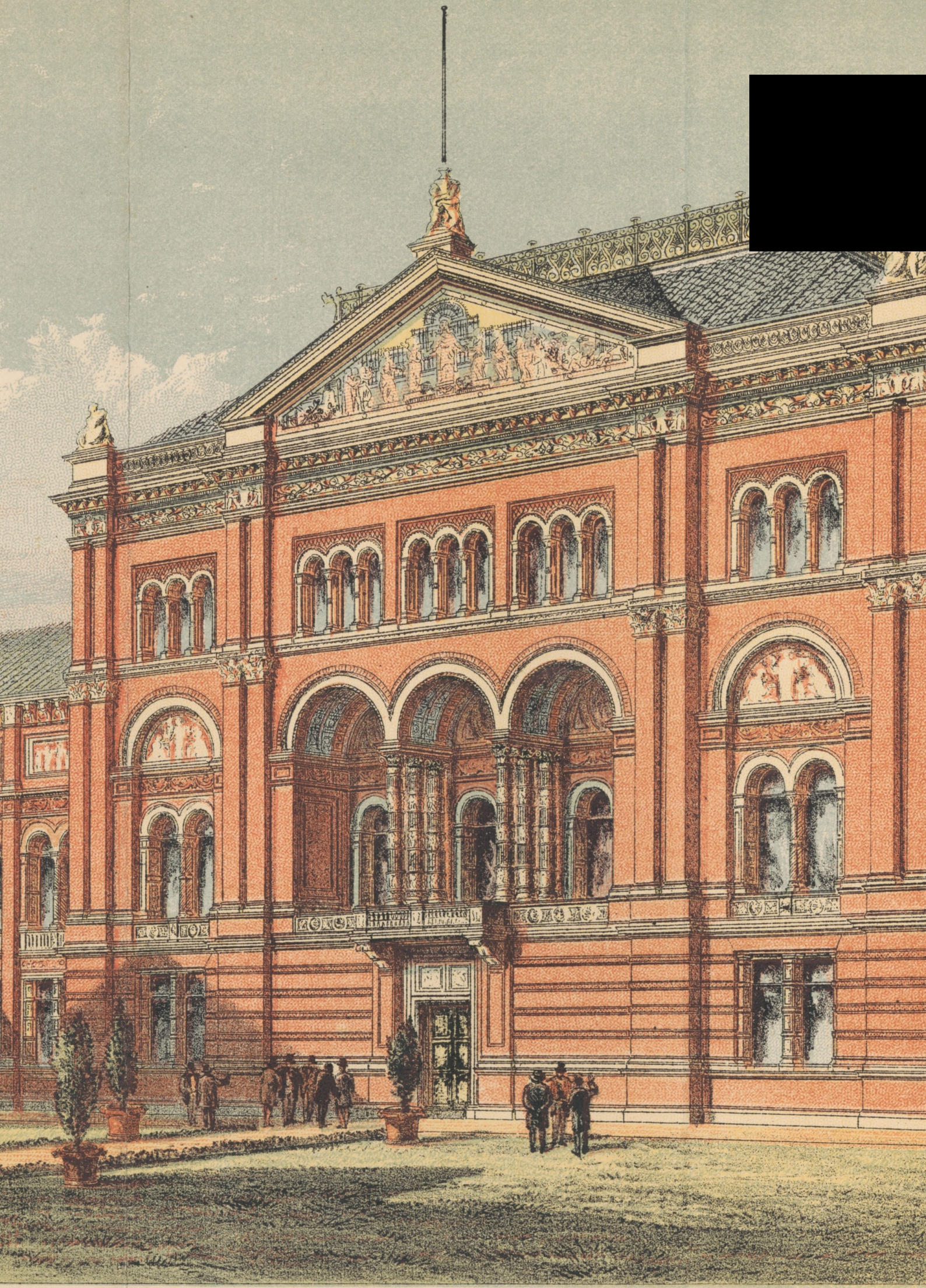
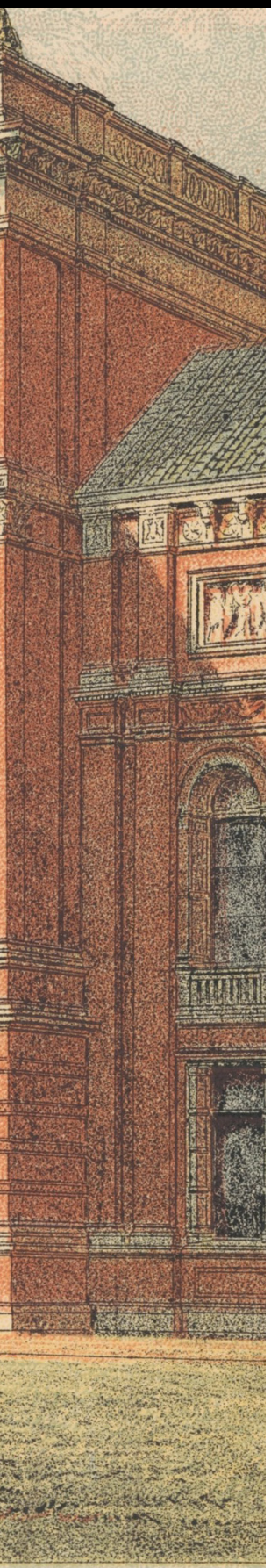


Establishment of a Museum in Modern Japan: From the Perspective of the Influence of the South Kensington Museum

Hitomi Inoue

Keywords:
South Kensington Museum; Museum of Fine Arts; Boston; Imperial Museum in Japan; Ernest Fenollosa; Okakura Kakuzō



ABSTRACT:

The tripartite art policy of expositions, museums, and art schools, originating with the London Great Exhibition of 1851 and beginning in South Kensington, spread rapidly across Europe and America. It reached Japan, which was promoting industrial development, following its participation in the Vienna World's Fair in 1873. Japanese bureaucrats and foreign advisors played pivotal roles in establishing art policies and museums. Following Machida Hisanari and Sano Tsunetami, who were involved in art administration in the early Meiji period, Ernest Fenollosa and Okakura Kakuzō were the central figures who advanced art administration in the mid-Meiji period. Ultimately their goal was the establishment of the Art Bureau. From the proposal for the Shukokan museum's construction in 1871 to the establishment of the Imperial Museum in 1889, South Kensington's art policy provided indispensable inspiration throughout the formation of Meiji Japan's museums.

La politica artistica tripartita basata su esposizioni, musei e scuole d'arte, nata con la Grande Esposizione di Londra del 1851 e iniziata a South Kensington, si diffuse rapidamente in Europa e in America. Raggiunse il Giappone, che stava promuovendo lo sviluppo industriale, dopo la sua partecipazione all'Esposizione Universale di Vienna. I burocrati giapponesi e i consulenti stranieri hanno svolto un ruolo fondamentale nella definizione delle politiche artistiche e nella creazione dei musei. Dopo Machida Hisanari e Sano Tsunetami, che furono coinvolti nell'amministrazione artistica all'inizio del periodo Meiji, Ernest Fenollosa e Okakura Kakuzō furono le figure centrali che promossero l'amministrazione artistica nella metà del periodo Meiji. Il loro obiettivo finale era la creazione dell'Ufficio dell'Arte. Dalla proposta di costruzione dello museo Shukokan nel 1871 alla creazione del Museo Imperiale nel 1889, la politica artistica di South Kensington fornì un'ispirazione indispensabile durante tutta la formazione dei musei del Giappone Meiji.

Opening Picture:

Fig. 1: The court of the South Kensington Museum. engraving, ca. 1890.

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In 1868, the Edo Shogunate (1603-1867), a feudal government that had lasted for 264 years, collapsed, and the new Meiji government was established. The Meiji period (1868-1912) represented a major turning point in Japan's transition from a feudal system to a modern nation. The new Meiji government aimed to establish a centralized state, actively adopting Western systems and technologies. Guided by the slogans of industrial promotion, national enrichment, and military strength, the Meiji government rapidly modernized.

