The Austrian photographer Michael Moser (1853-1912) and early Meiji-Japan with a special focus on the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873

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1. Introduction

Japan and Austria will celebrate the 150th year of their diplomatic relationship in 2019. The Austrian photographer Michael Moser (1853-1912), even whose name has remained almost unknown until today, witnessed the very beginning of this relationship and left documents as well as photos of Japan which went through the so-called Meiji-Restauration in 1868. Although he was only 16 years old, when he came to Japan as a member of the Austro-Hungarian Expedition to East Asia in 1868/69, he decided to stay further in Japan for 7 years in total.

First, this paper shortly introduces his life, his stay in Japan, and the characteristics of the documents such as diaries, letters, and essays. Then after, we will focus on his record of the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873 and conclude the historical importance of the materials related to Michael Moser.

2. Short biography of Michael Moser (1853-1912)

2.1 From Altaussee to Vienna

Michael Moser was born as the second son of seven children between Joachim Moser (1806-1920) and Eva Maria Moser in a rural district Altaussee in Austria. At the age of 13 years old, Michael came across the prominent Austrian photographer Wilhelm Burger (1844-1920), who visited this district for the purpose of taking photos of its beautiful landscape. The biography of Michael Moser entitled "A world traveller from Steiermark – the Experience of Michael Moser from Altaussee, who was brought up on a farm" (Ein steierischer Weltfahrer – Erlebnisse des Bauernsohnes Michael Moser aus Altaussee) 1, written by the well-known Austrian novelist Peter Rosegger (1843-1918), who became acquainted with Michael Moser shortly after Michael’s return from Japan to Austria in 1876, tells us about their fateful encounter in a vivid manner: According to this biography, Michael showed keen interest in Burger’s camera and photography, and started to work in Burger’s photo atelier in Vienna.
as an apprentice soon after their encounter in Altaußee.

Around that time, Wilhelm Burger taught in the Institute for Physics at the University of Vienna, where his uncle Andreas von Ettingshausen (1796–1878) was intensively engaged in the research on the photographic techniques (in particular, daguerreotype photography), and applied for the post of the official photographer of the Austro-Hungarian Expedition to East Asia. It was the decision of the first secretary of the Expedition, Karl Ritter von Scherzer (1821–1903) that they would let a photographer instead of a painter accompany the expedition for keeping visual records of each destination during their journey. On the recommendation of Karl von Scherzer, who was enthusiastically fond of photography and had informed understandings of Burger’s excellence as a photographer, Wilhelm Burger was successfully assigned to the post, and Michael Moser gave ready consent to go along with Burger on his journey to East Asia. In this way, Michael Moser came to Japan in 1869 at the age of 16 years old.

2.2 To Japan: The Austro-Hungarian Expedition to East Asia during 1868 and 1869
There had been already a ground swell of concluding trade treaties with Japan in the 1850s in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, even before a treaty was concluded between Japan and America in 1854. Especially the merchants of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were astutely aware of the necessity of exploring overseas markets, and they had an international trading port in Trieste. However, the Empire had to tackle with a couple of problems within Europe, namely the movement for Italian unification in 1859 and 1866, the war with Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, the war with Prussia in 1866, and the death of emperor Maximilian of Mexico, the younger brother of the Austrian emperor, who was court-martialed and shot in Mexico in 1867.

It was only in 1868 that the navy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire could accommodate the expedition with warships, and they chose the corvette Friedrich and the frigate Donau. Wilhelm von Tegetthoff (1827–1871) was initially designated as the Admiral and Plenipotentiary of the expedition. He was, however, charged as the Chief of the Naval Section of the War Ministry (Chef der Marinesektion der Kriegsministerium) in March 1868, and Anton von Petz (1819–1885) was appointed newly to the post. Under his command, the Austro-Hungarian expedition to East Asia dispatched from Trieste on a special mission of concluding treaties with Siam (Thailand), China, and Japan on the 18th October 1868. On the way to their final destination Japan, they called at, for example, Algiers of Algeria, Cape of Good Hope, Anyer as well as Sumatra of Indonesia, Singapore, Bangkok of Siam / Thailand, Saigon of Vietnam, Hongkong, and Shanghai. Both ships of Friedrich and Donau arrived in Nagasaki.
in September 1869 and moved through Kobe to Yokohama. The treaty was signed in Tokyo on the 18th October 1869, exactly on the day in just one year after leaving Trieste. Since the negotiation came to agreement in ten days, it was called as "treaty of ten days" in Austria.

