

Visualizing Beauty

Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia

Edited by
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Introduction

Aida Yuen Wong

In early twentieth-century East Asia, two female types dominated the visual media: the Modern Woman and the Traditional Woman. The Modern Woman was depicted in the latest fashions and enjoying a lifestyle of the urban West; the Traditional Woman, in contrast, was the embodiment of the Confucian “good wife and wise mother.” The way in which these two constructs reinforced nationalism, colonialism, and consumerism is the subject of this collection of essays. By examining photography, painting, painting manuals, newspaper cartoons, exhibitions, women’s magazines, and calendar posters, these eight essays present a kaleidoscope of imaginations about women in China, Japan, and colonial Korea roughly between 1900 and the 1940s. The authors elucidate the conditions that shaped local perspectives on womanhood, beauty, and feminine prerogative; taken together, they bring into focus both the shared ideological orientations and the conflicts across East Asia.

Gender discourses in East Asia have historically coalesced around Confucian ethics, which teaches that the family is the microcosm of “all under Heaven.” Centuries of didactic texts and images preached female subordination to husbands and parents-in-law, in addition to thriftiness and chastity. These values were easily transformed into the modern ideologies of nationalism, colonialism, and socialism, with an emphasis on sacrifice to the collective good. Symptomatic of this phenomenon were the recurrent appropriations of the Confucian ethical paradigm to glorify “womanly” attainments. Even the Modern Woman who rejected domesticity and patriarchal subordination had to be understood under the shadow of Confucian influences.

The Modern Woman stood for free will and personal liberty. She was proud of her sexual and professional autonomy and defied age-old conventions of female propriety. Besides donning Western high heels and cutting her hair, the Modern Woman publicly asserted her artistic ability, intelligence, and political views. Her individualism challenged social stability but also countered what many local reformers accepted as internal weaknesses of the East. To reconcile these two aspects, East Asian governments and intellectuals drew up protocols that nurtured and celebrated female achievements (through educational, professional, and creative opportunities) but

in such a way that reaffirmed the primacy of the State and the national ideologies that reinforced patriarchy. Therefore, although the Modern Woman no doubt became a popular icon in the twentieth century, the trope of the “good wife, wise mother” frequently resisted it so as to emphasize a woman’s special ability to strengthen the moral fabric of her country.

The intimate relationship between gender and ideology can be gleaned from an examination of official actions and policies. In Japan, the Meiji government provided a basic education to ninety percent of Japanese boys and girls,¹ but besides fulfilling the State’s vision of a civilized society that could stand on a par with the most advanced Western nations, the system wanted to engineer gender norms. To prepare girls to be effective housewives under the emperor and to preserve a male-centered bureaucracy, girls’ education stressed art, feminine etiquette, and home economics rather than math and science.²

Gender control pervaded Chinese politics. Yuan Shikai, the first president of the Chinese Republic, who briefly made himself emperor (in office, 1912–16), endorsed a chastity cult that exalted Confucian paragons of female virtue such as the *zhennü*, a woman who remains a virgin for life even after the death of her fiancé. Some historians interpret Yuan government’s blatant suppression of modern womanhood as a symbolic reassertion of Han culture after the removal of the “barbaric” Manchus in 1911.³ The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the 1920s and 1930s, despite its professed support of gender equality, was reluctant to make women’s rights a dominant issue in the villages, for fear of antagonizing male peasants.⁴

In Japan-occupied Korea (1910–45), women’s emancipation also did not find much success, as Korean men “obsessively disciplined and regulated women’s bodies as metaphors for their uncontaminated, uninterrupted homonational (or homosocial) identity,”⁵ perhaps a hypermasculinist reaction to national emasculation. Added to this condition was the Socialist vitriol against colonial, capitalist exploitation in which the Westernized (bourgeois) Modern Woman was conveniently complicit. During Japan’s wars with China and the Allies from 1931 to 1945, the colonialists exhorted Korean women to procreate and be good mothers, so their children would grow up to be eugenically fit imperial subjects.⁶ A reflection of this policy was the proliferation of paintings and sculptures depicting virtuous wives and breast-feeding mothers.

Of course, most rear-guard models of womanhood in East Asia created a certain tension with women’s emancipation, which originated in the West and, especially in the United States, where the fight for female suffrage reached its peak in the 1910s. Even then, Western proponents of the “New Woman” had to tread carefully. To make a New Woman look *normal*—instead of appearing strident, mannish, and selfish—publications like the *Ladies’ Home Journal* emphasized beauty and domestic talents.⁷ One might say that America’s passage of women’s suffrage in 1920 owed much to these moderate depictions.

The culture of women's magazines then spread to East Asia. In China and Japan, the *found* iconography of the home-loving Modern Woman might also have had normalizing effects, although women's suffrage in East Asia would be slower to bear fruit. It was not until 1936 that the Chinese Nationalist Party (GMD) generally granted women the right to vote in regions under its control, but only because the party was "not going to let the CCP have complete control of the 'social issues' agenda. Rather than a sign of sweeping cultural reform, allowing women's suffrage activists into the political class presented no particular threat to the GMD's continued hold on power because these active women were primarily elite or middle-class urbanites whose outlook clearly mirrored that of the men in the political class."⁸

In Japan, where they were unable to overturn the government's legal prohibitions on female membership in political parties, suffragists redirected their attention to issues such as wage equality, better working conditions, efficiency in housekeeping, and the need for government support for stay-at-home mothers.⁹ In Japan-controlled Korea, it was even more futile to demand female suffrage, as Korean men themselves had limited election rights on the local level and none on the State level. Without a suffrage movement, Korean women's groups—in a spirit similar to that of their Japanese counterparts—devoted their energy to expanding educational opportunities, protesting labor abuse and sexual harassment, and reforming dress codes—issues that affected their daily lives.¹⁰ Both Japanese and Korean women had to wait until after World War II to win the right to vote.

Although the women's rights movements in East Asia did not lead to immediate success, they captured the mood of the interwar period (1910s–30s), when a large segment of the region was seeing change and clamoring for more. The year 1919 was a landmark: both China's May Fourth Movement and Korea's March First Independence Movement occurred. The former event, which began as a student-led protest against the transfer of Chinese territories to Japan at the Paris Peace Conference, evolved into an intellectual revolution. The latter was a mass demonstration that compelled colonialists in Korea to abandon their brutally repressive governing style for, at least on the surface, a more "cultural" alternative (*bunka seiji*, 1919–31). During this period, mechanisms were put in place to reward the talents and raise the social status of Korean (presumably male) subjects. As one scholar puts it, the "Cultural Rule" was a clever tactic "to reintegrate [the Korean] souls with the spirit of the Japanese nation,"¹¹ or to use a Japanese expression, *shinpuku* ("submission out of loyalty").

China's May Fourth Movement overlapped with the New Culture Movement (mid-1910s–20s) and the New Literature Movement that promoted foreign-influenced theories, subjects, and techniques in modern Chinese creative work. In 1918, Hu Shi, a forerunner of New Literature, paid tribute in a special issue of the influential magazine *Xin Qingnian* (New Youth) to the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen. Thereafter, "Ibsenism" and especially Ibsen's feminist play *A Doll's House* became icons among

Chinese liberals. The central character, Nora, who leaves her husband and her “doll” life in order to find herself as “a human being,” resonated with an entire generation of Chinese men and women who desired intellectual and social emancipation from feudal ways.¹² The same play had caused a sensation in Japan in 1911, under the direction of the theater critic and *littérateur* Tsubouchi Shōyō, an Ibsen admirer. His cast included female actors, breaking a centuries-old ban that the Tokugawa shogunate had imposed to stem moral corruption in the theater.¹³ Ibsen and Nora went hand in hand with new culture, new morality, and new opportunities. Nora became a model for many East Asian writers and artists.

One of the greatest watersheds in East Asia during the second decade of the twentieth century was the death of Emperor Meiji (r. 1868–1912). He had been the first emperor of Japan’s constitutional monarchy, and his portrait used to hang in every school. During his reign, “elite politicians from the two powerful fiefs of Nagato and Satsuma...pushed Japan toward industrialization and Westernization for fear of being colonized by the West. Their leadership was strongly supported by the Neo-Confucian ethic which promoted compassion by the ruling classes and obedience by the subjects.”¹⁴ However, since Japan’s stunning but costly military victory over Russia in 1905, the masses had grown fatigued of the sacrifices the state demanded of them in the form of higher taxes and other hardships.¹⁵ Popular discontent erupted into strikes, calls for reform, and riots that lasted through the 1920s.¹⁶ Although Confucian ethics would remain inviolable in the imperial ideology, the people came to see its injunctions as no longer adequate to encompass the changing social morality. Important demographic shifts were taking place both in the cities and in the countryside. Thousands of farmers and their families were leaving the fields to work in hospitals, factories, and department stores, which hired both men and women. As more women earned income outside the home, even living away from their husbands or not marrying,¹⁷ the old Confucian tenet that “women should obey their husbands” lost some of its practical meaning.

A blanket term frequently invoked to describe Japan’s experience between 1910 and 1930 is “Taishō Democracy” (coinciding roughly with the reign of Emperor Taishō, 1912–26), when the state “lost its monopoly over gender [and other social] constructions.”¹⁸ People were speaking out on many issues from many positions. The period featured such distinguished women as Yosano Akiko, whose literary career spanned four decades, from 1901 to 1939. She wrote tens of thousands of poems, published and lectured regularly, and provided for a large family (eleven children and a literary husband whom she married for love). In her writings, she discussed such themes as the importance of female financial independence, “mutual submission” between husband and wife, the nobility of childbirth, and the honest expression of women’s perspectives over masculinist fantasies.¹⁹ Yosano held that “any human being should be allowed to take on as many roles as she or he can manage,”²⁰ a point of view that some of her female contemporaries criticized as too grandiose. In her essay, “My Views on

Chastity,” she rejected enforced chastity at the expense of a woman’s physical and emotional freedom. Yosano lamented having been habitually kept indoors by her overly strict parents while she was growing up, so that no man could “defile her chastity.”²¹ In 1918, a Chinese translation of this essay was published in *Xin Qingnian* by the Japan-educated “new literature” proponent Zhou Zuoren (1885–1967), who needed a corroborating voice in his own denunciation of the Early Republican government’s chastity cult.²²

Yet, the majority of male intellectuals in the three principal East Asian entities argued for women’s rights in academic terms only; in their own households, patriarchal domination prevailed. For example, the giant of Chinese left-wing liberalism, Lu Xun (1881–1936) (also Zhou Zuoren’s brother), insisted that his “modern” lover Xu Guangping, who had literary aspirations, put his domestic (and secretarial) needs over her desire to develop a writing career.²³ Analyzing the “patriarchal recidivism” of Lu Xun’s kind, Wang Zhen writes:

[The modern male] himself dreamed of being an independent person with individual freedom. Moreover his fundamental crisis was generated by a painful realization of his peripheral and subaltern position in China’s semicolonialization by the West. The comforting, centuries-old sense of superiority enjoyed by Chinese male literati was forcefully undermined by the powerful, “superior” West. Taking a leading role in identifying an “oppressed” and “inferior” social group—women—the modern intellectual reaffirmed his own superiority ... The professed purposes included overthrowing of feudalism, advancing the nation toward modernity, overcoming imperialism, and later, saving the nation ... The altruistic nature of Chinese women’s emancipation eventually made some women feel more used than liberated [...].²⁴

In other words, the incomplete translation of the rhetoric of women’s rights into real-life practice betrayed more than a personal failure of Early Republican intellectuals. The very discursive logic of gender equality in East Asia was frequently muddled by sets of competing dialectic: East and West, self-fulfillment and the greater good, national preservation and modernity. Perceptions of womanhood were the joint products of politics, education, literature, and visual culture circulated and transmitted through translation, the commodity market, and the mass media. Although it is not the purpose of this volume to account for all their means and manifestations, visual uses of gendered ideology will be tied to a network of other cultural and political apparatuses.

Since the works of Marsha Weidner, Patricia Fister, and Fumiko Yamamoto two decades ago,²⁵ surprisingly few scholars have published volumes on East Asian women in the visual field (with the exception of film).²⁶ Two notable contributions are *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* (2003) and *Performing “Nation”: Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Arts of Japan and China, 1880–1940* (2008).²⁷ The former covers Japanese topics from the premodern to the contemporary period, including an essay on Korea. The latter focuses on China and Japan

from an interdisciplinary perspective. Like these recent works, the present volume is a response to the burgeoning interest in gender research that goes beyond the White, Euroamerican zone, and in addition tries to understand East Asian phenomena cross-culturally.

