opportunities to make ethnological observations of the Ainu; these activities not only enriched the college museum but also resulted in scholarly papers, which included two articles on the botany of Hokkaido and four articles on the Ainu published in the United States shortly after his return home.[128]

Penhallow's satisfaction was demonstrated early in 1878, when, while Wheeler himself was hesitating to renew his contract, he learned that Penhallow had "decided to renew his contract at all events" and already written to his wife at home to join him in Sapporo.[129] When Wheeler left Sapporo in December 1879, Penhallow remained at the college as acting president. Then he left for the United States in

the summer of the following year because of his wife's illness, terminating his four year stay in Japan.[130] Likewise, if Brooks's willingness to renew his contract could be taken as an indication, he was obviously satisfied, for he renewed his contract five times and remained at the college for almost eleven years until October 1888, when he and his family finally left for home, "in considerable measure on account of wife and children" who were born and grew up in Sapporo.[131]

Brooks enjoyed teaching practical and theoretical agriculture to the students who impressed him as "bright, intelligent, manly and studious to a fault."[132] But he mostly devoted himself to supervising the college farm with a clear vision of making it a model for farmers in Hokkaido. Brooks regarded his major achievements as the introduction of several breeds of livestock, especially Ayrshire cattle, and many kinds of plants including Indian corn, onions, cabbages, squashes, English grasses, and oats; the experimentation of a number of crops to see their adaptability to the conditions in Hokkaido; planning of farm buildings and supervision of their construction; and the first manufacturing of tiles for land drainage by use of the machinery he had imported.[133] Also, Brooks's strong concern to help the farmers led to his lectures before farmer audiences, the publication of a monthly agricultural journal, and the introduction of agricultural fairs.

After the departure of Penhallow, Brooks had to deal

more extensively with the officials of the Kaitakushi. In view of the laissez faire philosophy of Brooks, who believed that "with the greatest freedom goes the greatest progress," and, in his address to the graduating class of 1888, praised American business magnates such as Jim Fiske and Cornelius Vanderbilt as "great benefactors of mankind," it was a matter of course that he saw "much ... to criticize" in the Kaitakushi.[134] But its abolition turned out to be not necessarily a blessing to him, for he had to cope with a drastic reduction in the size and operation of the college farm--the decision made by the new prefectural office in 1886 on the ground that its competition with private interests was not desirable. Brooks's response was, however, most judicious under the circumstances; as he put in the college annual report, he at the time "most fully expressed" his opinion against the reduction to the authorities, but, once the decision had been made, he "acquiesced most heartily in the general principle of non-governmental competition, and endeavored to make the reduced farm as useful as possible." In dealing with the Japanese, Brooks was also sympathetic, as he later recalled: "My relations with the Japanese were always pleasant. I liked the people. I tried to understand them & their way of looking at things and to treat them sympathetically. Of course I sometimes differed in my views as to the best course to be followed, in which case I frankly explained why." Such frankness, accompanied by patience and sympathy, might have been a key

to his long-term service in Sapporo.[135]

A long stay had some merits. Shortly after his service was over, he was decorated with the Fourth Order of the Rising Sun. Also, because of his long stay, he could witness changes in which he played a part; among these changes were a remarkable increase in the production of new crops, milk, and meat as well as the prevalent use of ploughs, carts, wagons, and sleds. For example, while he saw only one sled drawn by a horse on his arrival and the horse sleds used by the college farm "attracted great attention," eight years later he found a person "must look sharp in the streets of Sapporo lest he be run over by some of the running horse sleds." Or Brooks recalled that "it was only after considerable difficulty that I at last prevailed upon one farmer to plant one fourth of one acre of farm corn," but it became extensively cultivated so that Brooks observed "in some villages as far as the eye can reach all is one field of waving corn."[136] It was also with a sense of reward that Brooks witnessed successful activities of his former students, some of whom had become his junior colleagues as instructors and a farm superintendent at the college.

Both Penhallow and Brooks became college professors after their return home. In the case of Penhallow, he at first became botanist to the Houghton Farm Experimental Station in New York, but in 1883, when the farm was closed due to the lack of funds, he became lecturer of botany at

McGill University in Montreal and shortly was promoted to professor. His academic activities were demonstrated by the publication of nearly two hundred articles, mostly on botanical subjects, which won him marked distinction as an authority on paleobotany, especially on the organization of extinct conifers, and by his membership in many academic associations, several of which, including American Pomological Society and American Society of Naturalists, he served as president. Brooks became professor of agriculture at his alma mater and agriculturalist of the Experiment Station in 1889. In 1897 he went to the University of Halle, where he earned a doctorate. On his return, he continued to teach at his alma mater and supervise the Experiment Station, but after 1914 he devoted himself to the duties as director of the Station, giving up teaching. In the meantime his continuing concern with farmers was demonstrated not only by his activities at the Station but also by the publication in 1901 of a three-volume textbook on agriculture, which specifically intended to instruct farmers in scientific methods concerning soil fertility, manures, fertilizers, crops, and animal and poultry husbandry. While the book became widely used as textbooks in school, it was also popular with practical agriculturalists; the editor of the Rural New Yorker praised the book as presenting scientific facts in such phraseology that the average farmer could comprehend.[137]

Thus, like Wheeler, Penhallow and Brooks both pursued professional careers after their return home, but unlike

Wheeler, they cherished memories of their Japanese experiences. Penhallow in particular even emerged as an advocate of the Japanese cause. In the spring of 1904, when the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war aroused western interest in Japan, he wrote a twenty-four-page article titled "Japan" for The McGill University Magazine, not only as one of "those who are familiar with the Japanese character, and who know the great facts of Japan's progress as a nation during the last 2,500 years" but also as "the most ardent well-wisher of Japan."[138]

Although obviously written hastily and not well organized, the article makes it clear that Penhallow's basic attitude toward Japan was that, in order to understand the country, "it is useless to argue from the standpoint of occidentals" and "one must rather first of all gain an insight into the Japanese character and adopt the Japanese point of view." Since "this can be accomplished only through personal acquaintance with the people and a correct knowledge of their history," Penhallow sought to provide the readers with a quick survey of significant features of Japanese history as well as some of his own recollections. After discussing the composition of Japanese "mixed" ethnicity, the first Japanese invasion of Korea in the third century which resulted in "one series of bloodless victories, the people everywhere offering a ready submission to their conqueror," and the repulsion of Chinese expeditions sent by Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century, Penhallow

called special attention to the reign of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who, after assuming power in the late sixteenth century, not only encouraged arts and sciences, commerce, and public works, but also sent expeditions to conquer Korea and China. In Penhallow's view, although unsuccessful in achieving the goal, Hideyoshi's expeditions brought about the results comparable to "a consequence of the Crusades during the Middle Age," and Hideyoshi was "deserving of all praise as having initiated that Renaissance which curiously coincided with our own Elizabethan Age, and which was similarly characterized as a period of great intellectual activity and national progress."[139]

Penhallow went on to explain that, while Japan was soon compelled to close its doors to the outside world because of "bitter dissensions" caused by the great influx of foreigners of diverse nationalities and religious beliefs, Japan at the time was "not only on a par with contemporary European nations with respect to agriculture, commerce and marine architecture, but ... even superior to them in many departments of its art productions." Although Penhallow admitted that seclusion hindered Japan from progressing on parallel lines with western nations, he nevertheless argued that "from the standpoint of Japanese civilization it was undoubtedly the best thing that could happen," since "the hermit period not only served to promote art and letters, but it welded into one homogeneous mass the various factions," thus providing Japan in its subsequent inter-

course with foreign nations with "the basis of her diplomatic triumphs and military successes, as well as of her achievements in science, and her adjustment to the methods of other people." Penhallow's presentation of Japanese history was thus designed to refute the conventional view that "Japan has succeeded in suddenly discarding the old dress of barbarism and adopting the new dress of an advanced civilization" and to show instead that "the history of Japan affords many curious and striking parallels with the contemporaneous history of Great Britain."[140] His argument moreover revealed that by "the Japanese point of view" Penhallow essentially meant to see Japanese culture quite similar to Western culture; he believed this was an essential factor in enhancing the status of Japan in the eyes of westerners.

Penhallow also tried to correct "the impression of a blood-thirstiness and cruelty" which, although "far removed from the real character of the Japanese," often kept westerners from supporting the nation against Russia, "who poses as an apostle of enlightenment and progressive nations" but Penhallow contends was actually "a giant amoeba" whose "lust for territory seems to be insatiable." He first asked the readers to look back on their own history by raising a question, "Does the history of Japan, modern or ancient, record one incident which in any way represents greater excesses than those committed by ourselves?" The answer was obvious to Penhallow, who promptly pointed to the cruelties

committed in the Spanish Inquisition, in the Indian Mutiny, and to "the frequent recurrence in our own wars, of reprisals which follow the heat of the battle and make us momentarily blush for the boasted civilization of our time, but for which we readily find some plausible excuse." Then, to reinforce his point, he offered his own recollections of Japan, such as the sight of drivers of bullock teams carrying the load upon their shoulders in order to relieve their tired cattle, or the account of Kuroda who not only saved the life of the leader of the last remnant of the Shogunate forces, Enomoto Takeaki, but also placed him in a high position of the Kaitakushi. Fully supporting Reverend Arthur Knapp's view that "Japan has ever been the centre of light and civilization in the midst of a sea of barbarism," Penhallow concluded with his "prayer" that "she may rise from the mists which now surround her, into the light of a more perfect day, shedding a beneficent influence upon the millions of kindred people whom it is her right, as it is no doubt her destiny, to guide in the ways of a more perfect cvilization."[141]

Three years later, in October 1907, when Clark Hall was opened at the fortieth anniversary of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, it was Penhallow who gave a principal address to eulogize his teacher. While the speech mostly dealt with Clark's contribution to the development of scientific agriculture, Penhallow at the same time expressed his admiration of Clark's life as characterized by "high ideals,

persistent effort and unflinching purpose." Moreover, Penhallow referred to the Japanese experience he had shared with Clark, for he believed "there is probably no part of President Clark's work which has left so enduring an impression and influence as his participation in the efforts of Japan to introduce the best in our western civilization." As evidence of Clark's influence, Penhallow introduced the successful careers of the graduates of Sapporo Agricultural College. In doing so, he revealed that these students greatly contributed to his favorable image of the Japanese, whom he again applauded as "a most progressive, intelligent and refined people of great intellectual power." That his favorable image of the Japanese also derived from his appreciation of their generous support for Sapporo Agricultural College could be also gathered when Penhallow said toward the end of the speech: "I feel disposed at this time to make an appeal to the citizens of this commonwealth to secure to the investigators who will occupy this building, as well as to all others in this college, freedom for the future, from an incubus which, in the history of our experiment stations of the past, has for many years been prolific of disastrous results."[142]

Liberal support and good students were also the main features in Brooks's memories of Japan when he talked at a dinner given by the trustees in January 1919 in honor of his thirty-year service for the Massachusetts Agricultural College. He began his speech with his appreciation for the

support, capable assistants, and good students he had been blessed with in his life, and then pointed out that "that was true in very eminent degree" in Japan as far as support and students were concerned. He said: "Support was most generous on the financial side. I had more money than I knew what to do with and annually returned a balance, strange as it may seem to the members of the Farm Committee who doubtless will be greatly surprised to know that I ever returned anything. From the standpoint of more personal relations or support in Japan, I had everything to be grateful for. It was everything that I could wish." Such experience marked a sharp contrast with the conditions of his alma mater Brooks found on his return home. He explained that his habit of attending to details was due to the small budget he had to cope with at the Massachusetts Agricultural College. "Under the existing conditions I had to get down to details, there was nothing else to do. We had little money." In Japan, Brooks also had good students. It was, he said, when he thought of his Japanese students--"carefully selected, most earnest, exemplary from every point of view"--that he felt himself "most blessed." In connection with the students, Brooks also referred to the influences of Clark in Japan as "something which you will find it difficult to understand" and expressed his respect to Clark whom he described as "a most magnetic man, enthusiastic, progressive, sympathetic."[143]

When Brooks gave this speech, Penhallow had already

passed away. Although Penhallow had robust health, the task of establishing a biological station at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, in addition to his regular duties at the college, turned out to be more than he could physically bear, so in order to regain his health, he took a year's leave of absence from the college in 1910 and headed for Cornwall. On October 20, however, on board sailing from Liverpool to Cornwall, Penhallow died at the age of fifty-six. His friends remembered him not only as "a man of untiring industry and enthusiasm" and "a man of sterling character, firm in his convictions of what was honest and upright and fearless in expressing them," but also as a man with "an enthusiastic admiration for the Japanese people."[144] Brooks spent his sunset years on his home estate, where the cherry trees struck visitors as "a lovely symbol of his decade in the Orient."[145] On March 8, 1938, Brooks died at the age of eighty-six.

