

# Yokoi Saheita's 1869 Letter to his Brother Daihei: 19 Days in the Life of an Early Japanese Student at Rutgers College

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## 1. Introduction

The Edo Era in Japanese history is famous for being an age of *sakoku*, or national isolation. One of the consequences of this isolationist policy was the ban on Japanese traveling overseas, be it for study or business. In May 1866, however, the Edo Bakufu scrambled to save its position in its remaining days by opening up to the West. The ban on overseas travel was finally lifted, and the flood gates were opened to scores of young Japanese who had been waiting eagerly to go abroad.



Pictures of the Yokoi Brothers studying in Japan and America

(Courtesy of Rutgers University library) →

←(Courtesy of Janes Residence, Kumamoto)



However, this ban on foreign travel had not deterred some intrepid young explorers from departing even earlier. Some were sponsored by the national government or local forward-thinking local governments, such as the Choshu Five (including the future first Japanese prime minister Ito Hirobumi) and the Satsuma 17 (including the future education minister Mori Arinori). Others ended up abroad through happenstance or, on pain of death, their own choice. An example of the former is John Manjiro from Tosa, who through a fortuitous shipwreck in 1841 ended up studying in Massachusetts for several years before returning home in 1851, where he became a local expert on things international. The most famous example of the

latter is Nijima Jo (Joseph Hardy Neeshima), who left his home in Annaka, Gunma prefecture in 1864 and studied in Andover, Massachusetts. After his return to Meiji Japan in 1875 as a confirmed Christian believer, he began a Christian school in Kyoto which developed into what is now Doshisha University.

Like Nijima, the Yokoi brothers, nephews and adopted sons of Yokoi Shonan of Higo, also struck out on their own in 1866. However, unlike Nijima, their US education must be deemed to have ended in failure. The younger brother Daihei fell sick and left in July 1869 to return to Japan. He died on April 2, 1871, at the age of 21. The older brother Saheita stayed on and entered Annapolis Naval Academy in December 1869. However, he did not fare well with his studies there and took leave to concentrate on improving his English. He was called back to Japan in October 1871 to be recognized as an official student, and stayed there until July 1872, when he was ordered back to the US. Rather than returning to Annapolis, he seems to have studied at the Allen School in West Newton, Mass., for some time, perhaps planning to enter Yale University. However, this seems to have ended in failure as well. He returned “defeated” to Japan in May 1874, and although appointed to the 5th department of the senate (元老院第5課) in June 1875, he died of consumption in October in the same year. The reasons for Saheita’s failure to achieve during his study abroad can be partially attributed to the fact that he was always with another Japanese speaker (his brother) and a series of potentially damaging personal tragedies (his adoptive father Yokoi Shonan’s assassination in 1869, death of colleague Kusakabe in 1870, death of his brother in 1871 and personal health issues).

This study analyzes a letter written by Saheita to Daihei after the latter leaves New Brunswick for Japan in July, 1869. Written as a diary over a 19-day period, it records the comings and goings of the elder brother in detail. It gives a fascinating account of the daily life of not only Saheita himself, but also of several other Japanese students studying at Rutgers College in New Brunswick at that time. Among these were Katsu Koroku, son of Katsu Kaishu, leader of the 1860 government expedition to Europe and America; Hatakeyama Yasunari, future director of Kaisei Gakko (presently Tokyo University); Matsumura Junzo, future vice-admiral in the imperial navy; Takagi Saburo, future consul of Japan in New York and San Francisco; and Shiramine Shunma, whose study abroad was funded by Sakamoto Ryoma’s *Kaiantai* after they were disbanded.

This study presents several different approaches to the analysis of this letter. First, the background of the letter, including the use of English, is presented in order

to gain an understanding of how Saheita coped with labeling unfamiliar people, places and concepts, as well as the general state of his English at the time. Next, the persons involved in the letter, both students and their caretakers, are examined in detail. Finally, the activities of Saheita and the other students are analyzed in order to determine their daily routines, habits and life styles. From these, conclusions are made regarding the overall environment and study conditions of the students in general and Saheita in particular, in order to gain a better understanding of the reasons behind his eventual downfall.

## 2. The letter

The letter is one of a collection of letters donated to Kumamoto University by Kazuko Yokoi, great-granddaughter of Yokoi Shonan and the current head of the Yokoi family. It was written over a period of the 19 days from 6/21-7/10/1869 (Mon-Sat), and the writing style is more like a diary than a letter proper, with daily notes on the weather and detailed times of the events that occurred during the period. The letter begins from June 21, 1869, the day that Daihei, sick with consumption and unable to continue his studies, left New Brunswick to return to Japan. The time frame is the beginning of summer vacation, as there is no mention of classes, and Commencement is on 6/23, two days after Daihei's departure. It is likely that Daihei would have deliberately timed his departure at the end of the school year.

The electronic file of the letter spans four pages and allows extended magnification for detailed scrutiny, but the actual letter itself is written in tiny handwriting on a single sheet of paper measuring 26 by 21 cm, that was folded into 16ths. It continues for 19 days until the entire sheet of paper, front and back, has been filled with writing. Moreover, the letter ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence, implying either that there was a missing second page, or that there would be one later. The frugality of the writer is plain to see; it is not often that one can find a 19-day journal squeezed onto the front and back sides of a single sheet of paper. The love and care that was put into its writing is also evident; one can easily imagine the figure of Saheita carrying the small envelope in his breast pocket, and taking it out nightly to add the days' events in tiny penned letters to his sorely-missed younger brother.

The matching envelope, also in very good condition, is quite tiny (13 x 7 cm). It is addressed to "Saburo Numagawa, Esq. Higo Japan" in English and "Saburo

Numagawa, Japan Nagasaki Higo go-yashiki 122 From America Ise Sataro” [日本長崎肥後御屋敷 沼川三郎 合衆部より 伊勢佐太郎] in Japanese on the front. Interestingly, on the back there are three imprints of the seal of Katsu Koroku, the son of Katsu Kaishu, who was studying with the brothers and who figures often in the letter. Why the envelope was embellished with these seals is uncertain, but we may guess that it may have gotten better and faster treatment than if the seals were absent.

The Japanese transcription and English translation of the letter are in the Appendix. The persons introduced in the letter fall into three general categories. First are the Japanese students, which, including Daihei, number 11 altogether. Secondly, there are the instructors at the school. Finally, there are other figures in the boys' lives. By far the most important of these is John Mason Ferris, who was their first contact in the US and who held himself responsible for the boys for the duration of their stay.

### 3. The language

Here, a few notes are made about the use of English vs. Japanese in the letter. There are 68 instances of English proper, which are written in cursive handwriting, interspersed between vertical columns of Japanese. The use of English would have required more than a simple code switch in the mind of the writer as the paper would have been physically turned sideways, blocking the flow of the Japanese. This seems to indicate that the need was clear; a Japanese form could not be substituted.

These 68 instances of English can be categorized as follows: 24 proper names of places (New Brunswick, Stone Ridge, Chicago, etc.), 10 proper names of people (Hasbrouck, Ballagh, Cantrine), 9 days of the week (with Thursday spelled as “Thrusday”)<sup>1)</sup>, 9 common noun places (church, college, hotel), and 16 other references. 4 of the latter refer to study and school events: Arithmetic, Geography and English grammar, book, Commencement, boad [boat] race; and 4 others, interestingly, refer to kindness (kind, Kind regards, pleasant car, pleasure) as if this were a term impossible to translate into Japanese. He also elects to use English to describe the “young ladies” waving “handkerchief” as the ferry leaves from New York, and to describe the “mountain hill” at Stone Ridge which reminds him of

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1) Only 9/19 of the days are written in English; the others are written in katakana, kanji, or omitted.

