

The Photograph Collection of William Sturgis Bigelow, Who Accompanied Morse to Japan, and His Photography-Related Activities

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Introduction

As you can see from the timeline in this book, Edward Sylvester Morse travelled to Japan a total of three times in his lifetime. The first time was approximately half a year, from June to November 1877, followed by a longer stay of about a year and a half, from April 1878 to September 1879, and his third and final stay in Japan was for about eight months, from June 1882 to February 1883.

Morse's journals of his time in Japan were published as *Japan Day by Day 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83* in 1917 by Houghton Mifflin Company¹. In the preface to this book, Morse explains the reason why it was published more than 30 years after he had returned to the US, saying that he published it at the recommendation of his friend, William Sturgis Bigelow (1850-1926)². *Japan Day by Day*, an extremely valuable record for learning about Japanese culture and customs in the early Meiji era, would not have come to be without Bigelow, so he could be said to be a key figure behind the scenes. Bigelow was a prominent collector of Japanese art, but he was also a keen photographer. This paper gathers together Bigelow's previously unmentioned photography-related activities in Japan, revealing an unknown side to the man.

1 Morse, Fenollosa and Bigelow

During his first visit to Japan, Morse, who had been given a 2-year contract to be a teacher at the University of Tokyo's faculty of science, excavated the Omori Shell Mounds, collected brachiopods and taught evolutionary theory at the university. The university asked Morse to make a recommendation for the role of professor, and he put forward the name of one Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908), a Harvard graduate originally from Salem, as a potential candidate. Fenollosa arrived in Japan in August 1878.

The second time Morse came to Japan, he brought his wife and child with him. It was at this time that he met Noritane Ninagawa, and they began cultural exchanges³. As an official

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historian of the Meiji government, Ninagawa was one of the people who had conducted the survey of valuable objects at temples and shrines (the Jinshin Survey) from May to October 1872, and served at the Ministry of Home Affairs' Museum Department until 1877, after which he was conducting research on ancient art, particularly Japanese ceramics.

The third time Morse came to Japan, he was accompanied by Bigelow⁴. Bigelow was born into a wealthy family: his father was a professor of surgery at Harvard University, and his maternal grandfather was a very wealthy man who had made his fortune opening up foreign trade. Bigelow also received a degree in medicine from Harvard University and became a doctor, but eventually abandoned medicine altogether due to declining health. Bigelow was inspired to travel to Japan after hearing Edward Morse giving a talk on the country in Boston, which piqued his interest⁵. Morse and Bigelow arrived together at Yokohama Port on June 4th, 1882⁶.

Morse often did things together with Bigelow, and Bigelow features prominently in chapters 19 to 26 of *Japan Day by Day*, together with Fenollosa.

Fenollosa became fascinated with Japanese art after coming to Japan, and whenever he found the time, he would travel around old shrines and temples and antique art dealers in Kyoto and Nara, accompanied by his pupil Tenshin Okakura, acting as interpreter. Morse and Bigelow travelled around the Kansai region with Fenollosa in July and August of 1882⁷. Morse wrote of the trip, "I shall add a great many specimens to my collection of pottery; Dr. Bigelow will secure many forms of swords, guards, and lacquer; and Mr. Fenollosa will increase his remarkable collection of pictures, so that we shall have in the vicinity of Boston by far the greatest collection of Japanese art in the world"⁸. The trio did indeed set about collecting with enthusiasm.

Morse collected a great variety of objects in Japan, and took them with him when he left the country in February 1883, arriving back in New York four months later in June. The folk material of everyday objects went to the Peabody Academy of Science (now the Peabody Essex Museum), and the Japanese pottery collection went to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Bigelow, who remained in Japan after Morse left, gradually became interested in art, and went

on to collect a wide variety of items, including paintings from various schools of painting, ukiyo-e prints, sculptures, swords and textiles. Bigelow too built up an enormous collection, and donated most of it to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He is said to have donated over 50,000 items to the museum.⁹

It is well known that Morse collected Japanese pottery and folk materials of everyday life, and Bigelow collected Japanese artworks, but what is less well known is the fact that they were both also avid collectors of photographs.