NOTES

1. As for Clark's ancestors, John M. Maki conjectures that Clark might be traced to Thomas Clark who arrived in Plymouth as a helmsman of the Mayflower. "William Smith Clark: A Yankee in Hokkaido" (1975), I, 9. [The paper is paginated by chapter.]

2. Clark to his father, 21 September 1844, 20 November [1844], 15 November 1847, CUM.

3. William S. Tyler, A History of Amherst College: During the Administrations of Its First Five Presidents, From 1821 to 1891 (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1895), 267; Claude Moore Fuess, Amherst: The Story of a New England College (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1935), 138.

4. Later, during his stay in Germany, Clark wrote home, "I wish very much I had your evangelical library here to read." Clark to his mother, 4 January 1851, CUM.

5. Clark to his mother, 16 March 1846, CUM.

6. Quoted in David P. Penhallow, "William Smith Clark: His Place as a Scientist and His Relation to the Development of Scientific Agriculure," rept. from Science 27 (31 January 1908): 3.

7. Clark to his mother, 31 October 1846, CUM.

8. Clark, "The Alchemist," CAC.

9. Clark to his father, 7 March 1851, CUM.

10. Ibid.

11. Clark to his parents, 23 November 1851, CUM; Clark to his father, 25 January 1851, CUM; Clark to Hattie, 22 June 1851, CUM.

12. Clark to his parents, 15 February 1852, CUM.

13. For lives of Samuel Williston and William Richards, see Maki, I, 11-17.

14. Fuess, 177; Burgess, who attended Amherst from 1864 to 1867 and later became professor of political science and constitutional law at Columbia College, was essentially

critical of Clark, writing that Clark was "too restless and ambitious and too extravagant with money for a good professor" and also that "he was a politician and a promoter rather than a professor or a scientist." This harsh evaluation, however, seems to have derived not so much from Clark's activities at Amherst as from his failure in mining operations and speculations afterwards. Burgess, Reminiscences of an American Scholar (New York: Columbia University Press), 50; [William S. Tyler], "Ex-President Wm. S. Clark," The Amherst Record, 10 March 1886.

15. Clark to William A. Stearns, 21 December 1861, CAC; Clark to Newton Manross, 10 September 1861, CAC; Clark to his father, 20 February 1862, CUM; Clark to Manross, 30 March 1862, CAC; Ambrose E. Burnside to General [George B.] McClellan, 23 September 1862, copy, CAC [original in the National Archives, Record Group, No. 94].

16. Clark to his father, 17 December 1862, CUM; Clark to his folks-at-home, 24 March 1863, CUM; Clark to Lt. Col. Lewis Richmond, 22 April 1863, copy, CAC. Maki believes that Clark resigned primarily because of the reduced condition of his regiment as Clark explained, but he also thinks it possible "that [Clark] had been informed that he would not be receiving his star and that his keen disappointment led to the sudden decision to resign." Maki, III, 19.

17. For the background of the establishment of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, see Harold Whiting Cary, The University of Massachusetts: A History of One Hundred Years (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1962), 1-38, and Maki, IV, 1-25.

18. Henry H. Goodell's eulogy to Clark delivered at the annual alumni dinner, The Amherst Record, 23 June 1886.

19. David Penhallow, "William Smith Clark," 2, 45; William H. Bowker, The Old Guard; The Famous "Faculty of Four"; The Mission and Future of the College; Its Debt to Amherst College, Harvard College and Other Institutions [A paper read at the fortieth anniversary of the opening of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, Oct. 2, 1907] (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1908), 11, 8.

20. Goodell's eulogy in The Amherst Record, 23 June 1886.

21. Maki, IV, 25, 48; E. H. Libby, "Massachusetts Agricultural College," Scribner's Monthly 12(October 1876): 836-49.

22. Cary, 53-56; The Amherst Record, 23 June 1886; Thirteenth Annual Report of Massachusetts Agricultural College (Boston: Rand, Aberry, & Co., 1876), 7-9.

23. Clark to Birdsey G. Northrop, 4 November 1875. The original is not available but the retranslation from Japanese version is contained in Hokkaido Imperial University, The Semi-Centennial of the Hokkaido Imperial University, Japan, 1876-1926 (Sapporo: Hokkaido Imperial University, 1927), 7-8.

24. The Amherst Record, 17 May 1876.

25. William Brooks, Clark's younger colleague in Sapporo, believed that "[Clark] was deeply imbued with the conviction that his success [in Sapporo] meant the success of the Mass. Ag'l College." Brooks, "To the Memory of Wm. S. Clark, Dec. 1889," CFE.

26. Clark to Northrop, 4 November 1875, in The Semi-Centennial of the Hokkaido Imperial University, 8.

27. Maki, IX, 2; The Amherst Record, 2 May 1877. Sending money home from Japan, Clark directed his wife to pay debts and taxes. Clark to his wife, 23 July 1876, copy, CUM. [Clark's letters to his wife sent from Japan are available only in typed copies, although his letters to his son, sister, and brother-in-law are kept in originals at University of Massachusetts Library.]

28. During Clark's presidency prior to his departure for Japan, six Japanese studied at the Massachusetts Agricultural College. Ota Yuzo, Clark no ichinen: Sapporo nogakko shodai kyoto no nihon taiken [Clark's One Year: The Japanese Experience of the First President of Sapporo Agricultural College](Kyoto: Showado, 1979), 10.

29. Clark to his wife, 5 July 1876, copy, CML.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Clark to his sister Belle [Mrs. S. N. Leete], 5 August 1876, CUM.

33. Clark to his wife, 23 July 1876, copy, CUM.

34. Ibid.

35. Clark to his wife, 5 July 1876, copy, CUM.

36. Clark to his sister Belle, 5 August 1876, CUM.

37. Clark to his wife, 1, 5, 23 July 1876, copies, CUM; Clark to William B. Churchill, 5 August 1876, CUM.

38. Fuess, 177; Clark to his sister Belle, 5 August 1876, CUM; Clark to his wife, 1 July 1876, copy, CUM; Wheeler wrote his mother that "[Naito] is to be our principal interpreter and Japanese assistant, much to our satisfaction." 5 July 1876, WUM.

39. Clark to his wife, 14 August 1876, copy, CUM; Clark's address at the opening ceremony of Sapporo Agricultural College, in The Semi-Centennial of the Hokkaido Imperial University, 10; Clark to his sister Belle, 5 August 1876, CUM.

40. Clark to his sister Belle, 5 August 1876, CUM.

41. Ibid.

42. Wheeler to his mother, 10 August 1876, WUM; Clark to his wife, 23 July 1876, CUM; Clark to Churchill, 5 August 1876, CUM.

43. First Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College, 1877 (Tokyo: Kaitakushi, 1877; reprint ed., Sapporo: Hokkaido Daigaku Tosho Kankokai, 1976), 40, 52-53.

44. Clark to his wife & her Little Clarkie Eight, 22 October 1876, copy, CUM.

45. Clark, "Sapporo Agricultural College: Plan of Organization and Regulation," 2 September 1876, CFE; "Course of Study and Instruction," in First Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College, 1877, 45-47.

46. Clark to [Levi] Stockbridge, 10 Juy 1876, in The Amherst Record, 9 August 1876; Clark's address at the opening ceremony in The Semi-Centennial of the Hokkaido Imperial University, 10.

47. Clark to Northrop, 4 November 1876, in The Semi-Centennial of the Hokkaido Imperial University, 8; Clark to Kuroda, 29 August 1876, CFE; Clark to Kuroda, 2 September 1876, copy, CUM; Clark to Kuroda, 8 September 1876, CFE; Kuroda to Clark, 13 September 1876, copy, CFE; Clark to Hori Motoi, 29 September 1876, CFE; Hori to Clark, 21 October 1876, copy, CFE.

48. Clark to his wife, 10 September 1876, copy, CUM; Clark to his wife & her Little Clarkie Eight, 22 October 1876, copy, CUM; Clark to Churchill, 19 November 1876, CUM.

49. Clark to Kuroda, 8, 12 September 1876, CFE; Clark, "Annual Report," in First Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College, 1877, 2-5, 15-16, 21-32.

50. Clark to Kuroda, 8, 12 September 1876, CFE; Clark to

Yamada, 8 March 1877, CFE.

51. Clark to Kuroda, 2 February 1877, CFE; The Amherst Record, 19 September 1877.

52. Clark to Northrop, 4 November 1876, in The Semi-Centennial of the Hokkaido Imperial Universty, 8.

53. Clark's address in The Semi-Centennial of the Hokkaido Imperial University, 10. Underlining by this writer.

54. Ibid.

55. Clark to Leete, 5 August 1876, CUM; Clark to his son Hubert, 20 August 1876, CUM.

56. Oshima describes one of the typical evenings, when one student wondered what Professor Clark meant by the word "paren," another said he had heard the professor pronounce it as "renchyma," and then another, who had been diligently consulting a dictionary, shouted with joys that he had found the word "parenchyma." Oshima Masatake, Clark sensei to sono deshitachi [Professor Clark and His Students] (3rd rev. ed., 1958; reprint, Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 1973), 99.

57. Clark to his wife, 10 September 1876, copy, CUM.

58. Clark to his wife, 23 July 1876, copy, CUM; Clark to Churchill, 5 August 1876, 19 November 1876, CUM; Clark to his wife, undated, copy, CUM; The Amherst Record, 17 October 1877.

59. Clark to Churchill, 19 November 1876, CUM.

60. Oshima, "Reminiscences of Dr. W.S. Clark," The Japan Christian Intelligencer 1 (April 1926): 57-58. Clark's evangelical style was also suggested by another student who wrote to Clark on the latter's departure from Sapporo: "Now I am very sorry when I think that perhaps I cannot see your loving, kind, smiling face and can not hear your loud thundering voice." Tanouchi Suteroku to Clark, 16 April 1877, CUM.

61. Cary, 43; Clark to his wife, 21 November 1876, copy, CUM.

62. Clark to Tyler, n.d. quoted in The Amherst Record, 7 February 1877.

63. William Penn Brooks, "To the Memory of Wm. S. Clark, December 1889," CFE; "Covenant of Believers in Jesus," in Osaka Shingo, Kuraku sensei shoden [The Detailed Biography of Clark] (2nd ed.; Sapporo; Kuraku Kinenkai, 1965), 251-52; Clark to his wife, 5 March 1877, copy, CUM.

64. Oshima, "Reminiscences," 59.

65. Clark to his wife and her Little Clarkies Eight, 22 October 1876, copy, CUM.

66. Clark to his wife, 5 March 1877, copy, CUM. Although Clark postponed his decision on the renewal until after his return home, Wheeler observed: "[Clark] seems to consider it quite possible that he may return for three years more--speaking frequently of what he proposes, if he comes back." Wheeler to his mother, 11 March 1877, WUM.

67. First Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College, 38; Clark to Dzusho, 14 April 1877, CFE.

68. Hori Motoi to Clark, copy, 6 October 1876, CFE; Clark to Dzusho, 8 November 1876, CFE; Dusho to Clark, 10 November 1876, copy, CFE; "Sapporo College Farm: List of Bills Approved by W. S. Clark, Director," CFE.

69. Clark to Dzusho, 17 March 1877, CFE; Sato Shosuke to Clark, 4 June 1877, CUM; Clark to Dzusho, 14 April 1877, CFE.

70. Oshima, "Prof. Clark," trans. by T. Ono [The typed manuscript of the translation of Oshima's reminiscences carried in the textbooks], 8, University of Hokkaido Library.

71. Clark had, for instance, five invitations on one day. But "remembering that I was mortal," he wrote his wife, "I accepted only one." Clark to his wife, 5 June 1877, copy, CUM.

72. Ibid.; Clark to Kuroda, 22 May 1877, CFE; Clark to his wife, 16 June 1877, copy, CUM.

73. The Amherst Record, 5 September 1877.

74. Kuroda to Clark, 14 September 1877, copy, CFE; Clark to Kuroda, 26 October 1877, CFE; Clark to Yasuda Sadanori, 27 October 1877, CFE; Clark to Hori Motoi, 19 December 1877, CFE; Clark to Sato Hideaki, 18 January 1878, CFE; Clark to Hori, 3, 15 February 1878, CFE; Clark to Yasuda, 17 March 1879, CFE; Clark to Kuroda, 15 October 1879, 1 April 1880, CFE; Sato Shosuke to Clark, 19 September 1877, CMU; Clark to Sato, 11 November 1877, in Sato Masahiko et al., ed., Kuraku no tegami: Sapporo nogakko seito tono ofuku shokan [Clark's Letters: The Correspondene with the Students of Sapporo Agricultural College](Sapporo: Hokkaido Shuppankikaku Senta, 1986), 257-59. Twenty-five letters from students to Clark remain at University of Massachusetts Library.

75. The letters from Sapporo were introduced, for exam-

ple, in The Amherst Record, 13 March, 14 August, 1878, 19 March 1879 and the commencement of the first class of Sapporo Agricultural College was fully reported in its issue of 1 September 1880. The comments on Clark's speeches appear in The Amherst Record, 5 September, 17 October 1877.