Nagasaki. He also uses English to avoid certain topics, such as when he describes his hosts' view of himself as an "imperial" student, a term which did not accurately fit him at the time, and when he reports having discussed "money matter" with Ferris. There is an interesting example of code mixing when he mentions [time 送り], lit. "sending time" but in the context, "spending time" or "killing time" would have been more appropriate. Here, English may have been used to express a concept that had no alternate term in Japanese. Finally, he writes "Annaka" in English, which seems to refer to a person, perhaps Nijima Jo.

There several oddities in the English, including misspellings, variation between capital and small letters, lack of plural, and insertion of Japanese の instead of using a possessive form (e.g. Chatham St. の hotel, Ferris の room). Moreover, he often elects to use Japanese in alternation with English: he uses both post office and 飛脚屋; office and 役館; Wednesday, 水, and ウエンスデイ; hotel, ホテル and ホテール. As with the last two examples, he uses katakana (Japanese pronunciation-based syllabic rendering) 33 times for English words, but 23 of these are proper names such as Ferris (ヘルリス) and Flatsland (フラツランド). He generally places square brackets 「」 around such katakana, but not necessarily, indicating a lack of consistency even in the Japanese.

In spite of these oddities, it must be noted that the letter itself must be considered a work of art: not only are the tiny letters neat and relatively easy to read, there are no cross-outs, deletions, or additions as we might expect. Therefore we cannot necessarily take the errors as lack of academic ability, but at least in some cases, as a deliberate effort to keep the letter neat and tidy by sacrificing accuracy.

#### 4. The personae

The historical figures mentioned in the letter are divided into two groups: the Japanese students themselves, who comprise the bulk of the character references, and other people surrounding them, including teachers, advisors and townsfolk. The former can be divided into three sub-groups, which I have labeled here (A) the Nagasaki boys, (B) the Satsuma group, and (C) the Katsu entourage. The heroes of the diary are of course the Yokoi brothers themselves: Saheita, the writer, and Daihei, the recipient. The two started their clandestine journey to the US on April 9, 1866, inauspiciously only a month before the ban on foreign travel was lifted. This meant that they had to take a highly expensive and inordinately long, circumspect

route via Batavia (present-day Jakarta) and head East. By this route they would arrive at the same places that their counterparts leaving just a month later would see several months sooner. They found themselves in New York on Nov. 23, 1866, over seven months after their departure; the first two of a long stream of students sent by Guido Verbeck of Nagasaki to Isaac Ferris, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions at the time. As they had left Japan when it was still illegal to do so, they both used aliases during their stay in the US, Saheita using Sataro Ise, and Daihei becoming Saburo Numagawa.

Both boys met untimely deaths in the form of consumption, younger brother Daihei first on April 2, 1871 at the age of 21, and elder brother Saheita on October 3, 1875 at 31. Daihei returned to Japan in July, 1869, less than two years before his death, and managed to convince the officials in his home country of Kumamoto, Japan, to open a Western School and hire a teacher from the US. This resulted in the employment of Captain L.L. Janes (whom Daihei never met) at the Kumamoto Yogakko from 1872 to 1876, which produced a number of highly trained and capable religious leaders and educators of the Meiji Restoration.

Saheita, on the other hand, remained in the US to follow their common dream of entering the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis to learn how to build “big guns and big ships” (Heinlein, 2102). He succeeded in doing so in Dec. 1869, one of the first two Japanese students to be accepted to the academy. However, was unable to complete his studies there. He was ordered back to Japan on Oct. 9, 1871, in order to reestablish himself as an “official” government student, and spent the next several months in Kumamoto marrying and taking over the Yokoi household. The government ordered him to return abroad in July, 1872 (ironically, missing the arrival of Janes in Kumamoto by one month).

Saheita’s second sojourn in the US, although lasting some 1 1/2 years from the end of 1872 to April, 1874, is shrouded in mystery. It is known that he did not return to his studies at Annapolis, and we may assume that this must have been a gloomy period of his life, left behind as he was by those who were younger and had come after him under better circumstances. Moreover, he had already lost his younger brother and his close friend Taro Kusakabe of Echizen to consumption, and it can be assumed that he may have begun suffering from the same affliction during this period. At one point he entered the Nathaniel Allen School in West Newton, Massachusetts, a preparatory school, in order to “study English more it is the best way for me”<sup>2)</sup> but he did not graduate. He requested permission to return to Japan

on April 9, 1874, and arrived on May 13, a far cry from his first six-month journey in 1866. After a year (possibly as punishment for not having completed his studies), he was appointed he was appointed to a post as a government secretary (元老院第5課の権少書記官) in June, 1875, but was unable to accomplish anything of lasting importance before his death in October of the same year.

#### 4.1. The other students

Including the two brothers, the eleven Japanese students can be conveniently grouped into three groups of three and two “others” (cf. Table 1). With the exception of Kudo Juro (Yuchi Sadamoto), short biographies of all of these students are provided by William Elliot Griffis in *Rutgers Graduates in Japan* (1916).

Group A consists of 4 members: the brothers, Taro Kusakabe, a comrade from Echizen, and Shiramine Shunma. The first three had studied together in Nagasaki under Guido Verbeck, and had been sent to the US through the latter's introduction. Another common bond between these three is that Yokoi Shonan, the uncle of the two brothers, also worked as an advisor to the Matsudaira Shungaku, the feudal lord of Echizen Province (present Fukui Prefecture), during the Bakumatsu Era. It can be assumed that Shonan was responsible not only for the dispatch of his own two nephews but also for convincing Matsudaira of the need to similarly send off an Echizen student, i.e. Kusakabe. The final bond between the three is the common cause of their deaths: consumption, or what we call tuberculosis today. This was a common disease among young people in Japan in those days, and claimed many a promising young man.

Kusakabe was highly successful at Rutgers, so much so that he was awarded a diploma and the Phi Beta Kappa gold key. Both, unfortunately, were posthumous; Kusakabe was the first of the three to succumb to consumption on April 13, 1870, less than a year after the writing of the letter. The depth of the bonds between these three boys can be seen in a letter written by Saheita to Ferris on Dec. 4, 1872, several years later, in which he laments, “We got the permission, six of us, to enter the naval Academy at Annapolis...in our first plan with regard to these matters, Kusakabe, myself and my brother entered the school, but both of them could not proceed their designs, and they are both dead.”

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2) Ise letter to Ferris, 11/8/1972, West Newton Mass.