2 The collection and taking of photographs

The Peabody Essex Museum houses some 1,000 lantern slides¹⁰ collected by Morse during his time in Japan. These photos were examined by Edo-Tokyo Museum's former deputy director, Junichi Kobayashi, and curator, Shuko Koyama, and a portion of them went on display at the museum during a special exhibition entitled, "*Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, his day by day with kindhearted people*" (Edo-Tokyo Museum, Tokyo, September 14th to December 8th, 2013). The things pictured in the photographs are all things which give a sense of Japan's unique culture, including beautiful Japanese landscapes such as Mount Fuji, castles, shrines, temples, Buddhist statues, bonsai trees, ikebana flower arrangements, annual and regional events such as festivals and cherry blossom viewing, and performances and costumes from traditional performing arts such as Noh theatre. There are also photographs of people, and all the people in them look cheerful and full of happiness. The collection of photographs include some photographs that did not go on sale until after Morse returned to the US¹¹, so it is likely that the collection includes some photos that were brought as souvenirs by people who visited Morse from Japan. Morse used these lantern slides in his lectures, and the people who saw them must surely have imagined that Japan was a beautiful, peaceful country.

Hundreds of photos collected by Bigelow during his sojourn in Japan¹² can be found at Harvard University's Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology. The photos were donated in 1927 by his niece, Mary Lothrop, after Bigelow's death¹³.

Bigelow collected hand-colored albumen prints that are known as "Yokohama Photographs". Yokohama Photographs were produced from the beginning to the middle of the Meiji era, mainly as a souvenir for foreign Travellers in and around the settlement of Yokohama and, as

one of the major export products at the time, the subjects of these photos focused on Japanese landscapes, customs and people. The origin of Yokohama Photographs is said to lie with one Felice Beato (1834-1909), who opened a photo studio in Yokohama in 1864, and started selling photo albums featuring explanatory captions. Bigelow was in possession of two such albums, which are now at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts¹⁴.

Wealthy Bigelow would do whatever he could to get his hands on things he was interested in, regardless of expense, and at first glance, it appears that his photo collection was put together in a similar way, but in fact, Bigelow himself was an amateur photographer.

In 1884, the year after Morse returned to the US, Bigelow accompanied Ernest Fenollosa and Tenshin Okakura for four days from August 16th to August 20th during their investigation of the valuable objects at Horyu-ji Temple. While he was there, Bigelow is thought to have taken as many as 200 photos.¹⁵ Overseas in the 1880s, dry plates had come on to the market and were so widely adopted that it is assumed that Bigelow also used dry plates in his photography, but nonetheless, to take 200 photos over the course of four days would suggest that he was very used to working with dry plates, from which we can surmise that his photography skills were of a high level. Once again in 1888, from May to February the following year, Bigelow was present at a large-scale survey of cultural properties primarily in the Kinki region that was conducted in cooperation with the Ministry of the Imperial Household, Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Education. At the time, the survey of cultural properties was reported on as follows:

“Survey of Antiquities: The government of Japan, concerned about the loss and scattering of old paintings, pottery and documents, all of which are national treasures that should serve as examples of art and historical references, has now begun to take steps to control and conserve them. The three ministries of the Ministry of the Imperial Household, Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Education have dispatched people to investigate old shrines and temples in Kyoto, Osaka and Nara. The investigative committee is scheduled to leave on the 28th, and will be chaired by Ryuichi Kuki, head of the library department, and will also include Director Hamao of the Bureau of Specialized Studies, Director Maruoka of the Bureau of Shrines and Temples, Director Okakura of the School of Fine Arts, Professor Fenollosa, Akira

Yagi from the Ministry of Home Affairs and Mafumi Inou from the Ministry of the Imperial Household. Many foreigners and foreign nationals devoted to literature and the arts have also applied to accompany the survey. In response, Chairman Kuki stated that the investigation must be open and unbiased, and he would be happy to let them accompany the survey, as long as they did not interfere with the investigation”.
(*Yomiuri Shimbun Newspaper*, April 20th, 1888)

