

WILHELM HEINE AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN: THE ARTIST AND WRITER AS PROMOTER OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY WESTERN EXPANSIONISM

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INTRODUCTION: The Western Powers' Approach to Japan

During the nineteenth-century period of overseas trade and expansion, there was much interest in Asia among the European powers and the United States. China, with its huge population was of special interest as a potential trading partner. Spearheaded by the British economic concessions embodied in the treaties forced on the Chinese after the Opium Wars in the mid-nineteenth century, the other major European powers and the United States soon made similar treaties with China. These “unequal treaties” established a treaty-port system that provided for the fixed rate of import and export duties under international control, the residence of foreign diplomatic representatives, and a system of extraterritoriality under which foreigners in China would be subject to the consular courts of their own nations.

Attention had also been drawn to Japan, but approaches to the country were difficult due to its long-standing policy of seclusion. Contacts between Europe and Japan began in the middle of the sixteenth century with the arrival of Portuguese traders and missionaries, who were eventually followed by the Spanish. Dutch and English merchants arrived in the early 1600s. Several decades of trade and Catholic missionary activity coincided with efforts to consolidate political power in the country among competing feudal rulers. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, fear of the potentially destabilizing influence of the foreign missionaries and traders led to a series of measures prohibiting Christianity and banishing foreign missionaries and eventually foreign traders as well. After the 1640s the Dutch were the only Europeans allowed to trade, and were restricted to Dejima, a small artificial island erected in Nagasaki Harbor for that purpose.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, various approaches to Japan had been

made by the Western powers, especially Russia, Britain and the United States. Whaling activity in the North Pacific by the British and Americans, and Russian colonization efforts in Siberia and Alaska made Japan a highly desirable potential source of supplies and way-station for the lucrative fur trade with China. However, all attempts by the Western powers to establish commercial and diplomatic relations with Japan were rebuffed. Finally, the American expedition led by Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1853 and 1854 was able to bring about the “opening” of Japan through a thinly-veiled threat of military force. Perry’s *Convention of Kanagawa* (1854), which provided for the opening of the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate for trade under certain conditions, and for the residence of an American consul, was followed up by the *Treaty of Amity and Commerce* between the United States and Japan negotiated by the U.S. Consul in Japan Townsend Harris in 1858. This latter treaty was modelled on the treaty-port system established by the Western powers in China with similar conditions concerning international control of import and export duties, the residence of foreign diplomats, and a system of judicial extraterritoriality.¹ As was the case in China, the other major Western powers soon prevailed upon Japan to make similar treaties. Among these other powers was Prussia, which commissioned the Prussian East Asian Expedition of 1859–1860 to conclude commercial treaties with China, Japan and Siam.

Since Japan had been relatively secluded for two centuries, apart from information obtained through the Dutch at Dejima knowledge about the country was scarce. A number of Europeans engaged by the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) as surgeons for their trading-post on Dejima, had collected information on Japan and its people, flora and fauna, and had published their findings upon their return to Europe. These works, which include Engelbert Kaempfer’s *History of Japan* (1722), Carl Peter Thunberg’s *Flora Japonica* (1784), and Philip Franz von Siebold’s *Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (1832–1852), were translated into the major European languages and became the standard comprehensive works of reference on Japan until the opening of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century.

1 For a treatment of the treaty ports in Japan see J. E. Hoare, *Japan’s Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests, 1858–1899*. Folkstone, Kent: Japan Library, 1994.

Due to the limited knowledge about Japan and in view of the prospects for trade and commerce opened up by the new treaties, the Western powers were eager for more information on Japan, its people and its political, economic and social conditions. The diplomats sent to complete treaties with Japan were accompanied by various professionals—natural scientists, geographers, artists, and photographers—who were to help record the activities and achievements of the expeditions as well as collect scientific data and specimens concerning Japan, its natural life, its people and their culture.

One man, Wilhelm (William) Heine, a German-born artist and later naturalized American citizen, was a member of two of the expeditions sent to open Japan: The American Expedition in 1853–1854 led by Matthew C. Perry, and the Prussian East Asian Expedition of 1859–1860 led by Graf Friedrich zu Eulenburg. Heine's role in both expeditions was similar. As an artist, he was commissioned to make sketches and drawings of the activities as well as the landscapes and peoples of the lands visited under the expeditions. He also helped the natural scientists to collect specimens and worked with the photographers, helping to choose and compose the scenes and subjects to be photographed. Heine's drawings were the source of the bulk of the illustrations published in the official narratives of Perry's Expedition². Although Heine's graphic works were submitted for the official account of the Prussian Expedition³, they were not included in its publication. He did, however, make use of them in several books he was eventually able to publish on his own. In any case, his sketches and drawings, as well as his narratives of both of the expeditions appeared in Europe and the United States at the middle of the nineteenth century when there was growing interest in Asia. His narrative of Perry's Expedi-

2 The official narrative of Perry's Expedition was compiled by Francis L. Hawks under Perry's supervision. Francis L. Hawks. *The Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Performed in the Years 1852, 1853 and 1854 under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1856.

3 The official narrative of the Prussian Expedition was published in four volumes: *Die preussische Expedition nach Ostasien. Nach amtlichen Quellen*. 4 Bände. Berlin, 1864–1873. A reprint edition was published in 2001: *Die Preussische Expedition nach Ost-Asien: nach amtlichen Quellen*. London: Ganesha Publishing; Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2001.

tion was published in two volumes in Leipzig in 1859⁴. Heine's account of the Prussian Expedition⁵, published in Leipzig in 1864, was based on a series of letters, some of which had appeared in several newspapers in Germany, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*. Due to the strong interest in Japan, Heine decided to publish his complete collection of letters in book form.⁶

Although Heine was not a scholar of Japan and while he has been mostly forgotten, his accounts of his participation in the American and Prussian expeditions, as well as several other works on Japan illustrated by his own artwork, give an eyewitness view of the opening of Japan and helped to form “the romantic image of Japan that prevailed in Europe and Germany in the first decades after the opening of the country.”⁷

This article will describe the life and activities of Heine in two parts, showing in each how Heine was a man of his times, giving insight into the mentality of the mid-nineteenth century, when Europe and the United States were expanding not only their overseas territories and trading activities but also their knowledge of the world. It will first outline Heine's artistic and publishing activity, and then summarize his observations during both the U.S. and Prussian expeditions.

The first part will show how his artistic and publishing activities served to pro-

4 *Reise um die Erde nach Japan an Bord der Expeditions-Escadre unter Commodore M. C. Perry in den Jahren 1853, 1854 und 1855, unternommen im Auftrage der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten*, 2 Bde, Leipzig 1856. It has been translated into Japanese in 1983: ハイネ [著] 中井晶夫 [訳] 『ハイネ世界周航日本への旅』東京 雄松堂出版 1983年. An English translation of the sections concerning Japan was published in 1990: *With Perry to Japan: a Memoir by William Heine*, translated, with an introduction and annotations by Frederic Trautmann, University of Hawaii Press, 1990. This article will cite Trautmann's English translation of *Reise um die Erde*. All other translations of citations of Heine's works are my own.

5 Wilhelm Heine, *Eine Weltreise um die nördliche Hemisphäre in Verbindung mit der Ostasiatischen Expedition in den Jahren 1860 und 1861*. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1864.

6 *Ibid.*, p. viii.

7 “Persönlichkeiten des Austausches zwischen Japan und Deutschland (4): Wilhelm Heine (1827–1885),” *Botschaft von Japan. Neues aus Japan*, Nr. 93. August 2012. *Botschaft von Japan in Deutschland*. <http://www.de.emb-japan.go.jp/NaJ/NaJ1208/heine.html>. Retrieved on 9 February 2018.

mote the expansion of European, German, and American interests in East Asia in general, and Japan in particular. As we shall see, Heine did not stop at drawing and illustrating what he saw, he was also an avid promoter of European expansion of trade and contacts with the countries of East Asia. Interestingly, the German-born Heine became an American citizen only after his return to the United States with Perry's expedition in 1855. Heine continued to hold his American citizenship when he took part in the Prussian Expedition, breaking off his engagement with the expedition early in order to fight for the Union in the American Civil War. With this background, a study of Heine's activities also show how, during the "Age of Imperialism," the often competitive promotion of nationalism and patriotism took place in the context of a broader understanding of the advance of Western civilization and was tempered by the practical need for international solidarity and cooperation in dealing with a country like Japan that was reluctant to open itself to international trade and diplomatic relations.

The second part of the article will summarize the descriptions of Japan in Heine's narratives of Perry's Expedition and the Prussian East Asia Expedition. Heine's narratives describe the entire voyage from the USA via Hong Kong, the Ryukyu Islands to Japan and back again around the Horn of South America, in the case of Perry's Expedition, and from Europe via Ceylon, and Singapore to Japan, to China, where he left the expedition, and to the USA via Hawaii, in the case of the Prussian Expedition. However, the article will focus on his description of Japan. Heine was not directly involved in the negotiations of the treaties and does not discuss Japanese culture from a scholarly point of view as did the official narratives and in works published by other members of the expeditions. Rather, Heine's narratives aimed at painting a fresh and lively picture of the life of the country and peoples he encountered from the perspective of an artist. As such, his descriptions flesh out the experiences of the members of the expeditions on a day-to-day human level and gives his readers a glimpse into the still mysterious and little-known world of Japan.

