Benjamin Smith Lyman: Geologist at the Intersection of Hokkaido, Japan, and the United States

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Benjamin Smith Lyman

Geologist at the Intersection of Hokkaido, Japan, and the United States

A Thesis Presented

by

BENJAMIN J. ASHBY

Submitted to the Graduate School of the

University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

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Benjamin Smith Lyman: Geologist at the Intersection of Hokkaido, Japan, and the United States

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DEDICATION

To my parents, whose love and support made this possible
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Stephen Forrest, whose knowledge and skill are matched only by his kindness and support. It was from conversations with him about the history of Japanese studies that the original idea for this thesis emerged. Through countless emails and video calls he guided me through the process, offering advice and resources every step of the way. I wish to also thank Sharon Domier, East Asian Librarian at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Her limitless energy, enthusiasm in helping students, and ability to conjure both primary and secondary sources seemingly out of thin air cannot be adequately described. I also wish to thank Dr. Garrett Washington, who aside from being a member of my committee provided valuable insight into Meiji era Japan.

I would like to thank Fukumi Yasuko, former East Asian Librarian at UMass, who brought Lyman’s collection to the university. Additional thanks goes to those who have organized, maintained, and even digitized a great deal of the Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection. While I do not know their names or faces, their contribution has been invaluable.
ABSTRACT

Benjamin Smith Lyman: Geologist at the Intersection of Hokkaido, Japan, and the United States

SEPTEMBER 2021

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Benjamin Smith Lyman was a geologist from Northampton, Massachusetts, who was contracted by the Japanese government in 1872 to carry out coal surveys on the island of Hokkaidō 北海道. What started out as a standard geological survey, quickly evolved into a lifelong interest in Japan for Lyman. The large collection of letters, books, photographs, and other documents housed under the Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, serve as a primary source on both early relations between the Japanese and the West and the beginnings of the large network of academic writings which today can be classified as Japanese Studies. His Japanese career can be broken into two parts, 1872-1881, and 1881-1920. Highlights of the first part include problems with early Japanese government bureaucracy, feuds between fellow oyatoi gaikokujin, living conditions for foreigners living in Japan, the transmission of knowledge from foreign professionals to Japanese students, and even a small insight into the Dutch community in Tokyo. Highlights of the second include interactions with men such as Murray, Chamberlain, and Satow; several articles on topics ranging from mirrors to sociology; Lyman’s adopted Japanese son; and the Japanese community in 1890s Philadelphia.
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Any discussion of Benjamin Smith Lyman (1835-1920) must contend with three distinct yet overlapping areas of academic study of Meiji Japan: oyatoi gaikokujin 雇い外国人, the colonization of Hokkaidō, and American-Japanese relations in the late 19th century. All three of these areas have over the years received a great deal of attention, though often from a “top-down” view, or in other words focusing on the larger elements and trends at play. In speaking of the oyatoi gaikokujin 雇い外国人, much scholarship has either considered them as a whole (Burks’ The Modernizers,1 Jones’ Live Machines,2 Moeshart’s A list of names of foreigners in Japan in Bakumatsu and early Meiji)3 or by breaking them into smaller constituent groups (Ennals’ Opening a Window to the West,4 Ion’s American Missionaries,5 or Roberts The British courts and extra-territoriality in Japan, 1859–1899).6 Discussion of the island of Ezo (now Hokkaidō) is a more recent phenomenon, and has largely focused on issues such as identity (Morris-Suzuki’s scholarship in particular),7 colonialism (Mason’s Dominant Narratives of Colonial Hokkaidō and Imperial Japan),8 the Ainu people with Siddle’s focus on their ethnic and cultural identity,9 and Walker’s examination of them from a medical context.10

3 Herman Moeshart, A list of names of foreigners in Japan in Bakumatsu and early Meiji (1850-1900), (Amsterdam: Utgiverij De Bataafsche Leeuw B.V, 2010).
4 Peter Ennals, Opening a Window to the West: the foreign concession at Kobe, Japan, 1868–1899, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).
7 In particular four articles published by Morris-Suzuki between 1994 and 2001, and provided in the bibliography below.
Finally, the scholarship of American-Japanese relations follows a similar trend of general examination with works such as Dulles’ *Yankees and Samurai*,¹¹ Fujita’s *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier*,¹² and Wordell’s *Japan’s Image in America*.¹³

However, such approaches often have the unintended consequence of overlooking the individuals involved in these larger narratives, or reducing them to examples of larger trends. This is not to say that individual case studies do not exist: focusing on the individual is in fact common in scholarship on oyatoi gaikokujin and American-Japanese relations. Yet these individual focuses, perhaps inadvertently, draw on certain individuals or certain primary texts. For example, discussion of both areas is filled by scholarship relying upon the writings of William Griffis (1843-1928), an American educator who resided for four years (1870-1874) in rural Fukui and wrote books on Japan and education in Japan after his return. Aside from Griffis, other scholarship on American oyatoi revolves around educators, men such as David Murray (1830-1905), William Clark (1826-1886), and William Wheeler (1851-1932). In regards to Europeans there is a bit more diversity, but not by much.

Such a view threatens to limit our perception of Americans in early Meiji Japan as being primarily educators; and while there certainly were a great number of these, many other types of Americans made their way into Japan through the ports of Yokohama or Nagasaki. Some even made their way to the island of Hokkaidō to aid in its “development.”

There exists then several “gaps” in our ground view of Japan’s transition into modernity. This may have been acceptable several decades ago when there was less information available in

English\textsuperscript{14} and many relevant texts were neglected on the shelves of university and library archives, but now with the advent of digital humanities and the ease of sharing created by the internet this is an issue which must be rectified. Which brings us to Benjamin Smith Lyman, whom I would like to put forward as a more-than-suitable candidate to play a part in this wider endeavor of bringing more first-person accounts to bear.

Lyman, as mentioned above, serves as an overlap for three areas of study which need more individual-focused scholarship in order to break the mold currently in place. Lyman was employed as a geologist by the \textit{Kaitakushi} 開拓使 (hereafter referred to as the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency) from 1872-1875 in which he carried out geological surveys for coal fields in Hokkaidō. When this contract expired he took up a new one with the Interior Department from 1876-1878 and surveyed oil fields around the main island of Honshu (particularly in the Echigo area). Upon returning to the United States he maintained an avid interest in all things Japanese, and engaged with the Japanese community living along the east coast of the United States. His meticulous recordkeeping, which comes in the form of both professional publications and numerous letters, carries with it an image of Hokkaidō, and Japan as a whole, as seen through the eyes of a foreigner scientist. His interest was not in evangelizing the Japanese,\textsuperscript{15} but in helping the Japanese government in exploiting the resources of their new empire. He also provides a strong argument that for these foreigners their interest in Japan was not limited to the length of their employment with the Meiji government. After returning from Japan in 1881 Lyman would spend the rest of his life corresponding with former Japanese assistants, building a network of Japanese contacts along the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, adopting a young Japanese

\textsuperscript{14} As will be discussed below, this project is limited to English sources on Lyman.

\textsuperscript{15} As compared to William Smith Clark whose brief time at the Sapporo Agricultural College instilled a deeply rooted Christian tradition in the school, and whose collection can also be found in the University of Massachusetts Amherst
man, communicating with early Japanologists, and even publishing several amateur academic articles on various aspects of Japanese studies.

One thing I wish to avoid in this study is limiting the view of this topic to purely the person of Benjamin Smith Lyman. Though Lyman is the central focus of this paper he is not the sole subject of it. I hope that the establishment of a clear image of both Lyman and his relationship to Japan will serve as an inspiration for further studies not only of him as an individual oyatoi gaikokujin, but as a player (however large or small) in Japanese-American relations and also in the colonization of Hokkaidō by the Meiji government. An example of this departure from a purely gaikokujin view of Lyman can be found in Timothy Vance’s article on Lyman as a phonetician,16 which will be discussed below. I have also been informed that Michael Roellinghoff will include Lyman in an upcoming work as an agent of imperialism in Japan’s colonization of Hokkaidō. Though my own work will by necessity be more biographical, it is scholarship such as Vance’s or Roellinghoff’s that I wish to promote in the future.

To accomplish this, I will focus on Lyman’s life between 1872 (when he took up employment with the Japanese government) to 1910, the date of the last Japan-related content available in the digital archives. The first chapter, covering his time in Japan (1872-1881) aims to illustrate Lyman’s initial “encounter” with Japan, his interactions with it, and his reactions to both the land and its people. The second chapter covers Lyman's return to America and the various ways in which he “sought” Japan by building networks of Japanese contacts and pursued whatever knowledge of Japan was accessible to him. The final chapter discusses how Lyman

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“shared” Japan by taking what he learned and turning it outward to family, friends, and fellow academics of both the amateur and professional variety.

Before beginning, I wish to discuss the resources I have utilized for this endeavor. I have primarily drawn from the “Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection” available in the University of Massachusetts-Amherst Special Collections archive. Due to interference caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent quarantine my access to the archive was primarily limited to what material had been digitized by the library. Fortunately, this included Lyman’s letters, and it is from these that I have drawn the majority of my information. Supporting these letters are official reports, Lyman’s academic writings, and various texts containing biographical information of Lyman. In the process I created an online database tracking who these letters were sent to or had been received from, in the hope that this resource could be helpful for further research (see note appended to Bibliography). There are throughout the following narrative several gaps in both information and chronology. Some of these can be explained by a lack of correspondence related to Japan (a necessary filter given the size of the collection) or by a genuine lack of letters altogether. I have attempted to indicate these gaps and provide speculation only when it has adequate evidence behind it.

As I hope will become apparent over the course of this paper, the potential of the Lyman collection does not end with what is discussed here. In my research there were numerous threads that I was unable to pursue due to a lack of knowledge or time. I wish to touch upon the two larger threads which I believe could be fruitful and important avenues of future research. The first concerns the Japanese population whom he interacted with along the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, in particular those living in or near Philadelphia. Should the University of Pennsylvania have the records, looking into the history of Japanese students at the university
whom Lyman references in his letters, along with their names and histories, would prove I believe a fruitful endeavor. From Lyman we only have a few names, but already included are students related to major zaibatsu in Japan.\textsuperscript{17} Beyond them, the annual gatherings in New York City, the launching of the warship Kasagi笠置,\textsuperscript{18} and businesses such as the one run by Arai and Kushibiki in Atlantic City\textsuperscript{19} all warrant attention to create a better understanding of Japanese-American interactions along the Atlantic coast of the United States.

The second thread that needs to be pursued is that of Lyman’s geological work in both the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency and the Interior Department. As I lack knowledge of geological matters I had to limit my comments and analysis. Outside of the published reports, there are numerous maps of various regions of Hokkaidō (and the whole of Japan) included in the university’s collection.\textsuperscript{20} With the interest in Hokkaidō’s status as a colony growing ever greater in the past several years, understanding the work done by men such as Lyman, Henry Smith Munroe (1850-1933), and especially General Horace Capron (1804-1885) in service of the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency would greatly aid in this discussion. In addition, consulting (and translating) relevant Japanese sources, particularly government records and any biographies of Kuroda Kiyotaka黒田清隆 (1840-1900) or other Japanese government officials involved, might fill significant gaps in the knowledge presently available in English..

\textsuperscript{17} The exact zaibatsu in question will be discussed below. Zaibatsu were large family-based business conglomerates which emerged during the Meiji period and dominated Japanese economics until their disbandment at the end of the Second World War in 1945.
\textsuperscript{18} Lyman letter to Adachi, November 8, 1898, BSLC. The Kasagi and her sister ship Chitose were the first of the Kasagi-class cruisers, ordered in 1896 and paid for by indemnities from the First Sino-Japanese War. The Kasagi was built in Philadelphia whilst the Chitose was built in San Francisco.
\textsuperscript{19} Lyman letter to Suguira, February 1, 1899.
\textsuperscript{20} These maps, as a result of their size and age, are beginning to fall apart, and to lose them before they had been replicated or digitized would be a great tragedy.
In regards to Japanese sources, they have been sadly neglected from this study, partially from a lack of time but also from my own limitations regarding the language. There have been Japanese discussions of Lyman, for example former UMass East Asian librarian Fukumi Yasuko\textsuperscript{21} published over twenty articles on Lyman in a Japanese geological newsletter.\textsuperscript{22} Copies of these articles are available online, although I was not able to take advantage of that in this thesis.

There is, of course, also the rest of Lyman’s collection to contend with. Many of the letters have been digitized, and the collection itself has been organized and properly labeled. Lyman lived a very long life, and as we shall see, did a number of extraordinary things in addition to meeting a number of extraordinary people. Rather than being seen merely as a launching point for a broader investigation, Lyman deserves to be examined in whole after being relatively neglected by the world in the last century. He was a remarkable individual, and study of him could only aid scholars of numerous fields and specializations in understanding the late-19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century and the drastic changes which accompanied them. As the pamphlet on the collection puts it: “His circumstances and career provide a useful perspective upon major developments in New England, United States, and, indeed, world history during a period of immense change.”\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21} Fukumi Yasuko came to be the East Asian Librarian in the 1970s. In 1979 she uncovered the present Benjamin Smith Lyman collection at the Forbes Library in Northampton. After raising $200,000 she managed to successfully purchase and relocate thousands of letters, photographs, and books to the university, where they became the Benjamin Smith Lyman collection. She has her own collection at UMass, primarily composed of her own research into Lyman and the Lyman collection. Like Lyman, both Fukumi and her collection are deserving of closer inspection.

\textsuperscript{22} Titled Raiman zakki 「ライマン雑記」 these twenty-three articles were published in the 地質ニュース Chishitsu news between 1990 and 2010. They are cited in Bibliography.

\textsuperscript{23} The Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection, Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection (hereafter BSLC)
Benjamin Smith Lyman was already 38 years old when he undertook his journey to Japan, and as a result a brief biography of his life up to 1872, and the reasons for his hiring by the Japanese government, is in order. Born December 11, 1835 to local judge Samuel F. Lyman (1799-1879) and Almira Smith Lyman of Northampton, Massachusetts, Lyman received a primary education at a nearby school. In 1855 he graduated from Harvard University, counting amongst his class such famous names as Charles Cutter, Alexander Agassiz, Phillips Brooks, Robert T. Paine, and Franklin B. Sanborn. That same fall he took up work with his uncle Joseph Peter Lesley (1819-1903), a noted geologist and mining engineer who worked out of Philadelphia.

Lyman was suited to this work, as it turned out, and two years later he was working for the American Iron Association, touring various foundries in the American South. The following year, he carried out work in Iowa for James Hall, a well-known geologist of the time and state geologist for New York. In September 1859, with four years of experience under his belt and tensions escalating between northern and southern states, Lyman enrolled in the Ecole des Mines in Paris with the financial backing of Mr. Lesley. This was to be the first of Lyman’s many travels overseas, and served to complement his field experience with the latest in mining theory. After finishing his studies in Paris, Lyman enrolled in the Royal Academy of Mines in Freiberg, Saxony, where he studied for another year. In 1862 Lyman returned to the United States in the midst of the American Civil War, but declined to serve due to his “distrust of the present management of the federal government and of its army.”

24 Lyman letter to Lesley, September 19, 1862, BSLC.
traveling the northern states and Nova Scotia. In 1864 he took up vegetarianism, a habit which he held to for the rest of his very long life.

In 1870 Lyman was hired by the government of the British Raj to survey petroleum fields in the Punjab region. As indicated by later letters, the journey was a rather unpleasant one, and left Lyman deathly ill and reluctant to travel abroad again. At some point after his return from Saxony he had moved to Philadelphia and rented out his Northampton house. From Philadelphia Lyman set out across the country, carrying out surveys or mining operations for a long list of state governments and private companies. It was while working in the Charleston, West Virginia, area that he would first receive the letter from the Hokkaidō Development program.