The purpose of the survey of cultural properties was to prevent valuable treasures from becoming scattered, and eventually lost, and to preserve them. The head of the committee was Ryuichi Kuki, and committee members included Arata Hamao, director of the Bureau of Specialized Studies, Kanji Maruoka, director of the Bureau of Shrines and Temples, Tenshin Okakura, director of the School of Fine Arts, Fenollosa, Akira Yagi from the Ministry of Home Affairs and Mafumi Inou from the Ministry of the Imperial Household. Many people wished to accompany the survey and, in principle, Chairman Kuki permitted supporters to accompany them, as long as they didn't get in the way. Bigelow, a Japanese art enthusiast and collector, was a philanthropist who offered a donation to Horyu-ji Temple for the restoration of its treasures¹⁶. Furthermore, in February 1884, he became a member of the “Kangakai”, an art organization founded by Fenollosa and Okakura, and supported the organization's endeavors through actions such as providing the prize money for its sketch competition¹⁷, and so for this reason as well, Bigelow was allowed to accompany the survey. Bigelow's name features in a newspaper article on the survey.

“This is the statue of the Healing Buddha that is the principal object of worship enshrined in the main hall of Yakushi-ji Temple. Together with the pedestal, it is 1 jo 3 shaku tall (3.93m), and the flanking statues are 1 jo 3 shaku tall (3.93m). The main statue is placed on a pedestal made of layers of white marble, an exquisite vision so astonishing that the survey party gazed at it for some time, not wanting to leave. I said that it must be the best statue in Japan, but Fenollosa and Bigelow, who were standing beside me, proclaimed it must be the best in the world. It truly is a marvelous sight”.

(*Osaka Asahi Shimbun Newspaper*, June 13th, 1888)

The article conveys the emotional state of Fenollosa and Bigelow when they saw the triad

of Healing Buddha statues that are the principal object of worship at Yakushi-ji Temple. The survey of cultural properties included photographing their findings, and the photographer Kazumasa Ogawa accompanied the survey to produce the photographic record. Ogawa had gone to the US in 1882 to learn the latest photography techniques, returning to Japan in 1884. He opened a photo studio called Gyokujunkan the next year, and he was renowned for his skilled photography. It is unclear whether Bigelow also took photographs when he was accompanying the survey of culture properties, but it is not difficult to imagine that he probably spoke to Kazumasa Ogawa, who was able to speak English.

3 Becoming vice president of the Japan Photographic Society

In May 1889, Kazumasa Ogawa and others founded the Japan Photographic Society, the first such association in Japan. The Japan Photographic Society had 56 members at the time of its inception, 32 of whom were Japanese, and 24 of whom were foreigners. This international feel was also reflected in the individuals elected to serve as board members, with Takeaki Enomoto (minister of education) assuming the role of president, William Sturgis Bigelow and Dairoku Kikuchi (science professor at Tokyo Imperial University, who would later become president of the university) as vice presidents, William Kinninmond Burton (teacher at the Tokyo Imperial University Engineering College) and Iwao Ishikawa (professor at Tokyo higher commercial school) as secretaries, and Charles Dickinson West (professor at the Tokyo Imperial University Engineering College) and Kazumasa Ogawa as committee members, and Tokichi Asanuma (dealer of photography materials) as treasurer¹⁸. Bigelow's selection as vice president is thought to have been based on his experience and accomplishments in photography, but since Dairoku Kikuchi who was also appointed as a vice president of the Japan Photographic Society was a friend of Edward Sylvester Morse¹⁹, it is possible that Bigelow, who remained in Japan, inherited Morse's relationships and was selected to be vice president due to that connection.

The Japan Photographic Society held regular meetings to promote friendship amongst its members and to hold photo shoots and exhibitions featuring the work of its members. Fenollosa also participated sometimes, though he was not a member²⁰.