PART ONE: Heine the Writer and Artist as Promoter of European, German, and American Expansionism

Bernhard Peter Wilhelm Heine was born in Dresden on 30 January 1827, the son of an actor at the Dresden royal *Hoftheater*. After a few years of studying architecture, Heine's interests gravitated to the graphic arts and in 1846 he received a stipendium to learn stage decoration in Paris. Returning to Dresden in the summer of 1848, he was given an initial probationary term as painter of stage decoration at the *Hoftheater* and was awarded a permanent contract by King Friedrich August II in April 1849. In May of 1849, Heine took part in an uprising in Dresden, although it is not clear what his involvement was, and he eventually returned to Paris. He hired himself out as a fireman on a steamship bound for New York, where he arrived in November 1849, found work, and opened an art school.⁸

In New York Heine made the acquaintance of Ephraim George Squier, an American journalist who had made a reputation for himself with the publication of several archaeological works on indigenous civilizations of North and South America.⁹ As a diplomat in Central America, Squier negotiated treaties for the U.S.A. with Nicaragua, Honduras, and San Salvador, and had enlisted Heine to accompany him to Central America again in order to make illustrations for another book on Central American archaeology. Heine left for Central America in spring of 1851 but Squier was delayed and never met up with Heine, who proceeded to travel through the region, making observations and drawings. Heine returned to the United States in 1852 and eventually published *Wanderbilder aus Central-Amerika, Skizzen eines deutschen Malers*, a short book describing his travels in Central America.¹⁰ The forward to the book was written by Friedrich Gerstäcker, a popular writer of adventure stories,

8 Andrea Hirner, "Das Leben und die Reisen des Wilhelm Heine," in *Streifzüge durchs alte Japan. Philipp Franz von Siebold und Wilhelm Heine*. Herausgegeben von Markus Mergenthaler im Auftrag des Knauf-Museums Iphofen. Dettelbach, 2013, pp. 75–77.

9 Terry A. Barnhart. *Ephraim George Squier and the development of American Anthropology*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

10 Wilhelm Heine, *Wanderbilder aus Central-Amerika, Skizzen eines deutschen Malers*. Leipzig: Costenoble, 1853, pp. viii-ix, 43–44.

many of them depictions of the frontier regions of the United States such as *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas* (3 Bände, 1846).¹¹ In the forward, Gerstäcker praised Heine's light and unforced style and his lively descriptions, and concluded with the expectation that Heine, who had by then joined Perry's expedition, would produce a similarly engaging account of his travels in East Asia.¹²

Already in this first publication, we can see Heine's interest in promoting the expansion of knowledge about the wider world, if not directly advocating for German overseas expansion. As Heine explained, as an artist his intention for the book was not to write a travelogue to encourage immigration, nor did he claim to be an expert on archaeology. Rather, he only wished to describe his personal impressions of what he saw—nature, people, and culture—as an artist and as a fellow human being. He felt it was “the duty of those traveling in less well-known areas to make their observations known to the public as a contribution, even if at a minimum, to the store of human knowledge.”¹³

Before he returned to the US from Central America, Heine had been asked by Samuel Kerr, the U.S. *chargé d'affaires* in León, Nicaragua, to deliver to Washington two diplomatic documents: trade agreements between the U.S.A. and Guatemala, and the U.S.A. and San Salvador.¹⁴ While still in Central America Heine had learned of the planned U. S. expedition to Japan and decided to apply to join it. Since he had been away from the United States for some time, he had lost contact with influential people who might have been able to help him get a position on the expedition. Fortunately, he was able to use the occasion of the delivery of the diplomatic documents to ask President Fillmore about the possibility of joining the expedition. Fillmore directed Heine to the secretary of the Navy, who in turn directed Heine to Commodore Perry.¹⁵

Heine met Perry in July 1852, who told him that the undertaking was a military

11 Lenz, Fritz, “Gerstäcker, Friedrich” in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 6 (1964), S. 323 f. [Onlinefassung]; URL: https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd118538810.html#ndb_content. Retrieved on 11 February 2018.

12 Heine, *Wanderbilder aus Central-Amerika*, pp. x-xii.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 45–47.

14 Heine, *Wanderbilder aus Central-Amerika*, p. 255. Trautmann, *With Perry to Japan*: p. 26.

15 Trautmann, *With Perry to Japan*, p. 26.

expedition and that most of the positions had already been filled. However, it was possible to clear this obstacle by making use of a practice whereby members of the merchant marine were taken into service in the Navy. And so, Heine joined the merchant marine, was given the modest rank of master's mate and was accepted as a member of the expedition. In order to fulfill his main duties of recording the expedition with his drawings and helping with the photography, he was relieved of the normal duties of his rank such as standing watch, keeping the log, issuing food and water, distributing munitions, etc.¹⁶

Thus Heine was able to join Perry's expedition and make his first voyage to Japan, which lasted from his departure in November 1852 until his return in April 1855. Shortly after his return to New York, Heine became a United States citizen on 4 May 1855. Three and a half years later, on 9 October 1858, Heine married Catherine Wheatton Sedgwick, the daughter of an old established East Coast family.¹⁷

Upon his return from the Perry expedition, Heine worked on the completion of the approximately 500 drawings and paintings begun on the voyage, many of which were used to illustrate the official Narrative of Perry's Expedition compiled by Hawks. Some of Heine's zoological specimens taken during the expedition eventually went to the Smithsonian Institution. In 1856, Heine published *Graphic Scenes of the Japan Expedition*, a portfolio of several drawings reproduced as lithographic prints. The book contains an introduction written by Francis L. Hawks, the compiler of the narrative of Perry's expedition, in which he describes Heine's artistic production as "a credit to our country" and comparable to that of Europe. As proof, Hawks cites excerpts from a letter of Alexander von Humboldt to Heine, in which the famous German naturalist compliments Heine's artistic work:

All that my excellent friend Baron v. Geroldt has told you of the praises with which your designs have been received among us is true. I have shown them to the most distinguished artists, as well as to the King, who has a re-

16 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

17 Hirner, "Das Leben und die Reisen des Wilhelm Heine," p. 87.

finest taste for art, and all unite in the highest encomiums upon your works.¹⁸

Interestingly, just as Hawks emphasized the significance of Heine's work as an achievement of which Americans could be proud, there is also a measure of national pride in Humboldt's words describing the praise of the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV for Heine's important role in Perry's expedition:

His Majesty rejoices to see an artist of so distinguished talent from our own mother country the first to delineate the peculiar features of the long-bound up coasts of the Japanese Empire. Not alone is the character of the landscape admirable in your beautiful designs, but above all the exactness with which you are represented on such a small scale the peculiarities of those singular races.¹⁹

Indeed, Heine's work as an artist was well received and appeared to have heightened the impact of Perry's expedition on the popular imagination and interest in Asia. As Frederic Trautmann points out, "By showing what Japan looked like, by portraying it at the time the expedition excited curiosity in Japan and all the Orient, Heine's pictures probably more than anything else quickened the West's interest in Oriental art and inspired the fancy for *chinoiserie*, coromandel screens, Orientalism, japanware, *japonisme*, and Japanese prints."²⁰

In 1856 Heine published his own narrative account of the Perry Expedition in two volumes, *Reise um die Erde* (Leipzig, Costenoble) with several black and white illustrations. It was so successful that it was published in a Dutch edition in the same year, and in a French edition in 1859. Heine's description of China in this book seems to have served as one of the resources used by the popular German writer Karl May in the composition of his adventure stories that took place in

18 William Heine, *Graphic Scenes of the Japan Exhibition*. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1856 Introduction, para. 4. In: *The log book of William Adams (1564–1620) and other manuscript and rare printed material from the Bodleian library, Oxford*; reel 1–reel 21. Adam Matthew Publications, 1998– (*East meets West: original records of western traders, travellers, missionaries and diplomats to 1852*; pt. 1), reel 20.

19 *Ibid.*, para. 5.

20 Trautmann, *With Perry to Japan*, pp. 18–19.

China. For example, a scene depicting Chinese popular antagonism toward foreigners closely resembles Heine's description of foreigners being treated threateningly by the people in Peking. Similarly, May's description of an opium parlor seems to be based on Heine's account of his own visit to such an establishment in Macao.²¹ Furthermore, May draws information on Chinese artisans from Heine's description and also follows in some detail Heine's account of a Chinese funeral procession.²²

In order to further promote interest in Japan among the German public and to advocate a German Expedition to East Asia, in 1858 Heine published in German his account of another expedition to East Asia commissioned by the United States government and undertaken from 1853–1856 under the command of Commodore Collin Ringgold and Commodore John Rodgers.²³ Based on official sources, this three-volume work described the expedition's survey of the seas and lands near China and Japan, as well as the Sea of Okhotsk and the Kamchatka Peninsula, and included several of Heine's illustrations from his own voyage to Japan. As Heine wrote in the Forward, dated Washington, May 1858, he regretted that he was not able to make his own voyage to Japan under the flag of Germany. Citing the subordinate position of German merchants and traders in Asia, who had no choice but to seek the protection of other European powers, he advocated the dispatch of an official German expedition to ensure a proper place for Germany in world trade. For Heine, it was unthinkable that Germany, with its population of forty million, its prosperous industry and its lively trade, should take a subordinate position in world commerce. He argued for a more active role in promoting German trade with China and Japan and maintained that only the subtle pressure of a military presence would open up a reluctant China and Japan to German approaches and facilitate trade negotiations. He further pointed out that the Prussian Navy was already

21 Bernhard Kosciuszko, "Illusion oder Information? China im Werk Karl Mays." *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft*, 1988, pp. 332–334.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 158; 163.