Visualizing Beauty builds on previous studies by discussing China, Japan, and colonial Korea more inclusively. It also concentrates on visual artifacts over a confined period of several decades, when the motif of the Modern Woman was widely circulated. Despite the Modern Woman's evocation of feminist freedom, this volume draws attention to the concurrent assertions of Confucian patriarchy in the region. This "conservative" strand of cultural production is relatively overlooked in discussions of women in the twentieth century, due to epistemological assumptions that the "modern age" must be about radical change. This volume demonstrates that the Modern Woman and the Traditional Woman were equally present in modern East Asia. Understanding how they were represented, diffused, and consumed brings out some of the most powerful ideological forces that shaped the region's politics and societies.

Chapters in the Book

Karen Fraser's essay analyzes the first open-admission beauty contest in Japan. In 1907, young women from across the country submitted their photographs to compete for the title of "the most beautiful woman in Japan." The event was organized by the *Jiji shimpō* newspaper in response to a call by the *Chicago Tribune* to look for attractive women with international appeal. *Jiji shimpō* specifically requested that the contestants be "ordinary" young women, that is, women from proper middle-class families. Public display of feminine beauty had been limited to the circle of geisha and entertainers, and photographic reproduction in newspapers had just been made possible by the North American invention of the half-tone process, and later, photogravure. With the aid of new technologies the contest, which was a startling, public subversion of norms of feminine behavior, acquired an aura of modernity that made it more acceptable than it otherwise would have been. Fraser tells us that photographs of the emperor and deceased soldiers were also being disseminated in newspapers to foster national pride at that time. Hence, this beauty contest, which placed Japanese women (whose photographs were often "submitted without the sitter[s'] consent or even [their] awareness") in competition with other women around the world, represents one of the earliest extensions of the propaganda machine to middle-class females. Occurring on the heels of Japan's military victory over Russia in 1905, the event could not have been more timely. Of course, we might be reminded of the ideological precursor of Japan's participation in the world's expositions since the 1870s, when indigenous arts and crafts were deployed to bolster national pride and international prestige.

Gendered discourses depended vitally on print culture for their dissemination. It helped to circulate and contest new concepts of womanhood

in a commercial context, while also raising questions about the ethical implications. Lisa Claypool tackles some Chinese painting manuals that distilled body parts (such as eyes, noses, and hands) from old master paintings in traditional styles. She positions this visual corpus, which served as a guide for both professional and amateur painters, in the polysemous culture of Shanghai in the late Imperial and early Republican era. While it is tempting to stop at the conservative typology that these painting manuals extol—a dreamscape of beautiful women, all of whom are vaguely alike—Claypool adroitly reads the images of “gentlewomen” in these painting manuals as a backlash against the iconographic overkill of the Modern Woman: “For the editor Ye Jiuru, a key part of his project was importing *shinü* paintings into the domain of a particular language and keeping them there, divorced from a different language calling for female equality of the May Fourth Movement (1919) and earlier. The genre, defined internally between the manual covers, aimed to ‘speak’ of a one-dimensional femininity that was deliberately conceived to be out of touch with contemporary progressive discourse on women’s roles and lives, and was made distinct from modern representations of ‘new bodies.’” Even though the painting manuals promote a kind of homogeneity in feminine portrayal and are starkly traditional in style, the timing of its publication as well as its meshing of certain female types (good wives and virtuous women) with nationalist ethos put the work squarely in the gendered ideological debates of the time.

The painting manuals analyzed by Claypool provide a useful counterpoint to Francesca dal Lago’s essay “How ‘Modern’ was the Modern Woman? Crossed Legs and Modernity in 1930s Shanghai Calendar Posters, Pictorial Magazines, and Cartoons.” The essay offers insights into the quintessential Modern Girl with reference to a specific body language. The eroticized “crossed-legged” posture was widely used in advertisements and posters produced by manufacturers of modern novelties such as cigarettes and light bulbs. “Conceived as an amalgam of local and foreign expressions, which made it one of the most original products in twentieth-century Chinese visual culture,” the calendar posters “developed a distinct representational method to achieve heightened realism in color and anatomical definition.” Dal Lago demonstrates that the sexualized female body as a recurrent trope in Shanghai commercialism was entwined with the visual representations of city life as well as with the literary and filmic conceptions of the urban spectacle. She goes on to trace leg-crossing to other erotic bodily signifiers in older Chinese imagery, underscoring a shift to a standard Western body type for beautiful women as part of semicolonial Shanghai’s embrace of free-market capitalism.

Dress codes and body language are potent expressions of gender politics. However, they are not always stable signifiers, as Hung-yok Ip demonstrates. She explores the visual celebration of feminine beauty and fashion in an unlikely context: China’s Communist Revolution. Scholars have generally assumed that Communist female iconography from the

pre-Cultural Revolution era was already dominated by austerity, androgyny, or both. However, an interest in female beauty was fully present during the revolutionary process. Women revolutionaries represented another kind of Modern Woman who used beauty politically, to win converts by demonstrating cosmopolitanism and refinement, “temporarily act[ing] out alternative social roles” to that of the militant proletariat. Interaction among Communists themselves also seemed to reinforce the perception that female beauty was rewarding. Ip’s essay conveys the variety of aesthetic practices that women activists adopted in service of the Communist cause.

Activism took on a more personal form in the life of the painter-writer Na Hye-seok (1896–1948). A “Korean Nora” who refused to be constrained by the discourse of patriarchal femininity, Na pursued free love, got divorced, and vehemently defended her self-reliant lifestyle. Eschewing simple biographical interpretations, however, Yeon Shim Chung meticulously presents Na as a case study of the Modern Girl in colonial Korea. The quintessential Modern Girls are “shopping girls [who] challenged traditional gender roles and centuries of Confucian morality by accumulating products that enhanced female beauty and sexuality.” The homonationalists would cast these material girls as byproducts of unbridled capitalism and insensitive to the plight of their village sisters. As a woman allied with the urban, bourgeois camp, Na came in for her share of social censure. Yet she unstintingly pursued modern womanhood through her art and became the first significant female painter in colonial Korea. Surprisingly little has been written about this important artist. This essay is a rare analysis of Na’s works that takes into consideration the larger contexts of gender and colonial politics.

Elaborating on the patriarchal gender discourse in colonial Korea, Yisoon Kim presents a group of artworks produced for the Joseon Art Exhibitions (1922–45) by male Korean artists. Launched during the period of Cultural Rule, these were government-sponsored, annual juried events (modeled after Japan’s official *Bunten* and *Teiten*) at which Koreans competed with resident Japanese for *de facto* recognition as leaders of the colonial art world.²⁸ The paintings and sculptures Kim focuses on celebrated virtuous women, nursing mothers, and devoted housewives—opposites of what Na Hye-seok stood for. These images were not merely updated versions of exemplary women from the Confucian tradition. Notably, the recurrent portrayals of the chaste but tortured heroine Chunhyang perpetuated a gendered politics in which both the Japanese colonizers and Korean nationalists called for women to sacrifice their own interests and desires for the betterment of society. So represented, women existed only as a political idea inscribed in the patriarchal symbolic order. As Julia Kristeva tells us, whereas production of a child secures for the woman a place in the patriarchal order, childbirth indicates her bodily difference, her distinction from the male—a state that Kristeva calls “*m/other*.”²⁹ Those Korean males who exhibited maternal imagery seemed comfortable with their hegem-

onic gender position and wittingly or otherwise acted as mouthpieces for Japan's imperialist ideology.

By comparison, the Korean females featured in the works by Japanese painters of the same period appear much less narrowly defined although equally stereotyped. Kaoru Kojima considers the works by Fujishima Takeji (1867–1943), Tsuchida Bakusen (1887–1936), and Hayami Gyoshū (1894–1935). The three painters' attraction to the Western figural tradition reflected their cosmopolitan education and travel experiences: “*Gisaeng* (Korean geisha) Tourism’ was a main entertainment for Japanese travelers, and postcards with photographs of *gisaeng* were widely circulated... [The *gisaeng* in one Bakusen painting] seemed to be largely an amalgamation of popular imagery and stylization.” At the same time, these peculiar Japanese depictions created a fantasized femininity with latent assertions of Japanese nationalism and colonial superiority over the Koreans. These works naturally invite comparisons with European Orientalist representations of African and Middle Eastern women popular during the nineteenth century.³⁰ In the 1920s and 1930s, paintings that took the colonized female bodies as their theme could be found in both traditional-style brush paintings and Western-style oil paintings in Japan. Doubling as *fūzokuga* (genre pictures), these images epitomized the urban Japanese male gaze in the age of rapid industrialization.³¹

In the final essay, Sarah Teasley discusses a more specifically disciplinary manifestation of gender divisions. She probes the opposition between architecture and interior decorating in Japan, the former conceived as a male practice, the latter female. Unlike architectural texts that taught men to design structure and rational form, interior decoration guides for women stressed the creation of beautiful domestic environments as part of bourgeois women's responsibilities. Teasley explains these female responsibilities as outcomes of Japan's holistic molding of its national subjects: “the refined sensibility produced by aesthetic education would make the creation of beautiful interiors almost automatic, the application of the general principles of beauty of heart and form that the user—the housewife—had learned through moral education, physical education, academic study, and practice.” To support these women's mission, new art and interior decoration sections of department stores supplied household furnishings appropriate for a variety of seasons, room functions, and social ranks. Investigations of these materials simultaneously raise the important issue of class in determining attitudes towards the relationship of beauty to the ideal housewife.

The encoding of gender was a highly elaborate and varied enterprise. The positions staked out in this book remind us of how integral women's bodies, visual attributes, and lifestyles were to the modern imagination in all three cultures studied here. Although the influential works of Said and others have debunked notions of sameness among the non-West,³² before discarding all categorical thinking, we might ask if there were *specific* contexts and *certain* circumstances in which an intentionally encompassing

view of a region could in fact be useful. This volume makes the case that, in the early decades of the twentieth century, China, Japan, and Korea possessed a proximate set of *mentalités* with respect to their gendered ideologies. Instead of a mere coincidence, the phenomenon can be vividly illustrated as an extension of specific “East Asian” biases as well as an expression of a common ambivalence towards modernization and Westernization during one of the most creative, materially diverse, and sociopolitically intricate periods in the region’s history.

Notes

Introduction

1. See Nihon Joshi Daigaku Joshi Kyōiku Kenkyūsho (Japanese Women's University Women's Education Research Center), comp., *Meiji no Joshi Kyōiku (Women's Education of the Meiji Period)* (Tokyo: Kokudoshā, 1967), Table 2, 201.
2. The term “good wife, wise mother” was coined by the enlightenment educator Nakamura Masanao (1832–91) and derived from Western and Confucian concepts of womanhood. See Koyama Shizuko, *Ryōsai kenbo to iu kihan* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1991); Kathleen Uno, “The Origins of ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’ in Modern Japan,” in *Japanische Frauengeschichte(n)*, eds. Erich Pauer and Regine Mathias (Marburg: Forderverein Marburger Japan-Reihe, 1995).
3. “The government stipulated that three kinds of women should be rewarded and praised: first, *jiefu*, women who were widowed before they turned thirty and remained widows past the age of fifty; second, *lienü* or *liefu*, women who died resisting rape, or who committed suicide after being raped, and who committed suicide after being widowed; third, *zhennü*, women whose fiancés died and who then remained virgins until death.” This citation comes from Wang Zheng, *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment: Oral and Textual Histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 51. The connection to Han nationalism is described in Louise Edwards, “Chinese Women's Campaigns for Suffrage: Nationalism, Confucianism, and Political Agency,” in *Women's Suffrage in Asia*, eds. Edwards and Roces, 62, 69.
4. Edwards, 64–5.
5. Chungmoo Choi, “Nationalism and Construction of Gender in Korea,” in *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism*, eds. Elaine H. Kim and Chungmoo Choi (Routledge: New York and London, 1998), 13.
6. See Theodore Jun Yoo, *The Politics of Gender During the Colonial Period: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 88–93.
7. Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 67.
8. Edwards, 73.
9. For a succinct account of women's rights movements in modern Japan, see Barbara Molony, “Citizenship and Suffrage in Interwar Japan,” in *Women's Suffrage in Asia*, eds. Edwards and Roces, 127–51.
10. On women's rights issues, see Yoo, *The Politics of Gender during the Colonial Period*, Chapters 2–4; Ken Wells, “Expanding Their Realm: Women and Public Agency in Colonial Korea,” *Women's Suffrage in Asia*, eds. Edwards and Roces, 152–60.
11. See Chulwoo Lee, “Modernity, Legality, and Power in Korea under Japanese Rule,” in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, eds. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 47.
12. See Elisabeth Eide, *China's Ibsen: From Ibsen to Ibsenism* (London: Curzon, 1987).
13. See Saburō Satō, “Ibsen's Impact on Novelist Shimazaki Tōson,” *Comparative Literature Studies* 33, no. 1, East-West Issue (1996): 75.
14. Ajioka Chiaki, “The Lure of the City,” in *Modern Girl: Modernity in Japanese Art 1910–1935*, ed. Jackie Menzies (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1998), 30.