Although it is not certain when exactly Bigelow returned to the US, it is known that he was still in Japan on August 17th, 1889, as on this date he gave a talk on art with Tenshin Okakura

and Ryuichi Kuki at Hokinsha²¹, North Nishikikoji, Muromachi-dori, Kyoto²². However, Bigelow was reported to have returned to the US at the second annual meeting of the Japan Photographic Society held on May 29th, 1891, and he was therefore relieved of his position as vice president²³. It is said that Bigelow returned to the US in 1889²⁴, and it is thought that he left Japan in the autumn of that year.

Bigelow visited Japan again in the summer of 1902, staying until January 1903. During his stay, a welcome party was held for Bigelow together with Tenshin Okakura, who had just returned from India²⁵, and in 1909, Bigelow was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun Third Class in recognition of his role as an introducer and supporter of Japanese art. Bigelow recommended Morse publish his writings on Japan a few years later in a letter sent to him in July 1913, just after Morse had turned 75²⁶.

Concluding remarks

Thus concludes this account of Bigelow's activities in Japan, with a focus on matters related to photography. Bigelow's exploits as a collector and supporter of Japanese art are well documented, but the photographs he took in Japan, and the fact that he joined the Japan Photographic Society, increasing his interaction with other people who shared a passion for photography and even serving on the board, have been overlooked.

The Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology held a photo exhibition entitled "A Good Type: Tourism and Science in Early Japanese Photographs" from October 25th, 2007, to April 30th, 2008. Sixty-eight photographs of Meiji-era Japan²⁷ were displayed, including photos from Bigelow's photo collection. Some of the photos featured in the exhibition have been made available to view online. In 2015, Peabody Museum Press published David Odo's *The Journey of 'A Good Type': From Artistry to Ethnography in Early Japanese Photographs*, which contains 23 photos collected by Bigelow. They are all beautifully colored Yokohama Photographs, and 20 of the 23²⁸ photos were produced by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz (1839-1911) or by the studio of Stillfried & Andersen.

Stillfried, an Austrian aristocrat,²⁹ travelled to Japan several times from the 1860s onwards, staying in Nagasaki and Yokohama. He learned photography from Felice Beato, who was already in Japan at this time, and opened his own photography studio in Yokohama in 1871.

In 1876, he partnered with Hermann Andersen (dates of birth and death unknown), and the studio changed its name to Stillfried & Andersen. The studio burned down in a fire in 1877. That same year, Stillfried & Andersen purchased Beato's Yokohama studio and stock and received his customer list. Stillfried produced photos featuring samurai that are striking in their pre-modern simplicity³⁰. Although Stillfried left Japan in May 1881, the studio continued to operate, eventually being taken over by Adolfo Farsari (1841-1898) in 1885.

Let's take another look at the photos that Bigelow collected. A woman holding a shamisen (picture 1). A woman sat on a tatami mat with a pipe in her hand (picture 2). An oiran (high-ranking courtesan) standing on a tatami mat, dressed in a lavish kimono and tall wooden clogs, with her hair tied up (picture 3). An armor-clad man with a top knot (picture 4). A man in formal attire wearing a crown with a hanging tail (picture 5). A man wearing a sleeveless robe and hakama, standing with a sword at his side (picture 6). A man with an exquisitely drawn tattoo (picture 7). All of these photographs are of exotic things that are likely to intrigue foreigners. However, as someone who lived in Japan for seven years and sincerely loved Japanese culture, it is likely that this is not the only reason why Bigelow collected these photos. As mentioned earlier, Bigelow's collection was diverse, and included swords, armour and kimonos. Once items like these are brought home, it is not easy to see how they were meant to be worn, so perhaps Bigelow turned to photos to use like an illustrated clothing reference guide. This could be said about all the photos Bigelow collected in general, but the Yokohama Photographs in particular are all of high quality, and accurately colored. The photographs of tattoos in particular are exemplary in showing off the beauty of the traditional patterns and colors, one can really get a sense of the tattoo artist's artistry and skill. Needless to say, tattoos could not be collected and brought back to the US, so they were collected in the form of photographs, but the photos themselves are works of art that reflect the aesthetic sense and dexterity of the Japanese people who faithfully copied and colored the tattoos.