76. Clark, "The Agriculture of Japan," Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture (Boston: Rand Abery, & Co., 1879), 90-92.

77. Ibid., 93-94.

78. Ibid., 96-97, 100, 108; The Amherst Record, 19 September 1877.

79. The Amherst Record, 5, 19 September, 17 October 1877; "The Agriculture of Japan," 112.

80. The Amherst Record, 19 September 1877.

81. Ibid.

82. "The Agriculture of Japan," 113.

83. Fifteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Agricultural College (Boston: Rand, Aberry, & Co., 1878), 16. The press comments are taken from Cary, 58.

84. Maki, IX: 2, 3, 8-9.

85. An Address to the Trustees of Massachusetts Agricultural College Concerning Its Management, from the Associate Allumni, Boston, January 13, 1879 (Boston: Press of George H. Ellis, 1979), 4-8.

86. Clark's reply to the Springfield Republican (1 February 1879) is fully carried in the Amherst Record, 5 February 1879.

87. Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Agricultural College (Boston: Wright & Potter, 1887), 18-19.

88. For the rise and fall of the project of the floating college, see Maki, IX, 22-36.

89. Clark to Kuroiwa Yomonoshin, 11 March 1879, in Osaka Shingo, Kuraku sensei shoden [Detailed Biography of Professor Clark], 303; Clark to Kuroda 1 April 1880, CFE; Wheeler to his mother, 3 December 1877, WUM.

90. For the details of Clark's mining venture, see Maki, Chapter X.

91. The Amherst Record, 17 May 1882.

92. Clark to Uchida Kiyoshi, 28 February 1881, in Sato Masahiko, et al., ed., 212.

93. The New York Times, 14 May 1882; The Hampshire Gazette, 16 May 1882, quoted in Maki, X, 36.

94. "Ex-President William S. Clark," The Amherst Record, 10 March 1886.

95. Brooks, "To the Memory of Wm. S. Clark, Dec. 1889," University of Hokkaido Library.

96. Wheeler's background presented here is mostly based upon Woodward Hudson, "Memoir of William Wheeler, December 6, 1851-July 1, 1932" [A paper read at the meeting of the Social Circle in Concord on March 28, 1933], WUM; and "Wheeler, William," in William Horace Clark, comp., The Story of Massachusetts, 4 vols. (New York: The American Historical Society, 1938), 4: 129-32.

97. Wheeler to his mother, 6 October 1878, WUM.

98. The water commissioner's report (1875), quoted in Hudson, 5.

99. Wheeler's journal, quoted in Hudson, 7.

100. Wheeler's journal, quoted in Hudson, 8.

101. Two years later Wheeler referred to the inactive business: "I am well aware that business is very quiet yet, but it always was in my palmy days of old." Wheeler to his mother, 28 January 1878, WUM.

102. Wheeler to his mother, 31 May, 5 July 1876, WUM.

103. Wheeler to his mother, 5 July 1876, WUM.

104. Wheeler's journal (26 June 1876), quoted in Hudson, 4.

105. Wheeler to his mother, 4, 20 July 1876, WUM; Wheeler to his father, 25 November 1877, WUM.

106. Wheeler to his mother, 4 July, 10 August 1876, WUM.

107. Wheeler to his mother, 20 July, 10 August 1876, WUM.

108. Wheeler to his mother, 4 July, 10 August 1876, WUM.

109. Wheeler to his mother, 19 July 1876, WUM.

110. Wheeler to his mother, 10 August, 10 September 1876,

WUM.

111. Wheeler to his mother, 10 September 1876, WUM.

112. Wheeler to his mother, 10, 28 November 1876, WUM.

113. Wheeler to his mother, 23 January 1877, 28 January 1878, WUM.

114. Wheeler to his mother, 26 June, 3 December 1877, 28 January 1878, WUM; Wheeler to Dzusho, 4 February 1878, CFE; Wheeler to his sister Irene, 11 February 1878, WUM; Wheeler to Dzusho, 20 March 1878, CFE.

115. Wheeler to his sister Irene, 11 February 1878, WUM; Wheeler to his mother, 7 January, 22 April 1877, WUM.

116. Wheeler to his sister Irene, 11 February 1878, WUM.

117. Wheeler to his mother, 30 March 1879, 28 January 1878, WUM; Fanny to her mother-in-law, 10 December 1879, WUM; Wheeler to his mother, 19 May 1879, WUM.

118. Wheeler to his mother, 10 November, 30 March, 10 December 1979, WUM.

119. Wheeler to Dzusho, 7 April 1881, Hokkaido Prefectural Office Archives, Sapporo, Hokkaido.

120. Wheeler, "Japan's Colonial College," The Cycle 2 (23 June 1880), 7, 10-11.

121. "The Tribute of the Directors of the Middlesex Mutual Fire Insurance Company" prepared by Charles F. Stone, quoted in Hudson, 28-29.

122. Hudson, 29-30; Wheeler to Lyman, 15 January 1896, LHSP.

123. Hudson, 26-28.

124. Quoted in Hudson, 23.

125. Hudson, 34.

126. The information on Penhallow's background and career is gathered from Walter Deane, "David Pearce Penhallow," Rhodora: Journal of the New England Botanical Club 13 (January 1911): 1-4, and The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1929 ed., s.v. "Penhallow, David Pearce."

127. Brooks's biographical sources are "Biographical Record of the Alumni ofthe Massachusetts Agricultural College: William Penn Brooks," University of Massachusetts;

"Dr. William P. Brooks '75" [obituary], The Alumni Bulletin of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, April 1938; Miyabe Kingo, "Ko nogakuhakushi Uiriam Pen Burukkus sensei shoden" [A Brief Account of the late Professor William Penn Brooks] Sapporo nogakko dosokai 60 kai hokoku [Sixtieth Alumni Report of Sapporo Agricultural College], 1939.

128. For Penhallow's scientific work, see Watanabe Masao, Oyatoi beikokujin kagaku kyoshi [Employed American Science Teachers] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976), 343-57.

129. Wheeler to his mother, 28 January 1878, WUM.

130. His wife had already returned home in the spring of 1880. Penhallow to Kuroda, 19 April 1880, CFE.

131. Brooks to William E. Griffis, 1 September 1923, GRU.

132. Brooks, "To the Memory of Wm. S. Clark, December 1889," CFE.

133. Brooks to Griffis, 1 September 1923, GRU.

134. Brooks, "Report on the Colonial Companies, October 1886," "To the Gentlemen of the Graduating Class, July 1888," CFE; Brooks to Lyman, 28 January 1881, LAPS.

135. Sixth Report of the Sapporo Agricultural College, Covering the Years 1881-1886 (Sapporo: Hokkaido-cho, 1886; reprint ed., Sapporo: Hokkaido Daigaku Tosho Kankokai, 1976), 32-33; Brooks to Griffis, 1 September 1923, GRU.

136. Sixth Report, 51-53; Brooks, a draft of a speech for Hokkaido Product Fair, October 1885, CFE.

137. A.S. Alexander, "The Inquiring Mind and the Seeing Eyes," Better Crops With Plant Food, December 1931-January 1932, 14. That Brooks, whose work covered many different lines, became somewhat old-fasioned in the age when specialization progressed rapidly in every field including agricultural science was hinted in his student's speech contained in "Report of the Gathering in honor of William P. Brooks at Draper Hall, Massachusetts Agricultural College, January 14, 1919," 21-24.

138. "Japan," The McGill University Magazine 3 (April 1904): 80.

139. Ibid., 82, 84-89.

140. Ibid., 96-97, 82, 102.

141. Ibid., 93, 99-103.

142. Penhallow, "William Smith Clark," 16-17, 19-20.

143. "Report of the Gathering in Honor of William P. Brooks," 36-38. Brooks's habit of attending to details might not be attributable to the small budget of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. One of his Japanese students, Nitobe Inazo, recalled that he and his classmates, both amazed and annoyed at Brooks's meticulousness, used to say that it was impossible for them to become farmers if they had to pay so much attention to so small details as Brooks did. "Wasurenugusa" [Reminiscences], Junrin, no. 14 (February 1895), 49-50.

144. Deane, 1; The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1929 ed., s.v. "Penhallow, David Pearce."

145. "William P. Brooks '75."

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE JAPANESE RESPONSE

It is not easy to learn exactly what the Japanese thought and felt about the American experts mainly because they were not accustomed to expressing ideas and feelings as straightforwardly as the Americans did. Pumpelly, a mining engineer employed at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, was impressed by the marked contrast. "The [Japanese] governors never lose self-possession in presence of the sometimes excited and rude language of some western representatives. On one occasion, in answer to my question whether this self-possession were inborn or the result of education, the Governor [of Hakodate] replied that it is made one of the most important features of training, from the earliest childhood through life."[1]

While the Kaitakushi officials, former samurai, also seem to have regarded reticence as a virtue and rarely wrote down their personal thoughts, their writings and their activities still indicate that they generally appreciated the Americans' expertise and their hard work, while at the same time realizing the difficulties of employing foreigners. Subsequent Japanese writings indicate that, although the American experts might not have been very successful in

transplanting Western methods, techniques, and culture to Hokkaido, they successfully planted the seeds of inspirational influence in the minds of the people in Hokkaido.

Appreciation

No one probably appreciated the American work more than Kuroda, who had been struck by Western strength when the British bombarded his hometown and who had been favorably impressed by Western civilization when he visited the United States in search of advisers.[2] His enthusiasm for American expertise was clearly revealed when he wrote Resident Governor Matsumoto Juro in July 1873 that, although it would take time to develop Hokkaido and many difficulties would have to be overcome, success would be "beyond doubt"; when Capron, Lyman, and other foreign experts laid the foundation, people from all over the country would settle "according to the western laws of opening the new land" and devote themselves to development.[3] Also, Kuroda, faithfully following Capron's advice, sent a circular, in June 1873, to the Kaitakushi officials in Hokkaido, directing them to take the lead in eating bread and promoting it in schools because the young could be converted more easily than the old.[4] Kuroda cited Capron and Clark in urging on Japanese officials the importance of erecting cold-resistant houses.[5] Kuroda's trust in American expertise was further demonstrated when he transferred a Kaitakushi farm to Sapporo Agricultural College in September 1876. Although the farm

had been established for the purpose of furnishing settlers with a model for agriculture, Kuroda wrote, "the customs and ideas of the older time are yet prevalent" and "the general introduction of new methods is difficult." Kuroda therefore conveyed his earnest hope to Clark: "I desire to establish upon it the best possible system of agriculture, and to substitute for all the old Japanese habits the best foreign style of farming, which, being perpetuated, will accomplish my original object."[6] Kuroda, moreover, took a strong interest in encouraging foreign immigration and foreign investment and from time to time asked for advice in this regard from American experts.[7]

Kuroda's employment during his visit to Sakhalin in 1878 of a few Russian engineers, who introduced Russian types of houses, stoves, and horse-sleighs, might suggest that he was not entirely satisfied with American work. But Kuroda himself never expressed explicit disappointment with American expertise, and he rather tended to blame the settlers. In July 1881, when the abolition of the Kaitakushi approached, Kuroda endorsed the the sale of Kaitakushi properties and projects to a group of Kaitakushi officials at an extremely low price. Asking for sanction, Kuroda explained to the Chief Councilor of State that many projects in Hokkaido were not yet producing profits, for "while the present conditions in Hokkaido, of course, should not be regarded as the same when the area was called Yezo, they are not comparable to other areas on the main island in terms of

geography and people's morale."[8] Kuroda knew that, after a decade of American assistance, Hokkaido was still far from a promised land, but he seems to have attributed its slow development mostly to the rigorous environment and tradition-bound people.

Appreciation of Western expertise was the predominant response among most officials who came into contact with the American experts. They demonstrated their eagerness to learn about the West by constantly questioning the Americans on a vast scope of topics, which favorably impressed some, like Clark, and bothered others, like Wheeler. The existing voluminous notebooks, in which some Kaitakushi officials neatly wrote down lectures given by American experts such as Dun, Clark, and Treat, convey the enthusiasm with which Japanese listened to the teachings of American experts.[9] Another example of Japanese appreciation was a letter Honda Kimitoshi, a Kaitakushi doctor who accompanied Eldridge to Hakodate, sent to the newspaper Yubin hochi shimbun. Honda wanted to inform those engaged in medical practice that Eldridge was not only treating patients with new Western medicine and techniques, which, Honda wrote, "opened my eyes" about modern medical science, but was also instructing students in such subjects as therapeutics, physiology, surgery, anatomy, pharmacology, obstetrics, and gynecology. Honda added that his gratitude to Eldridge's kind service moved him to write the letter.[10]

For many Japanese, almost anything they heard from

Americans seems to have been new and inspirational. For Resident Governor Matsumoto, who, coming from the small domain of Sakata, had had little contact with foreigners before he became a Kaitakushi official, the valuable piece of American expertise he long remembered was Capron's advice to take special care about cinders in a stove. Japanese failure to follow this advice, Matsumoto recalled in his later years, led to the burning of the Kaitakushi main office after Matsumoto resigned from the Kaitakushi.[11]

Enomoto Takeaki's response to the American experts was somewhat more reserved and intricate. Unlike Kuroda and Matsumoto, Enomoto had studied abroad and was confident of his own expertise; when he was in prison after the Battle of Hakodate, he spent days reading books, especially those on chemistry. In the winter of 1871-1872 Enomoto, still in prison, boasted to his sister that "no one equals to me in the knowledge of chemistry in Japan" and expressed his intention to "write mostly about the methods of opening gold and silver mines in Japan as well as about the matters useful for the development of Ezo [Hokkaido]."[12] But when, after his release from prison and transfer to a high position in the Kaitakushi in the spring of 1872, he enthusiastically engaged himself in surveying mineral resources in Hokkaido, he found himself not only overshadowed by Lyman but also criticized by Lyman and Capron.