As a national framework for art and education policy, Japan modeled its system on the art institutions established at South Kensington in Britain. This cutting-edge art system, integrating the three elements of exposition, museum, and art school, aligned with the Meiji government's modernization goals and was closely connected with industrial promotion.

This paper first examines the founding principles of the South Kensington Museum and its affiliated art school, established following the world exposition. It then discusses the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA, Boston), and its affiliated art school, modeled after this system. Finally, the paper examines the influence of South Kensington system on the establishment of Japanese museums and art schools, clarifying the vision of the museum that modern Japan envisioned.

Through what stages was South Kensington system adopted in Japan? Were there any distinctive Japanese developments within this process? This paper focuses particularly on the roles of Japanese bureaucrats Machida Hisanari (1838-1897),[1] Sano Tsunetami (1823-1902)[2] and Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin, 1863-1913), [3] as well as a foreign advisor Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908),[4] in establishing art policies and museums during Japan's modernization in the Meiji period.

South Kensington System—Expositions, Museums, and Art Schools

The model for Japan's museum concept in the early Meiji period was the South Kensington art-institutional system in Britain, then regarded as the forefront of Europe. This system refers to the nineteenth-century British framework for art and design education, developed under Sir Henry Cole (1808-1882), a civil servant and cultural reformer, and aimed at integrating industrial improvement, public education, and museum resources into a unified national strategy.[5]

International competition driven by nineteenth-century industrialization accelerated the rise of modern nationalism, with world expositions emerging as symbols of national prestige and art education being positioned as a key instrument for shaping national identity. In Britain, as Quinn observes, utilitarianism played a crucial role by rejecting cultural elitism and pursuing the greatest happiness for the greatest number, thereby promoting the democratization of "taste."[6] This ideological foundation led to the establishment of the South Kensington system, which integrated industrial development with cultural policy.

Henry Cole, who successfully organized the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations (the

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Great Exhibition) in 1851, spearheaded the establishment of the museum and art school and held key positions in the Department of Practical Art (later, of Science and Art), Board of Trade. From 1857 onward, he concurrently served as director of both the department and the museum, and South Kensington became the central hub of art administration encompassing museums, art schools, and administrative bodies.

The Museum of Manufacture, established in 1856, sought to promote industrial advancement and to foster art and design education in the year following the Great Exhibition. The museum relocated in 1857, becoming the South Kensington Museum (fig.1), and was later renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899. Its founding principles were to educate designers, manufacturers, and the general public through the public display of artworks, thereby improving industrial design, and to serve the nation as an educational institution.[7] Cole, its first director, aimed to create a public museum for education. The collection was systematically classified by material and technique—glass, metal, wood, ceramics, textiles—and an educational display method was adopted where design and technology were learned through the exhibition of arts and crafts.

Meanwhile, the art school affiliated with the South Kensington Museum traces its roots to the Government School of Design, established in 1837. After relocating with the museum to South Kensington, it was renamed the Normal Training School of Art, which subsequently became commonly known as the South Kensington Art School from 1896. At its inception, the curriculum of the South Kensington Art School prioritized the acquisition of skills and knowledge directly applicable to manufacturing processes, thereby distinguishing itself from the traditional academic art education that had previously prevailed.[8] Reflecting the broader nineteenth-century tension between fine art and applied art, Britain maintained a two-tier art system of art institutions: the Royal Academy occupied a superior position to Cole and his advocates of practical art. Yet, proponents of the South Kensington approach, which rejected artistic elitism and sought to promote public "taste," regarded their program as the "true" modern, scientific, and up-to-date approach to art.[9]

Cole established a nationwide system of art education from elementary schools to normal schools and formulated a national curriculum based on a 23-stage program. Educators involved in promoting industrial design under Cole, who led the Bureau of Applied Arts, began reforming design education to emphasize form and color. Among the key designers involved, one designer particularly noteworthy in relation to Japan is Christopher Dresser (1834-1904), who taught at the National School of Design.[10] Dresser visited Japan in 1876 carrying gifts from the South Kensington Museum to the Japanese government. Accompanied by figures such as Sano Tsunetami and Machida Hisanari, he toured the *Shōsō-in* Treasures and various architectural sites, reportedly being deeply impressed, which resulted in designs that were truly radical.[11]

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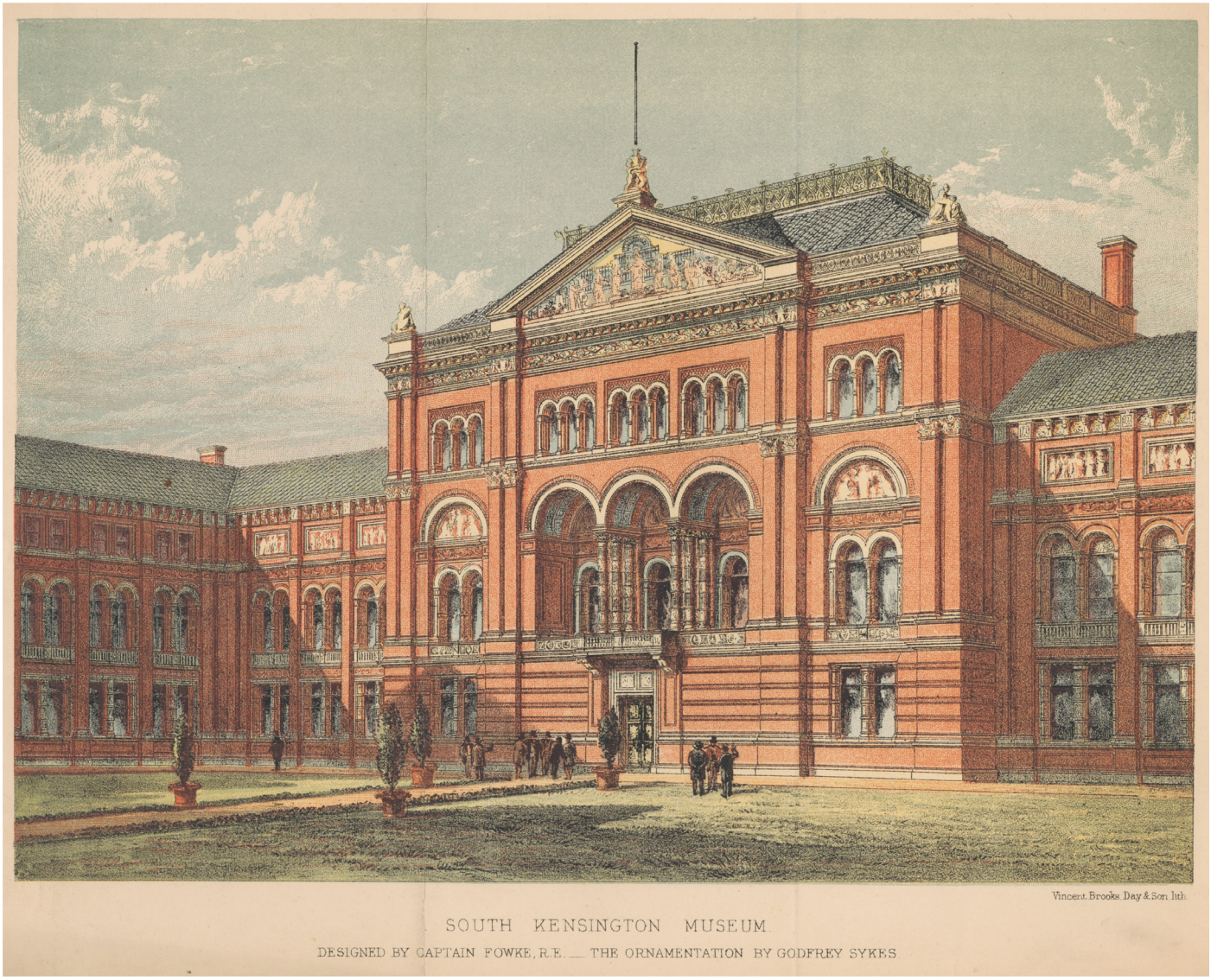

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The South Kensington Museum and its affiliated art school, centered on applied arts for industrial design, achieved significant success. This influence soon led to the establishment of numerous applied arts museums and affiliated art schools across Europe. Beginning with the Austrian Imperial Museum of Art and Industry *(k. k. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie)* and its affiliated School of Arts and Crafts *(k. k. Kunstgewerbeschule)* in 1867, museums and art schools for applied arts were successively established in Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, and elsewhere. This influence extended even to France, vying for supremacy, and to the early American art museums.