Bigelow's photo collection may seem insignificant when regarding the collection as a whole, but the high quality of the individual photographs allows one to appreciate the discerning eye of Bigelow as a collector. Bigelow's collection of photographs, along with his other collections, serve as a reminder of the profundity of pre-modern Japanese culture.



(Picture 1) Woman in traditional dress with musical instrument.

Gift of Miss Mary B. Lothrop. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2003.1.2223.310



(Picture 2) Woman with pipe

Gift of Miss Mary B. Lothrop. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2003.1.2223.308



(Picture 3) Courtesan with attendant

Gift of Miss Mary B. Lothrop. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2003.1.2223.320



(Picture 4) Japanese samurai in colorful armor

Gift of Miss Mary B. Lothrop. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 2003.1.2223.396



(Picture 5) Shinto priest

Gift of Miss Mary B. Lothrop. Courtesy of the Peabody
Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard
University, 2003.1.2223.343



(Picture 6) Man in samurai costume

Gift of Miss Mary B. Lothrop. Courtesy of the Peabody
Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard
University, 2003.1.2223.345



(Picture 7) Tattooed man

Gift of Miss Mary B. Lothrop. Courtesy of the Peabody
Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard
University, 2003.1.2223.53

[References]

- 1 The original “*Japan Day by Day 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83*” was published as two volumes (volume I, volume II) in 1917 by the Houghton Mifflin Company. The title of the Japanese version is 『日本その日その日 (Nihon Sonohi Sonohi)』, and it was published as two volumes in November 1929 by Kagaku Chishiki Fukyukai, having been translated by Kinichi Ishikawa. The book is a full translation of the original, consisting of 26 chapters, and, in addition to Morse’s original illustrations being reproduced exactly, the Japanese edition also includes “Foreword” by Chiyomatsu Ishikawa and “Translator’s Postscript” by Kinichi Ishikawa. Conversely, the Japanese edition does not include the 15-page-long index at the end of volume II (indicating on what page names, places and other things occur). The next edition of the Japanese version was published as a single volume in 1939 by Sogensha, Inc. In the process of compiling it into a single volume, chapter 23, “Customs and Superstitions”, and chapter 24, “The Caves of Kabutoyama”, were cut, leaving a total of 24 chapters. This edition only has Chiyomatsu Ishikawa’s preface at the beginning of the book, with an afterword by Kinichi Ishikawa explaining the reason why the two chapters were not published. The next time a complete translation of “*Japan Day by Day 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83*” was published was in 1970. It was published as three volumes by Heibonsha Ltd., and was a republication of the Kagaku Chishiki Fukyukai version. The first volume was published as The Eastern Library 171 in September 1970, the second volume as The Eastern Library 172 in October 1970, and the third volume as The Eastern Library 179 in January 1971. The Eastern Library edition is printed using modern kana orthography and simplified kanji characters, and parts that clearly seem to be mistakes have been revised by referring to the Sogensha edition. Similar to the Kagaku Chishiki Fukyukai edition, this version contains the preface by Chiyomatsu Ishikawa and notes on the translation by Kinichi Ishikawa at the beginning of the first volume, and it also includes a commentary by Haruto Fujikawa at the end of the first volume.
- 2 Edward Sylvester Morse, *Japan Day by Day 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83*. volume I, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. ix-x.
- 3 Edward Sylvester Morse, *Japan Day by Day 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83*. volume II, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp.106-107.
- 4 Naohide Isono, “A Timeline of Morse” in Takeshi Moriya, *Joint Research on Morse and Japan*. Shogakukan, 1989. Hereinafter, all matters related to Morse shall be in accordance with this timeline.
- 5 Akiko Murakata, “Brief Biography of Bigelow, an Early Collection of Far Eastern Art”, *Kobijutsu (A Quarterly Review of the Fine Arts)*, No.35, Sansai-Sha, December 1971, pp.57-69.
- 6 In the timeline of Morse created by Naohide Isono, it says that Morse wrote in *Japan Day by Day* that they arrived in Yokohama on June 5th, 1882, but this is a mistake.
- 7 Edward Sylvester Morse, *Japan Day by Day*. volume II, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp.239-262. Chapter 20, “Overland to Kyoto” depicts their journey.
- 8 Ibid. *Japan Day by Day*. volume II, p.239.
- 9 Maureen Melton, “William Sturgis Bigelow”, *Great Collectors: Masterpieces from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. the Asahi Shimbun Company, 2017, pp.100-101.
- 10 Lantern slides are the negatives that are used with magic lanterns, or slide projectors. Slide projectors were introduced to Japan in the second half of the 18th century, and their use peaked in the middle of the Meiji era. “Magic Lanterns”, *Imagination*. Chapter II | Part2 | Tokyo Photographic Art Museum,1995.
- 11 Among the slides is a photograph from the “Hundred Beauties” exhibition (a photograph of a geisha taken by Kazumasa Ogawa) that was held in 1891 at the Ryouunkaku (Asakusa Junikai) skyscraper that was designed by William Kinnimond Burton and completed in 1890. Since Morse returned from his third trip to Japan in February 1883, it is likely that he either acquired a slide that was exported from Japan, or that someone brought it to him as a souvenir.
- 12 Although the exact number of photos collected by Bigelow is unknown, on page 11 of David Odo’s “*The Journey of*