15. Ajioka, 30.
16. See Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 281–282.
17. See Margit Nagy, “Middle-Class Working Women During the Interwar Years,” in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 209.
18. Laurel Rasplia Rodd, “Yosano Akiko and the Taishō Debate over the ‘New Woman,’” in Bernstein, ed., 176.
19. See Phyllis Hyland Larson, “Yosano Akiko and the Recreation of the Female Self: An Autogynography,” *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, Vol. 25, no. 1, Special Issue: Yosano Akiko (1878–1942) (April 1991): 10–26; and Rodd.
20. Rodd, 190.
21. See Yosano Akiko, “Watakushi no teisō kan” (My Views on Chastity), in *Teihon Yosano Akiko no zenshū* (*Teihon Collected Works by Yosano Akiko*), Vol. 14, ed. Kimata Osamu (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1979), 365–82; for a summary of this article, see Larson, 23–5.
22. See Wang, 51.
23. Wang, 64–6.
24. Wang, 61–3.
25. Marsha Weidner, *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1990); Patricia Fister and Fumiko Yamamoto, *Japanese Women Artists, 1600–1900* (Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1988).
26. Articles and books in different languages that explore the links between East Asian women and film are numerous. Two representative examples in English are Catherine Russell, *New Women of the Silent Screen: China, Japan, Hollywood* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005) and Sheldon H. Lu, *Transnational Chinese Cinema: Identity, Nationhood, Gender* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1997).
27. Joshua S. Mostow, Norman Bryson, and Marybeth Graybill, *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003); Doris Croissant, et al., *Performing “Nation”: Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Arts of Japan and China, 1880–1940* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008).
28. For an overview of the Joseon Art Exhibitions, see Kim Youngna, “Artistic Trends in Korean Painting during the 1930s,” in *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960*, eds. Marlene J. Mayo, J. Thomas Rimer, and H. Eleanor Kerkham (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001), 121–49. On the modern period in general, see Kim Youngna, *20th Century Korean Art* (London: Laurence King, 2005).
29. Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1980), trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 13.
30. See Philippe Jullian, *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977); Lynn Thomson, *Women as Portrayed in Orientalist Painting* (Paris: Art-Création-Réalisation, 1994); and Christine Peltre, *Orientalism in Art* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2005).
31. See Ikeda Shinobu, *Nihon kaiga no joseizō—jendā—bijutsu no shiten kara* (The Image of Women in Japanese Painting—Gender—From the Point of View of Art) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1998), 167–93.
32. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978). See also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983) and Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Chapter 1

1. Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 255–61.
2. “The Most Beautiful Woman in America,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1907, F4.
3. An article from June 30 stated they had received “over 100,000 pictures of American women, selected by twenty-five of the greatest metropolitan papers of the country, assisted by 1,500 smaller papers,” and a feature article on August 11, 1907, reported that nearly 200,000 photographs had been examined by 500 newspapers. See “Why the American Girl is the Most Beautiful in the World,” *Chicago Daily*

- Tribune*, June 30, 1907, F4 and “Simple Rules Revealing the Secrets of Beauty,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 11, 1907, G1.
4. “The Most Beautiful Woman in America,” July 7, 1907, F5.
 5. Inoue Shōichi, *Bijin kontesuto hyakunenshi: geigi no jidai kara bishojo made* (One Hundred Years of Beauty Contests: From Geisha to Beautiful Girls) (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1992), 32–3.
 6. Inoue, 41–2. Patrons of the geisha apparently purchased all of the tickets in an effort to help their favorite beauty win.
 7. Inoue, 48–9.
 8. The contest was heavily promoted in the newspaper throughout the fall, the contest notification and rules being repeatedly published.
 9. “Boshū kisoku” (Application Rules), *Jiji shimpō*, September 15, 1907, reprinted in Ozawa Takeshi, *Koshashin de miru bakumatsu meiji no bijin zukan* (Viewed Through Old Photos: Picture Book of Bakumatsu-Meiji Beauties) (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 2001).
 10. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* published the following information on the judges: “The jury of award was composed of the most famous authorities on artistic beauty in Japan and included the names of such men as Saburosuke Okada, a painter of the foreign school; Senri Otsaki, a scientific photographer; Takeo Kawai, the foremost actor of the modern school; Koun Takamura, a sculptor; Shogoto Tsubai, professor of anthropology of the Imperial University; Shikwan Nakamura, leading actor of the classical school; Tsurio Mishima, a great physician and one of the advisers of the state department of education; and other noted artists and scientific men.” See “Most Beautiful Women of Japan,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 17, 1908, F1.
 11. “Most Beautiful Women of Japan,” F1.
 12. Presumably the rings were then passed on to the top winner for each district.
 13. The portraits of ten of the top twelve contestants together with the first-prize winner from a number of prefectures are reproduced in Ozawa.
 14. “The Most Beautiful Woman in America,” July 7, 1907, F5.
 15. Inoue, 54–5.
 16. For example, Pierre Loti describes the memento box in which his lover, Chrysanthemum, keeps portraits of her friends together with their letters, ca. 1885. Pierre Loti, *Madame Chrysanthemum*, trans. Laura Enslor (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1900), 99.
 17. A *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Yomiuri News) article from May 22, 1889 describes a *miai* meeting via photographs. Suzuki Kōichi, *Nyūsu de ou Meiji nihon hakkutsu* (Discovering Meiji Japan Through the News), Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1994), 166.
 18. Sebastian Dobson, “Reflections of Conflict: Japanese Photographers and the Russo-Japanese War,” in *A Much Recorded War: The Russo-Japanese War in History and Imagery*, eds. Frederic A. Sharf, Anne Nishimura Morse, and Sebastian Dobson (Boston: MFA Publications, 2005), 71.
 19. Rebecca Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 221. See pp. 215–25 for further information on this publication. *Bungei kurabu* also held a beauty contest in 1907, calling for photographs of 100 geisha to be published in the magazine, which readers then voted on. See Inoue, 51.
 20. Satō Sakuma Rika, in Ozawa, 218–20.
 21. The book’s original English subtitle is *The Belles of Japan*. The 215 women pictured represented the top five contestants from forty-three districts.
 22. Kinoshita Naoyuki, “Portraying the War Dead: Photography as a Medium for Memorial Portraiture,” in *Reflecting Truth: Japanese Photography in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Nicole Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama (Leiden: Brill Publishing and the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures, 2004), 93.
 23. Kinoshita, 94–7.
 24. There were a number of different photographs of Suehiro in circulation, including several versions published in the *Chicago Tribune* and four different images published in *Nihon bijinchō*. It is unclear when any of the photographs were actually taken. While it is certain that Esaki Kiyoshi took the photo initially submitted to the contest, *Nihon bijinchō* does not include any information on any of the photographers.

25. Inoue, 10–1. Note that Marguerite Frey’s older sister had also submitted Frey’s photograph without her knowledge. Advertisements recruiting for the *Tribune* contest had encouraged people to submit their friends’ photographs, so that anyone who wanted to enter could have an appearance of modesty.
26. Inoue, 12–30. Inoue also notes that a common stereotype existed depicting a kind of bifurcated system at work in girls’ higher education, those considered to be beauties marrying quickly and dropping out of school prior to graduating, while non-beauties were more serious students who focused their “graduation face” towards finishing school. Furthermore, educational materials of the period used for ethical and moral training denigrated the *bijin*, claiming that they were not good students and were conceited; good students, in contrast, were described as being good-natured and docile non-beauties. See p. 24.
27. Inoue, 12.
28. Their union was announced in the *Jiji shimpō* on October 7, 1908. See also Inoue, 29. One of her granddaughters later married into the imperial family.
29. For a later example that recalls the 1907 *Jiji shimpō* event, see Jennifer Robertson’s discussion of the 1931 Miss Nippon beauty contest in “Japan’s First Cyborg? Miss Nippon, Eugenics and Wartime Technologies of Beauty, Body and Blood,” in *Body & Society* 7 (January 2001): 1–34, especially 11–24.
30. Aoyagi Yūbi writing in the September 16, 1899 edition of *On’na zasshi* (Ladies’ Journal), as cited in Robertson, 35.
31. “Nihon dai ichi bijin no shashin wo boshūsu” (Searching for Photos of Japan’s Number One Beauty), *Jiji shimpō*, September 15, 1907, reprinted in Ozawa.
32. “The Most Beautiful Woman in America,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1907, F5.
33. Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 31.
34. Miura Shūsei, *Sensō to Fujin* (War and Women) (Tokyo: Bunmeidō, 1904); Suzuki Akiko, *Gunkoku no Fujin* (Women of Militarism) (Tokyo: Nikkō Yūrindō, 1904); and Hoshioka Shoin, *Gunkoku no Fujin* (Women of Militarism) (Tokyo: Hoshioka Shoin, 1904).
35. Bōbō Gakujin, *Sensō bi to fujin bi* (The Beauty of War and the Beauty of Women) (Tokyo: Keiseisha, 1904).
36. Inoue, 64–6.
37. “Japan Aroused by Beauty War with America,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 17, 1907, G3. A later article stated that there were forty-three districts, five women chosen to represent each district, a number that accords with the number of photographs published in *Nihon bijinchō*. See May 17, 1908.
38. See Ogawa, 96. The likely source for this claim is an article in the *Jiji shimpō* on June 21, 1908, that listed the names of the top beauties of six countries, Suehiro’s name occurring sixth (last) on this list.
39. “The Most Beautiful Women of Japan,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 17, 1908, F1. This page from the *Tribune* also accompanied the June 21 *Jiji shimpō* article cited in the previous footnote.

Chapter 2

1. See Pang Laikwan, *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), for a short biography of Hang Zhiying; and Ellen Johnston Laing, *Selling Happiness: Calendar Prints and Visual Culture of Early Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).
2. Laing.
3. Wen-hsin Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843–1949* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2007), 67, see also n. 59. The term Yeh uses is “classical beauties, fictional or historical.”
4. The editors of a recently published anthology of essays on gender in China at about the same period begin with the startling assertion that they are interested in “how masculinity and femininity in China are constructed and performed as *lived experience*, as opposed to represented in artistic works....” It’s the word “opposed” that troubles. Pictures are theorized as somehow being irrelevant; they simply don’t matter to the lived experience of how gender was performed, understood, and made meaningful. Pictures are bracketed out. But I bring up their notion of representation as being outside the experience of gender performance, not to argue with the editors precisely (to be sure, my brief analysis of the calendar poster perhaps indicates the degree to which I disagree with them). I do so only because

