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Education of the 'Kangien' and Influence of Foreign Teachers on Early Japanese Photographer, Hikoma Ueno

Capability to Integrate Japanese Spirit with Western Science in Practice¹

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Introduction

The success of introduction of photography by Hikoma Ueno (1838~1904) depended on the encounters with many foreign teachers. He was lucky to be able to learn it at Nagasaki during the period of opening port and the end of Shogunate. He integrated the western knowledge with its practice in his own spirit. In this paper, I will appreciate his intellectual history examining the influence from foreign teachers and his succeeding endeavour.

1. Childhood: Facing to the Dutch learning

The first teacher of Hikoma was his own father Shunjo Ueno (1790~1851) who was a man of talent such as a maker of potassium nitrate, pharmacy, calico and drawer of Chinese picture.² Hikoma had lessons of both reading and writing in the private school of Matsushita Juku at five years old where he showed the excellent talent. In his thirteenth his father died. As mother wished him further learning, he visited Kangien at Hita in his fifteenth which was managed by Confucian scholar Tansou Hirose (1782~1856). When he entered Kangien on April 24 of 1853 the adopted son of the Tansou, Seison Hirose, was an actual school master. (Figs.1,2) Ringai Hirose, nephew of Tansou, was also his intimate friend. In those days Kangien had two effective educational principles of 'Sandatuhō' (deprivation of secular status such as born place and age) and 'Gettan-hyo'(list of promotion by exam-result). Students were required to learn Chinese classics, astronomy and medicine. He had worried about bullying in early days however he overcame its hardship. It seemed to bring up his hard spirit.³

Hachiemon Hanamura was a next teacher of Dutch language and its learning when Hikoma returned to Nagasaki in 1856.⁴ It was Dutch language for Hikoma to aid the re-opening of factory for potassium nitrate succeeded from father. Medical doctor Van den Broek at



Fig. 1 Enlist of Hikoma Ueno in Kangien



Fig.2 The gate of Kangien



Fig. 3 Pompe van Meerdervoort

Dejima taught the art of Daguerreotype photography for Japanese students like Tobie (Nishikawa), Shiozo (Motogi) and Keisai (Yoshio) et al. in 1856.⁵ According to the letter of Donker Curtius on July 29, 1856, however, he seemed to have no success in taking picture at all at the time.⁶ Koan Matsuki from Satsuma meeting with him suggested a success of taking photographs, however, they could not be found.⁷ Hikoma had no contact with photography at all at the time.

2. Encounter with Pompe van Meerdervoort: Dutch chemistry and discovery of the photography

Pompe Van Meerdervoort (stayed in Nagasaki 1857-61) came to Japan as medical doctor of Dejima in the beginning of 1857. (Fig.3) He inaugurated the head teacher at Igakusho (Medical School) in the west office of magistrate on September 26. He began lecture on November 12 at Omura-machi. This is the Memorial Day of foundation for Nagasaki University. Chemical school added to the medical school.⁸ Hikoma seemed to have a recognition of chemistry being indispensable subject to learn the gunnery research. According to the interview by press in 1898, the institute was called as 'Kagaku-denshusho' (Chemistry Learning Laboratory) but its actual existence is uncertain.

Facing the picture of photography at 'Denshusho', Hikoma wished to learn it keenly together with Kuwajiro Horie from Todo Clan. After acquiring camera aided by Lord of Todo Clan, he employed it as his subject. There was evidence about the success of photography by Pompe.⁹ That is, a letter of Donker Curtius dated December 20, 1859 said 'finally succeeded in the photograph' by Pompe.¹⁰ Therefore you could guess Hikoma also should not have succeeded in taking picture at all until this time. Genzo Maeda was a competitor with Hikoma, who had been delegated to Nagasaki from Fukuoka with a camera obtained from the Lord of Kagoshima through the wedding of princess. Ryojun Matsumoto referred to these facts in his biography as following:

'In order to learn photography I was accompanied by my pupil Genzo Maeda to Rossier. Lord of Satsuma presented a camera to Lord of Fukuoka and Genzo was delegated to Nagasaki to learn the technique of processes. ... Maeda wished to learn it every day; he met a photographic master Rossier and asked to accompany him for 30 days. Rossier said that the failure of Ryojun and his poor success of photography due to the poor machine and chemicals he used. He asked Shanghai to bring them for us as a lot of thanks to Japanese cooperation.'¹¹

Hikoma also met Rossier who seemed to improve his skill quickly.

