

Record of the International Symposium: Photography in Bakumatsu Japan

Panelists

“Photography in the Final Two Decades of the Edo Period”

Takahashi Hidenori

Professor, Nihon University College of Art

“Yokosuka Shashin: Émile de Montgolfier in Japan (1866-1873)”

Christian Polak

Guest Professor, Meiji University, School of Political Science and Economics

“Under Eagle Eyes: Photographs from the Prussian Expedition to Japan, 1860-61”

Sebastian Dobson

Independent Scholar

“Shimizu Tokoku and the Japanese carte-de-visite: Redefining Yokohama Photography”

Luke Gartlan

Senior Lecturer, University of St Andrews School of Art History

“Bakumatsu Photographs: Japan and Taiwan as seen by Foreign Photographers”

Fan Juwan

Assistant Professor, National University of Tainan Graduate Institute of Animation Media Design

“A Swiss Photographer in Bakumatsu Japan: New Discoveries on Pierre J. Rossier”

Philippe Dallais

Researcher, University of Zurich

Moderator

Mitsui Keishi

Curator, Tokyo Photographic Art Museum

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Kasahara Michiko: I would like to explain that I am the Chief Curator for this museum. My name is Kasahara. We opened in 1990. In 1995, we formally opened our doors to the public in this building. After about 2 years of renovation we reopened in September of last year. We have spent 1 year in commemorating our anniversary by organizing series of exhibitions and symposia. Now before, we commemorated our opening, we had 2 years of renovation. There were some people who said that it seemed to be a waste of public money because the building itself looked quite new. However, the response that we had to think of what the function of the museum was. The Photographic Art Museum covers historical photography of the 19th century and goes through to contemporary in the 21st century. And exhibitions, education and outreach projects are very much visible to the audiences, which is why they are very easy to understand. However, the most important function of a museum is in fact being the custodian and the transmitter of culture to future generations.

So a very important aspect of our renovation was to provide a better environment for the conservation of our holdings. Looking at humidity, temperature and also the other conditions, that was a very important aspect and very much the focus of our renovation. Of course, we have improved on the actual galleries and the lobby but the most important aspect of our renovation was the function of the museum. And when we thought about that we had to implement the series of renovations.

I spoke earlier about how we cover the 19th century, 20th century photography. People often think that because the Japanese name of our museum is 'A Museum of Photography' and that we handle everything which can be described as photography; that is actually a misunderstanding that we need to correct. The Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography was original English title but now it's the Tokyo Photographic Art Museum because we look at not just the photography but also at the photographic arts. In other words, we do film and other forms of moving media, moving images. So really we look at serious photography, photography as art and that's the emphasis that we have when we carry out our activities as a museum. However, the 19th century happens to be a field where we cannot apply that yardstick.

That is a period when the commercial and art photography were still not separated and where photography itself is an art and technology was still in development. So, we have a fantastic lineup of guest speakers for the symposium and we think that we are going to be able to address many of the detailed aspects of this.

As for the 19th century photography, we have continued to carry out a great deal of detailed research. It also happens to be a field where Japan has not really got that much detailed research into history as Europe or United States. For this project we really focused on what 19th century photographs are still remaining and where they are being held and we have had a series of the exhibitions which we have shared the findings over the past decade. What we have upstairs is an exhibition which really pulls together the best of the best of what we have found in that process.

So this symposium is held in order to commemorate this activity. It's going to be a long call until 6 o'clock but we do hope that you enjoy this symposium and stay on until the end. And now I would like to introduce Mitsui Keishi who is the curator who has been in charge of this project and this symposium.

Mitsui Keishi: Good afternoon. My name is Mitsui Keishi. I would like to thank everybody for joining us. I never imagined we would have such a fantastic turnout. I apologize to the guests but I am really surprised. And I am really grateful and thankful to everybody for coming here today. We would like to go into the symposium. Kasahara says they are over time. So please make sure that you understand that this is how we are going to be proceeding.

We would like to take time for the intermission and the panel discussion. This schedule is probably not going to be kept too faithfully but we hope that you will just focus on the interesting presentations that we are going to be hearing. As for the speakers' profiles, you can find this on the other side of the schedule or the timetable and this is all lined up in order of the presentations. I don't think it's necessary for me to give an introduction to everybody beforehand because I do know that you are more interested in hearing what the speakers have to say rather than having me speak to you. So Professor Takahashi please.



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Takahashi Norihide: Thank you. My name is Takahashi of Nihon University. Well this series of exhibition 'Dawn of Japanese Photography' began from 2007 and from the first exhibition, Nihon University have continued to be a supporter in the shape of lending part of our collection. We have had the 2 years of renovation of this museum. But in 2013, Hokkaido Tohoku was the last exhibition that we had in the series. Now we have described as 'the Anthology' which brings together summation of the findings and discoveries.

Many of you have probably been able to see the exhibition. However, some of the works have only been discovered in the process of the research which was conducted together with the exhibition, there are also photographs which everybody is very familiar with through history text books. But it's been very difficult to actually see the originals because they are so precious. So I think we have an outstanding and important exhibition. I think part of that is the fact that the real photograph is still extant. It is not just about what is being photographed, the subject matter, it's also the fact that as Mr. Mitsui has emphasized the importance of the presence, the piece. The fact that there is this tremendous power that seems to emanate from the photographs individually.

Latest technology that we use today is completely different from photography in the 19th century. The presence and the material quality that they have is quite different. So that is how photography existed for more

than a century and how photography put down roots and spread in Japan is really what is being analyzed and studied through these series of exhibitions. Now the symposium named “Bakumatsu”, end of the Edo Shogunate. I am going to be focusing on the last 20 years of the Edo period and photography. I think that you already have been able to see. Photography or rather daguerreotypes were first brought to Japan in 1848, the first year of Kaei. In 20 years after that we have the Meiji restoration. So, the last 20 years of the Edo Shogunate happened to be the first 20 years of the history of photography in Japan; I think that Commodore Perry which marked the starting point for Japan deciding to actually open up to the world. There is 5 years difference between Commodore Perry’s visit to Japan and of course there is a difference with the Meiji Restoration. So I think it is important to remember that the period when photography was brought to Japan happens to be really in the years immediately before dramatic changes for this country.

The title of this exhibition is ‘Dawn of Japanese Photography’. However, the Japanese title is actually ‘Immediately Before the Dawn’. So it really is referring to the period immediately before Japanese photographers became aware and intentionally set out to create their own distinct voice. So that is part of what is referred to in terms of the technology and also in terms of the expression. Now we have speakers from abroad who are going to be speaking about photography. But before going on to their presentations which are going to be looking at the details, I would like to give you, in a sense, a foreword which is going to give you some general background information.

Daguerre invented daguerreotype which is the first practical technique of photography in 1839, and 1848 when it was actually brought to Japan. But in Europe and in United States immediately after this technology was announced it rapidly spread as a practical skill, a practical technology. However, Japan was quite different because it was a medieval feudal system and this country was still close off from the rest of the world. So for quite a while, photography was regarded as only a matter of experiment and study.

So, it was really part of what was studied as in the context of the broader study and analysis of western technology and of knowhow or the skills. It is also possible to say that this was really done intentionally in order to strengthen the defense of the nation and also to promote industries. Mr. Tani [Akiyoshi] says in the article in the catalogue that could be described as part of the study of modern sciences in order to confront the western powers and also it could be described as part of the process of the introduction of science technology and of the application of this science and technology in order to strengthen the country and to strengthen the army. Shimazu Nariakira for example, looking at that you can see the iron making equipment as the background. So this describes or rather this illustrate the setting of taking the photograph of Shimazu Nariakira and the introduction of the modern sciences which was done by the actual process or the feudal systems and also the experts in western knowledge and study was done not just by the Satsuma, but Satsuma of course was probably the most heavily engaged in introducing this information. In 1851, the Lord of Satsuma, Shimazu Nariakira set up Shūseikan and also ordered that daguerreotype study be done full scale. And in 1854 Kawamoto Kōmin dictated *Ensei-kiki-jutsu* and in the beginning it describes daguerreotypes. This beginning of the book actually describes what photography is. After that there is description of telegraphs and also steam ships.

Looking at the order in which the different technologies are described, it also seems to reflect and allows us to imagine the tremendous degree of

interest that people had at that time in photography. And in 1857, they finally succeeded in taking a daguerreotype which was a portrait of Shimazu Nariakira. This was the first photograph taken by a Japanese. The research done and the study done at the Shogunate established schools of western learning or *yōgaku sho* might have done-conducted some experimental daguerreotype photography. However the only when you look at the extant photographs and daguerreotypes, this is the earliest and on this occasion we have been able to show a replica of the daguerreotype as part of the exhibition. And Satsuma also looked at calotype which was invented by Talbot at the same time which is based on a paper medium and negatives and positives. This is also part of the exhibition but this is the only example of a calotype negative which is extremely important in terms of the Japanese photographic history. However Shimazu's daguerreotype was the earliest photograph taken by a Japanese. Actually the first encounter between the Japanese and photography can be traced back to 1851 or 1852 when the *Eiriki-Maru* which was a ship from Hyōgo began to drift and where some of the crew members was photographed in San Francisco. So they are the first or earliest examples of a Japanese as a photographic subject. There are 5 examples of this kind of photograph which is being confirmed in Japan. And you are probably familiar with was taken by Eliphalet Brown Jr. who was part of the Commodore Perry's fleet, took a series of photographs. There are 5 photographs being confirm which have been designated as important cultural properties. Two of them are part of this exhibition.

It seems like there was a Samurai standing there but these are the earliest known examples of photographs of Japanese which have been taken within Japan. This is extremely important in terms of history because this was taken by a photographer who accompanied Commodore Perry's fleet which was instrumental in opening up Japan. So the fact that we have these existing photographs which are a witness to the people who actually stood there at that particular time. You might think that he looks rather awkward. It's because daguerreotypes reverse the right and left. So he has been dressed in a way which is opposite from what he would be usually accustomed to. So his kimono and his sword are all put on the wrong side of his body. Now this period actually happens to coincide with when western photographic world had gone on to the next stage of development which was the wet-collodion process. Archer invented this in 1851. It's a glass negative. And the plate is created at the site where the photograph is taken. The photography and the processing have to take place while the plate is still wet. So it's very difficult but this is also usually described as wet plates. This is being introduced after daguerreotypes during the Ansei period when the Japanese opened up to the rest of the world, 1855, which was a year after Commodore Perry's visit, the Edo Shogunate established a special institute for Study of Naval Matters in Nagasaki and they invited professors from Netherlands and also handpicked students from different parts of Japan and also from Shogunate.

In 1857, a second group of professors included Pompe van Meerdervoort who was an instructor for medicine and who was supposed to be instrumental in spreading the awareness and also knowledge of this technique to different parts of the country because of his students. This gives you one example. This is Ueno Hikoma, Horie Kuwajirō and other who were able to actually learn about how to take photographs. But this is one very rare and important example of one of Pompe's students who was able to acquire the skill of taking photographs after that instruction.