GROUP	Name	Alias/alternate/ mistaken spellings	From	Born	Left Japan	Retd Japan	Details
A (writer)	Yokoi Saheita 横井左平太	Ise Sataro, Sentaro	Kumamoto	1845	1866	1871, 1875	Returned to become official government student and to inherit the Yokoi household, went back to US in 1872
A (recipient)	Yokoi Daihei 横井大平	Naganuma Saburo	Kumamoto	1850	1866	1869	stayed w/Hasbrouck, retd. 1869, d. 1871 in Higo
A (11) *	Kusakabe Taro 日下部太郎 (boyhood name Yagi Yasohashi)	Kusakabe Taro	Fukui	1845	1867	x	died 5/13/1870; Rutgers 1867-70; Phi Beta Kappa awarded posthumously
A (11)	Shiramine Shiuma 白峰駿馬	Shiramine Shunma	Nagaoka (Niigata)	1847	1869	1874	Student of Katsu Kaishu, Former Kaientai member, Rutgers Grammar School 1870-71; lived w/Hasbrouck, Kanagawa shipbuilder
B (15)	Hatakeyama Yoshinari 畠山良成	Soogiwoora Kozo	Satsuma	1842	1865 1869	1873	Satsuma group 1, studied in London, Brocton (T.L. Harris commune), 1867-71 at Rutgers, baptized @ 2nd Church, Director of Kaisei Gakko (Today's Tokyo University), d.1876 consumption
B (11)	Matsumura Junzo 松村淳三 (boyhood name: Ichiki Kanjuro)	Matsumulla Zunzo	Satsuma	1842	1865	1873	Satsuma group 1, studied in London, Brocton (T.L. Harris commune), 1868-69 at Rutgers, graduated Annapolis 1873, director of Navy Academy in Japan, blinded later.
B (8)	Yoshida Kiyonari 吉田清成	Nagai John Wesley Iwosuke	Satsuma	1845	1865	1873	Satsuma group 1, studied in London, Brocton (T.L. Harris commune), Rutgers 9-12/1868, Baptized June 1869, Finance Minister in Japan, headed Japanese consulate in Washington DC in 1874
B (3)	Yuchi Sadamoto 湯地定監	Kudo Juro	Satsuma	1843	1866	1869	Satsuma group 2, went to Monson Academy, joined Kaitakushi upon returning Japan, Joined Congregational Church on 1/3/1869, younger sister was Nogi Maresuke's wife
C (14)	Katsu Koroku 勝小録	Katz	Tosa	1853	1867	1877	Katsu Kaishu's son, went to Annapolis 1872, graduated 1877, became navy lieutenant, died 1892.
C (8)	Tomita Tetsunosuke 富田鉄之助		Sendai	1855	1867	1874	lived w/E.T. Corwin, went to Bryant, Stratton and Whitney's Commercial College in Newark, became 2nd President of Bank of Japan
C (11)	Takagi Saburo 高木三郎	Takaki Samro	Tsuruoka (Yamagata)	1841	1867	1875	NY, SF Japanese Counsel, Director of Doshin-Kaisha (silk), Yokohama, one of Koroku's retainers

\*Numbers in parentheses are the number of times each is mentioned by name in the letter.

Table 1. Japanese students mentioned in Saheita's Letter  
(Group A=Nagasaki, Group B=Satsuma, Group C=Katsu and retainers)

The fourth member of the Nagasaki Group A is Shiramine Shiuma, who attended Rutgers Grammar School from 1870-71 but was in New York in 1869. He was a student of Katsu Kaishu and part of Sakamoto Ryoma's Kameyama Shachu (Kaientai) company until the latter's assassination in 1867, and upon its dissolution received funding from the company to study abroad along with Ryoma's brother-in-law Sugano Kakubei. In contrast to Sugano, who does not appear either in the letter or in Griffis' list of Japanese students, Shiramine graduated from Rutgers in 1875. He lived with Isaac Hasbrouck (Hamish 2010, p. 340) and became a shipbuilder in Kanagawa after returning to Japan. At the time of the writing of the letter, he was not yet attending Rutgers, so it is quite likely that he was studying privately in New York, perhaps with Ferris or a mutual friend, at the time.





Photo of Kaientai members including Sakamoto Ryoma (3<sup>rd</sup> from left), Sugano Kakubei (2<sup>nd</sup> from right) and Shiramine Shiuma (far right).  
"Kaientai" by unknown.

Group B includes four members from Satsuma (present-day Kagoshima prefecture), three of whom were part of a group of 17 students and two supervisors, sent clandestinely by their local government to Britain in 1865. These three went on to America in the summer of 1867, and worked and studied on Thomas Lake Harris' commune (Brotherhood of New Life) at Brocton, New York. Two years later, Hatakeyama left the commune and Yoshida and Matsumura followed soon thereafter. They made their way to New Brunswick. Like Saheita, Matsumura was determined to enter the Naval Academy at Annapolis and both did so in 1871. However, unlike Saheita, Matsumura went on to graduate in 1873. Hatakeyama joined the Iwakura mission in 1872, and Yoshida headed Japanese consulate in Washington DC between 1874 and 1882. All three held important positions after returning to Japan: Hatakeyama worked as a director of the Kaisei Gakko (today's Tokyo University), Matsumura became a director of the Naval Academy, and Yoshida was an officer at the Japanese Ministry of Finance.

The fourth Satsuma student is Kudo Juro, who is the only one not on Griffis' 1916 list of Rutgers students. This seems to be the alias of Yuchi Sadamoto, who was one of the second group of 6 students sent abroad by Satsuma and who ended up studying at Monson Academy in Boston. His appearance in the letter seems to have been because of a visit from that place. He also seems to have spent some time on Thomas Lake Harris' utopian farm and like Yoshida and Hatakeyama, he became a Christian, baptized at the Congregational Church in the US on 1/3/1869. He joined the Kaitakushi to Hokkaido upon returning to Japan. According to Scanlan (2011), the "group [that] lived and studied in Monson corresponded with Jo Nijima (Joseph Hardy Neesima) and Neesima mentions about them learning Christianity."

At the head of the C group we find Katsu Koroku, son of the famed naval genius Katsu Kaishu, who headed the 1860 expedition to the West. Koroku entered Annapolis a year after Saheita and Matsumura, and graduated in 1877. He later became a lieutenant in the Japanese Navy, but died early in 1892 without having had

a chance to fulfill his potential. The other two members of this group, Takagi Saburo and Tomita Tetsunosuke, both from northern Japan, seem to have accompanied the young Koroku as his retainers, although they studied themselves as well. Takagi, the oldest of all the Japanese students discussed here, was later the Counsel General at the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco and Washington DC before he returned to Japan to head the Doshin Kaisha silk company in Yokohama. Tomita studied at Whitney Business School in Newark, New Jersey, run by William C. Whitney, the father of Clara Whitney, who later married Koroku's brother Umetaro. He later became the second president of the Bank of Japan.

A letter by "Ise Nagamaula" (probably the combined names of the two Yokoi brothers, Ise and Numanaga) writes about the coming of this trio to Rutgers in rudimentary English:

We have had three more Japanese friends. One of friends came over last August. These three young men came from Yedo, and arrived to Boston. But there are not very well for studing [sic]. So moved to here last three weeks ago. Now here are altogether six Japanese. One of them is noblest officer's son in Yedo. Do you remember? He father has been this country about eight or nine years ago with Ambassador. His name is KATS. This son of KATS, he is quite young, about fifteen years old. So father send to here with two officers. They goes grammar school with us and they like here very well and school. (New York Times, Feb. 17, 1868)

## 4.2. Teachers and Instructors

The most important of the teachers mentioned in the letter is Mr. Hasbrouck, with whom Saheita spent the summer of 1869 at his home in Stone Ridge, New York. This is most likely a relative of, or possibly the even same Mr. Isaac Edgar Hasbrouck with whom Shiramine reportedly spent the summer of 1869 (for this he would have had to have two homes: one in New York and one in Stone Ridge). He was born in 1843, and would have been around 26 years old in 1869. In the Rutgers College directory (1920), he is listed as having lived at 364 Carlton Ave., Brooklyn New York.

Next, Mister Corwin, whom Saheita visits in Millstone with Kusakabe on 6/25, is most likely Dr. Edward Tanjore Corwin. According to the Ecclesiastical State Records of New York (1916, p. 10) "for ten years, during his pastorate at Millstone, he received into his home and educated for college, Japanese students. These young

men were sent by their government to obtain a western education. Several of them have risen to positions of power and honor in the Sunrise Kingdom.”

