CONTRIBUTIONS TO GERMAN-JAPANESE MEDICAL RELATIONS

PART III

CARL TROESTER, A HORSE-DOCTOR IN TOKYO
1880-83

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SUMMARY

Carl Troester (1856-1928), a Royal Prussian veterinary surgeon, was sent to Tokyo to teach Japanese students veterinary medicine at the Agricultural Faculty. The language of instruction was English. The course comprised 36 hours per week. He was acknowledged by his students and on dismissal in 1883, he was received by the Tenno. His later carrier at the Military Veterinary Academy in Berlin earned him the position of a brigadier and university professor.

Keywords: History of veterinary medicine, 19th century, veterinary education, Germany, Japan, Berlin, Tokyo

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Between 1871 and 1905, altogether 13 German physicians taught Western medicine at the universities of Tokyo, Kyoto and Nagoya. However, little is known about veterinary medicine taught in Japan by a German “horse-doctor”.

Carl Troester was born on 29 March 1856 in Elbing. His father, Carl F. Troester (1824-90), was a gunsmith of the 8th Ulan regiment. His mother, Juliane Ballien, was also a daughter of a gunsmith from Trier. After receiving a diploma from real gymnasium (secondary school) in Elbing and completing compulsory military service, in 1876 he enrolled in the Prussian military veterinary academy (Tierärztliche Hochschule) in Berlin. In 1879 he received the license to practice veterinary medicine and was promoted to a junior Royal Prussian horse-doctor. In those days, it was not easy for parents to let their son study at the military academy. In the letters young Carl sent from Tokyo, he repeatedly mentioned money transfers for the payment of his parents’ debts.

**TRANSFER TO JAPAN BY COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY, KING WILHELM I**

In response to Troester’s application of 18 January, on 26 August 1880, His Majesty Emperor Wilhelm I granted the junior horse-doctor Troester of the Eastprussian field artillery-regiment No 1 a 3-year leave for Japan, effective immediately. When Troester received the order he just stood in manoeuvre. He had to leave immediately: from Thorn by train to Königsberg and via Berlin to Marseilles. His ship, a 3650-tonne French steamer “Djemnah”, set sail on 3 Oct. 1880. In his records, Troester praised the excellent catering on board. The ship sped at 13 nm/h on a route via Neaples, the Channel of Suez, Aden, Gale/Sri Lanka and Saigon to the harbour of Hong Kong. There, he changed ship for a smaller steamer “Menzales” on 9 November. On 19 Nov. he sent a telegram to his parents with the news that he safely arrived in Yokohama.

According to a contract dated 12 July 1880, for 2 years Troester was a teacher of veterinary medicine and surgery at the Royal College of the School of Agriculture, which was under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior. The school campus in Komaba, at the outskirts of Tokyo was a country estate with a residence for students and houses for every teacher. His monthly salary was 200 Yen in silver (420-600 Reichsmark).
As a junior horse-doctor (cavalry sergeant) in Germany, he was receiving 69 Reichsmark.

In the 19th century, the exchange rate of the Yen varied considerably; in October 1880, for instance, the US $ was 1.25 Yen, a month later 1.8 Yen and by January 1883 again 1.3 Yen (US$ was then 3.75 Reichsmark and English pound sterling 20 Reichsmark). For each money transfer to Germany, Troester had to pay a 10 Reichsmark commission. All transfers were handled by the German Consulate.

PRIVATE LIFE AT THE OUTSKIRTS OF TOKYO

Troester was given a house on a plot of 2.300 square meters. He was attended by his own cook and servant who lived in an adjoining building, and whom he paid 20 Reichsmark a month. Food was fine and plentiful. Menus included German food: sausages, ham, rye-bread, sauerkraut, beer and wine, plus American tobacco on the side. Troester furnished the empty house and set up a Japanese garden. In a large terrarium he kept about 20 local snake species including a dangerous Mamushi viper, which gives birth to 10 young. To quote Troester “Immediately after birth the small beasts kill and swallow live mice fed to them.” He was crazy about weapons, bought guns and almost every day hunted pheasants, hares, foxes and wild dogs. Today this is unthinkable for foreigners in Japan. He planned to buy a horse, but eventually he did not. He disliked New Year visits, when for three days he had to go by riksha through Tokyo in order to deliver his name cards to distinguished persons. The German teachers played skat, went bowling or sang every week in German chorus.