And this gives you more detail, right now I have gone up to 10 years

before the end of the Edo Shogunate. So right in the middle of this period you can see the 6th year of Ansei where Nagasaki and Yokohama were opened up as ports that's 1859. All Tokugawa Shogunate sending the envoys abroad. So, in first year of Bunkyo photography spread and professional photographers were born. Then 1865, the last 10 years is where you can see the professional photographers becoming broadly established. This is the first year of Man'en that is 1860 when the Edo Shogunate sent a special envoy, a group of envoys to the United States in order to try to exchange the ratification documents for the revised US-Japan Trades Treaty. This was taken on Broadway. This is Nonomura Ichinoshin, a daguerreotype. And this shows you another new encounter, where the special envoys had actually direct experience of the practical application of photography in western society. This is from 1864 in Nadar's studio in Paris. Nadar was known as the most prominent and pre-eminent studio at that time. These people who were able to experience photography as it was accepted and widely practiced abroad was still very limited.

However, this probably had an impact on the practical application of photography in Japan. This is Kawasaki Dōmin from Saga who learned and acquired the skill photography and applied that. So he was actually taking photographs as a result of his visit. So the circumstances under which he took these photographs were quite different from what was usually seen. In the similar way Nakahama Manjirō who went to the United States in Kanrin Maru which was a ship set up by the Edo Shogunate actually acquired photographic equipment and took photographs. So this is something which has become evident through study, research and this is a very early example one can say of the practical application of photography. After that there were people who learned photographic skills from visiting foreigners and to set up their own photographic practices. The early days, really was part of the experiments which were conducted in line with learning about western science-technology. This was done under the feudal lords of the different parts of Japan. However after that photography itself became a skill which was passed down and also which was studied. In particular, the 6th year of Ansei when Yokohama and Nagasaki were opened up meant that visitors and foreigners who came from abroad and this actually provided opportunities to people to acquire photographic skills and to set up-themselves up as private practitioners. This list gives you the names of some of the people who were able to set up their own photographic studios after studying under foreigners. This is from 1860, [Orrin] Freeman who is from United States and founded his own studio; that is a very rare example.

One of his students and the first professional photographic studio was set up by Ukai Gyokusen in 1861 and he set that up in Ryōgoku of Edo. Before that, immediately after Nagasaki was opened up as a port to the rest of the world, 1859, Rossier came from Switzerland and he came to Japan again in the following year and taught the Japanese how to take photographs. Ueno Hikoma, I have mentioned his name in connection with Pompe where he wasn't really able to learn how to take photographs but Hikoma was able to study under Rossier which is why you were able to get that photograph that you have seen earlier. Ueno Hikoma, Ueno is surname by the way, studied in Nagasaki and then after that he went to the Tsu region and Tōdō fiefdom but he then return to Nagasaki and opened up his own studio as a Ueno photographic practice. Shimooka Renjō who is known as the Pioneer of Photography in Japan was able to acquire equipment from Wilson and took the skill and in 1862 he opened up his practice and this is immediately after

he opened up his practice or his studio. This is from the third year of Keiō (1867) and you can see that the quality of his photographs has improved dramatically. In these days in the last decade of the Edo Shogunate there were quite a lot of Japanese photographers in fact including those who had been disciples of the pioneers. However, in most cases their early practice was really limited to studio photographs and studio portraits. This is one example of that. And Mr. Mitsui has stated that perhaps the people at the end of the Shogunate were just primarily engaged in portraits. But I think it simply happened to be that circumstances predefined and predetermined the circumstances that led them to have portraits made because landscapes were only done by or created by foreigners or foreigners who knew about these skills. This is by Abel Gower and this is one of the earliest photographs of Nagasaki, I understand.

Out of these foreign expat photographers, one of the most outstanding people who took photographs which was not recorded by a Japanese. It is Felice Beato. This is the Shimonoseki war. This is wet plate and it's unbelievable the amount of skill that went into creating this image. The Shimonoseki war is known as one of the turning points or the tipping points where they decided to turn against – Chōshū decided to turn against the Shogunates. This is from Atagoyama. Over here, you can see Hie Shrine. You could say this, the primeval scene of Edo. It's very rare and also very important. This is done by C.L. Weed who is known as 'the Master of Wet Mammoth Plates'. This is the Yokohama Motomachi area. Beyond the river you can see where the foreigners had their compound and before this river you can see where the Japanese lived.

Here this is the center. It has got a tremendous amount of information in here. It's primitive technology but there is this tremendous amount of information that you can read from this. Japanese photographs really at the end of the Shogunate was really portraits. However, in the Meiji era the Japanese photographers were becoming comparable to expatriate photographers. These are portraits of Emperor Meiji which are portraits but at the same time you could say this is part of the official documentation and the creation of historical record. However in the 4th year of Meiji, 1871 Yokoyama [Matsusaburō] took these photographs of the Castle of Edo as it used to be known. The early years of developing and settling Hokkaido is also part of the early historical record. So we had [Raimund von] Stillfried and Takebayashi Seiichi as names, which wants to go on as part of creating this historical record.

And this is from 1877, the Satsuma Rebellion or the battle-which really could be described as the end point of the Meiji restoration where the Saigō Takamori and the Saigō forces fought with the major government forces in Tabaruzaka. And Japanese photographers after the Meiji restoration began to take photographs which were comparable to what their western counterparts were doing, for example looking at the American Civil War and the photographic record or the American record of 'Settlers in the West'. I think we can see comparable work being done by Japanese practitioners here in Japan. So the skills of taking photographs really developed and flourished in the Meiji era and the foundations that were laid down in the last two decades of the Edo Shogunate.

So thank you for your attention. This is the end of my allotted time I think. So I would like to end here. Thank you.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you very much Professor Takahashi. Please hold any

questions that you might have in discussion time. So now we will call upon the next speaker, Mr. Christian Polak who will be speaking next.

Christian Polak: Thank you very much for your introduction. My name is Christian Polak. I am not a specialist on photography unlike Professor Takahashi and I am just someone who has been collecting and gathering materials about Franco-Japanese relations. So I am also collecting some photographs as well. Please allow me to speak in Japanese but sometimes I might have some difficulties with my lack of Japanese knowledge. I ask for your indulgence.

So, today I will be speaking about “Yokosuka Shashin” or “Yokosuka Photography”. I think you are familiar with the expression “Yokohama Shashin” but it is also true that around Yokosuka there have been some photographic studios opened in the area and surely one at the end of Bakumatsu era. I am not sure if you are familiar with that fact but there was someone who was called Émile de Montgolfier who was a photographer. So today I would like to speak about Émile de Montgolfier. Two years ago there was an exhibit at the Yokosuka Art Museum. At that time we prepared this catalogue with the works of Émile de Montgolfier you can buy at this museum. The construction of the Yokosuka shipyard began in 1865, with Oguri Tadamasu as the Japanese director and Léonce Verny, a French élite engineer as director for the construction, who was there from 1865 to 1876. At that time he was supported by 55 French engineers.

This is a photo taken by Felice Beato. Verny had been in Yokosuka for more than 10 years, so he brought his family here. Two children were born in between. This is his eldest son who was photographed at the photo studio of Beato.

Émile de Montgolfier as you might know comes from the family of the Montgolfiers who were the inventors of the hot air balloon. This is a very prominent and famous family in France. In the 19th century they were manufacturing paper which was called the Canson & Montgolfier paper. I understand that many Japanese artists actually used the paper manufactured by Canson & Montgolfier even today.

Here is a photograph showing some of the French engineers who were working at the shipyard.

Émile de Montgolfier is shown here, there top right. There were also group pictures such as this one. You can see that all these photos are dated like this one from 1869, 16th of November. With the dates, they are very precious documents. On this picture you can see some of the French engineers.

One of the mystery was where did Émile de Montgolfier learn the technique of photography? It is not certain where he learned this technique but it seems that he learned this after reaching Japan. Here you can see the photo showing the building under construction and you can remark here two letters “LB”. So this is not signed or the initials of Émile de Montgolfier but this was from Léon Boelle who was one of the engineers, chemical engineer and was also a photographer. He has been asked by Verny to record the progress of the construction at the Yokosuka shipyard. And so he was hired to photograph the progress of the construction work. He took these photos and you can see his signature on each. I found only 10 photos which have been taken by Boelle. Among these photos there was a photograph showing the atelier which means that there was already such a photography studio at the Yokosuka shipyard from the year 1866. Here is another photo dated



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1866, 23rd of July and also signed “LB” for Léon Boelle, and you can see his studio here.

Émile de Montgolfier arrived in Japan arrived in June of 1866, one year after Léon Boelle. So that means that all these photos were taken by Boelle who had also to teach photography to Montgolfier some one year after. Here is a drawing which shows where the Atelier was situated and which is dated May 1868; in this drawing you can see that the photo studio was there. In the year 1870 Boelle was transferred to Yokohama Steel work. So it was after he left that Émile de Montgolfier was in charge of taking photographs. This photo-portrait of Émile de Montgolfier shows that it has been taken in the studio located within the Yokosuka shipyard.

Here is his signature and also a stamp using the katakana characters, and this is the official stamp of Yokosuka Shipyard. Here is another evidence showing that photo studio in the Yokosuka shipyard, because this is an order for collodion sent by Émile de Montgolfier to France.

Another question was “which cameras were used by Émile de Montgolfier?”. And as I said I am not a specialist in photography but when he went to Kamakura he took along two cameras and one is placed here and then he took this photo with another camera that he had been carrying. This is also dated, that means Émile de Montgolfier had taken these photos.

Let me explain how we discovered these photographs? In 1970s Professor Takahashi Kunitarō saw an album of photographs by Émile de Montgolfier at the home of the descendants of the family of Léonce Verny. Then in the 80s professor Nishibori Akira met some descendants of Émile de Montgolfier. Another album was discovered. Just 3 years ago, I was able to find the direct descendants of Émile de Montgolfier who showed to me four new photo albums.

The first one is large scale album has the initials “E.M.” for Émile de Montgolfier. A second album is untitled “Album of photographs from the Yokosuka Arsenal”. The third album was just untitled “Album of Photographs”. Inside this album there pictures not just of the shipyard but also from the villages surrounding Yokosuka. There were also photos from Hokkaido. The fourth album which discovered, it was like this one. Here is written that it is album of photographs of Japan taken in January 1870, Yokosuka. All the photos have a number, a legend with the dates of when the photos were taken.

As I mentioned, these albums had been discovered just 3 years ago. And along with the albums there have been about 250 documents which had been discovered because Émile de Montgolfier had been writing to his parents every week. It is like a precise diary with many informations, so personal, some about the life in the Yokosuka shipyard, some about his trips inside Japan with his impressions about what he saw. I have not been able to go through all of these letters. I am still studying them.