An interesting line of investigation starts with “Mr. Cantrine”, mentioned on 7/8, at whose home Saheita stayed at least one night, and who took charge of his education during the day during his time at Stone Ridge with Hasbrouck. The name Cantrine is not associated with Stone Ridge, but there are many instances of the name Cantine, so this was probably a spelling error on the part of Saheita. Moreover, we know from the letter that the Cantine residence must be somewhat near Hasbrouck's, and that Cantine was married and had children (who took Saheita to the post office). A likely candidate seems to be one of the grown sons of James and Charlotte Cantine, who were living near the building which is now the Stone Ridge Public Library, owned by Garrett and Julia Hasbrouck during the period that Saheita visited. Mrs. Charlotte Cantine was originally a Hasbrouck herself, and the Hasbroucks of Stone Ridge were closely connected with Rutgers College through Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck, who was president of the college from 1850-60. Their three sons would have been grown and married at the time, with the small children who accompanied Saheita to the post office as mentioned in the letter.

As for other figures of authority in the boys' lives, the most important is clearly James Curtis Ferris, whom Saheita visits three times, first on 6/21 to report on Daihei's departure and discuss “money matters”, the second on 7/1, when he visited Shiramine as well, and the third on 7/6, when he entrusted Ferris with a Japanese box to give to Dr. *Zabrisuchi* (phonetic spelling). As the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, Ferris was their first American contact, and held himself responsible for handling the boys' affairs since their arrival on his doorstep with the letter of introduction from Verbeck in November 1866.

Mr. Ballagh, whom Saheita meets on the day of the Commencement, 6/23, may possibly be James H. Ballagh of Japan, one of the founders of the Yokohama Kaigan church, who seems to have been back from Japan at the time, as he and his family returned once to American in 1867 (Kwantes, 2005, p.95). Interestingly, his colleague in Japan Robert M. Pruyn was presiding over the commencement, (New York Herald Thurs June 24, p.3) and this would have been incentive for him to attend.

Dr. *Booduin* (phonetic spelling, mentioned on 6/26) whom Saheita visits on 6/26 likely refers to Dr. Henry Rutgers Baldwin, a medical doctor who was living in New Brunswick and had close connections with the college. There is also mention of a Dr.

*Zabrisuchi* (phonetic spelling), for whom Saheita buys a Japanese box in New York on 7/6 and leaves with Ferris. These actions suggest that this man was a medical doctor in New York who might have treated Daihei, and to whom the two were indebted. There is a Dr. John Lloyd Zabriskie, who was connected with the Flatbush (Erasmus Hall) Academy, Kings County Hospital and the Reformed Dutch Church of Flatbush.<sup>3)</sup> It seems likely that he was the recipient of the Japanese box entrusted to Ferris.

The most deliciously mysterious point in the entire letter comes at the beginning of the third page, on 6/29 when Saheita refers to a future letter from “Annaka”. Saheita seems quite anxious at this time, going daily to the post office to hear word, assumedly, of his brother. The word on 6/29 that there would be a letter from “Annaka” seems to reassure him greatly. Who is “Annaka” and why is Saheita so relieved to hear from him (or her)? The obvious, and yet somewhat far-fetched, response is that it is a reference to Nijijima Jo, the founder of Doshisha University, who secretly left his home town of Annaka, Gunma to study in the US in 1864. We already know that Nijijima was studying at Amherst College in Massachusetts in 1869, and was corresponding with other members of the group as mentioned above. Could it have been that Nijijima met Daihei at this time, somewhere, perhaps to say good-bye? Very unlikely; it seems impossible that Daihei could have gone first to Chicago, then to Amherst, Massachusetts, before leaving for Japan via San Francisco on July 3. Nijijima records in his diary leaving Amherst during the summer of 1869 to go traveling, but begins his journey only on July 15, well after Daihei had already left the US. Therefore, if this does refer to Nijijima, there must be some other reason for the connection.<sup>4)</sup>

But if not Nijijima, then who? There was probably no one else from the town of Annaka in the US at that time. Given the number of townfolk of Dutch ancestry at Rutgers, could it have been a Dutch woman’s given name? This seems just as far-fetched if not more so, as there is no mention of females in the letter except for

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3) “John Lloyd Zabriskie, M.D.” (1896) *Brooklyn Medical Journal* 10, 8, p. 515-517.

4) One theory put forth by Tomoe Scanlan (e-mail communication, 9/24/2014) is that this reference may have had to do with the fact that S. R. Brown, who was planning to return to Japan at around the same time as Daihei and might well have been on the same ferry. In *Neeshima*, Vol. 6 (1984), Nijijima tells in a letter to Ms. Harding that he wants to entrust letters and pictures to Brown to deliver to his family in Annaka. Moreover, Brown writes in his diary on Oct. 13, 1869 that he passed the letters on in Yokohama. It is possible that Saheita and others were relieved to hear that Brown would be on the same ship, or that Nijijima was successful in passing on the messages to Brown.

*Borucon* sisters from *Flatsland* (phonetic spellings), who attended the Commencement ceremony, and anonymous handkerchief wavers seen from the Hudson River ferry. The former were probably young ladies from the Bergen family from Flatlands, Brooklyn, New York, who had graduates from Rutgers in both 1867 (Samuel Woodridge) and 1869 (Edgar) (Griffis 1906b, p.4). Saheita and Daihei mention visiting one of these ladies in their letter to Mrs. Van Arsdale, during their visit to Flatlands in the summer of 1867.<sup>5)</sup>

## 5. Relationships and Activities of the Students

Clearly, the Japanese students as a group were all quite close to each other. Based on the details of the first days of Saheita's diary, they visited each other regularly, often gathering at the residences of one or another. This closeness suggests that their residences in New Brunswick must have been quite nearby, and that they contacted each other by actual visitation. Of all the students, Saheita seems to be the closest to Hatakeyama (Sugiura) and Katsu, mentioning these by name 15 and 14 times respectively. Kusakabe, Matsumura, Shiramine, and Takagi are all mentioned 11 times, Yoshida (Nagai) and Tomita 8 times, and Kudo 3 times. Shiramine and Kudo seem to have been living in New York, not in New Brunswick, at the time. Saheita also seems to be especially partial to Shiramine, going to visit him in New York twice, and writing to him (and Takagi) from Stone Ridge. This is not unsurprising considering the latter's former closeness with the *Kaientai* and Sakamoto Ryoma. Indeed, it is likely that the two had known each other previously in Nagasaki or Kobe.

On the morning of 6/21, the day that Daihei leaves, Saheita and Hatakeyama see him off in New York, and then report to Ferris to discuss "money matters". There is a "boad race"<sup>6)</sup> that evening, which Saheita is evidently lukewarm about seeing due to the rain. He and Kusakabe elect to go to 'Samuson'<sup>7)</sup> bookstore instead, but Katsu and Hatakeyama brave the rain to see the college win.

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5) Letter from Ise Numagawa to Mrs. Van Arsdale, 7/24/1867 Flatland [sic].

6) I originally read this as "road race", but as Tomoe Scanlan (e-mail communication, 9/26/2014) pointed out, it could also read "boad race". It was she who also introduced the Evening Telegraph article mentioned here.

7) I am highly indebted to Tomoe Scanlan (e-mail communication, 9/24/2014) who was able to make the connection between Saheita's writing (which looked very much like Samurin) and the Thompson bookstore in Rutgers at that time.

This “boad race” seems likely to have been the annual boat race, held around commencement time at Rutgers, which is reported in *The Evening Telegraph* (“Rutgers College”, June 24, 1869) in an article stating “a commencement at Rutgers without a boat-race is no commencement at all”. According to the article, three races were run in all, the first and last between two different Rutgers teams, and the middle one between a Rutgers team and a team made of New Brunswick citizens. The latter was won by the adult team, so it is difficult to see how it fits with Saheita’s comment that the college team had good results. However, there may have been a certain team in one of the other two races that was favored by the Japanese boys.