In the summer of 1873 Enomoto was confident enough to criticize Capron's plan concerning the transportation of

coal. In September Capron called Kuroda's attention to the "folly of acting upon mere surface indications, based upon reports of incompetent judges, who run over the country picking up a lump of coal here and gleaning a thimble full of gold there." "That we did not make greater progress the last year in the scientific explorations on this Island is well known to yourself.... It was certainly no fault of mine," so wrote Capron to Kuroda. Unaware of such criticism, Enomoto energetically walked around Hokkaido. After he found a promising coal mine in Sorachi, he wrote Lyman that he would like to discuss the method of transporting the coal with Lyman when both returned to Tokyo. Lyman, bitter about Japanese work done beyond his control, replied, "What you say of the Sorachigawa coal is especially interesting and I am very indignant that all knowledge of it should have been kept from me while at Sapporo."[13] A few months later, in January 1874, Enomoto simply left the Kaitakushi; he became envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Russia to negotiate about Sakhalin. Although Enomoto did not appreciate American expertise so fully as Kuroda, he still admitted "Lyman's expertness in geology" and appreciated his diligence in teaching his Japanese assistants.[14]

The Kaitakushi expressed appreciation to the Americans by sending letters of thanks and gifts during their service as well as at the expiration of their terms. On the eve of Capron's departure, Kuroda thanked him, enumerating a long list of the "benefits" derived from Capron's mission: care-

ful examination of the climate, topography, geography, and mineral resources of the island; "very matured plans of operations for its development"; improvement of transportation; breeding of foreign stocks and cultivation of foreign fruits, grains, and grasses; and introduction of "much valuable machinery and labor-saving tools." Kuroda then concluded: "These improvements so much advance our progress that we anticipate a prosperous future for that Island, and the final success of our project, we fully believe, is entirely attributable to your efforts."[15] When Lyman's term expired, Kuroda expressed his satisfaction with "the successful result of [Lyman's] past services." "Indeed in doing the work," Kuroda wrote Lyman, "you have never avoided any hardship or suffering, but guiding the corps of the assistants, traversing on land and water, and penetrating ever unknown portion of the Island, have explored and surveyed its geological features and mineral resources, and put them in reports and on maps with such the minuteness and exactitude, that mere study of them could enable future geologist [sic] to obtain the general knowledge of its geology and minerals."[16] On the eve of Clark's departure, Kuroda again thanked him, writing that "by your zealous efforts and hard work, not only has the system of the College been properly established but also the students have already made considerable progress," and sent him gifts as a token of "our entire satisfaction with the work done by you."[17]

Japanese gratitude was not ephemeral, although the Kaitakushi itself was dissolved in March 1882 in the midst of national scandal caused by the imperial approval of the sale of the Kaitakushi assets to Kaitakushi officials and subsequent retraction after public uproar against the sale.[18] Two years later, the Japanese government conferred on Capron the Second Order of the Rising Sun--in the name of the emperor, but apparently on Kuroda's initiative. Ito Hirobumi, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, explained to Naito Ruijiro, chargé d'affaires in Washington, that "General Horace Capron ... discharged his duties with great diligence and much satisfaction for more than four years," visiting Hokkaido "many times" and submitting "all necessary reports with courtesy and kindness." Ito then specifically directed Naito that the decoration should be delivered to Capron, not directly, but through the Department of State, because Ito hoped that Capron might "feel thus more honored for this formal way of transmitting the Decoration,"[19] and Capron indeed did. Other American experts--Antisell, Eldridge, Wasson, Dun, Crawford, Wheeler, Brooks, Cutter, Peabody--were also awarded decorations at various occasions.

What did all these expressions of Japanese appreciation mean? Certainly, Japanese politeness might have amplified the words of praise, and the system of decoration was introduced in 1875 as part of Japanese efforts to follow Western customs. There is, however, no reason to doubt that Kuroda and other officials of the Japanese government genu-

inely appreciated the work done by Americans. They were awed by the staggering military and economic difference between the Western countries and their own, and therefore placed almost naive trust in Western expertise as the source of Western strength. Also, most Americans impressed Japanese by their energy and dedication to the mission. Since Japanese leaders felt insecure and isolated in face of the powerful West, which had enforced extraterritoriality on their country and deprived it of tariff autonomy, they must have found it somewhat soothing that the American experts came so far and worked so hard to help Japan. In view of the fact that Capron gave up his high position in the U.S. government for the Japanese, they probably did not consider it very important whether he went to Hokkaido only a few times or "many times." Finally, the Japanese leaders probably believed that the American work, for which they paid an enormous amount of money out of their meager financial resources, would lead to the future prosperity of Hokkaido, even if the results were not immediately remarkable.

Difficulties

For all their general satisfaction, Japanese also experienced difficulties in employing foreigners. First of all, the Kaitakushi officials had to provide American experts with comforts and conveniences in spite of the rugged conditions of Hokkaido. For example, it was naturally more difficult to obtain Western food in Hokkaido than in Tokyo.

While Capron complained that the food during his trip in Hokkaido was too expensive, a Kaitakushi official in Sapporo explained to the office in Tokyo that it was because "people like Capron make special orders for food including wine," and the official added that "unless we meet their orders, we receive a complaint that we are not paying enough respect" to foreign guests.[20]

When Lyman's survey party first visited Hokkaido in 1873, Arai Ikunosuke, who accompanied him in Hakodate, found it necessary to report to the office in Tokyo that the officials in Hakodate had "an extremely difficult time" because Lyman made "such a great complaint" about the lack of good horses.[21] Seeking to prevent such trouble in future, Matsumoto too wrote Lyman that

> as the Hockaido is yet the rude country and therefore if the traveller comes suddenly and ordered to prepare the men or horses at the place which is not previously prepared the men or horses to suit the need of traveller, it is not only the great trouble to the people in place, but also it makes up the objection, and should be very inconvenience to the both. I decided that all the matter which related to your tuffin place, sleeping place and hotel in your journey, and also exchanges of men or horses in the road &c, is the charges of your accompanying Japanese officers.[22]

Lyman, fearing interference with his own freedom of action, asked Matsumoto to clarify what he meant. Matsumoto then explained that "the length of every days journey and quarter &c in the travelling of the geological survey, of course to come from your responsibility ... but the meaning of my letter last month is that, at the time when you decided to move from one place to another and speak it to the paymaster

and he gives the notice to the places and prepared all arrangements." "There is no reason at all to oppose your business," Matsumoto assured Lyman, "but if there is such a case out of thousands please you write me at soon."[23]

That some Japanese did not like the special treatment given to the American experts was revealed in the incident which led to the dismissal of Akiyama Yoshimaru, Lyman's favorite assistant. A letter to the newspaper Hochi reported that Akiyama, travelling with Lyman, got indignant when a guide had taken them to a humble inn and Akiyama not only yelled at the guide and the inn keeper but also whipped the guide. The writer pointed out that it was customary for a guide to take an official to the nearest available inn, and that, although some might say foreigners should be given special treatment, the American was under the employ of the Kaitakushi and therefore should not be treated differently from other Kaitakushi officials. Moreover, the writer added, the Kaitakushi official should understand that the kind of comforts and conveniences available in developed areas could not be obtained in Hokkaido and he should rather have compassion for the people staying at the inn who, including prostitutes, had to abstain from their business during a foreigner's sojourn.[24]

Another problem in employing foreigners was language. Since the Japanese government was at the time employing hundreds of foreigners and the number of Japanese who could speak English was quite limited, obtaining a sufficient

number of capable interpreters was impossible for the Kaitakushi. While Americans also suffered from the language barrier, the Japanese bore both the burden of interpretation and Americans' criticism; Wasson, for example, bluntly wrote in his official report that the interpreter assigned to him was "of little service," having "no knowledge of the terms related to the work of surveying."[25]

Language became especially a burden for the Japanese when a dispute arose between the Kaitakushi and a foreign employee. Japanese interpreters had to struggle with a limited vocabulary and meager knowledge of grammar and syntax in explaining the position of the Kaitakushi; as a result, their letters occasionally confused Americans, and sometimes even incensed them. In addition, the unique Japanese communication style increased misunderstanding. The Japanese did not have the trust in language Lyman had when he wrote, "Language is not only a means of intelligent intercourse between men, but is the implement with which all reasoning is done."[26] Japanese placed as much emphasis on what was not said as on what was said. For example, when the Kaitakushi dismissed Warfield, the high officials explained to Capron that they did not state the reasons for his discharge "from our friendly feelings towards him & not to give any blame on him." They were disappointed when Warfield failed to take any notice of their "benevolent feelings" thus expressed silently.[27] Also, what Lyman described as "a most contemptible and disgraceful piece of

cunning" or "shameful intrigues" in relation to his marriage proposal seems to have occurred because Japanese officials could not tell him straightforwardly that the young girl had instantly declined his proposal.[28]

Another difficulty for the Japanese was the American pursuit of self-interest. Most often this took the form of a demand for a raise in salary--the sharp contrast to the attitudes of some Japanese high officials, including Kuroda, who from time to time proposed to the government to decrease their salaries to ameliorate the financial strain of their country.[29] To foreign employees, Japanese generally paid high salaries mainly because they thought Western expertise was worthwhile, but also because Japanese were, as Lyman observed, "unskilled" in bargaining, especially on money.[30]

At times, Kaitakushi officials felt American demand exorbitant. When Antisell blustered that he would quit unless the Kaitakushi would pay him a higher salary retroactively, Enomoto, who had been through a long negotiation with him, reported to Kuroda:

> [Antisell] is extremely arrogant and contemptuous toward our government. While we had tried to be reasonable in explaining our situation, he exploded with anger, saying that [unless we would consent to his demand] he would go home. We could continue our negotiation, but this incident occurred after we had been treating him with utmost courteousness; besides, his insistent and unreasonable demand for an increase in his salary is vulgar and contemptible. Even if he is a capable man in his field, we cannot ask such a vulgar person to be a teacher. This is a good chance [to sever our ties with him].[31]

Soon Kaitakushi officials realized that their trouble with Antisell was not over, for he did not go home but won

Consul Charles O. Sheppard to his side.[32] In response to Sheppard's inquiry, the Kaitakushi explained that the issue was not only Antisell's behavior in demanding a raise but also his oft-repeated complaints about his position subordinate to Capron, complaints Japanese felt subordinates should not make. When Sheppard repeated a request to see Kaitakushi officials and Antisell sent a letter of apology to the Kaitakushi, they agreed to reemploy him.[33] While Sheppard promptly sent them a letter of thanks, this was the beginning of another series of difficulties. Capron was angry about their failure to consult him, and Antisell, finding his job taken over by Lyman, continued to protest, this time, to Minister DeLong.[34] After Capron rejected the Japanese suggestion that Antisell too might engage in surveying, they did their best to cheer up Antisell, saying, for example, "Your services are fully appreciated ... you have the full confidence of the Department."[35]

From Warfield, the Japanese, who already knew that it was expensive to employ foreigners, learned that it also cost highly to dismiss them. When the Kaitakushi delivered to Warfield a notice of discharge effective November 8, 1872, the high officials assumed that they would not have to pay for Warfield's returning expenses. They also supposed that he would have to make pecuniary compensations for the damage he had caused. They were therefore surprised when Warfield said that he would not quit unless the Kaitakushi paid the full amount of salary up to April 1, 1874, the

expiration date of his contract. When Warfield suggested that the dispute be submitted to representatives of the United States and Japan, Kaitakushi officials feared that he might demand his salary from November 8 to the time when the case would be settled. They told Capron, "We do not think that civilized people do such a thing." In the meantime DeLong, in response to Warfield's appeal, asked through the Foreign Ministry for an interview with Kuroda, but Kuroda declined, assuming that the case was closed when Capron delivered the notice of discharge to Warfield. He was astounded on March 7, 1873, to receive a note from Warfield that Warfield would drop in the Kaitakushi office the following day to collect his salary up to March 1st "with interest."[36]

