

Sites of “Disconnectedness”: The Port City of Yokohama, Souvenir Photography, and its Audience

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Fig. 1: Hashimoto Sadahide, *Complete Picture of the Newly Opened Port of Yokohama*, early 1860s, woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 16,2 x 23,4 cm, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Bequest of Florence Leonhart, S2007.5a-j.

In the nineteenth-century, photography was a vigorous pioneer at the frontiers of changing society.¹ The pervasiveness of photography during the mid-nineteenth century, even in distant places, was recorded by an anonymous author who declared in a review of an exhibition of commercial stereoscopic photographs: “[A]s ... the camera became more common in Egypt and the Holy Land, the more adventurous photographers turned their steps to more distant and less known countries. Even the jealously-guarded countries of China and Japan cannot shut out the camera.”² As the first gateway to remote places, ports formed an inextricably bound relationship with photography during the latter half of the nineteenth century, especially in Asia. An increasing interest in the exotic meant that the commercial potential for photography with its overwhelming realism and visual sensation emerged as a popular means of capturing the ‘Other.’

1 The author would like to thank Volker Elis, Martin Dusinberre, Harald Fuess, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions.

2 “Photographs from the Philippine Islands,” *Photographic News*, no. 61 (November 4, 1859): 99.

The souvenir photography industry in Japan was initially established in the mid-nineteenth century by Western photographers at Treaty Ports like Yokohama. There it flourished as an industry that provided seemingly ‘authentic,’ and visually convincing pictures. Catering to a non-Japanese audience, this photographic industry cultivated an alternative image culture to the indigenous photography scene, which had its own distinctive iconographic repertoire and visual languages. These distinct image cultures continued their parallel lives until the decline of the image industry, which was triggered by the fierce price competition against privately produced postcards after the relaxation of postal laws at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The desire for and the gaze in the visualization of the “Other” changed during the course of the history of Japanese souvenir photography. In the case of the souvenir photography industry in the port city of Yokohama, for example, the Japanese-owned photographic studios had by the 1880s supplanted the dominant Western photographers. Aided by transport technologies, the profile of the foreign clientele for this image industry was never monolithic, and it experienced a radical shift through the course of its history, especially after the rise of globetrotter tourism in the early 1870s. As a commercial commodity, souvenir photography needed to respond to its changing circumstances. As both a constructed visual object—not a “transparently ‘authentic’ image”³ of Japan—and a commercial commodity intended to meet customers’ expectations, souvenir photography was a complex cultural product. It is this which invites us to question how the shifting gaze of the photographer and his audience transformed the visual imagination. At the same time, the nineteenth-century port city of Yokohama held an ambiguous position as both a venue of “connections”—bringing people, goods, and ideas together as well as generating diverse cross-cultural memories—and (almost predestined by its beginning as a Treaty Port city and later actively promoted by diverse factors) as a symbolic and physical space of cultural ‘disconnectedness’ from the rest of Japan. This was realized in a manner that was similar to the relationship between the Shanghai International Settlement and inland China. It is this very aspect that begs us to consider the following complex issues: To what extent was the ambivalent facet of the city embedded in the visual representation of Yokohama? In which

3 Allen Hockley, “Expectation and Authenticity in Meiji Tourist Photography,” *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art*, ed. Ellen P. Conant (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006), 116. For the problematic of reducing photography’s potential entirely to a historical resource, see this article by Hockley and my monograph on Kusakabe Kimbei’s female imagery. Mio Wakita, *Staging Desires: Japanese Femininity in Kusakabe Kimbei’s Nineteenth-Century Souvenir Photography* (Berlin: Reimer, 2013), esp. 7–18.

ways did the resultant unstable memories and perceptions among audiences with shifting profiles affect image creators? How were the differences in perspective between customers and photographers, that is, between the changing generations of recipients as well as between the photographers active in different phases, negotiated in the image-making processes?

Using the examples of nineteenth-century Yokohama souvenir photography taken by Felice Beato and Kusakabe Kimbei, I aim to investigate how photographic images of Yokohama could be read as mirroring the dynamics of these shifting relationships and perspectives. A particular focus will be on Yokohama as a physical site, on Yokohama as a site of transition, and on the corporeality of the onsite experience of the audience. The dynamics of the port city as a place of disconnections/connections will be at the center of my discussion. In the process, I will delineate the changing associations of the port city of Yokohama as a site of both image creation and consumption, factors which in their turn led to shifting conditions for Yokohama souvenir photography within and beyond the port city. My aim is to specify how these shifting conditions, such as the development of “globetrotter” tourism, shaped the rhetoric of visual representation. In contrast to most discussions of the tourist gaze, in which the main focus is primarily on the techniques of visual representation⁴ or the constitution of the gazing subject,⁵ this study will highlight the embodied experiences of photography’s audiences, the technological advancements in photographic media and transportation, as well as the changing methods of image acquisition. In this I will build on a suggestion by Mike Crang that corporeality of experience is a key aspect within the photographic representation of tourist landscape because it “serves to highlight the mediation of visual worlds through technologies and epistemologies.”⁶ This paper will thus explore the multifaceted and changing aspects of Yokohama photography and its image-making practices in constant dialogue with the changing conditions of the photographers themselves, as well as of the port city, of travel, and of photographic technology.⁷

4 See, for instance, Catherine Nash, “Reclaiming Vision: Looking at Landscape and the Body,” *Gender, Place and Culture* 3 (1993), 149-169.

5 See, for instance, Gillian Rose, *Feminism and geography* (London: Routledge, 1993); John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 1990).

6 Mike Crang, “Picturing Practices: Research through the Tourist Gaze,” *Progress in Human Geography* 21:3 (1997), 359.

7 In her article on the representation of the city of Nagasaki both in Beato’s images and in the accompanying caption texts, Nakashima Yasuko shares the same concern that the previous scholarship on Beato landscape photographs seldom analyzes them within a larger transcultural framework. Focusing on the subjects represented in both image and caption text, Nakashima’s analysis takes a comparative approach and reveals the dissonant messages conveyed by the photographic medium itself and

The souvenir photography industry in Yokohama

After Commodore Perry’s arrival in 1853 and the subsequent end of Japan’s policy of national seclusion, the United States–Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed in 1858 with the stipulation that Japan would open five Treaty Ports for foreign commerce and settlement in the following year. Once a sleepy village with no more than eighty to ninety houses (around 400 inhabitants)⁸, Yokohama—one of the five Treaty Ports—emerged as the most important of these due to its closeness to the capital city (Fig. 1). By 1867 Yokohama had grown into “the great centre of foreign traffic in Japan [...] [due to its] facility of communication from abroad, and [...] its position on the seaboard of the central portion of the empire.”⁹ By 1864 Yokohama was already handling over eighty percent of Japan’s total exports and was well on its way to becoming the largest and the most frequented of all open port settlements in Japan.¹⁰ The first photographers who were enterprising enough to seek new business opportunities using this Western visual technology in the newly opened Japan were Westerners. Most of them were based in China and some had operated photography studios in Shanghai or in Hong Kong where photography had been practiced for seventeen years before Japan opened her Treaty Ports. This geographical proximity may explain their early appearance in Japan.

Because during their first years these Japanese Treaty Ports were considered frontier towns (Yokohama had only forty foreign residents at the end of 1859, the first year of trade) it took some time before the first photographers established their commercial studios in these areas. Although some Western photographers had already visited Japan, the first significant wave of Western commercial photographers arrived around 1860.¹¹ Pierre Joseph Rossier,

the multi-layered semantic construction of Beato’s Nagasaki landscapes. Nevertheless, Nakashima’s study misses some vital aspects, including Beato’s visual strategies and the historical, cultural, and social backgrounds for Beato’s capturing particular venues. Yasuko Nakashima, “Bakumatsuki beato arubamu ni okeru hyōshō kūkan no fukusōsei: shashin gazō to moji jōhō no kontekisuto,” *Nihon Shashin Geijutsu Gakkaishi* 19:2 (2010): 69–85.

8 See Katō Yūzō, “From Enlightenment to Urbanization”, *Yokohama. Past and Present*, ed. Kato Yūzō (Yokohama: Yokohama City University, 1990), 72.

9 Nicholas Belfield Dennys, ed. *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan, A Complete Guide to the Open Ports of Those Countries, Together with Peking, Yedo, Hongkong and Macao. Forming Guide Book & Vade Macum for Travellers, Merchants, and Residents in General* (Hong Kong: A. Shortrede and Co., 1867), 580–1.

10 See Katō, *Yokohama. Past and Present*. 31, 36; W.E.L. Keeling, *Keeling’s Tourists’ Guide to Yokohama, Tokio, Hakone, Fujiyama, Kamakura, Yokoska, Kanozan, Narita, Nikko, Kioto, Osaka, etc., etc.* (Tokio: Farsari & Co., 1880), 26.

11 See John Hannavy, ed. *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography* (London: Routledge,

a Swiss commercial photographer who was dispatched from his London agency, took the first commercial photographs of Japan as early as 1859. Orrin Erastus Freeman (1830–66), an American professional photographer who was based in Shanghai and possibly the first Western photographer to establish a permanent residence in Japan, opened a studio in Yokohama in 1860. William Saunders (1832–92, active in the early 1860s), a British photographer based in Shanghai, came to Japan in 1862 for several months to expand his portfolio with Japanese sights, especially of Edo and Yokohama. Saunders' British colleague, Charles Parker, shifted his base from Hong Kong to Yokohama in 1863, where he remained active until 1865. Felice Beato, a Corfu-born British photographer, who was to become one of the most prominent figures in the nineteenth-century souvenir photography industry in Japan, arrived in Yokohama around June 1863.¹² Shimooka Renjō, one of the earliest Japanese professional photographers, opened his first photography studio in Yokohama in 1862; by 1875 it had expanded to three branches in the city. At one of his branch shops on Yokohama's main avenue (Honcho Street), Renjō had a photography studio on the first floor while the ground floor was designated for the sale of souvenir articles, including one of the most popular souvenir articles for foreign visitors—*nishikie* woodblock prints. The items for sale in Renjō's shop illustrate several important aspects of the Yokohama port city culture: The growing importance of photography as a commercial enterprise, and even more significant, the association of photography businesses in Yokohama with the city's growing souvenir industry.

The coming of the globetrotter

The early customers for Japanese souvenir photographs of Yokohama were primarily foreign residents of the town. They were a diverse community of long-term dwellers that included missionaries, diplomats,¹³ merchants, and members of Western military garrisons and naval squadrons who were assigned to Treaty Ports between 1863 and the mid-1870s in reaction to a series of violent attacks on their citizens by locals. The clientele profile of the Yokohama-based photography studios is evident from the advertisements

2007), 770. See also Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan, 1853–1912* (Boston: Tuttle, 2006).

12 See Takio Saitō, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohama shashinkan monogatari* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004), 56–68.

13 Instead of residing in Tokyo, foreign diplomats lived in Yokohama, “preferring society to the doubtful charms of the Japanese capital.” See, for instance, William Elliot Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire: Book II, Personal Experiences, Observations, and Studies in Japan, 1870–1875* (New York: Harper, 1876), 339.

in English-language local newspapers like *Japan Weekly* and *Japan Herald*, which targeted the expatriate communities in the Japanese Treaty Ports. The texts of these advertisements are explicit. William Saunders, for instance, announced his arrival to the “community of Yokohama” in an advertisement in *Japan Herald* (September 20, 1862), the earliest-known advertisement by a studio in Japan.¹⁴ In 1870 the advertisement placed by Felice Beato in *Japan Weekly* announced his sale of photography albums and was also aimed at the local clientele:

Signor F. Beato,

Begs to announce to the Public of Yokohama and Travellers visiting the East generally, that he has just completed a handsome collection of Albums of various sizes, containing views &c., of Japan, with descriptions of the Scenes, Manners and Customs of the people; compiled after visiting all the most interesting localities in the country during six years residence.