The Commencement on 6/23 was held at 10:30 in Second Reformed Church, the 「セコンドトロチ」 as Saheita calls it. Saheita attended with Katsu and Tomita until 12:00, but left early due to the heat. *The New York Herald* (June 24, 1869) reports on the Commencement that “as noon approached the sun burst from his fleecy wrapper...and shed a ray of refulgence and cheerfulness over old Rutgers.” However, based on Saheita’s letter, the reality seems to have been that the ray of cheerfulness was more of a heat ray, forcing Saheita and Tomita to leave early. The boys may have gone especially to see the opening, over which “the Hon. Robert M. Pruyn, of Albany, ex-minister to Japan, presided” (*New York Herald* Thurs June 24, 1869, p.3).

Interestingly, this was the year that the boys’ purported tutor William Elliot Griffis graduated<sup>8)</sup>, and the *Evening Telegraph* article (June 24, 1869) reports him giving a speech on “Boyhood’s Dreams” after the invocation by Pruyn. He is also listed as the winner of two awards, the Sudham Prize for Natural Sciences and the Sudham Prize for Composition. However, Saheita makes no mention of him, perhaps indicating that there was no love lost between the two, a possibility supported by the fact that only Saheita receives less than complimentary remarks from Griffis in his review of Japanese students at Rutgers (1916). Saheita concentrates instead on the *Borukon* (phonetic spelling) sisters, who we assume are ladies from the Bergen family of Flatbush. This supposition is supported by the fact that Edward Bergen presented the Valedictorian Speech, according to the *Evening Telgraph*. Shiramine makes a surprise visit from New York on this same day, and

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8) Griffis notes himself as having been “one of the first teachers of the Japanese students in New Brunswick in 1866, and active in urging them to athletic habits.” (Griffis et al 1916b, p.7)

stays until 6/25.

After this, there is a relative time of leisure taken up by several visits to the post office, intimating either that there was no home delivery at the time or that Saheita could not wait and was anxious to hear word of his brother. He and the other students also frequent a local bookstore (*Samuson*) and make other trips to pick up clothes (*Fissel*) and to a photographer. There is also a day trip with Kusakabe to Millstone to visit Dr. Corwin on 6/25.

On 7/1, Saheita makes another day trip to New York to visit Ferris, Hasbrouck and Shiramine, echoing his trip of ten days earlier, except that Sugiura is absent this time. It seems that the reasons for this trip were various; he follows up on the "money matter" discussion with Ferris by receiving a check for \$150, a huge sum in those days; he meets with Hasbrouck probably to arrange his summer study routine and stay at Stone Ridge; and he visits Shiramine who seems to have been living in New York at the time. It is likely that these trips to Ferris were part of a regular routine, as the latter was in charge of the boys' finances. In this respect, the fact that the date is the beginning of the month may have some bearing.

Kudo Juro comes from New York to visit between 7/2 and 7/5 (one wonders why he and Shiramine did not come together), and the Japanese students once again come together to entertain their guest, with Saheita missing church on Sunday July 4. On the 5th there were July 4<sup>th</sup> festivities, presumably taking place a day late because the fourth fell on Sunday. Kudo returns to New York on this date, and Katsu and Sugiura go with him. This marks the beginning of the dispersal of the boys for various summer activities. Kusakabe goes to Albany to study at Flatbush Academy, Katsu goes to New York with Tomita, Nagai goes to Middletown to study with "Thomas"<sup>9)</sup>, and Saheita makes a third visit to Ferris in New York on 7/6 on his way to Stone Ridge, where we find him at the end of the letter.

On this date, which marks the longest entry in the diary, Saheita heads for New York to meet Ferris after several early morning stops in New Brunswick (Takagi's place, Baldwin, *Samuson* bookstore). He spends the night at Chatham St. Hotel, and leaves the next morning by ferry for Hasbrouck's home at Stone Ridge, passing Albany and West Point on the way. After arriving at Rondout at 2, he is taken by

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9) According to Scanlan (e-mail communication, 9/26/2014), this Thomas was probably a Methodist student in Middletown, with whom Nagai planned to solicit funding for his studies by having the latter speak in churches about Japan (Inuzuka 1987, p.116).

horse and carriage to Hasbrouck's home, arriving around 4. The arrangement seems to be that he will be staying with Cantine, where he is treated with much deference, and going to study with Hasbrouck.<sup>10)</sup> However, on 7/9 he tries to visit Hasbrouck but finds that the latter must go to New York. This point evidently did not get transferred well during the conversation the two had the night before. The letter ends on Saturday, 7/10, with Saheita going to the post office with the Cantine children to post letters to Takagi and Shiramine, and then spending some time walking in the country, which reminds him of Nagasaki.

## 6. Conclusion

On July 3, 1869, Daihei left from San Francisco to return to Japan. The single piece of paper that hosts the 19-day diary must have been sent sometime after the last entry on July 10. From the contents of the letter, we can make several conclusions about the boys' lives, which may be somewhat refreshing considering the fact that they are generally assumed to have been studying constantly to the point of being detrimental to their health.

- 1) Saheita, as well as most of the other students, do not seem to have been "always studying", at least at this point in their lives. Of course we must take into consideration that it was the end of the school year, beginning of summer vacation and big changes were generally being made. However, the general image of Japanese students, and especially those studying abroad, is that they crammed day and night in order to absolutely succeed or die from disease trying. Even Kusakabe, who appears from historical records to have done both, is recorded as gathering with his friends, taking walks, visiting the Independence Day cannon salute on July 5<sup>th</sup>, and participating in other activities that prove that he was a typical young man.
- 2) The closeness between all of the boys is quite remarkable. With such varied backgrounds, we might have expected some division between them, but there seems to have been no one left out of the group. As fellow Japanese, their national ties seem to have overcome their regional ones, and that their

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10) There were several Hasbroucks in this area and it is difficult to determine exactly which home Saheita visited. However, the Stone Ridge area is well preserved, and there is a Nathaniel Cantine home at 5 acobsen Lane, which is about a 15 minute walk from the Isaac Hasbrouck home on 101 Leggett Road in Stone Ridge. (google maps search, Early NY-Ulster co. -Marbletown)



presence in the company of one another served to encourage them all. Moreover, the mention of "Annaka" may well mean that Nijima Jo was included in this group of Japanese expat students.

- 3) On the other hand, with the exception of teachers, other responsible adults, and Nagai's friend "Thomas", there is no mention of any young Westerner who could have been considered a friend either of the group or of Saheita personally. Even their former tutor William Elliot Griffis graduates without any acknowledgment in the diary. This underscores their relative isolation and perhaps even ostracism from other students and from the rest of the school in general. Furthermore, although Saheita seems to be interested in women, there seems to have been no relationship but simply a "worshipping from afar" as with the Bergen sisters and the ladies waving to the ship.
- 4) It is difficult to base conclusions on the letter as it begins on Monday and ends on Saturday, covering only two Sundays, but church seems to play a minor role in Saheita's life, as he misses one of the two.

Taking all of the above observations into consideration, Saheita in particular may never have had the chance to be really immersed in the US culture as would have been necessary for a great leap in English ability. Indeed, among the sparse number of English expressions (68) in his letter, we find several misspellings and oddities (such as "Raw Lings Station" written in three words, "west point" uncapitalized, etc.). As Saheita would already have been in the US for 2 1/2 years at this point, we would expect a higher level of English to be demonstrated if he had been truly immersed in the language. However, the letter seems to stress beauty over accuracy as it is free from any crossouts. Moreover, it indicates a fulfilled life style not only for Saheita, but for all the boys, and throughout it a sense of their camaraderie and shared adventure pervades.