Reviewing this expansion across Europe and the Unites States makes it clear why Meiji-period Japan, when formulating its art system following the Vienna World's Fair, looked to Britain. It was not merely a leader of the Industrial Revolution; under Cole's leadership, it integrated expositions, museums, and art schools to promote industrial improvement—an approach that many nations subsequently adopted.

Fig. 1:
The court of the South Kensington Museum. engraving, ca. 1890.

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Fig. 2: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in Copley Square. ca. 1876-1883. © Boston Public Library.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Massachusetts Normal Art School

Before clarifying the connection between the South Kensington Museum and modern Japanese museums, it is necessary to mention the establishment of the MFA, Boston in the United States (fig. 2).[12] This is because, in early Meiji-period Japan, information on South Kensington's art model was obtained directly from Britain; and, as the subsequent stage in the assimilation of that framework, during the mid-Meiji period, certain systems were also adopted via the United States.

After the Civil War, growing interest in education and culture among Boston citizens led to a movement for an art museum, resulting in the Massachusetts legislature's approval of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1870.[13] Charles C. Perkins (1823-1886), a trustee and the first director of the MFA, Boston, obtained information from the South Kensington Museum to establish the museum's mission. At the outset of the article *North American Review*, Perkins asserted that the formation of museums devoted to industrial art would enable the diffusion of "taste"—once the exclusive privilege of the "great and wealthy"—among the masses, thereby cultivating "public taste". He further emphasized the significance of art education as a means of advancing the general level of intellectual and cultural attainment.[14] He praised the South Kensington Museum and its affili-

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ated art school, stating that "despite being established in Britain for only nineteen years, they have achieved remarkable success," lauding their contribution to industry.[15] The original MFA, Boston emblem, featuring "Art, Education, and Industry," symbolizes this mission by highlighting the crucial role of each element. As Perkins notes, American museums envisioned an ideal grounded in art education for public as a basis for cultural progress, while building collections to enhance national prestige[16]. In this context, the MFA, Boston, while inheriting the principles of South Kensington, emphasized the improvement of "taste" for national development rather than the democratization of "taste" for the general public.

Six years after its founding, in 1876, the MFA, Boston opened to the public. Regarding the relationship between the museum's founding and expositions, the MFA, Boston sent curators to the Centennial International Exposition in Philadelphia. There, they purchased Chinese and Japanese cloisonné enamelware and ceramics, along with Japanese raw silk samples, bronze ware, leather crafts, embossed paper, and lacquerware.[17] Perkins highly valued these acquisitions, anticipating their potential application to modern industrial arts.[18]

The year after opening, an affiliated art school opened within the museum. However, its curriculum followed the Western art academy model, differing from the South Kensington method. That is, while the MFA, Boston itself was established inheriting the South Kensington Museum's industrial promotion mission, its affiliated art school was one teaching drawing and painting within the tradition of the art academy. Thus in what ways was the South Kensington method of art education—focused on industrial arts and teacher training—introduced to the United States?

Perkins envisioned creating a grand academic complex in Boston. This was a massive national academic city plan that included not only the MFA, Boston, but also a technical institute, schools of architecture and medical science, a natural history museum, a geological museum, and an art school.[19] This vision may be regarded as an extension of the South Kensington model. Walter Smith (1836-1886) became a key intellectual force driving this grand project. After working under Henry Cole at the Board of Science and Art in South Kensington, Smith moved to the United States, and there, as a professor at the Massachusetts Normal Art School, he promoted early American art education.[20]

Smith's 1872 publication, *Art Education, Scholastic and Industrial*, introduced a wide range of British art education theory and practice. It covered art education in public schools, industrial art education in France, Germany, and Britain, the management and operation of art schools, and even design and color theory.[21] Smith introduced the South Kensington method of art education to the United States, which bore a strong resemblance to the teacher training programs developed under Henry Cole, predating the 1880s when aestheticism gained prominence in Britain.

Under Smith's direction, the Normal Art School achieved early success, winning a gold medal at the Charita-

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ble Mechanics' Association exhibition in 1874 and score a triumph at the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876.[22] Although the MFA, Boston, and the Exposition, as well as the Normal Art School and the Exposition, were each connected in certain respects, an integrated system linking exposition, museum, and art education—such as that embodied in the South Kensington—had not yet been fully realized. This can be attributed to the fact that, while the MFA, Boston, was a privately founded institution established by the city's social elite, the Normal Art School was a state-run educational institution; despite their shared roots in South Kensington ideals, the two did not operate within a common institutional framework.

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Fig. 3: MACHIDA Hisanari (1838-1897).

Fig. 4: SANO Tsunetami (1823-1902).

Art Policy and Museum Establishment in the Early Meiji Period (1870s)

Japan, before the advent of modernity, lacked Western-style art system; art education was primarily conducted through hereditary schools of established lineages, such as the Kanō school, and private academies. Art was regarded as a form of craftsmanship and was closely intertwined with practical crafts and architectural ornamentation. However, with the Meiji Restoration, Japan embarked on modernization, actively adopting Western systems. Under the slogan of encouragement of new industry, museums also began incorporating Western art administration. Among these, the South Kensington system gained attention as a model for museums that could contribute to industrial promotion.[23]

The catalyst for this was Japan's participation in the 1873 Vienna World's Fair. Here, Machida Hisanari (fig. 3), who advanced art policy as an official representative for the Austrian Exposition Bureau, and Sano Tsunetami (fig. 4), vice president of the Bureau, are highlighted. First, we shall examine the movements surrounding this event.

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In 1868, the first year of the Meiji period, the Meiji government, in pursuit of its policy to establish Shinto as the national religion, issued the "*Shinbutsu Bunri-rei* (Decree on the Separation of Shinto and Buddhism)," thereby prohibiting the syncretic practices that had previously been observed at shrines and temples. However, this decree was subject to broad interpretation, leading to a nationwide movement to abolish Buddhism and destroy Buddhist statues and ritual objects (fig. 5). Upon assuming the position of *Daijo* bureaucrat of the Ministry of Education in 1870, Machida witnessed this situation and submitted a proposal for the construction of the *Shukokan* museum in April 1871 to protect cultural properties. This led to the Decree of the Cabinet on the "*Koki kyubutsu Hozon-kata* (Law for the Preservation of Old Cultural Properties)" in the same year. Subsequently, starting in 1872, the "*Kazoku Homotsu Chosa* (Investigation of Noble Treasures)" and the "*Jinshin Kensa* (*Jinshin* Survey)"—Research of Cultural Properties—were implemented.[24]

Around the same time, when the Meiji government decided to officially participate in the Vienna World's Fair at the end of 1871, the Austrian Exposition Bureau was established within the Grand Council of State. Under President Ōkuma Shigenobu and Vice President Sano, Machida was appointed as Imperial Commissioner for the Exposition. As preparation for the Vienna World's Fair, the *Yushima Seidō* Exposition, organized by the Ministry of Education's Bureau of Museums, was held in 1872 (fig. 6). The venue, the *Taiseiden* Hall, became the first building in Japan to be named a "museum" (fig. 7). The aforementioned "Investigation of Noble Treasures" and the "*Jinshin* Survey"

Fig. 5: OGAWA Kazumasa, Damaged Statue of Buddha, the Eastern Kondo (Main Hall), Kofukuji Temple in *Chokoku shashin cho*, 1888. © Tokyo National Museum. (https://webarchives.tnm.jp/)

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Fig. 6: YOKOYAMA Matsusaburō, Staff of the *Yushima Seidō* Exposition, 1872. The third from the left in the front row is Machida Hisanari.

