

Henry Dyer: Pioneer of Interchange with Japan

— Focusing on his Friendship with Sakuro Tanabe —

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I. A Promoter of Cultural Exchanges between Britain and Japan

When modern Japan abandoned its isolationist policy to open itself to the rest of the world, a great number of teachers from overseas were concerned in it. Besides executing their duties concerning practice of teaching, management of schools, and planning of school affairs, they are also known for their results as studies on Japan ⁽¹⁾.

They were very active, but such their activities were not confined to Japan. Some of them kept close ties with Japan even after they went back home to promote exchanges with Japan. They may be called the pioneers of what we today refer to as international exchanges.

There were some former teachers who extended aid to facilitate the process when their countries accepted Japanese students who would study there and Japan participated in international expositions as well as who played the role of a correspondent to introduce Japan to their countries. Others maintained a teacher-student relationship with their former students to give occasional guidance and advice to support modernization and independence of education in Japan.

Among those people was Henry Dyer (1848–1918). As the head of teachers, he addressed the administration of the Imperial College of Engineering, Tokei (known locally as Kōbu-Dai-Gakko), the forerunner of the Faculty of Engineering, University of Tokyo. He was also an overseas teacher employed by the Japanese government who contributed to laying the foundation of education in engineering as Professor of Civil and Mechanical Engineering. Japanese people who studied under Dyer during his stay in Japan is said to reach as many as 136.

Even after he went back to his country, he proceeded with and progressed in his study on Japan, and collected the results in voluminous works to publish them, such as *Dai Nippon, the Britain of the East* and *Japan in World Politics* ⁽²⁾. He was appointed as a correspondent of finance and industry by the Japanese government in 1902, and provided Japanese students there with support for their everyday life and education. He often gave guidance and encouragement to his former students who dropped on him during their travel abroad.

The reason he was given the title of Professor Emeritus of the Imperial University of Tokyo and also decorated with the Order of the Rising Sun, Third Class, with Star and Ribbon as well as the Second Order of the Sacred Treasure lies in recognition of such his contribution. The conferment of a decoration not only states that he gave help to 'professors of various schools, students sent by the Ministry of Education, and other Japanese who went to Britain from this country' but also explains that he 'continued to be friendly to the Imperial government during the Russo-Japanese War and made useful reports to render great benefits to us, so that his distinguished services are recognized' ⁽³⁾.

2. Meeting his Old Students Again

There was his former student who continued to long for him and visited him in Glasgow all the way from Japan as many as twice. He is Sakuro Tanabe (1861-1944), who is a pioneer of water power generation in Japan and famous for planning and realizing Biwako Sosui, a water canal between Lake Biwa and Kyoto.

Sakuro's love for Dyer traces back to his days in Kōbu-Dai-Gakko where he studied under Dyer. He entered the elementary school of the Imperial College of Engineering, Tokei in May 1875 and went on to Kōbu-Dai-Gakko in April 1877 to major civil engineering. When he graduated from Kōbu-Dai-Gakko in May 1883, Dyer had already gone back to his country, but Sakuro who 'not only got outstanding marks but also had originality' ⁽⁴⁾ may have quickly attracted Dyer's attention. His graduation thesis entitled *Lake Biwa Canal Construction Project* was an excellent work to make teachers from overseas filled with admiration.

Sakuro's first visit to Dyer's home in Britain was in 1900. With 'study and research' as the purpose of the visit, he obtained a permission for a travel 'to Europe through Korea and China', he left Nagasaki on May 13, 1900. During his visit to Europe, he went to Glasgow from London and dropped at Dyer's home on August 13, 1900 ⁽⁵⁾. As Dyer left Japan on July 14, 1882, they saw each other for the first time in 18 years.

Dyer's home was situated at 8 Highburgh Terrace near the University of Glasgow, which coincides with 52 Highburgh Road today. Sakuro wrote that Dyer's home had four floors, including a loft, and 'a garden planted with old trees and covered with aged moss' ⁽⁶⁾.