In Komaba, they were subscribed to a Cologne newspaper. Troester became a member of the German East Asian Society (OAG). In between terms, Troester and his colleagues would make excursions in the countryside such as that to Fujiyama. Of course, the young doctor visited tea houses. He found the geisha “passable”, although usually rather little (“drei Käse hoch”, in the 20th century the average height of the Japanese increased about 20 cm!). He was impressed by how often fires would break out in Tokyo. In the winter of 1880/81, 30.000 homes went up in flames.
TEACHING

Troester and other three German teachers, two graduated agriculturists and a chemist, had to give their lectures in English, unlike the German physicians who taught in their native language. Judging by the programme schedule, he worked 36 hours a week. In addition, he was expected to take care of the education of his students and protect the interests of the school. Furthermore, he was responsible for the health of animals kept in school stables. From 10 to 12:00 he gave anatomy lessons in the dissection room and from 13 to 14:00 he lectured on different subjects. He was also preparing medical students for preliminary medical exams (Vorphysikum) in botany. On one occasion he had to fight an anthrax epidemic in the province. He described his first 20 students as nice and diligent. On 19 June 1882 (Meiji 15) during their final exams,

Figure 1 Troester as a Royal Prussian horse-doctor in Berlin in 1884
the students gave him a golden plate with engraved words of thanks for the acquired knowledge. The new generation counted 17 students. University at the time lasted four years, like in Berlin.

On 2 January 1883 he was invited to a reception at the court of the Tenno, a practice not uncommon at the time for foreign teachers. Like all other guests, Troester paid his respects by bowing three times before the Emperor and three before the Empress. He held his sayonara party at the restaurant Futakiro in Tokyo-Futako. Troester did not publish scientific papers during his stay in Japan, but he returned to Germany with great experience. On 12 October 1883 he left Yokohama on board of a German steamer and returned to Germany via Kobe, Hong Kong and Singapore to Suez, taking a train to Alexandria, an Austrian steamer to Trieste and a train again to home (Fig. 1).

**Career in Berlin**

In 1888, Troester, now a lieutenant, was entrusted to run a bacteriological laboratory of the Military Veterinary Academy. Here, he studied contagious horse pneumonia and glanders. He also was engaged at the Robert Koch Institute. Being the son of a gunsmith, Troester had many technical talents. As soon as five months after the discovery of x-rays by W.C. Röntgen in 1895, he made first x-ray images of a horse using equipment he built himself. He published his results in 1896 and 1904. In 1910, followed a paper on ultramicroscopy. In 1917 he developed a volumeter for the investigation of contagious anaemia in horses. As the veterinary high school of Berlin could not give a doctoral degree before 1910, Troester never received it, but the captain of the veterinary corps (lieutenant colonel) received the title of professor. During the First World War he was responsible for all vaccine supplies obtained from horse serum. Under his authority, a great new building of the hygienic institute was built in Hannoversche Str. 27-30. On 1 November 1919, Troester was dismissed from active service as veterinary brigadier (Generaloberveterinär) due to army layoffs at the end of the war. He accepted the position with Schering AG Berlin and worked as the head of the bacteriological department of the company in Charlottenburg from 1920 to 1924.

In 1893 Carl Troester married Maria Zielinski (1870-99) in Berlin. Their only son Fritz (1896-1972) became a specialist in internal medicine. Troester’s small gifts received in Japan, including wood block print
books, inspired his grandson Peter Troester, born in 1927, to take woodcarving as a hobby. Carl Troester’s second marriage remained childless. He died on 24 March 1928 from urinary bladder cancer.