3. Encounter with Pierre Rossier: Further improvement

According to the recollection¹² of Shunpei Furukawa, photographer in Fukuoka, Ryojun Matsumoto looked after "Eijin-Rosieru (British Rossier)" to wander round Nagasaki town in April of 1860. This time apprentices of Ryojun like Genzo Maeda, Shunpei Furukawa and Ensuke Nagano helped Rossier to take pictures of sumo wrestling, priests and beggars. Afterwards they made a good friendship each other. Rossier gave them lens, chemicals, "Papel" (printing paper) and the machine as thanks for aids. They were happy to get a full set of machine and tool completely. After bringing back to Fukuoka it was used to take pictures in front of Lord, its success was fulfilled on September 15 in 1860.

There remained a series of photographs of reclamation of Oura foreign settlement which was sent to Minister Alcock on October 13 in 1860 with a letter from British Consul Morrison.¹³ Besides, there remained a picture of albumen at Siebold Memorial Museum taking figures of interpreter Taro Nakayama together with Alexander Siebold described 'in June of 1859'. But this date seems to be wrong.¹⁴

According to the news paper 'Toyo Hinode Shimbun' on April 15, 1902, 'French' photographer Rossier, (he was actually a Swiss), came to Japan. Realizing the pooriness of handmade camera, lens and chemicals by the suggestion of Rossier, both Hikoma and Ryojun gave

up using them. Hikoma together with Kuwajiro asked Lord Todo to purchase the French camera through Dejima merchant A.J.Bauduin at the expensive price of 150 ryo. Afterwards Hikoma moved to Edo with camera. Their art of photography had so far advanced during the era of Edo.

Four sources of information for Rossier in an article of ‘Early Photographer of China & Japan’ by Terry Bennett¹⁵, a book of *Photography in Japan 1853-1912* by same author¹⁶, and both a set of stereo cards stored in the Nagasaki University Library and at JICC museum¹⁷ contribute to clarify the detail carrier of Rossier and background for early images taken in Japan. According to these sources we could summarize them as following chronology.

1857-1858 Rossier was a correspondent dispatched by Negretti and Zambra.
 1858-60 He collected the materials of news in the second Opium War.
 28.2.1859 ‘Perhaps, Rossier is in China’ (Wirgman, *Illustrated London News: ILN*)
 4.6. Alcock arrived at Japan on the ship ‘Sampson’. (*Capital of Taicoon*)
 Rossier seemed to arrive at Japan around this time.
 6- The series of stereo cards on China (taken by Rossier) was advertised in the Catalog of Negretti & Zambra.
 18.6 Hodgson assumed the position of the Nagasaki deputy consul. (*Capital of Taicoon*)
 19.6 Rossier moved to Edo from Nagasaki on *Sampson*. (*Journal* written by officer of *Sampson*)
 26.6 Rossier arrived at Edo. (*Capital of Taicoon*)
 1.7 Country Opening Ceremony at Edo
 8.7 Rossier took the photographs of Tozen-ji Temple (English Legation) at Edo, and further he took the photographs of both Kanagawa and Yokohama which would form the first stereo series of *Views of Japan* published by Negretti & Zambra.
 The picture of Abel Gower was taken by Rossier in Edo. (in *Bauduin Collection* and *William Burger’s Collection*)
 6.8 Philips and Alexander Siebold arrived at Nagasaki.
 7-8 Wirgman in Taiwan said ‘Rossier seems to have ended taking pictures in China’.
 24.8 ‘We know Rossier is in Hong Kong’ (ILN)
 11-12 *Photographic News* at London commented the Rossier’s photographs in China.
 4.2.1860 *ILN* said that Rossier had visited the Taal Volcano in Philippines.
 27.2 He left Kanagawa on the *Azof*. (*North China Herald*, 10.3)