Kuroda explained to the Foreign Ministry that Warfield, who had gone to Sapporo for his personal business, could not resume his work on time because of drunkenness and accompanying incidents. Warfield's contract, he pointed out, read, "Upon neglect of his duties as Chief Engineer the contract may be cancelled, and his salary paid up to date of such action." Kuroda easily obtained the support of the Acting Foreign Minister Ueno, who told DeLong that Warfield's misconduct was "obvious" and "there is no reason why Mr. Warfield should complain"; but DeLong, determined to protect his countryman's interests, was hardly persuaded. On April 22, after long negotiation between DeLong and Ueno, the Japanese agreed to a solution DeLong described as "in

every way most honorable": charges against Warfield would be withdrawn and the Kaitakushi would pay half of his balance for the whole time of his contract as well as his return passage amounting to more than $8,000. When the Kaitakushi officials, summoned from Hokkaido as witnesses, arrived in Tokyo, they were simply told that the matter had been settled one month before.[37]

The cases of Antisell and Warfield as well as Eldridge's frictions with Capron persuaded the Japanese that Capron could not control his subordinates. Charge d'affaires Mori told Secretary of State Fish that "with regard to Genl. Capron there may be some disappointment" in the Japanese government. Referring to Eldridge and Antisell in particular, Nathan S. Rice, interpreter at U.S. Legation to Yokohma, also informed Fish, "The Japanese show considerable sorrow at this state of things in their pet department, and all agree that the subordinates should at least have served out their time, under General Capron, and then if necessary to reorganize, make known their wants, and have them attended to. The want of discipline seems to excite their wonder."[38]

Finally, Kaitakushi officials had to deal with the criticism of their own operation frequently expressed by American employees, especially by Capron and Lyman. To Capron, who complained about reengagement of several foreigners by the Kaitakushi, Kuroda explained that the department could not consult him because he was in Hokkaido and

assured him, "I shall be always happy to have your consent previously in the prospective time on this subject." In response to the detailed criticism Capron wrote in several letters in the summer of 1873, Kuroda admitted that "about the horses of Nanai [Nanae], omnibuses, diamond drills & piers in Mori &c. it is probably done hasty," but also he pointed out that the piers had been constructed after officials consulted Warfield and the diamond drill had been bought because Antisell and Munroe said it was useful.[39] Moreover, Kuroda asked for Capron's understanding of the inconveniences arising from the distance between Tokyo and Hokkaido:

> As my representatives in the head office & several branch offices are privilaged [sic] to act themselves under the circumstances, which require prompt action, there are several things done by themselves, but on the important matters for the development of Hokaido, I believe they were always concerted with you, and sorry am I to learn that your reputation are injured by such an account, but I believe these things will not become entirely useless.[40]

Kuroda did not fail to add that "I am sincerely thankful for your open advises & beg you will do the same in future whenever you think it proper to do so."

When Capron again enumerated wasteful Kaitakushi projects and purchases in a report to Kuroda in April 1874, Kuroda directed his lieutenant Yasuda to respond. Although Yasuda wrote that "we took [your report] thankfully and valuably," he was not very happy because some projects Capron counted among failures had been done under his responsibility. Yasuda pointed out to Capron that the flood-

gate, constructed near the mouth of the Toyohira to check a flood, was not useless, because it saved Sapporo from floods in the previous year and "the people very much rejoicing has appreciated its work." The quarry eight miles away from Sapporo, he insisted, was opened after the inspection of Capron, who at the time said that "the stone were [sic] of excellent quality and unexhausable [sic] even if large cities like Washington or New York City should have been built"; the main building of the Kaitakushi, Yasuda added, had been built by the stone from the quarry. Asserting that "the fact is as thus, and you say in your report that it does not meet your opinion and not to be appreciated," Yasuda asked for Capron's explanation "to clear my doubt upon these points."[41] While it is difficult to ascertain how much truth was in Yasuda's statement, his response seems to show that Japanese pride was tender enough to be hurt by Capron's criticism. There was, however, no confrontation between Capron, who contented himself with putting his complaints on record, and Kaitakushi officials, who, with their characteristic deference to age, took them, at least in part, as an old man's admonition.

Lyman's case was different. He seemed to meddle with the kind of things "not within the sphere of his duties." Besides, he was so insistent on his prerogatives that Kuroda had to ask Capron "to use all your influence to persuade him so as to appease his passion." Sometimes Kaitakushi officials were puzzled by Lyman's arguments, as, for example,

concerning his right to live in Tokyo, or by his refusal to deliver letters to Kaitakushi officials accompanying him. Lyman's complaints often intended to remind Kaitakushi officials how uncivilized they were, and by the spring of 1875 Kuroda tired of them. On the eve of Capron's departure Kuroda wrote him, "I confess that our Empire is not yet attained to the highest point of civilization and that we must of course expect certain difference in the way of managing business from other countries." The problem, in Kuroda's views, was that Lyman would never accept inevitable differences and was "so disposed as to fight even on so small difference in the business way"; as a result, Lyman often did "debar the operation of our work." When Lyman left for the third year's survey after a series of confrontation between him and the Kaitakushi, officials were truly relieved; Yamauchi, the chief interpreter of the Kaitakushi, wrote Capron in Washington, "Mr. Lyman will start for North within this week; trouble was over, happy to say."[42]

For all the difficulties in dealing with Lyman, Kaitakushi officials expected to make the expiration of Lyman's term an occasion for harmony, leaving unpleasant memories behind. Kuroda sent a letter of thanks and gifts, including a tea making set--a rather unique gift which Kaitakushi officials especially had chosen, considering it would suit Lyman's taste. When Lyman declined twice to accept the gifts, it was too much for Kuroda. Shortly afterwards, when Kuroda learned that the Home Ministry was about to employ

Lyman, he informed Home Minister Okubo Toshimichi that Lyman had been "often adamant on his demand and arrogant in his attitudes so that he would inevitably become a trouble" in the Home Ministry. Okubo wrote that, although it was too late to rescind his engagement, he would keep Kuroda's kind advice in mind.[43]

In the beginning of 1877, five and a half years after the Kaitakushi started to employ foreigners, one high official in Sapporo told Wheeler that "the Kaitakushi had employed many foreigners before, but never any like the last three [Clark, Wheeler, and Penhallow]." That Kaitakushi officials experienced difficulties in dealing with foreign employees was obvious even to Wheeler, who wrote, "It is true that this department has not been entirely fortunate heretofore in its relations with foreign employees."[44] After 1877 the Japanese government began to replace foreign experts with natives. The cost of foreign experts was an obvious reason. Another was the difficulty of using individualistic foreigners confident of their own superiority.

American Expertise and Japanese Tradition in Hokkaido

As Kuroda wrote in his letter of thanks to Capron, he believed that the Kaitakushi had carried out Capron's "very matured plans of operations.... as far as circumstances would permit."[45] But after ten years during which the Kaitakushi spent more than 20,000,000 yen (during the same period, the total expenses for the Home Ministry and the

Ministry of Public Works was 26,000,000 yen), Hokkaido still remained mostly undeveloped. Between 1869 and 1881 the number of families in Hokkaido increased only from 12,017 to 40, 082.[46] Besides, the outlook of Hokkaido was quite unlike that of the farming style in the United States which both Capron and Kuroda hoped to reproduce on the northern frontier of Japan. While Hokkaido eventually developed, it did so mostly in a Japanese fashion with a touch of American influence.

The American method of agriculture--especially the use of a variety of implements and machines--was promoted on the Kaitakushi farms and the College farm. It was adopted by a limited number of settlements operated by former samurai unaccustomed to traditional farming and receptive to new ideas. These were, however, isolated phenomena. Farm machinery was expensive, limited in availability, and alien to those who lacked knowledge and techniques. By the late 1900s harrows, plows, and horses came to be widely used, along with traditional hand cultivation; the prevalent use of horses in farming was especially unique to Hokkaido. But the use of large machines never spread beyond experimentation. There were a few experiments in the late 1880s and early 1890s in large-scale farming in the Western manner, but most failed because of labor shortage, inconveniences of transportation, inexperience of managers, and natural disasters.[47]

While Japanese eventually appreciated the crops, vege-

tables, fruits and dairy products introduced by the Americans, it took dozens of years to get accustomed to them, and settlers in Hokkaido rather found it easier to cultivate and sell traditional crops. For the Japanese, rice was the basic food. While expensive imports of rice continued, settlers made every effort to grow rice in spite of initial discouragement by the Kaitakushi. Their success toward the end of the nineteenth century in cultivating quick-maturing and frost-resistant varieties of rice was an important factor in stimulating migration to Hokkaido. In this regard, Minami Takajiro, a graduate of the second class of Sapporo Agricultural College and later president of the college, regretted in retrospect that, although he was deeply grateful to Brooks for cultivating his interest in agriculture, his agricultural education had been "peculiar" because students learned about foreign crops irrelevant to Japan but not about rice-planting most important to the people.[48]

During the Kaitakushi era, farmers did not want to settle where they could not grow rice. Indeed, Japanese in general, cherishing ties with their relatives and their ancestral land, were not willing to leave for the unknown. One graduate of the Sapporo Agricultural College, implanted with the frontier spirit, was disappointed when he found that his folks at home, in spite of their poverty, had "no spirit to immigrate [to] the distant place for the search of wealth."[49] Even disbanded samurai, in search of a new

means of living, at first did not want to move to Hokkaido because of their traditional contempt for farming. What enticed them finally was a system of agrarian militia called tondenhei, which, based upon Kuroda's proposal, started in October 1874 and provided former samurai with a cause to defend their country. Under the system of tondenhei which lasted for twenty-five years, men between the ages of 18 and 35 (only ex-samurai until 1890) were organized into regiments, battalions, and companies and given military training in winter when they were not engaged in farming. In exchange for their service, the family of a recruit was given travel expenses to Hokkaido, land, farming implements, a house and household goods, and provisions for a period of three years. While these farmer-soldiers worked as pioneers in opening land, making roads and building villages, their life as well as that of their dependents was strictly regimented as in the military. It was far from the image of free and independent pioneer farmers in the minds of the American experts.[50]

The settlers' life was difficult in many ways. For example, their houses, mostly similar to those on the main islands, did not protect them from the severity of the winters. The Kaitakushi erected ten balloon-frame houses and twenty Russian-type houses for militia families, but they were not popular because they did not suit Japanese life style. For example, the wooden floor was much colder than tatami [straw-mat] floor to sit on; chairs and high

tables were yet rare commodities in Japan. Besides, western houses were expensive because materials were not easily available and few carpenters knew how to build such houses. While glass windows came into use earlier in Hokkaido than other areas and stoves also became popular after the turn of the century, Hokkaido houses in general improved mostly in step with houses on the main islands.[51]

The lack of transportation also made settlers' life difficult. The Kaitakushi recognized the importance of transportation, and the first major work done by the Americans was the construction of the so-called Hokkaido Main Road from Hakodate to Sapporo. However, partly because a huge force of laborers was recruited from the main islands, the construction consumed one million yen, that is, one-tenth of the ten-year Kaitakushi budget--enough to discourage Kuroda from building more roads. Furthermore, the heavy expenses of the government in suppressing revolts of discontented ex-samurai, culminating in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877-78, compelled retrenchment from public works, including Kaitakushi projects. Besides, the Hokkaido Main Road was not fully utilized, partly because Muroran was not yet a well-equipped harbor, the area along the road was barren without branch roads, and the lack of good stone nearby made repair of the road costly. To reach Sapporo, the sea route from Otaru to Sapporo through the Ishikari River was widely used until a railroad was constructed. The full-scale construction of the roads in the interior was started by the

Hokkaido Prefectural Office in 1886. The major labor force consisted of prisoners whose treatment was cruel, causing many deaths; after mounting criticism forced the office to stop the use of prisoners, sweated labor was recruited. The coal industry, which became one of the most prosperous industries in Hokkaido, also developed at a huge sacrifice of prisoners and exploited laborers.[52]

While American advisers left an indisputable mark in the long-range development of Hokkaido, the gap between their idealistic plans, based upon a universal view of the world, and the indigenous values was also remarkable. Nor could the progress of Hokkaido be described as the result of careful adaptation of western techniques to the Japanese culture. It was more a mixture of Japanese habits and customs, Western knowledge and techniques, limited financial resources, and haphazards; it was a record of success and failure.