The albums kept by the descendants of Verny Family, were copies given by Émile de Montgolfier to Léonce Verny and others important Japanese and French engineers. Here is the photography album from the Arsenal of Yokosuka dated January 1873 and photographs by Émile de Montgolfier. What was very interesting here is that he had always noted the date of the photos. The first ones were the photos taken by Boelle and then from this page onwards we have photos which were taken by Montgolfier. These were photos taken to keep record and so we can see how they had built the shipyard through the mountain.

Here this is dated 1868 when they had excavated or erased the

mountainous areas they found some discoveries of some animals relics. These are mammoth teeth which were discovered in the excavation work. And a photo of Kamakura. And this is photo of Yokosuka area. And so this was the house of Thibaudier who was the Head of the shipyard. And so they had used some very new technology such as cranes. And when the wife of engineer passed away then there was a small church in Yokosuka where this person had been buried. Because this is in Yokosuka you can see also the Japanese flag here. And this is the photo from the Uraga area. And as I mentioned earlier this album belonged to Verny. And this was a steel mill from Yokohama where Boelle had been transferred to from Yokosuka. This had been a serie of three Yokohama pictures forming a panoramic view. Here is another panorama photo where the mountain still is there. But then you can see that the construction work has already progressed. This is 1867 you can see the declining or decreasing amount of the rocks on the mountains. On this photo you see that the mountain has nearly disappeared. And this is from 1868, end of 1868 where the shipyard has almost been completed. You can see the dock area as well. You can see that the photos have captured the details of the area in the shipyard. Here is another panorama photo. What is very interesting is that in a letter that Émile de Montgolfier had written to his mother he sent 20 photographs on which the mother also wrote her explanations with details based on the letters of her son. Those photographs were after showed to the entire family who was able to learn what Émile had been doing in Japan. This wonderful material is packed with much detailed information. And here you see that the mountain is still there, hadn't been leveled entirely yet. Here is the village of Yokosuka. And here is the island called Sarushima or used to be called the Perry Island. Here you have Émile de Montgolfier in this photo which is a very interesting photo.

And this is the son of Mr. Florent and his dog Ume and as Émile de Montgolfier and the other French engineers. So I don't have time to go through the detailed description of all these photos. But you see that there is a Japanese person standing in the forefront. Here you can see the dock, the construction as it was starting for the dock. And that's the completed dock. That was on the 1st of 1872, the Emperor of Meiji had visited this area. This is where the ships were brought in for repair work. So the series of photos that we are able to see the type of progression of the construction work and it was the very first time that I was able to see photos like this. And the Montgolfier family had about 500 photos and they also had many photos which had been taken outside of the Yokosuka area as well.

This is the smelting plant, as Ume the dog was like a mascot of the shipyard. So you can see the dog captured in some of the photos and so some of that still remains here. And more photos of the crane and some of the very new machinery which had been delivered from France.

You can also see the photo of the inside of the building and here we have a picture of the students who are from the shipyard school established by Léonce Verny, the first school in Japan for shipbuilding technology. So this was the graduation ceremony in March 1871. There was also a preparatory school before they entered this school but the names of the students are also known. And on Sundays the French men would go hunting and Ume the dog would also accompany the hunting mission as well. When I saw this picture, I was very impressed and surprised at this because the photo is very, very clear and you can see the Japanese and the French engineers and in the front row you see that there are also children who had been working here. There had been about 2200 Japanese working here and there were

children aged around 15. You can see the ship being built in the yard and this captures the French peoples' residences. That was the house belonging to VERNY in French village. These are the French peoples' residences and then the Japanese engineers also lived in the area. This is Émile de Montgolfier's house. And this is the church that was also located in the area and this shows the interior of the church. The altar was designed in fact by Émile de Montgolfier. You can see the Christmas decoration. This is another photograph of the Yokohama steel mill, a very detailed photograph.

This shows a lighthouse which had been built by French engineer. This is the Kannonzaki lighthouse. This is the Shinagawa lighthouse and Nojimazaki lighthouse under construction and also completed form.

Here in Yokosuka, these are the villages around the Yokosuka shipyard. Wonderful photos. This is the Ryōanji temple and some more photos from Yokohama. That's the gas plant in Yokohama, a very unusual photo. He also captured festivals. And you can see Mount Fuji because he had gone to Hakone. You will be able to see Mount Fuji. He also went to Kyoto. This is a panoramic view of Ōtsu, very unusual. This is Hokkaido, some area close to Hakodate and this is a photo showing the church resided by French priests who had come to Japan. A winter landscape. He also captured Japanese people. Now I am not sure who these people were because I have not conducted research yet. But we know that these photos were taken in Hakodate. So in Hokkaido he has also captured the Ainu houses by the pioneers who were developing the area. So I think my time is up and with this I would like to conclude my presentation. I am sorry for my poor Japanese.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you very much indeed Professor. Then Mr. Sebastian Dobson who will be speaking next.



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Sebastian Dobson: Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. My name is Sebastian Dobson. I haven't really been able to speak Japanese quite often these days so today I would like to give my speech in English.

I would like to thank Tokyo Photographic Art Museum and in particular Mr. Mitsui for inviting me to speak today. It is also wonderful to see so many people here today especially on such a rainy day and it's a great honor to be taking part in this event and I am looking forward to what promises to be a very productive panel discussion.

One aspect of researching the history of photography in Bakumatsura Japan is that it is often the case that we have photographs without any supporting text or else we have lots of text which describes photography but no actual photographs. The Prussian expedition to Japan of 1860-1861 is one exception, in that we have both a lot of text and several images. Another aspect of photographic research of this period is that there are many missing or lost portfolios. The best-known examples are perhaps the daguerreotypes taken during Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan during 1853-54. With few exceptions, the daguerreotypes taken by Eliphalet Brown Jr. are lost. The Prussian expedition also offers us the exciting challenge of trying to find a missing portfolio of photographs, possibly the largest we know of. The records tell us that when the Prussians arrived in Edo on 8 September 1860 they brought with them 6 cameras of various sizes, enough glass plate negatives to take 2500 photographs and 93 bottles of chemicals. The same sources tell us that when the Prussians finally returned to Berlin in 1862 they brought with them at least 1200 photographs – by which I mean glass plate

negatives – which had been successfully taken.

These however, seemed to have disappeared at some point in time after 1870 and so there is the additional excitement of trying to reconstruct this portfolio. This research has been an ongoing obsession of mine since 2003 when I first found a reference to photography in the published accounts of the Prussian expedition. This led to several research trips to Berlin which resulted in several publications, including this book which was published in 2012 to mark the 150th anniversary of the beginning of German-Japanese relations. This publication with the OAG (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens), entitled *Under Eagle Eyes: Lithographs, Drawings and Photographs from the Prussian Expedition* contains most of the research I conducted up until then. What I intend to do today is to present an update of where my research has led since 2012.

However, I should start by providing some background information. The Prussian East-Asian Expedition is very interesting for numerous reasons, one of which is that, although it was a diplomatic expedition it also included a significant number of scientific and artistic personnel. This is a list of the artistic staff of the expedition. At the top of the list is the official artist, Wilhelm Heine, whose name will be familiar to most of you since he had already accompanied Commodore Perry's expedition in 1853-54 in the same capacity. In 1859, he offered his services to the Prussian government and was immediately accepted as the artist in charge of a portfolio of images which would illustrate an account of the expedition to East Asia which would be published after it had returned to Berlin.

Second in the list is the artist Albert Berg who was added to the staff at the last minute. I will skip him since there is not much time to explain his presence. There was also a photographer Carl Bismarck. Carl Bismarck was employed largely as a result of Wilhelm Heine's request that there should be a photographer. Heine was working as an artist in traditional media, sketching, producing water colors. He requested the Prussian government and in particular the head of the expedition, Count Eulenburg, for the presence of a photographer. And the result was that young Carl Bismarck was employed. This was a rather strange choice given that Bismarck was only 20 years old at that time and had apparently very little experience of photography. Later on it became apparent that the reason for Bismarck's employment was because he was the illegitimate son of Count Eulenburg who was trying to give him a chance to pursue a diplomatic career. Because of Bismarck's inadequacy as a photographer a decision had to be made very quickly after the Prussians arrived in Edo to employ a second photographer. By a fortunate coincidence there was an American photographer called John Wilson who was then active in Yokohama. We still quite don't know what brought Wilson to Japan but certainly he was in Yokohama with a camera where he caught the eye of Wilhelm Heine and was employed on a temporary contract for 3 months from September 1860 until January 1861, when the Prussians finally left Edo after 5 months there and went to Nagasaki and then onwards to China and Siam.

We also have the third man, August Sachtler, who was initially employed in the expedition as a telegrapher. He was working for the company of Siemens & Halske and since he had some knowledge of photography he was quickly taken on as an assistant, mainly for Bismarck who was in great need of help, and sometimes for Wilson. Sachtler rapidly proved himself to be a very able photographer and started receiving more important assignments than one would expect for an assistant.

Finally, we have Hermann Rose. Like Sachtler, Rose was also a telegrapher from Siemens & Halske. He had no actual experience of photography but he was employed occasionally as an assistant and we are particularly grateful to him because, in 1895 towards the end of his life, he wrote his memoirs in which he gives us descriptions of photographs being taken in Japan, China and Siam.

I began my research with published text, starting with the official account of the expedition following the numerous published writings by members of the expedition before I finally went to Berlin and began going through the archives of the former Prussian State. To my delight, I found a report which Eulenberg sent from Edo in November 1860, with a sealed envelope attached behind it with a pin.

I am sure you can imagine my excitement when I felt what was inside this wonderfully fat document with my fingers, and when I opened it, 35 photographs emerged which had never been seen before. This was the beginning of reconstructing the portfolio of the Prussian East Asian expedition. In the group were seven photographs by Carl Bismarck, mostly faded and in bad condition. This is probably the best example from the group, a photograph taken at the temple of Honmonji at Ikegami. The Prussians did a lot of sightseeing in Edo and visited a lot of famous sites (*meisho*) across Edo. Ikegami was one place they visited, while another was the so-called Umeyashiki at Ōmori which appears in Hiroshige's woodblock print series 'One Hundred Famous Views of Edo (*Meisho Edo Hyakkei*)'. And it was here at the tea house at Umeyashiki that the Prussians established themselves.

There was a time during the autumn of 1860 when the Prussians were such frequent visitors that some the Japanese tea house girls there started addressing their foreign clients in German. Here, for example, we have one of the photographs John Wilson took as part of his assignment, showing pilgrims at the tea house and this is one of 27 photographs taken by Wilson in this particular group.

The third photographer August Sachtler was more difficult to identify. We had some articles in illustrated newspapers published in Germany at this time which contained engravings taken from his photographs. Perhaps the most notable one was this group portrait of the Japanese representatives, consisting of the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs (*Gaikoku bugyō*) and his colleagues who were photographed at the end of the negotiations just as the treaty was signed in January 1861. It was significant that when Eulenberg ordered these commemorative portraits to be taken that he didn't ask Carl Bismarck or Wilson to take these photographs but instead asked Sachtler – a very important assignment, almost a diplomatic assignment. I think this is an indication of how advanced Sachtler already was as a photographer compared with Bismarck and even Wilson.