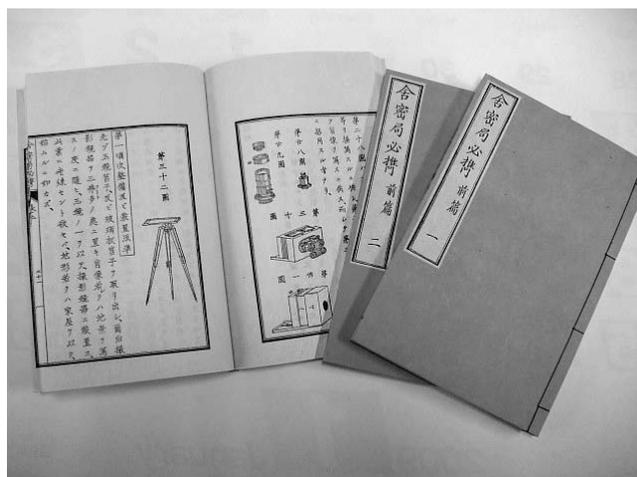


Fig. 4 Seimi-kyoku Hikkei, 1861

2.3 Rossier arrived at Nagasaki port.
 6.3 Rossier arrived at Shanghai.
 20.5 Wirgman and Beato moves to Northern China to collect the information of the Opium War.
 4-6 George Smith stayed in Nagasaki for ten weeks.
 Rossier took pictures of Nagasaki composing the second series of *Views of Japan*.
 He left for Hong Kong.
 27.6 He arrived at Astor House Hotel in Shanghai. (*NCH7.14*)
 30.6 Siebold moved from Honren-ji Temple to Narutaki .
 6-7 Rossier seemed to take a picture of Siebolds in front of Narutaki-Juku.
 13.10 Letter of Morison was sent to Alcock at London together with photographs of Oura reclamation.
 18/19.10 Surrender of Summer Palace in Beijing
 22.12 *ILN* issues Park’s portrait in Beijing.
 Smith referred to five leaves of Rossier’s photographs in “*Ten Weeks in Japan*”.
 26.10.1861 *ILN* showed the photographic portrait of Morrison in Nagasaki “Taken within several months”.
 10-11 Stereo Cards Series “*Views of Japan and China*” by Negretti and Zambra were published.
 11 *The Art Journal* commented on the stereo cards of 108 images (Japan and China).
 1.1862 Westfield “*The Japanese: Their Manners and Their Customs*” was published with 6 leaves of Rossier’s pictures.

In summary, Rossier arrived at Edo in June 1859



Fig. 5 Anthonius Franciscus Bauduin

and left for China in the end of this year, and visited Philippine at the beginning of 1860. Rossier could meet with Hikoma actually after March 2 in 1860¹⁸ at Nagasaki. This opportunity of encounter with foreign professional photographer was decisive moment for him to jump to next step on photography learning.

4. Publication of the theoretical textbook on chemistry 'Seimi-kyoku Hikkei' and supplementary photography

Hikoma translated some Dutch books of chemistry into Japanese and edited them as one textbook 'Seimi-kyoku Hikkei' in 1862.¹⁹ (Fig.4) It was used not only at school of Todo Clan *Yuzokan* but also other schools. It was composed of twenty five chapters. Chapters 1~11 provided an introduction of chemistry which included the idea of the 'equilibrium power for harmony' (*Ecuifarent*: chemical equivalent) that was firstly known in Japan. Yoan Udagawa had already translated Dutch chemical books into 'Seimi Kaiso' and used both chemical equations and chemical symbols in this book, however Hikoma expanded the number of chemical symbols to 64 and he also added an article on the collodion type photography process as an appendix which included the method of lithography. We could estimate that he was an authentic scholar on chemistry and actually he wished to become a teacher of chemistry. He was an eminent scholar being able to integrate both western theory of chemistry and practice on photography in his own experiences.