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SAŽETAK

Ključne riječi: povijest veterinarske medicine, XIX. stoljeće, veterinarska naobrazba, Njemačka, Japan, Berlin, Tokio
MOKICHI SAITO, PSYCHIATRIST IN VIENNA AND MUNICH - 1922-24

SUMMARY

Mokichi Saito (1882-1953) was born to a peasant in Kaminoyama. A psychiatrist in Tokyo adopted him, gave him his daughter in marriage, and sent him to medical studies to continue his work in a mental hospital. Saito complied, but more and more devoted himself to poetry. In 1922, the Japanese government sent him to Vienna to deepen his knowledge in mental diseases. There on the banks of the Danube, inspired by his loneliness, he wrote poems about his impressions of Austria. Being promoted into a medical doctor, he went to Munich to continue his studies in psychiatry. As a connoisseur of European paintings and history of art, he visited many places in Southern Germany. Back in Japan in 1924, he rebuilt the burnt-down hospital of his father-in-law and continued to indulge in poetry, becoming the most famous poet of the 20th century in Japan.

Keywords: History of medicine, 20th century, Germany, Japan, Tokyo, Vienna, Munich, psychiatry, poetry

Mokichi Saito was born to a peasant on 14 May 1882 in the village of Kanakame (now Kaminoyama) in the prefecture of Yamagata in Northern Japan as the third son. Because of weak health, he could not do farming. However, his unusual talent at school was soon recognized. He loved calligraphy and painting. At the age of 14, a relative took him to Tokyo. By contract between two families, Saito studied medicine in order to marry the single daughter of Dr. Kiichi Saito (1861-1928) and to continue his work at the hospital. Dr Kiichi Saito had studied medicine at Leipzig and Berlin Universities and was promoted to the position of a medical doctor in Halle in 1902. He was fascinated by German culture and educated his daughter Teruko (1895-1984) accordingly. He was an expert in psychiatry and the owner of a prosperous hospital for mental diseases in Asakusa, and later in Aoyama. The 2nd adopted son of Dr Saito, a sumo wrestler Bunjiro Dewagatake, was deeply attached to Mokichi and looked after him like an older brother.

Young Mokichi was very impressed by Tokyo, but retained his rural lifestyle, behaving boorishly and almost awkwardly. This may be the reason why his marriage with Teruko was unfortunate. In 1911, he finished his studies and joined the famous neurological hospital of professor Shuzo Kure (1867-1932) in Sugamo. Here, he published a paper
“Paralytic Dementia and the Wassermann Test.” He had learned some tanka (Japn. short poems of 31 syllables) of poet Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902) and joined a poetic circle. In 1913, when his beloved mother died, he wrote a cycle of tanka, “shinitama haha” (dying mother), about her death and his expression reached a new dimension. In poems he described his daily work at the hospital and the fate of several patients. In 1911, he became the editor of Araragi, a literary journal. He was 31 when he published a collection of poems entitled Shakko (Purple Rays or more commonly “Red Lights”), which made him a famous Japanese tankaist, bringing new life to tanka including sordid sexuality, chaste love, and psychiatric scrutiny that hardly seemed possible in thirty-one syllables. In 1917, he was appointed professor of psychiatry at the medical school in Nagasaki. At the end of 1921, the Japanese government decided to send him to Europe, where he was to deepen his studies in mental diseases.

In January 1922, he was in Vienna and worked with the respected professor Otto Marburg (1874-1948) at the neurological institute. At this
time, the Japanese students, their work and their financial support, were of great importance for the research in various fields. During the three semesters of his stay, Saito published a few scientific papers. He may have been acquainted with the work of Siegmund Freud, but being the member of scholastic medicine, he had no contact with him. Shortly before leaving for Munich, he submitted his outstanding paper “Die Hirnkarte des Paralytikers.” That earned him the position of a medical doctor from Tokyo University in 1924. During recess, Mokichi made a three-day journey to the Ennstal with a young, fair and blue-eyed Viennese girl. This was one of his weekend excursions in the surroundings of Vienna. What a contrast between his daily work with the microscope and his sensitive poems, his expression of what he felt about the strange world of Europe! The poems which can hardly be translated express his melancholy and suffering in the loneliness.