Other photographs emerged in the published writings. Another account reproduced this engraving which is almost certainly a photograph by Sachtler showing the official (*yakunin*) Fukuchi Gen'ichirō who was one of the regular staff attached by the shogunal authorities (*bakufu*) to the Prussian expedition, and who accompanied them across Edo. There is one episode when Heine and the photographers went to Atagoyama to take a panorama of the city of Edo and Fukuchi tried to prevent them from taking it but that story is too long to tell here. Nevertheless, this seems to be some sort of commemorative portrait taken of Fukuchi and was possibly given to him as a souvenir when the Prussians left Edo. Going through the other

engravings which appear occasionally in the published writings it is also possible to identify photographs elsewhere in collections which had not been previously identified. This engraving showing Japanese theatrical players in Nagasaki can be matched now with an image in Nagasaki University Library. Through this process a very interesting portfolio began to emerge where it appears that while Bismarck was probably taking landscapes and more informal photographs and Wilson was taking anything he was told to photograph, Sachtler was receiving a lot of commissions to take portraits like this. At the same time, he is the most likely candidate to have taken these two panoramas of Nagasaki in January 1861 which are in the collection of Tokyo Photographic Art Museum and which are certainly a tribute to the photographers of the Prussian expedition. Of the three photographers, by which I mean, Carl Bismarck, John Wilson and August Sachtler, it is Sachtler who follows the most successful career as a photographer. Bismarck's connection with photography ends when the Prussians returned to Berlin in 1862. John Wilson's connection with photography, on the other hand, continues and he is of course best known as a very important figure in the story of the photographer Shimooka Renjō. However, he too disappears from photography very quickly and returns to America and we don't hear anything more about him in connection with photography before he dies in 1868. Sachtler on the other hand pursues a very successful career. Having finished his duties with the Prussian East Asia Expedition he returned to Berlin in 1862 and almost immediately did a U-turn and re-established himself in Singapore. Certainly by the beginning of 1863 he is running a studio there which becomes very successful and within the space of 10 years he has perhaps the most important studio not just in Singapore. This is a selection of *carte-de-visite* photographs from his studio.

He also traveled across most of South East-Asia using Singapore as a base, and we know that by the time of his death in 1873, he had visited Siam and French Indochina, as well as Burma. He also undertook some very interesting expeditions to Sarawak and Borneo. That's where the investigation into these three photographers led. However when it came to reconstructing the portfolio after publishing the results in 2011 progress was actually rather slow. In 2014, in a French auction house, the Daguerre Auction House, an interesting group of photographs emerged which were connected mainly with China. There were however also some images of Siam. This image showing a Chinese merchant with his daughter in particular drew my attention because it could be matched almost precisely with an engraving which appeared in one of the accounts by one of the participants in the Prussian expedition, Gustav Spiess.

Another image which appeared in the same auction was this portrait which was identified by Spiess as 'A Wife of the Second King of Siam.' And the rest of the images began to connect in a rather interesting way with the surviving text from the expedition. We know that the Prussians were in Bangkok from December 1861 until February 1862, for almost 3 months. During this time, they undertook several photographic expeditions at the invitation of King Mongkut I and there are these rather lovely portraits taken inside the Royal Palace of Bangkok of Mongkut with his numerous children. And the portraits of children just seem to go on. Hermann Rose, who I mentioned earlier, writes about these expeditions in his account of the Prussian expedition and this is my translation from the German.

"King Mongkut was most cooperative towards our mission. And since I always accompanied the photographer, I experienced this inside the Royal

Palace. The King was very congenial, in the most literal sense of the word. We wanted for nothing, and in fact we had such an abundance of food and drink – indeed, sometimes too much – that our heads and stomachs suffered as a result. There were times when we consumed so much champagne that our brains became muddled and it was impossible for us to take any more photographs: We had then to make the excuse that our chemicals were impure and leave.”

There were further visits to the Palace where other photographs were taken. Rose describes them further. “The following day we went to the Palace again, where, in the seraglio, the harem where the king kept his wives, we took photographs of several women and a few children. The photographer and my humble self are among the very few Europeans who were admitted to the seraglio. More than a hundred women are kept here, all of them of Asian origin. While we took photographs, His Majesty was present: he was a man of about 50 years of age, but considerably older in appearance. We took photographs of about 20 of his women and although they could pride themselves on being loved by His Majesty, they still gazed at us with friendly eyes.” I am not too sure what that means but it seems that Bismarck and his assistant Rose were having a pretty good time inside the royal seraglio.

This is another example from that portfolio which emerged in the Daguerre auction in Paris. So we have some very close contact with the Thai royal family, with Carl Bismarck and his assistant Rose being treated as honored guests of King Mongkut. And now having seen the images from Japan, from the very beginning of the expedition, we are now at the other end of the expedition, in February 1862, and we are able to fill out the Thai portfolio with another commemorative portrait. It seems that whenever Eulenberg concluded his diplomatic negotiations in Asia, the treaty signing was always accompanied by a commemorative portrait. This portrait has been known for some time. It is in the National Thai Archives in Bangkok, and shows Count Eulenberg, looking rather hazy, seated with the Siamese representatives. I mentioned earlier how fortunate we are to have so much text surviving from the Prussian expedition and this portrait, this group portrait taken on the 7th February 1862 gives us a very good example of how the texts intersect, because we have not just descriptions of this particular photograph being taken by, for example, the subject, in this case Eulenberg, but we also have descriptions both by the photographer or rather the photographic assistant, Hermann Rose and by a witness to the scene, in this case Albert Berg, the second artist of the expedition who also acted as its historiographer. The written sources speak for themselves.

The subjects, Eulenberg, who appears in the photographs, writes very briefly. He says, “It was only at 12 o’clock, after I had had my breakfast that I went to visit the residence of Prince Krom Luang, where I met all the accredited Siamese representatives. I ordered our photographer to take photographs of them individually and then all of them together in a group.” The photographer Rose writes, “On Friday, 7 February, Count Eulenberg visited the residence of the King’s eldest brother Krom Luang, where – thank God! – the third and final trade agreement was formally signed. After this it was publicly announced by a 21-gun salute, we photographed all the ministers who were present.” This is rather significant because we can already sense that the Prussians were getting rather tired with the extremely lengthy negotiations which were going on. “Thank God it’s finished,” he is basically saying. So much for the photographer’s side. Then we have a witness, Albert Berg, who writes, “Herr Bismarck accompanied Count Eulenberg to the

residence of the Prince and started by taking individual photographs of each of the authorized representatives. He then took a photograph of them in a group which also included Count Eulenberg. The latter, tired of the delays caused by the long-winded Siamese, shook his head in exasperation and consequently he appeared almost unrecognizable in the resulting picture.” Which now explains the mystery of why Eulenberg is the only person in this photograph whose face is blurred: he can’t wait for the sitting to finish and sadly the photographer has caught this. So this is a good example of how rewarding research into the Prussian expedition can be when we have so much supporting text. I think as further photographs appear in the future we will be able to match them with descriptions of them being taken.

I would now like to introduce a few recent findings which give us a bit more information about the three photographers. I think time is somewhat limited, so I shall be rather brief but it was interesting to see that Carl Bismarck had so little experience. Of course the fact that he owed his position to the influence of his natural father Count Eulenberg explains a lot. Nevertheless, I was always interested in how much photographic experience he actually had. The archives of the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin contain personnel files and since Carl Bismarck ended his career as a diplomat in the Imperial German Government, his file has survived. Fortuitously it contains a resumé which he wrote in 1874 describing his life so far, and for some reason, he wrote it not just in German but in English as well.

He is very careful to avoid mentioning that Count Eulenberg is his father, but he does mention how he was given the opportunity to join the expedition to East Asia in 1860. Here he states: “I was asked subsequently whether I had any objections to join the artist and photographer Wilhelm Heine as assistant. I consented without hesitation and visited, for about 6 weeks, in my leisure hours Albert Grundner’s photographic establishment [in Berlin] in order to acquaint myself with the practical portion of this art.” Thus, when Bismarck arrived in Edo in September 1860 he had only 6 weeks’ experience of taking photographs. As the text points out, six weeks during his leisure hours suggests that he might have had a day job, so his experience was perhaps even more limited than I first thought.

John Wilson remains a very mysterious individual. The contemporary Prussian sources refer to him as a very silent man: ‘as silent as he is active’ according to one member of the expedition. Back in Wilson’s hometown, this rather interesting newspaper article emerged, published in March 1861. By which time Wilson has finished working for the Prussians but is still in Yokohama doing –we don’t quite know what – except he is probably involved with Shimooka Renjō at this point and is perhaps planning his great project to create a large panoramic painting of Japan. It is very interesting because we are very fortunate that the local newspaper of Wilson’s hometown, *The Barnstable Patriot* is available online. Wilson does not appear very often and reading this article, ‘A Cape Cod Daguerreotypist in Japan’, you should ignore the term daguerreotypist. This is more a figure of speech than an indication of which specific photographic process he was using.

The tone in the article is one of surprise. It’s almost as if the author was unaware that Wilson could take photographs. Certainly there is no reference in the local Barnstable press to Wilson taking photographs before these dates or indeed after he finally returned to Barnstable in 1862. Finally turning to Sachtler, whereas Bismarck appeared to have a lot less experience than I originally thought, it turned out that Sachtler had a lot more.

One interesting thing about Bismarck and Sachtler is that they were

both about the same age. They were both born in 1839, so they were about 21 when they came to Japan. Sachtler's career in Singapore is fairly well recorded in the local newspapers; *The Straits Times Overland Journal* is a particularly good source. There is a very interesting trial which took place in 1872 – the so called 'Chinese Forgery Case' – in which Sachtler was called upon as an expert witness. The report of his disposition begins as follows: "Johann August Sachtler; I am a photographer and have been for the last 16 years."

This statement was made in 1872, which means that Sachtler's photographic career seems to have begun in 1856, four years before he came to Japan. Therefore he presumably started learning photography from the age of 17. Photography was perhaps a hidden talent which Sachtler was finally given the opportunity to show when he was employed as Bismarck's assistant. This is, I think, a significant document in chronicling Sachtler's career as a photographer.

I am going to end with one piece of documentation in Japanese which is rather interesting since I think we should always prepare to be surprised with the Prussian expedition since some of its members, in particular Wilhelm Heine, appear in rather unexpected places. This is a translation of a letter which was sent by the British envoy Rutherford Alcock to the Gaikoku bugyō in August 1861. This might be the first instance where photography caused a diplomatic incident. To cut a very long story short, Wilhelm Heine was trying to return home with Sachtler in July 1861 and he decided to board the British warship HMS Actaeon. The Actaeon was a naval survey vessel which had just received special permission from the Bakufu to survey the coast of Japan. Somehow or another, word got off the ship to Edo that there was a photographer on board the Actaeon and the Bakufu immediately reacted by ordering that this photographer be removed. Alcock, who was unaware that Heine and Sachtler were present on board the ship, immediately sent orders to the commander of HMS Actaeon to have Heine removed. They were literally pulled off the ship, put on a gunboat and dumped ashore at the harbor of Yokohama, thus ending perhaps the first diplomatic incident in Japanese history involving photography and perhaps also the first instance of Japanese government censorship of a foreign photographer. Anyway, we are dealing with constraints of time so I shall end here and thank you very much for your attention.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you very much Mr. Dobson. Then Mr. Luke Gartlan who will be speaking next.