23 Wilhelm Heine, *Die Expedition in die Seen von China, Japan und Ochotsk unter Commando von Commodore Collin Ringgold und Commodore John Rodgers im Auftrage der Regierung der Vereingten Staaten unternommen in den Jahren 1853 bis 1856, unter Zuziehung der officiellen Autoritäten und Quellen*. Leipzig Costenoble, 1858–1859. A second edition was published in 1867 by C. V. Griesbach in Gera.

capable of such an expedition, since it had enough suitable ships and the expenses would be repaid a thousand times over after a treaty had been established and trade had commenced.²⁴ Heine concluded the work on a rather philosophical tone, appealing to what he considered to be the destiny of the human race to be united as one family. He left his readers with the hope that the book would arouse interest and sympathy for “the goal that peoples of the world are destined to achieve: to become one family, whose members are not separated by stature or color, climate, nor intellectual characteristics, but are tied together by the lasting bonds of peaceful intercourse.”²⁵

Heine returned to Germany at the beginning of 1859 with his wife and visited his family. He also intended to meet Alexander Humboldt, who had been encouraging Heine’s publishing activities. Furthermore, as part of a plan for renovation of the Capitol Building in Washington, Heine had been given a commission to produce paintings illustrating the fighting of the United States Navy against pirates in Tripoli, 1801–1805. In the summer of 1859 Heine travelled to Marseilles, Malta, Tripoli, and Benghazi, returning via Sicily, Naples, Genoa and Lago Maggiore. The plans for the paintings, however, were not carried out, perhaps due to the death of Heine’s wife on 22 November a few weeks after giving birth to a daughter on 3 November.²⁶

As Heine wrote in an afterword to his description of his travels, published in 1860 under the title *Eine Sommerreise nach Tripolis*, he doubted that he would be able to find the composure necessary to complete the project in a deserted house absent his wife and child. At the same time, he remarked, God often provided a new opportunity after taking something away, and he was grateful for the opportunity to join the Prussian Expedition to East Asia.²⁷ In fact, the narrative of his travels to Tripoli also included a description of the background and course of the war against Tripoli, and Heine pointed out that similarities between the conditions of the U. S. Navy of the time and the present situation of the German Navy, expressing his

24 Wilhelm Heine, *Die Expedition in die Seen von China, Japan und Ochotsk*, Bd. 1, p. x-xv. Cited from the 1867 edition.

25 *Ibid.*, Bd. 3, p. 208.

26 Hirner, “Das Leben und die Reisen des Wilhelm Heine,” p. 88.

27 Wilhelm Heine, *Eine Sommerreise nach Tripolis* (Berlin, Wilhelm Hertz, 1860), p. 302.

hope that Germany would also enjoy a similar successful development of its naval forces. In Heine's view, the war, which was undertaken to protect U. S. commerce in North Africa, showed the necessity and usefulness of a navy.²⁸

Before his travels to Malta and North Africa, Heine gave a lecture entitled "China und Japan, das östliche Asien und die Welthandel" (China and Japan, East Asia, and World Trade) at the Geographische Gesellschaft zu Berlin on 7 May 1859. Here, Heine makes an ardent appeal for more active German engagement with China and Japan. The lecture began by explaining how he had been occupied for the past seven and a half years with the topic and had devoted to it the publication of two books, the previously mentioned personal account of Perry's Expedition and the American naval survey expedition of China, Japan and the Northwestern Pacific. Heine first summarized what he considered the good prospects for German trade with China and Japan. China, with its population of 400 million represented a "gigantic" potential market. The seemingly boundless land was very productive and would become even more so with development of relatively unpopulated areas. Japan, although less expansive in area and smaller in population, was strategically located in the Western Pacific and appeared to have ample supplies of precious metals such as copper, silver and gold. Both countries showed good prospects as customers for German textiles and woolen goods, especially the Japanese, who did not use furs because of the Buddhist prescriptions against touching the bodies of dead animals. As Heine pointed out, German trade with China had already been increasing in the past several years: Chinese exports to Hamburg and Bremen had risen from 94,000 Thalers in 1848 to 2,205,000 Thalers in 1856. Heine also gave an example of how lucrative trade could be, citing the story of an American trading vessel, the *Florence*, that had bought up a cargo of 10,000 pikuls of vegetable wax, used in place of beeswax, for 7 dollars per pikul (about 60 kg), which was worth 18–20 dollars in Europe, resulting in a profit of some 120,000 dollars for one voyage.²⁹

Heine then gave several reasons why Germany should actively pursue trade relations with Japan. One consideration was the recently expanding Russian and

28 *Ibid.*, pp. vii-ix.

29 The lecture "China und Japan, das östliche Asien und der Welthandel. Ein Vortrag von Wilhelm Heine" was reprinted in the appendix to Heine's, *Eine Weltreise*, Bd. 2, pp. 277–295.

American trade with Asia. In the Treaty of Aigun (May 1858) China had ceded the territory between the Stanovoy Mountains and the Amur River to Russia, giving it access to the Amur River basin and several harbors on the coast favorable for trading. The treaty would make possible further development of the traditional land trade between Russia and China centered on Kyakhta, located on the Russia border with Mongolia. Looking ahead to the future, Heine also foresaw Russian and American efforts at building transcontinental telegraphs and railroads across Siberia and the American West, respectively, which would greatly increase the trade of both countries with Asia.³⁰

Heine also made his case for active government support for German trade. Germany could still gain most of the favorable conditions of trade available to the other Great Powers if it acted soon. For one thing, Heine acknowledged that German merchants at present could appeal to the other powers to protect themselves and their businesses but this would only be possible as long as German interests did not collide with those of the other powers. He also pointed out that the difficulties were often overestimated. Even in the United States, it took three years of debate and another year to finalize the plans for Perry's expedition. However, once engaged with Japanese authorities, Perry was able to conclude negotiations in a relatively short period of time. Furthermore, the Russians successfully concluded a treaty with Japan during the hostilities of the Crimean War. Heine also bemoaned what he considered Germany allowing itself to be excluded from the continued scientific exploration of the world, to which several Germans had already contributed so much: Meyer, Wittendorf, Pallas, Alexander v. Humboldt, Ermann, Chamisso, and Gützlaff, etc., especially those who had studied Japan, such as Siebold and Kaempfer, as well as other scholars who were educated in Germany such as, the Russian Krusenstern and the Swede Thunberg.³¹

Finally, Heine argued that the experience of Perry's expedition showed that the best way to proceed was to have a concrete plan for a diplomatic mission, which would be communicated to Japan in advance to give it time to understand Germany's intentions and to prepare for negotiations. Heine also believed that the

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 283–285.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 289–292.

American consul in Japan, Townsend Harris, would aid in the German expedition, just as he had helped the English and Russians with their approaches to Japan. America's policy, Heine pointed out, was based on the principle that foreign trade in Asia depended on the cooperation of all participants. Heine himself had an idealistic understanding of beneficial nature of contemporary Western expansionism throughout the world and believed that trade with the lands of East Asia would help them develop and allow their peoples to take their place in an increasing expanding international society: "... friendly intercourse will bring the peoples of the world closer to the highest goal of civilization: to form a single great family, joined in peaceful bonds."³²

Heine continued his promotion of German trade with Asia, especially Japan, with the publication of another work in 1860, *Japan und seine Bewohner*. By then, the Prussian Expedition to East Asia had already been announced and was underway. Heine dedicated the book to then Prince-Regent Wilhelm (King Wilhelm I from 1861) of Prussia, out of admiration for the decision to commission the Expedition. The book describes Japan's relations with the various countries of the West, beginning with the first encounters with the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and concluding with various approaches to Japan by the English and Americans in the first half of the nineteenth century, before Perry's expedition. Heine's intention was to acquaint the German people with Japan, one of the countries that the Expedition was to visit. Stressing the necessity for Germany to find its place in the world and to open large markets to German trade and industry, Heine hoped that the book would provide some insight on the difficulties to be expected by the expedition. Heine conceived this book to be the third installment of a series on Japan, following his narrative of Perry's Expedition (*Reise um die Erde*) and his account of the above-mentioned American surveying expedition of East Asia and the North Pacific (*Expedition in den Seen von China, Japan und Ochotsk*). At the same time, Heine announced that if he should publish anything more about East Asia, it would be concerned with the undertakings of the Prussian Expedition among the peoples of that region.³³

32 *Ibid.*, p. 294.

33 Wilhelm Heine, *Japan und seine Bewohner. Geschichtliche Rückblicke und ethnographische Schilderung*

The Prussian Expedition was officially approved and announced in the summer of 1859, while Heine was in North Africa. Actually, German merchants and their ships had already been trading in Asia since the 1840s, and a proposal was made as early as 1843 to send an expedition to show the Prussian flag in China and gain similar concessions for German merchants that had been made to the British. The proposal included a plan to establish a *Handelssocietät* in Singapore with a view to future activity in China.³⁴ The proposal, however, was not carried through since the scale of German trade with Asia was still quite limited. As the number of ships and the volume of trade in East Asia began to grow steadily with the opening of Japan to trade with the United States, Russia, Great Britain and the Netherlands in 1858, German commercial and industrial circles became more interested in finding new markets. At the same time, trade with Asia was becoming more competitive among the Western powers. German merchants had been content to allow their interests to be represented by other Western powers but now desired the legal protection of their own consular officials.³⁵

Finally, on 15 August 1859, a Prussian cabinet order approved a plan for an official government expedition charged with the mission of concluding treaties of trade and commerce with the governments of China, Japan, and Siam. Chosen to head the expedition was Graf Friedrich zu Eulenburg, who was named *Außerordentlicher Gesandter* (envoy extraordinaire) and *Bevollmächtigter Minister* (plenipotentiary) to the courts of China, Japan, and Siam, and given authority to negotiate not only on behalf of Prussia, but also for the States of the Deutscher Zollverein, for the Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, as well as the archduchies of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Expenditures for the expedition were approved by the Prussian Landtag in March of 1860.³⁶

Due to his great interest in promoting official commercial and diplomatic relations between Germany and Japan and China, it was not surprising that Heine had offered his services to the Expedition. Heine had received encouragement in his

von *Land und Leuten*. (Leipzig: Otto Purfürst, 1860), pp. vii-xii.

34 *Die preussische Expedition nach Ostasien. Nach amtlichen Quellen*. Bd. I, p. vii.