As for this journey, the first secretary Karl Ritter von Scherzer (1821–1903) and the Admiral Anton von Petz (1819–1885) left official reports and records, and a few expedition members including Scherzer and Michael Moser kept diaries privately. The official photographer of the expedition Wilhelm Burger took photos of each destination in company with Michael Moser as his assistant. It is important to note, however, that some photographs were not taken by Burger: He bought some photos from local photographers. For example, Michael made a remark in his diary that Burger bought the following photo with a wealthy Vietnamese with long nails from a local photographer.

### 2.3 His stay in Japan from 1869 to 1876

After having completed their mission, both ships of Friedrich and Donau dispatched Yokohama on the 14th November 1869. Michael Moser decided to stay further in Japan though. Why? As possible reasons for his decision, two facts can be indicated; first, he was terribly suffered from seasickness and got ill for the half of the whole journey from Trieste to Nagasaki according to his diary. After having experienced such a hardship during the first sea voyage, Michael could have recoiled from an other voyage by ship. Second, he seemed to get fond of Japan soon after his arrival in Nagasaki. He mentioned in his diary as follows:

Nagasaki is the most beautiful port among those which we have ever seen. [...] The whole district is here a place of true beauty and reminds me of my hometown in Austria.2)

Michael could have found a possibility for establishing himself in Japan.

Michael started to work as a servant in a hotel, jointly kept by a German and a British. In the essay, which was written in retrospect after his return to Austria in 1885, he reviewed those days that the job provided him with the opportunities for getting acquainted with other European people and practicing Japanese and English languages.3) Nevertheless, it appeared not to be worthwhile job for him, and he longed for working through making use of his knowledge and techniques of photography. One day, a German, who owned photo devices and essential chemicals, but could not utilize them on his own, approached Michael with the offer of opening a photo atelier.4) They have a wooden house built in Yokohama soon and run it until it was completely destroyed by a typhoon. In serious
straits, Moser visited the Scot journalist and publisher John Reddie Black (1826–1880) and started to work for his fortnight photographic magazine *The Far East* from around November in 1870 until he was employed as a specially appointed interpreter for the Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873.

After coming back to Japan, he worked for the Japanese government and participated in the Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 where he was infected with a typhoid fever and decided to go back to Austria. After his return to Altaussee, he worked as an interpreter for the Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Paris in 1878, but never visited Japan again. Nevertheless, it is remarkable on the design with Mount Fuji, rising sun, and *torii* (gateway at the entrance to a Shinto shrine) of his mount that he kept fond memories of Japan while working as a prominent photographer in Aussee. He married Franciska Fruhwirth (1863–1946) in 1889 and they blessed with a son Philipp (1890–1978) one year later. Michael Moser died of apoplexy in 1912 at the age of 59 years old.

3. Michael Moser’s photographs and documents

Michael Moser has his photo atelier built in Bad Aussee next to Altaussee. After Michael’s death, his wife Franciska kept running this atelier in joint management with Michael’s younger brother Eusebius who had also learned photography from Wilhelm Burger in his photo atelier in Vienna. After Franciska’s death, the atelier was changed into a shoe store by the new owner, and the glass negatives of Michael Moser were brought to Kammerhofmuseum in Bad Aussee which has had the glass negatives, some prints, and the first diary (1868 / 69) of Michael Moser in their custody since then. The visual images of the glass negatives can be transformed into transparencies and digital images of high-definition. They make it possible to focus on the photographic subjects through magnifying them so that we can see them in details clearly, which is different from albumin prints.