NO.17 ON THE BUND¹⁵

The reference to “(t)ravellers visiting the East” in this advertisement alerts us to the fact that a new group of customers had made its appearance by the early 1870s, the “globetrotter.” His emergence greatly expanded the tourist market for the Yokohama photographic trade. Globetrotter travelling had been greatly facilitated in 1869 by the shortcut from Europe to Asia that had opened via the Suez Canal and across the United States through the completion of the Trans-American railway. The first scheduled trans-Pacific steamship service by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company traveling from San Francisco via Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki to Hong Kong began in 1867. In 1874 the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company was launched by the Union Pacific and Central Railways to provide a service from the US East Coast to Asia. Furthermore, steamship development drastically shortened the travelling time from Europe and North America to East Asia, while also making travel more comfortable and convenient.

14 “Photography. W. Saunders begs to inform the Community of Yokohama that on Monday next and five following days he will be prepared to take portraits, &c., in the newest and most approved styles. Also for Sale and on view a collection of photographs to which inspection is invited. 51 English. Yokohama, 18th September, 1862.” The text of this ad is reprinted in Terry Bennett, *Old Japanese Photographs: Collectors’ Data Guide* (London: Quaritch, 2006), 223. It should be noted, however, that Saunders only stayed in Japan for several months.

15 Felice Beato, *Japan Weekly Mail February 12th, 1870*, reprinted in Bennett, *Old Japanese Photographs*, 226.

A traveller or business man who, a few years ago, went to San Francisco, Japan, China, or India, or made the circuit of the globe, arranged his affairs with the expectation that at least a year or two of his life was required to make the journey by land and water. To-day he can start from New York or London, transact important business, and enjoy the pleasures of travel, returning to his home, if desired, within the period of three months; during which time he is in communication with the chief centres of business by telegraph and steam poste-routes.¹⁶

In the 1870s a trip across the Pacific by steamship from San Francisco to Yokohama took twenty-four days; by the mid-1880s it took less than twenty days; and by 1891 it took only ten days to travel between Yokohama and Vancouver, and less than fifteen days from Japan to New York and Boston.¹⁷ Yokohama advanced as one of the key anchorage ports of the international steamship network. By 1895 a liner from the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company called in from Vancouver every two weeks and made further port calls at Kobe, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. Twice a month a trans-Atlantic steamship from San Francisco made a stop after calling at Honolulu. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (known as P & O Company), the Austrian Lloyd's Steam Navigation Company, and the North German Lloyd also ran regular services from Europe to Yokohama.

Running parallel to the increasing number of travelers to the city was a major shift in the photography market catering to foreigners in both the resident and tourist market. Faced with a startling influx of transient visitors, the term “globetrotter” was coined and used by the local community in order to differentiate these visitors from the expatriate community. William Elliot Griffis mentioned this phenomenon in 1876: “The coming orthodox bridal tour and round-the world-trip will soon be made via Japan first, then Asia, Europe, and America. Already the circum-mundane tourists have become so frequent and temporarily numerous in Yokohama as to be recognized as a distinct class. In the easy language of the port, they are called ‘globetrotters.’”¹⁸ However, this differentiation was also intended to distinguish the long-time Western residents in Japan: Hinting at the commercial tours

16 *Across the Continent and Around the World: Disturnell's Railroad and Steamship Guide: Giving the Great Lines of Travel Around the World, by Land and Water; also containing a list of all the railroads in the United States and Canada, and other useful information relating to Steamship Lines, Telegraph Lines, etc.* (Philadelphia. W.B. Zieber, 1872), 113.

17 Eliza Ruhamah Sidmore, *Westward to the Far East. A Guide to the Principal Cities in China & Japan* (Montreal: The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1891), 6.

18 Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 339.

that were the preferred mode of globetrotter travel, the term also connotes the diminished quality of their tourist experience and of their cultural and social encounters. Basil Hall Chamberlain went so far as to refer to them as "*Globe-trotter locusts* the species that travels in swarms, perpetually dragged around the universe by Cook, or the likes of Cook."¹⁹ Considering that the number of foreign residents in the Yokohama settlement in 1868 was counted as 557²⁰, this globetrotter tourism with its thousands of international visitors every year emerged as a prosperous new field for Yokohama souvenir photographers.

During the 1880s, many studios sprang up to meet new tourist demands; in 1891 there were ten Japanese photographic studios in Yokohama, but eleven years later, in 1902, the total number had risen to fifteen.²¹ The wide dissemination of photographic images from Yokohama is well illustrated in the diary of the Czech globetrotter Josef Kořenský, who visited Japan in 1893:

[Japanese] photographers, whose skill in hand colouring and quick handling are greatly admired by Europeans, are settled either in the Bay area or in the Japanese residential area in Yokohama. [...] Yokohama is the best place to purchase photographs of Japanese subjects. The photography studios run by Ogawa, Suzuki, Kimbei, and Tamamura cannot fully cope with the overwhelming amount of orders from foreign tourists. They normally send photographs packed in a metal box to their foreign commissioners after receiving orders.²²

19 Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan* (London: K. Paul, Trench; Trubner; Hakubunsha, 1890), 215. For the globetrotter phenomenon in Japan, see Luke Gartlan, "Changing Views: The Early Topographical Photographs of Stillfried & Company," in *Reflecting Truth: Japanese Photography in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2004), 56; Allen Hockley, "Globetrotters' Japan: Places. Foreigners on the Tourist Circuit in Meiji Japan." Accessed December 14, 2010. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/gt_japan_places/index.html

Gartlan points out that the first possible usage of the term was in the Yokohama port, in an article in the Yokohama press. 'Globetrotters.' *The Japan Mail*, August 22, 1873, 540–541. See Gartlan, "Changing Views," footnote 56.

20 Out of a total of 557: 200 (Great Britain), 95 (US), 90 (France), 66 (Prussia), 37 (the Netherlands), 26 (Switzerland), 20 (Italy), 19 (Portugal), 4 (others). Yokohamashi Sōmukyoku Shishi Henshūshitsu *Yokohamashi shi*, vol. 3, jō (Yokohama: Yokohamashi, 1961,) 394.

21 Sebastian Dobson, "Yokohama Shashin," in *Art and Artifice: Japanese Photographs of the Meiji Era: Selections from the Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Sebastian Dobson, Anne Nishimura Morse, and Frederic Sharf (Boston: MFA, 2004), 28.

22 Josef Kořenský, *Japonsuko: Bohemiajin ryokōka ga mita 1893-nen no Nihon* [Japonsko. Japan of 1893 seen by a Bohemian traveler], trans. Suzuki Fumihiko (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha 2001 [Prague

The growing number of tourists thus motivated enterprising Japanese to seek business opportunities in the photography branch of the flourishing Yokohama tourist industry. This sometimes caused frictions between Western photographers and their assistants: Raimund von Stillfried, an Austrian souvenir photographer who was active in Yokohama in the 1870s, complained bitterly about his difficulties in keeping expertise secure from competition. "At first," Stillfried stated, "he [Stillfried] used to show his one assistant all the different photographic manipulations necessary to produce a picture, and the consequence was that he soon left and set up on his own account."²³ Thereafter, Stillfried gave instructions to his Japanese employees in only one particular area of specialization to ensure that no other part of the production process was observed and that his expertise in photography remained exclusive.²⁴ However, Stillfried's maneuvers were in vain; they did nothing to stop the Japanese influx into his business domain, and the shift from foreign-owned to Japanese-owned photography shops offering souvenir photography increased after the 1880s. While people of diverse Western nationalities had been instrumental during the early stages of photography in Yokohama, at the height of the industry, between the mid-1880s and the end of the nineteenth century, two of the big three players in the industry (Tamamura, Kimbei, Farsari) were Japanese.²⁵ The dominance of the foreign-owned photography studios specializing in souvenir photography had come to an end.

Shifting images, disconnected place: Photographs by Beato and Kimbei

The most prolific Western souvenir photographer in Japan during the 1860s and the early 1870s was Felice Beato. He is considered to have set the standard of pictorial motifs from Yokohama in souvenir photography for later generations, and he still enjoys great popularity among collectors of nineteenth-century Japanese photography. Beato's Japan portfolio was established between 1863 and 1868. A great fire that destroyed two-thirds of Yokohama in 1866 also damaged his studio and resulted in the destruction of some of his stock of negatives.²⁶ Beato rapidly replenished his portfolio

1895]), 42.

²³ *British Journal of Photography*, 24 (November 1877): 914; 536. Cited in Dobson, "Yokohama Shashin," 30.

²⁴ Dobson, "Yokohama Shashin," 30–1.

²⁵ Saitō. *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohama shashinkan monogatari*, 152.

²⁶ There was a report in the *Japan Times Overland Mail* confirming this. It stated that "[a commendation] under Captain Cardew, saved a great deal of Mr. Beato's property." Cited in Bennett *Photography in Japan*, 94–5.

and returned with the album *Photographic Views of Japan with Historical and Descriptive Notes, Compiled from Authentic Sources, and Personal Observation during a Residence of Several Years*, which comprised “views” (architectural scenes, landscapes, and cityscapes) as well as “costumes” (genre scenes).²⁷ Each of the photographs included in Beato’s post-1868 album is accompanied by a letterpress text by James William Murray, a friend of Beato’s who was an assistant commissary general based in Yokohama and a noted author of travel guides on Japan.²⁸ Photographs were mounted on the recto side of each leaf, and a printed label with an accompanying description was attached on the opposite page. Beato’s position as a canonical figure of souvenir photography in Yokohama is owed to his distinctive use of motifs. These ranged from the introduction of the categories of *views* and *costumes* in his album *Photographic Views of Japan* to the use of the album format, painted backdrops for studio photographs, and hand-coloring.²⁹ Beato standardized his albums into “complete albums” of one hundred prints or “half-albums” of fifty. The practitioners of the post-Beato generation, including Stillfried, Farsari, and Kimbei, inherited a part of Beato’s studio negatives and continued to print and sell his images for decades. Along with Shimooka Renjō, whose apprentices later formed the mainstay of the second generation of souvenir photographers, Beato is regarded as one of the founders of souvenir photography in Yokohama.³⁰

27 One of Beato’s *Photographic Views of Japan* albums can be viewed on the web sites of MIT Visualizing Cultures. MIT Visualizing Cultures. “Felice Beato’s Japan: Places.” Accessed August 1, 2009. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/beato_places/fb1_visnav01.html; MIT Visualizing Cultures. “Felice Beato’s Japan: People.” Accessed August 1, 2009. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/beato_people/fb2_visnav01.html.