Given how his journey to Japan would define the rest of his life and his legacy, it is perhaps humorous to note he was very reluctant to undertake the journey, and indecisive about the offer. On one hand, he believed that the trip could prove a financial boon for his business interests (Lyman seemed to always be tight on money), and that a topographical map of the newly opened territory of Hokkaidō would greatly interest his fellow geologists in New York City. Additionally, the offer to survey three new fields was not one Lyman believed he would ever receive again. However, Lyman was quite concerned about the cost of travel (assuming erroneously that he was responsible for it) and the size of the salary. He also feared the prospect of working under General Horace Capron, who had a reputation for being a tyrant of a boss, and that the terrible illness he had in Punjab would revisit him if he went abroad again. He decided

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25 There exist letters from Lyman and records of his comings and goings from 1862-1865, but as they fall outside the scope of this paper I cannot comment on them.

26 The story of this Northampton residence sadly falls outside the scope of this research, but as much of Lyman’s letters and books were given to the Forbes Library in Northampton in the initial dispersal after his death in 1920, Lyman likely held on to the house until his death.

27 Lyman letter to Lesley, May 21, 1872, BSLC.
to send a counteroffer requesting his salary be increased and travel expenses compensated, and awaited the response.\textsuperscript{28}

Lyman did not receive a response to his counteroffer until July 9. The “middleman,” Joseph Henry (1797-1878) of the Smithsonian Institute, had forwarded his requests to Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847-1889), then stationed in Washington D.C. at the Japanese Embassy. Lyman by this point seems to have come around to the idea, turning down an offer to survey Yellowstone and marveling to Lesley at the “Manifest Destiny” of the situation, which had so far gone exceedingly in his favor.\textsuperscript{29} There is a gap in information between July and December, but by mid-December Lyman was staged in San Francisco, ready to board his ship and depart for distant Yokohama. He likely expected a similar experience to that of his time in India: a one year commitment that would be largely uneventful. There is no evidence in the collection that he did any advanced research other than perhaps a phrasebook (more on that below), but as we will see Lyman’s time in Japan would be nothing short of life-altering.

\textsuperscript{28} Lyman letter to Lesley, May 21, 1872, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{29} Lyman letter to Susan, July 9, 1872, BSLC.
CHAPTER 1: ENCOUNTERING JAPAN
The Hokkaidō Colonial Agency had been founded in 1869 by the Meiji government to counter Russian interests in the North Pacific, settle the now largely jobless samurai class, and to provide resources and food for the rapidly modernizing state of Japan. Allocated 4-5% of the Meiji government’s annual budget, the Agency held a great deal of autonomous civil and military power. By 1872 there had already been eighteen immigration groups that had attempted to settle the island with mixed results.\(^{30}\)

Struggling with these initial efforts, the Japanese government had decided to bring in a foreigner to oversee the project. Kuroda Kiyotaka was sent to Washington D.C. to find someone who was knowledgeable on agriculture, transportation/irrigation, and natural resources. The Grant administration, who took a great deal of interest in deepening relations between Japan and the United States, offered the Secretary of Agriculture Horace Capron to help Kuroda find a qualifying candidate, and when none could be found in time Capron himself was offered the job.\(^{31}\) Capron was the son of a wealthy New England family, and had made a name for himself nationally for his scientific and progressive methods of agriculture, and viewed his employment by the Kaitakushi as a fulfillment of his patriotic duty.\(^{32}\) Given a short time to assemble his team, when Capron left for Japan on August 1 he brought with him chemist Thomas Antisell, civil engineer Major A.J. Warfield, and secretary Stuart Elridge.\(^{33}\) Whilst all three of these men would prove less than ideal for the job and would cause Capron a great deal of trouble, it was a start.


\(^{31}\) Irish, *Hokkaidō*, 145.


\(^{33}\) Irish, *Hokkaidō*, 145.
The “American Commission”, as the American press coined it,\(^{34}\) arrived in Yokohama on August 25. Whilst he settled in Tokyo, he immediately sent Antisell and Warfield to carry out an initial two-month survey of Hokkaidō. Antisell provided an extremely pessimistic report on the potential of the island, believing the cold too intense for successful settlement. Warfield’s report was much more optimistic, and it was this report that Capron chose to consult. Taking the information from these initial reports and his own visit to the island in summer 1872 he presented his suggestions to Kuroda Kiyotaka and the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency. He suggested that the largely agricultural communities replace human labor with farming machinery, conduct thorough surveys of the island’s natural resources, develop roads and means of transportation, and settle a largely agricultural population.\(^{35}\) The Agency also founded an agricultural school and model farm in Tokyo per Capron’s advice and imported sawmill machinery from the United States.\(^{36}\)

As an agriculturalist, Capron ensured the introduction of new plants, crops, livestock farming implements, and machinery; as the chief advisor to the Agency, Capron stressed “systematic”, “scientific”, “practical”, and “economical” operations.\(^{37}\) Unfortunately for Capron, the energy he brought to the Agency was not reciprocated by his fellow foreign assistants. Thomas Antisell was a talented chemist, but in Hokkaidō his assumed familiarity with geology meant that he was in charge of carrying out surveys. Aside from his initial negative report on the potential of Hokkaidō, he conflicted with Capron over pay and threatened to resign several times. While his resignation was not accepted, he was sidelined to the temporary school

\(^{34}\) Beauchamp, *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, 90-91.
\(^{35}\) Irish, *Hokkaidō*, 146.
\(^{36}\) Irish, 147.
\(^{37}\) Beauchamp, *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, 95.
in Tokyo until eventually being replaced by Benjamin Smith Lyman.\textsuperscript{38} A.J. Warfield, formerly a civil engineer with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, contributed a great deal to Hokkaidō’s infrastructure, but difficulties in communication, slow reports, homesickness and subsequent alcoholism severely hampered his reputation.\textsuperscript{39} Before becoming Capron’s secretary, Stuart Elridge trained in medicine and served as the librarian for the Department of Agriculture. He repeatedly clashed with Capron over his discontent at playing secretary, and would eventually be allowed to establish a hospital and medical school in Hakodate along with the first medical journal in Japan.\textsuperscript{40}

Needless to say, by early 1872 it had become apparent to Capron that he needed more and better-qualified assistants, and soon. Capron’s state-side contact, Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institute, was on the search for fresh blood, and found the perfect candidate in Benjamin Smith Lyman. Lyman was exactly the type of person the Japanese government had been looking for when they sent Kuroda to Washington D.C. in 1871; he was a seasoned expert with a highly credible academic background and extensive practical experience.\textsuperscript{41} As his mentor Peter Lesley told Joseph Henry:

“His [Lyman] maps show genius. His \textit{exactness} is his chief charm for me. His integrity is unshakeable, and penetrates all his science. I consider him the best field worker we have in America, but he is \textit{slow}. On the other hand he does not know what fatigue means. He works from sunrise to sunset. His enthusiasm is of that sturdy and unwavering kind that never is thrown over by any excitement.”\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{38} Irish, \textit{Hokkaidō}, 148.  
\textsuperscript{39} Irish, \textit{Hokkaidō}, 149-150.  
\textsuperscript{40} Irish, 150.  
\textsuperscript{41} Beauchamp, \textit{Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan}, 100-101.  
\textsuperscript{42} Peter Lesley letter to Joseph Henry, May 9, 1871, Library of Congress.
As discussed above, Lyman was approached by Henry and Mori Arinori, and after negotiating a higher salary agreed to sign on to the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency. He was just one of several new faces who would join the Agency over the next year, including chief surveyor James Wasson, surveyor Murray Day, agriculturalist Edwin Dun, botanist Louis Bochmer, and engineer Joseph Crawford, N.W. Holt, and James Irwin. He arrived at Yokohama via steamer sometime between December 1872 and January 1873 and was quartered in Agency housing. From this point forward the majority of information relating to his time in Japan comes via his letters and published survey reports. By the spring of 1873 he was preparing for his first expedition to the island of Hokkaidō.

Before proceeding, it is important to discuss what the island of Hokkaidō looked like around 1872 and the seasonal nature of the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency and its geological studies. The island formerly known as Ezo (or Yesso to foreigners) had received increased attention in the waning years of the Tokugawa Bakufu 徳川幕府, but most Japanese (also known as wajin 和人) lived in the southern port city of Hakodate or the immediate surroundings. Hakodate had been at the center of the short-lived Republic of Ezo led by former admiral Enomoto Takeaki 榎本武揚 (1836–1908) and an open port to any foreign traders. Because of its rebellious past and strong foreign mercantile influence, the Meiji government sought to establish a new center of Japanese power on the island.44 The first colonists sent by the Agency were five hundred men sent to establish an

43 Irish, Hokkaidō, 150-153.
44 Irish, 105.
agricultural commune in 1869, an attempt which failed. Of the 18 groups sent over the next three
years, 11 consisted of former *samurai* and 7 of *commoners*. Small agricultural
settlements were established, particularly on the Ishikari River 石狩川 *plain in the central part of the island*, Shizunai 静内 *along the*
southern coast, and Date City 伊達市 *halfway between Hakodate and the*
Ishikari River settlements.45

While the colonists who arrived in the ports of Hakodate, Muroran 室蘭, and Otaru 小樽 were mostly farmers, various industries soon emerged on the island as well. The vast forests of Hokkaidō encouraged a booming logging industry, and the long history of fishing on the island led to a salmon cannery near the Ishikari River estuary and *kombu* 昆布, a vital element of trade with China. Mining was much more difficult than these other industries, but would soon become just as vital an industry. Coal mines surveyed by the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency would eventually fuel the young Japanese state, and a substantial sulfur mine could be found at Mt. Iō 硫黄山 *on the Shiretoko Peninsula*.46

The surveys of these vital mines began far to the south in Tokyo, where the Agency would spend the spring planning for its annual summer expedition to Hokkaidō. When Lyman arrived in Tokyo in early 1873 the Agency was in its “off season”, a time in which the various reports and observations made in Hokkaidō the previous summer would be processed into reports and maps, a process which often was not completed until April or May. Once this work was completed, the field teams composed of a foreign geologist such as Wasson, Day, or Lyman,

45 Irish, 125-128.
46 Irish, *Hokkaidō*, 133.
along with several Japanese assistants would pick several areas of Hokkaidō to survey with particular interest in potential oil, coal, and gold deposits. The teams would depart between late May and early June via a steamer from Yokohama to Hakodate. Hakodate served as the forward base of operations on Hokkaidō, and from here the teams would split off to complete their respective tasks. The teams would carry out their surveys, communicate with each other when need be, and occasionally provide assistance. It is unclear when exactly the return journey to Tokyo was, but the teams would have all returned to Tokyo before the cold weather in Hokkaidō set in.47 Based on Lyman’s letters, the months of December and January saw holidays, gatherings, and overall rest-and-relaxation bring official operations to a lull.48

Lyman brought with him a professional atmosphere previously missing from the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency. He, like Capron, would make several suggestions, though with much less success than the old general. One innovation that did meet Kuroda’s seal of approval was the consolidation of the survey reports for the summer 1873 expedition into a published book titled *Preliminary Report on the First Season’s Work of the Geological Survey of Yesso*, which at Lyman’s suggestion (and under his name) was shared with geological societies in both North America and Western Europe. The reports were synthesized together and organized into several sections. The first section “Nature of Survey” lays out where the surveys took place, how these surveys were carried out, the advantages of these geological surveys, and the conduct of his assistants. The second section, “History of Operations” is a chronological recounting of the work broken into three sections: “End of April to 1st July”, “1st July to beginning of

47 This cycle of summer expedition, winter rest, and spring reports comes from Lyman’s in-agency letters, which follow this cycle throughout his time with the Agency.

48 Lyman often used the winter to catch up on correspondence. These letters are full of references to gatherings and holiday pleasurities which Lyman and other members of the Agency engaged in.
October”, and “Beginning of October to middle of November”. Then begins the geological aspect of the reports, broken into two sections. First is “Geology of the Region Surveyed” which describes the overall geology of the regions surveyed looking at “Alluvium”, “Volcanic Rocks”, “Coal Bearing Rocks” and several systems. The final section, Economic Geology, is organized by type “Coal”, “Horumui”, “Iron Sand”, etc.; within each of these are locations where deposits have been found. The regions examined by Lyman in 1873 were primarily the Ishikari River basin, Poronai 幌内, and the Ōshima Peninsula 渡島半島.

Lyman’s chief assistants for this year’s work were fellow American assistant Henry Smith Munroe, Japanese assistant Yamauchi Teiun, H. Satow as translator and botanist, Y. Akiyama as quartermaster, and S. Ichichi as Munroe’s quartermaster. The remaining assistants were Inagaki Tetsunosuke, Kuwada Tomoaki, Misawa Shigeo, Mr. Takahashi (later changed name to Sugira), Kada Sadachi, Saka Ichitaro, and Saito Takeharu.

With the exception of Munroe and Satow, these names would form the nucleus of a lifelong group of friends. The relationship between the 36 year old Lyman and his young Japanese assistants (between 18 and 21 years old with the exception of Yamauchi, who was in

49 H. Satow (details unknown) was an employee of the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency, often referred to simply as “Mr. Satow” in Lyman’s letters. He is not to be confused with the more famous British diplomat Ernest Mason Satow, who was in Japan at this time and was also, as it happened, an acquaintance of Lyman.

50 In the 1873 report only the surname of these assistants is given. I have, when possible, listed their personal names (which are written down elsewhere), but have not given the kanji readings of their names for fear of providing the wrong character.
his late 20s) was to grow incredibly strong as they worked together over the next seven years. Even after Lyman eventually returned to America he kept in close contact with them, and vice versa. Family, life events, photographs, and much more were to be sent back and forth across the pacific by this small band. However, for now, Lyman was another foreigner in the employ of the Japanese government, and his assistants, while well-behaved according to Lyman, still had much to learn.

Returning from Hokkaidō sometime in the fall, the next we hear from Lyman is December 3, 1873, when he began sending out letters to various colleagues and acquaintances inviting them to a dinner to mark his first full year of Agency employment on December 7. Those invited included his trusty translator and friend Mr. Satow, and both of his superiors: Kuroda and Capron.51 In the midst of his planning a notice came to the Agency office that the Empress would be making an official visit on December 5. In a letter to his father dated December 7th, Lyman relates the particulars of this visit, finding it a nice distraction from the rather “humdrum” office work. The Agency office seems to have been in poor condition, as Lyman relates that years of accumulated dust, broken windows, and screen doors were all in desperate need of attention. When the Empress finally arrived on the 5th, the foreigners were all kept in a separate waiting room, then marched into the room one at a time in front of the Empress, her ladies in waiting, officers of the House, and Japanese officers of the Agency. They formed a semicircle and bowed in a fashion they had been taught beforehand; the Empress stood and nodded, and an officer of the Agency told the foreigners in English how glad the Empress

51 Lyman letter to Kuroda, December 3, 1873/ Lyman Letters to Satow, December 4 & 7, 1873, BSLC.
was to meet them. Then the Empress sat down again, the foreigners bowed again, and proceeded out of the room as they had entered.\textsuperscript{52}

As noted above, one of Lyman’s initial reservations in accepting employment in the Agency was Capron’s authoritarian reputation. Yet letters from December of 1873 reveal a gradual reversal of this reservation, and Lyman’s willingness to help Capron find the addresses of certain fellow foreigners hint at least a professional cordiality between the two men.\textsuperscript{53} By January of 1874 Lyman had become comfortable enough in his position to begin making requests of his own. The most important of these was the creation of the \textit{Preliminary Report}. January 1874 saw the early termination of Thomas Antisell’s contract. After spending much of the last two years at the school in Tokyo, it was decided that it was best to cut him loose early with full compensation rather than keep him around further. Subsequently on January 12 Lyman sent a letter to Kuroda requesting first the hiring of more geological students from the Agency’s boy’s school, and second permission to move into the Antisell residence (which according to Lyman was superior to his own) as soon as it had been vacated.\textsuperscript{54}

In March Lyman sent a letter to Kuroda requesting the creation of a permanent museum exhibit at the Agency offices of the various “natural and artificial products” of Hokkaidō. These products included minerals, plants, land and water animals, fishery, and seaweed. He also noted that the exhibit should include “anything that will illustrate the peculiar customs and characteristics of the Ainu or even of the Japanese inhabitants…”\textsuperscript{55} In addition the exhibit should include photographs, maps, and books of Hokkaidō. He believed it would prove of great interest

\textsuperscript{52} Lyman letter to Father, December 7, 1873, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{53} Lyman letter to Satow, December 21, 1873, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{54} Lyman letter to Kuroda, January 12, 1874, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{55} Lyman letter to Kuroda, March 24, 1874, BSLC.
to students of various subjects (especially the Agency’s own mineralogical students), but also awakened an interest in fields of learning such as “geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, ethnology….” Finally, he pointed out how such museum exhibits had existed in both London and Paris for several years and had both been very successful in generating interest and profit.56 This exhibit would be approved of and eventually set up in the greenhouse of the Agency’s school for boys. Details of what was in this exhibit or how much interest it generated are not known, but a letter from April 1875 indicates that the greenhouse which served as the exhibit’s housing had fallen into disrepair.