5. Bauduin Brothers: Not Hikoma's teachers

When Hikoma opened his studio by the Nakashima River after returning to Nagasaki from Tsu, he could meet with two Dutch men. Anthonius Franciscus Bauduin (1820~1885 stayed in Nagasaki 1862~1866, and in Japan 1867, 1869~1870) was a second head master of *Igakusho* (soon renamed *Nagasaki Medical School* after *Seitokukan*) succeeding Pompe. (Fig.5) His younger brother Albertus Johannes Bauduin (1829~1891 alias Alberto) was a merchant and Consul of the Netherlands at Dejima. A.F. Bauduin was eminent medical scholar who had taught Pompe at Medical School of Army at Utrecht.²⁰ He wrote the textbook of physiology together with Dondels which was adopted as a textbook in *Igakusho*. There remained the transcription note of internal medicine in the Department of Medicine of Nagasaki University. A.F. Bauduin and Garatama persuaded the Nagasaki Governor an agent of Shogunate to build *Bunseki-Kyurisho* (Physical Laboratory), and soon it was actually constructed in Nagasaki. He himself was a practical photographer and took a lot of photographs both inside and outside of Dejima. Nagasaki University recently acquired the Bauduin Collection (Three large albums and one small album: totally 528 images). They include a lot of images taken by himself, Hikoma Ueno and Felice Beato. We have to research on these albums and examine the differences among them further. A.F. Bauduin seems to be inferior to Hikoma on practical skill of photography, for Hikoma had accustomed to the technique acquired through practice for long years. His skill was improved by the managing of commercial studio. Comparing with him A.F. Bauduin took photograph more privately as a hobby. Therefore, it is difficult to estimate A.F. Bauduin as a teacher of Hikoma on photography. However Moeshart introduces the comment on Hikoma's skill by A.J. Bauduin in February 1874, who was Dutch consul and younger brother of A.F. Bauduin.

"I visited one photograph studio some Sunday afternoon when the weather was fine. I thought to be taken by camera asking studio to take my portrait picture. Please do not be disappointed so much. Because the original has problem, and I am already too aged, the photographer in Europe should have been able to take the better one. However, could it be no mean doing by a Japanese photographer?"²¹

We can make sure from early Hikoma's album stored at *Ezaki Bekko Ten*²² that he finished his fundamental photographic skill until 1864 by his own practice.

6. Encounter with Felice Beato: Springboard to aesthetic

When Hikoma came back to Nagasaki in autumn 1862, his respectful teacher Pompe had already left for his home



Fig. 6 Sister of Hikoma taken by Beato



Fig. 7 Merchant at Ueno Studio taken by Beato



Fig. 8 Hikoma taken by Beato in front of Daikoji Temple

country, therefore he have to abandon the road leading to a chemical teacher. He opened the commercial photo-studio 'Ueno Satuei-kyoku', noticed as "First prize photograph master", for the purpose of earning money to support his large family. There were a lot of hardships for a while in the superstition such as 'Magic of Kirishitan' rumored after opening of his studio. The number of guests had gradually increased such as foreigners and people of high status in Nagasaki. The feudal lords and soldiers (Samurais) who had visited Nagasaki to guard for harbor or to trade were good clients. In energetic diplomatic and studious activities at Nagasaki there were a lot of patriots who stood in front of camera at Hikoma studio during Keio era, such as Shinsaku Takasugi, Shunsuke Ito (from Choshu Clan), Ryoma Sakamoto, Shojiro Goto (from Tosa) and Saizo Godai (from Satsuma), etc. The revenue from photography helped Hikoma to make his wealth.

Famous professional British nationality photographer Felice Beato, who managed his studio at Yokohama, visited Nagasaki at least four times from 1864 to 1866. His eminent photographic skill and knowledge improved those of Hikoma. He visited Hikoma Studio to take his own pictures and communicate with him. We could confirm some images of his own taking at Hikoma Studio which includes the image of Hikoma's younger sister and his intimate merchant with furniture and carpet in Hikoma studio. (Figs.6,7) Furthermore we could find an image of Hikoma himself taken by Beato in front of Daikoji Temple. (Fig.8) Hikoma had no mention on Beato however we could also ascertain the close relationship between them from images of both Beato and Hikom Albums. We could infer the considerable contribution from Beato to Hikoma on photographic skill such as structure making and perspective method on image, light using in process, and chemical components. The aesthetic influence from Beato

on Hikoma should be ascertained and decisive.

7. Conclusion

The foundation of Hikoma's spiritual and practical attitudes for growing ability was built at Kangien in Hita. He adopted this talent to learn foreign language, science and technology. Next, Pompe was foreign teacher of systematic western Dutch chemistry and initiation to photography. Eventual encounter with Pierre Rossier drastically improved the skill of Hikoma in terms of practice. Although A.F.Bauduin seemed to provide useful knowledge he was not actual teacher for Hikoma on photography. Hikoma's commercial activity actually improved his skill on his job. Felice Beato had also strongly influenced Hikoma's skill in terms of artistic expression and technology such as structural division and perspective of images and device of lighting. We could appreciate now his capability grown at Kangien and influenced by foreign teachers for making success in photography. Kangien encouraged the Oriental practical ethics and foreign teachers taught the Western knowledge and skill. Hikoma was a figure who could integrate cultures, science and technology between Japan and the West.