35 Georg Kerst, *Die deutsche Expedition nach Japan und ihre Auswirkung*. Hamburg: de Gruyter, 1862, pp. 16-17.

36 *Die preussische Expedition nach Ostasien*. Bd. I, p. xii.

endeavors from Alexander von Humboldt, whom he had had the opportunity to correspond with in regard to his various travels, and whom Heine credited with helping make his work known in Germany. Humboldt had asked Heine to visit him in Berlin to discuss the feasibility of a Prussian expedition to Japan, a request that Heine honored at the beginning of 1859, when Humboldt was already on his deathbed. Heine also had other influential contacts, including Prince Adalbert of Prussia of Prussia.³⁷

During a stay in Malta while on his travels to North Africa in the summer of 1859, Heine wrote to Prince Adalbert of Prussia, broaching the question of his own participation in the planned expedition. Heine had dedicated his book on the American naval survey of East Asia to the Prince, who was involved in the building up of the Prussian Navy, because Heine “wished to put information so beneficial for German trading circles into the hands of the man, who more than anyone else, is concerned with founding a naval force, without whose protection a favorable of foreign trade is inconceivable.”³⁸ Among those in charge of organizing the expedition, Heine was considered a valuable addition because of his technical skills as an artist, his English language abilities, and his previous experience in Japan and China on Perry’s Expedition. However, Friedrich Graf zu Eulenburg, who had been appointed to lead the Prussian Expedition, had reservations about Heine, who had left Germany in 1849 and continued to hold American citizenship. Nevertheless, on 27 December 1859, Heine received his official appointment to join the Expedition as artist and as supervisor of the photographer.³⁹

As noted in the official narrative of the Prussian Expedition, in addition to the signing of official treaties of trade and commerce with the governments of Japan, China and Siam, the mission was also intended to show the Prussian flag abroad and provide the fledgling Navy an opportunity to prove its worth, raising prestige at home and abroad in the process. The inclusion of various scholars in the membership of the Expedition was also expected to contribute to the growing body of scientific knowledge of the various East Asian countries visited by investigating

37 Heine, Japan. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Landes und seiner Bewohner*. Berlin: Paul Bette, 1875, p. i.

38 Heine, “China und Japan, das östliche Asien und der Welthandel. Ein Vortrag von Wilhelm Heine” in, *Eine Weltreise*, p. 277.

39 Hirner, “Das Leben und die Reisen des Wilhelm Heine,” 91.

their geography, flora and fauna, and the natural environment. The information gathered by the Expedition was also expected to aid in the development of potential markets for German industry and commerce.⁴⁰

After the successful signing of the treaty with Japan in January 1861, the squadron sailed to Nagasaki and then onward to China to begin negotiations for a treaty there. Heine left the expedition in Tienstin (Tianjin) in June of 1861. He had intended to travel via the Gobi desert and Siberia back to Europe, but the Chinese would not give him a visa. In the middle of September Heine left China on the USS Constitution, sailing back to the United States in order to fight in the Civil War.

Having stopped in New York to see his daughter Heine joined the Army and was assigned to the topographic engineers, which drew maps. In June 1862, Heine was a soldier with General John Adams Dix. After being wounded by a bullet in December 1862, he returned to Berlin to recover from the wound.⁴¹ It was there that he wrote in the Forward to his two-volume account of the Prussian Expedition in March 1863: “after my health has been restored, I consider it my duty to return immediately to the theater of war.”⁴²

After returning to the United States, in the middle of 1863, Heine was assigned to lead the 103rd New York Regiment as colonel and was eventually promoted to honorary brigadier general in October 1865. In April 1866, Heine went with James Dix to Paris to serve as *attaché*, and later headed the United States Consulate in Liverpool. Heine left the American diplomatic service in 1871 and returned to recently unified Germany with his daughter Katherine, while retaining his U.S. citizenship. Heine and his daughter settled in Waldpark bei Dresden, an elegant new housing area.⁴³ However as Dobson points out, while some of Heine’s biographers say he resigned, Heine did not simply leave the consular service, he was dismissed.⁴⁴ As recorded in the Congressional Globe, a presidential message to Con-

40 *Die preussische Expedition nach Ostasien*. Bd. I, p. xi

41 Hirner, “Das Leben und die Reisen des Wilhelm Heine,” p. 93.

42 Heine, Wilhelm Heine, *Eine Weltreise um die nördliche Hemisphäre in Verbindung mit der Ostasiatischen Expedition in den Jahren 1860 und 1861*. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1864, Bd. 1, p. viii.

43 Hirner, “Das Leben und die Reisen des Wilhelm Heine,” pp. 93–94.

44 Sebastian Dobson, “Getrennte Ansichten: Wilhelm Heine und Albert Berg in Japan,” in Sebastian Dobson and Sven Saaler, Hg., *Unter den Augen des Preußen-Adlers. Lithographien*,

gress from president U. S. Grant dated March 5, 1871, states “I inform Congress that William Heine, a consular clerk, was on the 30th of August last, removed from office for the following cause, namely insubordination, disobedience of orders, and disrespectful conduct toward his superiors.”⁴⁵

Once back in Germany, Heine occupied himself with exhibiting his Japan pictures and writing and publishing books. When he arrived in Germany in 1871, he was surprised to discover that not a single one of the sketches or photographs he had made in Japan and China were included in the official narrative of the Prussian Expedition. Instead the Official Narrative published over nine years a ten-part series of 60 photolithograph reproductions of drawings and watercolors of mostly landscape scenes made by the artist Albert Berg.⁴⁶ According to Dobson, Heine and Berg shared a considerable dislike for each other, which he attributes to differences in their backgrounds as well as their attitudes toward art and photography, and which complicated their work during the expedition.⁴⁷

In the summer of 1872, on a trip to Munich to discuss the publication of a book, Heine tried to renew his old friendship with Richard Wagner, whom he had known since childhood.⁴⁸ In an unannounced visit on 8 June 1872, Heine was received coolly, by both and Wagner and his wife Cosima, who mockingly referred to the sudden visit of “General” Heine as a “braggart who had not been seen for twenty-nine years.” The visit of Heine had made a bad impression on both of them and Wagner, as quoted by Cosima, called Heine an “inflated adventurous bag of nothingness.”⁴⁹

During the Prussian Expedition, Heine had made between 800 and 1000 photo-

Zeichnungen, und Photographien der Teilnehmer der Eulenburg-Expeditionl in Japan, 1860–1861. Judicium Verlag, 1912, p. 150.

45 *The Congressional Globe*, House of Representatives, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1871, p. 23. (cf. <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage? collId = llcg& fileName = 101/llcg 101.db&recNum = 26>). Retrieved 17 September 2016.

46 *Ansichten aus Japan, China und Siam: die preussische Expedition nach Ost-Asien*. Berlin: Königlichen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei, 1864–1873.

47 Dobson, “Getrennte Ansichten,” pp. 125–128.

48 Hirner, “Das Leben und die Reisen des Wilhelm Heine,” p. 96.

49 Cosima Wagner, *Die Tagebücher*. Ediert und kommentiert von Martin Gregor-Dellin und Dietrich Mack: Bd. 1: 1869–1872. 3. Auflage. Zurich: Piper, 1988. pp. 532–533.

graphic plates and many sketches. Some of them he had given to Graf Eulenburg in China, others to the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1863. The original plates that Heine had made during the exhibition were supposed to have been deposited in the archives of the Foreign Ministry and although Heine had been promised the use of them, they were not to be found. In order that his efforts would not remain totally fruitless, Heine decided to use what he had at hand, fifty prints of his drawings. From 1873 to 1875, with the help of his friends, the artists Mühlig, Schuster, and Hammer, he reworked these into black and white illustrations which were then photographed for a book that he entitled, *Japan: Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Landes und seiner Bewohner*. This book in folio format consists of five sections arranged on the topics of religion, history, ethnology, natural history, and scenic views, each illustrated with ten drawings. Due to the expense of publishing such photographs, the book was sold by subscription. In the forward, Heine thanked his subscribers, who had made it possible for him to make use of some of his work on the Prussian Expedition for the benefit of his fatherland.⁵⁰

The satisfaction that Heine had for the quality of the illustrations of this book contrasted with his disappointment at the inferior quality of his drawings that appeared in the official report of Perry's Expedition. Heine had chosen 380 of the some 500 sketches he had made to illustrate the text, and had reserved the right to review and reject any of the plates that would be used for the publication. The U.S. government had budgeted for the publication of 20,000 copies, but since the quality of the lithographic plates quickly deteriorated after only 2,000 prints. The publisher had even used some of the plates that Heine himself had rejected for publication. The end product was for Heine a "bitter disappointment." Fortunately, Heine had better luck with publisher of his books published in Germany by Hermann Costenoble in Leipzig, who was able to publish 30 high quality illustrations from woodcuts.⁵¹

Heine was pleased with the reception that this book enjoyed despite its high price.⁵² In fact, in the nineteenth century travel narratives became more and

50 Wilhelm Heine, *Japan. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Landes und seiner Bewohner*. Berlin: Paul Bette, 1875, p. ii.

51 Heine, *Japan. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Landes und seiner Bewohner*. Berlin: Paul Bette, 1875, p. i.