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Luke Gartlan: Okay. Thank you very much for the invitation. Unlike the other speakers I am talking about something very specific, a very small portfolio of carte de visite and my interest in these photographs has to do with competition particularly in Yokohama between westerners and Japanese photographers, commercial photographers, not just for, in other words the domestic market in Japan but also for the foreign market, trying to sell photographs to visiting foreigners. And secondly competition at the level of representation itself whether Japanese photographers trying to sell photographs to westerners presented a different image of Japan to what photographers such as Felice Beato were presenting.

Around the year 1868, a young Japanese woman stood her ground before a photographer, dressed in the clothes of a foreigner with a bucket in hand, her steadfast, returned gaze and upright posture signaled neither

apprehension before the camera nor unfamiliarity with requirements of its operations. So this paper introduces a small group of *carte de visite* which I argue challenge the division between what's known as Yokohama souvenir photography or Yokohama *shashin* and its Japanese domestic market counterpart. So through an examination of a long neglected yet pivotal photographer of 19th century Japan, my intention is to question the criteria that upholds this separation and in so doing suggest that it's historiographical maintenance ensures the continued neglect of those photographers, whether Japanese or western for whom this division was permeable and shifting if not of negligible significance. So what can we deduce from this portrait of a young woman holding her bucket? So on the verso printed in two neat rows is a rare studio stamp which provides valuable evidence reading Yokohama Bashamichi, district in Yokohama, photographer Tōkoku. So this is solid evidence I believe for an attribution to Shimizu Tōkoku making this – so just explain who he was. Six years earlier, he appears when he was 21 years old. He was given the plum job of being the botanical illustrator for Philipp von Siebold. And when Philipp von Siebold left Nagasaki in 1862 he left him his photographic equipment. But it's not until 6 years later that we know that he appears in Yokohama when it seems as if this *Carte* was taken. So it's on the basis of this outdoor setting, please note that the wooden fence behind that 3 further *carte de visites* can be attributed to Tōkoku from the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC.

So, in the second *Carte*, for instance, another young Japanese woman carefully presented in looking again directly at the viewer, carries a large load of firewood on her back. Again the subject is presented full length before the same wooden fence and appears to adopt a natural pose with her arms folded, hidden in her winter garment's sleeves. The third *carte* again makes strong use of this sort of vertical and horizontal lines of the site. But in this case includes two figures arranged in frontal and profile views, flanked by pot plants. And finally of the four *cartes* in the group only it's the final group depicting a street vendor stand selling votive pilgrimage offerings that provides a glimpse behind the wooden backdrop of the outdoor urban setting of the series. Okay, so, so far so good. But it's a bit ambitious perhaps to call a four *Carte de visite*, a series. This gives you some idea of what we try and do. We start off with this hook. We have got 4 that which we can attribute to Shimizu Tōkoku.

But what's interesting I think is that the 3 further *cartes* held by this museum, one of them is on display upstairs, and they have long been attributed to Shimooka Renjō. As you can see here we have the same sitters, props, mounts and the distinctive fence backdrop and it's on the basis of this that I am reattributing this *carte* above, this on the far side and this *carte* as well, all in top and previously all attributed to Shimooka Renjō. I am suggesting that they should be now reattributed on the basis of that stamp on the back of one of them to Shimizu Tōkoku. And in addition, there are 2 further *cartes*. This being I think the most interesting in a Nagasaki private collection. You can see on the far side there, again we have got much more exposure of the location and there is a portrait camera on the far left as well as many of the children and adults who appear in these photographs.

So that Shimooka has previously been credited with three of these *cartes*, I think raises questions about the current processes of canon and of formation that drive much research into Japan's early photographic history. All too often the grounds for attribution are not provided. For those who recall boxes of photographs discarded or preferably uncataloged and

neglected in institutional archives, the growing international recognition of early photography in Japan can be gratifying. But I think it can also bring investments and priorities that legitimate certain figures in research concerns to the detriment of others. And I am sort of suggesting that Shimizu Tōkoku has been a bit, sort of sidelined by figures like Shimooka Renjō. At literary level where indeed it turns out that Shimizu Tōkoku's photographs have been gathered and been assumed to have been Shimooka Renjō's.

Tōkoku's career, I think seems to position him as a quintessential Japanese photographer of this era. The customer base evident in many of his studio portraits for example, the general trajectory of his career, even the monolingual Japanese studio stamps, combine to place him I think within the Japanese domestic market. But for me these photographs are his attempt to sell to westerners. And that's what I think makes him so interesting. His career appears close to photographers such as Uchida Kuichi. This gives you some idea – you can see just under the shashin symbol there we have the two major names listed on the list of photographers in Tokyo in 1877. In the largest print are Uchida Kuichi, the photographer of the Emperor and right next to him very prominently, Shimizu Tōkoku. This gives you some idea of his status at the time. So, in short I want to ask can we consider this genre series part of Yokohama's photographic industry?

Now in one respect the answer seems straightforward. As a series which was conceived and completed in Yokohama, it's part of that particular city for its history of photography. But I think more is implied in the question I am asking here than a matter of studio address. Yokohama was a center of an industry that catered primarily to foreign tourists resulting in the development of photographic style that both encouraged and fulfilled westerners' desired perceptions of Japanese society. So as an example of this Yokohama shashin I am going to use this particular work which is from a year or two before Tōkoku series and what I think he is responding to. So the Italian travel photographer Felice Beato established a series of conventional practices in the mid-1860s including the hand tinting of prints, the use of painted studio backdrops, the division of portfolios into so called costumes and views and the formation of an inventory of popular themes and sites that by this stage had become standard features of souvenir photography. With the advent of tourism to Japan, western tourism to Japan, photographic studios in Yokohama boomed in response to a new clientele of short-term foreign visitors. So to take this example, a Japanese girl dressed a la mode. This carte I think typifies the kind of studio based imagery carefully vended with a painted background and full-grown props which gained favor among foreign photographers and foreign customers in 1860s Yokohama.

The young woman is placed in a matrix of intermedial spaces and forms of representation exemplified by the repetition of the stone lantern in painted form on the right and photographed form on the left. In comparison I think Tōkoku's outdoor full-length studies of standing women carrying firewood or bucket are notable for their lack of props, are notable for a lack of elaborated details, or indeed self-referential visual artifice. But this doesn't mean the series by Tōkoku defines itself in opposition to the celebrated foreign counterpart and competitor. On the contrary, Tōkoku I think selects and reinvents this foreign photographer's visual practices. Beato had popularized the very range of subjects evident in Tōkoku's small cache of subjects. Water and firewood carriers, itinerant vendors and flower pot sellers.

Tōkoku therefore responds to and adapted the themes and devices available to him in the late 1860s Yokohama photographic industry. But

I think it's one that he in his series is critiquing. He is challenging the theatricality and artifice implicit in that term. In the supposed neutrality that was attached to these elaborate photographs such as Beato's. So I am suggesting Tōkoku chose to engage with this souvenir industry for foreigners but in order to challenge and destabilize its terms. So, two further aspects I think contribute to this impression of the series. The first is generally the lack of tints, the lack of coloring and secondly the evident participation of the models, particularly how they look straight at us. So hand applied colors had become and I think are still very much considered redefining defining feature of Yokohama's souvenir photography. But this characteristic I think was neither essential nor exclusive to the port. In this instance Tōkoku's cartes are available in both untinted and tinted states with the former almost ensuring their conclusion from the category of Yokohama photographs.

So in numerous exhibitions particularly overseas in the past decade or so have consolidated a distinction between, on the one hand Yokohama-tinted souvenir photographs understood to be for export to westerners and on the other hand Japan's non-tinted photographs understood to be for domestic audiences. So much so that I think color has come to signify treaty port production no less than a studio address. Aside from this issue of their very materiality, the apparent engagement of the sitters, of the subjects with the photographer, I think marks the series as unusual with individual practices of Yokohama's souvenir photography. In Tōkoku's series the model regardless of gender or age often looks directly at the camera lens. In other words they know they are being photographed, they are participating in being photographed, they are agreeing in a sense to being photographed. And this I think is strikingly different from again taking Beato's Japanese girl dressed à la mode. The way in which in this example by Beato we have a three-quarter view arrangement and sideways gaze of the model inviting the viewer, the western viewer to have a kind of unreciprocated examination of her garment, clothes and physical features. Tōkoku's models, however, are not so amenable to such gendered visual codes. These women with the bucket or firewood stand upright and frontal before the viewer. Their eye level, I think importantly, at the same approximate level as the camera lens itself. So these models stand before the viewer, conscious of the photographic act and their collaboration in that process.

So Tōkoku's series may be familiar I think in terms of its conception and its street motives but the cartes lack of hand coloring in most cases, its outdoor location and the evident participation and self-presentation of the models transgressed the visual codes of Yokohama's souvenir photography, in preference I think for an aesthetics or simplicity. In so doing Tōkoku responded to the overseas market demand for photographic mementos, but disputed he is challenging the pictorial codes and practices that were defining that aesthetic. These cartes concur neither with the expectations therefore of souvenir photography nor those of the domestic market in Japan but operate, I think, in between these two dominant categories.

By drawing attention to this small group of cartes by an important Japanese photographer, I have sought to account two forces, one being archival and the other historiographical that threatened the visibility of such photographs in think in current scholarship. The first pressure concerns the sheer magnitude and global distribution of early Japanese photographs. So the four photographs for instance, the Smithsonian, you will have to understand or among thousands of photographs of early Meiji Japan. So just a sheer way in which these can be subsumed within larger archives is a

problem. Tōkoku's cartes I think are too easily overlooked, scattered as they are in small non-descript groups within vast photographic collections. They are matter of fact even dead pan aesthetic and none of those visual attributes often deemed characteristic of Yokohama's souvenir photographs and exemplified by Beato's studio photograph of a Japanese woman. That is again the painted backdrops, the elaborate stage settings, the immaculate hand tints and the adverted, often self-absorbed models.

So if these criteria are representative of the vast percentage of souvenir photographs produced in 19th century Yokohama, I think large exhibitions and survey histories have accepted these criteria as all but absolute of the Yokohama industry. And as a result, Tōkoku's cartes if not entirely ignored could readily be considered non-representative and exceptional and thus deserved neither of attention nor even associated with souvenir photography. So the marginal status of this group of cartes I am suggesting is due to three predominant factors. The first concerns the kind of ongoing project of a canon of Japanese photographers in which inevitably there are winners and losers and up until now I think Shimizu has been somewhat subsumed. The second involves a spatial division in current to current scholarship which has tended to partition Yokohama as a port from the activities and markets of contemporaries in major cities such as Tokyo. And third, the very format of the carte de visite is so easily overlooked. It's been given short shrift I think especially alongside the deluxe albums of Yokohama.