This wave of progress in Lyman’s view was to very quickly run out, however. On April 12, Lyman wrote to Kuroda making another request in regard to the two schools run by the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency, one for boys and the other for girls. He noted with dissatisfaction a particular policy of the school which stated that “… no pupil of either of these schools can be released (except on occasion of sickness) from a service of many years to the department, a service generally extending far beyond the age of twenty-one.”57 Lyman fervently believed that such policy should be done away with and declared that the mark of an “enlightened government” was the jealous protection of the liberty of individuals, and that it was unbecoming to force children to stay in the Agency until well after they reached adulthood. Given Kuroda’s background as a former samurai and military man, Lyman wondered if he saw the schools as similar to a military and naval academy, instead of a normal school. If the students wished to stay with the Agency after their education was complete then it must be up to them and them alone. Later letters reveal that Lyman was speaking on behalf of his young Japanese assistants,

56 Lyman letter to Kuroda, March 24, 1874, BSLC.
57 Lyman letter to Kuroda, April 12, 1874, BSLC.
all of whom had graduated from the boy’s school and were bound by contract to the Agency for
several more years of service.58

This critique of the Agency’s school system dragged Lyman into a conflict which had raged within the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency since Capron and other foreigners had arrived. Antisell, Warfield, and Elridge had all been the core of the foreign contingent of the Agency, and had proven themselves very controversial figures. By 1874 even Capron’s boundless energy and optimism was turning to sour contempt. He had discovered that for all of its promise on paper, the Agency’s operations were often wasteful and inefficient. In Capron’s experience a solid proposal would be made by someone on the ground only for it to be smothered to death by an army of Japanese officials and bureaucrats. The boy’s and girl’s school was one such operation, and relations very quickly soured between Lyman and Kuroda. On the 16th Lyman sent a letter to an unknown government official asking for the immediate dismissal of Kuroda from his position as head of the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency. The argument was that over the past three years Kuroda had wasted large amounts of money for little return (recall that the Agency received 4-5% of the national budget), upheld “inexcusable” school policies, and used his position to officially intimidate subordinates and force through his own agenda. Lyman provided a story of an unnamed Agency official to back up this final claim against Kuroda.59 The exact reason for this sudden turn against Kuroda was unclear, but as Lyman was demanding Kuroda’s resignation a fight within the Agency school system was taking place.

Lyman had since his arrival in Japan become well acquainted with the Dutch community living in Tokyo. In particular, he had become quite close with Dr. Beukema (an instructor at

58 Lyman letter to Kuroda, April 12, 1874, BSLC.
59 Lyman letter to Unknown, April 16, 1874, BSLC.
what is now Tokyo Imperial University’s Medical school and of Mori Ogai 森鴎外) and his wife, a teacher at the Agency school. At some point Mrs. Beukema, and it seems the other female teachers at the school, had come under attack by the school administrator, one Mr. Fukuzumi, who insulted her abilities and demanded her resignation in what Lyman found a very unprofessional manner. It seems the matter had been brought to Kuroda’s attention before, but neither the letter sent in response to Capron and Lyman’s complaints contained any real solution to the issue. In fact, Lyman saw it as an intentional misunderstanding of the situation with its focus on Mrs. Beukema’s contract instead of the inappropriate behavior of Fukuzumi.  

Capron and Lyman’s professional cordiality quickly evolved into a tight alliance as the two men were united by increasing frustration at both Kuroda and the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency. Though it appears that there was little Capron could do in regards to the Fukuzumi affair, over the next two years he and Lyman were often united against Kuroda and the other Japanese officials within the Agency. During the Fukuzumi affair Capron had provided Lyman with a copy of a letter sent to him by Kuroda, and whilst Mr. Satow had blunted Lyman’s initial fury, it was Capron who convinced Lyman to back down and cease pursuit of any official investigation into Kuroda’s conduct.

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60 Lyman letter to Capron, April 18, 1874, BSLC.
61 Lyman letter to Satow, April 17, 1874, BSLC.
62 Lyman letter to Capron, April 19, 1874, BSLC.
The winter of 1874 would deal Lyman a series of heavy blows. He had come down with a serious illness, and it would take him until March to begin recovery; in addition, his chief assistant Yamauchi Teiun, whom Lyman had had great hopes for, resigned from his position. His opinion of Kuroda and the Agency as a whole had thoroughly soured by this point, and in a letter to his sister Mary dated April 6th 1875 he complained that though he lived in much less nicer housing than other foreigners of his pay grade the “pernicious Agency” was trying to force him to relocate to even cheaper housing in Sapporo. By 1875 the Meiji government began reigning in the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency’s spending, and as a result left the Agency desperately hurting for money. He had spoken to Mori Arinori, Agency administrator and “Kuroda’s particular friend”, on the matter, but to no avail. Lyman’s assistant Akiyama had been forced out of his home, James Wasson’s services were dismissed, and fellow geologist Murray Day had been relocated to Hakodate whilst his wife was sent home to America. In addition, there was an issue regarding the pay of Lyman’s assistants, and Capron’s time in Japan was coming to an end (he had been ordered to travel to Nagasaki and take a steamer back to America on April 21st). This all seems to have overwhelmed Lyman, who offered his resignation only to have it rejected.

In mid-April 1875 Capron forwarded a letter to Lyman from Kuroda (now the official head of the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency) in regards to yet another dispute. Orders to discriminate between the officer assistants and the student assistants (likely in regard to pay) were to make their way through the Agency on orders of Kuroda. Lyman declared in a letter dated April 17 that if any of his assistants felt less than human working under a foreigner he was more than happy to accept their resignation; his assistants’ contracts made no discrimination between

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63 Lyman letter to Mary, April 6, 1875, BSLC.
64 Lyman letter to Mary, April 6, 1875, BSLC.
officer and student, and if this were any other nation in the “civilized world” the contract would be respected.  

As Lyman geared up for his last expedition to Hokkaidō (his contract expired in December 1875), he wrote several letters in regard to an issue which had long plagued the Agency: chain-of-command. At the end of April Lyman discovered that orders had been passed from his superiors to his subordinates without his knowledge, which he decried as a complete break in chain-of-command. This was the second time such a breach had occurred (the other being in August 1874), and Lyman once again offered his resignation only to be turned down. Capron had encountered similar problems in his own time with the Agency. On countless occasions the Japanese had initiated projects without his knowledge or approval, and in general he found Japanese officials to be vain and duplicitous as a rule. This highlights the vague nature of foreigners within the Agency; whilst some, like Capron, served more as advisors, others like Lyman were working in the field with both superiors and subordinates. Lyman's professional background left him expecting a clear chain-of-command and certain business norms prevalent in American and European society, but not present in a largely ad-hoc agency under a non-Western government still transitioning out of feudal practices.

Lyman’s final months in the Agency were to be largely uneventful. The Capron family left Japan on May 21, and the Agency set out for Hakodate shortly after. Beginning in May Kuroda was absent from the Agency, away on a diplomatic mission to Korea, and

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65 Lyman letter to Capron, April 17, 1875.
66 Lyman letter to Capron, April 30, 1875.
his two stand-ins, Zusho Hirotake 調所広丈 and Yasuda Sadanori 安田定則 ensured the status quo was not disturbed. By the beginning of November Lyman had returned to Tokyo, where he received a letter from one Mr. Farsnau asked if he could apply for Lyman’s soon-to-be-vacant position. Lyman consented but informed Farsnau that he was too busy to formally introduce Farsnau to the Agency as a possible replacement, and he would need to find someone else in the Agency to do so. In December Lyman received a letter from his sister, Mary, indicating that their father Samuel Lyman was quickly approaching death. Should he make it to the New Year, Lyman responded, he would board the first steamer home and be back in Northampton by spring 1876.
To Lyman's surprise, in December the Japanese government asked him to stay a few years under the Interior Department. He was to survey various potential oil fields on the main island Honshu, which seemed to him much more productive than the Punjab fields he surveyed in 1871. Negotiations took until February to settle, but in the end he agreed to stay in Japan for a few more years. He was anxious to keep his dozen assistants from the Agency, and looked forward to the prospect of having better relations with officials than he has the past two years. In a letter to Peter Lesley dated February 11, 1876, Lyman laid out his principal issue with the Japanese officials he had dealt with thus far. The issue with the Japanese officials had not been a lack of amicability or politeness, but their “ignorance” of education and civilization. Namely, they lacked any real understanding of how the “modern and best improved methods of business” were done, with some being ignorant of business altogether. He likened them to children, fine to have as friends or subordinates, but annoying to have as superiors.68

To that end the Interior Department seemed much more enlightened and educated (their head officer being of the third rank), and was willing to make an arrangement that Lyman hoped would lead to few misunderstandings. They offered him a salary of $10,000 a year with travel and housing expenses, an arrangement that will begin the first of February. Regarding unfinished work with the Agency, Lyman offered to finish his work with the maps and reports, but positively refused to renew a contract with them and refused the gifts they sent him at the expiration of his contract. He supposed the work would take him another six weeks, and negotiations were already underway to transfer his assistants from the Agency to the Interior

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68 Lyman letter to Lesley, February 11, 1876, BSLC.
Department. Assuming many of them were still under contract, one must wonder how this was possible, but Lyman does not give the details.69

By March 23rd, Lyman and his assistants were finalizing the maps from the 1875 Hokkaidō survey, and were preparing for their first expedition to Echigo, where the most promising oil fields were located. His team of ten former Agency assistants was reinforced by seven student assistants; in addition to these, Yamauchi Teiun returned to serve as Lyman’s chief assistant, and Adachi Jizō70 took on a role as Lyman’s clerk. Adachi had begun working as a “servant boy” for Lyman when he first arrived in Japan, but had spent the last year and a half as his copyist. In addition there would be a boring party led by Akiyama who would use a cheaper Japanese horse-and-cart method instead of more expensive American machinery.71

Part of the delay in finishing his Agency work was the fact that it was not just his work, but also that of his former assistant Henry Munro. In a letter to Peter Lesley Lyman confessed that while Munro was possessed of “great scientific talent”, he also possessed an "intolerable conceit" and believed he knew everything beforehand.72 Lyman had been finishing up Munro's work since the latter left Japan (namely completing his unfinished maps), and had concluded that Munro knew as much about geological section drawing as the youngest Japanese assistant.

Whilst the two had been working together Lyman had kept Munro as far from him as possible, partly because of Munro’s natural disposition, partly because of Munro's intense paranoia that someone might steal his glory. Munro for his part avoided Lyman and the other assistants in the office, did not correspond when in the field, disobeyed instructions, and when he did write

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69 Lyman letter to Lesley, February 11, 1876, BSLC.
70 As with the list of assistants above, reliable kanji are not available.
71 Lyman letter to Susan, March 23, 1876, BSLC.
72 Lyman letter to Lesley, June 21, 1876, BSLC.
provided as little information as possible.\textsuperscript{73} At the time of his departure he claimed he would return or send someone to take his place, Lyman had been assured by a Japanese acquaintance that Munroe would never return in the service of the Japanese government. He did, however, manage to squeeze $22,000 worth out of said government for very expensive drills and for educational programs.\textsuperscript{74}

While the Interior Department had from the beginning agreed to let Lyman finish his Hokkaidō maps, they had grown impatient for progress in their own surveys. He had to constantly supply them with preparations and cost estimates before his departure on June 6\textsuperscript{th}. Lyman had been informed that the first two weeks of June would be rainy, but the weather had proven perfect for traveling about the countryside. However, a few days into the journey his horse fell on its knees from fatigue, throwing Lyman off and injuring him severely. The fall injured a nerve in his lower back, and left him bedridden in a village called Ichinosawa.\textsuperscript{75} It took him several weeks to be able to resume field work, and much longer to fully heal. In the meantime he wrote letters, did office work, and gave general instructions to his assistants. Lyman reported to Lesley that his assistants were "to their delight" free altogether of the "detested Agency" and had been permanently transferred to Lyman's new department (Interior Department) where they were no longer "students, cadets, or apprentices" but simply "hired men".\textsuperscript{76} Though they were now officially government employees, most of Lyman’s assistants were paid $13 a month whilst Yamauchi, a "yakunin of the eighth rank," was paid $70 a month and Lyman’s paymaster (name unknown), a yakunin of the 11th rank, was paid $30.\textsuperscript{77} Given the

\textsuperscript{73} Lyman letter to Lesley, June 21, 1876, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{74} Lyman letter to Lesley, June 21, 1876, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{75} Ichinosawa is a small village in Tochigi Prefecture, directly northeast of Tokyo.
\textsuperscript{76} Lyman letter to Lesley, June 21, 1876, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{77} Lyman letter to Lesley, June 22, 1876, BSLC.
nature of their work, “rough necking” through rural Japan for half the year and producing numerous reports and maps the other half, Lyman considered $13 to be a rather modest pay, though his lack of complaint about it hints that it was better than what had been paid the assistants under the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency.