- they are echoing the debates of Chinese artists themselves. See the introduction by Jeffrey Wasserstrom and Susan Brownell to *Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities, A Reader* (London, Los Angeles, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 2.
5. Though there is a story here, one story that the manuals proffer, as we shall see, complements those already told about the uneasy relationship between pictures of women and gender by Joan Judge in her study of exemplary women in late Qing textbooks and journals for girls, Jacqueline Nivard writing on the *Funü zazhi* (Ladies' Journal), and Barbara Mittler in her investigations into Shanghai's early news media. See Judge, "Blended Wish Images: Chinese and Western Exemplary Women at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *Beyond Tradition and Modernity: Gender, Genre, and Cosmopolitanism in Late Qing China*, eds. Grace S. Fong, Nanxiu Qian, and Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 102–35; Nivard, "Women and the Women's Press: The Case of *The Ladies' Journal* (*Funü zazhi*), 1915–1931," *Republican China* 10, no. 1b (November 1984): 37–55; and Mittler, "Defy(N)ing Modernity: Women in Shanghai's Early News-Media (1872–1915)," *Jindai Zhongguo funüshi yanjiu* (Study of Modern Chinese Women's History), 11 (December 2003): 215–59.
 6. Ralph Cohen, "History and Genre," *New Literary History* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 204.
 7. Jacques Derrida, "The Law of Genre," *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1980): 64; cit. Cohen, "History and Genre," *New Literary History* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1986): 204, n. 4.
 8. Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937* (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2004), 178–9, n. 59, which mentions that, in 1914, Ye Jiuru was one of the joint directors of the Shanghai Booksellers' Guild (Shanghai shuyue gongsuo), along with Gong Boyin, assisting the general director, Gao Hanqing.
 9. Wu Peiheng, ed., *Jieziyuan huazhuan: Disiji renwu Chao Xun linben* (Mustard Seed Garden Manual Book Four: Human Figures as Copied by Chao Xun) (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1957), preface to Vol. 7.
 10. Dai Kui was a scholar known primarily for his skills as a sculptor, not a painter. According to Li Song, Dai Kui was called repeatedly to serve at the court of Emperor Xiaowu, and despite promises of official high posts, he refused. See *Chinese Sculpture*, eds. Angela Falco Howard et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2006), 467, n. 17.
 11. Refers to Ding Lingguang, the consort of Xiao Yan.
 12. This quotation and all attributed to Ye are from the unpaginated introduction to Volume 13 in the *Sanxitang* set of manuals.
 13. Copies of paintings by Tang Yin (1470–1524) and Fei Danxu (1801–50).
 14. It perhaps goes without saying that the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century imprints of the *Mustard Seed Manual* are not connected to the original first three manuals of the same title published by Li Yu in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This does not somehow make them illegitimate subjects of analysis and study, and to be sure, there is nothing in the historical record that suggests that they were viewed in pejorative terms, as fraudulent or best reductively referred to as the "so-called" *Mustard Seed Garden* manuals.
 15. See Wu Hung, "Beyond Stereotypes: The Twelve Beauties in Early Qing Court Art and the *Dream of the Red Chamber*," in *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, eds. Ellen Widmer and Kang-I Sun Chang (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 306–65.
 16. See Nivard.
 17. Virtually unknown in painting histories, Wang was relatively well connected in his day. Yang Yi, who would write the *Haishang molin* (Ink Forest of Shanghai) biographies of artists published in 1920, for instance, contributes a preface to the manual. In 1909, Wang joined the Yuanmishan Painting and Calligraphy Association and the Yuyuan Calligraphy and Painting Association (along with famous painters such as Wu Changshuo, Wang Yiting, Qian Huian). The following year he became a member of the Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Research Group. His edition of the painting manual is perhaps not so well known because it did not circulate broadly, and few are extant today. On Wang, see Zhu Wanzhang, *Wang Kun ketu huagao* (Wang Kun's Drafting Sketches), *Meishu bao* (*China Art Weekly*), 21 (August 19, 2006): 1.
 18. These are *yuan, zhen, li, heng*, often interpreted as the "four cardinal virtues" of the movement of heaven.
 19. One by Qian Huian, one by Gu Luo (1763–after 1837), and two by Pan Zhenyong (1852–1921).

20. Nivard.
21. On Zhou, see Joseph Escherick, *Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Human and Hubei* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).
22. Attributed to Song Yü, *Shennü fu* (*Wenxuan* 19.9a)
23. This is a subtle point, because it assumes that readers would associate these phrases with popular stories and the poem in which they appeared, instead of taking them literally out of context on their own terms. However, to read the phrase *liuchao jinfen*, for instance, as an expression of the perfected and complete fullness and beauty of women, is to acknowledge the potential for physical beauty to exceed the boundaries it is being given in the manual, an issue to be taken up in the next section.
24. See Stephen Melville and Bill Readings, eds., *Vision and Textuality* (London: Macmillan, 1995), 7.
25. Ye might have consulted a 1915 reprint of the manual by the Shanghai publisher Heji shuju. Collection UCLA Library.
26. John Hay, “The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?” in *Body, Subject & Power in China*, eds. Angela Zito and Tani Barlow (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 42–77.
27. “Personally Viewed by Emperor Qianlong” (*Qianlong yulan zhi bao*); “Precise Authorization Seal of the Hall of Three Rarities” (*Sanxitang jingjianxi*).
28. Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), Chap. 5.
29. It is important to note that the imperial collection was not ordered as a “rational” modern museum might have been by artist or chronology but architectonically, by buildings for storage and display within the Forbidden City. See Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003), Chap. 3.
30. Melville and Readings, 8.
31. See Wu Hung’s discussion of feminine space as Chinese space in *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), esp. pp. 200–21. On the emotionally pregnant nature of feminine space, see also Lara Caroline Williams Blanchard, “Visualizing Love and Longing in Song Dynasty Paintings of Women,” Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan, 2001.
32. Tang Hou, *Tang hua* (Tang Painting), Book 1 of *Huajian (Painting Critique)*, trans. Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (New York: The Ronald Press Company; London: Lund Humphries, 1956), vol. 1: 169.
33. A certain Wang Qi (1777–1840), whose biography is mentioned by Wang Yun in Chap. 2, 22b of *Yangzhou huayuan lu* (Record of the Painting Gardens of Yangzhou).
34. Wang, Chap. 3, 12b.
35. Li Dou, *Yangzhou huafang lu* (Reminiscences from the Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou) (1799; reproduced. Jiangsu: Guangling Guji Keyinshe, 1984), 45.
36. For a brief biographical sketch of the family, see Ellen Johnston Laing, “Women Painters in Traditional China,” in *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1990), 86.
37. For a reprint of the full set of images, see *Wu Youru huabao*, Vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe, 2002), 1.
38. For an early and preliminary study of this topic, see Claypool, “The Social Body: Beautiful Women Imagery in Late Imperial China” (University of Oregon, M.A. thesis, 1994).
39. *Compendium of New-style Art, Classified Pictures* (Xinpai tuhua fenlei daquan) (Shanghai: Xin Xin Meishushe), 4.
40. Laing, 66.
41. Lu Xun, “Lu Xun zai Zhonghua yishu daxue yanjiang jilu” (Records of Lu Xun’s Speech at the Zhonghua Fine Arts Academy) in *Xuexi Lu Xun de meishu sixiang* (Lu Xun’s Thoughts on Art) (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1979), 2–3, as translated and quoted by Sherman Cochran, “Marketing Medicine and Advertising Dreams in China 1900–1950,” in *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond 1900–1950*, ed. Wen-hsin Yeh (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 62.
42. Li Chao, *Shanghai youhua shi* (History of Oil Painting in Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1995), 42, passage translated and quoted by Laing, 37, n. 104.

Chapter 3

1. The following explanation appears on the labels attached to all Alan Chan's garments and products: "All designs capture the unique local flavor of modern and nostalgic themes mainly from Hong Kong [*sic*]. This splendid taste of the legendary lifestyle of the orient is made available to you exclusively from Alan Chan Creations."
2. Several publications have recently appeared on the *yuefenpai* genre: Wu Hao, Zhuo Baichang, Huang Ying et.al., *Duhui modeng yuefenpai 1910–1930s* (Modern Metropolitan *yuefenpai*) (Hong Kong: San Lian Shudian, 1994); Zhang Yanfeng, *Lao yuefenpai guanggao hua* (Old Calendar Advertising Posters) (Taipei: Hansheng Zazhishi, 1994); Yi Bin, ed. *Lao Shanghai guanggao* (Old Shanghai Advertisements) (Shanghai: Shanghai Huabao Chubanshi, 1995); Zuo Xuchu, ed., *Lao shangbiao* (Old Trademarks) (Shanghai: Shanghai Huabao Chubanshe, 1999); and Chen Chaonan and Feng Yiyou, *Lao Guanggao* (Old Advertisements) (Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe: Shanghai, 1998).
3. *Yuefenpai* was related to traditional "New Year prints" produced at the beginning of the new year for auspicious and decorative purposes. According to Pu Ji, the term itself existed before it came into commercial use, referring to a genre of New Year prints with an image in the center and a one- or two-year calendar on the sides. With the introduction of marketing and advertising from the West, traditional *yuefenpai* became an item that major companies would distribute to their clients as a gift at the beginning of the year. *Yuefenpai* would often be given away with the product, as in the case of cigarettes, the customer receiving one poster for a 50-packet carton. See Pu Ji, "Jiefang qian de 'yuefenpai' nianhua shiliao" (Historical Material on Pre-liberation *yuefenpai* New Year Pictures), *Meishu yanjiu* (Art Research) 2 (1959): 51.
4. Heinrich Otmar Früehauf, "Urban Exoticism in Modern Chinese Literature 1910–1933," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1990 (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1994), 294. Leo Ou-fan Lee relates it to a phenomenon that could be considered the Asian version of Orientalism: "It can be argued that exoticism as a phenomenon of urban culture is closely related to a search of modernity and provides a partial solution to the paradox that arises between nationalism and imperialism." Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China 1930–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 203.
5. Often quoted in this respect is the contempt that Lu Xun felt for *yuefenpai*. See Liu Ruli, "Ji Lu Xun xiansheng zai Zhonghua Yi Da de yici jiangyan" (Recollection of a Speech Pronounced by Lu Xun at the Chinese Art University), *Meishu* (Art), 4 (1979): 6–7. For an exhaustive commentary of this speech, see Federico Greselin, "Un discorso di Lu Xun del 1930," *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 20, no. 3 (1981): 171–81.
6. Jing Ying, "Ni dongde zenyang qu zuo, zhan, he zoulu ma" (Do You Know How to Sit, Stand and Walk?), *Jindai Funü* (*The Modern Woman*), 16 (April 1930): 4–5.
7. Concerning the growing representation of women in European *fin-de-siècle* commercial advertising, Rita Felski has remarked how "advertising at this time began to develop increasingly sophisticated marketing techniques, promoting repertoires of identities and lifestyles to which the consumer was encouraged to aspire. Given an extant gender division of labor which identified shopping as women's work, it was women above all who were thus defined in this way through mass-produced images of femininity, even as middle-class women's dependence upon the economic support of men required them to invest far more heavily in modes of fashionable adornment and self-display." Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), 64.
8. Felski, 3.
9. Felski, 14.
10. For the equation made between "New China/New Women" in contemporary Western media, see Grace Thompson Seton, "China's Hope in Her 'New Women,'" *Literary Digest* (November 15, 1924): 39–42; Emma Sarepta Yule, "Miss China," *Scribner's Magazine* LXXI, 1 (January 1922): 66–79; and Lock W. Wei, "Miss Peach Blossom," *Outlook* 154 (January 8, 1930): 50–1, 78.
11. Zhang Yingjin, *The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time and Gender* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 189.
12. See Ono Kakuzo, *Chinese Women in A Century of Revolution 1850–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1978).

13. P. S. Tseng, “The Chinese Woman Past and Present,” in *Symposium on Chinese Culture*, ed. Sophia H. Chen Zhen (Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 292. (Reprint, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1969). Miss Tseng further states, “Although all professions are open to women now, they are not able to avail themselves of most of them. This is due to the insufficiency of their education in general and lack of vocational training in particular. Where there is real equality of sexes there is also real competition. Since men are usually better qualified, they easily oust women. A well-known publishing house in Shanghai may be cited as a concrete example. The company opened all its departments to women between 1920 and 1923 and many women were admitted, but gradually most of the women were replaced by men. They were dismissed chiefly through want of intelligence, inefficiency in work, and a general lack of earnestness in profession. The company declared that they did not dismiss them because they were women, but simply because they were poor workers” (290–1).
14. See Stephen Ching-kiu Chan, “The Language of Despair: Ideological Representations of the ‘New Woman’ by May Fourth Writers,” in *Gender Politics in Modern China: Writing and Feminism*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993); Zhang Yingjin, 185–231; and Leo-Ou Fan Lee, 194–203.
15. Tani E. Barlow, “Theorizing Woman: *Funi*, *Guojia*, *Jiating*” (Chinese Woman, Chinese State, Chinese Family), in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, eds. Angela Zito and Tani Barlow (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 265, 267.
16. Mao Dun [Mao Tun], “First Morning at the Office” (1935), in *Spring Silkworms and Other Stories*, trans. Sidney Shapiro (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1956), 263.
17. Zhang Yingjin, 185–231.
18. Zhang Yingjin, 215.
19. “Liu’s fiction ... bears a certain resemblance to visual materials. This is especially true of Liu’s portrayal of heroines, which draws directly from the female figures in the photos and on magazine covers as well as on calendar posters, to say nothing of the movies.” Lee, 194.
20. Lee, 209.
21. For the equation established between women and commodities see Hill Gates, “Commodification of Chinese Women,” *Signs* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1989): 799–832; and Sue Gronewald, *Beautiful Merchandise: Prostitution in China 1860–1936* (New York: Haworth Press, 1982), 37, 47.
22. James Cahill, “The Flower and the Mirror: Representations of Women in Late Chinese Painting,” Lecture 1: “The Real Madam Hotung”; Lecture 2: “Courtesans, Concubines and Willing Women”; Lecture 3: “Women Lorn and Longing.” (Papers presented at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, November 11–13, 1994). For more discussion by Cahill see *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).
23. Robert J. Maeda, “The Portrait of a Woman of the Late Ming- Early Ch’ing Period: Madame Ho-tung,” *Archives of Asian Art* XXVII (1973): 46–51.
24. The authorship of this painting, assigned by Maeda to the seventeenth-century painter Wu Cho, is dismissed by Cahill precisely on the basis of its descriptive modes. Cahill in fact argues that the “real” Madame Hotung—a courtesan raised to the level of wife of a renowned literary man of the time—would never have consented to be represented in a pose explicitly referring to her courtesan’s past. Cahill, Lecture 1, 3.
25. Maeda, 48.
26. Anne Birrell, ed. and trans., *New Songs from a Jade Terrace. An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), 19.
27. In reference to the representation of the woman in her luxurious boudoir on the background of a telescopically receding space, Cahill states: “the elaborately detailed interiors ... offer experiences to the exploring eyes that are themselves sensual to the point of eroticism. Visual penetration to depth beyond depths is an obvious sensory analogue to sexual penetration.” Cahill, Lecture 1, 27.
28. The painting is reproduced in *Sotheby’s Auction Catalogue*, November 25, 1991, New York, lot 62.
29. Cahill, Lecture 3, 48.
30. For the fetishistic overtones of the representation of a woman’s foot, see Birrell, 13.
31. See Gail Hershtatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 83. Birrell, in her anthology on early Chinese love poetry, remarks how women in love were generally portrayed in luxurious settings: “The court poets