So from my experience the photographs of 1860s Japan are more often than not, non-descript even raw in their materials and aesthetic, and thus all too easily susceptible to being overlooked. Tōkoku's cartes series challenges and complicates therefore the historical perception of Yokohama photography which currently risks being reduced I think to an industry that gratified foreign tourists desires of Japan. So, however significant this market pressure, Tōkoku's cartes highlight the industry's diversity and its counter practices, its intrinsic tensions and strong ties to other photographic centers in Japan. For me therefore, Tōkoku's series is a much needed reminder of the complexities of Yokohama and its photographic history.

So in conclusion I just want to say for me to face and be faced by the subjects of these series, to address and be addressed as visual historians, I think necessitates reappraisal of the limits and definitions of Yokohama's photographic industry that have overlooked I think such alternative aspects of its history. Thank you.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you very much indeed. So we are just going to set up the computer again.

Fan Juwan: Thank you and I am going to be giving the next presentation. My name is Fan and I come from the National Tainan University. I am going to be looking at the photographic expression of Bakumatsu Foreign Photographers view in Japan and Taiwan. I haven't spoken Japanese that often recently. So, it's been quite a while since I last gave a presentation in Japanese.

Before going into the actual presentation I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to Mr. Mitsui and the invitation for the symposium. It's a great honor to be able to take part in this symposium and to give this presentation in front of so many experts and professionals. I would also like to give my thanks to Top museum, my alma mater Nihon University and also to the National University of Tainan where I currently



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work. Time is limited so I will not be able to give much detail, but I would like to look at the issue of expression in photography. How foreign photographers rather viewed Japan and Taiwan and in conclusion I would like to give some of my findings and thoughts.

I would like to begin by explaining what made me interested in this topic. Photography is a medium for making records, many contents and many themes are attained. And through the invention of photography we have been able to see society and also the face of people and what the world looked like 100 years ago.

There is a tremendous capability of record keeping in photography and of course we tend to think that that is the essence of photography. But something that I kept in mind was that perhaps there is something distinctive and unique to the way of expression or the expression which can be found only in photography. The four previous speakers have given presentations on different themes but as a photographer myself in a modest way this ties in with some of the things that I think about. Before photography was invented, paintings and text were the most important media for making records and documentation but looking at the history of the Orient and of the Occident and also of art history, well the content of what is being described and inscribed and historic incidents and events have been studied.

There is also a great deal of study of the expressiveness of paintings. I cannot give this topic due justice but I thought that perhaps photography was also influenced by paintings. This is around 1800 and what was happening in painting, J.-L. David and his portraits of Napoleon. J.-A.-D. Ingres of course this painting is very famous. F. Millet. If you look at these paintings for a moment, I would like to analyze the characteristics that I can identify in photography which happen to be contemporary with these paintings. And looking at the Orient, Sesshū and his ink and brush paintings also were very distinctive. In paintings Shakaku [Xie He] has already laid down the six basic rules of pictures, looking at the position or the composition of the frame or what is inscribed in the frame, the proportion of the human figures and the psychology and also what is inscribed there. And what is common to all of these is that the actual composition in many cases is actually horizontal when you look at the paintings.

However while we might think that that's really natural for people who have only started creating paintings or photographs I think it actually takes a while to become accustomed to framing a picture in this way. I am actually teaching in Taiwan but young people who live in the era of digital photography start out by wanting to create – take outstanding photographs. They have this tremendous desire to take incredibly good photographs but I think it's important that we first of all focus on the horizontal and the importance of the horizontal in creating good photographs.

When we think about expression, what the artist or the creator wants to create, has to be devised in a way which is going to be in line with what the artist hopes that the audience is going to take away from that experience. The aesthetic is very important. Shěnměi Guǎn in Chinese or sense or the aesthetic or Shinbikan in Japanese. Monroe Beardsley in 1982 identified object focus, felt freedom, detached effect, active discovery and wholeness as the important constituent factors. In other words, the aesthetic that we take away is based on knowledge, communication, on the cognition and also emotion. But when we think about the expressiveness, this is always subjective and this is only a very narrow window for objectiveness between the audience and the creator or the artist. So while it is difficult to maintain

a rejective stance or perspective, the amount of learning and experience and the level of critics relating to aesthetics is also very diverse as is the type of expression.

So I have done this very simple experiment by doing this drawing. Usually when people take landscapes, a landscape format which usually ends looking like this but the actual photograph could look like this. However what happens if you skew this slightly to make it diagonal? The impact is something very subtle and when you think about a portrait or portrait framework – composition like this. The vertical and horizontal for a professional photographer would be something that they would do naturally. However, with a large scale camera like this which might be quite unusual, some of you might be seeing this for the first time, some of you might be using this in your day to day photography. I have actually conducted a simple test using my own large-scale format camera and anybody who is accustomed to using a large-scale camera or large format camera rather which we are used to seeing the figure turned upside down, which actually might be difficult to become accustomed to. This is what actually happens and photography in the past unlike today's digital photography required many points to be kept in mind while taking the photographs. And the Bakumatsu era of course you are talking about professionals the most outstanding people of the time, Shimizu Tōkoku. There were some photographs I think where there were tripods and also a photographer be intrigued by the equipment and up to now tripods and also the instruments for measuring the true horizontal. And whether such equipment existed happen to be topics that I intend to dedicate some further study to in the future because I do not know that much about what equipment was available at the time. However, the point I am making is that this is probably what the photographers actually saw in their equipment when they were taking those photographs which I think must have required some very complex and difficult adjustment in the early days. Looking at the Bakumatsu era, this museum and other publications afford us many opportunities to see the actual examples but thanks to this museum there is a great deal of new discoveries which we have made about the Bakumatsu era.

Now I would like to look at some of the foreign photographers and their work. Felice Beato, I would like to look at his work as an example and in this exhibition as well we can see Beato's work. We do hope that you will have an opportunity to look at the actual photographs afterwards. Beato was born in Italy. He was based in the United Kingdom and took photographs in Japan and many other countries. Felice Beato, Felix Beato happen to be the different variants under which he is known. 1863 brought him to Yokohama where he resided and he took photographs, portraits and landscapes. He is most famous for the panoramas. And aside from Japan there of course are photographs which were taken by foreign photographers in Taiwan at the same time but most unfortunately we don't have quite the quantity that the Japanese have today. Concerning Beato, the speakers and Mr. Mitsui, of course, know far more about him than I do. But during this exhibition from March to May, there will be four phases when there is going to be hanging of the work which is on show and in this list, this panorama photograph is now on display. 198 to 203, the phase of the chapter of the exhibition which are identified as learning are all album work done by Beato. So we have panorama, we have the Japanese work, also this panoramic view of Edo from Atago mountain or the hill which is outstanding. It also shows how we have been able to see his skill which was transmitted to future generations which

have been done by joining this very skillfully into a single panorama.

Again about the horizon or the horizontal plane and how this was maintained, this is something which was seen in the interior and exterior photographs. I would now like to talk about Taiwan. The oldest extant photograph in Taiwan was taken by John Thomson who was originally from Scotland. In the 1870s he was active in China, the Qing dynasty and he took many photographs of different places. This is in Kaushung and the technique of the times. This is also an example of stereo photography in Thailand, Angkor Wat, Singapore, Taiwan which was a part of China at that time. Those are examples of places where John Thomson was active. And these photographs are very important records which also happen to be outstanding in their own right. And looking at the foreign photographers, how they wished to record a country is completely different from their own and how they actually set about doing that is a starting point that identified the importance of the horizontal plane which I thought was comparable to painting. I don't know if you have been to Taiwan or not but yesterday when I came from Tainan it was very, very hot. It's about 30 degrees Celsius. Tokyo felt very cold and for foreign photographers if they went to Taiwan and if they go to Taiwan, they first say that the difficulty is the difference in temperature. Also there are very high mountains. If you are interested in finding out more about Taiwan and Japan's historic photographs, I would like to identify those websites. In closing I would just like to say that people tend to think of the early examples of photography as simply records. However as with paintings, I think visually speaking there is a basic rule of the importance of the horizon, of the horizontality which gives stability to the overall composition, I think. Thank you for your attention.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you very much. So let me now switch the PCs.

Phillipe Dallais: Bonsoir. My name is Philippe Dallais. I would like to first thank very much the museum for the invitation and specially Mr. Mitsui. I came to tell you a story about a special photographer that many people misunderstood until recently. It is about a poor and young guy born in the Swiss countryside, not far from the city of Fribourg. His name is Pierre Rossier and he was unidentified until quite recently. His name appeared in different contexts related to photography in China, in Japan, in Thailand and in Switzerland. To tell it in short, this is Terry Bennett who succeeded to prove in 2004 that the same Rossier in these different places was in fact the same person. As visual anthropologist and Swiss I became of course very interested in this story, but also for another reason because my grandfather was born in a village near from Rossier's birthplace. Therefore, I began to investigate. There was a first publication in French in 2006 in which you can read the story of Rossier, but there were no significant new discoveries after 2004.

In 2014, on the occasion of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the relationships between Japan and Switzerland, I decided to start a new methodological approach on Rossier. In fact, if we had some information about Rossier, we missed the full collection of his pictures. The sources about him are scarce and I therefore decided to focus the research on the first primary documents, his photographs. We knew there was a series of 66 stereoviews. Tonight I will speak only about his Japan portfolio because it would take too much time to discuss the other countries he visited. On the 66 stereoviews Rossier produced, approximately the half was identified, the



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pictures were also scattered in different collections all over the world. It took about 2 years to find new data about Rossier. Finally, I could succeed to gather at least about 60 pictures on 66. This is the subject of my talk today.

Among the new data discovered, there is the farm where he was born in the countryside and the only remaining traces of his family which consists in a commemorative engraved stone plate of his younger brother who became a successful wine seller in France. Rossier was the 4th child of 10. To summarize his biography, he was born in 1829 in a modest peasant family in the canton of Fribourg. He became a school teacher which seems to show that he was perhaps someone different. We don't know much more about him at the moment, only the fact that he learnt photography.

But we don't know how because between 1848 and 1855 there was no established photographer in Fribourg who could have become his teacher. So we think he learned the daguerreotype technique with an amateur photographer. I won't explain here what is daguerreotype but we should keep in mind that it produces only one image, without negative. In 1855, he went to London. What is very important to underline is that Rossier as a pioneer in Japan because he is coming with a new technology which allows to create a negative (the wet collodion process) and reproductions of the same image. He also introduces stereoscopy. So, Rossier went to London and was hired by the company called Negretti and Zambra which got the idea to send him in East Asia to take commercial stereoscopic pictures, to obtain the first and best views of East Asia, the opium war in China, the opening of Japan, and also Siam and the Philippines. Unfortunately, no archives concerning Rossier remain today as they burned down during the Second World War after a German bombing destroyed the Negretti and Zambra building. So we must abandon the idea to find any contract, letters or negatives of Rossier in London.