Michael Moser’s grandson, Alfred Moser (1947–) owns two volumes of the photo albums of Michael Moser, both of which are related to Japan. Besides a number of those photographs, which show the landscapes and people of the countries which Michael visited, in particular Japan, he left diaries, letters, and essays. Michael was not of a person of social eminence. Thus, the contents and characteristics of his diaries are totally different from those of diplomats or ‘important actors’ in history. However, Michael went into details of what he experienced each day. In his letters, he reported his circumstances and certain customs in his destinations to his parents, a younger brother, and a priest in his hometown in details. Together with photos, these documents enable us to see early
Meiji-Japan in a vivid manner. In the following part, the characteristics of each document are summarized.

**<Diaries>**

There are four hand-written diaries (two volumes counted as a book). The first one was kept as the assistant of Burger on the journey from Trieste in 1868 to Nagasaki in 1869. This depicts the landscapes, manners, and customs of the countries the expedition visited in details. We can read this diary as the supplementary document of the official reports of the Expedition to East Asia. The second one was kept on the journey from Yokohama in 1872 when he participated in the commission for the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873. This diary was ended with his remark on his return to Altaußee while working for the Japanese commission for the Vienna World Exposition. The third one was started to keep in January in Vienna and ended in May in Yokohama in 1874, which tells us his journey from Vienna through the stay in Venice for studying a photo technique “moonlight photography” by Carlo Naya (1816-1882) to Yokohama. On this journey, Michael was assigned by Tsunetami Sano (1822-1902) to investigate what happened to the cargos of the exhibits in the ship Nil. The fourth diary covers his journey from Yokohama to Ogden on his way to Philadelphia as the member of the Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. The diary on his journey from Ogden to Philadelphia and from Philadelphia to Altaußee was to read only in a newspaper (Gmundner Wochenblatt) 6).

**<Letters>**

Besides these diaries, 21 pieces of letters were found in total, which had been addressed mainly to his parents, his younger brother Heinrich, and a priest in Altaußee during 1868 and 1877. Unfortunately, the large part of the original letters went missing. However, they were published in newspapers (Grazer Volksblatt and Der Sonntagsbote) in those days, since the priest found the value of making Michael’s itinerary public to the wider readership.

**<Essays>**

After his return to his hometown in 1876, he published two essays on his stay in Japan in a local journal (Steierische Alpen-Post) 7). The one, which was written under the title “Michael Moser’s experience and adventure in Japan” (Michael Mosers Erlebnisse und Abenteuer in Japan) in 1885, covers the whole time that Michael started to stay in Yokohama in 1869 and returned from Philadelphia to Altaußee in 1876. The other one was published under the title ‘Blossom festivals in Tokyo’ (Blütenfeste in Tokio) in 1888.

It is important to underline some characteristics peculiar to Moser’s perspective and language in these documents. Here is an example. It was about the first encounter with Japanese men in Nagasaki.

> The Japanese are the most naked nation among those whom we have seen so far. Because they have just a white cloth of three fingers width around their waist [fundoshi]. [...] They have a peculiar hairstyle: They have shaved their head top and forehead entirely. They have combed their long hair towards their head top and wore a topknot like a ca. 5 inches hair-sausage (braid), on which they put brilliantie, and laid it to the front.8)

His text was not written in the standard German language, but an Austrian dialect of the 19th century, and quite often grammatically not correct. And with no rhetoric expressions. In addition, he often coined unique terms such as "hair-sausage".

As it is obvious, however, Michael had keen powers of observation, and he was really good at depicting the visual images in an unforgettable manner. He was also good at catching the pronunciation of unfamiliar words such as daimyo (in German spelling, daimio) in Japanese language. In this way, the number of his vocabulary
increased and the style of his text was improved at an incredibly high speed in a short time. Michael mentioned that he mastered the Japanese and English languages within one year, which seems quite persuasive.