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Appendix 1. Ise Saheita's letter/diary in Japanese and English Translation

西洋一千八百六十九年第六月廿一日 Monday

九字其元出車ヲ船ヨリ見夫ヨリ余杉弘子ト「ヘルリス」之役館ニ至リ汝之出車且ツ我等蒸気車ヲ見問スル処之事情ヲ知告セリ彼レ大ニ汝ノ pleasant car ヲ得シヲ喜悅ス其後暫ク money matter ヲ談シ十字スキ彼ノ office ヲ去リ夫ヨリ暫クパークニ至リ涼納ス大凡十一字之頃ヨリ city hall ヲ去リ直ニ New Jersey 之 Station ニ至リ同所ニテ食事ヲ成シ十二字之蒸気車ヨリ同所ヲ発シ二字前 New Brunswick, ノ旧館工到着セリ午後二時スキヨリ勝杉浦富田高木松村生等余カ館ヲ来訪シ六字前歸ル其ノ後俄ニ大雨来リ余七字之 board race ヲ見物ニ行クコト不能夜食後日下部子ト「サムリン」之書店ニ遊歩シ同所着勝杉之両士ニ出会セリ彼等告ルニ当年モ赤タ College 之方大ニ勝利ヲ得タリ然リト雖モ右ノ雨天ニテ見物ニ行ク人少ク大ニ失望スル人アリシト聞ケリ其後十一字就床。

二十二日火曜日雨

今朝九字すきヨリ永井生之館ニ至リ十一字スキ歸ル其後十一字スキ杉富両生之家ヲ訪暫時話シテ歸ル午後又杉弘子来訪ス暫クシテ勝高両生来リ

四字スキ歸ル午後頻リニ白峰ヲ待テトモ雨天ニテ不来夜十字スキ就床。

二十三日水曜日

雨九字スキヨリ快晴今朝八字ヨリ余 College ニ至リ Mr. Hasbrouck 之 room 尋ルトモ彼不在家故ニ空シク歸セリ途 Albany Street ニテ同人工会セリ直に同道彼ノ館ニ到リ余レ彼ノ在所ニ行クコトヲ談シテ歸ル九字スキ勝松村高木余カ家ニ来ル暫クシテ教師 Ballagh 来訪ス十字半ヨリ日下部松村両士ト大学校之抹行ケリ余レ小鹿君ト十字半ヨリ「セコンドトラチ」ニ至リ暫クシテ Commencement 始リ十二字マテ之ヲ聞ケトモ寺中暖氣ニ不堪半シテ歸ル富田同シク不堪シテ来リ夫ヨリ余レ暫ク彼ノ家ニ至リ涼納ス三字半ニ此ノ事ヲ終レリ四字昼食ヲ成リ今年モ赤タ「フラツランド」ヨリ「ミスボルコン」之姉妹来レリ五字頃松村来リ暫クシテ不図ト白峰(p.2)来訪セリ八字すき白峰我カ家ヲ辞シテ Hotel ニ歸ル夜食後勝日下部高木富田杉浦松村諸君ハ「ホテル」ニ集会セリ十一字すき歸ル暫クシテ就床今朝「ヘルリス」ヨリ余レエ百五十トル之手形ヲ送レリ。

二十四日木曜日

八字スキヨリ「サムリン」之書店至リ途ニテ松村生ニ出会セリ夫ヨリ同道直に白峰を尋とも彼れ未起在床故に我等勝君之家に至ル暫クシテ白峰杉日富生等来集セリ十字スキ永井来訪ス其後十二字寄歸宿ス午後再ビ「ホテル」工行白峰ニ面会ス其ノ内日杉勝高諸生来レリ白峰三字ノ蒸気車ヨリ爰ノ地ヲ発シ新約克府ニ歸ル其後勝杉両子ト逍遥四字スキ歸此ノ夜十一字過就床。

二十五日金曜日

快晴今朝九字ヨリ余日下部子ト「ミルストーン」工発車セリ九字半同所ニ着車す夫ヨリ進歩十字ノ頃教師「ミストル、コーウィニ」之家ニ至レリ彼レ頻ニ我等ヲ饗応シテ十字半スキ

ヨリ車馬ニノセ水ヘンヲ逍遙セリ実ニ草木隠々トシテ田舎之風景又夕賞スル堪タリ十二字スキ彼家ニ歸ル午後「コーウイン」ト雑話シ五字すぎ又夕日下部子ト村中ヲ閑歩夜食ヲ終リ七字半同所ヲ発車八字 New Brunswick 之客舎ニ着セリ此ノ日汝ノ Chicago ヨリ送りシ一書ヲ受け取レリ余レ日夜途中如何哉八案勞セシ処无事ニ同所まで着車之由ヲ聞大ニ安意セリ直ニ此ノ書ヲ持シテ永井の館ニ至ル幸日本生彼ノ家ニ集会シラレリ故ニ何モ安心悦賀するナリ十字スキ帰宿セリ

二十六日晴土曜日寒暖計八十二度

今朝八字スキヨリ「ドクトルボウドウィン」之家ニ至リ我等ノ謝禮ヲ来シ且ツ汝ノ同所まで無異ニ着車之事ヲ告ケタリ彼モ大ニ喜悦ス若シ余レ汝工書状ヲ送ル時八彼之 Kind regards ヲ告ケリト云リ夫ヨリ松村之家ニ至リ十一字スキ彼レト「サムリン」之書店工至レリ帰路「フィセル」ニヨリ衣服之代料ヲ払シ歸ル十一字就床今朝 Chicago ヨリ之一書ヲ受け取レリ夜半ヨリ大雨。

二十七日 Sunday

快晴午後五字スキヨリ雨今朝十字半ヨリ余レ First Presbyterian ニ出席シ十二字帰館ス五字スキ富田来八字スキ歸ル此之夜十一字就床

二十八日 Monday 快晴今朝

九字 office 工至レトモー之書翰ヲ不得夫ヨリ杉富両生之館工至リ暫時雑話シ歸ル午後勝君来リ其ノ後同君ト近傍ヲ逍遙セリ。

二十九日 (p.3) 晴火曜日

今朝九字スキ同シク飛脚屋ニ至レトモー之書状ヲ不得シテ歸ル余レ能ク不詳ト雖モ昨今両日之内 Annaka ヨリ之一翰ヲ得タリ途中急平安

ニ同所まで着車之事ヲ聞何モ大ニ喜悦スルナリ午後杉高両生之館ニ至リ time 送り夜十字スキ就床。

三十日ウエンステイ

今朝同シク post office 至リ歸ル十一字スキ Hasbrouck ヨリ一書受取レリ彼レ云余明日 New Brunswick 発シ三字新約克ヲ出船シ来ルベシ若予明朝ヨリ発車不能バ今朝十字之「メール」ニ其ノ事ヲ告知セリ彼ノ状遅着シ故ニ余レ十字之メールニ返書送ルコト不能伝信機ヲ以テ矛レ明日ヨリ出車スルコト不能コトヲ告ケタリ其ノ後永井ノ館ニ行キ五字スキ歸ル。

第七月第一日木曜日晴天

今朝余九字ヨリ New Brunswick ヲ発車十字スキ新府ニ着セリ夫ヨリ直ニ白峰ノ館ヲ訪ヒ三字彼ト對話シ夫ヨリ同家ヲ去リ「ヘルリス」之役所ニ至レリ暫ク對話七字同所ヲ去リ六字之蒸気車ヨリ新府ヲ発シ八字前余カ旧館着セリ其ノ後杉富両生之家を訪ふ九時スキ帰宿ス今朝工藤十郎当地工来訪セリ。

七月二日 Friday

八字すぎ杉生之家ニ至リ、夫ヨリ永井生之館ニ至ル工藤ニ面会シ彼同道ニテ余カ家ニ来午

後日本生ノ集会ヨリ

三日土曜日

八字スキ「サムリン」書店ニ至レリ帰路写真屋ニヨリ帰ル。午後勝君来リ其後杉弘子等ト近傍ヲ闊歩シ薄暮ニ至テ帰ル此ノ日 Rawlings Station ヨリ之一書ヲ受け取レリ。