Getting off the carriage and ringing the doorbell, he was welcomed by Dyer's wife. Hearing them greeting each other, Dyer opened the door of his room. Sakuro had expected that Dyer had become a grey-haired old man, but to his surprise, he 'looked very active with

a healthy and youthful complexion'. It seemed to Sakuro that he remained as young as 18 years before. His wife looked have aged.

Sakuro was ushered into a room, and they thought fondly of the past. Telling Sakuro that he had been paying attention to Sakuro's activities and impressed by how successful Sakuro has been in his work, Dyer was pleased 'to have occasionally picked up your name in the British papers and to be well-informed of your success and achievement'. When Sakuro told him about how active other people who studied under him had been in their respective fields, Dyer was delighted and said, 'it all depends on your hard work, but among other things it owes to the progress of individual Japanese space with the development of the country. I have learned that Japan has been making a remarkable progress since, which pleases me greatly. As there is a vast area in the East which will accept future activities of Japanese, you all should resolutely work hard to become the leaders of this sphere of activity.' Thus he encouraged Sakuro.

When dinner got ready, the place of their reminiscence moved to the dining room. The dining room was the very thing that Dyer attached importance to in the family life. All his family members got together to have a pleasant time around the dinner table. Dyer's first son who was a little child when they were in Japan had now graduated from the University of Glasgow. The second and third sons who were only weaned children and called "Bebi-san" now became big men that 'look like Mr. Dyer of 6.27 feet and are now growing taller than 6 feet'. The only daughter, Marie, joined them.

During his days in Kobu-Dai-Gakko, 'Our teacher used to talk about methods and procedures on how we should arrange our home'. In that way, he tried to convey 'the beauty of English homes'. Sakuro who modeled himself on Dyer established his home following Dyer's precepts. So, he was all the more impressed by the sight before him.

They continued to have a lively talk even after they moved to Dyer's study. Sitting in the arm chair, Dyer again put his teachings he had taught to his students at Kobu-Dai-Gakko. One of them was 'not to give yourselves up to excessive pleasure'. This was an admonition that Dyer took every opportunity to repeatedly tell his students and meant that what they should bear in mind was to attach importance to such a way of life as to be careful about their health to keep fit, to respect dignity, and not to indulge in pleasure. Loyal to Dyer, Sakuro had been keeping this in mind as a good lesson to discipline his usual life.

Sakuro had a question that he had long been wanting to ask Dyer. It was about a secret why a man as young as in his twenties was able to achieve such an important thing as to

found Kobu-Dai-Gakko and lay foundations of education in engineering. According to Dyer, what is the most important is that young men 'have to possess something that can be trusted in order to undertake a great task.' Referring to the fact that Sakuro accomplished his assignments in spite of an injury to his hand just before graduation, Dyer said, 'When graduation approached, your right hand was injured in the actual practice and became difficult to use, but you were not daunted at all. All the graduation examinations, drawings, and essay were recognized, and you graduated with honors. This served as the touchstone of your ability to overcome difficulties which was sufficient enough to impress people. It was not groundless either why I caught Rankine's eye.' Rankine was his teacher, Prof. W. J. M. Rankine, under whom Dyer studied at the University of Glasgow.

Dyer also stressed the importance of popularity. He continued, 'A project of founding some institution requires a great deal of care. There are not a few people who make a trivial mistake to ruin a big project. A man must possess virtue which makes people respect him, besides learning and ability. A man who is devoted to education should win his popularity by making people admire him with his merit in other spheres than education.'

Judging from a chronological list of the main events of his life, Sakuro's compiling *The History of Industry in the Meiji Era* must have been taken as a topic of their conversation. Sakuro wrote that I 'revealed to him my plan for compiling the book, and with his encouraging remark in mind, I have made efforts to collect materials by myself since' ⁽⁷⁾. As the chairman of the editorial committee, he endeavored to successfully publish the book. The book in ten volumes came out from 1925 to 1931.