52 According to Dobson, "Getrennte Absichten," p. 171, one hundred fourteen patrons were

more popular due to increased literacy rates, and printing innovations made them increasingly affordable and allowed them to be written for the general reader.⁵³ Similarly encouraged by the reception of his other works on Japan, Heine decided to bring out a popular edition of *Beiträge* in 1880, so that his work on Japan might make a contribution to the public good. In this way Heine hoped to honor the parting words of Humboldt, who even on his death bed had encouraged Heine to devote himself to the study of Japan.⁵⁴

Heine's last publication was *Yeddo: Nach Original-Skizzen*, a collection of illustrations of Edo, which appeared in 1876.⁵⁵ The book offers a panorama view of the Japanese capital, but as Dobson points out, its content was confused, contained details that are found in other areas of the country, and was out of date, since it was based on his drawings made some twenty years earlier.⁵⁶

In the last years of his life, Heine suffered from various ailments. From January 1877 and during most of 1878, he received treatment for a nervous condition in an asylum for mental patients. He later returned temporarily to the USA and sought treatment in a hospital for veterans of the Civil War. Although he had achieved the rank of brigadier general during the war, like other promotions in the army, it had been revoked by a later administration and Heine was reduced to the rank of captain. Apparently not satisfied with the amount of his pension, Heine sought an increase and complained to the War Department.⁵⁷

In 1883, after the marriage of his daughter (to Edgar Hanfstaengl, junior manager of the Kunstverlagsanstalt of Franz Hanfstaengl), Heine settled in Kötzschenbroda and lived the last years of his life in relative quiet, with few appearances in public. He gained weight in his later years and suffered from dropsy, which left him with swollen hands and feet and made him bed-ridden for the last six months of his life until he died on 5 October 1885.⁵⁸

found and paid 14 Thalers per copy.

53 Tim Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 56.

54 Heine, Japan. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Landes und seiner Bewohner*. p. ii.

55 Wilhelm Heine, *Yeddo: Nach Original-Skizzen*. Dresden: Gilbers, 1876.

56 Dobson, "Getrennte Ansichten," p. 175.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

58 Hirner, "Das Leben und die Reisen des Wilhelm Heine," p. 97.

Heine's estate was auctioned off and sold after his death. Andreas Hirner maintains that, if Edgar Hanfstaengl, Heine's son-in-law, had not donated the artwork for Heine's last folio book to the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich (now known as the Museum Fünf Kontinente), Heine would most likely have been forgotten.⁵⁹

PART TWO: Heine's Narratives and the Promotion of European, German, and American Expansion

Perry's Expedition

As we have seen, one motivation of Heine's publications of his writings and artwork was a desire to contribute to the knowledge of Japan and China among his countrymen. At the same time, Heine was also motivated by the desire to explain the necessity of expanding German trade and commerce and East Asia and to promote a German Expedition for that purpose. These two concerns can also be seen in Heine's narrative accounts of both Perry's Expedition and the Prussian Expedition.

Heine's interest in the Far East was piqued by a general sense of curiosity and a spirit of adventure seeking. In explaining his reasons for joining the American Expedition, Heine wrote that he wanted to verify for himself the various claims that travelers had made about the lands of the Far East. Furthermore, from his studies of the ancient history of the Americas, he had learned of the possibility of people from Asia sailing to and settling in the Western Hemisphere.⁶⁰ After his return to the United States from the Perry's Expedition, Heine was still excited by the adventure of the trip and maintained that his recollection of the romance and adventure of the voyage had induced him write his account of the Expedition.⁶¹

After the arrival of the expedition in the Bonin Islands, Heine was inspired by the fact that a year earlier, during his travels in Central America, he had seen the Pacific Ocean from the other side. At that time all he could think of was getting

59 *Ibid.*, pp. 97–98.

60 Trautmann, *With Perry to Japan*, p. 25.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

back to the United States in time to join Perry's Expedition. Now, a year later, he was looking at the same Ocean from the opposite side. He pondered the future and the prospects of the success of the expedition, which put him in such good spirits that he spontaneously "belted out a pure and lusty Tyrolean yodel that echoed from the rocks roundabout."⁶² Heine was so impressed with the natural beauty he experienced in the Bonin Islands that he felt like he was "in Paradise" and even felt like leaving the expedition to remain there. Nevertheless he forced himself to concentrate on his present task. "I freed myself of these thoughts with difficulty and only with the counter thought that as long as God grants me health and the strength of youth, I must bear the obligation to be active and to do what I can for the common good."⁶³

Similarly, Heine expressed pride in the accomplishments of the expedition's exploration of Ryukyu in which he took part, having made extended excursions of the main island, and exploring half of its area. At one point the exploration party raised a U.S. flag on the highest point of the island, celebrating the occasion with volleys from their firearms and shouts of hurrahs. According to Heine, "we had outdone each and every seafaring nation here before us. We had seen more of the island and met more of the people."⁶⁴

Heine was not directly involved in the negotiations of the expedition, but he did realize the momentousness of the occasion. Like everyone else, Heine was aware of the resistance among the Japanese to the opening of the country. Still, he believed that the Japanese were clever and knew enough of world affairs to realize that their two hundred year isolation must end eventually: "One of the most interesting moments in modern history was approaching, no doubt about it. How I delighted to be both observer and participant."⁶⁵

Heine described the results of Perry's expedition in glowing terms. He first listed the achievements of the stated goals of the mission: 1) ensuring aid and protection for American ships and sailors that had encountered accidents, 2) ensuring that American ships could get any necessary water, wood, coal and provisions, and 3)

62 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

the opening of at least one port to serve as a coaling station for ships on the route between the U.S.A. and China.⁶⁶

In Heine's view, the success of the mission, was to be attributed to the resolute and effective negotiating skills of its leader:

Commodore Perry, one of the most distinguished officers ever to serve in the American navy, led the awe-inspiring armada to what had been one of the least accessible nations on earth. He presented his credentials to the emperor [through the emperor's representatives], together with a letter from the president; he compelled negotiations by virtue of a steadfast determination and a sober rationality simultaneously applied; and he achieved more than we had thought possible—without resorting to force.⁶⁷

The treaty negotiated by Perry did in fact "open" Japan to formal relations with the outside world, initially with the United States, and eventually with the other leading powers. Perry's Convention of Kanagawa of 1854 was followed up by the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and Japan negotiated by the U.S. Consul in Japan Townsend Harris in 1858. Treaties between the other major powers and Japan soon followed.

While it is true Perry did not actually resort to the use of force to bring about the treaties, it is quite clear that he did make use of the threat of force to impress the Japanese with his determination. On the other hand, the Americans were prepared to use force if necessary. For example, while making a hunting expedition in the main island of the Ryukyus to replenish their food supply, the men carried sufficient arms to repel any attempts to molest them.⁶⁸

Upon its approach to Edo Bay, Perry's squadron was met by a number of Japanese boats, and a signal shot was fired from the shore to alert the other batteries. The squadron continued to approach and anchored offshore in battle formation. Japanese officials approached in small boats and after a parley, they were told the

66 *Ibid.*, p. 162.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 162.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

purpose of the squadron's arrival and given an invitation for the head of the local government to visit the American ships. When more boats arrived, threatening to surround the squadron, Perry made it clear to the Japanese that they should leave the Americans alone. When this made little impact on the puzzled Japanese officials, he repeated his statement "in a threatening tone." The Japanese dismissed the boats and asked the Americans not to go ashore. The Americans promised not to do so.⁶⁹

The Japanese asked for and had been given four days in order to make the necessary arrangements for the initial negotiations. During the wait, Heine was assigned to assist in making a preliminary survey of Edo Bay, including sounding for depths, measuring currents, and counting the batteries and estimating their range. In case they Japanese patrol boats tried to stop them, the survey party had been given orders to meet force with force. There were sixteen men in the boats, and when a Japanese boat approach, half the men dropped their oars and picked up muskets. As Heine noted, "Without fail this demonstration cleared the way for us."⁷⁰ As the squadron moved up the Bay closer to Edo, hundreds of Japanese boats approached from Uraga and the opposite side of the Bay. Only once did the Japanese boats attempt a battle formation, but was quickly dispersed by the blast of the steamer *Mississippi's* whistle. As Heine relates, "I could not help but laugh" at the effect of the whistle. In any case the Americans had been ordered not to proceed, and no further incidents occurred.⁷¹

In the ceremonials and negotiation procedures, Perry had also insisted on treatment as an equal, and resolutely refused to accept anything he considered subservient or humiliating. This is why he demanded being carried in a sedan chair to meet the regent of Ryukyu, accompanied by a military band, a detachment of marines, and gifts. He also insisted on being received in the regent's palace as had the officers of the English ship *Reynard*, who were given an official reception and banquet. Perry's aim was make a strong impression on the officials of Ryukyu, as a way of testing the reception and letting the Japanese on the mainland know that he

69 *Ibid.*, p. 64-65.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

was on his way there. As Heine put it, “moreover, we had been warmly received in a country that pays tribute to Japan. We therefore concluded, justifiably, that a cordial reception boded well for success.”⁷²

A similar attitude and desire for respectful treatment befitting his mission is apparent in the circumstances surrounding Perry’s first official contacts with the Japanese in July of 1853. Heine describes the scene of a meeting place set up on shore in Uraga, where Perry’s retinue, which included two bands and two units of marines and two of sailors, was met by the governor of Uraga accompanied by at least 5000 Japanese soldiers. Perry and his senior officers were seated on a pavilion in seats of equal height as the “imperial” councilors (actually officials of the Shogunate). As Heine points out, ceremony was very important to the Japanese, and the Americans were intent on being treated as equals and not subservient underlings, as the Russians and Dutch had been:

What an outlandish and insolent spectacle we therefore presented to the Japanese. How different our behavior from that of the Russians and Dutch, what a lurid contrast our manner against that of the councilors’ underlings, and how egregious we alien barbarians must have seemed to the councilors. Perhaps the Dutch and Russian emissaries had been instructed to respond with obeisance to every impudent Japanese policeman and to kneel and to crawl, backward and forward, time after time. Not with us, thank God! The commodore had made up his mind; no disgraceful humiliation would be inflicted upon *him*.⁷³

The Dutch did comply with Japanese protocol and were even subjected to being made to crawl on their hands and knees, perform dances, sing, and act drunk, among other things during their annual, later semi-annual, visits to the Shogun’s court in Edo, as described in Engelbert Kaempfer’s *History of Japan*: “In this manner and with innumerable such other apish tricks, we suffer ourselves to the Emperor’s