Fig. 7: SHOSAI Ikkei, *Hakurankai zu: Moto shōheizaka seidō ni oite*, 1872. © Waseda University Library.

were conducted during this Exposition. Machida, who spearheaded these efforts, sought to protect cultural properties through the treasure survey conducted under the pretext of preparing exhibits for the Vienna World's Fair. Simultaneously, he plotted to have these treasures deposited or donated to museums.[25] In other words, the art policies of the early Meiji period were closely interrelated through expositions, treasure investigations, and the museums, with the primary objectives of safeguarding cultural heritage and systematically acquiring materials for museum collections.

In June 1873, Machida also submitted a proposal to the Grand Council of State advocating for the "necessi-

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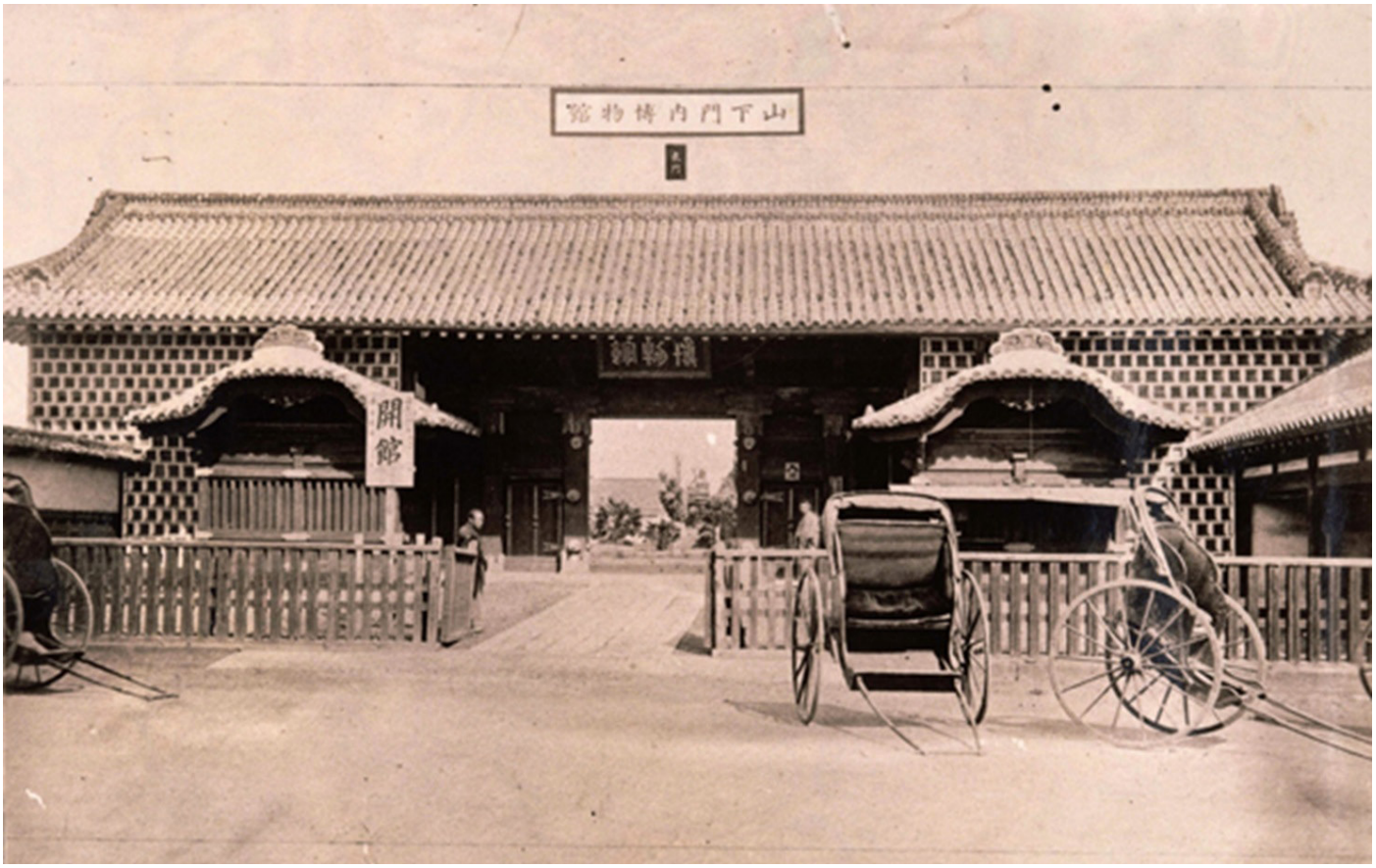

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ty of a grand museum." His model was not the South Kensington Museum, which focused on applied arts for industrial promotion, but rather the British Museum, which comprehensively housed books, cultural properties, and natural history materials.[26] Outlining his vision for a "Grand Museum," Machida opened the Exposition Bureau Museum in *Uchiyamashita-cho* in 1873 (fig. 8). There, he held exhibitions while simultaneously advancing the collection and protecting cultural properties.

Meanwhile, Sano Tsuneomi, Machida's superior and vice president of the Austrian Exposition Bureau, held a somewhat different view on the museum. Sano had listed the construction of a museum as one of the objectives for participating in the Vienna World's Fair (fig. 9). In the *Ōkoku Hakurankai Hōkokusho* (*Report of Austrian Exposition*) published by the Exposition Bureau, he dedicated one section to the museum, detailing its importance as follows.[27] He stated that while museums were originally "places for collecting and displaying books, rare artifacts, and antiquities," in recent years they had become "beneficial to the economy." He further noted that, after observing the inferiority of their own products at the Great Exhibition of 1851, the British established a museum together with its affiliated art school in South Kensington. This initiative was not intended "for the curious," but rather to "encourage industrial and commercial enterprise," which subsequently contributed to an increase in export revenues. Notably, the report highlights that, upon the establishment of the MFA, Boston in 1870, trustee Charles Perkins ex-

Fig. 8:
Wada Ichirō, Front Gate of the *Yamashita-mon-nai* Museum (*Uchiyamashita-cho* Museum), ca. 1873-1881.
© Tokyo National Museum. (https://webarchives.tnm.jp/)