- reveal a fascination for the opulent minutiae of feminine fashion. The typical portrait shows woman adorned with fine jewels, costly silk clothes, and elaborate make-up. She indicates her beauty and worth in a very material way through the sheer opulence of her personal décor... What this amounts to is an aesthetic convention of courtly love poetry: woman is adored when adorned.” See *New Songs from a Jade Terrace*, 10.
32. The genre of beautiful ladies in the *nianhua* iconographic tradition is often called *shinü*. John Lust defines it broadly as follows: “Beauties. The Dream of Fair Women in China, a category of old art, to appear in the theatre, fiction etc. and as Immortals. There were the slender, ethereal, etc. already in the art of the 4th century BCE, and the observed, modeled on life.... Qing prints have ideal and observed, and the later Shanghai fashion scene. There are two sorts: 1) The mistresses of gentry households 2) Serving girls (on contract, married off when the time came). The prominence of the Beauty related to her place in society. Young women could move into marriage markets, or be recruited for the court for a spectacular career, where a poet could observe fretting young concubines, cooped up in palaces in the spring....” John Lust, *Chinese Popular Prints* (Leiden, New York, Koln: E.J. Brill, 1996), 282–3.
 33. Zheng Mantuo was born in Anhui, studied portraiture in Hangzhou, and was eventually employed at the Erwoxuan Photographic Studio in the same city. There he learned the photographic retouching process that would be the base for his “revolutionary” invention, the *cabi dancai* technique, which turned into the very essence of the *yuefenpai* genre and which made the genre extremely popular. In 1914 he moved to Shanghai. He was then “discovered” by Huang Chujiu, a pharmaceutical magnate who understood the potentials of this style and hired him to produce a series of commercial paintings for his company. Zheng Mantuo was also associated with the Shenmei Shudian, a publishing house founded by the painter Gao Jianfu and his brother Gao Shuren of the Lingnan Painting School for an active implementation and distribution of new forms of painting. See Pu Ji, 52; Sherman Cochran, “Marketing Medicine and Advertising Dreams in China 1900–1950,” Paper presented at the seminar, Business, Enterprise, and Culture. Princeton University, September 29, 1995, 20–1; and Zhang Yanfen, 88–9.
 34. Hershatter, 81.
 35. In *Shanghai Modern*, Leo Ou-Fan Lee draws a similar relationship between the figure of the new and modern women with that of the traditional courtesans, via the genre of courtesan literature. “Courtesan literature, in fact, did not fade from modern Chinese publishing; only its public image was displaced by photographs and paintings of modern, and more respectable women. Thus the display of the female body either as a work of art (Western) or as an embodiment of physical health marked the beginning of a new discourse which was made problematic precisely because it was derived from the courtesan journals, in which female bodies indeed carried a market value” (p. 73).
 36. In Wu Hao et al., the poster is dated 1931. On stylistic grounds it is comparable with other images by the same author, such as an advertisement of a pharmaceutical company bearing a 1924–25 calendar, and thus I am inclined to attribute this painting to an earlier period, such as the late 1920s.
 37. Birrell, 1. She also remarks how the different representation of men and women in poetic conventions are generally marked by the fact that, while the woman remains constantly behind, often by a window—the only outward opening from where to see and be seen—the man, in contrast, “is free to walk down the highways and byways of life” (20).
 38. Hershatter, 87. In Cao Yu’s play *Richu* (Sunrise), in which the protagonist, Chen Bailu, is a high-class prostitute, most acts are set in a luxurious hotel suite that the author describes as furnished in an eclectic fashion. See Cao Yu, *Sunrise: A Play in Four Acts*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 1.
 39. John Hay, “The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?” in *Body, Subject and Power in China*, eds. Angela Zito and Tani Barlow (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 43.
 40. The style of the calendar posters was later picked up by the Communist regime, ultimate proof of its popular appeal. Li Mubai, a prominent artist of the successful Zhiying Studio, became an extremely productive author of propaganda posters in the 1950s and early 1960s. See *Shinian lai Shanghai nianhua xuanji* (A Selection of Ten Years of Shanghai *nianhua*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1959). Another successful *yuefenpai* author, successively “recycled” for propaganda reasons, is Jin Meisheng. See Fan Zhenjia, *Jin Meisheng zuopin xuanji* (Selection of Works by Jin Meisheng) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1985).

41. For this explanation I am indebted to Huang Suning, a Chinese woman artist specializing in folk art and living in New York. Later on, *yuefenpai* would often be executed in a collective manner, artists specializing only in the execution of the face. See Zhang Yanfeng, II, 70, and Wu Hao et al., 11–2. See also Nian Xin, ed. *Shanghai yuefenpai nianhua jifa* (The Technique of Shanghai *yuefenpai* New Year Pictures) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 1983).
42. In Wu Hao et al., the poster is attributed to the late 1920s. Again, based on stylistic assumptions in the execution of the woman's body and the style of her dress, I would suggest a later period, such as the early 1930s. See Wu, 54.
43. For more information on Nanyang and its marketing competition with the British-American Tobacco Company, see Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China. Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
44. Xie Zhiguang was born in Zhejiang and subsequently moved to Shanghai. He studied painting with Zhou Muqiao and scenography with Zhang Luguang. He also took courses at Shanghai's most prominent art school, the Shanghai Fine Arts School. After graduating, he was hired by the advertisement department of the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, of which he eventually became the director. According to Zhang Yanfeng, his studies in scenography influenced the careful staging of his *yuefenpai* scenes and the dramatic sense with which he liked to imbue his figures. He began painting *yuefenpai* in 1922 and continued until the late 1930s. Like Zheng Mantuo he was versed in several themes, including historical and mythological scenes. See Zhang Yanfeng, 93–4, and Pu Ji, 52–3.
45. *Harper's Bazaar* for the years 1928–35, and *Vogue* 1927–35.
46. For a visual documentation of American popular fashion in the 1920s, see Stella Blum, ed., *Everyday Fashions of the Twenties as Pictured in Sears and Other Catalogs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1981).
47. Ding Ling, "A Woman and a Man" (1928), trans. in Ruth Keen and Hal Pollard, *I Myself am a Woman: Selected Writings by Ding Ling*, ed. Tani E., Barlow (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1989), 101.
48. Another interesting clue to the possible reading of such images regarding their bodily posture is provided by theories of non-verbal communication. Nancy Henley explains how loose body positions in a woman are generally perceived as "a lack of accepted control over her sexuality." She also describes what are generally understood as invitational gestures specific to women in "quasi-courting" situations: "crossing the legs, exposing the tights, placing a hand on a hip, exhibiting the wrist or palm, protruding the breast, and stroking the thigh or wrist." This set of "feminine" posture functions as "heavier gender identification signals by women in the presence of men." See Henley, *Body Politics. Power, Sex, and Nonverbal Communication* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 91, 140.
49. On the subject of the guides to prostitution, see Hershatter, Part 1 "Classifying and Counting," 34–68.
50. "Upper-class prostitutes (or prostitute-entertainers") in cities were expected not just to mirror but to be on the cutting edge of...change. Female entertainers were expected to titillate with their modernity. Their flaunting of daring western dress, hairstyle, makeup, cigarettes, and liquors was intended to attract male customers." Gronewald, 58.
51. Lao She, "A Vision," (c.1930s) in *Crescent Moon and Other Stories*, trans. Gladys Yang (Peking: Panda Books, 1985), 90.
52. This advertisement was produced by the professional Zhiying Studio. The studio was founded around 1923 by Hang Zhiying (1901–47), a native of Zhejiang who, at an early age, had been employed in the advertising department of the Commercial Press in Shanghai. Hang made his fortune thanks to his superb technique and the organizational skill with which he managed the studio. Contrary to common practice, he started portraying women only from the neck or shoulders up, a form previously avoided because of associations with bad luck. Profiting from the increasing changes in visual habits brought about by industrialization and new popular media such as movies and photography, Hang started depicting "women with big heads" in a startlingly illusionistic and westernized fashion that became his studio's trademark. Another factor that strongly contributed to his success was the industrial organization of his workshop, where up to eight artists and several assistants would churn out more than eighty paintings a year. Among them, one of the best-known teams was that of Li Mubai (1913–91), who painted the figures, and Jin Xuechen (b.1904), who specialized in landscape and interior settings. In a later period, Hang Zhiying would only supervise the finished product and choose the advertising inscriptions and font types. Zhiying Studio was so successful that it was eventually entrusted with half of the *yuefenpai* production for the British-American Tobacco Company. They can be considered

- the last stage of development of the *yuefenpai* genre before its political “reinterpretation” under the Communist regime. As proof of the long-lasting influence of this production, Hang Zhiying’s son, Hang Minshi, continued in his father’s career, designing auspicious New Year pictures in the Socialist mode and teaching this specific technique of *yuefenpai*—which, after 1949, was subsumed under the general term of *nianhua*—at the Lu Xun Academy in Shenyang. (I owe this information to the artist Huang Suning, who took a course with Hang Minshi in Beijing in the early 1980s). See Zhang Yanfeng, 89–92, and Cochran “Marketing Medicine,” 23–6.
53. See below, the “Elegy to Cigarette,” 24.
 54. This practice, generally employed by smaller companies that could not afford to establish their own designing and printing departments, is confirmed by the existence of posters employing the same image to advertise products of different brands (see, for example, Wu Hao et al., 75, pl. 23, and Zhang Yanfeng, 69, and by many blank posters whose borders and frames are designed to allow space for the company’s name and trademark. See Zhang Yanfeng, 117–24.
 55. A study on the standard living condition of the working class in Shanghai in 1930 puts cigarettes as a main item among miscellaneous expenses, an average of 185 packets consumed per family annually. Expenditure on cigarettes and wine alone was greater than on sanitation, furniture, or water. Yang Hsi-Meng, *A Study of the Standard of Living of Working Families in Shanghai* (Peiping: Institute of Social Research, 1931), 71.
 56. Cochran, *Big Business in China*, 35–8.
 57. “The success of these two businesses at adapting to Chinese conditions and Sinifying their operations is perhaps the single most persuasive explanation for the growth of the cigarette market in early twentieth century China; and perhaps the best evidence of their adaptability and Sinification may be found in their advertising... This advertising seems to have been the key to British-American’s and Nanyang’s commercial success, and, pressed on consumers in intensive campaigns, it attracted enough smokers to make the market for cigarettes in China during the early twentieth century almost as large as the one in the United States.” Cochran, *Big Business in China*, 219.
 58. Cochran, *Big Business in China*, 47. For the possible sexual references attached to the cigarette, see also Ye Lingfeng, *Weiwan de chanhui lu* (The Unfinished Confession), originally published in 1934. Zhang Yingjin translates the cigarette excerpt in *The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film*, 219.