'A Good Type': From Artistry to Ethnography in Early Japanese Photographs" (Peabody Museum Press, 2015) it says that photos for exhibition and publication were selected from over 400 photographs, so, at the very least, the collection contained these many photos.

- 13 David Odo. Ibid. The preface of this book describes the details of the research. Furthermore, on one of the photographs collected by Bigelow that appear in the book, it is written, "Gift of Mary Lothrop, 1927".
- 14 David Odo. Ibid. On the photograph from Bigelow's collection that appears on page 25, it is written, "Gift of Mary Lothrop, 1926. Given to the William Morris Hunt Library in 1926; transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts Boston collection in 2010", and the same is mentioned in note 14 on page 114. Furthermore, on page 187 of *"Capturing Japan in Nineteenth-Century New England Photography Collections"* Ashgate, 2011, by Eleanor M. Hight, it mentions that the two Beato photo albums are housed at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- 15 Kazu Uehara, "The beginning of modern research on the Tamamushi Shrine, part 2: Study of the Tamamushi Shrine carried out by art historians and philosophers of art at the beginning of the Meiji period", *The Seijo Bungei*. No.119, the Seijo University arts and literature quarterly, May 1987, pp.389-430. The survey of Horyu-ji Temple in August 1884 is described in detail in a letter dated September 27th, 1884, sent by Fenollosa to Morse in Boston. The letter appears on pages pp.289-291 of Dorothy Godfrey Wayman's *Edward Sylvester Morse, A Biography*, Harvard University Press, 1942.
- 16 Ibid. Kazu Uehara, "The beginning of modern research on the Tamamushi Shrine, part 2: Study of the Tamamushi Shrine carried out by art historians and philosophers of art at the beginning of the Meiji period", pp.389-430. The donations to repair the treasures of Horyu-ji Temple are also reported in the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun Newspaper* on December 9th, 1884.
- 17 Bigelow provided the prize money for the design competition held by "Kangakai" in the autumn of 1888. "Announcing the Kangakai Design Competition" (*Yomiuri Shimbun Newspaper*, September 6th, 1888)
- 18 The results of the board election are reported in the proceedings of the "Japan Photographic Society" on page 31 of *Photographic News* No.4 (June 3rd, 1889). At this time, the president had not been decided, but in the No.5 of *Photographic News* (July 2nd, 1889), in the article about the "Japan Photographic Society" on page 28, the appointment of Takeaki Enomoto as president is described thusly, "The Japan Photographic Society: The Japan Photographic Society held its inauguration ceremony at the Kobikicho Chamber of Commerce and Industry at 4:00 p.m. on the 7th, with over 30 members present. Vice President Kikuchi Dairoku took the chair, and the decision to appoint Viscount Takeaki Enomoto as president was finalised. Next, Mr. Burlton explained the theory of platinum type (platinum print photography), with further explanations in Japanese by Kazumasa Ogawa, and an experiment using platinum type was shown to the members present. After a few informal discussions, the meeting was adjourned at 6:30 p.m. On this day, 10 platinum type photographs of landscapes, flowers and people taken by Bigekoto, Burton, Iwao Ishikawa and Kazumasa Ogawa were exhibited". It is believed that the article is referring to Bigelow where it mentions "Bigekoto".
- 19 Same as reference 2. *Japan Day by Day*. volume II, p.386. Morse writes, "Professor Kikuchi came to dinner tonight. We played dominoes until ten".
- 20 "Proceedings of the Japan Photographic Society", *Photographic News* No.13 (Edited and published by Tetsuya Sato, February 1890, p.48, In the article on the "Proceedings of the Japan Photographic Society", the following account is given of the meeting held at Nishi-Konyamachi Geological Association, "Matsuchi Nakajima operated the magic lantern and, in addition to the lantern slides that he had prepared, there were also magic lanterns that had been specially manufactured by the Education Product Manufacturing Company to show the lantern slides of Seinosuke (Seibe) Kajima, West, Fenollosa and Burton. There were many comical images, using color and shadow, and showing inconveniences that can occur when the mirror is used incorrectly". From the above, we can ascertain that there was a magic lantern show at the society meeting, and Fenollosa was in attendance.
- 21 A lecture hall located within Meirin Elementary School. Ethical teachings were regularly given there. Hideharu Takano, "From the hall for ethical teachings and Meirin Schoolhouse, to Meirin Elementary School", *The Kyoto Municipal Museum of School History Research Bulletin* No.5, Kyoto Municipal Museum of School History, December 2016, pp.3-15.