Just to complete what we already heard today, here is an example of stereoview Rossier took when he arrived in China. I will now discuss Rossier's stereoscopic photography. He is well equipped and has probably several cameras. The stereo camera has two objectives and takes two pictures almost in the same time. They are then both pasted on a card which allows seeing the image in 3 dimensions.

Today, it is same process when we want to recreate this same 3D feeling, we use a gear with a smartphone instead of a stereo card. I won't elaborate here more on 3D although it's very interesting. Let's keep in mind that Rossier departed from London in 1858, he then stopped in Bombay, but we have no information of what he did in India. From there he went to Hong Kong and to Manila, Shanghai, and Japan in 1859. In 1860, he did stay and work quite much in Nagasaki. He left Japan in January 1861, went to Hong Kong again and then to Bangkok where Negretti and Zambra probably asked him to sell a camera to the King of Siam. Rossier produced 80 views in China mostly in Canton. It's a very important series. The reverse side of the stereo cards is filled with text. These captions are almost the only texts Rossier left, even if they were probably a little bit modified by Negretti and Zambra, this is Rossier who tells the story which appeared behind the stereoviews. There is a lot to see although we don't have time here; very often you see clocks and different devices which are not frequent at that time in Japan. Some stereoviews are tinted, but it was done in London not in China or in Japan. Two years later Beato took pictures at the same place but without the people in the streets. What I wish to tell here is that Rossier has another approach, like an early naïve glance, he takes pictures in Japan without any a

priori, without any judgment.

He made two series in Japan which reflect different experiences. From the study of the stereoviews series we can understand his different approaches and the relationship he had with different Japanese people who welcomed his work. I recall that in 1859 the image of Japan is not very clear in the west, drawn much on imagination. In short, to make the things clear, I would like to say that Rossier is well the first modern professional photographer to enter Japan because he is using the new process of wet-collodion, the process which allowed producing numerous reprint of the same picture. But of course another professional photographer visited Japan earlier; this is Eliphalet Brown working for Perry. Well we shall briefly define what means professional, it is a photographer who has a great experience, he is hired by somebody or owns his own studio and receives official commands or has clients.

The first series was taken in China. In the beginning of July 1859, Rossier arrived in Nagasaki. He then accompanied the British Consul Alcock. From Nagasaki they left for Kanagawa and Edo in order to open the British legation at the Tōzen-ji Temple and then probably going back on foot. It's not clear yet, but Rossier seems to have taken some pictures going back to Kanagawa and in Yokohama. The oldest picture of Yokohama known to these days is by Rossier. Negretti and Zambra reused the same verso design of the China stereo card for the Japan views. We know the date of the Series' first picture at the Tōzen-ji, 8th July 1859. This is the temple's gate. It is quite funny as the guards moved; they are not at the same place on both images, maybe that Rossier had a camera problem. It means he waited some time before taking the second picture. Four years later, Felice Beato made a photo of the same place. You see the fence was made higher because of different incidents. Here is one more color stereoview, the British residence. The next view is probably the first ever in history of the Zenpuku-ji temple path, with a dog appearing only on one of the two images. Rossier wrote 'One of the biggest temples in Tokyo'. During his stay in Asia, Rossier did sign only one of his photographs.

I would like now to show you different themes and specific aspects in these two Japan stereo series. We can see for example that Rossier took a lot of foreigners in his pictures which were supposed to be sold in the west, this become really unusual in later commercial photography in Japan. These images did probably not sell particularly well. Later on, the goal is to take only Japanese people on the pictures and not, for example, a Dutch doctor unknown in London. Rossier engages an intercultural dialogue; I mean that he put Japanese and Westerners on an equal level in his images. Here there is a very special and interesting composition. I remind you that all the pictures I am showing in my presentation have a really flat effect, they must be viewed in 3D. Rossier did pay much attention on the composition in his stereoviews in order to render a deep 3D effect, the foreground often seems to spring out of the frame.

One Rossier image shows a lady we could identify as the wife of a member of the Kanagawa British Consulate. She is seated in a very relaxed pose, reading a love letter or some news from abroad, with Japanese attendants nearby. When this image was reproduced in the West in 1861 by the Bishop of Hong Kong who published one of the first books in English about Japan, the lady was not included in the engraving which showed only her attendants. The picture of Rossier I prefer is his attempt to capture tattoo. I would say it is probably the first failed picture of Japanese tattoo,

as Rossier states, “Sorry, these two men have tattoo all over their body but we cannot see them on the pictures because of their blue color”. I recall here that this is certainly Shimooka Renjō who could photograph the first tattoo.

This is also Rossier who probably took the first picture of this place in the Ōji district which was reproduced endlessly until the beginning of the 20th century and where you can eat delicious Tamagoyaki today. Bismarck, member of the Prussians expedition, took a picture almost from the same place sometime afterwards, like if he was on the trails of Rossier, but Rossier’s image looks certainly better. The stereoview of a tea house reflects a special composition and suggests that Rossier became in touch with the owner and placed him in the center of the picture composition, together with a lady, a small tree in the foreground seems to fall on you when seen in 3D. Rossier was also interested in the time issue. He photographed a temple’s bell he described as used to ring the hours. In Nagasaki, he took first picture of a pocket watch in Japan where the western division of time was not yet acknowledged, the watch was therefore probably a kind of luxury object.

Rossier took one of the oldest views of Yokohama showing the ancient village which was moved. Here we see some buildings in an early view of Yokohama transcribed as “Yakuhama”. Particularly interesting, a picture in which we can see a strange ghost figure of a Western man. We don’t know if it is Rossier’s self-portrait or not but it’s very mysterious because it is on both stereo pictures. The first series in Edo region includes 26 pictures and the second series, in Nagasaki, 40 pictures. These 40 stereoviews were printed on paper and on glass plates. It means that you can also watch them as 3D transparencies. To compare the two, I show you here the same image as paper print and on glass plate which unveils much more details. In some case, it is possible to identify the people Rossier photographed. Some images can be dated precisely; one stereoview shows a baby born on December 15 1860. Rossier was close to the people he took pictures of.

The last thing I will discuss is how Rossier mixed pictures taken at the same place within the second series. As he changed some background details, the viewer don’t realize the pictures are related to each other. But when you are able to study the complete series, you suddenly understand Rossier used, for example, a tea house as studio, modifying only the shooting angles and the background. Another place he praised to take pictures is in front of the Nagasaki medical school, with Matsumoto Ryōjun who was very passionate of photography and who tried to learn daguerreotype. You see here different pictures, one of which is Matsumoto Ryōjun again. Matsumoto appeared many times in different places in the series, on image number 24, for example. But Matsumoto was literally unknown in Europe.

Here is a trickier example. I call it the “Wall studio”. It was identified thanks to a stone with a specific shape in the wall in the background. Over the years, many of the Rossier photographs were reproduced several times and the picture got reversed. This is the reason why it was difficult to establish a relationship between some of the stereoviews. Rossier had certainly lively photo sessions in Nagasaki. The pictures 6 and 10 can be connected; if you bring them together you have a kind of panorama. From a text by Matsumoto, we know Rossier photographed a priest; here is the correspondent stereoview on a glass plate.

Another studio consists in a window with a byōbu. We repeatedly find a group of pictures taken in front of the same window with the byōbu which position was carefully changed. Here are a few examples, one is attributed by some to Wilson, but it seems to be rather by Rossier. After

Rossier, the stereoscopy continued in Japan. In 1861, Rossier went to Siam and took fantastic pictures which are now under investigation. He returned back in Switzerland by the end of 1862 and opened two studios. Last year in Fribourg, I made an exhibition about Rossier for the 10 years of his rediscovery. In the exhibition, display the Westfield book in which Rossier original pictures were pasted. Rossier experimented the same thing in Fribourg in 1865 some years after, pasting on every book an original print in his friend book entitled *New Souvenirs of Fribourg*.

I would like to mention, as Mr. Mitsui allowed me, that there is an exhibition which is very well connected with the one currently running at the TOP. I produced an exhibition on Rossier showing his series of stereoscopic views in 3D on special screens to watch with 3D glasses. It lasts until April 7 at the Maison Franco-Japonaise, next door, where you can see a selection of Rossier's portfolio. Thank you very much.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you very much.

Discussion

Keishi Mishui: I would like to thank everybody for giving these very precious and very important presentations. Prof. Takahashi spoke about the first 20 years of photography, and the final two decades of the Edo period, and we were able to listen to the other presentations based on that framework, which I think made things much clearer. Also, Mr. Polak spoke about Yokosuka Shashin and Montgolfier's work in Japan. The fact that photography had already come this far in the Keiō era was something that people have very hardly spoken about, so I think it was very important. Sebastian Dobson spoke about Count Eulenburg's expedition, but it's for me really important to get the update about the findings following the publication of his book and Wilson is the person who taught Shimooka Renjō, and there is also reference to him. Luke Gartlan spoke about Shimizu Tōkoku.

Collection which has been identified to Shimooka Renjō should actually be identified as Shimizu Tōkoku's work. So, we have to work on that, but in this exhibition, we will not be able to change the description, but in the future, we are going to be able to try to correct this as much as possible, and we would like to work with you in the future as well. Also, the importance of the horizontal plane and the analysis of early photography from Ms. Fan was very interesting as well.

Thank you Philippe for coming and joining us. Rossier is known to have given Ueno Hikoma his fine level of expertise that he needed and the fact that Rossier had this particular very distinctive stance of not trying to create something theatrical.

I would like to begin by asking Prof. Takahashi if there are any other points that he would like to make based on what the other speakers have shared with us. The microphone needs to be switched on, by the way.

Takahashi Norihide: As I mentioned earlier, the Bakumatsu photography in Japan saw a great deal of activity by foreigners, which was indicative of a very important element and the study of that has not really been clearly grasped by in Japan by Japanese scholars. However, recently, non-Japanese scholars and researchers have done a great deal of amazing work. They also have a lot of material, which I think is relatively accessible or perhaps they have



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been very clever and ingenious in devising ways of accessing all this material, which has really uncovered new things. We have been making a lot of new discoveries, which has been extremely encouraging for us. Also, I think that communicating with foreign counterparts, we need to clarify and to just make new discoveries about things we haven't been aware of up to now about Japanese photography.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you. Then Mr. Polak.

Christian Polak: Well, my impression is everybody has been doing a tremendous amount of work, and they have been very busy. It has been very moving for me. Mr. Dobson, Luke Gartlan, Fan Juwan, Philippe Dallais. I have learnt a great deal from these presentations, so from my part I think I have been given the model – you have set marvelous examples for study and also for research.

Mitsui Keishi: Next, Mr. Sebastian Dobson.