In December 1876 when Lyman was considering a return to America, he had offered his collection of minerals and some furniture to his assistants in case they decided to form a geological society. Lyman ended up staying, but the assistants did form a society, calling themselves "Geological Society for the Chishitsu Gikai". Unlike societies in America and Europe, having “contributed to science” was not a prerequisite for joining, favoring a society of young and upcoming geologists (such as his assistants) over the gentlemen's club of established geologists that Lyman was a member of. They did, however, exclude those with merely an "idle interest". Between his Agency and Interior Department workloads Lyman had been too busy to keep a close eye on them, but the society had by June 1877 already begun to assemble a library and collections of minerals. Lyman for his part reached out to Lesley asking for his geological reports or indeed any other reports which could be sent across the Pacific.78

In the course of his work in Japan Lyman had suffered a chronic shortage of proper scientific instruments. He had made numerous attempts to contact his provider regarding an undelivered order of survey instruments back in 1875, but by mid-1877 he still had received no response. At this point Lyman was expecting to take on an additional half-dozen assistants, all of whom would require the proper instruments in order to do their work. Other foreigners such as

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78 Lyman letter to Lesley, June 21, 1876, BSLC.
Munroe or Godfrey (a peer from Freiberg and head of the Mining Department in Japan), had not had such issues, which perplexed Lyman even further.79

Within the Interior Department, Lyman had grown frustrated at his superior’s indifference to his reports and, similar to Capron’s experience with the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency, the Japanese officials in the Department had gone behind Lyman’s back to begin drilling oil fields that had not yet been properly tested. Lyman had argued that the fields needed further surveying and requested that drilling be held off until proper equipment/information was available. However, the Japanese government demanded that the oil fields be opened immediately, even if the process was neither efficient nor safe. In addition, Lyman had made sure that, unlike the Agency, a clear chain of command was established around his new position in the Department. He was dismayed, then, when he discovered that as with the Agency his superiors had been issuing orders to his assistants without his knowledge. Lyman had offered his resignation, and it was only by a “nice luncheon” and acceptable (though perhaps not believable) explanation from the department minister that he did not end his contract early.80

When Lyman worked for the Agency he did his office work at their offices in Tokyo. However, when he moved to a new house in 1879 at 17 Guehome, Hinakawa-chō, Koji-machi, he dedicated a quarter of the home as a home office. Though much of the office work was done by Lyman himself, he shared this corner of his home with his assistants for surveying, assistants for mapping, and assistants for copying. By March 1879 his contract with the Interior Department was coming to an end though as with the Agency it would take him several more

79 Lyman letter to Lesley, June 22, 1876, BSLC.
80 Lyman letter to Lesley, March 20, 1879, BSLC.
weeks, if not months, to finish the work; however, even in the final days his workload had not lessened, and as of May 1879 it had been unremunerated.81

In May 1879 Lyman had received news "that Dr. Naumann is apparently pressing on my heels"82. It was reported in February in a German newspaper (which arrived in Japan in April) that German geologists were to take over in the efforts to develop Japanese natural resources. Heinrich Edmund Naumann, the “father of Japanese geology”, had proposed to survey the entire country over a period of fifteen years, and though it was not official Lyman had been told it was all but guaranteed to be accepted by the Meiji government (which it ultimately was). Lyman had no interest in renewing his contract with the Japanese government, meaning in theory Naumann's work would not affect him directly. However, Lyman took it as a great insult that those who had worked tirelessly over the past seven years to survey the country (like his assistants) were to be entirely left out of this new arrangement and replaced by Germans. Lyman's assistants were safely employed until at least the end of July, but even then there would be a great deal of work left to do. He was not concerned about conflicting publications, either, as he was confident by the time Naumann was finished Lyman's reports would already be out of date.83

Lyman had, however, given up on the idea of living a quiet and pleasurable life after his contract ended, as his still being in Japan was sure to draw the attention (and ire) of Dr. Naumann and his friends. In fact, criticisms of his work had already begun circulating in 1878, and he imagined once Naumann arrived they would only increase in number and intensity. While

81 Lyman letter to Lesley, May 30, 1879, BSLC.
82 Lyman letter to Lesley, May 30, 1879, BSLC.
83 Lyman letter to Lesley, May 30, 1879, BSLC.
working under such conditions would be unpleasant, Lyman thought, so too was the thought of leaving so much information unreported.\textsuperscript{84}

LIFE IN JAPAN

Up to this point the majority of Lyman’s letters had been about his work or news from back home. However, starting in 1877 more and more of his letters are dominated by personal notes and about his own life in Japan. For instance, in one letter to Peter Lesley Lyman tells of a particular tea house which he visits a few times each year, and how he had befriended two of the waitresses there. The two had expressed an interest in seeing some of the Western furniture and items in Lyman’s home, which he had invited them to. However, along the way they had become hopelessly lost, going so far as to stop at a temple to pray for directions. As they were leaving the temple they happened to bump into Lyman, who had been out for a walk that day and had randomly decided to take an alternative route. The story appears in Lyman’s letter as an amusing anecdote about the power of prayer (Lyman was not particularly religious), but it also gives us a rare glimpse of Lyman interacting with Japanese outside of his superiors or assistants. Given his friendship with the two waitresses, it also hints at Lyman possessing the ability to hold at least a very basic conversation in Japanese (more likely than the waitresses knowing English) and an interest in engaging with society whose government he had spent the last five years working for.

The recurring subject of Lyman’s bachelorhood comes to the fro several times starting in 1877, primarily in regards to his Aunt Susan (to whom he writes) and Mrs. Beukema (who teases him about it). In a letter to Aunt Susan he spoke of surveying various mountain hot springs for the Interior Department and of his interactions with the "water naiads", whom while being helpful in his work did not increase his opinion of their sex. "You see that your slave of beauty's

\textsuperscript{84} Lyman letter to Lesley, May 30, 1879, BSLC.
summer life was not altogether without its amenities...." he writes whilst referring to himself as "your virtuous old bachelor nephew". It is perhaps humorous that someone as exacting and scientific as Lyman would, when it comes to romance, be a hopeless romantic full of poetic ideals. He had turned forty in 1835, and due to the nature of his work had never had the chance to settle down and start a family. At least, that is the generous reading of his situation. From what little can be gleaned from his letters, another factor in his bachelorhood may be that the only thing he held higher standards for than his work was his ideal woman.

In another letter Lyman, whilst speaking of his Dutch neighbors the Rappard family, wondered if by some means a wife could be sent to him from America. Mr. Rappard had, before sailing to Japan, arranged a marriage to the now Mrs. Rappard, living in the Dutch East Indies, who met him upon his arrival in Japan. Mrs. Beukema had, in a mix of teasing and sincerity, proposed finding Lyman a match, and in a playful dig at Lyman’s personality proposed that the future "Mrs. Ben" would need a strong enough will to counter Lyman's own. While Lyman imagined there were many young women in America who would meet this requirement, he feared that American "girls" were too proud and notional for his "humble taste" and it would be better for him to make a voyage to France or Switzerland, "where even youth, amiability, intelligence, and comeliness" would be found in "petite beauties of a certain age". The multiple emphases on age aside, Lyman seems to have had a very fixed image of a potential wife. Mrs. Beukema’s dig at Lyman hints at a characteristic of Lyman’s which manifested itself before in his dispute with Kuroda and tension with Munroe, his stubborn will. An “American girl”, Lyman feared, would prove too equally strong-willed, but a “girl” from a presumably-traditional

85 Lyman letter to Susan, February 15, 1877, BSLC.
86 Lyman letter to Susan, February 15, 1877, BSLC.
European town would be more gentile and therefore compliant to Lyman (i.e., under him). It seems he never found the European “girl” of his dreams, as he would spend the rest of his life a bachelor.

Outside of his letters, Lyman was one of a few Westerners in Japan who took up living the “Japanese life”. Lyman’s home was of the traditional Japanese style, he traveled in jinrikisha (in fact he seems to have been quite fond of his jinrikisha driver), ate Japanese foods, and there are numerous photos of him in traditional kimono. As witnessed by the two waitresses, he had no issue visiting traditional tea houses or conversing with Japanese outside of the well-educated government officials. There are also numerous pictures of various peoples of Japanese society, including geisha, performers, actors, plant vendors, and even Ainu. The archives have provided dates for these pictures and attributed them to Lyman, but there is no clear indication of when exactly these pictures were taken or who took them. Lyman certainly had an interest in photography, as even a cursory examination reveals many portraits of mining sites and his own home which are certainly taken by himself (or someone in his retinue). However, many of the individual and group portraits seem to have been taken in a photography studio, likely in Tokyo or Yokohama; the photographer in these cases could be Lyman, or they could simply be photographs he purchased. As I myself am not overly familiar with Meiji-era photography, I will leave speculation and future research to those well-versed.

In regards to his social activity with other foreigners, there is a noticeable absence of correspondence from Lyman between the end of his employment in August 1879 and his return to America sometime in early 1881. There had been instances in the past (particularly the winter

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87 Lyman letter to Lesley, May 28, 1879, BSLC.
88 His lifestyle is revealed in the financial records and photographs found within the BSLC.
89 These photographs, indeed a large number of photographs, can be found in the Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst.
of 1875-76) where Lyman was simply too homesick or of poor spirit to correspond, and whenever he was in the field during the summer and autumn months he would typically only write if it was a request to his superiors. Lyman’s extensive photograph collection comes to our aid in this instance. Whilst a quarter of his home had been a devoted office, the other third saw extensive use, as Lyman seems to have had several visitors over the years. Though Lyman’s description of William S. Munroe to Peter Lesley had been anything but flattering, he visited Lyman at some point in 1879 and the two took several photographs together in Lyman’s garden. There are pictures of the two alone, with fellow oyatoi gaikokujin William Penn Brooks, with two unidentified men, and with William Wheeler of Sapporo Agricultural College and his wife. Additionally, there are several photographs of Lyman with his household staff and jinrikisha drivers, and one with Adachi Jinzō and two house servants, Kōtarō and Otsume.

Lyman’s Garden with servants Adachi, Kōtarō, and Otsume, 1880

Munroe was not the only party with which Lyman managed to mend bridges, as beginning in April 1880 he took on side work with the much-despised Hokkaidō Colonial
Agency. In an exchange of letters with one G. Noguchi between April 9 and May 1, 1880, Lyman agreed to help the Agency with identifying mineral samples taken from their continued efforts in Hokkaidō. Noguchi would send Lyman a box with a certain number of samples, Lyman would identify them, and then send back the minerals to Noguchi.90 The relationship between the two was not purely professional, however. Noguchi stated in a letter dated April 20th that in a few days he would discuss with Lyman the distribution of the Agency maps and reports which had been the idea of Lyman whilst still working with them.91 Additionally, Lyman offered to help Noguchi in his efforts to be promoted. Noguchi’s English was, according to Lyman, quite good for “a Japanese,” and Noguchi had been notified by his superiors that should his English skills improve they would most likely promote him to a higher position. Lyman recommended Father Adrian Meyer, a resident of Odawara-chō who offered English lessons. However, Noguchi found Father Meyer’s prices too high and the distance too far, and in the end settled for one Mr. Wadden, whose residence was very close to Noguchi’s own.92

**THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE**

In August 1879 Lyman found himself in a similar situation he had encountered in December 1875. His contract had come to an end on a sour note, and though he had no reason to stay in Japan he would not be able to return home until at least spring 1880. He plotted his return voyage, planning to return through Europe visiting Italy, England, France, and Germany. He desired to live the "European life" as he called it, and that desire kept him from looking for a

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90 Lyman letter from Noguchi, April 9, 1880, BSLC.
91 Lyman letter from Noguchi, April 20, 1880, BSLC.
92 Lyman letter from Noguchi, May 6, 1880, BSLC.
more permanent position such as professorship back in America, though he noted that such a position would be quite preferred if attainable.\textsuperscript{93}

Earlier in 1879 Lyman had spoken of his intense interest in learning the Japanese language, and was disappointed by the lack of understanding in the few books written on the subject. Though his employment had officially ended in August, the last three months had been a vacation of sorts. He planned to use these to catch up on letters, finish his reports, learn more Japanese, and engage in more social activities; but his reports took more time and energy than expected, as explained above. Now that he was a free man, Lyman believed he had saved up enough money to live in Japan without salary for some time so he could live out his desire to engage in social activity and, more importantly, study the Japanese language.\textsuperscript{94}

Lyman had shown an interest in learning Japanese from the moment he arrived in Yokohama. The University of Massachusetts Archives has a phrasebook written out by Lyman with English expressions on the left page and the corresponding Japanese expression written out in \textit{romaji} on the right page, both in Lyman’s hand. Later geological notes from April 1873 confirm that it was used in the early months of Lyman’s time in Japan, though it is unclear if the phrases were added gradually or at once, written before or after arriving. It also implies that Lyman had someone to assist him, in this case the most likely candidate is friend and Agency translator H. Satow.

In regards to his study of the Japanese language proper, Lyman had already laid the groundwork. Lyman throughout his time in Japan, and after his return to America, kept a close relationship with the \textit{Japan Weekly Mail}, a foreign run English newspaper based out of

\textsuperscript{93} Lyman letter to Lesley, May 30, 1879, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{94} Lyman letter to Lesley, March 20, 1879, BSLC.
Yokohama. It was the Mail’s printing press which Lyman used to print his Hokkaidō reports, and just a cursory search of the Mail’s 1878 editions revealed his name coming up several times. On January 12th and 19th he published his “Notes on Japanese Grammar” in two parts.

Unlike much of Lyman’s academic work, “Notes on Japanese Grammar” has received the attention of a modern scholar. In 2012 Timothy Vance released an article closely examining Lyman’s notes and contextualizing it into the larger phonological setting. Lyman stated in the introduction that the goal of his article was to lay out some of the basics which had been neglected by previous writers and hopefully serve as an aid to fellow beginners. The first part laid out the pronunciation of vowels, consonants, “the sounds in general”, “arrangement of the sounds”, and accents. The second part focused on the orthography of the language, comparing it to English, German, French, Latin, and even Chinese (all languages which Lyman was familiar with).

Vance in his analysis notes that “Lyman’s 1878 article is in some respects remarkably sophisticated for its time, but his efforts were hampered by the primitive state of phonetics and phonology.” As a result, while many of Lyman’s observations have merit, the underdeveloped state of linguistic study meant that the conclusions he drew from these observations, and the explanations that accompanied them, were built on premises that would now be considered faulty. However, Vance concludes that stating that though as a “beginner’s guide” Lyman’s article is far too technical and difficult to understand, his “vowel descriptions went far beyond

those of his contemporaries, Samuel Robbins Brown (1810-1880) and James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911).”

Grammar was not the only aspect of Japanese language that Lyman expressed an interest in. Beginning in March of 1879 Lyman attempted to keep a journal in romaji, an enterprise that he would sporadically keep up until September of that year. Given that the system of writing Japanese in Latin letters was not well developed at this point, Lyman’s attempt is admirable though not always easy to follow. Additionally, there is a collection of bound strips of paper with poems from the *Book of Odes*, though whether this was written in *kanbun* or Chinese is unclear. The calligraphy is not Lyman’s, but whether these poems were something that could be bought, a gift from a friend, or practice from a teacher is unclear. Lyman’s English translations of the poems are written in light pencil, showing at least some understanding of (or effort to understand) how to read them. A possible answer comes in a beautiful calligraphy collection of three books gifted to Lyman by one “Tokushō-sensei”. However, pursuing this lead would require someone more knowledgeable of calligraphy.

**THE JAPANESE PEOPLE**

The relationships forged by Lyman with the various Japanese he came into contact with were complicated and often contradictory. When it came to those in government or his superiors in the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency and Interior Department his opinion of them was rather low and his attitude hostile. The first year of Lyman’s employment in the Agency, for example, featured the discovery by Lyman of three Japanese individuals within the Agency who had been lying. He initially sought to punish the three, but was convinced by Satow it would be better to make a positive example, and therefore requests that one Akiyama be rewarded for his honesty.

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98 Vance, 40.
as an example to the others.\textsuperscript{99} This would be the first of several letters in which Lyman belittled the Agency, and the Japanese government in general, for their poor “professional business” standards and lack of “enlightenment” overall. It would be unfair to say that Lyman thought the Japanese “inferior” to their Western counterparts, but he certainly viewed them as children in need of proper education and enlightenment.\textsuperscript{100}

In a letter from 1879 to Peter Lesley, Lyman explained the type of men in the government whom he had worked with and their level of education. Most of them were younger than the forty-two year old Lyman, and all of them suffered from what Lyman perceived as a lack of education. As Lesley had remarked in a previous letter the even thickness of the ink in the sketches Lyman sent him, Lyman explained that his assistants had all been trained in Chinese calligraphy, and as a result were quite skilled in rough sketches. Though their progress may have seemed slow from an outsider’s view, Lyman argued that in spite of their lack of education they had made considerable strides. After seven years under Lyman they had become excellent (though slow like Lyman) mapmakers, and though they had not yet surveyed on their own, Lyman believed them capable of doing most of the work independently.\textsuperscript{101}

In 1885, several years after Lyman had returned to America, he was contacted by William T. Harris, an educator and philosopher, asking him to publish an article on the Japanese people. Harris planned to start a magazine for philosophical articles that did not fit in any current magazines’ genre, and expressed great interest in publishing an article written by Lyman in one

\textsuperscript{99} While details of this episode are not elaborated further, it is likely that the Akiyama who would serve as Lyman’s assistant in the Agency and Interior Department is the same as the Akiyama mentioned here.