- 22 Akio Takei, *Hinode Shimbun Newspaper Journalist Shizue Kaneko and Meiji-era Kyoto: Focusing on the Reporting of the 1888 Survey of Ancient Artworks*. Unsodo, 2013, p.178.
- 23 *Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Japan Photographic Society*. Edited and published by Iwao Ishikawa, June 1891.
- 24 Tanio Nakamura, “Ukiyo-e Paintings Donated by William Sturgis Bigelow in the Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston”. *Kobijutsu (A Quarterly Review of the Fine Arts)*. Number 66, Sansaishinsha, April 1983, pp.4-22.
Sarah Thompson “Ukiyo-e in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Prints, Books, and Paintings, 1890-2008”, *Printed Treasures: Highlights from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 2008, pp. 240-245.
- 25 “Welcome Party for Kazuo Okakura and Bigelow: Kazuo Okakura, newly returned from India, and Bigelow, a wealthy man from Boston, the US who once lived in Japan and is an introducer of Japanese art, recently arrived in Osaka, where they were given a welcome banquet at Sakau-ro by like-minded people from the city”. (*Yomiuri Shimbun Newspaper*, November 16th, 1902)
- 26 Same as reference 5. Akiko Murakata, “Brief Biography of Bigelow, an Early Collection of Far Eastern Art”.
The date of Bigelow’s letter to Morse was July 1st, 1913. The full text of the letter, which begins “My dear old Sensei”, can be found on pages 370-371 of Akiko Murakata’s *Selected letters of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow* (George Washington University, 1971).
- 27 There are descriptions of past exhibitions on the website of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, according to which there were 68 photos. <https://www.peabody.harvard.edu/node/164>
Last accessed November 15th, 2021.
- 28 The 23 photographs include two photos taken by an unknown photographer and one taken by Beato.
- 29 The following account of Stillfried’s career was written using pages 133-140 of Terry Bennett’s *Photography in Japan 1853-1912* (Tuttle Publishing, 2006) as a reference.
- 30 Sebastian Dobson, “The Image of Japan under the Western Photographic Gaze”, *What Are Nonwritten Cultural Materials? The Nonwritten Materials Memorizing and Documenting Human Culture (Kanagawa University 21st Century COE Program Symposium Report)*, The Kanagawa University 21st Century COE Program’s “Systematization of Nonwritten Cultural Materials for the Study of Human Societies” Symposium, 2006, pp.20-27.