28 Saitō. *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohama shashinkan monogatari*, 82. Hockley argues that other members of Yokohama community, such as Charles Wirgman and John L. Black of the *Japan Gazette*, could have also been involved as the authors of the caption texts. Allen Hockley, “Felice Beato’s Japan: Places,” Accessed November 2, 2008. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/beato_places/fb1_esay01.html

29 See Luke Gartlan, “Views and Costumes of Japan: A Photograph Album by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz.” *The La Trobe Journal* 76 (Spring 2005), 7. Hockley indicates that the concept of views and costume that Beato possibly introduced to Japan can be traced back to his early career in the Mediterranean where this categorical dichotomy was commonly used in the commercial photography business. See Allen Hockley, “Packaged Tours: Photo Albums and Their Implications for the Study of Early Japanese Photography.” In *Reflecting Truth: Photography in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, ed. Nicole Co. Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004), footnote 16.

30 See “Saishoku shashin to Yokohama,” in *Meiji no Nihon: Yokohama shashin no sekai saishoku arubamu*, ed. Yokohama Kaikō and Yokohama Kaikō Shiryō Fukyū Kyōkai (Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), vii.



Fig. 2: Felice Beato, *View on the New Road, Mississippi Bay, 1864–1868*, albumen silver print, 22.9 x 29.6 cm, The J. Paul Getty Museum. (Lacoste, Felice Beato. plate 34)



Fig. 3: Felice Beato, *Racecourse at Negishi, Yokohama, 1866*, 19 x 28 cm, albumen silver print, private collection.



Fig. 4: Felice Beato, *Bridge at Meyangoshi 1867?*. 22 x 29 cm, albumen silver print, Courtesy of Special collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 5: Felice Beato, *Street in Atzungi 1867?*. 22 x 29 cm, albumen silver print, Courtesy of Special collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.

Beato's Yokohama images depict the major sites of the town including locations within the foreign settlement, panoramic views of Yokohama, and scenic spots in Yokohama and within the Treaty Port boundary. These images comprise scenic places within the settlement as well as the typical excursion routes taken by foreign residents based in Yokohama.³¹ For instance, the image of Negishi Bay, the so-called Mississippi Bay, which was described as "the most beautiful for varied scenery in the world (...) [and] especially at the sunset and twilight hours (...) matchlessly lovely,"³² depicts the new walking path constructed by the Japanese in 1864 (Fig. 2). Passing along the beach and "through several Japanese villages, past rice and wheat fields, and through a beautiful valley,"³³ this path—known as the "new road"—was popular among foreign residents for leisurely walks, and they often praised the view of the Bay and the idyllic scenery of fishing villages along the coast line below.³⁴ A large number of teahouses were perched along this "new road," which was in the 1860s often frequented by soldiers and sailors who were "not always in a very sober condition."³⁵ Negishi, Kamakura, and Enoshima are among the other locations frequently visited by foreign residents. These sites were later recommended in *A Handbook for travellers in central & northern Japan* written by Ernest Satow and A.G.S. Hawes (1884), and remained classic destinations for excursions among foreigners for many years.³⁶ Kusakabe Kimbei, Beato's former assistant and one of the most prolific Japanese souvenir photographers of the 1880s and 1890s, also adopted these motifs, which Beato already had included into his repertoire.³⁷ Popular tourist spots within the treaty boundary of Yokohama, such as Kamakura with its famous bronze Buddha and Enoshima Island, were first captured by Beato's camera for his customers. These images in turn continued to boost the popularity of these sites among visiting foreigners throughout the nineteenth century (and even to this day), as is evidenced by their regular appearance in foreign-language guidebooks and their inclusion in Kimbei's portfolio.

31 Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan, ed., *Bakumatsu Nihon no fūkei to hitobito. Ferikkusu Beato shashinshū* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1987), 28.

32 Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 340.

33 Ibid.

34 See Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan, *Ferikkusu Beato shashinshū*, 24.

35 Dennys, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, 586.

36 Ernest Mason Satow and A.G.S. Hawes, *A Handbook for travellers in central & northern Japan: being a guide to Tōkiō, Kiōto, Ōsaka, Hakodate, Nagasaki and other cities; the most interesting parts of the main island; ascents of the principal mountains; descriptions of temples; and historical notes and legends* (London: Murray, 1884).

37 For a detailed analysis of motifs by Beato which served as direct prototypes for Kimbei's catalogue of subjects, see Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 93–131. For a similar process concerning the students of Raimund Stillfried, see Gartlan, "Changing Views," 51.

However, a closer look at the details of Beato’s souvenir photographs reveals a number of time-specific peculiarities. The selection of venues for landscapes not only shows Beato’s impressively wide range of sites, it also reveals his concern with producing memorable images of sites that held special significance for the primary customers of his early years—namely, the foreign expatriates in Yokohama. These sites include, for example, the race-course near Yokohama settlement (Fig. 3) and depictions of sports like hunting, shooting, and boating. These were only a few of the pastimes enjoyed by the expatriates in Yokohama. Although the Yokohama bay provided a good location for regattas, racing seems to have been the most popular sport in the area. Occasional race-meets were held on the garrison parade ground or on the rifle range until the Japanese government leased farming land near Mississippi Bay to the Games Committee of the Settlement in 1866; however, Kusakabe Kimbei did not include this particular place in his portfolio when he began his own business in the 1880s. Considering the fact that horse-racing was still going strong in the 1880s and was regarded as a highlight of the social life of the Yokohama Settlement, Kimbei’s removal of the race-meeting image from his repertoire is a clear indication that he felt the interests of photography’s consumers were shifting. Similarly, large numbers of scenic venues along the popular excursion routes from Yokohama also disappeared from his repertoire. One such example is Miyagase, a place located 35 miles west of Yokohama, which used to be a popular destination in the 1860s for summer day-trip outings to the mountain areas (Fig. 4).³⁸ Another example is Atsugi, a post town some 20 miles from Yokohama, which was included on several day-trip itineraries and was popular among foreigners (Fig. 5). Until the early 1870s foreign travel and excursion was limited to the Treaty Ports and their immediate environs. Only diplomats, official employees, and those who could take advantage of diplomatic connections managed to enter the interior. During the 1870s travel restrictions were relaxed. In May 1874 *The Regulations on Foreigners Travels Outside the Treaty Ports* (*Gaikokujin naichi ryokō injun jōrei*) were promulgated and the government began issuing special passes to foreign residents and visitors who wanted to travel to the interior.³⁹ By the 1880s and the 1890s sites like Miyagase and Atsugi had been supplanted by other historic tourist spots outside the treaty boundary that had now become accessible. Tourists abandoned these small mountain villages in favor of more grand and scenic tourist locations like Kyoto and the ruins of Osaka castle, which were recommended in guidebooks.

38 In the captions of Beato’s photography, Miyagase was written as “Mayonashi.”

39 See Toshio Yokoyama, *Japan in the Victorian Mind. A Study of Stereotyped Images of a Nation 1850–80* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1987), 151. According to the *Keeling’s Tourists’ Guide* of 1880, tourists could obtain a passport within a few days of application to their Consuls and the payment of a trifling fee. Keeling, *Keeling’s Tourists’ Guide*, 4.



Fig. 6: Kusakabe Kimbei, 553. *Grand Hotel, Yokohama*. 1890s, 19 x 27 cm, hand-colored albumen silver print, *Yokohama Archives of History*. (*Yokohama Kaiko Shiriyokan and Yokohama Kaiko Shiryo Fukyu Kyokai, Meiji no Nihon*, p. 7)



Fig. 7: Kusakabe Kimbei, 544. *Railway Station, Yokohama* 1880s, 19 x 27 cm, hand-colored albumen silver print, *Yokohama Archives of History*. (*Yokohama Kaiko Shiriyokan and Yokohama Kaiko Shiryo Fukyu Kyokai, Meiji no Nihon*, p. 26)



Fig. 8: Kusakabe Kimbei, 520. *Festival Lanterns, Bentendori, Yokohama, 1880s*, 20 x 28 cm, hand-colored albumen silver print, *Yokohama Archives of History*. (*Yokohama Kaiko Shiryokan and Yokohama Kaiko Shiryo Fukyu Kyokai, Meiji no Nihon*, p. 28)



Fig. 9: Kusakabe Kimbei, 517. *Honcho Dori, Yokohama, 1880s*, 20 x 27 cm, hand-colored albumen silver print. (Campione, Francesco Paolo and Marco Fagioli eds. *Ineffabile Perfezione: La Fotografia del Giappone 1860-1910*. Firenze, Milano: Giunti, 2010, p. 24).

While adopting Beato's core images of Yokohama for use as one of his major motifs, Kimbei's expansion of his Yokohama repertoire in the 1880s is notable in that the new images were primarily key tourist venues. These new topics not only included post-1868 institutions like the Grand Hotel (1870–1923) (Fig. 6), the most prestigious place to stay in the settlement, but also the railway station for steam train service between Yokohama and Shinbashi/Tokyo (Fig. 7), which was built in 1872 and was indispensable as a means of quick transport to the capital city (taking 53 minutes instead of the usual 10 hours on foot). The images in Kimbei's repertoire of Honchō and Bente Dōri, Yokohama's main streets and center of globetrotter shopping during the 1880s, are of particular interest, and provide a remarkable contrast to Beato's earlier 1860s-portfolio where they are notably absent (Fig. 8).⁴⁰ Shopping was the chief amusement for tourists in Yokohama.⁴¹ A whole array of stores catering to tourist tastes and targeting Western globetrotters was established. Their wares ranged from embroidery, lacquer ware for interior furnishing, and ivory carving to Western-style dresses for women, porcelains, and oil paintings as well as aquarelles, photographs, and postcards.⁴² For many visitors to Japan during the nineteenth century, photography was an irresistible attraction. A retired officer and a Welsh tourist left an account of his tempting encounter with Japanese souvenir photography on arrival at the bustling port of Yokohama: "Passing the studio of Messrs. Stillfield and Anderson [*sic*], whose photos (as I hurriedly glanced at them) made my mouth water..."⁴³ A visit to a photography studio was a significant part of the foreign tourists' shopping binge and search for exotic 'curios.' Various images of Bente and Honcho Streets were available at Kimbei studio during its more than thirty years of business operation. Notably, those images showing Honcho Street on sale from the 1890s often include his own photographic studio as a part of the streetscape of Yokohama's prospering avenue (Fig. 9). In view of this, it is obvious that the primary incentive for creating shots of Bente and Honcho Streets was more than simply offering a memorable collectible for tourists within the context of nineteenth-century Yokohama tourism and the typical behavioral pattern of Western globetrotters. Kimbei studio not only provided a visual reminder to purchasers of their curio hunting in Yokohama, but also

40 According to Douglas Sladen, Bente Dori is "one of the two native streets in which Europeans do most of their shopping, the Honcho Dori being the principal." Douglas Sladen, *The Japs at Home*, 5th Edition (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1895), 2.

41 Douglas Sladen gives a lively account on this shopping quarter. Sladen, *The Japs at Home*, 8; 14–5. See also Sidmore, *Westward to the Far East*, 21ff.

42 Kunizō Saitō, *Yokohama annai* (Yokohama: Benkyōdō, 1910), 9.

43 S.H. Jones-Parry, *My Journey Round the World, via Ceylon, New Zealand, Australia, Torres Straits, China, Japan, and the United States*, vol. 1 (Hurst and Blackett, London, 1881), 182.

to the inextricable liaison between the tourist industry in nineteenth-century Yokohama and the souvenir photography studio itself.

Between fascination and disenchantment: Yokohama in the early age of globetrotter tourism and souvenir photograph

In the mind of both Japanese and non-Japanese, Yokohama had special status as a multi-national space that symbolically embodied the otherness within the country. Nonetheless, the perceptions diverged according to perspective. The rise of the globetrotter as the major group of visitors to Yokohama complicated the non-Japanese view of nineteenth-century Yokohama even more.