Notes

- 1 This paper is basically founded on my previous work of 'Encounter with Foreign Photographers' in *Reflecting Truth*, edited by Nicole Coolidge Roumaniere and Mikiko Hirayama, Sainsbury Institute & Hotei Publishing, 2004
- 2 Cf. Sadao Umemoto, *Nihon Shashin no Ganso Ueno Shunnojo Tsunetari* (『日本写真元祖上野俊之蒸常足』 *Japanese Photography Founder, Shunnojo Ueno Tsunetari*, Drafts for publishing, c1950s)
- 3 Cf. *Nyumononbo* (『入門簿』 Registration Book) and *Ringai Diary* (『林外日記』) at Kangien, Hirose Material Museum at Hita, Tadashi Inoue, Kinoshita Itsu-un no Shokan (『木下逸雲の書簡』 Letters of Itsu-un Kinoshita) stored at Hirose Family, Hita, Fukuoka Shidankai, pp.1~38, Marleen Kassel, *Tokugawa Confucian Education: The Kangien Academy of Hirose Tanso (1782-1856), Education, Theory and Practice in the Late Tokugawa Period*, Studies of the East Asian Institute, Colombia University, 1996
- 4 Masao Yahata, *Biography Ueno Hikoma* (『評伝上野彦馬』), Musasino Shobo, 1993, p.51
- 5 Herman Moeshart, *Nihon Shashin-shi niokeru Gaikoku-jin no Yakuwari* (『日本写真史における外国人の役割』 *Yomigaeru Bakumatsu* (『蘇る幕末』) Asahi Newspaper Publisher, 1986, p.224
- 6 Herman Moeshart, *Arts En Koopman in Japan 1859-1874*, De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2001, p.46
- 7 Huyssen van Kattendyke, Willem Johan Cornelis (translated by Mizuta Nobuyoshi), *Nagasaki Kaigun Denshujo no hibi* (Tokyo, Heibonsha, 1964), pp.99-100
- 8 Lulius L.C Pompe van Meerdervoort, *Vief Jaaren in Japan, 1866* (translated by Numata Jiro and Arase Susumu), *Nihontaizai-Kenbunroku* (Tokyo: Yushodo, 1976)
- 9 *Nihon shashin no Kigen*; Interview with Ueno Hikoma; *Toyo Hinode Shimbum*, 1904, No.76~94,
- 10 Mineko Vos, *Bakumastu Deshima mikokai monjo* (Tokyo: Shin-Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1992), p.85
- 11 Ogawa Teizo and Sakai Shizu, Matsumoto Jun: *Nagayo Sensai jiden* (Tokyo: Heibonsha Toyobunko, 1980), p.19
- 12 Ghinjiro Watanabe, *Shashinjutsu denrai torishirabe ni kansuru shorui*, No.1, *Shashinshinpo*, No.44, 1893, p.10
- 13 Cf. British Consulate Nagasaki, Document, PRO, FO262, No.19, pp.49-54
- 14 Picture is stored in the Shiebold Museum at Nagasaki
- 15 Old Japan, Terry Bennett, 2005 cf. <http://www.old-japan.co.uk/articles.html>
- 16 Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, Tuttle Publishing, 2006
- 17 Old Oechsle's Collection
- 18 This means that the year of photo taking mentioned on the back of A. Shiebold's photograph in Shiebold Museum is wrong. *Yogaku Zasshi* suggested the month of August and September when Maeda Genzo met with Rossier..

- 19 Minoru Omori, *Shamitsu-kyoku Hikkei Kaisetsu-hen*, Sangyo-noritsu Jounior College, 1976
- 20 Cf. A. Baudeuin, Mineko Vos, *Oranda Ryoji no Bakumatsu Ishin*, Jinbutu Oraisha, 1987
- 21 Moeshart, *Art en koopman in Japan 1859-1874*, 2001, p.47
- 22 Nagasaki Esaki Bekkoten shozo, *Ueno Hikoma Satsuei-kyoku-Kaigyo Shoki Album*, Amagasaki Sogo Bunka Center, 2007