Chapter 4

1. Elizabeth Croll, *Changing Identities of Chinese Women: Rhetoric, Experience, and Self-Perception in Twentieth-Century China* (Hong Kong University Press, 1999); Judith Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Christina Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution: Radical Women, Communist Politics, and Mass Movement in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); and Emily Honig and Gail Hershatter, *Personal Voices: Chinese Women in the 1980s* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988).
2. Antonia Finnane, “What should Chinese Women Wear? A National Problem,” *Modern China* 22, no. 2 (April 1996): 99–131.
3. Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 1991), 289; Honig and Hershatter, 42.
4. Honig and Hershatter, 11; and Mayfair Yang, *Spaces of Their Own: Women’s Public Sphere in Transnational China* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 35–67.
5. Yang; Croll, 151–2; Honig and Hershatter, 11, 41–51; and Harriet Evans, *Woman and Sexuality in China: Female Sexuality and Gender since 1949* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 82.
6. Beauty here is not treated as an abstract concept. Following Sandra Bartky, whose definition of beauty resonates well with the work of popular writers such as Rita Freedman and Naomi Wolf, I see “feminine beauty” as a culturally constructed quality that is based on a combination of concrete elements, including physical characteristics, adornment, language, movement, gesture, and posture. See Sandra Bartky, *Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 68, 71–3. To some extent, it may be true that what constitutes beauty is a subjective matter that rests on individual preference. But in analyzing the interest in beauty, I adopt a view that collapses the boundary between the subjective and the objective: When individuals pursue self-adornment or

- evaluate their own or others' appearances, the criteria applied are always conditioned by a combination of factors, including their backgrounds and identities and what their cultures or subcultures perceive to be pleasing.
7. Louise Edwards, "Policing the Modern Women in Republican China," *Modern China* 26, no. 2 (April, 2000): 126–7.
 8. Ono Kazuko, *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989), Chaps. 3 and 4.
 9. Qiu Jin, "An Address to Two Hundred Million Fellow Countrywomen," in *Chinese Civilization and Society: A Sourcebook*, ed. Patricia Ebrey (New York: Free Press, 1981 [190?]), 248.
 10. Ding Ling, *I Myself Am a Woman: Selected Writings of Ding Ling*, eds. Tani E. Barlow and Gary J. Bjorge (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1989), 109.
 11. Mao Zedong, *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912–1949*, Vol. 1, Stuart R. Schram ed. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), 353.
 12. Zhou Xuqi, *Yijiuyiling dao yijiuerling niandai duhui funü shenghuo fengmao: yi "Funü zazhi" wei fenxi shili* (The Life of Urban Women: "The Ladies' Journal," 1910s–1920s), M.A. thesis, Taiwan Guoli Daxue, 1994; and Tanya McIntyre, "Images of women in popular prints," in *Dress, Sex, and Text in Chinese Culture*, eds. Antonia Finnane and Anne McLaren (Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 1999), 74.
 13. Zhou, 190–2.
 14. Zhou, 190–3.
 15. Edwards, 119, 133–4.
 16. Edwards, 116.
 17. Edwards, 133.
 18. See Gilmartin. Also see Ou Xiamin, "Nü xuesheng zhi juewu" (Female Students' Political Consciousness), in *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao* (Sources of the Women's Rights Movement in China), eds. Zhongguo Quanguo Funü Lianhehui Funü Yundong Lishi Yanjiushi ("Women's Movement" Research Group, the Women's Federation of China) (1926; reprint, Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), 548–51; and Luo Qiong, "Changji zai Zhongguo" (Prostitutes in China), in *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao* (1935; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1988), 69–74. Also see Luo Suwen, *Nüxing yu jindai Zhongguo shehui* (Women in Modern Chinese Society) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1996).
 19. "Changsha nüjie lianhehui chengli xuanyan" (The Founding Speech of the Changsha Women's Federation), in *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao* (1921; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1986), 8. Also see Xiang Jingyu, "Zhongguo funü xuanchuan yundong de xin jiyuan" (A New Era of the Women's Movement), in *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao* (1923; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1986), 275–7. Another useful reference is Nan Yuyue, "Sanbajie yu Zhongguo funü yundong" (March 8 and the Women's Movement in China), in *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao* (1926; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1986), 579–83.
 20. Xiang, "Zhongguo funü wenti," (The Problems of Chinese Women), in *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao*, (1927; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1986), 710–20; Tanfen, "Funü wenti he nanzi" (Women's Problems and Men), in *Cong "yierjiu" yundong kan nüxing de rensheng jiazhi* (1936); reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1988), 312–6.
 21. "Zhongguo gongchandang dierci quanguo daibiao dahui guanyu funü wenti de jueyi (??)" (The Second Communist Congress's Resolution on Women's Problems), in *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao* (1922; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1986), 29–30; Cai Chang, "Eguo geming yu funü" (The Russian Revolution and Women), in *Zhongguo funü yundong lishi ziliao* (1925; reprint, Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe, 1986), 300–5; and Tanfen, 313–6.
 22. Ou, 548–81. As part of the revolutionary process, radical women did deliberately reject conventional beauty norms. They sometimes paid dearly for adopting the May Fourth-style appearance. Honig and Hershatter mention that, when Chiang Kai-shek purged the Communist Party in Wuhan, he executed young women with bobbed hair; see *Personal Voices*, 2. Regarding this fact, also refer to Zhang Baojin's recollection in Jing Lingzi, *Shihai gouxuan* (The Mystic Sea of History) (Beijing: Kunlun Chubanshe, 1989), 234. Less dramatically, women who cut their hair in Shanghai in the early 1920s were often ridiculed; see Ding, "Xiang Jingyu tongzhi dui wo de yingxiang" (Comrade Xiang Jingyu's Influence

- on Me), in *Ding Ling wenji* (The Works of Ding Ling), Vol. 5 (Changsha: Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 194–5. The construction of a new image also entailed physical struggle. Women of various generations—ranging from Ding Ling’s mother, Yu Manzhen, to Long Marchers like Wei Gongzi—struggled to be active with their “liberated” bound feet. See Ding, 226–7; also see Guo Chen, *Jinguo liezhuan* (The Heroines in the Long March) (Beijing: Nongcun Duwu Chubanshe, 1986), 144–7.
23. Fang Zhimin zhuan bianxiezue (The Editorial Committee on the Biography of Fang Zhimin), *Fang Zhimin zhuan* (The Biography of Fang Zhimin) (Jiangxi: Jiangxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1982), 95.
 24. Fang Zhimin, *Fang Zhimin wenji* (The Works of Fang Zhimin) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 166–7.
 25. Ye Yonglie, *Jiang Qing zhuan* (Biography of Jiang Qing) (Beijing: Zuoqia Chubanshe, 1993), 44–6. Certainly not all revolutionaries had to endure poverty. Their material conditions depended on their connections, professions, and political status and assignment. For instance, the playwright Tian Han, living in Shanghai in the early 1930s, had a much better life (also see Ye, 40).
 26. Guo Chen, 55–6.
 27. Jing, 53.
 28. Jing, 52–3.
 29. Gilmartin, 190.
 30. Zeng Zhi, *Changzheng nüzhanshi* (Women Fighters of the Long March), Vol. 1 (Changchun: Beifang Funü Ertong Chubanshe, 1986), 326, 356.
 31. Quoted in Zeng, 356. The question of whether radicalizing personal appearance helped or hurt the revolution is complex and requires further investigation. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Communist Party sometimes found that female cadres’ radical appearance, together with their revolutionary behavior, alienated villagers who continued to regard them as women. See “Tonggao” (Public Announcement) no. 18, in *Jiangxi suqu funü yundong shiliao xunbian* (Materials on the Women’s Movement in the Jiangxi Soviet Area), eds. Jiangxi sheng funü lianhehui (The Provincial Women’s Federation, Jiangxi) and Jiangxi sheng dang’anguan (Jiangxi Provincial Archive) (1934; reprint, Nanchang: Jiangxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 214. But to act as good revolutionaries, women often found it necessary to give up the established symbols of feminine beauty that some still cherished.
 32. Li Wenyi, “Yi jingai de Yang Zhihua tongzhi” (My Fond Memories of Yang Zhihua), in *Huiyi Yang Zhihua* (Our Recollections of Yang Zhihua), ed. *Shanghai shi fulian fuyun shiliaozu* (“Women’s Movement” Research Group, the Shanghai Women’s Federation) (Hefei: Anhui Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), 53.
 33. Yang Mo, *Qingchun zhi ge* (The Song of Youth) (1958; reprint, Beijing: Shiyue Wenyi Chubanshe, 1991), 390.
 34. Mao Dun, *Mao Dun zizhuan* (Autobiography of Mao Dun) (1981; reprint, Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe, 1996), 224.
 35. Guo Chen, 32–3.
 36. See Li Ling, “Fenpei de xifu” (A Party-assigned Wife), in *Zhongguo funü* 370 (1989): 22–3. On the images of fashionable and well-off women in the urban areas in the 1920s and 1930s in recent scholarly literature, see Edwards; Fiannane, 111, 115–20; Luo Suwen; Zhou, “Yijiuyiling dao yijiuerling”; and Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
 37. Wang Xingjuan, *Li Min, He Zizhen he Mao Zedong* (Li Min, He Zizhen, and Mao Zedong) (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenlian Chuban Gongsì, 1993), 5.
 38. Hsu Kai-yu, *Chou En-lai: China’s Gray Eminence* (New York: Doubleday, 1968), 149.
 39. Chang Jung and Jon Halliday, *Mme Sun Yat-sen* (Soong Ching-ling) (Harmondsworth UK: Penguin, 1986), 56–8, 76–8, 92–3, 105–6.
 40. Living in Shanghai in the early 1930s, Song won the admiration of Anna Louise Strong and of Edgar and Helen Snow for her appearance. She was described as beautiful, exquisite, and glamorous; Chang and Halliday, 80–1.
 41. John K. Fairbank, *Chinabound: A Fifty-Year Memoir* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 267–73.
 42. Michael Chang, “The good, the bad, and the beautiful: movie actresses and public discourse in Shanghai, 1920s–1930s,” in *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943*, ed. Zhang Yingjing (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 144.

43. Ni Zhenliang, *Luoru man tianxia—Bai Yang zhuan* (Beautiful Clouds: The Biography of Bai Yang) (Beijing: Zhongguo Wenlian Chubanshe, 1992), 81.
44. Please also refer to Ni.
45. Hung Chang-tai, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 77.
46. Hung, 84.
47. Guo Moruo, *Qu Yuan* (The Tragedy of Qu Yuan) (1942; reprint, Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe 1953).
48. Rumor has it that the Party not only used images of beautiful women in popular art and literature but also told attractive Communist women to employ their charm and sexuality to seduce individuals. According to one anti-Communist source—Tang Shaohua, who worked in the movie industry in Shanghai in the 1940s—Bai Yang was twice told to marry a promising young artist whom the CCP wanted to recruit. See Tang Shaohua, *Zhonggong wenyi tongzhan huigu* (My Recollections of the CCP's United Front in Literature and the Arts) (Taipei: Wentan Zazhishe, 1981), 276, 238.
49. Ni.
50. Zheng Chaolin, *Shishi yu huiyi* (History and Historical Memory), Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Tiandi Tushu Youxian Gongsì, 1997), 287–98.
51. Fang Zhimin *zhuan bianxiezhu*, 95.
52. Deng Yingchao, “Tong qingnian pengyou tantan lianai hunyin wenti” (A Conversation with Young Comrades on Love and Marriage), in *Funü jiefang wenti wenxuan* (Selected Writings on the Problems of Women's Liberation), eds., Deng Yingchao, Cai Chang, and Kang Keqing (1942; reprint, Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1988), 73–5.
53. Rose Terill, *Madame Mao: The White-Boned Demon* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 140; Zheng, *Shishi yu huiyi*, 285–8; Ding Ling, “Wo suo renshi de Qu Qiubai tongzhi” (My Understanding of Comrade Qu Qiubai), in *Ding Ling wenji* (The Works of Ding Ling), Vol. 5 (Changsha: Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 99; and Wang Guanmei “Yongheng de jinian” (My Lasting Memories of Song Qingling), in *Song Qingling jinian ji* (Recollections of Song Qingling) (Hong Kong: Wenhui Bao, 1981), 94.
54. He Zizhen received only a limited education in her native area. Yang Zhihua, once the daughter-in-law of Shen Dingyi, was educated at Shanghai University. Growing up in a wealthy Christian family, Song Qingling was educated in the United States.
55. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Communist base areas attracted young people, many of whom had received a fair amount of modern education and came from cities. It was also a time when many veteran revolutionaries were enjoying a relatively stable life. These conditions, which allowed revolutionaries to meet a more diverse pool of women and think more about their personal lives, were conducive to displaying attitudes that betrayed revolutionaries' own preference for female beauty.
56. Zhu was Wang Jiaxiang's wife. For information about these women and social life in Yan'an, see Terrill, 134; Lee Hsiao-li, *Good-bye, Yinan*, trans. Dong Qiao (Hong Kong: Wenyi Shushi, 1975), 207; and Shao Yang, *Hongqiang nei de furenmen* (The Wives of the Communist Leaders) (Guizhou: Guizhou Renmin Chubanshe, 1993), 193.
57. Terrill, 151–4; Ye, 171–2.
58. Tie Zhuwei, *Hongjun langmanchu* (The Romances in the Red Army) (Hubei: Hubei Renmin Chubanshe, 1989), 246–7, 250–1; Ye, *Jiang Qing zhuan*, 250.
59. Not all male authorities pursued and married young beauties. Xu Guangdai, one of the key administrators at Resistance University, did not abandon his plain-looking wife, whom he had not seen for years. But he was regarded as a rarity. See Shao, 240–1.
60. Liu Lequn, “Women fufu guanxi weishenme juejie?” (Why do we break up?), *Xin Zhongguo funü* (The Woman of New China), 11 (1955): 6.
61. Terrill, 142–3; Wang Xingjuan, 30.
62. Terrill, 142. Also see Helen Snow and Nym Wales, *The Chinese Communists: Sketches and Autobiographies of the Old Guard* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972), 253.
63. Ding, *I Myself Am a Woman*, 319.
64. Helen Young, *Choosing Revolution: Chinese Women on the Long March* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 161.