Sebastian Dobson: I will answer in English if I may. I think we are experiencing a very exciting time in photographic research. Collections are starting to open, not just in Japan, but abroad, and we literally don't know where we will be in 1 year's time, and there are many lost portfolios out there. One place we have not spoken about today is Russia. What is in Russia? We do know that in 1859, there were Russians taking photographs in Japan which were then exhibited in San Francisco in 1860. Where are they? I would like to know. But, I think we can look forward to more discoveries and to more fruitful collaboration between Japanese and non-Japanese researchers. So, I am very optimistic and very excited. Thank you.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you. Next, Mr. Gartlan.

Luke Gartlan: I think, this field has moved so far in sort of the last 10 to 15 years when I began, it has been really astonishing and it seems to be speeding up every year which I think you have seen beautifully in this conference, but also it's very exciting for me to come here and see an exhibition that has been put on at this museum and to see that Japan is, I think, very fortunate to have an outstanding museum dedicated to the photographic art, and I think in the world that is actually rather rare at the moment and to see this museum also pushing the field forward with the work of scholars such as Mitsui-san and his collaborators has been really fantastic.

I would think, when I began this field 15 years ago, I spoke to a scholar of Japanese studies in my home country of Australia who told me, well there was not really that much to find in Japan, and that it has all been destroyed, and I think Mitsui-san this exhibition is just showing how wrong that is and how much more material there is to be found in Japan as well. I think also it's fantastic to see younger scholars coming through both in Japan and in overseas who are very interested as well and that we need to really encourage those new scholars coming through to work together to create closer links across countries as well because it's not just about actually Japan's history, this is about Japan's place in the world and the many other countries and individuals who have been involved with Japan. So, this is also very important to many of us who are not born or brought up in Japan as well.

So, I welcome the collaborations and the strengthening of them that has

been taking place over the last 10 to 15 years.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you. Then, Ms. Fan.

Fan Juwan: Thank you. Well, there are so many people here today, and I have been able to listen to a great deal of very illuminating presentations. And this Museum of the Photographic Arts, ever since this was established for students such as myself who were studying photography, I think it has been very important as an institution and Mr. Mitsui and this ability to realize this exhibition of historic photographs is something which I think is very fortunate. I want to make a call out to Taiwanese to make them come to Japan just for this sake.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you. So, you, Mr. Phillip.

Philippe Dallais: Yes, I completely agree with Luke Gartlan, I have the same feeling that it's a very important field and we are lucky that a new generation of young people are interested in this field. In Switzerland, I am quite lonely to do such research, I would say. It is why I am glad to meet each other. In Switzerland we have huge collections which are still not researched. So, there are a lot of challenges. The goal is there to try to interest more and more people, not only with an historical approach, but with a multicultural, interdisciplinary approach to the collections. When the research is too art historically focused, we sometimes miss some dimensions of these pictures which are really fantastic and have so much to tell. I was happy to be able to work with many collectors and museums all over the world. Most of the countries have different copyright laws. With the digital age, the access to materials is opening, but in some places it is the contrary. There are different trends, but in general, it's a real luck to be able to work on all these documents and think we should also focus on the 20th century because it has much in terms of collections and visual heritage. Thank you.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you. So, Mr. Gartlan was just talking about and also Philippe has just spoken about the tremendous speed at which we have been experiencing things. This symposium is based on the unknown years of the pioneers or the development of Japanese photography which is when it started, and it's really been tremendous velocity where there has been this dramatic increase in people who were interested in this field, who have developed this interest in you. Of course, it's probably based on the massive amount of people who already were interested in this field in this period, but based on that we also have to mention that as Mr. Gartlan has very rightly pointed out, the international connections and the internet probably was a factor in there as well, the strength in connectivity. It's really multiplied at a tremendous rate, and we don't really know where we are going to be arriving at. I think that is the current state of affairs, if I can describe it as such.

So, if anybody has a question, please raise your hand. It's a very rare opportunity. If there are no questions then... oh.

A: Thank you for this opportunity today. When we look at these photographs from today's perspective, we can think that he is a good photographer, he is not a good photographer, or so. What about what their contemporaries would have thought of these photographs. What was the yardstick that they applied? I am not quite sure about the aesthetic or the perspective that

contemporaries of these photographers would have had in looking at these photographs.

Mitsui Keishi: Well, so you asked her about the aesthetics, and so maybe, I might ask Ms. Fan as to what she thinks about this question.

Fan Juwan: Thank you very much for the very interesting question, and I also harbor the same thoughts because those times – we cannot go back to those times, so we have to try to – we really don't know what these photographers – the viewers were thinking about, but as I mentioned, there is that importance of that horizontal plane that they should be captured in the photos. Of course, there might be a bit of skew or a bit of slanted photos, but I think when the photographs are developed, maybe it's possible to make a correction there, but if you are not going to include this in an album, if you are just looking at a single photograph then it really will be important that you do have that level, horizontal [Unclear] line in the photos, and I have observed many photographs. Then having seen that I can always say that having just that level plane is important. I think it's really the viewpoint of the photographer who is taking that photo is very important. What he is feeling as a photographer is important, and I think if you have observed many works of photography then you know that there are certain works that would touch your heart. So, while you cannot go back to those days, I think the basics – because they were taking photographs for records, I think that was the attention that they were paying to taking the photographs. Well, that is the answer of your question.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you. Are there any other questions? Yes, the lady there.

B: I am very interested in 3D photography, stereoscopic photography. So, I have one question to Yokosuka Shashin, Christian Polak. I would like to know how many percentage of the Yokosuka photographs were taken in 3D photographs, so you think?

Christian Polak: Unfortunately they have not taken any photos in stereo. It was just Rossier and Paul Champion who had captured these views in stereo. So, they are the ones who took stereo photos.

Mitsui Keishi: Since we spoke about stereo photos, maybe we should ask about who has taken photos other than Rossier, in stereo. Can you name any photographs who took stereo?

Philippe Dallais: This is possible that people used stereoscopic camera to produce simple visit cards format pictures. This is a big question, and this is why I say Rossier introduced stereoscopy as a professional because of the quality of the composition and how he worked. At that time, nobody could take pictures like this. There are some missionaries. There are some other people from America, but they are real amateurs. They take pictures, and sometimes they take only one of the two stereo images and print it instead of using it as stereo 3D image. It is very difficult to say who was really the first, but if we take the criteria of real accomplished photographer, we can say that Rossier introduced stereoscopy in Japan.

Christian Polak: The stereo photography, whether it had been taken as a commercial photo is the question here, and Rossier, for example, had worked for this company, Negretti and Zambra, and so he was hired by that company to take photos and Paul Champion worked for a company called BKA, and so that was also commercial photography that he was engaged in. So, if you look at Montgolfier then these are different because he may have taken some artistic work. They were photos for recordkeeping purpose, which had been ordered by his boss to take records of what was going on, and so he had also taken photos as artistic work, but it was not commercial photos.

Luke Gartlan: So, we know that there were three western missionaries: Samuel Robbins Brown met another man called Simmons from the US who arrived on the very day of the opening of Yokohama as a port in 1859, and they brought photography equipment with them, including stereographic cameras. Now, in that case, they were not coming – why are missionaries coming with cameras? Well it seems to be that they saw photography as a way of attracting Japanese and potentially converting them. There are all sorts of different reasons why westerners brought cameras with them. It wasn't necessarily just commercial, and in their case, the most famous convert was Shimooka Renjō who did actually convert to Christianity.

So, I just wanted to point out that there are a variety of different reasons, and therefore, to just take an aesthetic approach is not necessarily the only criterion for studying these photographs. In the case of these missionaries, one might have understood their success as the way in which the camera and the camera technology was just of interest to the Japanese at the time and could therefore bring people into their mission. So, that is another aspect that we have not discussed at all in this conference.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you, very much. So, maybe one final question. Yes, in the second row.

C: I know that the questions are coming from very educated people, but let me ask you a very simple question. The photos that I had been shown today, with many of those photos, you showed two examples of each of these photos, and why is it that one was scratched out and one was a cleaner photo? I was wondering why that had been the case, and I am sure some of you already know the reason behind that.

Mitsui Keishi: So, let me simply respond that. So, there are two photos where the camera has two lenses, and what it does is that if you take those two pictures and then you have a dedicated viewer then they can be seen as a 3D photo. We call these stereo photos or 3D photos, and they had been taken since the 19th century, and so that has also been a popular medium for photos. I think it is a good time to mention the exhibit that is going on at Franco-Japonaise Society. Because this exhibit just started yesterday, there you will be able to view these stereo photos with special glasses.

You can also see them on the monitors, and because you can see them on monitors, they are much enlarged for you to be able to see those photos, and so something that you had wondered about. I think you will be able to see them in the stereoscopic photo as they are supposed to be. Mr. Polak spoke about these. There are commercial photos and then there are also photos which are taken by non-professional amateur photographers as Prof. Takahashi mentioned. There might have been different purposes for the

research on these photos – for taking these pictures. So, there might have been a reason for some perhaps for academic reasons or for military reasons perhaps, but it could have been taken from a personal interest which then developed into the industry of photography and that led to the spread of the photographic art. So, I think that went on in the Bakumatsu area. So, maybe, Prof Takahashi would conclude in the comment.

Takahashi Norihide: I would just like to speak about the technology. The photographs that you saw today, late Bakumatsu, early Meiji, they are basically taken with wet plates, collodion, and as I mentioned in my presentation, it actually had to be processed on in-situ. Also, the paper was not that sensitive. So, they had to really stick it to the plate. So, the photograph and the glass plate were the same size. The photographs which you can see in the exhibition are basically created using that technique. So, in that sense, stereo photography is more the skill that you usually find.

I think it is relatively easier, technically speaking, to take stereo photographs. The glass plates, when they are very big, are very, very difficult. I used the word mammoth plate earlier, it is 50 x 60 cm for the glass plate itself, which means that you need a darkroom where you are taking the photograph. You have to be able to process it onsite and also to print it. So, it was very, very difficult and demanding. Only a handful of people could master that. Also, the plate had to be wet. If it dries out, you can't take photographs probably because it is no longer sensitive. So, you set up the camera and you can't wait for the best moment to take the photograph of the subject which means that if we have a set-up, you have to guess at the appropriate sort of moment to set everything up and then try to take the photograph.

One of your earlier points which is made about who is good, who is not so good, I think it really helps if you keep that in mind that this was a technically demanding skill that they had to master before they could actually take photographs themselves, which, I think, helps you to identify who was truly masterful and who was not so masterful. Speaking about Beato, the battlefield photographs, this is in the aftermath, immediately after the battle. So, he was really dodging bullets. He was dodging cannonballs, and that was the backdrop where he had to identify the spot where he set up his camera and take the photograph. So, only truly experienced people would be able to take those photographs. I think I should mention that as the background.

Mitsui Keishi: Thank you, very much, indeed. Please make sure that you are aware that this is going to be completely be hung. Thank you, very much indeed to everybody. Thank you.

Please take care on your way out. Thank you.

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