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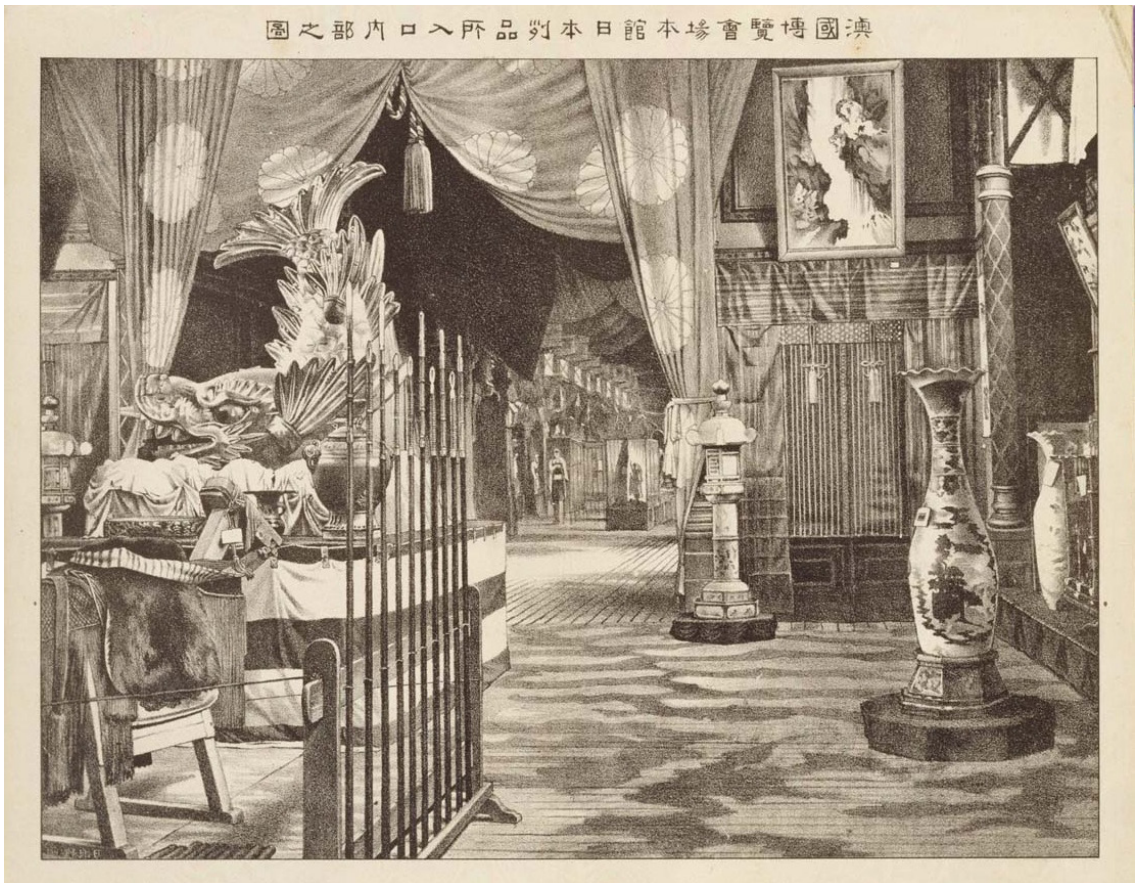

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Fig. 9: "Japanese pavilion in the Austrian Exposition" in *Report of participation in the Austrian Exposition*, 1897. © Tokyo National Museum. (https://webarchives.tnm.jp/)

pressed a similar view, noting that the quality of British industrial design had made significant progress through the South Kensington Museum and its affiliated art school. The early Meiji museum in Japan and the emerging art museum in the United States shared the same common knowledge concerning the South Kensington's art policy.

At the Vienna World's Fair, the term "good taste" was introduced into Japan; however, it was translated as *fūga* and understood in terms of refinement and elegance, later extending to meanings such as "splendor" and "picturesque."[28] Crucially, the fundamental principle of South Kensington's "democratization of taste" failed to take root in Japan. Instead, "good taste" was construed as an aesthetic aligned with Western export and as a concept serving industrial utility.

Sano further proposed establishing an art school attached to the museum in Tokyo, modeled after the art school affiliated with the South Kensington Museum.[29] He explained that this art school would offer two departments—painting and sculpture, and crafts—to improve techniques beneficial to industry. Interconnecting the three organizations—museum, art school, and exposition—would serve public benefit. He envisioned that visitors would broaden their knowledge through museum exhibitions, acquire skills at the art school, and then exhibit outstanding crafts at the exposition to open the way for industrial advancement.

Sano, who took South Kensington as his model, invited the foreign advisor Gottfried Wagener (1831-1892) to serve as an advisor on art policy. Wagener, a German scientist, ar-

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rived in Japan in 1868. He instructed ceramics production in Arita, Hizen Domain, and taught at institutions including the University of Tokyo and Tokyo Technical School (later Tokyo Institute of Technology). During this period, he served as an advisory secretary for the Vienna and Philadelphia Expositions, dedicating himself to teaching industrial technology.

The *Report of Austrian Exposition* includes a "Report on the Establishment of the Tokyo Museum by Wagener" and a "Report on the Museum of Applied Arts." Additionally, a separate volume, "History of the Establishment and Management Regulations of the South Kensington Museum in London, England"[30] details the history, building, classification of collections, visitor numbers, and museum regulations of the South Kensington Museum. It notes that this booklet was presented by Philip Cunliffe-Owen (1828-1894),[31] the director of the South Kensington Museum, during the Vienna World's Fair.

Based on Wagener's suggestion, the *Kangyo-ryo* training school was actually established on the property of the *Uchiyamashita-cho* Museum for two years starting in 1875, operating as the technical training school attached to the museum that Sano had intended.[32] This may appear to be a museum-affiliated art school modeled after South Kensington, but in reality, it functioned more as a training school for craft techniques like ceramics than as an art school.

Meanwhile, the *Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō*, Japan's first government-run art school, opened in 1875, and adopted educational method based on Italian art academies despite being established under the Ministry of Public Works, which was responsible for industrial promotion policies. Conversely, the drawing education initiated under the Ministry of Education in 1872, incorporated the British art education model.[33] That is, the early Meiji art education system featured higher art education under the Ministry of Public Works, adopting Italian art academy method, while elementary art education under the Ministry of Education adopted the British South Kensington method. This indicates that a unified art education system spanning elementary to higher levels was not established.

Japanese art education was introduced as the Western subject "Drawing."[34] The first Western art textbook was *Seiga Shinan* (*The Western Drawing Book*)[35] translated by Kawakami Tōgai (1828-1881). This original work has been identified as *The Illustrated Drawing Book*) by Robert Scott Burn (1825-1901).[36] As noted earlier, in Britain, the 23-stage national curriculum established by Henry Cole extended from general to specialized education, ensuring the widespread adoption of standardized art instruction across the country. Thus, Burn's *Drawing Book*, published in Scotland, can be seen as one such example, which clearly suggests the influence of South Kensington art education in early Meiji Japan. Noteworthy in the *Seiga Shinan* is the preface bearing the inscription "Fujiwara Ason Hisanari, August 1871," indicating Machida Hisanari contributed a passage.

It is a point worthy that the Ministry of Education had obtained art textbooks from Britain even before

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Fig. 10: Josiah Conder, *View of Ueno Museum*, watercolor, ca. 1881. © Tokyo National Museum. (https://webarchives.tnm.jp/)

the Vienna World's Fair and introduced them as guides for school art education. This period coincided precisely with Machida submitting his proposal for the construction of the *Shukokan* museum to the Grand Council of State in April 1871, leading to the enactment of the Law for the Preservation of Old Cultural Properties, and the holding of the *Yushima Seidō* Exposition in September. Though not directly linked to museums, Machida—who modeled preserving cultural properties on the British Museum—likely drew inspiration from the South Kensington approach.

Early Meiji art policy featured two distinct visions of museums: Sano, who sought to fully adopt the South Kensington system—where exposition, museum, and training school collaborated for industrial promotion; and Machida, who pursued both the British Museum and South Kensington models—advancing exposition, museum, and art education to protect cultural properties. During this period, both Sano and Machida guided Christopher Dresser, a teacher from the South Kensington Art School who visited Japan in 1876, around the *Shōsō-in* Repository and various architectural sites across the country. They likely obtained the latest information during these visits.

The *Uchiyamashita-cho* Museum established by Machida was transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs (renamed the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1881) in 1875, placing it under industrial promotion policies. Finally, in 1882, a museum encompassing history, art, and natural materials opened in Ueno, with Machida appointed as its director (fig. 10). However, Machida was dismissed from the position after only seven months. Following subsequent personnel turmoil, the museum was transferred to the Imperial Household Ministry in 1886, entrusting Machida's vision to the next generation.