Sakuro's second visit to Dyer's was not before 1913. Leaving the port of Moji, he passed through Busan, Shengyang, Dalian, Paris, and London to arrive in Glasgow on the last day of May 1913. Then he visited Dyer's home on the following day, June 1, 1913 ⁽⁸⁾. Previous to Sakuro's visit, Dyer published a voluminous book entitled *Japan in World Politics* (1909) to deal with the role Japan that had appeared as one of the Great Powers of the world after the Russo-Japanese War should play in the international society. On the other hand, he energetically published essays to describe the economic and financial situations of Japan. Thus he had already been considered an authority on Japan as well as a promoter of the cooperation between Britain and Japan, so that they may have talked about these subjects as well.

After his visit to Dyer's, Sakuro went to see Forth Bridge on June 4, 1913. He also observed a cemetery and facilities for water supply on June 6, and went back to London

on June 8. Forth Bridge is an iron bridge over Forth Bay near Edinburgh and famous as a cantilever bridge. It is said that the construction method of using unique cylindrical parts was an idea presented by Kaichi Watanabe (1858 – 1932) , who was Sakuro's junior in Kobu-Dai-Gakko, when he was gaining industrial experience during his studying at the University of Glasgow after graduating from Kobu-Dai-Gakko.

As stated above, Dyer's home was at Highburgh Terrace within the city when Sakuro paid a visit, but he lived at some other place for a while immediately after he came home from Japan. It was in Lenzie, approximately 8 miles northeast from Glasgow City. The home he named "Dunrowan" was close to Lenzie Station of the Glasgow – Edinburgh Railroad. It still remains on the huge premises surrounded by woods south of the station. It is one of the similar classic style houses standing in a row, so that they may have been planned and built as suburban residences for the middle class.

3. Dyer's Study on Japan

A while after his first visit to Dyer's, a long-awaited book entitled *Dai Nippon, the Britain of the East* was sent to Sakuro. With Imperial Crest of the Chrysanthemum both on the plane surface of the cover and the backbone, it was a voluminous book which consisted of more than 450 pages. As its preface went that 'it has rather been to indicate the forces which have been at work in bringing about what is admitted to be the wonder of the latter half of the nineteenth century; namely, the rise of Japan as a member of the comity of nations, and to note some of the chief results', it was a book that made an analysis of it and expected Japan to become 'the Britain of the East' ⁽⁹⁾ .

Dyer presented it to Sakuro on December 15, 1904, with a dedication as follows:

'To Prof. Tanabe Sakuro, a distinguished graduate of the Kobu-Dai-Gakko, who has done good service to Dai Nippon. As a mark of friendship and esteem.'

This indicates that Sakuro cooperated with Dyer in writing the book. In the end of each chapter was attached a bibliography which included books in Japanese.

The book was Dyer's first voluminous work, so he seemed to be all the more anxious about how successful the book was. In spring of the next year (February 1905) , Sakuro received a letter from him as follows:

'When you have read *Dai Nippon* I hope you will send me your remarks on it and especially point out any mistakes. I have tried to look at the subjects treated in it from a Japanese point of view and I am anxious to know how far I have succeeded. I shall be glad to receive a copy of Count Okuma's book and to compare his review with mine.

I am very much obliged to you for sending me the history of the Russo-Japanese War which I read with interest. The events of that war have justified the opinions which I expressed in my book and have been the means of opening the eyes of all the countries of the world to the strength of Japan. I hope however that the war will soon end with terms which will ensure the peace of the Far East for many a year' ⁽¹⁰⁾.

This suggests Dyer's interest in the Russo-Japanese War and peace in the Far East, which is noticeable. Such his concern was to become ripe to bring about another voluminous work. It is the above-mentioned book entitled *Japan in World Politics* and also subtitled 'a Study in International Dynamics'.

Later a short story book with the title of *Education and Industrial Training of Boys and Girls* ⁽¹¹⁾ was also sent to him. The book published in 1913 was shown recently in the 'Exhibition concerning the birth of Japan that is proud of high technology' held in the National Museum of Science in Ueno, Tokyo, together with Dyer's portrait. An explanation was attached to the book and went that 'even after he went back to Britain, friendly exchanges between Dyer and the graduates of Kobu-Dai-Gakko continued. This is the copy presented to Sakuro Tanabe' ⁽¹²⁾.