\textsuperscript{100} Lyman letter to Lesley, May 28, 1879.

\textsuperscript{101} Lyman letter to Lesley, May 28, 1879.
of the first issues. After several months of back and forth communication, it was finally agreed upon to be published in the April edition of the magazine for 1886.

“The Character of the Japanese: A Study of Human Nature” opens with a clarification that “In describing the Japanese, or any other people, of course we must not fail to distinguish between those features that depend on the fundamental character and those that only the result of a certain stage of civilization or enlightenment.” In addition, he notes that it must be remembered that “all inhabitants of the country are not equally civilized, and that, while some are highly enlightened, others are still essentially in a state of barbarism.” In particular he is referring to his own friends and acquaintances, to whom his discriminating account of the whole will not likely apply. In addition, given his interactions with Japanese both in government and in everyday life, he must have had some first-hand knowledge of the breadth of Japanese society.

The first “characteristic” of the Japanese people laid out by Lyman is their “socialness”, or in other words their instinct for association is stronger than their instinct for self-preservation or self-help. He follows this up with speculation as to how these two instincts are not entirely unrelated (association is in a way an act of selfishness) and makes a global comparison of people in northern, colder climates who are more associative and people in southern, warmer climates who are more self-preserving.

Lyman quickly transitions from pondering the reasons for Japanese associativity to discussing their “mental functions”, which he breaks down into “perceiving”, “suffering”, and “willing or action”. On the point of perception Lyman finds the Japanese very intelligent, as they

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102 Lyman letter from Harris, April 25, 1885.
103 Lyman letter from Harris, June 28, 1885.
105 Lyman, “The Character of the Japanese”, 133.
are “remarkably quick in perception.” “Moreover, one and the same nimbleness of nerve and brain, by conscious or unconscious methods, made possible both the swift transfer of sensations from the surface to the center and the rapid view of their interpretation according to previous experience… so that the same agility… gives the capacity of… a good memory, which is a striking characteristic of the Japanese.” Having worked with Japanese in the fields of Hokkaidō and Echigo, where precise memory was a must and situations quickly evolved, Lyman would have seen first-hand this quality of the “Japanese mind”; but instead of calling upon personal memory or anecdote he sticks to attempting a more “rational” explanation with evidence. However, this quick mind is not entirely a boon, as their quickness makes them impatient with the slow processes of reasoning…. In deduction, then, they are apt to be hasty and careless.”

This sounds very reminiscent of Lyman’s troubles with the Interior Department; he had urged caution and awaited the proper tools whilst his employers had been impatient to drill the oil fields of Echigo as quickly as possible.

Lyman commends the Japanese for their powers of induction, but notes that the “slightest complication” often leads them to make errors. “They will, for example, not easily comprehend how you can say things in praise of a man or people and at the same time mention any drawbacks; a man or a people must be altogether good or altogether bad.” This lack of “deeper pondering discovery” is compensated by their readiness to learn new things and ability to devise novel methods of quickening the use of said new things. This, paired with their “inclination to outward observation” and “respectfulness” leads the Japanese to copy and imitate, in Western

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107 Lyman, 135-136.
108 Lyman, 136.
eyes to an extreme, others. In this aspect one of the things they have copied and imitated is that of free public schools, an imitation which Lyman praises them for.

With the quick mindedness and skills at imitation established, Lyman carries on for many more pages discussing Japanese aesthetics, art, music, religious practices, criminal and civil code, and how they interact with those around them. Lyman in a span of some thirty pages attempts to explain the entirety of Japanese society and the character of said society. It is very obvious from a cursory reading that, as with his article on Japanese grammar, Lyman is attempting to solve a puzzle for which he does not have all of the pieces. The narrative he presents, that of the Japanese as quick minded, yet impatient, mockingbirds is one that warrants further discussion and dissection, but for our purposes we shall leave his words as he presented them.
CHAPTER 2: SEEKING JAPAN
RETURN TO AMERICA

At the beginning of 1881 Lyman began the long journey back to Northampton. Instead of crossing straight across the Pacific and landing in San Francisco (retracing his steps from 1872) he returned by passing through Europe, a trip he had desired for some time now. A letter to his sister Mary dated April 27th revealed that he had arrived in Paris three weeks prior, and would stay there until May 6th.\(^{109}\) By June 1881 Lyman had, after nine long years, returned to Northampton, Massachusetts. The archival material from this time period is predominately financial records and accounts, the processing of which likely took up much of Lyman’s first weeks back in America. He spent the first few months at home catching up with the nine years of news he had missed and, more importantly, reading geological reports he had missed. A letter from June 2 thanked Peter Lesley for forwarding a number of geological survey reports to him.\(^{110}\)

Lyman had not returned to Northampton by himself. In his company was one of his assistants, Kada Sadachi, who had returned to America with the hopes of taking part in geological surveys there. It is unclear whether Kada had accompanied Lyman through France or had rendezvoused with him in America.\(^{111}\) Lyman reached out to a fellow geologist, A.E. Lehman, who had accepted Lyman's request to allow Kada to join his survey as an assistant.\(^{112}\) Before parting, Lyman and Kada made a trip down to Philadelphia to meet with Lesley, with whom Lyman also requested that Kada be allowed to join. Lyman believed that Lesley would

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\(^{109}\) Lyman letter to Mary, April 27, 1881, BSLC.

\(^{110}\) Lyman letter to Lesley, June 2, 1881, BSLC.

\(^{111}\) Lyman’s letters between late 1880 and June 1881 are primarily stored in a letterpress copybook, and as it fell outside of the Japan-centric focus of this paper they have not been thoroughly examined. However, a cursory look indicates that the copies are of a poor quality, and when legible they are written sideways.

\(^{112}\) Lyman letter to Lehman, July 8, 1882, BSLC.
find Kada to be a "very accurate" fellow as he and the other assistants had been trained as such, though Lyman noted that this precision was an uncommon trait amongst Japanese.\textsuperscript{113}

Unfortunately the two were unable to meet with Lesley, and Kada departed for Lehman’s expedition.

Lyman settled down in Northampton, renovating his home after nine years of renting it out, and telling Lesley in a letter that he would have to come visit the house once it was finished and stay in his "cold shed", as his Chinese friends called it.\textsuperscript{114} He spent the next few years working from this home, even turning down potentially good job offers as he feared that they “may not prove to be sufficient to induce me to pull up stakes here.”\textsuperscript{115} However, he had begun to put out “feelers”, advertising himself in a mining journal and offering to travel to Boston or New York for interviews. In May of that year he took up work under Lesley, surveying on slate and limestone beds in Hogestown, Pennsylvania. By October he was in Ohio carrying out another survey, though the details of this journey are not known. He would spend several years hopping around the country from one job to another, before finally settling down in Philadelphia, where Lesley had long operated out of; the home he had renovated returned to renting out rooms.

Lyman may have intended upon his return in 1881 to settle down in Northampton, but the rural nature of the town greatly impeded his ability to find work. Peter Lesley had long been stationed out of Philadelphia, a large city which allowed access to the professional circles of the eastern seaboard and the surveying opportunities of Appalachia and the lands just beyond. It was likely this reason, in addition to his close connection to Lesley, which prompted Lyman to finally

\textsuperscript{113} Lyman letter to Lesley, July 14, 1882, BSLC.

\textsuperscript{114} Who these “Chinese friends” were is unknown. In an earlier letter Lyman had discussed relatives engaged in the China trade, which serves as a possible explanation. Alternatively, as the modern-day Pioneer Valley (in which Northampton is located) possesses a sizable Chinese population, these friends may have been from the initial waves of Chinese immigrants to the area. Further research into this particular diaspora is needed.

\textsuperscript{115} Lyman letter to Lesley, January 3, 1884, BSLC.
“pull up stakes” and move to a rental at 708 Locust Street, Philadelphia. It was here, not Northampton, that he was finally able to settle down, remaining at this address until his death in 1920. Aside from job possibilities, the city of Philadelphia was to serve as a nexus for Lyman in seeking those aspects of Japan, namely its language, culture, and people, which he had grown so fond of over his nine year stay.

NEWS FROM JAPAN

As previously mentioned, during his time at the Agency Lyman undertook the effort of making sure their annual surveys of Hokkaidō were published and distributed globally. This had been done with the assistance of the Japan Mail, who had let Lyman rent one of their printing presses. The Japan Mail was an English newspaper begun by one H. Collins in 1869 in Yokohama, and was read by both foreigners in Japan and made available globally via San Francisco and via the Suez Canal. Lyman had been a subscriber to the Mail since he arrived in Japan (even writing an article which will be discussed below), and he would continue to pay the yearly subscription fee. For example, in August of 1899 and April of the following year Lyman forwarded $6 and $7, respectively, to one Arthur Bellamy-Brown.116

Whilst the Japan Mail served as his regular source of information from Japan, Lyman would occasionally receive copies of other newspapers. For example, on July 24, 1898 Lyman thanked Reverend Stanford of Kobe for forwarding the Doshisha Supplement, May 1898 of an unknown newspaper relating the “Doshisha affair” and the various articles/comments which had been made about it.117 Lyman had spent most of his time in Tokyo and Hokkaidō, only traveling to the Kansai region of Japan perhaps once or twice. How he came to know a missionary in

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116 Lyman letters to Bellamy-Brown, August 13, 1899 & April 3, 1900, BSLC.
117 Lyman letter to Stanford, July 24, 1898, BSLC.
Kobe, or why he had any interest in Doshisha University’s affairs, is not clear. It should be noted, however, that Jo Nijima, the founder of Doshisha, had in the late 1860s attended Amherst College in Amherst, Massachusetts, just across the river from Northampton.

As the years went on and the link between American and Japan grew deeper, however, even American newspapers began to carry articles concerning Japanese matters. In a letter dated August 20, 1900, Lyman thanked his sister Mary for an article about Japanese swords published in the Republican, a newspaper local to the Northampton area. The article was not cutting-edge, as Lyman pointed out that the information was mostly old. However, that a local newspaper should carry such an article is of deep interest, and Lyman noted that there were some new bits of information.\footnote{Lyman letter to Mary, August 20, 1900, BSLC.} It seemed to have been an adapted version of an article written by Captain Edmund Zalinski, a military engineer whose studies had taken him to several countries including Japan. Lyman explained that Zalinski had returned from a several month stay in Japan with 160 swords, and wrote to Lyman for a copy of his two pamphlets on swords. This began a small correspondence between the two which was eventually broken off.\footnote{Lyman letter to Zalinski, March 24, 1899, BSLC.}

Aside from receiving general news, Lyman also took great interest in staying up-to-date with the latest news in regards to Japanese mining and resource extraction. In his letter discussing Naumann, Lyman had mused that his reports would be already well out of date by the time that Naumann finished. It must have come as a surprise, however, to find that in the decades after the fact not only were his surveys still appreciated, but he was kept abreast of the government’s mining activities. In 1889 he was visited by a Mr. Kato of the Government Mining Bureau who informed Lyman the surveys his team did a decade before were appreciated now
more than ever, especially their work on the Hokkaidō coal fields. Many more oil mines had been drilled, and though they were small Lyman was confident in their productivity. In January 1902, Lyman received a pamphlet on the Hokkaidō tanko tetsudo kaisha, from one Ōshima Rokuro. In May of that same year, Lyman thanked Iwaya Hosoi of the Japanese Department of Agriculture and Commerce for a copy of Japanese Mining Regulations and an account of the Ashio Copper Mine. Iwaya had visited Philadelphia briefly several years prior and had met Lyman, whose name he was likely already familiar with.

In June of 1902 Lyman received several monthly periodicals from Onozaki Gosuke concerning mining in Hokkaidō, which much to Lyman’s delight had come a long way and was continuing to make good progress. Two months later the Imperial Geological Survey of Japan sent Lyman eight sheets of Section I (Hokkaidō) of their map of Japan along with the accompanying text. This government report was followed up with another in October, the Abstract of Statistics of Noshomusho, courtesy once again of Iwaya. If Lyman received all of this through a personal connection (such as Iwaya) or through an official connection (as he had served the Meiji government) is unknown, but nevertheless someone in the Meiji government felt inclined to keep Lyman informed of the work whose foundations he had helped lay.

ASSISTANTS

Though many of these official reports were dated 1902, this was hardly the first time Lyman had been updated on such news. As discussed in the previous chapter Lyman had grown close with his dozen or so assistants, who followed him from his expedition to Hokkaidō in 1872

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120 Lyman letter to Kuwada, February 26, 1899, BSLC.
121 Lyman letter to Ōshima, January 3, 1902, BSLC.
122 Lyman letter to Iwaya, May 18, 1902, BSLC.
123 Lyman letter to Onozaki, June 23, 1902, BSLC.
124 Lyman letter to Iwaya, October 16, 1902, BSLC.
until the last of the maps for the Interior Department was finished in 1878. Though their official business together had ended, Lyman and his assistants were to remain in close contact for the rest of their lives. It was from the periodical letters of these assistants that Lyman was to receive most of his information about the latest happenings in Japan, and what the assistants, now fully grown men, had made of themselves.

The first and most extensive of these letters arrived on January 12, 1883 when Nishiyama Shogo sent Lyman a letter wishing him a happy (belated) New Year, and thanked him for the kindness shown towards Kada, who at this point was still out surveying with either Lehman or Lesley. Nishiyama updated Lyman on the whereabouts of the assistants and the overall state of Japan. Yamauchi Teiun and Maeda were working at the Poronai\textsuperscript{125} coal fields in Hokkaidō, Shimada Jun’ichi and Yamagiwa had recently returned from Hokkaidō with their families and transferred to the Public Works Department where they were to survey the Kinshiu coal field. Inagaki Tetsunosuke was still surveying coal fields, and Sugira the Aburato coal field in Hokkaidō. Kuwada Tomoaki and Adachi Jinzō were wrapping up their geological work in the Ari region and were planning to return to Tokyo in a few months. Ban had returned from Mino after finishing the work at Hida and Shinamo, Akiyama was in Echigo last Nishiyama had heard from him, Asa and Kō were continuing their former business, and Nishiyama himself had returned from Kamaishi, having finished his work in Aomori, Akita, Yamagata, and Iwate.\textsuperscript{126}

The geological society founded by Lyman’s assistants in 1876 seems to have still been functioning. The current resident of the society’s house in Hirakawa-chō was one Yoshikei, the secretary of the Chinese delegation, and the house had been left to the care of Maeda's father.

\textsuperscript{125} Poronai being the Ainu name, and the one which appeared in the Agency’s official reports and maps.

\textsuperscript{126} Lyman letter from Nishiyama, January 12, 1883, BSLC.
With everyone (except Akiyama) accounted for, Nishiyama moved on to the state of Japan in general. He spoke of the many political parties which had emerged in recent years, and listed some of the more influential ones. The many public works started by the government four or five years ago had mostly ground to a halt, including the Ari mining improvements. The Kamaishi Iron Works had stopped due to a shortage of charcoal, and Nobiru harbor had failed and so had various railroads and mines. The Agency had in its time spent ¥13,000,000, but only had the surveys, agricultural school, mines, and railroads to show for it. Though this exorbitant number was shameful to Nishiyama, he surmised that had the work of the surveys fallen to foreigners much more money would have been required.127

This letter reveals several key details on the state of geological work in Japan, at least that work done outside of Heinrich Naumann’s massive survey. Contrary to Lyman’s fears, his assistants had not been cast aside in favor of the new pro-German faction, but had instead found no shortage of work for themselves. Shortly after Lyman had left Japan a scandal had broken out involving the sale of Hokkaidō Colonial Agency assets to a consortium of high-ranking Agency and government officials. The amount of money and list of names involved was so severe that it brought the young government to the brink of collapse, and only the promise of a constitution kept it afloat. The Agency was subsequently dissolved in 1882 and Hokkaidō was split into three administrative zones which would be consolidated in 1886. The political parties which Nishiyama speaks of had formed in response to this promise of a constitution, and would over the next decade continue to grow in strength and number.