3.1 The Vienna World Exposition in 1873

For the Vienna World Exposition in 1873 (1. May – 31. October), he was employed as a specially appointed interpreter for the Japanese commission. Michael boarded a French ship "Phase" together with Japanese delegates and the other European members such as Heinrich von Siebold (1852–1908). They departed Yokohama on the 29th January in 1874 and arrived in Trieste on the 21st May. Michael reached Vienna on the 23rd March where he firstly met his younger brother Heinrich and people from Altaussee living in Vienna. A newspaper reported on Michael that he was "a photographer with a highly honoured position" and so versed in Japanese language that he was employed as an interpreter for the World Exposition in Vienna by the Japanese government.\(^9\)

The Japanese commission built culturally typical installations for Japan such as shrine and garden in the venue of the World Exposition in Prater in Vienna where the Emperor Franz I. and Empress Elisabeth visited in person. The Japanese exhibits as well as products highly attracted the visitors’ interests, and the souvenirs such as Japanese fans were sold like hot cakes (see the paper by Pantzer). Michael worked like a busy bee in this souvenir shop.

I had a lot of things to do during the World Exposition. From 5:30 am to night, I had to be there in the site of the exposition. First, I was requested to check whether the cargos of the exhibits had safely arrived. Then after, I was assigned a job to have an oversight of the workmen. I was in charge of even little complaints and failures, so I ran around and did the writing everywhere as if I had gone daft. All delegates of the Japanese committee praised and trusted me for my work. [...] When the preparation of the Japanese exhibition hall was almost completed, I was assigned an other job to work at the Japanese booth. My task was to calculate the taxes of the Japanese goods and to be there for selling them and interpreting. In addition, I had opportunities
to run to the court [police] together with Japanese people for thieves turned out quite often.

Michael gained permission for returning to Altaussee to visit his parents together with his younger brothers Heinrich and Eusebius, both who worked in the photo atelier of Wilhelm Burger in Vienna as well. Michael’s diary, which was kept in 1874, is concluded with the visit to Altaussee.

This group photo of the Japanese commission was taken on the 1st January in 1874 in Vienna on a proposal made by Tsunetami Sano.

Michael Moser is the 2nd person from the left in the top column. Tsunetami Sano is sitting in formal dress in the middle and Gottfried Wagener (1831–1892) in Sano’s left. Michael Moser noted down about this day in his diary.

On the 1st January, [...] around 10am we (Japanese) gathered all together for extending our wishes to Sano for a Happy New Year. [...] We went to the photo atelier “Adele” all together and have our photo in a group of 25 people taken on the request of Sano. Among them, only Dr Wagener [Gottfried Wagener] and I were the European. Sano was in formal dress. [...] In the evening, music was played in a typically Japanese style. They enjoyed singing and dancing. Wakai [Kanesaburo Wakai, 1834–1908], Iwahachi [Noriaki Iwahashi, 1835–1883] and Shioda [Makoto Shioda, 1837–1917] did them particularly well.10)

Gottfried Wagener, Kanesaburo Wakai, and Makoto Shioda are the important committee members, as Kutsuzawa mentioned in his paper (see Kutsuzawa’s paper).

The World Exposition in Vienna gave considerable success to Japan and the Japanese government decided to make use of the profits for offering some specialists among the exposition commission the opportunities for studying and receiving training in their line further in Vienna, as Kutsuzawa made a remark on the “technological training” in his paper. The minister resident Tsunetami Sano allowed Michael Moser to go back to Japan, since Sano was satisfied with his work. In addition, Sano selected Michael Moser as one of those specialists and required him to study a certain photo technique from an Italian photographer Carlo Naya (1816–1882) in Venice at the expense of Japanese government. Sano chose Carlo Naya for Michael Moser on his own, most probably because Naya also participated in the Vienna World Exposition and Sano knew his excellence as a photographer, especially in respect to the technic of the so-called “moonlight photo”.11) For the purpose of showing this photo technique, Moser received a favour of seeing the Japanese emperor after his return to Japan. Moser described in his diary, how Sano conveyed the decision of proposing “technological training” to the committee members, and the day
When they departed from Vienna.