The books given by Dyer were not limited to these two. There were also books entitled *Education and Work, a Lecture* (1906) and *Education and National Life* (1912) that Dyer presented to Sakuro. These are clearly identified as so for they respectively bear such a dedication as 'With the Author's best wishes' and 'To Sakuro Tanabe with the good wishes of Henry Dyer' ⁽¹³⁾.

4. Continuing Friendship with Sakuro Tanabe

Sakuro continued to adore Dyer. Dyer, on the other hand, put his invariable trust in Sakuro throughout his life. Dyer cared for him about this and that and constantly encouraged him by writing letters.

Sakuro seems to have been strongly influenced by Dyer already when he was his student, which is indicated by an anecdote that his mother presented a Japanese doll to Dyer to

celebrate the birth of his first daughter, Marie. When his departure from Japan was drawing near, Dyer worried about Sakuro's injured finger and wrote to him (dated July 14, 1882) , 'Wishing you a speedy return to your usual health and all success in your future career I hope you will continue to get stronger.' And he recommended him to study in Britain and was so kind to tell him that you 'assure her (Mother) that should you come to Britain I shall try to act the part of a Father to you in so far as may be in my power' ⁽¹⁴⁾ .

Even after Dyer left Japan, Sakuro was a good correspondent to write often to Dyer about himself. Every time he received Sakuro's letter, Dyer sent a letter to encourage him. When Sakuro became Professor of Civil Engineering at Koka-Daigaku (Imperial University of Tokyo) , he was so pleased to write that 'you are so well qualified' and expected his further success, wanting 'to hear from you occasionally not only regarding your own work, but also about engineering, and elements generally in Japan' ⁽¹⁵⁾ .

Being informed of Sakuro's marriage, Dyer celebrated him to say 'that both of you may be able to render good service to your country'. When Sakuro took a doctor's degree, Dyer wrote, 'It is a great honor to my work in Japan, to find that the results of it are being so beneficial to the country' ⁽¹⁶⁾ . On the news of such a great achievement as compilation and publication of *Nippon Kogyo-shi* (the history of engineering in Japan) , Dyer wrote that you would gain support of many people in the society of engineering and encouraged him by saying, 'I am sure it would be a most interesting and valuable record' ⁽¹⁷⁾ .

When Sakuro told Dyer about his business trip to China, he wrote, 'I presume you were there in connection with the proposed railways. That country now offers many opportunities for Japanese enterprise. During the past two years Japan has passed through the most important period of her history and is now enrolled among the great nations of the world, thanks to her bravery and skill. I hope she will continue her path of progress and prove to the nations of the world that she is not only great but also good.' This is Dyer's letter dated January 17, 1906 ⁽¹⁸⁾ .

Keeping on having an interest not only in Sakuro personally but also the overall movement in Japan, he made a request to Sakuro by writing, 'I hope you will keep me informed of the chief works in Civil Engineering which are being carried out in Japan' (December 30, 1892) ⁽¹⁹⁾ . When the Nobi Earthquake occurred, he got worried and wrote, 'I hope your canal between Kiot and Otsu did not suffer' (Christmas of 1891) ⁽²⁰⁾ .

Dyer in turn informed Sakuro of what he had been doing, such as about his family and everyday activities. These are what he wrote about this children: 'Charlie is very nearly as tall

as I am', and 'the little baby to whom your mother gave the Japanese doll is now a big girl'⁽²¹⁾.

He often wrote about his job in Britain. One of such letters goes like this: 'Since I returned to England I have visited a very large number of engineering works and I was astonished at the progress made during my absence in Japan'⁽²²⁾. To report on the college which he had been concerned with as a central figure of the foundation and management, he wrote, 'the Technical College in Glasgow, which is hugely copied from the Kobu-dai-gakko, is getting on very well and we have now a very large number of students.' He added, 'I am now a Member of the School Board of Glasgow, which has charge of all the Schools in the city, so that I have plenty to do in connection with education' to describe his full days⁽²³⁾.

5. Dyer's Dream of Visiting Japan Again

Dyer had been eager to visit Japan again throughout his life. He may have wanted to visit Japan again so that he could see firsthand how a country modernization of which he had helped in his youth had transformed itself into a civilized nation to come up to his expectation.