In addition to location, Lyman’s assistants were still able to find work in the government, such as Shimada and Yamagiwa with the Public Works Department. On whose behalf many of

127 Lyman letter from Nishiyama, January 12, 1883, BSLC.
the assistants worked is not stated, likely because it had been explained in an earlier letter not in
the collection or because the majority were still working for the Interior Department. Asa and Kō
had returned to their “former business”, implying that either they had found geological work
outside of a government agency or had returned to a previous line of work unrelated to geology.
That Nishiyama could keep track of so many people, and the continued existence of their
geological society and the home it was housed in shows that at least within the first two years of
Lyman leaving they had maintained their camaraderie, with the possible exception of Akiyama.

The flow of information was not one sided, as Lyman also kept his assistants abreast of
his own life. On July 18, 1898, for instance, Lyman sent Adachi Jinzō copies of two recently
published pamphlets of his. He added the addresses of several of his former assistants and asked
Adachi to forward copies to those whose addresses he did not know. He also updated Adachi of
the likelihood of America taking over control of the Philippines, making the US and Japan "very
near neighbors", and that he had read a report from an English Kobe magazine¹²⁸ about two
Americans who had declared the petroleum fields which Lyman and company had surveyed not
worth adding machinery. Lyman greatly disagreed with this assessment, and argued that their
work from 20 years ago still held true, that proper machinery would be a worthwhile investment.
Furthermore, unlike back then machinery was now cheap enough to be a viable option over the
hand-digging that the Interior Department had resorted to.¹²⁹

From what can be seen in Lyman’s letters, Kada and Adachi were the only assistants to
make it to America, or at least the only ones to live there for some time. A nephew of Kuwada
Tomoaki, named Kuwada Gompei, came to America and studied at Worcester Polytechnic

¹²⁸ Perhaps the same one which informed him of the “Doshisha affair”?¹²⁹ Lyman letter to Adachi, July 18, 1898, BSLC.
Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts (graduating in 1893), serving as the first goalie of their soccer team and becoming the inspiration for Gompei the Goat, the school mascot. It seems that as a boy he had been acquainted with Lyman, but as an adult the two would come to know each other very well.

Even before his arrival in America the two had begun a regular correspondence. In February 1899, Lyman thanked Kuwada for his New Year's letter, wishing him the same and congratulating him on his marriage. Lyman seems to have known the Kuwada family quite well, as aside from hoping his former assistant Tomoaki good health, he thanked Kuwada for the portrait of his sister, which Lyman had displayed in his home where it had become an object of "great admiration" amongst his friends and visitors.\(^{130}\) This habit of sending family portraits to Lyman was one that many of his assistants were to regularly engage with, particularly in the 1890s and 1900s. Lyman, himself a life-long bachelor, was touched by the kindness of his assistants, holding their family portraits as dear possessions and enjoyed looking at them and displaying them in his home.

The social group formed by Lyman and his assistants was not a fixed one, however, and from time to time new individuals would be added to it. Kuwada Gompei aside, another friendship Lyman struck up was with one Kajiwara, the fiancé of Shimada Jun’ichi’s second daughter. In a letter dated May 25, 1902 Lyman thanked Shimada for the portrait of his second daughter, and related how he had the pleasure of meeting her fiancé, Kajiwara, several weeks ago and found him “very agreeable”. The two had even had their portraits taken, though due to the photographer’s poor health neither was pleased with how they turned out. Lyman believed that, particularly in his solo shot, he looked "like a corpse", and Kajiwara related his own

\(^{130}\) Lyman letter to Kuwada, February 26, 1899, BSLC.
disappointment in a letter to Lyman. Aside from having such a promising young man as a future son-in-law, Shimada, after many years of faithful service to the Mitsui zaibatsu 財閥, had been promoted and relocated to Tokyo. Lyman believed Tokyo would be better for Shimada’s young family than the more rural places they had lived previously.\(^{131}\) Young families continued to grow as in February 1902 Lyman received news that Gompei’s adopted sister (whose portrait Lyman kept in his pocket) had had a child. Lyman humorously remarked that he could not imagine Tomoaki as a grandfather, but recalled that all four of Kada’s daughters were married.\(^{132}\)

The fortunes of the Shimada and Kuwada families, however, were intermixed with the tragedy of another. Briefly after a gathering of the former assistants in 1902, Inagaki Tetsunosuke passed away. The nature of the illness which took him is not clear, but a mourning Lyman remarked that this was the first break in their ranks since the death of Misawa some twenty-five years prior. Lyman took comfort in the fact that Inagaki had left behind a promising family to carry on his blood, and wrote to Inagaki Yoneto, Tetsunosuke’s son, sharing his condolences with the Inagaki family.\(^{133}\)

In August 1902, Nishiyama sent Lyman a report of the history of the Echigo oil business, which Lyman was glad to see had grown substantially over the last twenty years. He imagined the primary schools established in the Echigo thirty years ago were now bearing fruit, and was amused at the large list of districts now dotting the province. The original copy of this report is

\(^{131}\) Lyman letter to Shimada, May 25, 1902, BSLC.
\(^{132}\) Lyman letter to Brewer, February 3, 1902.
\(^{133}\) Lyman letter to Inagaki, April 20, 1902.
available in the Lyman collection, and features both a brief history of the oil industry in Echigo and a breakdown of oil production by district.

**JAPANESE IN AMERICA**

Being stationed in Philadelphia, and with contacts throughout the country, Lyman soon came to build another network: one of Japanese living in America, particularly in Philadelphia and along the East Coast. Additionally, given its relative proximity to cities such as Washington D.C. and New York City, Lyman was often able to convince acquaintances to briefly stop by and visit as they traveled to or from these cities.

In April 1900 Kuwada Gompei visited Philadelphia along with Major General Ōta Tokusaburo 太田徳三郎, commander of the Osaka Arsenal 大阪砲兵工廠 and Gompei’s current employer, on route to the Springfield Armory. Gompei and Lyman exchanged pleasantries before the former presented Lyman with various pictures of his relations and engineering projects. Much to Lyman's annoyance, however, he was given very little time to look at them, as both Gompei and the general came down with rather colds. Once they recovered they made the last leg of their journey to the Springfield Arsenal, with Gompei visiting nearby Northampton. The General sailed for England on the 19th (presumably to inspect arsenals there), but Gompei received a cable that he was not to sail until May.134

This is not the first, or even most interesting, example of Lyman’s interactions with those who either resided or had business in America. Back in 1890 Lyman had sent an invitation to a young Japanese man living in Philadelphia by the name of Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862-1933). The specifics of the invitation are unknown, but it would likely be some sort of meal or

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134 Lyman letter to Mary, April 15, 1900, BSLC.
other such event at Lyman’s Philadelphia address. At this point Nitobe was a young student at John Hopkins University and recently converted to the Quaker church, but he would go on to become one of the great Japanese minds of his generation in his extensive writings and academic pursuits.\textsuperscript{135}

Lyman came to know several Japanese residing in New York City, who would periodically visit Philadelphia for some reason or another. In 1898 one Matsumoto Moku sent him a copy of his newly begun New York Japanese News, which Lyman thanked him for and expressed his hopes that “the hearts of the two nations may, like the image of the joined flags on his paper, be united.”\textsuperscript{136} Another New Yorker whom Lyman was to become acquainted with was Wadamori Kikujiro 和田守菊次郎. In late January 1899 Wadamori presented his paper on mnemonics with live tests to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia as part of a larger tour through Philadelphia. Wadamori would prove to be a difficult man to keep track of, however, as Lyman notes in several letters his ignorance of Wadamori’s whereabouts or when he would leave New York City again to visit Philadelphia. In a New Year’s greeting to him, Lyman noted that many of their mutual friends in the city had been wholly ignorant of his latest project or travels.\textsuperscript{137}

Perhaps the oddest of Lyman’s friendships with the Japanese diaspora came in the form of his relationship with Arai Saburo and his business partner Kushibiki, of “Kushibiki & Arai

\textsuperscript{135} Lyman letter from Nitobe, October 30, 1890, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{136} Lyman letter to Matsumoto, October 14, 1898, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{137} Lyman letter to Sugiura, February 1, 1899, BSLC.
Japanese Landscape Gardeners and Constructors” located in Atlantic City, New Jersey. How this friendship came to be is not entirely clear, but Lyman’s family and friends were familiar with Arai and vice versa as each asked Lyman for occasional updates on the other. The business, however, would not seem destined to last. On one occasion in 1902, when J. Chester Morris, an acquaintance of Lyman’s, expressed an interest in cultivating Japanese persimmon and tea plants, Lyman had to reach out to Wadamori in New York City hoping he knew the particulars of Mr. Arai and Kushibiki whereabouts. The two had traveled down to Charleston in an attempt to find a new means of income last Lyman had heard, but if they were still there or their address was unknown to him.\textsuperscript{138}

The list of contacts goes on and on, but for simplicity's sake I wish to highlight two of the more important connections Lyman had with Japanese in America. The first is that of his adopted son and protégé Nakajima Tokumatsu whose studies would make the second connection of Lyman and the Japanese students studying at the University of Pennsylvania.

It is not entirely clear when Tokumatsu came to Lyman or when he was adopted as the latter’s son. The earliest letter (minus anything that might be found in the letterpress copybooks) is dated May 30, 1889 in which Lyman discussed baseball with “Toku”, as he was called, and worried that his position as scorekeeper did not allow for much healthy exercise.\textsuperscript{139} Tokumatsu had been the son of a former \textit{betto} of Lyman’s that had been sent to him by the Beukema family and recommended by one Mr. Meyer.\textsuperscript{140} By May Tokumatsu had been living with Lyman for some time, as denoted by the casual nature of the conversation. He would have at this time been in high school or some equivalent schooling, but whilst he remained in Northampton Lyman had

\textsuperscript{138} Lyman letter to Morris, April 23, 1902, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{139} Lyman letter to Tokumatsu, May 30, 1889, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{140} Is it possible this is the Father Adrian Meyer mentioned in letters to G. Noguchi?
already moved to Philadelphia. While Lyman provided the financial aid, the day to day care for young Tokumatsu was left in the hands of Fanny and Hannah Brewer, natives of Northampton and close friends of Lyman.

After finishing his primary education Tokumatsu would enroll at the University of Pennsylvania. This was the natural choice, as not only was Lyman located in Philadelphia but there were already a number of young Japanese enrolled at the university. For example, the graduation muster for the Class of 1894 included Tokumatsu, (future doctor) Isaac Sadajiro Sugiura 杉浦貞二郎, and Masao Matsugata. The years Tokumatsu spent at the University of Pennsylvania would put him into contact with a larger network of young educated Japanese men including Sugiura, Kuwada Gompei, and several Japanese students who would graduate in subsequent years from the university. Lyman would also benefit from this expanded network, a point that shall be expanded upon further below. For now it is important to know that Tokumatsu had entered a larger world, one that would unfortunately not receive him as kindly as it would his peers and companions.
Class of 1894: Included are Tokumatsu, Sugiura, and Matsugata

After graduation in 1894, Tokumatsu would be unable to find work benefiting from his Bachelor of Arts. Perhaps it was due to what he studied in particular, or perhaps it was because he was an outsider in a predominantly European-American world. Whatever the case, by 1898 Tokumatsu had taken up working the counter at Mr. Bennett's in Northampton. By this point he had also transitioned into using glasses, as Lyman noted to one friend that his vision had dramatically worsened since he first came to Lyman. By contrast Gompei was by this point traveling to and from Japan frequently, and Sugiura (now a doctor) was working a steady job in Japan.
By May of 1899, Lyman had concluded that the best course for Tokumatsu was to return home to Japan. If he could not find any work in America (or at least work suitable to his talents) then certainly he would prosper in Japan as other young Japanese with a foreign education had. As a result, over the next several years Lyman would mention in letters to his various Japanese contacts that should they discover any openings suitable for Tokumatsu to notify him. However, both the Brewer sisters believed Tokumatsu would be best served remaining in Northampton. Though the job was not prestigious, Tokumatsu had over the years become an adept clerk well valued by both Mr. Bennet and his customers for his skills and knowledge. Sugiura agreed with this assessment, adding that Tokumatsu may be better off staying in Northampton as many of the government and business jobs in Japan had very long wait lines. Both Matsugata and he had been looking for job opportunities for Tokumatsu, but unless he was fluent in Chinese letters there was not much to offer. Lyman for his part figured Tokumatsu could very easily learn this skill, but accepted Sugiura’s argument on the merits.141

Tokumatsu, the character at the center of all this, was reluctant to leave Northampton where he had made many friends and had come to call home. The situation would stagnate for the next year as Lyman waited for responses to his call for aid, Sugiura and Matsugata continued their search, and Tokumatsu remained reluctant. A break would finally occur in April 1900 when Gompei, traveling to the Springfield Armory with General Ōta, announced his intention to stop by Northampton. In preparation for this Lyman pleaded with him to speak to Tokumatsu about returning to Japan, and asked Fanny Brewer to meet with Gompei and give him as much information about Tokumatsu as possible.142 Lyman’s plan seems to have succeeded as the next

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141 Lyman letter to Brewer, May 14, 1899, BSLC.
142 Lyman letter to Brewer, April 16, 1900, BSLC.
month he had sent Tokumatsu his passport. Tokumatsu’s meeting with Gompei had gone over well, and he had lost much of his anxiety around leaving Northampton. Lyman believed Tokumatsu would be much happier in Japan, and the climate much better for his declining health. Tokumatsu expressed concern about the mandatory military service given his near-sightedness, but Lyman reassured him that it would be no obstacle.\textsuperscript{143}

Tokumatsu’s passport would, unfortunately, remain a curiosity. There had long been suspicions by those around him that something was troubling his health, but he had up to this point managed to carry out his work without issue. On September 14, 1901, Nakajima Tokumatsu would die of consumption, a disease which Lyman remarked took many Japanese who spent too much time in America. An obituary was published in both Northampton and Nagasaki where his birth family was still living.\textsuperscript{144} In February Lyman received a letter from Japan in which Tokumatsu’s mother requested some memento or keepsake of him. In a letter to Gompei Lyman discussed Tokumatsu's mementos, including his watch and a photobook of scenes from Northampton, which might serve as a suitable candidate. Tokumatsu had seldom spoken of his family or shown any real sign of affection towards them, though when Kada reported the death of his father he is said to have cried. Lyman speculated that had Tokumatsu returned to Japan he would have only communicated with them out of a sense of courtesy, but would have otherwise viewed them as a potential drag on him.\textsuperscript{145}

As mentioned above, Tokumatsu was not the only Japanese student to attend the University of Pennsylvania. As early as 1889 Lyman mentioned in a letter to Tokumatsu (the same where they discussed baseball) that there were already several Japanese students in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Lyman letter to Tokumatsu, May 1, 1900, BSLC.
\item Lyman letter to Kada, May 25, 1902, BSLC.
\item Lyman letter to Kuwada, March 10, 1902, BSLC.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Philadelphia, but the larger Japanese community returned home in small groups every few weeks. As previously discussed, Tokumatsu’s graduating class counted in its ranks Sugiura Sadajiro and Matsugata Masao. Sugiura during his time became the president of the Japanese club. When the club began it was no more than a club for informal gatherings, which more often than not were in Lyman’s parlor. There Lyman would keep them entertained with drinks, stories, and other such parlor activities.