72 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

and the Court's diversion.⁷⁴ However, at least one Russian, Nikolai Rezanov, a plenipotentiary ambassador charged with opening official diplomatic relations with Japan in 1804, took a similar attitude to Perry by striking a strong, proud, and uncompromising figure. Rezanov's brazenness and outright crudeness, however, had the opposite of the intended effect on the Japanese, who ultimately turned him away empty-handed after several months in Nagasaki.⁷⁵

According to Heine, Perry's determination made a profound impression on the Japanese. When Perry handed over his credentials and a letter from President Fillmore, and announced that he would give them time to deliberate and would return in the spring for an answer, the Japanese were "astounded," wrote Heine. Perry's behavior was quite unlike that of the other foreign delegations that "had waited long months in ignominious semi-imprisonment until it pleased the Japanese to answer them equivocally and let them go at last."⁷⁶

Perry's determination and domineering attitude was also on display after the expedition left Japan in July of 1853 and returned to Ryukyu. Perry wanted to get rid of the escorts so that the local people could mingle with the crew. When the regent hesitated, Perry said that he would go to Shuri, the capital, in order to arrange it himself. This persistence of Perry, as Heine notes, overcame the objections of the regent, who agreed to Perry's proposal. This too, according to Heine had a good effect: "And so we gradually overcame the shyness of the inhabitants of Loo Choo. Let us hope that the friendly relations thus established with those good natured people will get better and better in the years to come."⁷⁷

Heine gives another description of Perry's resolute posturing when the expedition returned to Edo in February of 1854 to begin negotiating the details of the treaty. Perry had ordered the fleet to sail into and anchor in Edo bay past Uraga, where the Japanese and Americans had made their initial contacts the previous year. On 14 February a Japanese delegation came on board Perry's ship and re-

74 Engelbert Kaempfer. *History of Japan*. 3 Vols. Reprint of 1906 edition, Curzon Press, Vol. III, pp. 93-94.

75 Owen Matthews. *Glorious Misadventures: Nikolai Rezanov and the Dream of a Russian America*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013, pp. 175-186.

76 Trautmann, *With Perry to Japan*, p. 74.

77 *Ibid*, p. 75.

requested the Americans to return to Uraga, where preparations for the negotiations had been made, but Perry refused. As Heine described it, "The old sea dog acted friendly while at once declining with energy and resolve."⁷⁸ Perry did, however allow Flag Captain Adams to confer with the Japanese in Uraga concerning the preparations for the negotiations on 24 February. The Japanese insisted on doing all the negotiations in Uraga, but Perry stood by his demand that the negotiations be held in Edo opposite the anchorage of the fleet. On the 25th the Japanese delegation visited Perry in his anchorage and requested once again that he return to Uraga. When Perry refused, they finally relented and asked him to suggest a site. Perry chose an open field a half mile east of Kanagawa.⁷⁹

Apart from respect for cultural differences, Heine seems to think that the American approach, while going against the Japanese etiquette, was nevertheless effective, since the Americans had also been instructed to treat their Japanese counterparts with the same courtesy as a man in a similar position in the United States. According to Heine the Japanese were also impressed to see how the American officers were respected by their subordinates without "shameful subservience" and "servile formalities." Furthermore, Heine noted, "the Japanese also observed that we received their representatives aboard and, without degrading ourselves, treated them with cordiality and warmth."⁸⁰

Still even Heine recognized that there were limits to what such brazenness and intransigence could achieve. After the successful conclusion of the negotiations for the treaty at the end of March, 1854, Perry expressed his desire to see Edo before he left Japan. According to Heine, this alarmed the Japanese: "Foreigners who would not humble themselves to Japanese ceremony dare state that they intended to see the imperial palace. The notion boggled the mind." When the Japanese suggested that they request permission for a visit like the Dutch, Perry dismissed it as unacceptable. Even when Perry suggested that he would only sail far enough up the Bay of Edo to see the city, the Japanese declared that they would be forced to commit suicide. Finally, on 8th April after a delegation of Japanese officials came

78 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

79 *Ibid.*, pp. 104–106.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

on board, Perry sailed to within three miles of the city, and stopped for thirty minutes before turning back, much to the relief of the Japanese. Heine was disappointed that his wish to see the imperial city was not fulfilled, but considered that the expedition had accomplished all that it could at this point, and satisfying their curiosity might come at the expense of the lives of Japanese officials who would be held responsible for the actions of the Americans. “Regardless, whether they killed themselves or were killed, our disrespect for their requests and our scorn for their remonstrances would have so humiliated the Japanese that a wall of bitterness would have divided the two nations, perhaps for a long time.”⁸¹

Heine’s narratives give detailed descriptions of contacts with the Japanese and close observations of their customs, food, clothing, housing and other aspects of their daily life. These share some of the characteristics of the nineteenth century contemporary accounts of exploration and contact with little known peoples. As Tim Youngs points out, “just as history is written by the victors, so any discussion of exploration tends to be written from the point of view of the explorer. The language of exploration history perpetuates the idea of active, inquiring Europeans and static, passive indigenes.”⁸² However, perhaps due to his artist’s eye for detail, while Heine’s descriptions of Japan and comparisons with European culture often show negative aspects, they are not always condescending or chauvinistic. Heine not only finds fault, but also praises the good and beautiful elements of Japan and the Japanese.

Much of Heine’s narrative describe the landscape and countryside of the sites he visited, such as the roads, streams, paddies, settlements, and buildings of the Ryukyu islands, as well as the people, all of which were also the subject of his drawings. Heine relates how he found the people to be “perfect subjects for artistic rendition” and would lead them to a suitable place to pose for him.”⁸³

However, he also made many observations on the characteristics and customs of the people. Heine apparently found Japanese food tasty. For example, he describes a banquet held at the private residence of the regent of Ryukyu with a

81 *Ibid.*, pp. 128–129.

82 Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 37.

83 *Ibid.*, pp. 58.

twelve-course meal served on many small plates and which was “attractively arranged, good tasting, but so refined that our palates, being those of barbaric sailors, could neither understand or evaluate them.” However, Heine claimed that all of the food was “delicious,” including a dish that he was told contained “the flesh of a dog.” While he had some doubts whether it was actually dog meat, he claimed that he had “never savored meat of such tenderness and flavor. The most fastidious of gourmards would not—could not—reject such a morsel.”⁸⁴

Heine also seems to have found *sake* to his liking. He thought it resembled ar-rack and that it tasted “superb.” Since it was served in a thimble-sized cups, West-erners used to larger portions needed several refills. Heine found the drink so mild that he boasted of having drunk fifteen servings without feeling any effects from the alcohol.⁸⁵ In his description of the Ryukyu islanders, Heine paints a rather posi-tive picture of their character: “Generally speaking, I found the local people gentle, kind and well-behaved. I doubt whether conversion to Christianity could improve their conduct.”⁸⁶ He also noticed how garden gates, courtyard entrances and even house doors remained open at night in almost idyllic terms: “Thus in those days, thieves seemed a class of society as yet unknown in that blessed land.”⁸⁷

During his stop in Shimoda in April 1854, Heine described the houses of the Japanese, noting that one could tell the wealth of the owner of a building by the quality of the tatami mats that covered the floor. The buildings, unlike those in the Western world, had only sliding panels in place of windows and doors, with paper in place of glass. In general he found the buildings and streets and streets, “immaculate.”⁸⁸ On the other hand, the buildings in Hakodate, which he visited in May 1854, reminded him of Switzerland: the flat shingled roofs, with poles held in place by heavy stones to protect against the heavy like those found in Lake Lu-cerne, and the second-story balconies, and the doors with a small enclosed porch or exterior vestibule with thrusting, carved gables.⁸⁹

84 *Ibid.*, pp. 46.

85 *Ibid.*, pp. 47.

86 *Ibid.*, pp. 59.

87 *Ibid.*, pp. 57.

88 *Ibid.*, pp. 138.

89 *Ibid.*, pp. 148.

Heine observed many Japanese temples, whose altars, incense, candles and gongs resembled those he had seen in China and Indochina. He described the people praying with a kind of small rosary and making small offerings. However, to Heine, the Japanese were less superstitious than the Chinese: “I saw not a hint of the superstitious ceremonials of China, a noteworthy fact. The Japanese service seemed to consist of genuine prayer, no less, and nothing else.”⁹⁰ Heine also described some of their carvings of the temples as resembling features of European Catholic Churches, such as a carving of a female figure that resembled a statue of St. Anne, or a path winding up a hill that reminded him of Catholic Stations of the Cross.⁹¹ Similarly, the vestments of the Japanese monks reminded him of the stoles of European clergymen and their headgear of a bishop’s miter. Concerning the lifestyle of the Japanese clergy, he wrote “These gentlemen, like the clergy of other lands, seem to regard gluttony, drink and depravity as prerogatives of office. Frequently I witnessed the consequences of their passion for saki [sic].”⁹²

On the other hand, some of the customs and manners of the Japanese struck Heine as peculiar. For example, he described as “ugly and repulsive” such practices of Japanese women as whitening and coloring the face, reddening the lips, plucking of eyebrows and blackening of teeth, which was accomplished with a greyish powder that made the mouth swell.⁹³ He also remarked on the custom of “shoelessness”, noting how the entourage of Japanese officials walked in their stocking feet, as well as the common people removing shoes upon entering buildings.

However, as Heine explained, after he had become accustomed to the Japanese customs, he began to like the people and admire their character. He was especially impressed by their good manners toward others, and their extraordinary self-control, which he considered “a remarkable feature of the national character.”⁹⁴ Describing the people he encountered during his stay in Ryukyu, he found their moral character to be at least equal to that of Europeans. “Generally speaking, I found the local person gentle, kind and well-behaved. I doubt whether conversion to Christi-

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 135.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 151.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 140.