Perpetual Ties

The American experts won continuing Japanese appreciation. While the first book on Hokkaido compiled by the Kaitakushi in 1886 mostly reported the American work without evaluations, major subsequent books on Hokkaido--Sapporo-ku-shi [History of the District of Sapporo] (1911), Hokkaido takushoku-shi [History of Developing Hokkaido] (1931), Hok-kaido shiyo [The Essential History of Hokkaido] (1933), Shinsen Hokkaido-shi [Newly Compiled History of Hokkaido]

(1936-37), and Kaido Shichijunen [Seventy Years Since the Opening of Hokkaido] (1938)--expressed the view that the development of Hokkaido owed much to the American work.[53] The voluminous Sapporo-ku-shi [The History of the District of Sapporo] published by the Municipal Office of Sapporo proudly pointed to the early phase of Sapporo's history in which "various civilized projects, based upon foreigners' judicious suggestions, had been launched." The book quoted American reports and advice extensively; the only regret the book expressed about the American assistance was the failure to recognize the importance of rice for the Japanese.[54] The most authoritative and solid work on Hokkaido published before the Second World War was Shinsen Hokkaido-shi [Newly Compiled History of Hokkaido] in seven volumes published by Hokkaido Prefectural Office. The third volume, which mostly dealt with the Kaitakushi administration, contained a picture of the Kaitakushi Office drawn by Holt as a frontispiece, a detailed discussion of the American work, and its favorable evaluation; moreover, the sixth volume carried the translation of Reports and Official Letters to the Kaitakushi by Horace Capron, Commissioner and Adviser, and His Foreign Assistants in full as essential documents during the Kaitakushi era.

Articles specifically dealing with the American experts started to appear in 1894 when Ando Ikusaburo wrote for the journal of Sapporo Agricultural College a brief biography of Clark based on interviews with Clark's stu-

dents. In the following year Nitobe Inazo, a graduate of the second class of the college and at the time professor and later Under-Secretary of the League of the Nations, wrote humorous reminiscences of the American teachers--Wheeler, Penhallow, Brooks, Cutter and Peabody--for the same journal.[55] From the 1900s to the 1920s several of Lyman's assistants wrote and talked about their teacher with respect for his expertise and diligence and with appreciation for his thoughtfulness toward his assistants.[56] Although Jimbo Kotora, Edmund Naumann's student, pointed out in 1890 that Lyman's geological maps and his theories were incorrect, other Japanese geologists emphasized the contributions Lyman had made not as a theorist but as a practical mining engineer. Sagawa Eijiro wrote an article in 1921, based on his reading of Lyman's reports and his interview with Lyman in Philadelphia. A decade later, Suzuki Jun, professor of Hokkaido Imperial University [formerly, Sapporo Agricultural College], wrote another article, positively evaluating Lyman's work.[57] In 1935 Makino Shinnosuke, a local historian, wrote two articles dealing with the work of American experts; while he traced the origin of Americanization of Hokkaido to the predominance of American experts in the Kaitakushi, he regretted that the Kaitakushi did not fully implement their judicious advice on land distribution and pay enough attention to their warnings about waste, inefficiency, and corruption.[58]

Japanese appreciation of the American experts survived

the increasingly strained diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan. In 1937, three books on American experts were published in Tokyo. (Most of the other books had been published in Sapporo.) They were reminiscences of Clark by Oshima Masatake, a biography of Capron by Tanimura Issa, and a brief biography of Lyman by Kuwada Gompei. Oshima, Clark's student and a noted specialist in Chinese phonetics, recalled in his sick bed innumerable moving memories of Clark to his son, who edited the book. While Oshima died a year later, the book won Clark, already quite well known, further fame when excerpts were used as a junior high school text during the U.S. occupation, and warm stories about a teacher and his students in the book remained to be a popular subject in textbooks afterwards.[59] Tanimura, a graduate of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale and retired livestock expert, felt it a pity that Capron's great service for Japan was almost forgotten by the Japanese and, although nearly eighty years old, set to write about Capron and other Americans employed by the Kaitakushi. What moved him to do so was, in his words, "my prayer for everlasting peace between the two countries."[60] Kuwada, whose uncle was Lyman's assistant and who studied engineering in the United States after graduating from Northampton High School, wrote Lyman's biography both in Japanese and English, hoping to tell the two peoples about Lyman who "loved Japan as much as his own country" and about his "noble and self-sacrificing" service in Japan. For the

English version, Kuwada especially added the then popular story of an honest rickshaw man who achieved success owing to compassionate and generous Kuroda. While Lyman would have been appalled to see himself eulogized along with the man whom he had detested, Kuwada, like Tanimura, clearly intended to stress the friendly ties between Americans and Japanese by pointing to the past example.[61]

Even some books published during the war praised the American contribution. In Hokkaido bunka-shi ko [Thoughts on the Cultural History of Hokkaido] consisting of lectures broadcast before the war but published in 1942, Nakajima Kuro, professor of Hokkaido Imperial University, not only detailed American contributions in his discussion of agricultural development in Hokkaido but was also deferentially affectionate toward the American advisers, calling Capron "a really great man," describing Boehmer's work as derived from his "kind and deep thoughtfulness," pointing out that "Professor Clark was not only a great educator but was also filled with knowledge and aspirations concerning agriculture and breeding," and adding that "we cannot forget Dun's glorious achievements."[62]

Appreciation of the American work continued a main feature in books published after the war. At the same time evaluation has become more varied. Osaka Shingo's biographies, Kuraku sensei shoden [Detailed Biography of Professor Clark] (1956) and Kuroda Kiyotaka to Horesu Kepuron [Kuroda Kiyotaka and Horace Capron] (1962) followed the eulogis-

tic style of Tanimura and Kuwada. Osaka, who, after graduating from Sapporo Agricultural College [at the time called Tohoku Imperial University] in 1908 and studied theology in the Gassett Biblical Institute, Northwestern University, was also motivated to write the books by his wishes that "eternal peace be upon both U.S.A. & Japan."[63] Osaka's books were, however, followed by a biography of Enomoto Takeaki written in 1968 by his fellow local historian, Iguro Yataro, containing severe criticism of the American experts. Although Iguro did not deny American contribution and indeed praised them in his biography of Kuroda Kiyotaka and especially in his article on Capron, he felt that the Americans had been too much eulogized as great benefactors of Hokkaido and that Japanese contributions had been neglected. Iguro insisted that Enomoto's report on the Kayanuma coal mine was more solid than that of Lyman and regretted that Enomoto's wish to dedicate his life to the development of Hokkaido had been blocked by Capron and Lyman. The more Iguro sympathized with Enomoto, the more critical he became of Capron and Lyman, who Iguro suspected were primarily interested in opening Hokkaido to foreign interests.[64]

Three comprehensive books on the Kaitakushi foreigners published from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, also presented a variety of evaluations. Foreign Pioneers (1968), edited by the Hokkaido Prefectural Office at the commemoration of the Centennial of Hokkaido, was mainly interested in describing and praising the American work.

While the other two books also commended the American contributions, Harada Kazufumi's Oyatoi gaikokujin: Kaitaku [Foreign Employees: Development of Hokkaido] (1975) had a chapter on disputes between the Kaitakushi and Americans,[65] and Oyatoi gaikokujin [Foreign Employees] (1981), consisting of twenty essays, here and there pointed out the gap between American plans and Japanese realities. It also discussed Japanese contributions which the authors felt had been overshadowed by the American work.

The new authoritative history of Hokkaido, nine-volume Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido] (1968-1981), mostly following in the footsteps of Shinsen Hokkaido-shi [Newly Compiled History of Hokkaido], fully and favorably discussed the American work, while at the same time pointing out the enormous gap between the authoritarian attitudes of the Meiji government in developing Hokkaido for the nationalistic purpose of fukoku kyohei [a rich country and a strong army] and the individualistic perspective of the Americans with their vision of free and enterprising settlers; the book, moreover, emphasized the role of the Japanese whose knowledge of the West enabled them to serve as supporters of foreign employees more than Shinsen Hokkaido-shi, and replaced Reports and Official Letters with the journal of the Kaitakushi as the essential documents during the Kaitakushi era.[66]

Although the translation of John Maki's biography of Clark (1975) and the translation of Clark's letters with

comments by Ota Yuzo (1979) added a somewhat critical assessment of Clark to a heretofore overwhelmingly favorable view, the eulogistic approach toward the American advisers has not lost its power, judging from the most recently published books: the translation of Capron's journal (1985) and the translation of an old article on Capron by Merritt Starr (1986).[67] The translator Nishijima Teruo, a retired employee of the Hokkaido Prefectural Office, hoped to introduce Horace Capron as "the benefactor of the development of Hokkaido" and "the helper of Japan's modernization."[68]

Japanese appreciation of the American experts is further demonstrated in Hokkaido itself. Cool in summer, with features different from the main islands such as primitive woods, vast plains, and silos standing on farms, Hokkaido has become a favorite for tourists. They will certainly visit the campus of the University of Hokkaido where they will find a bust of Clark with an inscription of his famous parting words. The students' hall is called Clark Hall. On the spot where students bade him farewell, there is a monument, again with his parting words inscribed. Capron's life-size statue stands in face to face with Kuroda's in the Odori Park at the center of Sapporo. In the outskirts of Sapporo, there is Dun's museum and a statue of Dun in working clothes and boots, holding a hoe in his right hand and a lamb on his left shoulder. In Otaru where the first train in Hokkaido started, the statue of Crawford stands.

Except Clark, however, whatever fame the American

experts enjoyed was local.[69] Books on Hokkaido as well as on the foreign employees of the Kaitakushi were mostly written by local historians and published by local publishers. This might be a source of disappointment for Capron who believed his achievements were national as well as revolutionary. But foreign employees worked all over Japan, so Capron would have to be content if he could not get national attention. Moreover, it could be said that the fame locally earned is solid and deep-rooted in a way Dun thought the introduction of Western techniques should be. While it is difficult to evaluate the American contribution to the development of Hokkaido with precision, the intangible contribution in the form of inspiration to their Japanese contemporaries and of strengthened ties between Americans and Japanese, which have endured the turbulent relations of the two countries, seems to be their greatest achievement when viewed in more than one hundred year time span.

NOTES

1. Raphael Pumpelly, Across America and Asia (2nd rev. ed., New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1870), 156.

2. According to Charles Lanman, secretary to Japanese charge d'affaires Mori Arinori, Kuroda said during his stay in the United States that "the Japanese ought to intermarry with the people of the more enlightened foreign nations, and, in his zeal, went so far as to insist that Mr. Mori should marry an American lady without delay." Lanman, "The Japanese in America," Mori Arinori zenshu [Collected Works of Mori Arinori], ed. Okubo Toshiaki, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Senbundo Shoten, 1972), 3: 70.

3. Kuroda to Matsumoto, July 1873, in Matsumoto,"Ezo mokuzushi"[Reminiscences of Hokkaido], handwritten copy, University of Hokkaido Library.

4. Iguro Yataro, Kuroda Kiyotaka: Umoretaru Meiji no kiseki [Kuroda Kiyotaka: A Buried Cornerstone of the Meiji Era] (Sapporo: Miyama shobo, 1965), 54.

5. Circular dated 15 September 1876, in Sapporo Kuyakusho, ed., Sapporoku-shi [History of Sapporo District] (1911; reprint ed., Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1973), 464-65.

6. Kuroda to Clark, 12 September 1876, copy, CFE.

7. For example, see Kuroda to Capron, 14 April 1875, CLC; Clark to Kuroda, 12 September 1876, CFE; and Kuroda to Clark, 19 October 1876, copy, CFE.

8. Kuroda to Dajo Daijin [Chief Councilor of State], 21 July 1881, in Yoshino Sakuzo, ed., Meiji bunka zenshu [Anthology of Meiji Culture], 24 vols. (Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1927-30), 2: 365-66. Translated and underlined by this writer.

9. Ten notebooks are kept at University of Hokkaido Library.

10. Yubin hochi shimbun, 16 August 1873, quoted in Abe Tatsuo, Hakodate no iji to ijin [Medicine and Doctors in Hakodate] (Hakodate: Mufutaisha, 1951), 118-19.

11. Matsumoto Juro monjo [Papers Relating to Matsumoto Juro], ed. Iguro Yataro (Sapporo: Hokkaido Kyodoshiryo Ken-

kyukai, 1963), 25.

12. Enomoto to his sister, 15 October, 21 November 1871 [27 November 1871, 1 January 1872, according to solar calendar], in Iguro Yataro, Enomoto Takeaki den [Biography of Enomoto Takeaki] (Sapporo: Miyama Shobo, 1968), 133. Translated by this writer.

13. Enomoto, "Ikushibetsu sekitan chosa" [Report on the Ikushibetsu Coal Mine], 7 October 1873, in Kamo Giichi, Enomoto Takeaki: Meiji nihon no kakuretaru kiseki [Enomoto Takeaki: A Hidden Cornerstone of Meiji Japan] (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1960), 195; Capron to Kuroda, 3 September 1873, in ROL, 77; Enomoto to Lyman, 8 October 1873, LAPS; Lyman to Enomoto, 5 November 1873, copy, LAPS.

14. Enomoto, "Ikushibetsu sekitan chosa" [Report on the Ikushibetsu Coal Mine], in Kamo, 194-95.

15. Kuroda to Capron, 15 April 1875, CLC.

16. Kuroda to Lyman, 4 December 1875, LAPS.

17. Kuroda to Clark, 21 May 1877, copy, CFE.

18. Public uproar against the sale of Kaitakushi properties to a small group in fact meant a demand for more open government and led to the promulgation of the constitution in 1889 and the opening of the national legislature in 1890. The irony of history was that Kuroda, who had been opposed to the opening of a national legislature as premature, was Prime Minister when the constitution was promulgated. At a short ceremony for the promulgation of the constitution held in the palace on February 11, 1889, Enomoto Takeaki was also present as Minister of Communications, but Mori Arinori, Minister of Education, was not; he was assassinated on the morning of the day when he was about to leave for the ceremony by a son of a Shinto priest, who thought Mori, a Christian, had insulted the Shinto.