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The concept of an "Art Bureau" during the Mid-Meiji period (1880s)

Following Machida and Sano, who were involved in art administration in the early Meiji period, Ernest Fenollosa (fig. 11) and Okakura Kakuzō (fig. 12) were the central figures who advanced art administration in the mid-Meiji period. Fenollosa, who arrived in Japan in 1878 as a hired foreign expert, spent his first 12 years in Japan as a professor at the University of Tokyo and engaged in art education and protecting cultural properties for the Ministry of Education.[37] Okakura, a student of Fenollosa at the University of Tokyo, joined the Ministry of Education and worked alongside Fenollosa to establish art policy framework.

In 1884, his sixth year in Japan, Fenollosa was appointed by the Ministry of Education as a member of the Drawing Investigation Committee. Established to deliberate on three key issues—the methods of teaching drawing in elementary education, the founding of an art school, and the survey and preservation of cultural properties—the committee provided the framework within which Fenollosa, together with Okakura, advanced his proposals on art policy.[38]

What was the art policy Fenollosa and Okakura sought to achieve? Ultimately their goal was the establishment of the Art Bureau. Okakura, a Ministry of Education bureaucrat likely consulted Fenollosa about this idea. According to the recollections of Imaizumi Yusaku (1850-1931), around 1884, Okakura, who became a colleague at the Ministry of Education, heard from Imaizumi—who had experience in France—about French art administration. This led Okakura to begin with the idea of establishing an Art Bureau that would govern expositions, exhibitions, and art schools.[39]

In a draft titled "Proposals Concerning the Administration of Japanese Art,"[40] which Fenollosa wrote in 1886 specifically for the Art Bureau, he first explained the effectiveness of export trade through practical arts and crafts, then stated the following:

1. Establishment of a school education system for artists and designers, and establishment of art schools teaching painting, sculpture, and crafts (including architecture)

2. Organization of art exhibitions to enhance public education

3. Establishment of art museums for academic research, preservation, and the education of the general public

Furthermore, it proposed the establishment of an Art Bureau within the Ministry of Education to oversee these initiatives. Notably, Fenollosa's proposal retained the framework of the South Kensington art system—art school, exposition, and museum—but added conservation roles to the museum's mandate.

Okakura also proposed an idea for an art school and submitted a draft curriculum titled "Proposal for Drawing Education".[41] The method, which starts with line drawing and leads to design, follows Henry Cole's curriculum. However, while the South Kensington method's foundation was line drawing and shading, with drawing and color painting added on top, Fenollosa's idea uniquely replaced these with line

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drawing and tonal values.

While Fenollosa's idea for an art education system closely resembles the art education framework established by Cole, the source of this inspiration is referenced in a letter Fenollosa acknowledged to Minister of Education Mori Arinori.

> *Our method of art education, which is part of our careful deliberation, is neither entirely new nor an obscure, unfamiliar concept. It follows the direction pursued by several art schools in Europe and America, particularly the South Kensington Art School—namely, a method that begins with the principles of design and then continuously expands into the fields of painting, sculpture, and decorative arts. The novelty lies in the completeness and logical consistency with which we have refined it.*[42]

In this letter, Fenollosa clearly states that his art education curriculum was perfected through improvements based on the art education of South Kensington.[43]

Walter Smith's *Art Education, Scholastic and Industrial*, published in Boston, is considered a key reference for Fenollosa.[44] After completing his graduate studies at Harvard, Fenollosa studied at the Massachusetts Normal Art School founded by Smith, and would certainly have known Smith, who was the school's

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Fig. 11: Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908) © The Fenollosa Society of Japan.

Fig. 12: OKAKURA Kakuzō (Tenshin, 1863-1913)

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principal at the time. Smith's book covered not only American but also European art schools in Britain and France, and included curricula ranging from public schools to art academies, offering a comprehensive overview of the entire art education system. It was considered the ideal reference for designing the curriculum of the newly established art school in Japan.

Based on this preparatory work, in 1886, Fenollosa and Okakura were commissioned to investigate the art administration in Western countries, with Hamao Arata as a chairman. Over the course of nine months, they conducted an inspection tour of the United States, France, Italy, Spain, Austria, Germany, and Britain, focusing on art schools, museums, and expositions.

Upon returning from his inspection tour of Europe and the United States, Fenollosa submitted his "Report on Western Art Administration" and made the following proposal.[45] He argued that Japanese art, which does not distinguish between fine art and decorative art, could dominate the world market and contribute to national wealth through trade. To achieve this, he advocated establishing art museums as sources of design inspiration and art schools with educational systems capable of producing outstanding art and crafts. Furthermore, he argued that architecture encompassing all arts and crafts should be integrated into the educational system. He proposed establishing a Domestic Architecture Bureau to promote exports of arts and crafts suitable for interior decoration, and that this bureau should be integrated under the Foreign Trade Control Office to manage exports. Consequently, he stated that these four entities—Art Museum, Art School, Domestic Architecture Bureau, and Foreign Trade Control Office—should execute unified plan under a single administration.

Fenollosa's approach to promoting the arts represents a significant advancement over his earlier "Proposals for the Art Administration of Japan," which drew inspiration from the art policies of South Kensington prior to his European inspection tour. This is most notably evident in the shift from a pre-tour focus on "art expositions" to a clear emphasis on the "art trade". Notably, he shifted from relying solely on expositions to proposing the establishment of a Domestic Architecture Bureau and a Foreign Trade Management Office.

Furthermore, his pre-inspection tour proposal broadly categorized the organization and teaching methods of art schools, whereas his revised proposal specifically listed two distinct institutions: a School of Painting and Sculpture and a School of Design. This indicates a clear distinction between an art academy and a design school, similar to the South Kensington model. However, Fenollosa specifically noted that "Japanese art does not distinguish between fine art and decorative art," highlighting the characteristic of Japanese art as a synthesis of both, an integrated comprehensive art form.

The Establishment of the Imperial Museum and Tokyo Art School

While Fenollosa and Okakura envisioned establishing an Art Bureau

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to unify art administration, the political situation had changed dramatically following their return to Japan, which ultimately stalled the initiative. Of the institutions Fenollosa advocated for— "Art Museum, Art School, Domestic Architecture Bureau, and Foreign Trade Administration Office"—only the "Art Museum" and "Art School" would ultimately be realized.

After returning to Japan, Fenollosa submitted a "Proposals for the Imperial Fine Arts Museum" to the Ministry of the Imperial Household.[46] Its draft stated, "immediate and proactive measures should be taken for the preservation, research, and introduction of art materials to the world," strongly advocating for the establishment of the Imperial Fine Arts Museums. Fenollosa specifically referred to art museums specializing in cultural properties, rather than the general museum encompassing the humanities and natural history that had already opened in Ueno.[47] Furthermore, interestingly, Fenollosa also touched upon its personnel, nominating Imaizumi Yusaku as Director of Research, Machida Hisanari as Director of Preservation and Exhibitions, and Okakura Kakuzō as Head Curator. While Machida's appointment did not actualize, the lineage from Machida to Fenollosa and Okakura is noteworthy when considering the continuity of museum policy.

Fenollosa and Okakura undertook several surveys of historic shrines, temples, and ancient artworks in the western regions by the Ministry of Education. During their 1888 survey in Kyoto, Okakura delivered a speech titled "In Support of the Establishment of an Art Museum".[48] Drawing on his museum inspection tours in Europe and the Unites States, Okakura explained the functions of a museum as threefold: "preservation, research, and a grand spectacle for the capital." He then illustrated the necessity of building a museum in Japan by citing examples of museum types and their histories. He envisioned that Nara should house ancient Buddhist art from the Tenpyō to the Heian period, comparable to Rome; Tokyo should gather the essence of Tokugawa Shogunate art and Asian artifacts, modeling itself on the British Museum; and Kyoto should collect imperial artworks, analogous to the Louvre in Paris. And finally he concluded by stating that "it is my most ardent desire that these three museums shine the light of Japanese art upon the world." Here, Okakura's description of the museum in Tokyo, modeled after the British Museum, clearly inherits the ideal museum vision embraced by Machida. However, as Fenollosa stated in his "Proposal for the Imperial Fine Art Museum," Okakura also envisioned a museum focused exclusively on fine arts and crafts.