93 *Ibid.*, pp. 138.

94 *Ibid.*, pp. 150.

anity could improve his conduct.”⁹⁵ Heine also praised the hospitality of the people, who supplied them with food during their excursions.⁹⁶

Heine was also struck by the reserved curiosity of the Japanese officials who were invited to board the American ships and inspected the machinery, cannons, rifles and revolvers. He also noted how they were able to point out the location of Japan, Russia, Holland, the U.S.A. on maps and asked informed questions such as whether Mexico still existed as an independent country or had it been conquered by the United States.⁹⁷ Heine also recorded the surprise of the Japanese towards the official gifts which Perry brought with him as part of his official negotiations, especially the miniature railroad, which included a reduced-scale locomotive, tender, and passengers cars that ran around a track about one mile in circumference.⁹⁸

The Prussian Expedition

The Prussian expedition arrived in Japan in early September 1860. Like his narrative of Perry’s Expedition, Heine’s narrative of the Prussian Expedition gives many descriptions of the landscape, the people, and their customs. And, although Heine was not directly involved, it also refers to the treaty negotiations, and its significance for Germany, Japan and the world.

As the fleet of the Prussian Expedition approached Edo, it passed by Mt. Fuji. Heine, who was now viewing the impressive sight of the majestic mountain for the ninth time, remarked that it had never looked more beautiful than now and how the sight filled him joy:

While the others cried “how beautiful,” I thanked God in silence from the depths of my heart, for answering a fervent prayer I had made several years before, and I was happy to see the day when a German warship cuts through this distant sea with its keel. When I have returned once again to mountains and forests of America, my new fatherland, where my dear wife now sleeps an eternal sleep and my child lives her first years, I will always think back on this

95 *Ibid.*, pp. 59.

96 *Ibid.*, pp. 41.

97 *Ibid.*, pp. 74.

98 *Ibid.*, pp. 126.

day with joy.⁹⁹

On this second voyage to Japan, Heine spent nearly five months in Japan, a much longer period than his stay with Perry's expedition. Count Friedrich zu Eulenburg and the Prussian delegation arrived in Edo on 5 September 1860, and two days later, the Japanese government arranged quarters in a traditional Japanese-style building in Akabane, which Heine described as a good part of the city, near the residences of the daimyo.¹⁰⁰

The negotiations took some five months until the signing of the treaty with Japan on 24 January and departure from Edo on 31 January 1861. To negotiate the treaty, Eulenburg was able to draw on the help and experience of the representatives of other Western powers that had already successfully negotiated and concluded treaties with the Japanese. Especially helpful were the American Consul Townsend Harris and his interpreter, the Dutch-American Henry Heusken, who had negotiated the Japanese-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1858, the first commercial treaty between Japanese and a foreign power. Just as the Americans had offered their help to the Russians and English with their negotiations with the Japanese, they now aided the Prussians. Heusken, the first foreigner to meet the Prussians in Edo, served as their interpreter, being present at all of the negotiations and all papers went through his hands.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the French and American government representatives helped supply the Prussians with thirty horses and European style saddles.¹⁰² This was a welcome gesture to Heine, who found the Japanese saddles to be particularly uncomfortable, with one's feet crammed into the iron stirrups and sitting on a narrow, sharply angled saddle board with bent knees.¹⁰³

Heine's narrative describes the life and work of the Prussian delegation during the five months it took to negotiate the treaty. The daily schedule started with breakfast at 10:00 a.m., the afternoons were usually spent on excursions or shop-

99 Heine, *Eine Weltreise*, Bd. I, p. 195.

100 *Ibid.*, pp. 203.

101 *Ibid.*, pp. 40.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 202.

103 *Ibid.*, pp. 263.

ping with other members of the legation, usually accompanied by Japanese escorts. During these outings, Heine made observations and studies of the city and environs, landscapes and people. The second meal of the day was at 6:00 p.m. after which the members of the legation relaxed by playing cards or conversation. Heine's official duties were to make drawings of various things and to oversee the photography, which he usually did in the daytime, while in the afternoons and evenings he wrote his diary and letters, and worked on his sketches. On Sundays, the members of the legation would return to the ships anchored in Edo Bay for religious services and to talk with the crew left on board.¹⁰⁴

As Heine described it, drawing was sufficient for landscapes, but the complicated architecture of temple buildings, etc. required photographs. The temples were especially interesting for their ethnological significance as well as for the picturesque charm. However, just like the French and British photographers, Heine also encountered resistance from the Japanese when they attempted to photograph the temples.¹⁰⁵

Remarking on the differences in Japan since his last visit six years previously, Heine observed that the Prussians could now stay in Edo, whereas the closest Perry had gotten was three miles at anchorage.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, almost all of what Heine saw and experienced was for the first time. As Heine pointed out, this was also a great improvement on the experiences of Thunberg and Kaempfer, whose works about Japan were among the few sources of accurate information about Japan at the time. Both Thunberg and Kaempfer had complained about the difficulty of meeting the Japanese and obtaining any information about the country. Heine considered himself fortunate to be able to move with greater freedom than these two Europeans, especially being able to observe himself the nature of the land and its people. Still, he found the Japanese people reticent, and afraid of clashing with the foreigners, driven by a feeling of self-protection to keep things from foreigners or even to lie about them.¹⁰⁷ In the future, Heine opined, Western scholars would be able to learn the Japanese language and culture well enough to understand what

104 *Ibid.*, pp. 207–8.

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 230–237.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 199.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 210.

seems peculiar about the Japanese and their culture. As for himself, he could only learn a few words for the names of things and some expressions for daily conversations. As a result, Heine maintained that he was only describing what he had seen himself, and reported on what he had heard from others, only if he had been able to observe it himself.¹⁰⁸

Heine and the Prussians were able to make excursions around the vicinity of the legation, but always accompanied by several Japanese officials. Still, Heine was able to describe many details of the life and activities of the people he had observed. Artist that he was, Heine's account is given to description of the buildings and landscape, as well as the daily activities of the people. Once again, we find him pointing out some negative aspects yet presenting a generally positive image of Japan and the Japanese.

Heine described Edo as a collection of villages, with the castle of the "emperor" (actually the Shogun's palace)¹⁰⁹ in the center, surrounded by walls and moats. About one-quarter of the buildings were temples or shrines, and there were many bridges over the numerous canals and rivers that ran through the city. To Heine, the skyline was monotonous. Furthermore, there was no central market such as one found in Europe, but rather many small shops. The city also had many gardens and parks for the middle and lower class people.¹¹⁰ He also described the small shops and teahouses of Sinagawa [sic], an inn for the lower class with a large open hall and smaller pavilions and a garden for the higher classes in Omori, and the nice buildings, clean streets, ornaments and decorations of the temple precincts in Ikegami. He found the Japanese craftsmanship, especially the metalwork, to be excellent.¹¹¹

Heine was also impressed by the beauty of Japanese gardens with their clean, spacious, and pretty tea houses. He found the people, especially the women well-dressed, and described their silk garments decorated with embroidery and colorful

108 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

109 Like most foreigners of the time, Heine was not clear on the organization of the Japanese government. He referred to the "Emperor," "Siogun," or "Tai-kun" as the same person (Heine, *Eine Weltreise*, I, p. 226).

110 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 212-221.

111 *Ibid.*, pp. 239; 242; 248-252.

silk and gold. He also was struck by the way that the waitresses would accompany guests to the door when they left.¹¹² On the other hand, Heine was dismayed by the curious custom of Japanese women blackening their teeth, which he believed did nothing to improve their attractiveness. He found it peculiar that while women in other countries try to make themselves more attractive, in Japan “they try to disfigure themselves as much as possible.”¹¹³

Some twenty pages of Heine’s narrative is dedicated to a description of the Kannon Temple of Asakusa (Sensōji), a popular entertainment district in the Edo period. Heine found Japanese temples to be of great interest because so much of the people’s lives were centered on them. He compared the liveliness of the shops and various amusements to the Latin Quarter of Notre Dame de Lorrette, and the shops selling all kinds of household utensils, clothing, toys, and handcrafts to German church fairs or markets in Paris boulevards at year’s end.¹¹⁴ Heine was also intrigued by the various forms of entertainment he observed: wrestling matches, a haunted house, musical and theatrical performances, a display similar to a European wax museum depicting scenes from daily life. However, some of the exhibits were signs to Heine of a Japanese addiction to cruel, frightening, and frivolous and obscene objects, an unpleasant characteristic of a people who otherwise had many good traits. He was also impressed by the target shooting similar to a German village festival, and jugglers using fans to make paper butterflies flutter over flowers.¹¹⁵

Another object of Heine’s descriptions was the foreign settlement in Kanagawa/Yokohama and the living conditions of its residents. According to the treaties signed with Japan by the various Western powers, the envoys and foreigners were required to live in settlement set aside for them. This was the site where Perry had signed his treaty, but much had changed in the five years since then. Heine describes how foreigners living in Japanese temples had “civilized” them by adding glass windows, doors, wall paper and furniture. Life in the settlement could be comfortable, similar to San Francisco, but labor was cheaper. As Heine explained,

112 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 261.

113 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 245.

114 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 265–268.