At the age of 24, Dyer came to Japan alone in June 1873 and got married in Yokohama. In the following year, 1874, he welcomed his fiance to Japan and started a new family. For nearly 10 years of his stay in Japan, he and his wife were blessed with five children⁽²⁴⁾. Serious about his duty, he made every effort to realize such education in engineering as he had conceived of and demonstrated his ability to lead Japan to 'the Britain in the East'. When Japan was finally approaching 'the Britain in the East' he had imagined and his former students now became the leaders of Japan, Dyer may have been dreaming of visiting his dear old Japan again.

In the beginning of the Taisho era (1912-1926), he already had 'his will to visit Japan again', but unfortunately he had to give up his travel because of the outbreak of World War I.

'The end of the dreadful war is not yet in sight and people in contrast are prophesying a long war. The postponement of my visit to Japan has been a great disappointment to me, I hope the war will not last so long as to make my visit impossible.'⁽²⁵⁾

This is from his letter to Sakuro dated November 15, 1917.

More than 2 years before this letter, in fact, a plan for inviting Dyer to Japan was carried forward. Volunteers of two groups, namely Toranomom-kai formed by the graduates of Kobu-

Dai-Gakko and Glasgow-kai organized mainly by former students who were supported and encouraged by Dyer during their studying in Glasgow, suggested to make preparations for inviting him to Japan and appealed to former students to contribute to funds.

This plan for welcoming Dyer, however, did not materialize. For it was postponed by the war'. Sakuro conveyed the details to Dyer by his letter dated February 10, 1915 ⁽²⁶⁾.

In April, Sakuro received Dyer's reply:

'I was very much pleased to receive your letter of 10th February, and to learn about the meeting of the Ter-no-mun Kirai. It was a great disappointment to me, that my visit to Japan was postponed on account of the war. Please thank the members for their kind wishes and say that I look forward with great expectation to my visit after the war, I am afraid, however, that the war will be a protracted one' ⁽²⁷⁾.

While having concern that 'the war might be a protracted one', Dyer was looking forward to visiting Japan again. He must have wanted to see his former students who grew up to be the leaders of Japan. And there seemed to be a plan for a new study on Japan, following *Dai Nippon* and *Japan in World Politics*, which may also have urged him to visit Japan.

'I study with great interest the progress of events in the Far East, and especially in Japan and China. When I visit Japan, I hope to get sufficient material for another book on the development of events in the Pacific Area and the relations of the countries in that Area to Japan. I believe that the future most important events in the world's history will take place in that area, and therefore the developments which take place should be carefully studied.'

He was also interested in hanging scrolls and added, 'I look for it when I come to Japan' ⁽²⁸⁾.

Dyer had been waiting for the day to visit Japan eagerly, but sadly such his dream never came true. Dyer died on September 25, 1918. Suffering from pneumonia, he took to his bed only for a day and passed away in his home at Highburgh Terrace at half past five in the evening. He was seventy years old ⁽²⁹⁾.

The news of Dyer's death was distributed by an international news agency based in London on September 27, 1918. Japanese newspapers carried the news on October 1, 1918 ⁽³⁰⁾. Then Sakuro wrote an article of condolence. With the title 'Dr. Dyer passed away. I mourn over the death of a teacher of our industry', Sakuro contributed the article to *Osaka Mainichi*

News. For the purpose which is indicated by his statement that 'if you want to know how many contributions Dr. Dyer has made to the development of our industry, you must first know how our education in industry was initiated after the Meiji restoration', he presented a story that one day when the Iwakura Mission was visiting Britain as part of their travel to inspect the situations in Europe and North America, Hirobumi Ito, Vice Head of the Mission, consulted with Jardine Matheson over how to develop Japanese industry⁽³¹⁾ to show the very beginning.

The plan of inviting Dyer to Japan was not realized after all. Instead, however, their plan for inviting him bore fruit in a different way. Since they had already enough money with donations as funds which would be spent for welcoming him and other commemorative events, a part of it was contributed to the Technological College, Imperial University of Tokyo (whose forerunner was Kobu-Dai-Gakko) and was to be used for purchasing books on engineering.