As a thriving and energetic trading community, nineteenth-century Yokohama attracted both native and non-native merchant-adventurers. The early long-term foreign residents of Yokohama were ambitious young entrepreneurs afflicted with gold rush fever. Large-scale foreign trading companies set up branches in Yokohama and profited from the flourishing trade in raw silk and tea.⁴⁴ The headquarters of the leading Japanese silk traders were located on Benten Street, an area filled with shops selling fur, ivory, exclusive porcelain, and lacquer items for foreign customers, and a venue for luxury-class retail shops catering to the local *nouveau riche*.⁴⁵ Its international flair also attracted affluent Japanese celebrities. The foreign settlement in Yokohama, protected by gates and guardhouses until 1872, was built entirely in a ‘European’ style, and *pigeon*-English was the business language in Yokohama’s Benten Street, where a *pigeon*-English signboard was perched over every door.⁴⁶ Japan’s first European restaurant run by a Japanese was opened in Yokohama in 1867; this was followed by two others within the next few years, which were frequented by intellectuals and celebrities from Tokyo.⁴⁷ As a site where such items could be bought, the port city of Yokohama also appeared to subsist on its ‘otherness’ from the rest of Japan. A Yokohama print by Utagawa Hiroshige III (Fig. 10) depicting a bustling street in Yokohama’s foreign settlement documents the fascination felt by local Japanese. It was not just the distinctive, foreign-style architecture of the street like the Tenshudō (“Temple of the Heavenly Lord” or

44 See Katō, *Yokohama. Past and Present*. 31; Yoshimitsu Iwakabe, “Yokohama shōnin to sono shōchō.” In Kanagawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, ed. *Yokohama dōhanga: bunmei kaikaki no kenchiku* (Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1982), 203-12.

45 Nakaku Wagmachi Kankō Iinkai, ed. *Nakaku waga machi: Nakaku chiku enkaku gaishi* (Yokohama: City of Yokohama, 1986), 3.

46 See Sladen, *The Japs at Home*, 8.

47 See City of Yokohama. *Yokohama Nakaku shi* (Yokohama: Nakaku Kusei Gojussūnen Kinenjigyō Jikkō Iinkai, 1985), 377; Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan and Yokohama Kaikō Shiryō Fukyū Kyōkai, eds. *Saishoku arubamu: Meiji no Nihon ‘Yokohama shashin’ no sekai* (Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), 17.

the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus) that was deemed worthy of depiction, the Japanese were also gripped by the casual juxtaposition of foreigners and locals in the same Japanese venue, which was symbolically marked by the familiar view of Mount Fuji.

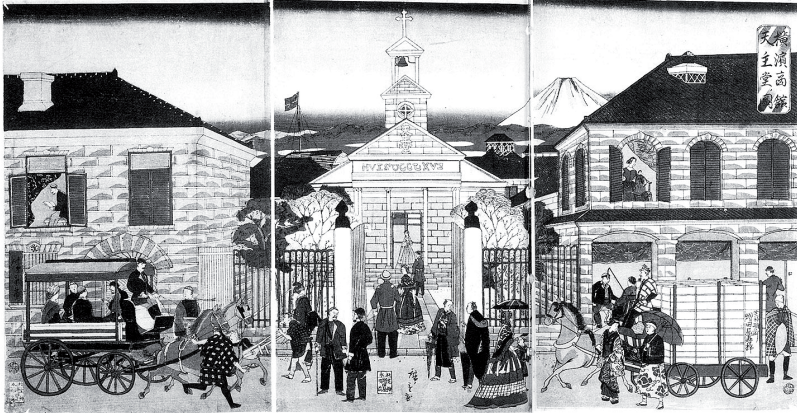


Fig. 10: Utagawa Hiroshige III, *Picture of Yokohama Trading Firms and the Tenshudo*. 1870. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1959. (Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print*, figure 39)

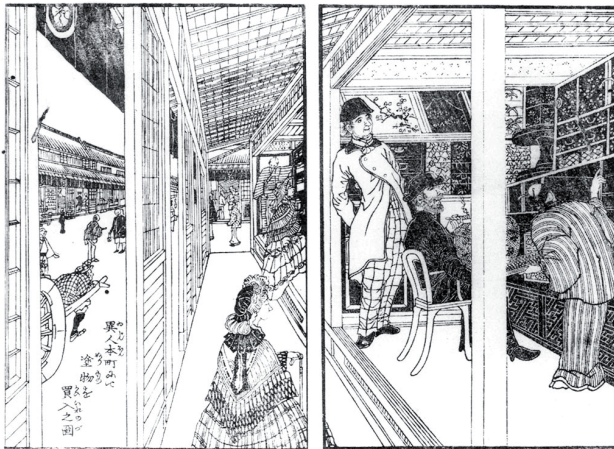


Fig. 11: Hashimoto Sadahide. *Foreigners Buying Lacquer in Honcho (Ijin Honcho nite nuri-mono o kaiire no zu)*, *Record of Things Seen and Heard at the Open Port of Yokohama*. 6 vols., 1862–65, vol. 1, images 4. (Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print*, p. 41, figure 33)



Fig. 12: Utagawa Sadahide: *Americans Enjoying Sunday in Yokohama*. 1861, 36 x 24.2 cm. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

For the locals, Yokohama—both imagined and experienced—often projected its essentially foreign features. From the end of the 1850s to the early 1870s, during the period immediately after the opening of the Treaty Ports, sensational images of “foreign things in Yokohama” were published as woodblock prints and books targeted at a Japanese audience. The overwhelming popularity of these Yokohama prints, or *Yokohama ukiyoe*, which sold as many as 250,000 copies between 1859 and 1862,⁴⁸ bears witness to the insatiable demand for this inexpensive, traditional news media featuring the latest, topical subjects. These *Yokohama ukiyoe* were seldom created from first-hand observation and often relied heavily on illustrations from foreign newspapers like the *Illustrated London News*. These illustrations

48 See John W. Dower. “Yokohama Boomtown.” *Visualising Cultures*, 2008, 4–1. <http://visualizing-cultures.mit.edu> (accessed April 2, 2012)

were mingled with existing visual rhetoric borrowed from mid-eighteenth century *Nagasaki-e* and other contemporary Yokohama prints, as well as with invented motifs.⁴⁹ Claiming the artist's direct observation as one of his sources, the Yokohama-based artist, Hashimoto Sadahide, underscored the authenticity of the illustrations and texts in his three-volume bestseller *Record of Things Seen and Heard at the Open Port of Yokohama* (*Yokohama kaikō kembun shi*, first published in 1862, with an additional three volumes in 1865) (Fig. 11). Interestingly, all the Yokohama prints, including Sadahide's work, were silent about the more realistic aspects of the encounter with the West. They say nothing, for instance, about the series of bloody conflicts that occurred during the first decade after the opening of the port.⁵⁰ Instead they focused largely on the curious 'peculiarities' brought by the Westerners to Yokohama—their customs, vessels, commodities, and even their bodies. In effect this visual media helped to tame xenophobic sentiments and acted as de facto "public relations agents for the foreigners,"⁵¹ fuelling Japanese popular imagination of the exotic (Fig. 12). Yokohama was designated as a Treaty Port because it was believed that its physical remoteness to any large village would deter foreigners from making contact with locals; the Yokohama prints reveal how Yokohama was fated to embody this 'disconnectedness' from the rest of Japan.

The multiculturalism characteristic of nineteenth-century Yokohama, in turn, caused frustration among visiting globetrotters. Yokohama seemed to them to be a "*Lie-European town*."⁵² The emerging flux of tourists to the port city promoted the gap between visitors' expectations of imagined Yokohama as the gateway to Japan and the actual physical, social, cultural entity of Yokohama in reality. It is no surprise that the town quickly became a mere stepping-stone for globetrotters who were on their way to somewhere else. Indeed, Western visitors on tour often had an ambivalent relationship with the city. Disparaged as "gloomy, spiritless, and depressing,"⁵³ many tourists left Yokohama for Tokyo after only a short stay. After viewing lovely "Fusiyama" on board before anchoring at Yokohama, the first disappointment often began with the first glimpse of the port:

An Englishman arriving in Yokohama, looking at the town from a ship in the bay, will have some difficulty at first in discovering any very novel

49 See Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1986), 17–22.

50 See Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print*, 58–60.

51 Harold Stern, "America: A View from the East," *Antiques* 79:2 (1961): 167.

52 Sladen, *The Japs at Home*, 14.

53 Major Henry Knolly *Sketches of Life in Japan* in the 1880s, cited in Hugh Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan: In and Around the Treaty Ports* (London et al.: Athlone, 1987), 89.

feature in its appearance. To the left on a hill he sees European houses in abundance; all along the shore are large stone buildings, hotels, store-houses, and clubs such as may be seen in any seaport town at home; and with a score or two of steamers of every kind in the foreground, it is indeed hard to realize that he is face to face with the land of the Mikados.⁵⁴

Henry Adams, a New England intellectual and an influential historian who visited Japan in 1886 as the travel companion of American painter John La Farge, complained that the architecture in Yokohama seemed doll-like.⁵⁵ In Japan, travelers were lodged in Western-style hotels like the Grand Hotel at No. 20 in Yokohama’s foreign settlement, which was described as “a thoroughly English Hotel”⁵⁶ and was one of the most popular places to stay for merchants and travelers from around the world. The staff line-up was thoroughly cosmopolitan: English or American landlords, French cooks, Japanese servants, a French-speaking Chinese steward, a Portuguese clerk, and a Wallachian night watchman.⁵⁷ A Welsh tourist, S.H. Jones-Parry, noted his disappointment in missing the “real” “Japaneseness” in Yokohama: “It seemed very strange to be suddenly surrounded by Japanese, and I could not help feeling sorry that so many had donned our ugly and unbecoming garments; but it was glorious fun being beset by real jinricksha men in real Japanese costume (little of it though there was), and being crushed upon by real jinrickshas, which looked like leggy Bath-chairs.”⁵⁸ Likewise, the French art critic and collector Théodore Duret found too much of Europe upon his arrival in Yokohama.⁵⁹ And Isabella Stewart Gardner, a philanthropist and wealthy art collector who visited Japan in 1883 during her two year-long round-the-world trip noted that “Yokohama is given over to many foreigners who live here charmingly, but without local atmosphere, and who are here for money-getting.”⁶⁰ In the age of the globetrotter, Yokohama remained a vital center for prospering foreign trades, but its significance as a gateway to Japan was increasingly reduced to a

54 Edward J. Reed, *Japan: Its History, Traditions, and Religions with the Narrative of a Visit in 1879* (London: John Murray, 1880), 4.

55 See James L. Yarnall, *John La Farge, a Biographical and Critical Study* (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 138.

56 Lorraine Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan: Discovering a ‘New’ Land* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009), 123.

57 See Simon Adler Stern, *Jottings of Travel in China and Japan* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1888), 45; Sidmore, *Westward to the Far East*, 17.