On the 6th January, [...] all those involved in the exposition were summoned to Sano. [...] He [Tsunetami Sano] made speeches in which he addressed thanks for their work during the exposition on behalf of the Japanese government. [...] He said to us that we should study hard so as to be able to acquire professional knowledge and techniques in respective profession. He said to me that I could go back to Japan again, since I carried out my work really well. However, I still have to study photography hard here. The Japanese government will defray the costs. [...] [12]

On the 9th, I was summoned to Sano at 6am, although he was still in bed. [...] At 5pm, the committee members also departed. Shioda [Makoto Shioda], Tanaka [Yoshio Tanaka, 1838–1916], Ishida [Tametake Ishida], Ichikawa [Iwao Ishikawa], Wakai [Kanezaburo Wakai], Matsu [Gisuke Matsuo, 1836–1902] and Seisuke Tanaka. The last person will go back to Japan via Paris. On the 12th I departed to Marseille together with two girls who worked for Stillfried [Raimund Baron von Stillfried, 1839–1911].[13]

Raimund von Stillfried (1839–1911) is a well-known Austrian photographer, who worked already in the end Edo- and early Meiji-Japan. He opened a tea house near to the site of the World Exposition in Vienna during that time. It was, however, criticized as a brothel by the Austrian aristocrats, and it marked deficits. [14] Therefore, the Japanese government bore the travel expenses of the Japanese employees, and it was the reason why Moser accompanied two Japanese girls to Marseille.

As Pantzer mentioned in his paper, the Japanese exhibits attracted the Austrian visitors of the World Exposition. Some artists embarked on a trip towards Japan so as to see the aesthetics of Japan on their own and some merchants started to deal in diverse Japanese products such as tea, ceramics, lacquerware, and kimono. Carl Trau, on whom Kutsuzawa remarked in his paper, had opened his shop named "The first tea merchant in Vienna" in 1850 and asked Moser to buy some Japanese products for Trau.

In the afternoon, I purchased iodine and methyl green for making "moonlight-photos" and daily necessities. At half past four I said good-bye to Mr. Trau [Carl Trau]. He entrusted me with 750 Napoleon [gold] so that I could buy some goods for him in Japan.
In fact, Moser brought a number of Japanese objects to his hometown. Here is a photo of his room named "The Japanese room" in his parents' house. Unfortunately, a large part of this collection went lost during the following World Wars.

Michael's diary tells us also that Michael Moser was one of those who were appointed by Tsunetami Sano to investigate what happened to the cargos of Japanese exhibits in the ship Nil of Messagerie Maritime: The Nil was caught by a storm and sank into the sea near the Izu-Penninsula together with about 190 cargos of the Japanese exhibits for the World Exposition in Vienna on the 20th March in 1874. On the way back to Japan, Moser was in charge of investigating what happened to them.

In the midday on the 18th [May] I went ashore together with Fujiyama and Saburo [Osaki]. [...] For we were obligated to investigate the condition of the cargos of the Japanese exhibits. Unfortunately, we turned to know that the first 191 cargoes sank all together with the ship Nil. [...] A Japanese named Yoshida was also sunk into the sea. He had studied silk fabric in Lyon for two years where he got on board. What we could do was only to write to Mr. Sano, and Mr. Fujiyama did it.16)

On the 26th [May], the wind slacked off and the weather cleared up from time to time. [...] The coast of Japan was steadily in sight, but it was impossible to have a distant view. Japanese people argued with deep nostalgia that they could see Mt. Fuji, but they could not actually due to thick clouds. In the afternoon, Izu-no-oke, namely the Izu Peninsula came into view. At this point or in the distance of 30 steps, we saw the mast of the ship Nil stuck out of the sea.17)

The name of Michael Moser was recorded as a member of the Japanese committee in Japanese documents. However, his role has remained unknown at all until his documents had been discovered. Moser's diary sheds new light on the backstage events of the Japanese committee members during the exposition and offers more evidence to the research on the world exposition in Vienna.