The books then bought with the money were reportedly 122 volumes of books published in Europe and America. What they aimed at then was 'to have a sufficient provision of books necessary for each course of the Faculty of Engineering and to attach late Dr. Dyer's portrait and his short biography to them so as to immortalize his great contribution to the development of engineering and industry of Japan.' From June to September 1926, the delivery and categorization as well as registration of the books were implemented.

The presentation copies of Dyer were identified as so because they bear on the inside of the cover a sticker beginning with 'Dr. Dyer's commemorative book'. They are still stored in each library of the Engineering Course of the Graduate School, University of Tokyo. There are, however, only about two dozen books that have been identified so far by the author⁽³²⁾.

6. Dyer's Mottoes

How they were on friendly terms with each other as the above is well described in a book entitled *Biwako Sosui Ni Matsuwaru Aru Ichizoku No Hanashi* (A story about a family that was concerned with Lake Biwa Canal, 1991) written by Yasuo Tanabe⁽³³⁾. The author is Sakuro's grand son as well as a great grand son of Kunimichi Kitagaki, Governor of Kyoto Prefecture who promoted the project of Lake Biwa Canal which was designed and supervised by Sakuro. *Tanabe Sakuro Hakase 60-nen-shi* (Sixty-year history of Dr. Sakuro Tanabe) edited by Masajiro Nishikawa (1924) is also informative⁽³⁴⁾, but cannot match with Tanabe's book in terms of

detailed explanation of the friendship between Dyer and Sakuro.

The book reveals other anecdotes to show how much Sakuro respected Dyer. There are such stories as on the wall of Sakuro's study was hung Dyer's portrait and Sakuro treasured Dyer's motto he personally presented to him.

Dyer's motto was 'Not how much I did, but how well I did', and what an important guideline Sakuro considered it! This is also indicated by records of the construction work of the canal exhibited at the Lake Biwa Canal Museum of Kyoto. They are the notebooks in which various problems they faced during the construction from February 1887 to November 1890 were written down, and all of the five notebooks bear the sentences that 'It is not how much we do, but how well. The will to do, the soul to dare' written in red on their respective front cover.

The meaning may be that what I paid attention to was not to do much work but to accomplish my work; and what is important is the will to do and the courage to dare. These are the words that reflect and remind us of Dyer's way of living⁽³⁵⁾.

Notes:

- 1) Nobuhiro Miyoshi, *Nihon Kyoiku No Kaikoku, Gaikoku Kyoshi To Kindai Nippon* (Opening Japan's education to the rest of the world; teachers from overseas and modern Japan), Fukumura-shuppan, 1986.
- 2) H. Dyer, *Dai Nippon, the Britain of the East, a Study in National Evolution*, Blackie & Son, London, 1904. Do., *Japan in WorldPolitics, a Study in International Dynamics*. Blackie & Son, London, 1909
- 3) Noboru Umetani (ed.), *Meiji Ki Gaikokujin Jokun Shiryo Shusei* (Compiled materials for people from overseas who were decorated for their services to Japan in the Meiji era), Vol. 4, Shibunkaku-shuppan, 1991, p.426.
- 4) Yasuo Tanabe, *Biwako Sosui Ni Matsuwaru Aru Ichizoku No Hanashi* (A story about a family that was concerned with the Lake Biwa Canal), 1991, private edition, p.16.
- 5) *Kaigai Ryoken Kafu Henno Hyo Shintatsu Ikken-Fuyo Meisaihyo Fukumu* (A report on passports that were issued and returned, including a detailed list of issuance), belonging to the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Tanabe Sakuro Hakase Kiju Nenpu* (A chronological list of the main events of Dr. Sakuro Tanabe who has reached his 77th birthday), Tanabe Sakuro Hakase Kiju Shukugakai (Tanabe Sakuro's 77th birthday celebration), 1937, pp.19-20.
- 6) Description of Sakuro's visits to Dyer below is based on the following books as references: Sakuro Tanabe, 'Moto Kobu-Dai-Gakko Token Dyer-sensei O Tofu (My visit to Dr. Dyer, former head of teachers at Kobu-Dai-Gakko)', *Kogyo No Dai Nippon* (Japan proud of industry), Vol.1, No.5 (December 1904), pp.30-35; and *Kyu-Kobu-Dai-Gakko Shiryo Furoku* (Appendixes to the materials on the history of former Kobu-Dai -Gakko), Toranomom-kai, 1931, pp.94-99.
- 7) Yasuo Tanabe, *op. cit.*, p.51.
- 8) *Obei Shuccho Mokuroku* (A list of business trips to Europe and America), the Tanabe family's heritages (belonging to the Lake Biwa Canal Museum of Kyoto), Category No. E3-4-5-2. *Tanabe Sakuro Hakase Kiju Nenpu*, *op. cit.* p.33.
- 9) H. Dyer, *Dai Nippon*, *op. cit.*, preface.