58 Jones-Parry, *My Journey Round the World*, 1: 280.

59 Théodore Duret, *Voyage en Asie* (Michel Lévy frères: Paris, 1874), 3–4.

60 Isabella S. Gardner’s letter to Maud Howe on June 30, 1883. Reprinted in Alan Chong and Noriko Murai, *Journeys East: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia* (Boston: Isabella Gardner Museum, 2009), 123.

short pit-stop for Western tourists who were enroute to the rest of Japan. On its Benten and Honcho Streets, Yokohama—a rectangular slip of land surrounded by the sea on the north, by an extensive swamp on the south, and by a gulf on the west—offered the first opportunity for “curio shopping” and provided the visitor’s first encounter with indigenous people. Still, the city’s Western flair appeared to many a physical extension of the Westerner’s own cultural sphere. In his search for alterity, Duret, for instance, found his encounter with the religious monuments in Tokyo a great relief: “we encountered an absolutely new architecture which owed nothing to the Greek nor to the Gothic. We finally felt that we were in Asia...”⁶¹ Rather than enjoying an extensive stay in Yokohama, globetrotters commonly embarked on short one-day excursions to Kamakura and Tokyo in search of ‘Otherness.’ In the visiting Westerner’s perception, Yokohama was a space disconnected from the ‘real’ Japan.



Fig. 13: Felice Beato, *Curio Shop*, 1868, 23.5 x 27 cm, hand-tinted albumen silver print, *The J. Paul Getty Museum*. (Lacoste, *Felice Beato*, plate 67)

61 Duret, *Voyage en Asie*, 14. “[In Edo] On se trouve en présence d’une architecture absolument nouvelle, ignorant également le grec e le gothique. On se sent enfin en Asie...”



Fig. 14: Anonymous. “[Curio Shop]”, 1870s-1880s?, albumen silver print, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Album 4.6 (Chong and Murai, *Journeys East*, p. 119)



Fig. 15: Kusakabe Kimbei, 102. *Curio Merchant*, 1880s, 20 x 27cm, hand-tinted albumen silver print, private collection.

The creators of souvenir photographs of Yokohama attempted to address the frustration felt among Westerners about the cultural detachment of the city from what was believed to be typically ‘Japanese.’ Even before the rise of globetrotting tourism, the Benten Dōri, also called ‘Curio Street,’ served this purpose and was much frequented by foreign expatriates during the 1860s; it was introduced to the Japanese audience in a guidebook as one of the exotic spectacles of Yokohama (Fig. 11).⁶² Beato and Kimbei also sought to enhance the ‘otherness’ of their visual products so that they could be marketed as images of Japan. However, their approaches were quite different.

In Beato’s photograph of a curio shop the camera focuses primarily on conveying the domestic mode of shop display (Fig. 13). The curio or souvenir shops in the main streets, with their typical display in the shop front of tourist commodities for curio hunters, were among the venues through which Yokohama ‘reestablished’ its ‘Japaneseness’ in the eyes of foreigners. The light effect and the uncovered soil at the shop front in Beato’s *Curio Shop* reveal that the photograph is an outdoor shot. Considering that an anonymous outdoor photograph of a related motif taken around 1883 shows a similarly dense arrangement of metal works, ceramics, lacquer wares, and household items (Fig. 14), Beato’s version was most probably less staged than Kimbei’s studio work on the same subject *102. Curio Merchant* (Fig. 15). In his photograph, Kimbei stages the local type of shop display in his studio; however, he tidies up the mise-on-scène by limiting the quantity and the variety of props and by arranging them in front of the camera to establish an impression of order. The final image presents a stark contrast to the chaotic assemblage captured by Beato: Kimbei’s abandonment of popular curios like porcelain and bronze wares in favor of light-reflecting shining lacquer props under the controlled light condition of a studio enhances the impression of exclusivity and demonstrates his careful attention to making a favorable visual impression. The repeated appearance of meticulously hand-colored bird and flower motifs—ranging from small lacquer wares to bamboo blinds flanking the scene, as well as Japanese fans floating above—underscores Kimbei’s intention to amplify the image’s decorative character. At the same time, this image could also be viewed as a subtle nod to the aesthetic elegance and refinement of his own photography products, which included a lacquered album richly decorated with elaborate inlays of ivory and mother of pearl (Fig. 16).⁶³ Kimbei was not only one of the most successful entrepreneurs in the

62 For episodes, see Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan*, 66–8.

63 For a detailed discussion on lacquered album covers, see Mio Wakita, “<Made in Japan>: Nineteenth-Century Souvenir Photography from Yokohama,” in *The Photograph and the Collection: Create, Preserve, Analyze, Present*, ed. Graeme Farnell (Boston and Edinburgh: MuseumsETC, 2013),

photographic business in Yokohama and Tokyo (boasting the best sales record in 1898⁶⁴), he was also possibly the first to introduce lacquered albums to the market, an innovation that became the most prominent feature of souvenir photography of Yokohama in the early 1880s.⁶⁵ Kimbei’s highly artificial staging is heightened by the performance of two young boys who, facing each other, assume the roles of cashier and apprentice in the picture. While Beato was more concerned with visual documentation and relied heavily on photography’s evidentiary imaging power, Kimbei’s constructed images clearly reveal an ideological use of the deceptive guise of photographic realism. Kimbei’s personal concern for aestheticized representation was surely motivated by a desire to sell an appealingly ‘commodified’ Yokohama to his foreign customers—a far different approach from Beato decades earlier. This also underpins the changing circumstances of and expectations from souvenir photography. The fleeting encounter between globetrotting customers with Japan and the Japanese, or even the imagined encounter of armchair travelers, almost predetermined the ideological staging of the image, bringing about an additional facet of disconnectedness to Yokohama as a visual commodity.



Fig. 16: Kusakabe Kimbei Souvenir Album with Lacquered and Inlaid Board, ca. 1880s, Terry Bennett Collection. (Bennett, *Photography in Japan*, fig. 277)

472–507.

64 See Kihachi Suzuki and Seki Itarō, eds. *Nihon Zenkoku Shōkō Jinmeiroku* (Tokyo: Nihon Zenkoku Shōkō Jinmeiroku Hakkōjo, 1898), 2: 19.

65 Saitō, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohama shashinkan monogatari*, 124; 184.

Disconnected memories

The emergence of the globetrotter as the main target group for Japanese souvenir photography in Yokohama brought dissonant memories to the surface.

Beato's active period as a photographer in Japan from 1863 to circa 1872⁶⁶ coincided with tumultuous political changes in Japan, including the opening of the country to the world in 1854, the overthrow of the Tokugawa government, and the Meiji Restoration in 1868. The early 1860s in Japan was a time of extreme xenophobia. There remained a strong anti-foreign sentiment (*jōi*) both in the Bakufu government and among the Daimyō and samurai throughout the domains, especially in Satsuma on the island of Kyushu, Tosa on the island of Shikoku, Chōshū in the south of Honshu island, and Mito north of the capital city.⁶⁷ Both pro-Western Japanese and foreign officials became the targets of this anti-foreign movement, *sonnō jōi* ("revere the Emperor and expel the barbarian"). A number of Westerners were even murdered. As early as 1856 an assault on the American consul, Townsend Harris, was planned; in 1859 some Russian naval officers were attacked in the street and one of them was murdered. In January 1861, Henry Heusken (1832–1861), the Dutch language interpreter and secretary of the American Consul-General, became the seventh foreigner murdered in eighteen months.⁶⁸ Five months later in the same year, *rōnin* attacked the British Legation in Edo, wounding Laurence Oliphant, the Legation Secretary, and George Morrison, the British Consul from Nagasaki. A year later, there was a further attack on the Legation in Edo, leading to the death of two men from the British guard.⁶⁹ In 1862 Richardson, a British merchant from Shanghai, was killed and two others were wounded because they had failed to show proper respect to the *daimyo* of Satsuma when they crossed paths with his entourage while travelling the Tōkaidō and passing through Namamugi Village near Yokohama. This so-called Namamugi incident escalated into a retaliatory British bombardment of Kagoshima in the following year and also resulted in the dispatch of British and French

66 Although Beato formally retired from the photography business in 1877 when he sold his studio to Stillfried and Andersen, after 1872 his photographic activities took a backseat to the pursuit of speculations and property business.

67 See Andrew Gordon, *Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 52–6.

68 For details, see for instance Reinier H. Hesselink, "The assassination of Henry Heusken," *Monumenta Nipponica*. 49:3 (Autumn, 1994), 331–51.

69 M. Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603–1868* (Kobe: J.T. Thompson and Co.Ltd., 1930), 238.

garrisons to Yokohama to protect the community (stationed from 1863 until 1875). This incident enraged the expatriates in Yokohama—according to the British diplomat Ernest Satow—to the degree that, had British diplomats not intervened, they would have almost certainly lynched Lord Shimazu.⁷⁰ Beato’s arrival in Yokohama in 1863 coincided with this series of xenophobic attacks.



Fig. 17: Felice Beato, *View on the Tokaido*, 1863, 20 x 26 cm, albumen silver print, *Yokohama Archives of History*. (Yokohama Kaikoshiryokan ed., *Felikkusu Beato shashishū: Bakumatsu Nihon no fūkei to hitobito*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1987, fig. 58)

As mentioned, Beato first came to Japan in 1863. His photographs of the site where the sensational Richardson affair of August 1862 occurred were released at least one year after the incident (Fig. 17). They highlight the huge impact this event had on the emotional and social state of the Yokohama foreign community.⁷¹ A barricade formed by three Japanese male figures

⁷⁰ See James L. Huffman, *A Yankee in Meiji Japan: the Crusading Journalist Edward H. House* (Lanham et al.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 100.

⁷¹ Still in Griffis’ publication, an account on the Tokaido did not omit mentioning Richardson’s killing. Griffis, *The Mikado’s Empire*, 359.

standing on the Tokaido Road, one of them wearing a sword (possibly a samurai charged with watching Beato and his assistants), also hints that the presence of foreigners was only barely tolerated. Such circumstances resulted in foreign residents' hiring armed guards called *betté* when going out. The image of the armed man touching his sword evokes the atmosphere of hysteria and horror that prevailed among foreign expatriates in Yokohama during the 1860s. The constant alertness to danger on the part of resident Westerners was still very intense in the 1870s, so much so that few non-Japanese residents ever went far from their houses unarmed. After an attack on two American teachers walking down the street in Tokyo during the early 1870s, William E. Griffis recorded that "a certain consul posted up a notice in a public place (...) authorizing any citizen of his nationality, should any Japanese be seen laying his hand on his sword, 'to shoot him on the spot.'" ⁷² The confrontational and non-peripheral position of the inhabitants in Beato's Japanese landscapes—in contrast to the absence of the locals in the majority of his photographs of China and India—certainly mirrors the real circumstances of his field work and perfectly responds to the lived experience of the foreign expatriates based in Yokohama at that time. ⁷³

72 Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, 376.

73 See Sebastian Dobson, "'I been to keep up my position': Felice Beato in Japan, 1863–1877." In Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama eds. *Reflecting Truth: Japanese Photography in the Nineteenth Century*. (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2004), 34; David Harris, "Imperial Ideology and Felice Beato's Photographs of the Second Opium War in China," in *Of Battle and Beauty: Felice Beato's Photographs of China*, ed. David Harris. (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1999), 27.