After Sugiura’s graduation in 1894 the title of president was eventually passed on to Yasukawa Seizaburo, who enrolled at the university in 1896. Yasukawa was the younger brother of Matsumoto Kenjiro, who had also enrolled at the university in 1891 but had dropped out in 1893 due to family demands back in Japan. These two brothers were the son of Yasukawa Keiichiro, the founder of the Yasukawa zaibatsu. Kenjiro had been adopted by the Matusmoto family and would carve out a very successful career in the Japanese coal business. Under Yasukawa the Japanese Club became much more structured and formal, though Lyman worried that it had also become too ambitious. There was a banquet to celebrate the completion of the Kasugi, a Japanese ironclad, and several of the students made their way to the New York Consulate to celebrate the Emperor's birthday. Lyman missed the old days when their meetings were simple and intimate (and he could single handedly entertain them). Yasukawa even sought to create a

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146 Lyman letter to Tokumatsu, May 30, 1899, BSLC.
147 Lyman letter to Adachi, November 8, 1898, BSLC.
148 Lyman letter to Sugiura, February 1, 1899, BSLC.
constitution for the club, for which he enlisted Lyman’s help.\textsuperscript{149} After Yasukawa’s graduation in 1900 there is an absence of further mention of the club, and no new students appear as recipients of Lyman’s letters. Between 1900 and 1902 the number of students in Philadelphia began to decrease and be replaced by more and more Japanese shopkeepers. At the height of the Spanish-American War there were perhaps one hundred Japanese in Atlantic City, New Jersey, but fear of the Spanish fleet kept many from the seashore.

Sugiura would return to Japan in 1899, where he would take up as a practicing doctor. He would marry at some point afterwards, as in 1902 Lyman sent a letter mourning the news of the death of Sugiura’s first child.\textsuperscript{150} Lyman also updated Sugiura on the whereabouts of Wadamori, who had sent a letter last April that he would visit this coming May, but otherwise Lyman had not heard from him. He was still headquartered at the Japanese Nursery Company in Orange, New Jersey, previously owned by Arai and Kushibiki. Those two had recently closed their business in Atlantic City as the land had been bought for a hotel and had an exhibit at the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo, but poor Kushibiki was run over by a trolley and had his leg amputated. The Japanese population in Philadelphia had, by this point, shrunk to only five or six people.

In total, the years between the adoption of Tokumatsu and his death, and the beginning of Lyman’s association with the Japanese Club at the University of Pennsylvania and the emptying out of the city of Japanese lasted barely fifteen years. Yet the connections that would be made in this time, the lessons that would be learned, and the events which would transpire would act as a pebble in the pond, starting at Lyman and radiating out to touch the lives of many people, some

\textsuperscript{149} Lyman letter to Yasukawa, September 20, 1898, BSLC.
\textsuperscript{150} Lyman letter to Sugiura, July 28, 1902, BSLC.
whose names are lost to history and others who would make history. Lyman had spent nine years “encountering Japan”, and another fifteen “seeking it out”. In the next chapter we shall see that beyond acting as a nexus of people and absorbing knowledge of Japan, Lyman was also actively engaged in making that knowledge available to all who would listen. He not only encountered and sought, but also shared Japan.
CHAPTER 3: SHARING JAPAN
Lyman had, in addition to his interest in the Japanese language, taken up translating inscriptions found on various items owned by his family and acquaintances alike. In 1882, shortly after returning from Philadelphia with Kada, Lyman sent a translation of an ink stone which Peter Lesley had requested Lyman to translate.\footnote{Lyman letter to Lesley, August 19, 1882, BSLC.} What this ink stone was, why Lesley was interested in it, and what it says are unfortunately unknown. Again in May 1899 Lyman provided a translation, this time for his cousin Annie Lyman, asking Arai Saburo about an inscription on a piece of porcelain she owned. The inscription read "Made by Tokito, Great Japan", Tokito\footnote{I was unable to find more information on this particular porcelain dealer.} being a porcelain dealer in Nagoya 名古屋 and the porcelain a seto-yaki 瀬戸焼 made in nearby Seto 瀬戸. Lyman informed Annie that Seto was such a center of porcelain that in Japanese porcelain was often referred to Seto-mono 瀬戸物.\footnote{Lyman letter to Annie, May 17, 1899, BSLC.}

The following April, Lyman translated a mirror for Stewart Culin, director of the archaeological museum at the University of Pennsylvania and fellow member of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society. It read: Tenka ichi kikuta mimasaka kami [no] kiyohisa 天下一きくた美作神のきよひさ.\footnote{Lyman letter to Culin, April 15, 1900, BSLC.} Culin had hypothesized that the mirror had formerly been in possession of a prince, but Lyman saw no reason to make this assumption based on his own knowledge. He did note that it seemed some Japanese nobles liked to mimic the Three Treasures of the Imperial family, sanshu no jingi 三種の神器, in which case this mirror was an imitation
of the sacred mirror for the *daimyo* 大名 of Aki province 安芸国. Lyman conferred with a Japanese friend who explained that the two small holes in the back of the mirror indicated that it was likely hung in a temple, a common custom. In addition, Lyman forwarded a theory that the mirror was donated by the Aki daimyo to a shrine which eventually ran short on funds. This would explain how it ended up in a curio shop, as had it been a personal possession of a daimyo or some other important person, it likely would not have been found where it was.\textsuperscript{155} The mirror represented purity, and was an object of some worth both monetarily and otherwise. In addition the crossed feather image decorating the mirror was the *mon* 紋 of the Asano 浅野 clan, who ruled Aki province as *daimyo* under the Tokugawa government.\textsuperscript{156} In June, Lyman was employed by Inman Horner, a Philadelphia lawyer and fellow member of both the American Philosophical Society and Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, to look at the inscription on a stone lantern owned by one Mr. Mercer. Lyman and a Japanese acquaintance looked over the stone lantern and reported that it was a donation to a shrine by the Kadzukawa family. However, they were unable to read the first character of Kadzukawa's personal name, preventing a full translation.\textsuperscript{157}  

\textsuperscript{155} Lyman letter to Culin, April 18, 1900, BSLC.  
\textsuperscript{156} Lyman letter to Culin, April 20, 1900, BSLC.  
\textsuperscript{157} Lyman letter to Horner, June 4, 1900, BSLC.
AMATEUR JAPANOLOGY

Lyman did more than just translate various items picked up in curio shops, however. As evidenced by his insistent requests for the latest geological reports during his time in Japan, Lyman was actively engaged in a wider network of professional geologists. Outside of these professional connections, he also engaged his interests and hobbies in the form of various amateur academic societies and organizations. Aside from being a lifelong member of the American Philosophical Society, he also found himself in groups such as the Oriental Club of Philadelphia and the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society (the former still being in existence to this day).\footnote{A fuller list of the organizations Lyman engaged in is provided in his biography by Kuwada Gompei. Kuwada Gompei, Biography of Benjamin Smith Lyman, (Tokyo: Sanseido Co., LTD, 1937), 19.} Fortunately the meetings and publications of all three of these societies are easily accessible and have largely been digitized. Beyond being a member of these organizations, Lyman engaged in writing articles which he would present at society gatherings and would subsequently be published in the society journal. The topic of these articles ranged widely from his work in Hokkaidō to prehistoric Japanese bells. These were not professional pursuits, as his primary occupation would always be geological surveying and mining, but were the outgrowth of an amateur interest in Japan which developed over the years into a small corpus of articles and lectures presented to and through his academic societies.

The Oriental Club of Philadelphia was founded on April 30, 1888 by Benjamin Smith Lyman and twenty-two others. The organization met six times a year, and by 1938 it counted 144 members in total, 50 of which were still active at that time.\footnote{R.G. Kent and I. G. Matthews, "The Oriental Club of Philadelphia," Journal of the American Oriental Society 58, no. 1 (1938): 2-4.} The meetings, at least in the early years, took place in the homes of the various members. For example, on November 7, 1898,
Lyman accepted an invitation to attend a club meeting at Morris Jastrow Jr.’s home, but was unable to attend the meeting on November 27.161

At a June 1, 1894 meeting of the club Lyman would present a paper titled “The Change from Surd to Sonant”, which in turn was based off of another paper titled “The Japanese Nigori of Composition”, which Lyman had presented to the American Oriental Society in 1883. The paper discussed the nigori 濁り (or dakuten 濁点) of Japanese compound words, and attempted to explain them in a manner comprehensible to an English-speaking audience. He provided a list of examples of these nigori, and broke down each one, explaining the reasons why the sound had changed from “surd” to “sonant”, and the effect it had on the meaning of the word. For instance, he explains that while terashima 寺島 would mean “island belonging to a temple”, the changing of the shi し to the ji じ to form terajima 寺島 would change the meaning to “island with a temple on it.”162 Given that the original paper was presented in 1883, there is little doubt it was an extension of his “Notes on Japanese Grammar ” published whilst in Japan. Unlike that work, however, here Lyman is focused on a single aspect of the language, bringing to bear his skill at making acute and precise observations. As a result, his language is much easier to follow, and the terminology much more developed after two nearly decades.

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160 Lyman note to Oriental Club, November 7, 1898, BSLC.
161 Lyman note to Oriental Club, November 27, 1898, BSLC.
Whilst Lyman was a founding member of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, there was another society in Philadelphia, one much older and prestigious, where he was welcomed as a regular member. The American Philosophical Society, based in Philadelphia, traced its lineage back to 1743 when it was founded by Benjamin Franklin. Lyman was a member of this organization for much of his professional life, but his only notable contribution to the subject of Japan came in April 1912, when he presented “The Nature of the Japanese Verb, So-Called” to the society. The paper argued that the “so-called Japanese verb is, clearly, not only lacking throughout every form in the essential feature of a person… but it completely lacks any true indication of time, mood, or voice…”¹⁶³ This is based on a definition of “verb” taken from the Latin, and compared with various European languages. He concludes that the Japanese verb is indeed not a verb, but a verbal noun in its nature and use.

As indicated by his “Character of the Japanese” paper, Lyman’s academic pursuits were not restricted to philology and grammar. In his years as a member of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society (NAS), founded in 1857, he presented several papers which touched on topics of Japanese antiquity, a subject which he had become interested in after his return from Japan. On May 2, 1889 he presented “An Old Japanese Foot Measure” to the NAS, which recounted how in 1873 he had been shown a tsuchimikado shaku, also known as a tesshaku. This would appear to be what is now called the shaku 尺, measured by the distance between one’s thumb and pointer finger. The tesshaku Lyman saw was an iron bar half an inch thick, sixteen inches long, and two and a half inches wide. He compared it to other units of measurements, in particular those from Tang and Song dynasty China, and discussed how the exact measurement varied from place to place. The iron he had been shown

was owned by the Treasury Department, but he had heard of brass one somewhere else that was slightly different in size.\footnote{Benjamin Smith Lyman, “An Old Japanese Foot Measure,” In Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society for Philadelphia, for 1887-89, (Philadelphia: 1890).}

Lyman uses this comparison between China and Japan to break out into a larger comparison between East and West, particularly in regards to progress. He asserted that Western progress had been slowed by the interference of the Christian Church, whilst the lack of progress in the East was due to their “temperament.” As with his paper on the character of the Japanese, here he asserted that “they [the “Eastern races”] are not greatly inclined to reflection, to reasoning, they do not so often as others elaborate great original ideas that are both the result of progress and the means of still better attainment and of accelerated advance.”\footnote{Lyman, “An Old Japanese Foot Measure”, 76.} This particular conclusion regarding “Eastern” civilizations showed, according to Lyman, “the interchange between the two sets of races, then, is not unequal.”\footnote{Lyman, 76.} If one considers Lyman’s audience, chiefly Western men interested in Western antiquity, this paper is more than a mere explanation of old Japanese measurements, or indeed even of the differences between East and West. It is an appeal to his fellows to consider Eastern antiquity as not something inferior to their own, but as something different yet equal, and worthy of attention.

\textbf{OTHER ACADEMICS}

A natural result of being a member of these various intellectual societies and his writings was Lyman’s coming into contact with a variety of early Japanologists, some of whom are still discussed today. As early as May of 1874 Lyman was in contact with David Murray (1830-
1905), a fellow oyatoi gaikokujin, educator, and eventual author of The Story of Japan (1894), an ambitious text which sought to present Japan as a whole to Western audiences. Like Lyman, Murray had an interest in land surveying and the petroleum fields of Japan, prompting him to write a note of thanks to Lyman for his then recently published Hokkaidō report.²⁶⁷ Twenty four years later, now back in America, Lyman, having heard Murray was writing a book on education in Japan, offered to lend his editions of the Japan Mail (weekly 1874-1882 and steamer summary 1883-1898). While he did not recall much on education in the Mail, there was one editorial Lyman wrote for the newspaper in 1879 on the subject. He also supposed that Murray, who had left Japan in 1879, did not have a chance to see the new schools that had been built in the countryside.²⁶⁸ In the introduction of his The Story of Japan, Murray thanks a list of people for their help and publications. This list includes the Asiatic Society of Japan, Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929), W.G. Aston (1841-1911), Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), William E. Griffis (1843-1928), and E.S. Morse (1838-1925). In the next paragraph he also thanked “friends who have taken an interest in this publication”, chiefly Dr. J.C. Hepburn (1815-1911), Benjamin Smith Lyman “who still retains his knowledge of things Japanese, the Japanese Minister at Washington, and various Japanese governmental departments.”²⁶⁹

Of the many distinguished names on this list, Lyman was in personal contact with at least three of them. In December of 1898, Lyman reached out to Edward S. Morse to thank him for the copy of his recent paper on the native populations of American being descendants of Asian immigration. Morse had argued that given the currents of the Atlantic and the existence of the Bering Strait, it was very likely that the Americas were populated by people of Asian descent

²⁶⁷ Lyman note to Murray, May 28, 1874, BSLC.
²⁶⁸ Lyman letter to Murray, November 25, 1898, BSLC.
instead of European or African. Lyman concurred with this assessment, though noted that given the differences between Asian and Native American cultures, the migration would have had to occur at a very early date.170

There are no letters between Lyman and Ernest Mason Satow in the collection, but Lyman mentioned in his letters to Basil Hall Chamberlain that the three used to gather while they were all living in Tokyo. As a sign of this friendship Chamberlain gifted Lyman a copy of the third edition of his Things Japanese, in September 1898. Aside from finding it an “excellent text,” Lyman noted with nostalgia that the pages "carry one back to Japan and to our chats and discussions of twenty years ago."171 He presumed that Chamberlain was currently in England, but did not expect it would be long before Chamberlain returned to that "land of the lotus". In 1902, Chamberlain would also send Lyman the fourth edition of his book. This prompted an interesting conversation between the two in discussing Westerners who wish to live in Japan (or in Lyman’s case return), and, as Lyman had found, the many young Japanese who felt the same about the West. He spoke of one young man who returned to Japan several years ago only to actively seek a chance to return to and live in the United States. Another wished to bring his young son. However, Lyman argued that these Japanese struggled to follow the social rules of America, taking the trolley instead of exercise, not bathing, and becoming lethargic.172

In May 1902 Lyman thanked one Motoda for his five New English Readers, which he looked forward to their adoption by both Japanese learning English and Westerners learning Japanese.173 It is not entirely clear who this Motoda is, but a likely candidate is Joseph Sakunoshi

170 Lyman letter to Morse, December 7, 1898, BSLC.
171 Lyman letter to Chamberlain, September 15, 1898, BSLC.
172 Lyman letter to Chamberlain, February 2, 1902, BSLC.
173 Lyman letter to Motoda, May 18, 1902, BSLC.
Motoda (1862-1928), who graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Divinity School in 1895 and was later elected the first Japanese Anglican Bishop of Tokyo. Lyman remarked that he is glad Motoda still remembers him and his days in Philadelphia, where Joseph Motoda would have been just seven years prior. Given that Lyman was irreligious, even atheist, for his entire adult life it would be somewhat amusing if he counted amongst his friends an Anglican bishop, but as discussed above Philadelphia allowed Lyman to meet a great variety of educated Japanese.