19. Ito to Naito, 18 January 1884, CLC

20. Tanaka to Nishimura [Sadaaki], 4 September 1873, KK, vol. 5742.

21. Arai to Nishimura, 22 April 1873, KK, vol. 5742.

22. Matsumoto to Lyman, 5 July 1873, LHSP.

23. Matsumoto to Lyman, 7 August 1873, LAPS.

24. Fukumitsu Sota to the editor of Hochi (1875), quoted in KK, vol. 5817.

25. Wasson, "Trigonometrical Survey of Yesso," ROL, 210.

26. Lyman to Toku, 22 September 1889, LAPS.

27. Tanaka and Dzusho to Capron, 26 November 1872, CYU; Kuroda to Soyeshima Taneomi and Ueno Kagenori, 18 February 1873 (16 March 1873, according to the solar calendar), in DeLong to Fish, no. 390 (29 April 1873).

28. Lyman to Sangi [Councilor of State], 16 April 1874, draft, LFL; Matsumoto Juro, Ezo mokuzushi [Reminiscences of Hokkaido], handwritten copy, University of Hokkaido, Sapporo, Hokkaido.

29. See, for example, Kuroda's proposal to the government, Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 9 vols. (Sapporo: Shin Hokkaido-shi Insatsushuppan Kyodokigyotai, 1869-81), 7: 787.

30. Lyman to Mary [Lyman], 9 February 1878, LFL.

31. Quoted in the Kaitakushi to Foreign Ministry, 23 February (21 March, according to the solar calendar) 1873, KK, vol. 5495. Translated by this writer.

32. According to DeLong, Sheppard probably did not like Capron because Capron had once complained to DeLong that Sheppard kept a Japanese prostitute in his consulate; so Sheppard took advantage of DeLong's absence, during which Sheppard was Acting Minister, and "used the power of this Legation to re-instate Antisell." DeLong to Fish, 4 December 1872, FLC.

33. For the documents relating to Antisell's case, see KK, vol. 5495. Antisell to Kuroda, 29 June 1872, CFE.

34. DeLong to Fish, no. 428 (19 June 1873), DNA.

35. Kuroda to Antisell, 17 February 1873, copy, CFE.

36. Enomoto and Uchiyama to Tanaka et al., 8 October (8 November, by the solar calendar) 1872; Warfield to Tanaka and Dzusho, 24 November 1872, CYU; Tanaka and Dzusho to Capron, 26 November 1872, CYU; Warfield to Kuroda, 7 March 1873, CYU.

37. Kuroda to Soyeshima Taneomi and Ueno Kagenori, 18 February 1873 (15 March, according to the solar calendar) in DeLong to Fish, no. 390 (29 April 1873), DNA; Ueno to DeLong, 19 March 1873, in DeLong to Fish, no. 390, DNA; DeLong to Fish, no. 390, DNA; Nishimura to Matsumoto, 20 May 1873, KK, vol. 5514.

38. Fish, Diary, 10 October 1872, FLC; Rice to Fish, 7

December 1872, FLC.

39. Kuroda to Capron, 17 October 1872, CYU; Kuroda to Capron, 17 August 1873, CLC.

40. Kuroda to Capron, 17 August 1873, CLC.

41. Yasuda to Capron, 13 May 1874, CYU.

42. Kuroda to Capron, 24 April, 31 October 1874, 15 May 1875, CYU; R. Yamauchi to Capron, August 1875, CYU.

43. Okubo to Nishimura Sadaaki, 24 January 1876, KK, vol. 5828.

44. Wheeler to his mother, 23 January 1877, WUM.

45. Kuroda to Capron, 15 April 1875, CLC.

46. Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 9 vols. (Sapporo: Shin Hokkaido-shi Insatsushuppan Kigyotai, 1969-81), vol. 9: Shiryo III [Documents III], 764.

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48. Minami Takajiro Sensei Denki Hensan Iinkai, Minami Takajiro (Sapporo: Minami Takajiro Sensei Denki Hensan Iinkai, 1958), 28.

49. Hayakawa Tetsuya to William Brooks, 7 May 1884, CFE.

50. For the tondenhei, see Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 3: 367-97; Takakura and Seki, 143-45.

51. For housing in Hokkaido, see Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 3: 383-84; Takakura and Seki, 202-4.

52. Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 3: 412-44; Hokkaido Prefectural Government, Foreign Pioneers (Sapporo: Hokkaido Prefectural Government, 1968), 34; Takakura and Seki, 206-8.

53. Kaitakushi, ed., Hokkaido-shi [History of Hokkaido], 2 vols. (1886; reprint ed., Tokyo: Rekishi Toshosha, 1973); Katayama Keiji, Hokkaido takushoku-shi [History of Developing Hokkaido] (Sapporo: Hokkaido-cho, 1931); Takeuchi Unpei, Hokkaido shiyo [Essential History of Hokkaido] (1933; reprint ed., Sapporo: Hokkaido Shuppankikaku Senta, 1977); Hokkaido-cho, ed., Kaido shichijunen [Seventy Years Since the Opening of Hokkaido] (Sapporo: Hokkaido-cho, 1938).

54. Sapporo-ku-shi [History of the District of Sapporo], 81, 463. Translated by this writer.

55. Ando Ikusaburo, "Uiriamu Kuraku" [William Clark], Junrin, no. 11 (25 May 1894), 32-37, no. 13 (20 November 1894), 27-36; Nitobe Inazo, "Wasurenugusa" [Reminiscences], Junrin, no. 14 (10 February 1895), 47-49, no. 15 (5 April 1895), 49-52.

56. Yamauchi Tokusaburo wrote four short articles on Lyman for Hokkaido kogyo shimpo [News of Hokkaido Mining] in 1903 and nine years later distributed them as a pamphlet, "Benjamin Sumisu Raiman shoden" [Brief Biography of Benjamin Smith Lyman], in commemoration of Lyman's seventy-seven year old birthday. Nishiyama Shogo also wrote "Chishitsu gakusha Raiman sensei shoden" [Short Biography of Professor Lyman, Geologist], Toyo gakugei zasshi 37 (Novemer 1916): 487-90. The reminiscences of several former assistants of Lyman were from time to time carried by Sekitan jiho [Coal Current News] in 1926-1928.

57. Jimbo Kotora, Hokkaido chishitsu ryakuron [Brief Discourse on Hokkaido Geology] (Sapporo: Hokkaido-cho, 1890), 13; Sagawa Eijiro, "Raiman-shi o omou" [Reminiscences of Mr. Lyman], Chishitsugaku zasshi, no. 28 (1921), 40-55; Suzuki Jun, "Hokkaido chishitsu kaitakusha Raiman-shi" [Pioneer in the Survey of Hokkaido Geology, Mr. Lyman], Ezo orai, no. 12 (March 1934), 217-234. Jimbo also came to give a more favorable evaluation on Lyman's practical work. See his article "Hokkaido oyobi Karafuto ni okeru yuyo kobutsu no tanken" [Excavation of Useful Minerals in Hokkaido and Sakhalin], Hokkaido sekitan kogyokai kaiho, no. 51 (November 1918), 3-4.

58. Makino Shinnosuke, "Hokkaido kaitaku no shoki ni okeru gaijin no kosaku" [The Work of Foreigners in the Early Phase of the Development of Hokkaido], Shirin, no. 20 (1935), 37-66, 85-111.

59. Oshima Masatake, Kuraku sensei to sono deshitachi [Professor Clark and His Students] (1937; 3rd rev. ed., Tokyo: Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1958).

60. Tanimura Issa, Kepuron shogun [General Capron] (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1937), 14. He dedicated the book to the

late President Grant, who, Tanimura understood, held on his deathbead a fan in his hand which Grant had received during his visit to Japan; according to Tanimura, there was on the fan a picture of the key symbolizing "the beautiful friendsip between Japan and the United States." Tanimura, 17.

61. Kuwada Gompei, Raiman senei shoden [Brief Biography of Professor Lyman] (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1937); Biography of Benjamin Smith Lyman (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1937), 2: 13-14.

62. Nakajima Kuro, "Hokkaido no nogyoshi ni tsuite" [History of Agriculture in Hokkaido], in Sapporo Chuo Hosokyoku, ed., Hokkaido bunka-shi ko [Thoughts on the Culture of Hokkaido] (Sapporo: Sapporo Chuo Hosokyoku, 1942), 190-218.

63. Osaka Shingo, Kuraku sensei shoden [Detailed Biography of Professor Clark] (1956; 2nd ed., Sapporo: Kuraku Sensei Shoden Kankokai, 1965); Kuroda Kiyotaka to Horesu Kepuron [Kuroda Kiyotaka and Horace Capron] (Sapporo: Hokkai taimusha, 1962).

64. Iguro, Enomoto Takeaki den [Biography of Enomoto Takeaki], 196-232.

65. Harada Kazufumi, Oyatoi gaikokujin: Kaitaku [Foreign Employees: Development of Hokkaido] (Tokyo: Kashima Shuppankai, 1975), ch. 4.

66. Shin Hokkaido-shi [New History of Hokkaido], 3: 185-208.

67. John M. Maki, Kuraku: sono eiko to zasetsu [Clark: His Glory and Failure], trans. Takaku Shinichi (Sapporo: Hokkaido Daigaku Toshokankokai, 1978); Ota Yuzo, Kuraku no ichinen: Sapporo nogakko shodai kyoto no nihon taiken [Clark's One Year: The Japanese Experience of the First President of Sapporo Agricultural College] (Kyoto: Showado, 1979); Horace Capron, Kepuron nisshi: Ezo to Edo [Journal of Horace Capron: Hokkaido and Tokyo], trans. Nishijima Teruo (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shimbunsha, 1985); Merritt Starr, Horesu Kepuron shogun: Hokkaido kaitaku no chichi no ningenzo [General Horace Capron: The Portrait of the Benefactor of the Development of Hokkaido], trans. Nishijima Teruo (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shuppankikaku Senta, 1986).

68. Kepuron shogun, 6.

69. My entirely nonscientific survey of 110 students attending a college in Tokyo shows that 56 know Clark, and 27 know Kuroda. The number of the students who know Clark is probably much larger because some might have been unable to identify William S. Clark with Kuraku hakase [Dr. Clark]; a few wrote, "I wonder whether you mean that famous Dr.

Clark by William S. Clark." Also, the number of those who know Kuroda might be smaller, because the number might include a few who took Kuroda as Kuroda Kiyoteru, a famous painter in the Meiji era. Apart from one student coming from Hokkaido who replied that she had heard the name of Dun although she did not know who he was, no student knows the names of Capron, Dun, and Lyman. I suspect that even in Hokkaido the number of those who are familiar with the specific names of the American experts, again except Clark, is limited. It is rather hard to believe that "'Kepuron' is today a household word, at least in Hokkaido's capital, Sapporo," as Donald Roden writes in "In Search of the Real Horace Capron: A Historiographical Perspective on Japanese-American Relations," Pacific Historical Review 55 (November 1986): 565.

CONCLUSION

The Americans employed by the Kaitakushi were mostly capable men rather than misfits at home or adventurers abroad. They nevertheless went to Japan partly because the economic depression in the 1870s limited opportunities for employment and partly because some of them felt their professional expertise was neither fully appreciated nor utilized at home. While they were pioneers who engaged themselves in developing the Japanese frontier through the introduction of Western knowledge and techniques, they were also pioneers in the sense that they sought their personal frontiers, where they could earn money and, often more importantly, where they could put their expertise to use. Capron, who alone described concern with helping Japan and serving his own country as his main motivation, must have known, too, that the mission offered him a last frontier of opportunities. The mentality of the American experts who headed for Japan thus seems to have been most aptly described by Clark's parting words, "Boys, be ambitious!"

In spite of their primary concern with their own self-interest, however, the intention of the American experts to help Japan was in most cases sincere. They naturally shared the nineteenth-century common sense that the pursuit of one's happiness would somehow lead to the general welfare.

Also, they firmly believed that their scientific expertise not only meant a rich store of knowledge, but that it also implied such values as economy, efficiency, practicality, order, and system; and they were convinced these values would greatly help the development of the Japanese frontier and provide settlers with a comfortable and rewarding life.