An interesting episode outlining Beato's working conditions in Edo in 1863 indicates that Beato's work was permanently accompanied by conflicts: "On our right extended the magnificent shade of the park of the Prince of Satsouma [sic]... on our left the wall of enclosure of a palace of the Prince of Arima... Mr. Beato set to work to procure a photograph of this peaceful picture when two officers of the prince hastily approached him, and insisted he should desist from the operation. Metman [the groups interpreter] begged them to go first and ascertain the commands of their master... Returning in a few minutes, they declared that the Prince absolutely refused to permit that any view whatever of his palace should be taken. Beato bowed respectfully, and ordered the porters to carry away the instrument. The officers withdrew, satisfied, not suspecting that the artist had time to expose two negatives during their absence. The guards of the escort, impassive witnesses of the scene, were unanimous in applauding the success of the stratagem." Aimé Humbert, *Le Japon Illustré*, quoted in Clark Worswick, *Japan: Photographs 1854–1905* (New York: Pennick Publishing, 1979), 132–3.



Fig. 18: Felice Beato, *View Near Kamakura where Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird were murdered, 1864*, 20 x 26 cm, albumen silver print, Yokohama Archives of History. (Yokohama Kaikoshiryokan ed., *Felikkusu Beato shashishū: Bakumatsu Nihon no fūkei to hitobito*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1987, fig. 49)



Fig. 19: Felice Beato, *Sight of the murder of 2 officers of the 2nd 20 regt, 1864*, 20 x 26 cm, albumen silver print, Yokohama Archives of History. (Yokohama Kaikoshiryokan ed., *Felikkusu Beato shashishū: Bakumatsu Nihon no fūkei to hitobito*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1987, fig. 50)

A group of Beato's outdoor shots of Kamakura were created under the same atmosphere of emotional unrest felt by Beato and the whole expatriate community in Yokohama at that time (Figs. 18 and 19). Ernest Satow described the shock, panic, and fear prevalent among the foreign community in Yokohama as a "horror (...) more easily imagined than described."⁷⁴ A set of photographs from Kamakura capture the site where Major George W. Baldwin and Lieutenant Robert N. Bird of the 20th Regiment of Foot, two Englishmen serving in the British garrison in Yokohama, were murdered on October 1864 by Shimizu Seiji as they traveled from Yokohama to Kamakura. Coincidentally, according to Charles Wirgman's own account in *The Illustrated London News*, Beato and his business partner Wirgman had met the Englishmen for breakfast in Enoshima shortly before they became victims of the anti-Western terrorist attack.⁷⁵ As one of the last people to see the victims of anti-foreign zealots alive and having narrowly escaped the same fate, it is extraordinary that Beato found the composure to take the Kamakura images immediately after the attack.⁷⁶ These photographs are both personal and commercially minded documents of the incident, but they are oddly deprived of the sense of control over composition that is characteristic of Beato's photographs. In Beato's photographs of China and India, the Westerners were typically a central part of the pictures and were often depicted as triumphant figures in the armed forces (Fig. 20); other architectural views were faithful to the nineteenth-century practice of careful staging and contained posing indigenous people and sometimes even Beato himself (Fig. 21).⁷⁷ However, the rather rough and scattered composition of the figures in Beato's Kamakura picture and the spatial relationship within the frame of this photograph are atypical of his oeuvre and less organized than usual. This is perhaps a visual echo of the community's emotional sensitivity. The confrontational configuration of the group of Japanese on the

⁷⁴ Ernest Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan. An Inner History of the Japanese Reformation* (London: Seeley Service, 1921), 135.

⁷⁵ "The Murder of Two British Officers in Japan" *Illustrated London News* (Feb. 4, 1865). Reprinted in Terry Bennett, *Japan and The Illustrated London News. Complete Record of Reported Events 1853–1899* (Kent: Global Oriental, 2006), 153.

⁷⁶ According to Dobson these photographs were taken in November 1864. Dobson, "I been to keep up my position", 35. See also Kinoshita Naoyuki. "Shashin ha deki goto o donoyōni toraetekita ka" *Daiik-kai kokusai shinpojiumu pure shinpojiumu: Hanga to shashin. Jyūkyū seiki kōhan deki goto to imēji no sōshutsu* (Yokohama: Kanagawa University, 2006), 9.

⁷⁷ Harris, "Imperial Ideology," 27. See also an essay by Fred Ritchin on the strong mise-on-scène character of Beato's war photographs and their connection to the general theatrical trend in nineteenth-century war photography. Fred Ritchin, "Felice Beato and the Photography of War," in *Felice Beato: A Photographer on the Eastern Road*, ed. Anne Lacoste (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), esp. 123–126.

right facing a few Westerners standing alone seems symbolic of the hostility that might have been felt on site (Fig. 19). The strong eye-witness quality of this photograph is a great contrast to the illustration by Charles Wirgman allegedly depicting the site of the attack, which was published in an issue of *The Illustrated London News*. Wirgman’s image is astonishingly inattentive to the immediacy of representation and weak in making any convincing visual reference to the brutal incident (Fig. 22).⁷⁸



Fig. 20: Felice Beato, *Head-quarter Staff, Peitung Fort, August 1st 1860, 1860, 25.5 x 30 cm, albumen silver print, The J. Paul Getty Museum. (Lacoste, Felice Beato, plate 99)*

⁷⁸ The image depicts the terrain of the neighbouring Tsuruoka-Hachimangu Shrine. “Avenue leading to the temple of Kakamura, near the scene of the murder of the two British officers in Japan—from a sketch by our special artist [Feb. 11, 1865]” *The Illustrated London News* (Feb. 11, 1865). Reprinted in Bennett. *Japan and The Illustrated London News*, 154.



Fig. 21: Felice Beato, The Bronze Statue of Dai-Bouts, 1863, 22.9 x 29.4cm, albumen silver print, The J. Paul Getty Museum. (Lacoste, Felice Beato, figure 1)



Fig. 22: Charles Wirgman, Avenue leading to the temple of Kakamura, near the scene of the murder of the two British officers in Japan—from a sketch by our special artist [Feb. 11, 1865], Illustrated London News, Feb 11, 1865. (Bennett, Japan and The Illustrated London News, p. 134)



Fig. 23: Felice Beato, *The Executioner*; late 1860s, 27 x 19 cm, hand-tinted albumen silver print, Smith College Museum of Art (MIT, *Visualizing Cultures*, http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/beato_people/beato_people_gal_small/pages/bjs49_executioner.htm)



Fig. 24: Felice Beato, *Interior of the Angle of North Fort Immediately after Its Capture, August 21st, 1860*, 1860, 22.3 x 30cm, albumen silver print, The J. Paul Getty Museum. (Lacoste, Felice Beato, fig. 3)

In this context, a series of punitive images in Beato's portfolio deserve special attention. After the Kamakura incident of 1864 (the murderer was executed in December the same year) Beato re-staged an execution scene in his studio (Fig. 23). The staged scene captures the moment immediately before the execution. This photograph does not claim to be an authentic re-creation of the Japanese method of execution, but the focal point is placed on the tension between the edge of the executioner's sword and the neck of the criminal. The blindness and total passivity of the criminal provides a sharp contrast to our informed gaze as onlooker and witness to an (hypothetical) act of capital punishment, and it creates an oppressive tension. The painted image of Mount Fuji on the backdrop dominates the central picture plane, clearly locating—or 'localizing'—this scene of cruelty. Beato and his business customers—mostly European and North-American expatriates living in Japan—were highly susceptible to punitive images connected with death. As an image creator, Beato's professional roots had a marked connection with photography capturing war conflicts. Beato's first apprenticeship as a photographer was during the Crimean War (1853–1856), the first war ever to be photographed. During the course of his career, he covered an unprecedented number of battles while accompanying the British armed forces, including the Sepoy Rebellion (1857–1858), the Second Opium War in China (1856–1860, see Fig. 24), as well as the American expedition in Korea in 1871, and the Sudanese colonial wars in 1885. His war photographs of the Second Opium War are the first series of photographs to document a military campaign. For the first time the camera enabled non-combatant viewers to become voyeuristic witnesses of war from a safe distance. Given the technical restrictions—long exposures, a bulky large-format camera on a tripod, and the transportation of chemicals necessary to process glass plate negatives immediately after exposure—nineteenth-century war photography was incapable of creating action shots of battle⁷⁹; the camera was necessarily used to capture the aftermath of violent conflicts and gruesome images of morbid corpses left in the battle field. One eyewitness of Beato's work as a war photographer gave a vivid description of his working circumstances: "I walked round the ramparts on the West side. They were thickly strewn with dead—in the North-West angle thirteen were lying in one group round a gun. Signor Beato was there in great excitement, characterizing the group as 'beautiful' and begging that it might not be interfered with until perpetuated by his photographic apparatus, which was done a few minutes afterward."⁸⁰

79 For some first-hand accounts of photographic difficulties during the 1860s, see Bennett, *Old Japanese Photographs*, 40–3. A concise, yet detailed description on this topic is available in Anne Lacoste, *Felice Beato: A Photographer on the Eastern Road* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), 24–5.

80 David Field Rennie, *The British Arms in Northern China and Japan: Peking, 1860; Kagoshima, 1862* (London: John Murray, 1864), 112. Cited in Terry Bennett, *History of Photography in China 1842-*

Beato’s fascination with abject bodies⁸¹ (of the enemy) was the logical result of market demand. The visual sensation provided by the evidentiary capacity of photographic image-making was dramatic to a nineteenth-century audience. “These admirable views,” declared the author of the *Journal of the Photographic Society of London*, commenting on Beato’s photographs from Lucknow, India, “give us, in fact, the pictorial romance of this terrible war.”⁸² An unusual quantity of such images captured by his camera, bear witness to his understanding of the intuitive and commercial power of photos of the grotesque. Beato’s work is filtered through the viewer’s own fascination with the nearness of the violence seized by his camera.

The extent to which the notorious ‘Wild West’ atmosphere of the Yokohama settlement and the semi-normative “culture of punishment”⁸³ in Treaty Port cities in Japan and China created a wide acceptance of images of cruelty remains uncertain.⁸⁴ However, it is clear that the Western fascination with the subject of criminal justice practiced in Japan provided an important backdrop for Beato’s images. Since the late sixteenth century, Western accounts of Japan breathlessly describe ‘*Harakiri*’ beheadings and the Japanese mode of crucifixions. Accounts in mid-nineteenth-century writings on Japan were the de facto result of a succession of repetitive quotations from earlier materials and editorializations by the Dutch publications on Japan. Indeed, Westerners had already formed a preconception and particular ‘taste’ for the region even before the opening of Japan in 1859 and before the members of Perry’s mission took the opportunity to ask a series of questions about the Japanese modes of punitive measures at a social event on Perry’s flagship attended by Japanese guests.⁸⁵ Supported by these preconditions, the shudder of horror experienced by the

1860 (London: Quaritch, 2009), 147.

81 His reputation as a war photographer was largely ascribed to this. See Harris, “Imperial Ideology,” 15–41.

82 Cited in Ritchin, “Felice Beato and the Photography of War,” 119.

83 Sarah E. Fraser, “The Face of China: Photography’s Role in Shaping Image, 1860–1920,” *Getty Research Journal* 2 (2010): 46.

84 In its early years the foreign settlement in Yokohama accommodated five hotels, twenty-five grog shops, and an unrecorded number of brothels as well as gambling dens and a particularly shabby neighbourhood nicknamed ‘Blood town.’ Griffis also noted: “Yokohama is fervently believed by many new-comers, especially those who are soon discovered to be either verdant or genuine fools, to be the very worst place in the world for iniquity, gossip, and all manner of rascality.” Griffis, *The Mikado’s Empire*, 344. For a lively account of the early years of Yokohama as “a Wild West type of town,” see Dower. “Yokohama Boomtown,” 2–1; 2–2. See also Fraser, “*The Face of China*,” 46.