It should be noted that Okakura, in discussing the museum's function of "inquiry," advocated not only research for specialists but also the cultivation of "public taste," even proposing an art school attached to the museum. While those who advanced art policy in the mid-Meiji period accurately understood South Kensington's notion of "taste," they did not embrace its underlying principle. Rather, they called for an art system serving industrial promotion. For them, art remained a lofty pursuit, and the primary purpose of establishing museums lay in

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the preservation of precious antiquities.

Kuki Ryūichi (1852-1931), who became Secretary of the Imperial Household Agency, formulated an idea for a museum specializing in history and fine arts based on Fenollosa's proposals. The following year, he established the Imperial Museums in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Nara, assuming the position of first director, and appointed Okakura as Curator of the art department. Meanwhile, the Bureau of Expositions, previously linked to the museums, was separated and transferred to the General Affairs Bureau within the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

The "Art School" initiative also progressed: the Tokyo Art School was established in 1887 and opened two years later in 1889. Fenollosa and Okakura promptly began guiding the school, drawing on the success of their European and American inspection tours and their distinctive perspectives on art education.

Fenollosa appears to have structured the art school's curriculum based on Smith's *Art Education, Scholastic and Industrial*. The first exercise in Fenollosa's *Gakaku* (Design) class was freehand line drawing practice. The various line samples used here can be found in South Kensington method drawing texts, and Smith's book also details the method of copying onto slate.[49] Furthermore, Fenollosa's omission of drawing plaster figures from the curriculum can be attributed to Smith's reluctance toward it as he promoted industrial design.[50]

Notably, the South Kensington curriculum introduced by Fenollosa should not be mistaken as the root of design education in Japan. Fenollosa aimed for a fusion of East and West through a curriculum combining the South Kensington method of art education with the traditional Kano school painting method.

South Kensington's Art Policy and the Mission of Museums in the Meiji Period

The triadic art system of expositions, museums, and art schools, originating in South Kensington, spread rapidly across Europe, the United States, and Japan—eager for modernization and industrial development—through its participation in the Vienna World's Fair. However, in early Meiji Japan, it can hardly be said that this democratic ideal was understood. Moreover, its reception was far from uniform, and ultimately the comprehensive South Kensington art policy never materialized as an administrative framework.

Despite the fact that bureaucrats had been engaged in efforts to adopt this system since the early Meiji period, why did it fail to achieve implementation in Japan? Although this system was introduced in Japan as part of industrial promotion policies during the early Meiji period, its components were implemented separately. This fragmented adoption can be attributed to the compartmentalized structure of early Meiji art administration, in which expositions and museums fell under the Ministry of Home Affairs, art schools under the Ministry of Public Works, and art education under the Ministry of Education. In addition, it should not be overlooked that Japanese museums, from the very beginning of the Meiji period, bore the significant mission of protecting cultural properties—a responsibil-

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ity to which Machida devoted considerable effort.

Machida and Sano may be regarded as the earliest figures to recognize the significance of the integrated art system for industrial promotion. Perhaps Machida was, in fact, the first to put the comprehensive South Kensington art policy into practice as an institutional framework. His involvement in expositions, museums, and art education revealed this triadic art system.

After Machida's departure, it was Fenollosa and Okakura who envisioned the Art Bureau to oversee the entire art system. These bureaucrats likely aspired to emulate Henry Cole's role in Meiji Japan. Okakura, an Education bureaucrat, may have been entrusted with this grand idea by Machida, who had served in both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Home Affairs. Fenollosa and Okakura's 1886 inspection tour of Europe and the United States, particularly their visit to South Kensington, must have been a journey fueled by great ambition.

However, Okakura's role as a bureaucrat limited his influence. This ambitious plan for the Art Bureau within the Ministry of Education advanced only through the involvement of Kuki Vice Minister of Education, and Hamao Arata, Director of Bureau of Academic Affairs. Imaizumi reflects on this point.[51]

> *Only Baron Hamao, Baron Kuki, Okakura, and myself knew about the plan to establish the Art Bureau. Baron Hamao and Baron Kuki lobbied the higher-ups, Okakura handled the groundwork, and I served as secretary. That is how Japan finally came to have an art school, a museum, and various other art-related institutions. It was entirely the work of these four individuals.*

Certainly, as bureaucrats, these four were essential, and without Kuki's particular leadership, it likely could not have been advanced. However, it was actually Fenollosa and Okakura who formulated the policies for the Imperial Museum and the Tokyo Art School and began drafting the initial plans.

Although Fenollosa and Okakura's idea for the Art Bureau never came to fruition, the integration of the exposition, museum, and art school progressed steadily under Okakura. A notable example of this integration is the "Kusunoki Masashige Statue" project at the Tokyo Art School. In 1890, the Sumitomo family commissioned the Tokyo Art School to create a bronze statue of feudal warlord, Kusunoki Masashige. A design by students and faculty from the Painting Course was selected, and the Sculpture Course professor oversaw its production. This project, commissioned from outside, was rooted in Okakura's idea for an Art Bureau during his tenure as the school's principal.[52]

Subsequently, the art school's commission project made significant progress at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Against the backdrop of diplomatic factors—expanding exports and revising unequal treaties—the Meiji government's objective was to

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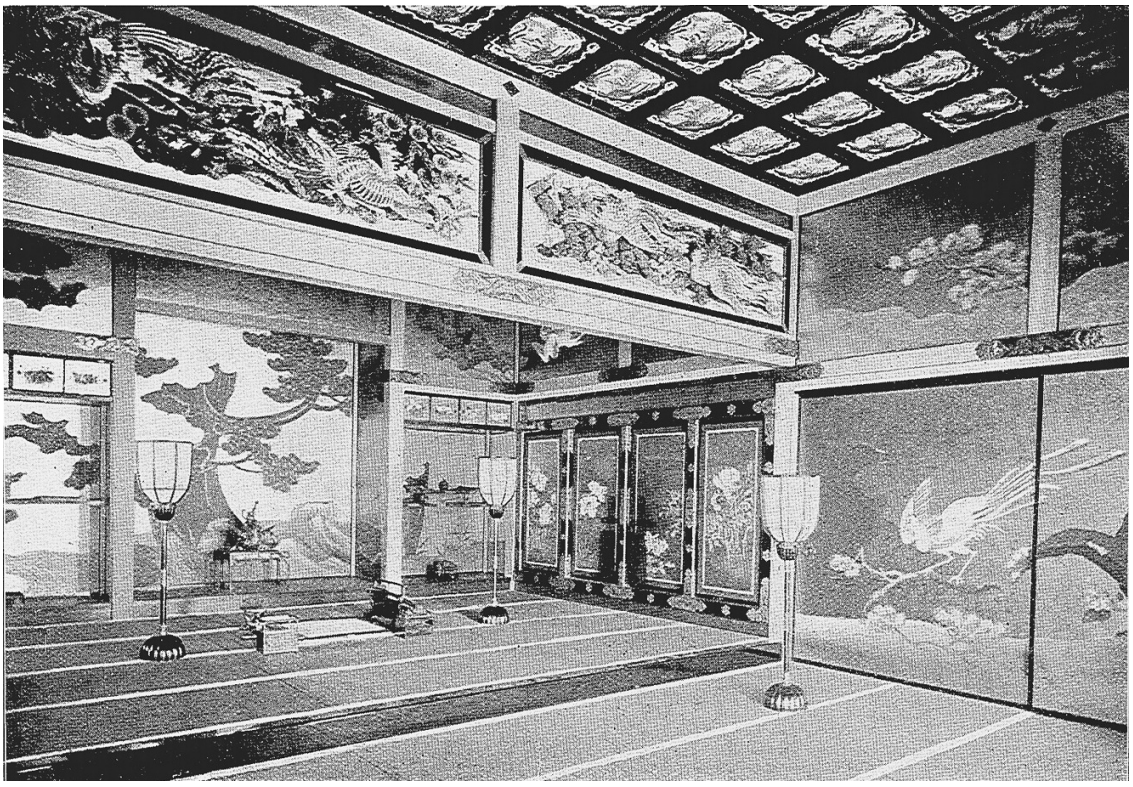

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Fig. 13: The Japanese pavilion *Ho-o-den* (Phenix Hall) at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893. © National Diet Library.