65. Not all modern young women aspired to a social upward mobility based on relations with powerful males. Some resisted; others yielded only reluctantly. See Tie, 202, 246–7, 250–1; also see Li Ling. But it is also clear that some were quite aggressive in approaching powerful men. See Snow and Wales, 252; and Terrill, 133–8.
66. This section briefly analyzes how women developed some principles of self-adornment in relation to their political identity. It is not meant as an investigation into clothing and fashion or an examination of individual variations in self-adornment.
67. Quoted in Finnane, “What should Chinese Women Wear?” 114.
68. Ding, “Xiang Jingyu tongzhi dui wo de yingxiang,” 196.
69. Yan’an Luyi (Lu Xun Arts Academy of Yan’an), “Bai mao nü” (The White-haired Girl), in *Yan’an wenyi congshu* (Art and Literature in Yan’an), Vol. 8: *Gejujuan* (Opera), eds. Ding Yi and Su Yiping (Changsha: Hunan Wenyi Chubanshe, 1987), 382.
70. Ding Ling, *Taiyang zhaozai Sangganhe shang* (The Sun Shines Over the Sanggan River) (1948; reprint, Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1955), 301–2.
71. Jing, 154; also see Hu Lanqi, *Hu Lanqi huiyilu* (Hu Lanqi’s Memoir) (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe, 1995), 149–51. The attempts by radical women to beautify their revolutionary appearance raise a couple of interesting questions. First, how can we put this in a comparative perspective? Scholars have noted that women elsewhere sometimes adorn clothing that was supposedly intended to mark a break from conventional femininity; for instance, in the 1970s, women in the West, following the advice of fashion and image experts, adopted power dressing, a strategy aimed at challenging their conventional image as weak but not the conventional notion(s) of female beauty. See Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 187–91. And second, how did revolutionaries, especially women revolutionaries, employ political language to legitimize the pursuit of feminine beauty? On this point, a memoir written by Hu Lanqi, a veteran of the National Revolution, is quite revealing. She mentions that her comrades emphasized the compatibility between Marxism and the pursuit of “material civilization,” *Hu Lanqi*, 150–1.
72. Zeng, 314.
73. On conventional practices of self-adornment in rural areas in the first half of the twentieth century, see Luo Suwen, 237–46.
74. Quan Yanchi, *Mao Zedong zouxia shentan* (To Humanize Mao Zedong) (Hong Kong: Nanyue Chubanshe, 1990), 180; Hsu, *Chou En-lai*, 145; Fairbank, *Chinabound*, 265.
75. Snow and Wales, 253.
76. “Yan’an de nüxing” (The Women of Yan’an) (Zhongxi Tushushe, 1946), 5.
77. Quan, 137.
78. Dou Shangchu, “Xuefeng xuexi chubu zongjie” (Preliminary Summing Up of My [problematic attitude toward] Studying in the Rectification Campaign), in *Yan’an zhongyang dangxiao de zhengfeng yundong* (The Rectification Campaign at the Central Party Institute), ed. Yan’an zhongyang dangxiao zhengfeng yundong bianxiezu (The Central Party Institute Study Group), Vol. 1 (1942; reprint, Beijing: Zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1988), 237.
79. Tang, 277–8.
80. Ni, 105.
81. The brief survey in this section is not intended to compare approaches to self-adornment in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods.
82. Zhang Ling, “Zhao Yiman” (Zhao Yiman), *Zhongguo qingnian* (Chinese Youth) 3 (1957): 24.
83. Su Yi, “Zhezong fengqi zhengchang ma” (Is this Trend Normal?), *Zhongguo qingnian* 2 (1957): 40.
84. Evans, 90.
85. Chen Qi, “Luo Liu fufu guanxi polie de yuanyin hezai” (The Causes of Liu’s and Luo’s Divorce) *Zhongguo funü* 1 (1956): 17–8. Also see Pang Youwen, “Luo Paoyi de xingwei shi boxue jieji sixiang de juti biaoqian” (Luo Paoyi’s Behavior is a Manifestation of the Exploitative Class’s Ideology), *Zhongguo funü* 1 (1956): 7.
86. Li Yingru, *Yehuo chunfeng dou gucheng* (Revolutionary Struggle in a Historic City) (Beijing: Jiefangjun Wenyi Chubanshe, 1959), 277–90.
87. Gao Anhua, *To the Edge of the Sky: A Story of Love, Betrayal, Suffering, and the Strength of Human Courage* (London: Viking, 2000), 50. Negative characters, too, could be attractive. For instance, in the

- movie *The Bold Hero* (*Yingxiong hudan*, 1958), the famous star Wang Xiaotang, who played the heroine in *Revolutionary Struggle in a Historic City* (1963), took on the role of A Lan, an attractive woman spy trying to sabotage the revolution. However, A Lan's attractiveness was coupled with an overt sensuality and "decadent" self-adornment (tight outfit, big earrings, heavy makeup, etc.) that were diametrically opposed to the revolutionary aesthetics of beauty.
88. Su, 40.
 89. *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 2 videocassettes, prod. and dir. Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton (Brookline, MA: Long Bow Group, in association with Independent Television Service, 1995).
 90. Qiu Ti, "Zenyang xuanze fuzhuang de secai" (How can We Match the Colors of our Clothing?), *Zhongguo funü* 4 (1956): 22; and Xia Lianbo, "Baohu lianbu de pifu" (How to Protect our Facial Skin) *Zhongguo funü* 12 (1956): 32.
 91. Beijing qing gongye ju fuzhuang yanjiusuo (Institute of Clothes, the Bureau of Light Industry of Beijing), "Jieyue meiguan de qiuyi" (Economical and Beautiful Clothes for the Fall), *Zhongguo funü* 17 (1960): 26. Also see Chen Guitao, "Yitao nüzhuang zhi yong jiuchi bu" (How to Make a Woman's Suit with Nine Square Feet of Fabric) *Zhongguo funü* 12 (1963): 32.
 92. Shui Jing, *Teshu de jiaowang* (Special Friendship) (Nanjing: Jiangsu Wenyi Chubanshe, 1992), 117–20.
 93. Shui, 117, 68–9.
 94. Shui; see pictures in the book.
 95. See issues of *Zhongguo qingnian* throughout this period.
 96. Liang Heng and Judith Suhapiro, *Son of the Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 47.
 97. For example, see *Zhongguo qingnian*, 6 (1957).
 98. For example, see *Zhongguo funü*, 163 (1960).
 99. Honig and Hershatter, 244.
 100. The questions raised here are beyond the scope of this essay; sources relevant to answering them include Li Xiaojiang's volume, which contains insiders' recollections that emphasize young women's rejection of the practice of pursuing beauty. See Li Xiaojiang, *Funü yanjiu yundong* (Studying Women) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1–36, 141–75. See also Wang Zheng, "Call Me 'qingnian' but not 'funü': A Maoist Youth in Retrospect," in *Some of Us: Chinese Women Growing Up in the Mao Era*, eds. Wang Zheng, Zhong Xueping, and Bai Di (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 40–9. According to Wang, in fact, not only the Communist attack on bourgeois lifestyle but also the Chinese "feudal tradition" put a concern for appearance in an unfavorable light. But these sources also show that women remained sensitive to their own appearance and to the issue of beauty generally. See Li Xiaojiang, *Funü yanjiu yundong*, 37–60. Wang believes that young women admired good looks but showed disdain for self-beautification. Such observations underscore the importance of exploring in more detail how the complex Communist legacy concerning female appearance shaped women's self-expectations and self-images under the Maoist regime.

Chapter 5

1. Im In-saeng, "Modeonijeum" (Modernism), *Byeolgeongon* (An Unusual World) (Nov. 1930); reprinted in *Hyeondaeseong ui hyeongseong: Seoul e danseuhol eul heohara* (Formation of Modernity: Allow a Dance Hall in Seoul), ed. Kim Jinsong (Seoul: Hyeonsil Munhwa Yeongu, 1999), 57. Kim includes in his book (appendix) the list of important primary sources. My intention here is to introduce the scholarship of the Modern Girl in Korea and to locate the polemical type of womanhood in the international milieu of the era; I will then analyze Na Hye-seok's works of art. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from primary sources are mine.
2. Kim Jinsong, 242–3; Originally "Miseu Koriauyeo, danbalhasiyo" (Miss Korea, Please Have Short Hair), *Donggwang* (East Light) (August 1932), n.p. For China, see Louise Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman in Republican China," *Modern China* 26, no. 2 (April 2000): 115–47.
3. This anxiety about the female body is discussed in Ju Kyeongmi's article on modern women's jewelry, "Gongye ui hyeongsik gwa gineung" (Form and Function of the Craft), in *Misulsawa sigak munhwa* (Art History and Visual Culture) (2003): 38–59. Also see Jennifer J. Jung-Kim, "Gender and Modernity in Colonial Korea," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 2005.

4. See Miriam Silverberg, “Modern Girl as Militant,” in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail P. Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 175–98; “The Café Waitress Serving Modern Japan,” in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 243–61; and Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
5. See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victoria America* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1985).
6. Jang Yunshik, “Women in a Confucian Society: The Case of Josun Dynasty Korea (1392–1910),” *Asian and Pacific Quarterly of Cultural and Social Affairs* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 24–42.
7. Kim Youngna, “nolransog ui geundaeseong” (Modernity in Debate: Representing the ‘New Woman’ and ‘Modern Girl’), *Misulsawa sigak munhwa* (2003): 8–35; reprinted in *20th Century Korean Art* (London: Laurence King, 2005). The book is the first art history book on Korean modern and contemporary art available in English and introduces major issues in Korean modern and contemporary art. Kim Jinsong, *Hyeondaeseong ui hyeongseong: Seoul e danseuhol eul heohara*. The subtitle of this book derives from an article originally appearing in *Samcheolli* (The Land of Korea) (January 1937). Primary Korean sources and images that I use in this essay were published in Kim Youngna’s and Kim Jinsong’s books. For the Modern Boy in Korea, see Shin Myeong-jik, *Modeon Boi: Gyeongseong eul geonilda* (The Modern Boy Walks around Seoul) (Seoul: Hyeonsil Munhwa Yeongu, 2003). See also Hong Sun-pyo, “Hanguk geundae misul ui yeoseong pyosang (Representation of Woman in Modern Korean Art: Desexualization and Sexualization of Woman),” *Hanguk geundae misul sahak* (Journal of Korean Modern Art History) (Seoul: Sigonsa, 2002), 63–85.
8. See, for example, Kim Jue-ree, “Geundaejeok paesyoon ui balgyeon gwa 1930 nyeondaemunhakui byeonmo” (The Occurrence of Modern Fashion and the Reformation of Literature in 1930s), *Hanguk hyeondaemunhak yeongu* (Journal of Korean Modern Literature) 7 (December 1999): 123–50; and “Geundaejeok sinche damnon ui ilgochal” (Discourse on the Modern Body), *Hanguk hyeondaemunhak yeongu* 13 (June 2003): 17–49.
9. J. Menzies, ed., *Modern Boy, Modern Girl: Modernity in Japanese Art, 1910–1935*, exhibition cat. (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1998).
10. For the media construction of the *mobo, moga* in 1920s Japan, see Barbara Hamill Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); and Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
11. Yu Kwangyeol, “Modeon iran mueus’inya” (What is Modern?), *Byeolgeongon* (Dec. 1927); reprinted in Kim Jinsong, 329–30.
12. Yu Kwangyeol; Kim Jinsong, 329.
13. Kim Youngna, 26. The author notes that a variety of commodities sold in Korea in the 1920s were imported from Japan and related to the fashionable lifestyle, including white cosmetic powder, clothing, and foodstuffs.
14. Ulrike Wöhr, Barbara Hamill Sato, Suzuki Sadami, eds., *Gender and Modernity: Rereading Japanese Women’s Magazines* (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1998). Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971) and other literary writers founded *Seitō* in 1911. Raichō’s manifesto, which was published in *Seitō* 1, no.1 (September 1911), was also reprinted in *La Revue mondiale* (World Review) (November 1923). On *Seitō*, see Pauline C. Reich and Atsuko Fukuda, “Japan’s Literary Feminists: The ‘Seitō (Bluestockings)’ Group,” *Signs: Journal of Woman in Culture and Society*, 2, no. 1 (Autumn 1976): 280–91; and Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See her discussion of the *atarashii on’na* (New Woman) and journals such as *Seitō* and *Fujin Kōron* (Women’s Review) established, respectively, in 1911 and 1916. See also Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labor and Activism, 1900–1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Chap. 4. Kim Won-ju launched *Cheongdaphoe* (Bluestockings Association) and *Sin Yeoja* (New Woman), as Yung-Hee Kim discusses in “From Subservience to Autonomy: Kim Won-ju’s ‘Awakening,’” *Korean Studies* 21, no. (1997): 1–30.
15. Kim Jinsong, 82.
16. Government-General of Joseon, *Thriving Joseon: A Survey of Twenty-Five Years’ Administration*, October 1935, 1.