85 See Hockley, “Expectation and Authenticity,” 119–21; Francis L. Hawks, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), 558–9.

whole foreign community in Yokohama and by Beato's potential customers at the news of the assassination almost certainly fuelled the production of photographic images focusing on these issues.

Seen against this backdrop, Beato's issuing of photographic albums with explicatory captions in 1868 could be viewed as a first indication of the shifting profile of his audience. It reveals Beato's concern over the fading of this shared legacy within the community and, in turn, underpins the significance of this semantic framing, which was also felt by the photographer in creating and viewing these images. The descriptive captions provided for each photograph in Beato's lavish album *Photographic Views of Japan*, issued after 1868, refreshed the toxic legacy left by the series of xenophobic attacks and guaranteed that the images would be linked to it. In Beato's post-1868 albums, two photographs relating to the topic, *View Near Kamakura Where Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird were Murdered* (Fig. 18) and *The Executioner* (Fig. 23), were included. Their captions convey the sensational quality of these images, which were intended for an audience that no longer shared the first-hand emotional experience.⁸⁶ For instance, the text for *The Executioner*,⁸⁷ one of the lengthiest

86 The caption *View Near Kamakura Where Major Maldwin and Lieut. Bird Were Murdered* reads: "ABOUT half way down the centre of the long avenue, called the 'path of the Gods' which runs in a straight line from the sea to the gate of the Temple of Hatchiman; —is a spot which has obtained a melancholy celebrity to Foreigners, from its having been the scene of the murder of two English officers. On the 21st November 1864, Major George Walter Baldwin and Lieutenant Robert Nicholas Bird—both of the 2nd Battalion H.B.M. XX Regiment, left YOKOHAMA on horseback for a visit to KAMAKURA and its neighbourhood. After going as far as INOSIMA, where they breakfasted with Mr. Beato and some other excursionists, they left about noon with the intention of visiting DAIBOOTS; while crossing the little stone bridge shewn in the picture opposite, they were attacked from behind, and cut down before they had an opportunity of defending themselves, or drawing the revolvers with which they were both armed. Information having been sent the same night, by the district authorities, to the Governor of Kanagawa and by him communicated to the Foreign Consuls; several parties of foreigners, and a detachment of mounted Artillery, at once proceeded to the spot; and found the bodies of the unfortunate officers under a small shed covered with mats—the only information that could be elicited from the natives was, that the younger officer had lived for some hours after being cut down, and the elder, Major Baldwin, had been killed at once. The remains of the two officers were brought in and buried with military honours in the Cemetery at YOKOHAMA. Owing to the vigorous measures adopted by Sir Rutherford Alcock, two men said to be concerned in this murder, were executed in the presence of numerous Foreigners on the 16th December—the real perpetrator of the crime however, a leading Lonin, a man of considerable standing, education and acquaintance, also of great strength and powerful build, being afterwards captured, was publicly beheaded at TOBE, in presence of the English Troops on the morning of 28th December 1864. This man's name was Shimadzo Seyee. He had been a Samourai of some influence, but voluntarily became a Lonin, and confessed that it was his great desire to kill a foreigner—he thought that the two officers, whom he and another had attacked at KAMAKURA were Consuls, and described so minutely the manner of attack, that it left no doubt in anyone's mind that he was the principal murderer. His coolness and courage at the time of execution were remarkable—worthy of a better cause. His head was exposed to view for three days near the principal bridge leading into YOKOHAMA. —"

87 "The Executioner. Decapitation by means of a sword is the most common form of capital punishment in Japan. [...] The view represents the execution ground, about a couple of miles from Yokohama,

captions, describes in the first and last sections the method of execution and the executioner’s social conditions. This is a direct indication of its roots in a Western fascination with the modes of punishment in Japan. The middle part of the caption, however, makes reference to the image’s connection to the incident in the photograph, the execution of Shimizu Seiji, the murderer of Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird. Together with the landscape photograph *View Near Kamakura Where Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird were Murdered*, showing the site of Shimizu’s attack, Beato established the meaning of his album images. They aimed at narrowing the growing emotional and social gaps between the photographer and the Western non-resident tourists who increasingly formed the primary audience for souvenir photography from Yokohama.

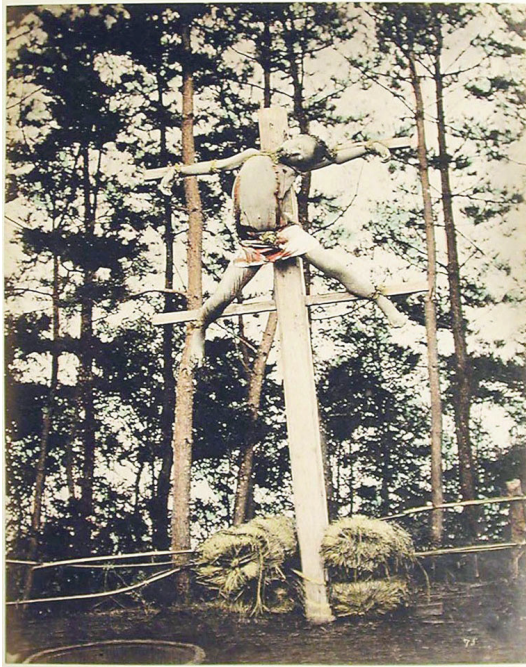


Fig. 25: Kusakabe Kimbei, 75. Execution Ground, 1880s, 27 x 19 cm, hand-tinted albumen silver print, private collection.

where the murderer of Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird—the notorious Shimidzu Seiji—was executed in December 1864. The executioner is a well-known old practitioner, who, by his own account, has, in a year when business is brisk, a very tolerable income. He receives some 7 ichiboos (about \$2.30) per head, and has taken off as many 350 heads in a twelvemonth. His office, however, is a despised one.”



Fig. 26: Kusakabe Kimbei, 133. *Harakiri*, 1880s, 20 x 27 cm, hand-tinted albumen silver print, private collection.



Figure 27: Kusakabe Kimbei, 134. *Harakiri* 1880s, 20 x 27 cm, hand-tinted albumen silver print, private collection.

Around twenty years later, Kusakabe Kimbei seemed to have no reason to include the sites of past xenophobic attacks in his work. Landscapes featuring these sites disappeared altogether from his portfolio, despite the fact that globetrotters commonly undertook a day-trip from Yokohama to Kamakura and that Kimbei's portfolio featured as many as twenty Kamakura-related landscapes.⁸⁸ In turn, the images of cruelty and of Japanese punishment emancipated themselves from the historically charged context of interaction between Japanese and Westerners in Yokohama. Instead, they were established as a historically decontextualized, and disembodied standard subject in Japanese souvenir photography, a subject topic that is still often discussed in major nineteenth-century publications on Japan.⁸⁹ In the 1880s and the 1890s the viewer of this kind of image (Fig. 25) had changed. By this time Kimbei's customers were mostly Western globetrotters who no longer experienced the violence that had shadowed the lives of resident foreigners based in Japan during the 1860s. Since crucifixion was abolished by the Meiji government soon after the Restoration, it is likely that Kimbei inherited Beato's shot capturing the public display of a real execution and continued to sell it without any accompanying commentary text for historical contextualization.⁹⁰ Although it had once acted as a vivid visual reminder of the hostility and risk of life experienced by expatriates in Yokohama, this image subject was now transformed into a popular-anthropological visual sample, parading a Japanese mode of capital punishment that no longer conformed to the government's modernization agenda. Kimbei's original photographs contained staged '*harakiri*' scenes that were entirely played out in his photography studio. These images were inaccurately staged and featured actors playing the roles of retrospective samurai figures. They were fully devoid of any direct association with particular anecdotes and by this time had become merely symbolic images of the disconnected memories of Yokohama (Figs. 26 and 27). The recent flood of publications by authorities, including "foreign employees" like William E. Griffis and Basil H. Chamberlain, who were equipped with the language skills, personal experience, and contacts with educated Japanese, as well as travel accounts on Japan written by Western globetrotters, made the lengthy

88 The Xerox copy of the Kimbei studio catalog in the Kobe City Museum collection is reprinted in Hitotoshi Nakamura, *Kusakabe Kimbei: Meiji jidai karā shashin no kyōjin* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2006), 173–84. Bennett also reprints the catalog list. For the list of Kamakura-related images, see Bennett, *Old Japanese Photographs*, 140.

89 Among them, Basil Hall Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* (first edition published in 1889), regarded as a "bible" among Japan-related publications, discusses the topic at length.

90 Although the authorship of this photograph is not entirely clear, the criminal shown both in Beato's photograph of a public display of crucifixion and Kimbei's photograph seems to be identical, in spite of the different camera angles; thus it can be assumed that Beato took both images and that Kimbei inherited one of them for his portfolio.

descriptions that had once accompanied Beato's photographs redundant. This change reflects more than merely the attention to visual primacy that has been attributed to Kimbei. It also facilitated the viewers' own reading and represents a detachment from the earlier practice of pre-conceived semantic designation that was popular during Beato's active period.

The virtual tour and the emergence of the tourist gaze

The irreversible trend of the increasing detachment of souvenir photography from its customers' experience was further accelerated by the circumstances around the purchase of such photographs in Yokohama and the technical advances of photography.

Souvenir photography had long formed an integral part of the tourism industry. Customers would walk into a souvenir photography studio in Yokohama and browse the studio's portfolio before placing orders of selected works and having them bound into a single deluxe volume. While a study of Kusakabe Kimbei's photography albums indicates the possibility of a sample set of photography at the studio from which customers could have selected from more than 2,000 works, souvenir photography albums sold in Yokohama were most likely to be custom-made.⁹¹ What is still more striking in relation to purchase behavior is that it did not seem to be uncommon for tourists to stop at a photography studio immediately after their arrival in order to select photographs of locations they had not yet seen. For example, a New York doctor who landed in Yokohama in July 1881 went to a photographer and a bookseller directly after checking into his rooms at the Grand Hotel.⁹² Indeed, Douglas Sladen recommended that readers of his travel guide *Club Hotel Guide to Japan* (1892) begin their visit with a stop at a photography studio.⁹³ Placing an order for a photography album upon arrival in Japan meant that the album would be completed by the time the visitors had finished their tour and were ready to leave for their next destination. In Kusakabe Kimbei's photographic studio, sales catalogs were issued, presumably in 1893, for free distribution.⁹⁴ Customers arriving

91 See Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 31.

92 Quoted in Frederick A. Sharf, "A Traveler's Guide," in *Art and Artifice: Japanese Photographs of the Meiji Era: Selections from the Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, eds. Sebastian Dobson, Anne Nishimura Morse, and Frederic Sharf (Boston: MFA, 2004), 11.