115 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 269; 273–278; 283

the Japanese had built ditches and fences around the settlement to keep the foreigners under control and supervise all traffic in and out. When foreigners resisted the restrictions and went out through closed gates, conflicts would arise with the local Japanese officials who insisted on calling on officials in Edo to deal with the problem. On the north end of the settlement was an entertainment area that had teahouses and theaters on the same level as the lower class establishments that Heine had described earlier. There were also made-up women in wooden stalls engaged in prostitution, a practice which Heine describes as widespread and which was conducted by private individuals, but taxed by the government at 50% of income. As Heine explained it, the entertainment area was set up by the authorities after incidents of foreigners getting involved in conflicts with Japanese. Heine considered this measure of the authorities to satisfy the needs of the foreigners native.¹¹⁶

On the other hand, Heine recognized that conflict between foreigners and Japanese was a serious problem. Remarking on the reactions of Japanese when they encountered the members of the legation on their walks or rides through the streets, Heine noticed that most of the people were indifferent, but some were curious and after a momentary glance, they went back about their business. Some Japanese laughed at the Europeans' clothes and language, and some were even hostile, especially the retainers of the daimyos. Interestingly, Heine shows some understanding for the Japanese reaction, pointing out that there had been a general rise in prices in Japan due to exports through foreigners, and that prices of some things had even doubled. Trade with the foreigners profited only a few. Since the daimyos had to come to Edo regularly, they, too, were affected by the rise in prices and had difficulty in affording the costs of providing for the clothing and other expenses of their retinue.¹¹⁷

In fact, the hostility among the samurai reached a crisis point at the beginning of January, during the final stages of the treaty negotiations. On 2 January 1861 the Prussian legation was visited by the governor of Edo who announced the discovery of a plot by five hundred *rōnin* to murder all foreigners. As Heine explained

116 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 1-9.

117 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 222-223.

it, these *rōnin* were lower ranking officials who had lost their positions because of the death of their masters or for other reasons. Some became imperial soldiers or taught in military schools, and the rest became robbers. The governor said that he was worried about the safety of the foreigners and urged Eulenburg to withdraw the Prussian delegation to the Shogun's residence or to his fleet, where the treaty negotiations could be continued. According to Heine, Eulenburg recognized the danger, but at the same time thought that the Japanese government would use the threat as an excuse to put further restrictions on the movements of foreigners within the country. Eulenburg rejected the governor's advice, and told him he was confident that the Japanese government would be able to protect the legation under the present arrangements and in the worst case, he was prepared to defend himself. Eulenburg increased the guard, issued weapons to members of the legation, and ordered *Thetis*, one of the ships of the Prussian fleet, to sail from its anchorage in Edo Bay to Yokohama to aid in the protection of the foreigners there. For their part, the Japanese increased the guard of the legation building to one hundred men, ordered that only members of the household could stay overnight in Japanese homes, and issued an after-dark curfew.¹¹⁸

Echoing his high regard for Perry's tough stance when negotiating with the Japanese, Heine considered that Eulenburg's decisiveness in this situation did more to increase the respect for Germany than any other negotiation and voiced his confidence that a treaty would soon be signed and that the German nation would achieve "that worthy position in Japan that was due it in the great family of nations."¹¹⁹

Unfortunately, the warning of possible violence became reality with the murder of Henry Heusken, an American translator on the staff of the American Consul, Townsend Harris, who had offered his services to the Prussian delegation. As Heine writes, Heusken had left the quarters of the Prussian delegation around 8:30 p.m. on the evening of 15 January 1861 after a round of negotiations concerning supplementary articles for the treaty, and was ambushed and struck down by seven or eight anti-Western samurai. Heusken was carried to the American legation, but

118 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 26–28.

119 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 27.

the sword wounds to his internal organs were too severe and he died of severe loss of blood shortly after midnight. While Harris wept bitterly, Heine did what he could, by reading Bible passages from the 21st Chapter of Revelations and the 11th Chapter of Hebrews. Heine stayed with Heusken's body overnight.¹²⁰

Security precautions were extensive for Heusken's funeral which was held at the Buddhist temple Korinzhi [sic] on 18 January 1861. The Japanese officials feared an attack on the funeral procession and urged the foreigners to stay in their legations. However, Harris replied that they were duty bound to bury him and that he trusted the Japanese government would protect them. Nevertheless, Harris asked Eulenburg for a Prussian military guard. In Heine's description of the funeral, five top Japanese "governors" attended the funeral in full ceremonial costume that was worn during audiences with the Shogun. According to Heine, there were two reasons for this. First, to show their respects for Heusken and second, to deter by their presence any possible attacks on the foreigners.¹²¹

Heusken's burial ended without incident, but as a precaution, all foreigners were removed to Yokohama for security reasons, with the exception of Harris. Heine remarked that he did not blame those who evacuated, but "as an American" he was proud that Harris remained in Edo and avoided any actions that might have led to war.¹²²

In Heine's view, there was no doubt about the existence of a considerable anti-foreign party in Japan and that it would also take time to overcome their prejudices. It would take a long time to change, but for Heine, "Time, education, and above all moderate, blameless behavior of foreigners alone can give a good example of and bring about an improvement in the situation."¹²³ Heine remarked on the same sentiment upon his departure from Edo. Although relations with Japan were not so good at first, he believed that the present atmosphere, if sustained and nourished with discretion and good behavior would ensure an influential place for German interests in Japan in the future.¹²⁴ As a matter of fact, resistance to the open-

120 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 42-46.

121 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 53-55.

122 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 59.

123 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 59.

124 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 66.

ing of Japan continued for several years, leading to several armed clashes with the Western powers.

Another insight into the cause of the violence can be seen in a conversation Heine had with a Japanese interpreter immediately after Heusken's murder. Tateisch Onizhiro [sic] (whom the foreigners referred to as "Tommy"), was a young man of 17 or 18, who had accompanied the Japanese diplomatic mission to the U.S. for the ratification of the Treaty of 1858. Heine was struck by the way that "Tommy" had hoped that Heusken, whom he had found to be such a good man, would go to heaven. When Heine asked what could be done about the violence against foreigners, "Tommy" explained that there were many bad men who made the streets unsafe at night and ventured his opinion that the situation would not improve until there are good schools, where the Japanese people are taught good things and learn to read the Bible. Heine was surprised that Tateishi spoke so freely in the presence of two other Japanese about such forbidden things as Christianity. Later, Heine heard from "Tommy" that he had read the Bible and discussed religion with the chaplain of the American ship that brought the Japanese delegation back to Japan. Heine was convinced that the young interpreter understood the essentials of Christianity and noted that his Japanese given name, "Onjiro" [sic] was similar to Anjiro, the name of the first Japanese to be baptized by Francis Xavier. "If this man is chosen by God in the same way, then thank Providence, the night that covers this poor people will be made an end. And the blood of our poor friend will then bloom into a rich harvest for the Kingdom of the Lord. Perhaps the time is not too far away when the Word can be freely taught and heard here."¹²⁵

Despite the tense atmosphere in the relations of the Japanese and the foreign powers, the murder of Heusken did not prevent the concluding of the treaty with Prussia, which was duly signed by Eulenburg and representatives of the Bakufu government on 24 January 1861. After signing the treaty with Japan, the squadron sailed to China and Siam, where the Prussian mission also successfully concluded trade treaties. Heine left the expedition in China, sailing back in September in order to fight in the Civil War.

Historically speaking, the Prussian Expedition to East Asia was important for

125 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 47-49.

two reasons. One, the treaties gave a solid legal basis for German trade in Asia. Second, although the treaty was an agreement between Japan and Prussia alone, without the states of the German Zollverein, the Hanseatic cities, and the two Mecklenburgs and therefore caused considerable disappointment in Germany, the problem could be practically solved by the other German states flying the Prussian flag.¹²⁶ Even if considered only a partial success for this reason, the treaty did help Prussia to assert itself as the leading economic power of Germany and helped it consolidate its political role in the eventual unification of Germany and the establishment of the German Empire in 1871.¹²⁷ In this way, the success of the Prussian Expedition to East Asia provided the basis for Germany's entrance to the circle of major players in international politics in East Asia at the end of the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

This article has described the life and activities of Wilhelm Heine, as artist, writer and promoter of American, German, and European Expansion in Asia, in the second half of the nineteenth century. Heine himself never claimed to be a scholar or expert, and while he has been mostly forgotten, as a member of two separate major expeditions by the United States and Germany to open diplomatic and trade relations with Japan, his artist's eye allowed not only his drawings, which illustrated the official narrative of Perry's expedition and several other works on Japan, but his written accounts of his participation in the expeditions also gave an eye-witness view of the opening of Japan and helped to form the popular image of Japan in both the United States and Germany.

In that sense, this study of Heine's life, artistic work, and publications, provides an insight into the mentality of the mid-nineteenth century, when the European powers Europe and the United States were actively pursuing a policy of overseas expansion and at the same expanding their knowledge of the world. As we have

126 Kerst, *Die deutsche Expedition nach Japan*, pp. 29–30.

127 Holmer Stahncke, *Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Japan, 1854–1868* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987, pp. 235–236.

seen, as illustrator and narrator, Heine did not stop at drawing and describing what he saw, but he was also an active promoter of the necessity and benefits of the expansion of trade and contacts between America, Germany, and East Asia, especially Japan. His descriptions, while pointing out what appeared peculiar to him, he presented mostly a positive image of the Japanese and their culture.

Furthermore, Heine, in his person and in his observations of the relations between the Western powers and their respective relations with Japan, gives an insight into the international atmosphere during the “Age of Imperialism.” As a German-born and later naturalized American citizen, he displayed national pride both as an American and as a German, as these respective countries successfully concluded complicated negotiations to further their interests. At the same time, his descriptions of the background in which these negotiations were conducted demonstrate the practical necessity of international cooperation that was also important part of Western expansion, especially as the European powers and the United States engaged China and Japan, two countries with long histories of isolation and reluctance to open themselves to international trade and diplomatic relations.

Heine was not directly involved in the negotiations of the treaties nor does he describe Japanese culture or society as a scholar. Nevertheless, Heine’s narratives aimed at painting a fresh and lively picture of the life of the country and peoples he encountered from the perspective of an artist. As such, his descriptions of the expeditions on a day-to-day human level gave his readers an eye-witness account of what was going on in an exotic and largely unknown country that was just beginning to engage itself with the modern world.