Fig. 14: Jodan-no-ma (Central Hall) of the *Ho-o-den* at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago; in Okakura Kakuzo, The *Hooden*, 1893. © National Diet Library.

demonstrate to the Western world that Japan was a civilized nation by presenting a systematic history of art. At the Chicago Exposition Bureau, Kuki served as Vice President, while Okakura, Councilor of the Secretariat and Principal of the Tokyo Art School, effectively led the project. Faculty members from the Tokyo Art School were responsible for the interior decoration of the Japanese Pavilion, the *Ho-o-den* (Phoenix Hall), modeled after the *Ho-o-do* (Phoenix Hall) of Byōdō-in Temple.[53]

At the Chicago Exposition, the idea of an Art Bureau encompassing the exposition, art school, and museum was realized in modified forms: through participation in the exposition, the interior decoration of the Phoenix Hall by the art school, and acquisitions for the Imperial Museum (fig. 13, 14). However, its nature differed from that of the early Meiji period. Its purpose shifted from promoting art for industry to

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advocating art for art's sake—that is, from industrial promotion to aestheticism. This shift can be attributed to the fact that, under the policy of promoting industry in the early Meiji period, the works exhibited at the World's Fair were sold locally and acquired by museums in various countries. By contrast, most of the works exhibited at the Chicago Exposition, in which Okakura was involved, were acquired by the Imperial Museum. Okakura probably aimed not for export-oriented arts and crafts admired in Japonisme, but for works of art collected in museums and integrated into art education. It may be said that, under the banner of Aestheticism, Okakura realized the concept of an "Art Bureau" encompassing expositions, museums, and art schools through the Chicago World's Fair.

The South Kensington Museum, which had been widely adopted as a model by many Western countries, had become outdated by the mid-1880s. In 1893, the South Kensington Museum separated into the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Science Museum. At the art museum, the emphasis shifted from educational focus to aesthetic and historical perspectives. Around 1875, art schools also began to shift from "art for industry" to "art for art's sake." Similarly, the MFA, Boston transformed from an educational museum serving industry into a museum dedicated to enlightening through beauty, a change reflected in its new building after relocation in 1909.

Meiji Japan's museums certainly adopted and implemented South Kensington system, transitioning from industrial promotion to aestheticism. However, behind this shift the urgent mission to protect cultural properties—entrusted from Machida to Fenollosa and Okakura— became apparent. This mission could only be realized by upholding the grand principle of industrial promotion.

The establishment of Japan's modern art system during the Meiji period was a national strategy aimed at positioning the nation on equal footing with the Western powers as a modern state. From the proposal for the construction of the *Shūkokan* in 1871, through the opening of the museum in 1882, and culminating in the establishment of the Imperial Museum in 1889, the formation of museums in Meiji Japan was consistently guided by indispensable insights derived from the art policy of South Kensington.

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Endnotes:

1 A bureaucrat from the Satsuma domain. Established the Museum at the 1872 *Yushima Seidō* Exposition, becoming its first director in 1882.

2 A bureaucrat from the Saga domain. Participated in the 1867 Paris Exposition and the 1873 Vienna World's Fair. President of the House of Peers, Privy Councilor, and other positions.

3 A bureaucrat and art theorist. Served at the Imperial Museum and as principal of the Tokyo Art School. From 1905, curator of the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art at the MFA, Boston.

4 American philosopher and scholar of East Asian art; professor at the University of Tokyo from 1878, and over the course of four visits, spent a total of eighteen years in Japan, contributing to the founding of the Tokyo Art School. From 1890, curator of the Japanese department at the MFA, Boston.

5 References consulted on Henry Cole and South Kensington Museum: Coll 1991; Baker, Richardson 1999; Burton 1999; Bonython 2003.

6 Quinn 2011. With regard to "taste", reference was also made to Suga 2005, pp. 25-116.

7 Nakayama 1995, pp. 193-222.

8 MacDonald 1990, pp. 212-219.

9 Dohmen 2020, p. 31.

10 References consulted on Christopher Dresser: Stuart 1993; Whiteway 2004.

11 Suzuki 1974, pp. 85-94.

12 For discussions on the formative period of American art museums andMFA, Boston, see Gilman 1921; Alexander 1997, pp. 51-66; Curran 2016, pp. 52-79.

13 Boston 1876, p. 8.

14 Perkins 1870, pp. 1-3.

15 Perkins 1870, p. 15.

16 Conforti 1997, pp. 38-40.

17 Boston 1876. The Japanese government exhibited ceramics, metalwork, and other crafts in the main building of the Centennial International Exposition in Philadelphia, and constructed a Japanese-style tea house.

18 Perkins 1870, p. 28.

19 Korzenik 1985, p. 200. While Perkins's vision was never fully realized, it lives on in the present-day academic city of Boston.

20 Dean 1924, pp. 5-9.

21 Smith 1872.

22 Green 1966, p. 5.

23 For research on art policy during the Meiji period in Japan, see the following references; Sato 1999. Norota 2015. Previous research on Japanese art administration during the Meiji period has examined in detail the establishment of domestic institutions. However, there has been almost no reference to the art policies of South Kensington, nor any analysis of what sources were consulted or consideration of the nature of their influence.

24 Shiina 2022.

25 Norota 2015, pp. 136-166.

26 Machida traveled to Britain in 1865 at the end of Edo period as a Satsuma feudal clan student and studied at the University of London. As Machida indicated, the British

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Museum at that time was a comprehensive museum containing books and humanities and natural history materials.

27 Ōkoku 1875, p. 112.

28 Norota 2015, pp. 111-135.

29 Ōkoku 1875, p. 6.

30 Ōkoku 1876.

31 The second director of the South Kensington Museum (served 1873-1893).

32 Norota 2015, pp. 228-231.

33 Kaneko 1999, pp. 160-170; Takeuchi 2016, pp. 99-122.

34 Ueno 2007, pp. 35-37.

35 Kawakami 1871.

36 A Scottish engineer who authored works on agriculture, architecture, mechanical engineering, and drawing.

37 Basic references on Ernest Fenollosa: Chisolm 1963; Yamaguchi 1982; Murakata 1982; 1984; 1987.

38 Yamaguchi 1982, pp. 278-290.

39 Imaizumi Yūsaku, "Tokyo Art School: Retrospective," cited in Tokyo 1987, pp. 32-33.

40 Murakata 1982, pp. 54-61, p.336.

41 Okakura 1980, pp. 341-343, 486.

42 Murakata, 1982, p. 121.

43 Regarding the South Kensington Art School, publications included; Richard 1853; 1876.

44 Smith 1872, and also Fenollosa might have referred to Smith 1882.

45 Murakata 1982, pp. 88-98.

46 Murakata 1982, pp. 297-305.

47 By the time Fenollosa conducted his inspection in 1887, the natural history department of the British Museum had already become independent as the Natural History Museum in 1881.

48 Okakura 1889, pp. 52-64.

49 Smith 1872, p. 70.

50 McDonald 1990, p. 342.

51 Tokyo 1987, p. 34.

52 Tokyo 1987, p. 178.

53 Yamada 2021, pp. 123-133.

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