93 See Douglas Sladen, *Club Hotel Guide to Japan* (n.p., 1892), 12–3.

94 Tai suggests that the catalog was published between the late Meiji 20s to the Meiji 30s (ca. 1892–ca. 1897). Tai, Reiko. "Yokohama no shashinshi Kusakabe Kimbei to Kōbe fūkei 1," *Kōbe shiritsu hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 25 (2009): 104–5. Bennett assumes 1893 to be the year of publication. Bennett. *Old Japanese Photographs*, 135. The extant sales catalogs are in the following collections: Kobe City Museum, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and private collection.

in a port city probably picked out the numbers of photographs they wanted to order before they embarked on their actual travels in Japan. This method of ordering souvenir photography practiced by nineteenth-century globe-trotting tourists highlights the fading authority of first-hand experience, which had formed the central role in souvenir photography from Yokohama until the popularization of the world-touring tourism in the 1870s. Instead, the discourses on Japan were mediated by wide-ranging publications—tourist guides, tourists accounts, and ‘authoritative’ books on Japan—which emerged as the preeminent agents in determining the venues worth visiting, in selecting the photographs worth collecting, and in directing the reading of photographic images.⁹⁵ Here we can clearly locate the emergence of tourist gaze within Yokohama souvenir photography: nineteenth-century discourses constructed Japan as a cultural, imaginative other, and pre-shaped the mind for visual consumption of souvenir photographic images.

The emergence of the amateur photographer among globetrotters further complicates the shifting agencies of Yokohama souvenir photography. The invention of Kodak #1 in 1888 transformed photography from a technically demanding and messy practice to a more accessible one. During Beato’s active period the wet collodion process was in use. In this complicated process, the glass plate, treated with chemicals immediately before use in a darkroom, was still wet during its exposure in a camera. While this process made the advent of commercial photography possible by virtue of its ability to produce a negative image on a transparent photographic medium, it also entailed many logistic and technical difficulties. After 1883 the pre-sensitized gelatin dry plate process was implemented in Japan.⁹⁶ A radical reduction in exposure time and its relatively easy use simplified the whole process, and yet this advanced process still required special skills. Thus, the development of the cheap Kodak camera, a simple lightweight box camera loaded with a 100/exposure roll of film, presented a great technical leap.

As a result of this important milestone in photographic technologies, Kodak cameras were already common among European tourists in Egypt as early as

95 Though not dealing directly with the circumstances around buying souvenir photographs and the diminishing significance of lived experience for souvenir photography from Yokohama, Hockley’s discussions reveal Western accounts of Japan as a decisive factor in shaping Japanese souvenir photography. See Hockley “Packaged Tours,” 66–85 and Hockley “Expectation and Authenticity,” 114–132.

96 The wide implementation of this photographic process, however, took some time in Japan. I discussed why Japanese professional photographers were reluctant to utilise gelatine dry plates. See Mio Wakita, “Meiji-ki ni okeru shashin gainen to “shashinteki na mono”: Shashin no shikakusei to mediasei konseputo o chūshin ni”, *Kajima Bijutsu Kenkyū*, vol. 29 (November 2012), 197-8.

1890.⁹⁷ The subsequent advent of the amateur photographer had a significant impact on the souvenir photography industry in Yokohama. *Meiklejohn's Japan Directory* of 1892 contains advertising by Cocking & Co. in Yokohama announcing that they stocked Kodak cameras, films, and further photographic materials for amateur photographers on globetrotting tour.⁹⁸ A significant indication of their emergence is Adolfo Farsari's estimate in 1889 that about one half of the visitors to Yokohama were amateur photographers.⁹⁹ These changing circumstances forced Yokohama-based souvenir photography studios to initiate new strategies. For instance, Adolfo Farsari & Co. in Yokohama offered the free usage of its darkroom for amateur photographers:

Notice to Amateur Photographers. We have a dark room free of charge at the disposal of amateur photographers. Developing negatives taken by amateurs on plates or film, and printing promptly done at moderate prices. [...] A. Farsari & Co., No. 16, Bund.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, the Kodak phenomenon initiated a crucial turning point and triggered a distinctive shift from the expatriate's informed gaze to the globetrotting tourist's gaze as a crucial agent in shaping nineteenth-century souvenir photography in Yokohama.

Analogous to this Kodak effect on the image industry in nineteenth-century Yokohama was the fact that eighty percent of the total amount of tax paid by one of the Yokohama-based leading souvenir photography studios in 1898 was on sales of photographic supplies.¹⁰¹ Kimbei's expansions of his commercial goods to include silk photo fans and "photographic jewelleryes" after 1900—ranging from gold photo buttons, photo scarf pins, photo cuff buttons, photo locketts and charms—as well as his manufacturing of metal fittings and accessories for camera by the mid-1900s was a necessary reaction to market

97 See Derek Gregory, "Emperors of the gaze: photographic practices and productions of space in Egypt, 1839-1914," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* eds. Joan Schwartz and James Ryan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 211.

98 *Meiklejohn's Japan Directory 1892. Containing Lists of Firms, etc., in Japan, Corea, and Wladivostock; Japanese Government Departments; the Peerage of Japan; an Alphabetical List of Foreign Residents in Japan, Corea, and Wladivostock, and an Appendix of Useful Information, with Lithographed Plan of Yokohama* (Yokohama: R. Meiklejohn & Co, 1892), adv. section, unpaginated [18].

99 See Dobson, "Yokohama Shashin," 36.

100 *Murray's Handbook 1893*. Reprinted in Bennett, *Old Japanese Photographs*, 250. See also Sir Alfred East's account. Sir Alfred East, *A British Artist in Meiji Japan*, ed. Sir Hugh Cortazzi (Brighton: In Print, 1991), 18.

101 See Dobson, "Yokohama Shashin," 36.

transformations.¹⁰² The primacy of discourses over physical experiences for the reception of Yokohama souvenir photography in the age of globetrotter tourism was underpinned by the growing economic impact of its export. Some evidence indicates that from the mid-1880s the sales of Yokohama souvenir photographs through overseas mail orders from private and business customers came into practice.¹⁰³ The volume of exports increased continuously after around 1886 and reached its peak around 1897.¹⁰⁴ Prints and photography albums were stocked by Western dealers and sold to people who had never even visited Japan. Souvenir photographs from Yokohama were one of the booming export items during the mid- and late Meiji period: the export value of souvenir photographs in the year 1896 alone amounted to 24,923 Japanese Yen in total (24,077 Yen from the port of Yokohama; 693 Yen from Kobe; and 114 Yen from Nagasaki), which corresponds to around 63,730 colored photographs (at 29 cent a piece) or 87,650 un-tinted photographs (at 15 cent a piece).¹⁰⁵ Around ninety-six percent of the total export volume was shipped from Yokohama.¹⁰⁶ One emblematic instance of this vanishing physical experience in late Yokohama souvenir photography took place in 1896: The *Mainichi Shinbun* (dated July 19, 1896), a Japanese daily newspaper, reported that the Tamamura studio in Yokohama received an order from the J.B. Millet Company in Boston for one million photographs of landscapes and people of Japan.¹⁰⁷ These original albumen prints were to be used in a multivolume publication entitled *Japan: Described and Illustrated by the Japanese* published between 1897 and 1898 in sixteen different editions. Souvenir photographs of Yokohama-based Japanese studios were (most were identical to ones available for sale at their studios on site) mass-reproduced to cater to foreign armchair travelers. Notably, this ambitious venture of producing selective pictures of Japan received generous financial support from the Japanese government and thus assumed the role of a semiofficial photography

102 “K. Kimbei, 7. Honcho-dori, Yokohama, Japan,” In Watanabe, Genjiro. *Guide Book for Tourists in Japan*. Yokohama: Watanabe Genjiro, 1900, unpaginated; “*Yokohama meibutsu tokeidai no shōshitsu*” in Yokohama *Bōeki Shimpō* (December 5, 1906). Quoted in Nakamura, Kusakabe Kinbei, 75.

103 See Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 34–35.

104 See Takio Saitō, “Yokohama shashin no sekai” [The world of Yokohama photography] in *Meiji no Nihon: saishoku arubamu Yokohama shashin no sekai*, eds. Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan and Yokohama Kaikō Shiryō Fukyū Kyōkai (Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), 233–251; Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 170–1; 174. The destination countries for export constantly shifted: in the 1860s a small volume of souvenir photographs from Yokohama were exported to China (Hong Kong). During the time between the 1870s and the early 1880s China was overtaken by Great Britain, and later by the United States.

105 Saitō, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohama shashinkan monogatari*, 171.

106 See Saitō, “Yokohama shashin no sekai,” 244–5.

107 “Shashin yonman-mai no yushutsu,” *Mainichi Shinbun*, 7682 (19/7/1896), 5.

designated to market Japan. Here we witness a further rupture within which the lived experience—or ‘the real’—lost agency, and the gaze of the cultural self became involved in shaping the “imaginative geography” of Japan.

A site of “disconnectedness”

Globetrotter tourism heralded a disentanglement from the lived experiences that had once formed a strong incentive to create specific souvenir photographs; the emergence of a substantial export market for Japanese souvenir photography and the transfiguration of souvenir photography to ‘Kodaking’ tourist photography after the late 1880s promoted both the virtual globetrotting of armchair travelers and the tourist gaze as a powerful agent of image-making practices. The growing disembodiment of travel and experience as well as the ‘kodakisation’ of place by the tourist gaze, informed by clichés and popular discourses, were the phenomenon of the post-Beato era of Yokohama souvenir photography. They represent a radical breach with the intrinsic interrelatedness of Beato’s photographs, his audience, and the physical place of Yokohama.

In a general discussion on photography and tourism, the modern tourist gaze—looking upon the world through ethnocentric filters to create imaginative geographies—appeared around 1840, when the means of collective travel and the photographic technology of image making became available and established new patterns of gaze.¹⁰⁸ As this article has shown, this concept of the modern tourist gaze might be too generalized. For instance, it does not address the multifaceted and often complex relationships between tourists’ mobility and their proximity to the ‘real’ at the early, transitory stages of modern tourism, as seen in the case of souvenir photography from Yokohama. The detailed analysis of technological advancements in the image-making device and its link to the shifting means of tourist access to photographic images also reveals a much more complex picture, which contained many layers of transformative process affecting the relationship between port city, souvenir photography, and audience.

My discussion of Yokohama souvenir photography demonstrates that the nineteenth-century port city of Yokohama as well as nineteenth-century souvenir photography from Yokohama were marked by “disconnectedness” on several levels, both in factual and metaphorical terms. Because of the status of the settlement after treaty limits were imposed during the 1860s, and because of its transcultural circumstances as the major gateway for foreign influence

108 Scott McQuire, *Visions of Modernity: Representation, memory, time and space in the age of the camera* (London: Sage, 1998) 39; John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 2011), 165, 170.

in Japan, Yokohama was perceived as being culturally detached from the “real Japan” by foreign residents, travelling Westerners, and by Japanese locals. The rise in globetrotter tourism in the 1870s increasingly shaped Yokohama as a site of “transitions.” With a growing number of short-term Western visitors, the collective memories previously shared by the long-term dwellers of the foreign settlement also broke apart. There was a major disparity between photographers as entrepreneurs (vital) and their audiences (neutral-irrelevant) in the perceived significance of Yokohama. This phenomenon of “disconnectedness” turns out to have been the extreme antithesis to the increasing “connectedness” between Japan and the rest of the world, which had been fostered at the same time by better transport technologies. Souvenir photography from Yokohama was used to connect the shared memory of foreign expatriates in Yokohama, including that of its image creator. Souvenir photography later documented how the shifting profile of its audiences subsumed resident knowledge and their lived experiences into a general cataloguing of the ‘Other.’ Reflecting the shifting conditions both in Yokohama and within the souvenir photography industry, souvenir photography images reveal themselves to be witnesses of these disparities and of the discrepancies in physical “connectedness” that were taking place in the port city of Yokohama and within its visual practices during the second half of the nineteenth century.

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