“Purpurrote sah ich dort
am östlichen Himmel
durchsickern
im kalten Deutschland”

Mokichi used to publish his poems in journals. A collection of 623 tanka of the years 1922/23 on his memories of Europe under the titles Enyu (Long Distance Trip) and Henreki (Pilgrimage) did not appear before 1947. Saito had the sensibility for nature, a Japanese characteristic, too. The sluggishly flowing Danube reminded him of Mogamigawa at home (Fig. 1). In Munich in 1924, he decided to follow the river upstream to its source in Donaueschingen. Not only did he publish lyrical accounts of this journey, but he also wrote 16 tanka describing the beauties of this river. In 1995, the city of Donaueschingen commemorated the poet’s visit to spring of the Danube and became a partner city with Kaminoyama, the birthplace of the poet. More recently, on the 5th anniversary of the partnership, a memorial stone was dedicated to Mokichi Saito (Fig. 2).

According to his diary, the scientific work at the neurological institute in Vienna and the anatomical department of the German Research Institute for Psychiatry in Munich was less satisfying for him. He suffered from insomnia because of bedbugs, common inhabitants of accommodations in Munich and subjects of his bugs-diary. He used to visit bookshops and sent many parcels with books to Japan. In 1923, for 10 days Mokichi was in uncertainty about his family during the Great Kanto Earthquake in Tokyo which took 140,000 lives.
During his journey back to Japan, in Hong Kong he received a telegram that the hospital of his father-in-law in Aoyama was destroyed by fire. 23 patients and a physician died in flames. All books and instruments sent from Europe for his further scientific research were lost. Back in Japan, Mokichi Saito renewed the traditional tanka. His lyrical poems about Austria and Germany and the account on the source of the Danube contributed to the romantic attitude many Japanese carry with them as their luggage to Europe. In his forties he had to build a new hospital. To get the money, he published a number of essays about Bavarian and other European countries, that were later compiled in an extensive volume, including reports about the museums he visited as a connoisseur of European paintings and history of art. Finally, he overcame all difficulties, rebuilt the hospital, separated from his wife (1933-45) fond of travelling and devoted himself even more to poetry. During this productive period, his secret love was the young Fusako Nagai (1909-1993), a beauty from Matsuyama who became his student of poetry (Fig. 3). In May 1945, Mokichi sold the Matsubara hospital to the army, while the Aoyama branch was destroyed in bombings. He returned to Kanakame.
Figure 3 Fusako Nagai (1909-1993) (City of Kaminoyama)

Figure 4 Dr Saito in Tokyo, 1952 (Showa 22) (City of Kaminoyama)
During his lifetime, he became the most important poet of the 20th century in Japan. He wrote about 17,000 tanka and published 70 papers including essays, critical reviews, collections of poems, and scientific papers in psychiatry. In 1952, he received the Order of Cultural Merit (Fig. 4). Dr Mokichi Saito had four children, two sons and two daughters. His first son, Shigeta Saito (born in 1916) and his brother Soukichi Saito (born in 1927) are both physicians and well-known writers. At first in 1946 by pleurisy, followed 1947 by a stroke, Mokichi grew continuously weaker and finally died from heart failure on 25 February 1953, at the age of 71. In the Miyuki Park of his hometown he was honoured by a memorial museum containing manuscripts and letters written in his own hand. On 15 May 2004, his 135th memorial stone was placed in Japan.