4. Conclusion:

In Short, the documents of Michael Moser cover a wide range of issues regarding Meiji-Japan, and one of them is the Vienna World Exposition. The information, which Moser offers, can be regarded as "missed puzzle pieces" for
the historical research on respective topics. Michael Moser’s documents enable us to extend the research arena, which cannot be carried out only based on the administrative documents so far.

Notes
2) Original text in German language: „Nagasaki ist der schönste Hafen, den wir bis jetzt gesehen haben. […] die Gegend ist hier wunderschön und erinnert uns ganz an die Heimath.“ (Michael Moser’s Diary in 1868/69)  
3) „Die Stelle in dem Gasthause war für mich insofern von Vortheil, als mir die Gelegenheit geboten ward, mit manchen der hier ansässigen Europäer bekannt zu werden. Auch übte ich mich dabei in der japanischen und englischen Sprache.“ (Michael Moser’s essay in 1885)  
4) Michael Moser’s eleventh letter, written on the 20th August 1870.  
8) Original text in German language: „Die Japanesen sind die nacktsten Leute, welche wir bis jetzt gesehen haben. Denn sie haben gar nur ein etwa 3 Finger breites weißes Tüchel um die Mitte herum gebunden. […] Sie haben einen eigenthümlichen Kopfputz: der Kopf ist oben rasiert wie ein Kahlkopf und auch auf der Stirn ganz rasiert. Die langen Haare nach oben gekämmt und haben oben ein zierlich gemachtes etwa 5 Zoll langes Haarwürstl (Zöpfl) nach vorne auf die Stirn liegen, welches mit Wachs Bomade [= Pomade] eingeschnürt ist.“ (Michael Moser’s Diary in 1868/69)  
9) „[…] eine ganz respektable Stellung als Photograph und so bedeutende Kenntnisse der japanischen Sprache in Wort und Schrift, daß er von der japanischen Regierung, anläßlich der Wiener Weltausstellung—nebst anderen Europäern—als Dolmetsch gedungen wurde.“ (Gmundner Wochenblatt, 12. Juni 1873)  
10) Original text in German language: „1. Jänner, […] Vormittag 10 Uhr mußten wir (Japanner) alle beim Minister erscheinen, um Neujahr zu wünschen, […]gingen wir alle zusammen ins Atelier Adèle10 und ließen uns auf Wunsche des Minister Sano in einer Gruppe großen Formats fotograf[ieren], im ganzen 25 Personen. Von Europäern war bloß Doktor Wigleiner und ich, Minister Sano war in Gala Uniform. […] Der Abend wurde auf echt japanischer Weise mit Musik und Aufführung von Tänze[n] (Fujishima) und Gesänge[n], wovon sich Herr Wakaï, Iwahuschi und Schiöda (spielte auch gut Samisen) besonders hervorhatten.“ (Michael Moser’s diary in 1874)  
17) Original text in German language: „26. [Mai], der Wind schwach und dan[n] und wan[n] schien die Sonne, aber die See war noch sehr hoch und das Schiff schaukelte heftig. Man sah immer Land von der Küste von Japan, aber der Himmel war so bewölkt, [dass] eine Fernsicht unmöglich war. Und sehnten sich die Japaner und behaupteten, den Fusiyama zu sehen, was aber der dicken Wolken wegen kaum möglich war. Nachmittag kamen wir in Sicht von Idzu no oke [recte Iruma oki] /: Cap Idzu / wo wir etwa 30 Schritt von die Mastbäume vom „Nil“ aus dem Meere herausschauen sahen.“ (Michael Moser’s diary in 1874)

Bibliography