四日 Sunday 快晴

今朝八字すきヨリ松村来リ十二字帰ル午後小鹿君来レリ此ノ日予寺行セス。

五日晴 Monday

此ノ日例年之通り華盛頓英ノ領地ヲ離シ合衆部独立スル日ニテ一統休業九字ヨリ勝杉浦工藤三士新府ニ発車セリ我等「リーポー」マテ彼等ヲ送り行 夫ヨリ松生ト逍遥ス此ノ日 New Jersey Hall 之陸軍三百人計リ当地工来リ市中ヲ廻レリ十字松村之館ニ至リ暫シテ高木来リ其ノ後彼等ハ又陸兵ノ通行見物ニ行リ十二字帰宿ス午後七時スキ College 之門前ニテ大砲ヲ出シテ祝砲ヲナセリ日松高三士ト見物ニ行ク夫ヨリ暫時逍遥七字スキ帰ル此ノ日寒暖計八十五度。

六日 Tuesday

今朝七字前高木之家ニ至リ余カ book ヲ托シ夫ヨリ「ドクトルポウドウイン」之家に行八字すき帰宅ス其ノ後「サムリン」之書店ニ至リ諸物ヲ整へ帰ル九字ヨリ日下部永井両士ト New Brunswick ヲ発車十字半新約克府工着セリ途ヨリ永井日下部両子ト別ル余一人 Chatham St. 之 Hotel ニ至リ勝君ニ会セリ其ノ後白峰之館ヲ(p.4)訪トモ彼不在家夫ヨリ日本店ニ至リリー之美ナル「ボックス」ヲ求メ之ヲ持シテ「ヘルリス」之役所至リ此ノ箱ヲ「ドクトルザプリスチー」エ送ルコトヲ「ヘルリス」氏ニ托ス彼レ大ニ悦リ直ニ此ヲ送ルト云三字スキ「ヘルリス」ニ別シ Chatham Street 之 Hotel ニ帰ル勝日下部両生今夕六字ヨリ新約克ヲ発船 Albany ニ行ク夜食後余再ヒ白峰之家ニ至リ十一字スキ「ホテル」ニ帰ル此ノ日四字ヨリ永井同港ヲ発シテ「ミルトルタウン」ニ行ク彼レ同所ニテ「トーマス」ト此ノ夏学問ノ筈ナリ。

七日快晴 Wednesday

今朝六字半 84 Chatham St. 之 Hotel ヲ去リ Desbrosses St. 之船場ニ至リ Albany エノ火船工乗七字同港ヲ発十字スキ West Point 止マリ又直ニ発船処々エ暫時止マリ十二字 Rondout ト云所工着船直ニ上陸同所まで Hasbrouck 車馬ヨリ迎之為メ来リ喜候間直ニ車ニ乗シ Kingston 之中ヲ通四字スキ Stone Ridge Hasbrouck 之家ニ着セリ是ヨリ船ノ「ストップ」スル処マデ洋里十四五里アリ此ノ夜彼之家ニ止宿ス幸今朝八天気快晴船中大ニ pleasure ヲ得新港ヲ発スル後往来ノ火船ハ勿論或ハ両峯之高樓ヨリ数多之 young ladies 互ニ handkerchief ヲ以テ相招キ実其ノ風景又夕賞スルニ堪タリ遥ニ遊子ヲシテ懐郷ノ情ヲ起サシムナリ矢張昨年我等 west Point マテ行シ船ナリ。

八日晴 Thursday

午後三字ヨリ雨メ今朝六時に起七字過食事ヲ終リ九字すき Hasbrouck 同道着 Mr. Cantrine

之家二至レリ暫時 Hasbrouck 帰ル余此ノ家止宿スナル午後近傍ノ逍遥余力止宿スル処之主  
ハーツ之大ナル農家ナリ家内皆余ヲ日本 imperial 書生ト聞至極 kind 二取り扱ヒ却テ困リ  
入ル次第候御一 被下ベク ボールドモ一七日ニ六トル至テ下直ナリ余宿ヨリ Hasbrouck,  
之家マデハ僅カー三丁程相 タリ学問之為メニモ全便利能ク毎日九字ヨリ彼ノ家二至リ  
Arithmetic, Geography and English grammar 之三果学ブナリ五字スキ再ヒ Hasbrouck 来リ暫  
ク話シ帰ル此之夜十字就床。

九日快晴

十字すきヨリ大雨午後五字すき晴ル今朝九字ヨリ Hasbrouck 之家二至トモ彼九字スキヨリ  
当地ヲ発シテ新府克行セリ十字スキ帰館ス午後閑居夜食後七字ヨリ近傍ヲ逍遥シ八字帰ル  
十一字就床。

十日晴 Saturday

今朝九字ヨリ余力家之子供ト飛脚屋二行キ高木及白峰に書状ヲ送レリ夫より村中ヲ逍遥十  
一字スキ帰ル午後閑居五時スキヨリ又夕近傍之 hill 二閑歩ス実ニ此ノ地 New Jersey State  
之地ト八更リ相違ヒ mountain hill ノミニテ実ニ我国崎陽之地方ニ相似タリ既ニ今夕 ハ一  
人小山ニ登リ四方ヲ

English Translation

6/21/1869 Monday 9:00 AM

Saw your train leave from the ferry. Went to Ferris' office with Sugiura to tell him about your departure and your steam locomotive. He was very happy to hear about your pleasant car. We discussed money matters, and then left his office at 10:00, then went to the park for a while to cool down. About 11:00 we left city hall and headed immediately towards New Jersey Station, where we ate lunch and left on the 12:00 SL for New Brunswick, arriving just before 2:00 at our old house. After 2:00, Katsu, Sugiura, Tomita, Takagi, and Matsumura came to my place, and went back around 6:00. It started raining hard afterwards, and we couldn't go to see the road race at 7:00, so after dinner I went with Kusakabe to 'Samuson' bookstore and found Katsu and Sugiura there. According to them, the college got good results again this year, but because of the rain there were not many people so they were disappointed. Then I went to bed at 11:00.

6/22 Tuesday (rain) 9:00 AM

I went to Nagai's place and came back home after 11:00. After that I went to Sugiura and Tomita's place and talked with them for a while, then came back. In the afternoon Sugiura came to my place, then Katsu and Takagi came too and went back after 4. Waited for Shiramine in the afternoon? But he didn't come because of the rain. Went to bed at 10:00 pm.

6/23 Weds. (rain)

9:00 AM was sunny morning, I went to college from 8:00 AM and visited Mr. Hasbrouck's room but he was not there, so I went back and ran into him on Albany Street. I accompanied him to his office? And discussed going to his house. Returned after 9:00, and Katsu, Matsumura, Takagi came to my house, then after a while we went to see Prof. Ballagh. At 10:00, Kusakabe and Matsumura came? To the college and I went with Kogoro at 10:30 to the Second Church where the Commencement began. We stayed until 12:00 but the heat in the church was unbearable, so we went back early. Tomita also could not bear the heat and I went to his place for a while to cool down. At 3:30 it ended? So we ate lunch at 4:00. This year the *Bolcon* sisters From *Flatsland* came again, and Matsumura also arrived at 5, and unexpectedly Shiramine also came. He left my place at 8:00 and went back to the Hotel, After dinner, Katsu, Kusakabe, Takagi, Tomita, Sugiura and Matsumura all gathered at the hotel and stayed until 11. Went to bed soon thereafter. This morning, Ferris sent me a check for 150 dollars.