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Ključne riječi: povijest medicine, XX. stoljeće, Njemačka, Japan, Tokio, Beč, München, psihijatrija, poezija
NOBUTSUGU KOYENUMA,
HEAD OF AN EPIDEMIC DISEASE HOSPITAL IN BRANDENBURG - 1945/46

SUMMARY

Nobutsugu Koyenuma (1909-1946), born in Tokyo, completed a postgraduate study at the Institute for Radiology of the Royal University Tokyo. Receiving a government grant in spring 1937, he visited the Institute for Radiology of the Humboldt University in Berlin. He published a number of scientific articles and received international renown. His habilitation paper was accepted in Berlin, but because of the war, the procedure was not brought to a close. In September 1945 a Russian district commander ordered him to run an isolation hospital in Wriezen. After half a year of selfless care for his patients, he died of epidemic typhus. The citizens of Wriezen honoured Dr Koyenuma with a memorial in 2000.

Keywords: History of medicine, 20th century, physician, radiology, epidemiology

Among Japanese physicians who successfully studied and worked in Germany, radiologist Nobutsugu Koyenuma is an outstanding example. He was active in Berlin and in the Oderbruch (Brandenburg) from 1937 to 1946. On 1 July 2000, the town of Wriezen erected a memorial for their hero who bravely fought typhus and other epidemics after the Second World War in Germany.

Nobutsugu Koyenuma was born on 9 October 1909 in Tokyo-Hatiori as the son of a general practitioner. After receiving a secondary school diploma from the Tatikawa gymnasium, from 1928-34 he studied at the Nippon Medical School, where his unusual talent in mathematics was recognised. As a qualified medical practitioner and preparing a doctoral degree, he became assistant at the Radiological Institute of the Medical School of the Royal University Tokyo (Fig. 1) in 1934.

SCHOLARSHIP HOLDER IN BERLIN

In spring 1937 Dr Koyenuma received a scholarship of the Japanese government and went to Berlin. He first visited the Robert Koch Institute, and started to work as a guest of the Institute for Radiology of the Humboldt University in July of the same year. The director of the Institute was professor Walther Friedrich, later to become the postwar
rector of the university. In 1939, Koyenuma became a scholar of the Humboldt Foundation.

On 1 April 1941 he received a position as a junior assistant for a monthly salary of 120 Reichsmark. He lived in Scharnhorst Str. 32 near Charité. During his stay in Berlin, he published 23 scientific papers in the field of radiology. His work gained him international recognition. In February 1943, he received the position of a regular assistant with a salary of 342 Reichsmark. His habilitation paper “Über den Wirkungsmechanismus der Röntgenstrahlen auf wässrige Eiweiß- und Thymonukleinsäurelösungen” was accepted in August 1944 by the Humboldt University. However, because of the end of the war, the procedure was never completed. Had it been completed, Koyenuma would have been the first Asian scientist with a habilitation in Germany. Not before 1955 did his German teacher H. Schreiber publish the habilitation paper posthumously in a journal for Strahlentherapy.
When the Russian troops drew near to Berlin on 18 March 1945, the Japanese ambassador evacuated the Japanese to Salzburg. However, Koyenuma took refuge with his German life companion in Eberswalde. In September 1945, a Russian district commander ordered him to run an isolation hospital in Wriezen. The station was located in the building of the former provincial institute for the deaf and dumb, now the town hall.

“AGAIN A LIFE HAS BEEN SAVED, WHAT A BLESSING”

After the war, the Germans fell victims to contagious diseases due to hunger and malnutrition. A large transit camp was erected near Wriezen to take in refugees from East Germany. Eyewitnesses reported incredible circumstances in the camp. The refugees brought in a typhus epidemic.

Figure 2. The tombstone on the cemetery in Wriezen (erected in 1946, Photo: A. Kast)
Tuberculosis, dysentery and syphilis were also spreading. During the influenza epidemic people died of pneumonia, because penicillin was available only on the black market.