- 10) H. Dyer's letter to Sakuro Tanabe (dated February 18, 1905) stored at the Lake Biwa Canal Museum of Kyoto.
- 11) H. Dyer, *Education and Industrial Training of Boys and Girls*, Blackie & Son, London, 1913.
- 12) *Haiteku Nippon Tanjo Ten, Meiji No Kindaika Isan* (An exhibition concerning the birth of Japan that is proud of high technology – a heritage of modernization during the Meiji era) , held at the National Museum of Science in Tokyo, 1997, p.101.
- 13) H. Dyer, *Education and Work, a Lecture*, Dumfermline, 1906. Do., *Education and National Life*, Blackie & Son, London, 1912. The books actually referred to were those belonging to the Lake Biwa Canal Museum of Kyoto.
- 14) H. Dyer's letter to Sakuro Tanabe (dated July 6, 1882) , belonging to the Lake Biwa Canal Museum of Kyoto.
- 15) *Do.* (August 14, 1891)
- 16) *Do.* (December 25, 1891)
- 17) *Do.* (January 17, 1906)
- 18) *Do.*
- 19) *Do.* (August 14, 1891; December 30, 1892)
- 20) *Do.* (December 25, 1891)
- 21) *Do.*
- 22) *Do.* (December 30, 1892)
- 23) *Do.* (December 25, 1891)
- 24) 'Marriage Solemnized at Her Britannic Majesty's Legation at Yokohama 23rd May 1874', *The Glasgow Herald* (9 June 1874) p.1. Also, refer to S. Katoh, 'Henry Dyer No Kekkon (Henry Dyer's Marriage) ', *UP*, No.304 (February 1998) , pp.16-20.
- 25) H. Dyer's letter to Sakuro Tanabe (dated November 15, 1917) . *op. cit.*
- 26) *Do.* (February 10, 1915)
- 27) *Do.* (April 7, 1915)
- 28) *Do.*
- 29) *Register of Deaths for the District of Patrick in the Burgh of Glasgow*,
- 30) *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, October 1, 1918, p.5. *Osaka Mainichi News*, October 1, 1918, p.4. *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, October 1, 1918, p.4.
- 31) *Osaka Mainichi News*, October 5, 1918, p.3 & October 6, 1918, p.3.
- 32) Included in *Kyu-Kobu-Dai-Gakko Shiryo Furoku*, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-104. S. Katoh, 'A Collection of Books at Tokyo University That Are Related to Henry Dyer', *Journal of the History of Tokyo University*, No. 20 (March 2002) pp.1-24.
- 33) Yasuo Tanabe, *op. cit.*, Masajiro Nishikawa, *Tanabe Sakuro Hakushi 60 -nen-shi* (A 60-year history of Dr. Sakuro Tanabe) , Chuzo Yamada, 1924.
- 34) *Sosui Koji Kiroku-cho* (Record of the Construction of the Lake Biwa Canal) , belonging to the Lake Biwa Canal Museum of Kyoto.
- 35) Some of this monograph are covered in the followings:
 - 'Friendship between Henry Dyer and Sakuro Tanabe',
UP, No.340 (Tokyo University Press, February 2001) pp.6-11.
 - 'A Collection of Books at Tokyo University That Are Related to Henry Dyer',
Journal of the History of Tokyo University, No.20 (Archives Section of the University of Tokyo, March 2002) pp.1-24.