When they set to work in Japan, however, they painfully learned the difficulties involved in working with an alien people. There were many sources for their frustration, but the major one was that, while they considered Japanese methods inefficient and wasteful, they could not, under Japanese control, carry out their tasks in their own way. The difference in the extent to which they accepted Japanese supervision seems to have affected the degree of their satisfaction with the Japanese experience. In this regard, teachers fared better than others. Apart from Wheeler, essentially interested not in teaching but in civil engineering work, all the professors at Sapporo Agricultural College enjoyed their experience, and so did Rockwell, a teacher at the Kaitakushi Temporary School, who recalled: "I look back upon my experiences in Japan as the pleasantest part of my life--the country is a garden and the people I always liked." On the contrary, Gaujot, a mining engineer, considered his engagement with the Kaitakushi as "the worst step I ever took in my life," deploring, most of all, the lack of control over his work: "I have no power at all, cannot even discharge a coolie." He sympathized with a

Dutch engineer who had died under the employ of the Kaitakushi, "Poor fellow, it is hard to die any way but to die in Japan is to die twice."[1]

The Americans, who cherished freedom and equality as essential values of the kind of democracy Andrew Jackson symbolized, were even unhappy about supervision by fellow countrymen. Capron, who somewhat retained the ante-bellum Whig perspective and regarded himself as a custodian of younger American experts, was often rebuffed by them. If they did not like Capron's supervision, no Americans, including Capron, liked Japanese control. It should be pointed out, however, that this dislike of Japanese control was not only a matter of principle or of taste but also because of their confidence in their own expertise; as Munroe said, "If Japs let us have our way, everything will go fine."[2]

The situation of the foreign employees in Japan in those days was most perceptively described by William Elliot Griffis, a teacher of science at Daigaku Nanko [the predecessor of the University of Tokyo] who later wrote The Mikado's Empire, the best American book on Japan available in the late nineteenth-century. Writing to Scientific American in July 1872, Griffis gave advice to those interested in obtaining employment in Japan:

> In regard to men appointed to offices with high sounding names and large salaries, I am afraid many people will be disappointed concerning Japan. The Japanese simply want helpers and advisers.... Many who come here to "organize," etc., find that things are already organized as much as they can be under the circumstances, and the all that newcomers can do is to wait quietly until perchance they gain the confidence of the Japanese, and

> even then all they advise is by no means adopted. Nearly every appointee comes here to "revolutionize" his department, but the Japanese don't want that.... Let it not be forgotten that this country is an emphatically poor country now, and that millions of its people are very ignorant, and that it has just emerged from feudalism; and that therefore the rulers of Japan must go slowly and cautiously.[3]

The American experts in the employ of the Kaitakushi came to realize the difficulties of working in Japan which Griffis well explained, but all did not share Griffis's sympathetic understanding of the difficulties on the Japanese side.

The cases of Capron, Lyman, and Wheeler more or less represented the predominant response to an alien culture. While working with the Japanese, they took their own superiority for granted, and, with a firm conviction of the blessings and universality of Western civilization, they tended to regard the differences they found in Japan as a mark of inferiority, although they disagreed among themselves about what were the most important differences. They were also frustrated to see their freedom of action seriously hampered by Japanese whose backwardness they found so obvious. Partly because of their belief in the superiority of their own culture, they took little interest in understanding how things were seen from the Japanese side.

Although Capron was greatly concerned with his own reputation, he never thought that his meticulous condemnation of the Japanese projects and his constant reminders of their incompetence might hurt their pride. Neither did he imagine that what he considered Japanese conceit might have

been in part at least Japanese self-pride. Wheeler, a sober, hard-working New England youth, simply found it difficult to have sympathy for the people who lacked the "spirit of freedom and independence." Lyman's belief that Japanese sensibilities were shallow is rather surprising in view of his diligent studies of the Japanese language and society. While he was aware that individualism had a tendency to become self-righteousness, he nevertheless regarded it as the essential source for enlightenment, thus committing himself to a crusade for reforming Japanese values, in addition to his original mission to instruct the Japanese in Western techniques. Moreover, he chose to fight for control rather than reconciling himself to the Japanese situation. While he could cultivate a close relationship with his assistants, his self-righteous and uncompromising attitude not only made his experience the most turbulent among those of all the American experts but it also seems to have erected the kind of barrier between him and the Japanese that all his knowledge of the language could not overcome. Also, Lyman's unswerving trust in reason and rationality of human beings did not help him in understanding Japanese sensibilities. Lyman's case seems to indicate that, in understanding an alien culture, knowledge of the language is not enough. Attitudes play a crucial role.

Dun worked hard, doing his best within the given circumstances. His attitudes toward the Japanese were remarkably free from Western prejudices, and instead were

characterized by tolerance, patience, and sympathy. Also, he came to appreciate Japanese tradition not only in its esthetic expression, which many other foreigners appreciated too, but also in its effectiveness in facilitating Japanese development. However, for all the validity of his argument that the progress of Japan must be based upon its history and tradition, it is also true that his preoccupation with the uniqueness of Japanese culture tended to keep him from perceiving those aspects of Japanese culture which contained receptivity to change as well as universal values shared by other cultures. Dun's case, which marked a sharp contrast to that of Munroe, also suggests the difficulty of cultivating sympathetic understanding with other peoples while remaining a part of one's own culture.

In the case of Clark, his frustrated experience at home made him ready to appreciate an alien society. Also, he was flexible enough to comply with the indigenous culture. At the same time, Clark sensed from the beginning, mostly through his conversation with Kuroda, that he and the Japanese shared certain values, including aspirations for achievement as well as consideration of the importance of morals in pursuit of science. Indeed, no one probably could have better understood the Japanese sense of anxiety in seeking to join the powerful West than did Clark, who began life as a "poverty-stricken" student and became a successful professor and prominent president. In addition to his enthusiasm and his magnetic personality, his perception of

Japanese culture as containing both unique and universal elements might explain why he obtained such strong support from Kuroda and so much affectionate devotion from his students.

The effects of the Japanese experience upon the value of the American experts were also varied. Dun went through the most radical change, viewing individualism in American society from a sharply critical perspective and perceiving a gap between the idealistic pretensions of U.S. foreign policy and its realities. On the other hand, Lyman's Japanese frustrations strengthened his belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority, changing a former radical into a staunch supporter of laissez faire at home and imperialism abroad. He was still writing in 1915: "I firmly believe that we are ultimately destined to possess all of North America."[4] His assistant Munroe regarded the job offered by the Kaitakushi primarily as a stepping stone to success at home and was apparently little affected by his Japanese experience. Capron, who had deplored riots by Irish workers and exploitation of Indians by adventurers, found the orderly masses in Japan praiseworthy and wondered whether the material benefits of Western civilization would guarantee real happiness. But he identified himself with the remarkable agricultural and industrial development of his country in the nineteenth century so fully that in the end he laid aside such a question. In the cases of most American experts, including Capron, the Japanese experience did not bring about a paradigm shift but

seems to have broadened their world view to the extent that they recognized that there were different cultures and that Western civilization did not necessarily monopolize all the virtues.

The experience of the Americans employed by the Kaitakushi seems to tell us that, in spite of all the difficulties, working in a different culture was worth the effort. First of all, they obtained a broadened world view, a valuable asset. Also, their lives were enriched not only because they took away colorful memories to look back upon but also because many of them kept ties with the Japanese. Peabody, a professor at Sapporo Agricultural College, expressed the feelings of these Americans, when he wrote to Griffis, "Mrs. Peabody and I have found our acquaintance with these Japanese to be one of the pleasantest and most interesting of our experience in life."[5] For Capron, Lyman, and Clark, their memories and their ties with Japan turned out to be most valuable in their last declining days. Furthermore, the Americans left their mark on the development of Hokkaido; they laid, at least, part of the foundation for the future growth of Hokkaido. Japanese appreciation lasted far beyond their lifetimes and survived the tragic war between the United States and Japan, demonstrating that, although individual efforts may not leave a glorious record in diplomatic documents, they are not made in vain. Finally, they left a lesson for those of us who are interested in transactions of different cultures: we all tend to view another

culture with ethnocentric and normative judgments, failing to realize that one culture is neither superior nor inferior to another since each has grown from its own unique soil, and therefore we should try to understand, with sympathy and patience, why an alien people think and feel the way they do, keeping in mind the fact that every culture has both unique and universal aspects. To take such an attitude, which sounds simple but is actually very difficult, is a prerequisite to enable people of different cultures to work together for any common cause.

NOTES

1. Rockwell to Lyman, 4 May 1885, LAPS; Gaujot to Lyman, 13 June 1879, 29 June 1881, LAPS.

2. Munroe to his parents, 23 February 1873, MCHS.

3. Griffis to the editor of Scientific American, 19 July 1872, carried in The Japan Daily Herald, 18 November 1872.

4. Lyman to Beukema, 29 May 1915, LAPS.

5. Peabody to Griffis, 14 July 1923, GRU.

APPENDIX

LIST OF AMERICAN EXPERTS

NAME	POSITION	ANNUAL SALARY($)*	PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT 1871 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82
Capron, Horace	Commissioner & Adviser	10,000	4 yrs
Antisell, Thomas	Mining Engineer, Chemist, & Ass. Director of Kaitakushi School (KS)	4,000-8,000	2 yrs 9 mons
Warfield, A.G.	Civi. Engineer	4,000-6,500	1.4
Eldridge, Stuart	Secretary, Physician	2,000-6,000	3.4
Boehmer, Louis	Horticulturist	2,000**-3,000	10.3***
Taylor, Thomas M.	Cattle Breeder	2,000**	1
Shelton, Edward M.	Farmer	2,000**	1
Werve, Matthias	Tanner	2,000**	2
Holt, N.W.	Mechanical Engineer	2,000**-3,600	4.3

NAME	POSITION	Annual Salary($)	PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT 1871 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82
Clark, Sandford	Mechanical Ass. Engineer	2,000**	2
Clark, James R.	Interpreter & Ass. Civil Engineer, Teacher	3,000	2
Wasson, James R.	Teacher(KS), Civil Engineer	4,000-6,000	2.1
Munroe, Henry S.	Ass. Mining Engineer	4,000	2.3
Lyman, Benjamin Smith	Mining Engineer & Geologist	7,000	3
Askins, Samuel	Ship Captain	1,800	1.3
Clarke, Samuel S.	Chief Ship Engineer	1,800	2
Hearson(?), William	Chief Mate	1,800	2
Peterson, August	Ship Engineer	1,560	0.4
Ames, George	Ship Engineer	1,200	0.4
Clark, George C.	Second Mate	720	0.4

NAME	POSITION	ANNUAL SALARY	PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT 1871 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82
Randolph, John C.	Teacher(KS)	5,000	0.10
Bates, Albert G.	Teacher(KS)	1,800-3,000	1.11
Wilson, Alfred A.	Ship Captain	1,800-2,400	1.5
Rolland(?)	Chief Engineer	?	0.6
Blanchest(?)	Chief Mate	?	0.6
Dun, Edwin	Cattle Breeder & Farmer	1,500-3,000	9.9***
Day, Murray S.	Civil Engineer	4,000-6,000	2.10
Brown, Samuel	Cattle Breeder	1,500	0.7
Rockwell, George J.	Teacher(KS)	1,800-2,400	0.6
Corwin, William R.	Teacher (Sapporo School)	1,800-2,100	1.3
Clark, William Smith	Pres. of Sapporo Agricultural College(SAC)	7,200	1

NAME	POSITION	ANNUAL SALARY($)	PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT 1871 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82
Wheeler, William	Prof. of Civil Engineering(SAC)	3,000-4,800	3.7
Penhallow, David P.	Prof. of Chemistry & Botany(SAC)	2,500-3,600	4.3
Brooks, William Penn	Prof. of Agriculture(SAC)	2,500-3,600	10.7***
Treat, Ulysses S.	Fish Processor	4,000-6,300**	1.6
Swett, Trescott	Ass. Fish Processor	720-1,800	1.4
Cutter, John C.	Prof. of Anatomy (SAC), Physician	3,000-?	8.4***
Crawford, Joseph U.	Railroad Engineer	4,800-6,800	2.9
Peabody, Cecil H.	Prof. of Civil Engineering(SAC)	3,000	2.7
Gaujot, Ernest	Mining Engineer	4,800-5,800	1.2
Daws, Joseph	Miner	1,440	0.6

NAME	POSITION	ANNUAL SALARY($)	PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT 1871 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82
Brown, John Douglas	Railroad Engineer	3,000-4,200**	1.3
Holloway, H.C.	Mechanical Engineer	2,100-3,000	2.2***
Reynolds, John	Railroad Builder	2,100	1
Strickland, Dwight Tyroll	Rolling Stock Engineer	2,100	1
Whelan, John	Ass. Railroad Builder	1,200-1,620**	1
Winn, Stephen D.	Railroad Bridge Builder	2,100	0.7
McCune, William	Ass. Mechanical Engineer	2,100	2.6***

Sources: Harada Kazufumi, Oyatoi gaikokujin: Kaitaku [Foreign Employees: Development of Hokkaido], Appendix, 8-16; and other miscellaneous materials.

*Salaries were paid in different species and some were paid monthly.
**Monthly bonuses are included.
***The period of service in Hokkaido beyond the expiration of the Kaitakushi is included.

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