With limited means, Koyenuma, an assistant and seven young nurses took up the fight against the epidemics. Koyenuma did not hesitate to go into the refugee camp to examine and treat the patients. The only food patients and nursing staff received were bruised grain soup, fresh bread from shredded wheat, carrots, stinging nettle, and occasionally horse meat. Koyenuma fetched food from the nearby villages using an old horse carriage. Standing outside on the foothold, he travelled by train to Berlin with a rucksack to fetch drugs which were needed in large amounts, for instance, the sulphonamide Prontosil that was used in various indications. With help of a former patient, he once got an entire carload of medicaments from Schwerin, which was used as a military town-hospital by the Americans. However, medical supplies were always short. This was also true for fuel, and power cuts were common.

In the meantime, Koyenuma learned to speak German rather fluently. Often, he could only encourage his patients. If a child survived typhus and took food again, he used to say: “Again, a life has been saved, what a blessing!” Koyenuma was a professing Catholic. His work was determined by charity. The relentless commitment and malnutrition weakened him and his co-workers. On 8 March 1946, already after only half a year of work at the epidemic disease hospital, he died of typhus, follow-
ing five nurses who died from the epidemic before him. Johanna Fiedler, then a 17-year-old, survived and later witnessed their predicament. The question arises whether Koyenuma and his young nurses received immunisation against typhus epidemic during the war, which was obligatory for soldiers. Obviously they have not.

On the cemetery of Wriezen Koyenuma has found his last place of rest (Fig. 2). His tombstone erected only a little after his death is decorated with the staff of Aesculapius and the inscription “In selbstlosem Einsatz für die Seuchenbekämpfung gab er sein Leben” (He gave his life in a selfless fight against epidemics). His brother Eiji (91) and his sister Umeji were still alive in Tokyo in 2001. In 1991, Eiji Koyenuma sent 100 cherry-tree plants to Wriezen. Since 1993, a memory plaque on the entrance

Figure 4.
The memorial stone in front of the town house, placed in 2000 with the inscription “Dr Koyenuma died 1946 in the service of his patients” (Photo: A. Kast)
wall of the town hall carries the memory of its honorary citizen (Fig. 3). In 1995, a book about Koyenuma appeared in Japan entitled *Sakura no ki Wriezen machi ni* (Cherry Trees in Wriezen). On 1 July 2000, an 11-tonne memorial stone was erected in the green plot in front of the town hall (Fig. 4 and 5) from donations collected by the Koyenuma foundation board.

**Sources**

On 9 August 2000, the author visited the town hall of Wriezen, where he got all the information and materials and visited the tomb of Dr Koyenuma.

**Sažetak**


**Ključne riječi:** povijest medicine, XX. stoljeće, liječnik, radiologija, epidemiologija
SURADNJA HRVATSKIH I SLOVENSKIH LIJEČNIČKIH UDRUGA – Hrvatska pomoć slovenskoj tiskanoj riječi

COLLABORATION BETWEEN CROATIAN AND SLOVENE MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS – Croatian contribution to Slovene publications

Mario Kocijančič

SUMMARY

Until mid 19th century, medical relations between Croatia and Slovenia were limited to individual co-operation. From then on, they intensified to comprise a number of national and regional academic institutions, including associations of physicians and medical journals in particular. With jubilees at hand, this article recalls two major aspects of collaboration, that is, between the Croatian and Slovene medical associations and the Croatian contribution to Slovene medical publications.

Key words: History of medicine, 19th, 20th century, medical associations, medical journals, Croatia, Slovenia

Kao medicinsku vezu u prošlosti između dvaju naroda povjesničari obično smatraju boravak, rad, uspjeh i priznanja liječnika-pojedinaca u drugoj okolini. Takve primjere poznajemo i u medicinskoj vezi između Hrvata i Slovenaca. Ti samostalni primjeri nedvojbeno su često zanimljiv prilog za povijest medicine u našim krajevima. No mnogo su važnije institucionalne medicinske veze između hrvatskih i slovenskih liječnika, uvje-