6/24. Thursday

From 8:00 I went to Samurin bookstore? Met Matsumura and then we? Went right away to visit Shiramine but he was still in bed. We then went to Katsu's place and later on Shiramine, Sugiura, Kusakabe and Tomita gathered at 10:00. Nagai came, then we? Went back at 12. In the afternoon I went back to the Hotel and met Shiramine. Later on Kusakabe, Sugiura, Katsu and Takagi arrived. Shiramine left on the 3:00 SL to return to New York. After that, Katsu and Sugiura and I went?? And went home at 4:00. Went to bed at 10:00.

6/25 Friday (fine) this morning

At 9:00 Kusakabe and I took the train to Millstone and arrived at 9:30. We walked until 10:00 to prof. Mister *Corwini's* House and??? At 10:30 we took a horse and buggy? Around to the water? It was really a beautiful wooded forest, a bucolic scene ?? 12:00 we went back to Corwin's place and talked with him in the afternoon. Kusakabe and I at 5 went again for a walk around the village. After dinner we left at 7:30 and got back to New Brunswick at 8 arrived at our dormitory. Your letter from Chicago came and I received it. I took this letter to Nagai's house where happily the Japanese students were all gathered. Everyone was happy and relieved, and I went back at 10.

6/26 Saturday (fine) the thermometer shows 82 degrees.

At 8 AM I went to Doctor *Booduin's* house and gave him our thanks and let him know that you arrived safely. He was also very pleased and told me to send you his kind regards in my next letter. I then went to Matsumura's house and we went together to Samurin Book Store at 11. On the way we stopped by Fissel and paid the bill for clothes and got home at 11 and went to

bed. This morning I received your second letter from Chicago, and from evening it rained very hard.

6/27 Sunday (fine)

From 5 PM it started raining. I went to First Presbyterian from 10:30 and returned home at 12:00. At 5 PM Tomita arrived and returned home at 8. I went to bed at 11.

6/28 Monday (fine)

This morning I went to the office at 9AM but there were no letters. After that I went to Sugiura and Tomita's house, and talked with them for awhile before returning. Katsu-kun came in the afternoon, and we took a walk in the neighborhood.

6/29 (fine) Tuesday.

This morning at 9 AM I went to the post office again but there was still no letter. I didn't know any of the details?, but just now yesterday or today there was a letter from Annaka, so I suddenly became very relieved to know that [someone] had arrived there and I was very happy. In the afternoon I went to Sugiura and Takagi's house and spent time with them, and came back at 10 and went to sleep.

6/30 Wednesday

This morning I went again to the post office and came back at 11. I got the? Letter from Hasbrouck and he told me that tomorrow I should come on the ferry from New Brunswick at 3:00 to New York or if that is impossible, tomorrow morning, and that I should let him know by this morning's 10:00 mail, but as his letter arrived late I couldn't post my answer by the 10 AM mail, so I wired him and said I could not go tomorrow either. Afterwards I went to Nagai's place and stayed until 5 PM.

7/1 Thursday (fine)

This morning from 9:00 I left New Brunswick on the train to New York, arriving after 10 AM. Then I went to Shiramine's place and talked with him for 3 hours. After that I went to see Ferris for a while, leaving at 7 for the 6:00 SL train from New York. I arrived at the old home just before 8 PM, and thereafter went to Sugiura and Tomita's place to visit them. Arrived back 9 PM. This morning Juro Kudo arrived here.

7/2 Friday

Went to Sugiura's place after 8 AM, then to Nagai's place to visit Kudo. We then went together back to my place and in the afternoon all of the Japanese students gathered.

7/3 Sat

8:00 at Samurin Bookstore. On the way back I stopped by the photography studio. In the afternoon Katsu-kun came by and we went for a walk with Sugiura and the others until it got dark. Today I received your? Letter from Rawlings Station



7/4 Sunday (fine)

Today Matsumura came to visit from 8 AM and left again at 12. In the afternoon Kogoro-kun came by. I didn't go to church today.

7/5 Monday

Today, like every year, it was the day that Washington declared independence of the US from British rule so it was a holiday. From 9 AM Katsu, Sugiura and Kudo went to New York by train and I saw them off at the depot(?) Then I walked with Matsumura. On this day, a 300-man strong army unit came to New Jersey Hall and marched around the city. I went to Matsumura's place at 10 AM and Takagi came a bit later. After that they went to see the Army Parade and came back at 12:00. At 7 PM there was a cannon salute in front of the College and Kusakabe, Matsumura and Takagi (and I) went to see it. After that we walked around for a while and came back at around 7?? This day the thermometer went up to 85 degrees.

7/6 Tuesday

before 7 AM I went to Takagi's place and gave? him some books, then went to Dr. Baldwin's house and left again after 8. Went to Samurin Bookstore after that to take care of some things. From 9 AM Kusakabe, Nagai and I left New Brunswick on the train and arrived at New York 10:30. After that I left Nagai and Kusakabe, and went alone to Chatham St. Hotel, where I met Katsukun. We went to Shiramine's place after that but he wasn't home. After that we went to the Japanese store and I bought a beautiful box. Afterwards I went to Ferris' office and asked him to give the box to Doctor *Zaburischi*. He was very pleased and said he would send it right away. I left Ferris after 3 PM and went back to Chatham Street Hotel. Katsu and Kusakabe left New York at 6 PM by ferry for Albany. After dinner I went to Shiramine's place again and came back to the hotel after 11. On this day Nagai also left by ferry after 4 for Middletown?, where he was going to spend the summer with Thomas studying

7/7 Wednesday (fine) This morning at 6:30, I left the hotel at 84 Chatham Street for the ferry terminal at Desbrosses St. and took the 7 AM steamer to Albany. Stopped at West Point after 10 AM and then left soon after, stopping here and there until arriving at Rondout hotel, where I met Katsukun. We went to Shiramine's place after that waiting for me, which made me very happy. I got in at once and we drove through Kingston arriving at Hasbrouck's house at Stone Ridge after 4:00. From here to the steamer stop it is about 14-15 western miles. I stayed the night at his home and was very happy. Today the weather was very fine, so the boat trip was a very pleasurable one, and when we left New York, there were many young ladies waving handkerchiefs from the passing boats and from the banks on both sides. I watched the scenes but left it at that... It reminded me of home. Last year in Yahata? When we went to West point by boat.

7/8 Thursday (sic) It started raining from 3 pm. This morning I woke up at 6 AM and had breakfast at 7. From 9 AM I went with Hasbrouck to Mr. Cantrine's house, where we spent some time. Hasbrouck left and I spent the night at his house. In the afternoon I took a walk around the area. ??? It's a wide plantation area and the household treated me exceptionally kindly, hearing that I was a Japanese imperial student so kindly that I was embarrassed. ?? Beckbold??

from 7/7 26 dollars?? From my place to Hasbrouck's house ?? For study it's also very convenient and I go to his house every day from 9 AM to study arithmetic, geography and English grammar. Then I returned to Hasbroucks house from 5 PM and talked to him for awhile and then went back at 10 and went to bed.

7/9 (fine but began to rain after 10 AM) and cleared up again after 5 PM. This morning I went to Hasbrouck's house from 9 AM but he had left at 9 AM for New York so I went back after 10. and ?? After eating at 7 PM I took a walk around the area and came back at 8, went to bed at 10.

7/10 Saturday morning from 9 I went to the post office with the children in this house, and sent letters to Takagi and Shiramine. After that I walked around the area and came back at 11. Stayed in the house? In the afternoon until 5 Pm, when I climbed a hill nearby. This area is very different from New Jersey state and has many mountains and hills. It really resembles Nagasaki in our home country. Climbing small mountain, can see for four directions all around