Motoda was just one of many people outside of Lyman’s normal circles who, as a result of his knowledge and interest in Japan, he came to know. In November 1898 Lyman was contacted by Professor Othniel Charles Marsh (1831-1899), a preeminent paleontologist and one half of the famous “Bone Wars” over fossil discovery. Lyman attempted to answer Marsh's questions regarding rocks and fossils Lyman had observed in Japan. Lyman was able to answer the first two inquiries on his own, but for the third he referred Marsh to Naumann's extensive survey of the whole country. As a gesture of gratitude a month later Lyman received a marble ball from Kii from Marsh. Lyman (who had spent most of his time in Hokkaidō and Echigo) had not seen anything like it before, but the black fragments reminded him of a type of marble cut into paperweights in Akasaka in Mino which Lyman sent a few samples of in return.

Before this, in 1884, he had sent a copy of the “Geological and Topographical Map of Japan” to E.R. Hoar, a lawyer in the Boston area who had previously served as an Attorney General and a Republican congressman. Hoar thanked Lyman for the map, which upon inspection had proven so superior that Hoar refused to use any other. It had been deposited in the

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174 Lyman letter to Marsh, November 2, 1898, BSLC.
175 Lyman letter to Marsh, December 31, 1898, BSLC.
town library, but since Hoar was one of a few that could actually read Japanese he expected no issue in consulting it in the future.\footnote{Lyman letter to Hoar, November 22, 1884, BSLC.}

Lyman was not always on the receiving end of gifts, as the Mino paperweights show. In March 1889 Lyman loaned Edmund Zalinski (1849-1909) copies of his two pamphlets on Japanese swords, a copy of Edward Gilbertson's paper on sword decorations, and the most recent issue of the Japan Society's “Proceedings”\footnote{Lyman letter to Zalinski, March 24, 1899, BSLC.}. In November of the following year, Lyman sent a letter to Frank Moore Colby (1865-1925), from whom he had previously received a letter, offering his services to revise the China, Japan, and East Asian section of the International Year Book, of which Colby was the editor.\footnote{Lyman letter to Colby, November 21, 1900, BSLC.} In January 1905, Lyman sent to the publisher in New York for a copy of his "Mining and Metallurgy" (April 1, 1901) which one Saito, who himself was writing on Hokkaidō, had requested.\footnote{Lyman letter to Saito, January 25, 1905, BSLC.} A mining journal had requested Lyman to write an article for them on the mining and railroad activity in Hokkaidō in 1900, but as Lyman’s maps of Hokkaidō were not up-to-date, he sent a request to one C. Uemura for his maps which Lyman had remembered being of a high quality.\footnote{Lyman letter to Uemura, December 12, 1900, BSLC.} The end result of this was the article which Saito would eventually request. Finally, in 1910 one Wodo Toyo, possibly a student at the University Of Philadelphia School Of Medicine, thanked Lyman for the loan of his letters defending the construction of the “Japanese Canal,” and for allowing them to be copied. He also thanked Lyman for defending Japan and helping others to understand it. Which canal this was in reference to and what letters Wodo had requested are unknown, but Wodo’s view of Lyman as
both a defender of Japan and an educator on Japan highlight what I have sought to illustrate in both this chapter and the last.

EDWARD GILBERTSON

Lyman’s connections with amateur and professional Japanologists alike has been discussed above, but there is one more connection which deserves to be discussed. In 1893 there was a brief exchange of letters between Lyman and one W. London, of London. In June, London thanked Lyman for sending a copy of his article (which article is unknown), but reported that an article had been published in the *Daily Paragraph* by Sir Edwin Arnold (1832-1904) which was a “shameless paraphrase.” London had sent a copy of the article, as well as several editorial notes pointing out the plagiarism.181 Later in November he requested that Lyman send two copies of his article on Japanese swords to Edward Thurkle, a sword enthusiast, and Edward Gilbertson, an expert on Japanese swords.182 A letter from January 1894 acknowledged the receipt of Lyman’s articles, and reported that Gilbertson had read Lyman’s article and, according to London, praised it (particularly the part about the actual manufacture of the blade) while also noting some trivial objections.183 This exchange of letters with W. London would mark the beginning of a decade-long exchange of letters, articles, and information between Lyman and the London-based Edward Gilberston as the two bonded over their fascination with Japanese swords.

By July of 1898 the exchange between Lyman and Gilbertson had become regular, with Lyman thanking Gilbertson for his two previous letters of May 25 and June 8.184 He looked forward to Gilbertson's upcoming papers on Japanese archery and blades. When the subsequent

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181 Lyman letter from London, June 13, 1893, BSLC.
182 Lyman letter from London, November 19, 1893, BSLC.
183 Lyman letter from London, January 26, 1894, BSLC.
184 Lyman letter to Gilbertson, July 1, 1898, BSLC.
article on archery was released, Lyman praised Gilbertson for it, noting several anecdotes which
Lyman had never heard before and amazed at Gilbertson's ability to give citations from Japanese
texts and discuss the orthography of Japanese words. Lyman eventually showed Gilbertson's
article to two younger Japanese acquaintances (likely University of Pennsylvania students) who,
like Lyman, were confused with Gilbertson's translation of *watakushi* as "flesh-tearer" in
reference to a type of arrow. The younger Japanese, unaccustomed to the old ways, knew
*watakushi* as a personal pronoun, not an archery term. Lyman speculated if there was a relation
between the two words, and discussed how inscriptions on Japanese arrows are to be read with
the arrow pointing down. The two also discussed Aston and Chamberlain, of the former how
Lyman had not heard from him for some time and the latter of how the two of them and Ernest
Mason Satow occasionally met in Japan.

In February 1899, Gilbertson published his paper on Japanese swords, which Lyman
subsequently had published in the United States with the assistance of the Numismatic and
Antiquarian Society. Lyman for his part was considering writing a similar paper, but was
struggling with what to write. The next month Gilbertson sent a copy of the London Society's
"Proceedings" with both his and William Gowland's papers. Lyman was amazed that after years
of publication after publication Gowland (1842-1922) was still able to present new information,
and recalled Gowland’s time in Japan where he discovered some 460 dolmens. Lyman himself
stumbled across a dolm in Kinshiu and reported it to Dr. Morse, but as his interest in Japanese
antiquaries did not begin until after he returned to America he had given it no more thought. In
regards to the dolmens, Lyman speculated that learning more about Korea and China's antiquity

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185 Lyman letter to Gilbertson, August 10, 1898, BSLC.
186 Lyman letter to Gilbertson, September 15, 1898, BSLC.
187 Lyman letter to Gilbertson, February 20, 1899, BSLC.
would shed more light on Japanese antiquity. In April 1900, Lyman reported that he had read Gilbertson’s last letter to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society to great acclaim. The calligraphy sample Gilbertson sent was now on display in the Archaeological Museum at the University of Pennsylvania, which to Lyman’s pleasure had grown substantially in its 10 years of existence.

Japan and Japanese swords were not the only topic of discussion, however. Lyman actively discussed the Spanish-American War in his letters, particularly the prospect of America gaining control of the Philippines, which aside from making Japan and the United States “neighbors” was also a place yet untouched by surveyors such as himself. During the Boxer Rebellion, Lyman thanked Gilbertson for updating him on the "strife in China"; Lyman was at the time reading Isabella Bird’s account of China and found her a "plucky woman" whose adventures would make most men turn back. Lyman thought that the Chinese, despite their "ignorance, credulity, and prejudice against foreigners, showed themselves remarkably faithful to her as their employer, and generally very amenable to rational argument." Lyman had also read one Mr. Bishop’s report about the industrialization of western China and found it encouraging, as Lyman believed that with some "Anglo-Saxonizing" China could someday become a modern nation. However, he warned that if it followed in the example of other European countries with their war-footing it would end poorly for them. The American presidential election was in full swing at the time, and to Lyman’s disappointment neither party seemed interested in the country's recent expansions. Lyman believed that within two or three generations of primary schooling these new territories would be ready to be added as new states.

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188 Lyman letter to Gilbertson, March 10, 1899, BSLC.
189 Lyman letter to Gilbertson, April 13, 1900, BSLC.
190 Lyman letter to Gilbertson, October 16, 1900, BSLC.
CONCLUSION
At its inception, the goal of this project was twofold. The first goal was to create a cohesive narrative of Benjamin Smith Lyman’s life beginning with his journey to Japan (1872-1881) as presented in Chapter One, and then of his later interactions with Japanese in America and the growing field of Japanese studies (1881-1920) as presented in Chapters Two and Three. The second part was the utilization of this narrative to create a foundation or point of reference from which future scholarship into Lyman could be conducted. To this end I have attempted to provide brief summaries and discussions of academic articles written by Lyman, and to highlight certain letters, or groups of letters, which provide a great bounty of information. In the process of that project, however, I quickly discovered that Lyman’s connection to Japan ran much deeper and wider than I had anticipated, and indeed even after extending the deadline by several months I find the end result to not be entirely satisfactory.

Chapter One, which detailed the events of Lyman’s employment under both the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency and Interior Department, came the closest to my aims, despite initial difficulties. For much of the project there was great deal of difficulty in finding English-language sources of information on the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency, but after several months I was finally able to get a hold of, among other sources, Beauchamp and Akira’s *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. This book allowed me to place Lyman’s sporadic letters between 1872 and 1881 into a more cohesive context. Particularly the chapter contributed by Fujita Fumiko, whose brief narratives of foreigners in the Agency such as Horace Capron, Lyman himself, Edwin Dun, and others was absolutely essential in piecing together a timeline for the Agency as a whole and where it stood upon Lyman’s arrival and departure. After his departure the context becomes more difficult to keep track of, partly because there is some confusion as to
exactly which government department Lyman was under, and partly because he seems to have been largely autonomous without any sort of equal colleague or even supervisor. An examination of William Munroe’s papers from this time may shed further light upon the oil surveying work done in Echigo and elsewhere, or perhaps one of Lyman’s dozen assistants kept some sort of journal or later recalled the event. In the absence of either of these, we are left with whatever government documentation may still survive and Lyman’s reports, only one of which seems to have been published with the others remaining as illegible drafts.191

In regards to Lyman’s private life we are left with even less information. Given his bouts of homesickness and depression there are few letters from this period, and those that do exist are usually concerned with responses to previous letters rather than updates on Lyman’s personal life. Apart from government bureaucrats his interactions seem to have been positive overall, and the evidence of his continued learning of both the Japanese language and traditional calligraphy indicates at least one regular Japanese contact. The verdict given by Lyman in his “Character of the Japanese” was mostly positive, but he found the Japanese lacking in their ability to think for themselves, or to show ingenuity without external guidance. This view seems to have born out of Lyman’s frustration with both the Agency and the Interior Department, whose constant disregard and subversion of Lyman, Capron, and others must have frustrated him to no end.

Due to the sheer size of the Benjamin Smith Lyman collection, and the limited time available to me, the focus of this project was on elements of the collection that dealt explicitly with Japan or Japanese. An unfortunate side effect of this is that after Lyman’s return to American in 1881 any real context falls outside of the scope of this project. Additionally, as

191 It is my understanding that there exists technology capable of regaining much if not all of faded out ink from these letters. I do not know the specifics so I cannot comment further, but such technology may recover much of what has been unfortunately lost to time.
work on Lyman has either focused on his time in Japan or is too brief for our purposes, we are left with little more than current speculation and future research. For instance, while we can say with certainty that Kada returned to America with Lyman and that he was granted the opportunity to survey, it is unclear under who he surveyed, where he went, or for how long he was in the United States. Another example is Lyman’s Philadelphia residence. In terms of our Japan-focused narrative we skip straight from Northampton to Philadelphia, but there is certainly a deeper story there.

Of the happenings in Japan during this period (1881-1900) there is more than enough information available. However, from Lyman’s perspective we get a glimpse of the growth and evolution of geology as a field in a Japanese context. Though Naumann’s exhaustive work would provide a survey for Japan as a whole, Lyman’s surveys in both Hokkaidō and Honshu were still on the mind of Japanese government officials, even as late as 1900, nearly thirty years after their creation. His network of Japanese assistants also provide a more personal touch. These assistants were of that first Meiji generation, the first generation of a “modern” Japan. They came of age in the 1870s, learning under an American professional, but by the 1900s they had grown into successful professionals themselves. An aspect I had to cut from the narrative is that in 1902 Lyman returned to Japan (after having fulfilled his wish of surveying the Philippines) and met with his assistants in person one last time. I have no doubt that the meeting was very touching for all involved, and Lyman must have been very proud of his former assistants and all they had accomplished.

Lyman’s forays into Japanese studies illustrate what those studies looked like early on in their existence. None of the men he interacted with (and they were all men) were trained as scholars. David Murray was an educator, Ernest Satow was a British diplomat, and Edmund
Gilbertson’s expansive knowledge of Japanese swords was entirely self-taught. In one of his letters to Peter Lesley while still in Japan, Lyman mentioned how as a child he had been fascinated by Latin and Greek, and had dissected the language as best as his young mind could, to the point where he joked that he should have become a philologist. Additionally in the course of his studies Lyman would have picked up at least some Latin, Greek, French, and German. Therefore, though he had no formal training in philology, Lyman believed himself more than capable of dissecting and discussing the Japanese language. By Timothy Vance’s assessment, Lyman’s article in the *Japan Mail* is a respectable attempt at something which will not be fully developed until many years afterward. His interest in Japanese antiquity seems to have begun sometime after his return to America, though when and why this interest developed is not made clear through his letters. Fortunately for him he was often the most literate person in the room when it came to things Japanese, and he was able to call upon both his knowledge and the knowledge of his extensive Japanese network, such as with the mirror or the stone lantern.

If one were to look for information about Benjamin Smith Lyman, the result would likely read as follows: “he was an American geologist who worked in Japan.” This is likely to be all the information one could find without diving directly into his archive collection. Yet as I hope has become apparent by now, the story is much more complicated and nuanced. Those sources which do go into detail (Fujita Fumiko for instance) often speak only of his work under the Hokkaidō Colonial Agency. Yet unlike many of his fellow oyatoi gaikokujin, Lyman’s connection with Japan did not end when he boarded the ship at Yokohama in 1881. Instead it lasted him the rest of his life and led to his building up an extensive network of Japanese and Westerners alike upon which he could call upon. The work carried out in this thesis is far from complete, and there is

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192 Lyman letter to Lesley, March 20, 1879, BSLC.
much more of the story to be teased out of the Benjamin Smith Lyman Collection, to say nothing of the other archives containing his papers and other resources (such as The American Philosophical Society, the Brooklyn Museum, etc.) There are numerous topics presented here that are worthy of study in and of themselves: the Japanese population in Philadelphia in the 1890s, the fate of Lyman’s assistants, and the interest in the Orient that is present in many of his academic societies, whether they be explicit (the Oriental Club of Philadelphia) or more casual (Numismatic and Antiquarian Society). Finally, there is also the man himself, Benjamin Smith Lyman: in the grand scheme of history he played only a small role, and his absence from much of the narrative of both foreigners in Japan and foreign interest in Japan was understandable whilst his collection remained relatively hard to access in the university archives. However, now that much of the collection has been digitized and made freely available on the internet, I believe it is time to give Lyman his due attention.
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