17. See Government-General of Joseon; and Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Seizure of Korea: 1868–1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960). Unfortunately, the author depends solely on archives and materials written in Japanese (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives on Library of Congress microfilm), dismissing Korean materials. See also Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
18. *Tokyo Puck*, October 1, 1919 (cover). The cover of *Tokyo Puck* says “She (Goddess of Peace) had been hungry until her stomach was filled discriminately with such nourishing stuff as the Peace Treaty, the League of Nations, etc. She has now overeaten. Doctors called Japan, England, America, France and other nations seem to be satisfied that the Goddess of Peace is well fed. But will she ever be able to digest what she has taken in?”
19. The issues of cultural nationalism and the resistance movement are examined in Michael Edson Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920–25* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); and Shin Gi-Wook, *Peasant Protest and Social Change in Colonial Korea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996). Through collaboration with serial journals, the Korean intelligentsia began a campaign against illiteracy. In a sense, the press circulated a collective memory of humiliation by Japan’s annexation of Korea. Therefore, the Korean language, press, schools, meeting places, the Independence Club of 1896, and the like all became the texts in which a cultural nationalism of the colonized was inscribed. See F.A. McKenzie, *Korea’s Fight for Freedom* (London and New York, 1920).
20. See Kim Youngna, 20; and Jennifer J. Jung-Kim, 322–7 for the list of women’s magazines at that time. See also Kim Keon-su, *Hanguk jappisa yeongu* (The History of Korean Magazines) (Seoul: Hangukhak Yeonguso, 1992).
21. Western lifestyle, interior design, and cooking were frequently discussed in magazines: See Pak Gil-yong, “Saesallim ui bueok eun ireossgae hyaeemyeon” (If I Could do my Kitchen this Way in my New Household!), *Yeoseong* (Woman) (April 1936); “Sinchu ui seoyang yori” (Western Cuisine in the New Year), *Jogwang* (Morning Light) (September 1936).
22. Kim Youngna notes that the image of “wise mother, good wife” was strongly promoted during the 1930s, when Japan was more involved in the war. See Kim Youngna, 20.
23. The term was presumably used after Meiji Japan while intellectuals such as Nakamura Masanao argue how women should act: “Creating Good Mothers,” *Meiroku zasshi* (Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment) 33 (March 1875). This source is quoted from Jennifer J. Jung-Kim, 4.
24. Hawsin Department Store, founded by Korean entrepreneur Pak Heung-sik, opened in trendy Jongno Street in Seoul in 1932; he expanded the store in 1937. There were four other Japanese branch department stores in Seoul: Mitsukoshi, Minakai, Chojiya, and Hirata. In Japan, Purantan (*Printemps* in French) opened in 1911. See Takashi Hirano, “Retailing in Urban Japan, 1868–1945,” *Urban History* 26 (1999): 373–92.
25. Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* (London: Phaidon, 1964), 13.
26. O Seok-cheon, “Modeonijeum ui iron” (The Theory of Modernism), *Sinmin* (New People) (June 1931); reprinted in Kim Jinsong, 61.
27. Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); see also Jennifer J. Jung-Kim, 225. According to Silverberg, the Japanese mass media defined the 1930s as a “time of erotic grotesque nonsense,” xv. The author defines the erotic as “energized, colorful vitality.” In Korea’s case, this ero-gro might be different because it was the colonial subject. See also the discussion of So Rae-seop’s *Ero gro nonsense: Geundae jeok jageug ui tansaeng* (Ero Gro Nonsense: The Birth of Modern Sensitivity) (Seoul: Sallim Jisik Chongseo, 2006); and Chae Suk-jin, “Gampak ui jeguk: EroGro Nonsense” (Sense of the Imperial Japan: Ero Gro Nonsense), *Peminijeum Yeongu* (Feminism Studies) (October 2005): 43–87.
28. Kim Yeong-jin (nom de plume: Geokra Sanin), “Modeon suje” (Notes on the Modern), *Sinmin* (July 1930); reprinted in Kim Jinsong, 330–1.
29. Yeom Sang-seob in *Samdae* (Three Generations) (reprinted, Seoul: Sodam, 1996), 55, 137.
30. After the outbreak of war in 1937, Japanese colonial policy became stricter and a rigid censorship swept over Korea. Koreans were forced to change their names into Japanese. It was called “Changssi gaemyeong” or “identity creation of a new clan.”

31. Kim Youngna, 29 (see n. 35). The author argues that the Modern Girl and the flapper were interchangeably used in Korea, although Silverberg discusses the differences between the two terms in “The Modern Girl as Militant.”
32. Kenneth A. Yellis, “Prosperity’s Child: Some Thoughts on the Flapper,” *American Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1969), 48; originally Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (London, 1949; first published 1930), 50ff. New York produced a cosmopolitan urban culture and took its place as financial capital in spite of the Crash of 1929 and the subsequent Depression. In the interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s, office women and shoppers identified with images of the New Woman in shop windows and advertisements, stimulating the popular imagination. In turn, the demands of the New Woman for products accelerated their production. The Fourteenth Street artists in New York, including Isabel Bishop, Raphael Soyer, Kenneth Haynes Miller, and Reginald March, vividly depicted the commercialized flapper and the New Woman in the interwar period.
33. Yellis, 48.
34. Richard Gilman, *Decadence: The Strange Life of an Epithet* (New York, 1975), 11.
35. “Gyeongseong ap’dwigol” (In the Capital of Seoul), *Hyeseong* (Comet) (November 1931); reprinted in Kim Jinsong, 280–4.
36. Kweon Haeng-ga examines *gisaeng* represented in postcards issued in colonial Korea. See “Iljesidaeu gwangwang yeobseowa gisaeng imiji” (Postcards and Gisaeng Images in Colonial Korea), in *Hanguk geundae misul gwa sigak munhwa* (Korean Modern Art and Visual Culture), ed. Kim Youngna (Seoul: Johyeong Gyoyuk, 2002), 343–66.
37. See George T. Shea, *Leftwing Literature in Japan: A Brief History of the Proletarian Literary Movement* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964).
38. See Kida Emiko, “Hanil peuroletaria misul undong ui gyoryu (The Exchange of the Korean and Japanese Proletarian Art Movement),” in *Hanguk geundae misul gwa sigak munhwa*, ed. Kim Youngna, 139–64. A comparison of Lee Sang-chun’s *Factory Strike*, produced in 1932 in Korea, and Masamu Yanase’s *Masses: The Critical Anthology on the Proletariat*, made in 1929 in Japan, reveals compelling similarities. Specifically, the KAPF members distributed writings and prints in Seoul, which had been executed by the NAPF members.
39. Chae Suk-Jin, 46; Silverberg, 29. See Kim Jinsong (p. 316) for the illustrations of this type. For Japan’s labor activities, see Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism, 1900–1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). The similar female type in modern China was *funü*, a Mao’s girl that the Chinese Communist Party set against a bourgeois *nüxing*. See Tani E. Barlow, “Theorizing Woman,” in *Body, Subject and Power*, eds. Angela Zito and Tani Barlow (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Tani E. Barlow, “Politics and Protocols of *funü*: (Un)making National Woman,” in *Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State*, eds. Christina Gilmartin et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); and Shu-mei Shih, “Gender, Race and Semicolonialism: Liu Na-ou’s Urban Shanghai Landscape,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (November 1996): 934–56.
40. Kwon Insook, “‘The New Women’s Movement’ in 1920s Korea: Rethinking the Relationship between Imperialism and Women,” *Gender and History* 10, no. 3 (November 1998): 381–405.
41. See George T. Shea, *Leftwing Literature in Japan: A Brief History of the Proletarian Literary Movement* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964). Kida, 139–64. The author notes that the KAPF was censored more than the Japanese counterpart (p. 142).
42. Na also called herself “Rha, Hye-suk” in English. For a “critical” study of Na’s landscape paintings, see Park Carey, “Na Hye-seok ui punggyeonghwa” (Na Hye-seok’s Landscape Paintings), *Hanguk geundae misul sahak* (Modern Korean Art History) (2005): 173–206; and Park Carey, “Isip-segi Hanguk hoehwa eseo ui jeontong non” (A Study of Korean Painters’ Viewpoints on Tradition in the Twentieth Century), Ph.D. diss., Seoul: Ewha Woman’s University, 2006.
43. Kim Yung-hee, “Creating New Paradigms of Womanhood in Modern Korean Literature: Na Hye-Sok [seok]’s ‘Kyeong-hui,’” *Korean Studies* 26, no. 1 (2002): 1–60.
44. Na Hye-seok, “Ihon gobaegseo” (Confession of Divorce), *Samcheolli* (August–September 1934); “Doksin yeoja jeongjo ron” (On the Virginity of a Single Woman), *Samcheolli* (October 1935); and “Isang jeok buin” (The Ideal Wife), *Hakjigwang* (Light of Learning) 3 (1914).
45. Na Hye-seok, “Ihon gobaegseo.”

46. Compared to her writings, her paintings have been largely neglected due to the paucity of surviving works; Na's paintings and caricatures have mainly been used to elucidate her opinions on women's issues or as illustrations of her biography. Her oeuvre, especially landscape paintings, merit more in-depth examination. Her outspokenness and tragic death have made her a legend. See her biography by Yi Guyeol, *Emi neun seongakja yeotneunira* (Your Mother was a Pioneer: Na Hye-seok's Life) (Seoul: Donghwa Chulpan Gongsa, 1974).
47. Seitō dealt with a special issue on Ibsen's *A Doll's House* in January 1912. The play starring Matsui Sumako (1886–1919) was performed at the dramatic workshop *Bungei Kyōkai* (Association of Literary Arts) led by Tsubouchi Shōyō and Shimamura Hogetsu (1871–1919) in November 1911. Na Hye-seok, "Inhyeong ui jip" (A Doll's House), *Mail sinbo* (Daily Newspaper) (April 3, 1921).
48. Na Hye-seok wrote "Bubugan ui mundap" (Dialog of Wife and Husband), *Sin yeoseong* (New Woman) (November 1923); and "Nora," *Sin Yeoseong* (July 1926).
49. Na's self-portrait can be compared to Yi Jong-wu's *Madame* of 1926, presumably painted in Paris, since the artist was the first Korean artist who studied in Paris.
50. *Na Hye-seokui saengae wa geurim* (Na Hye-seok: Her Life and Art), exh. cat., Seoul: Seoul Art Center, January 15–February 7, 2000. The biographical information here is from this book. See also Yeongu Gonggan, *Sin yeoseong* (Seoul: Hangyeore Sinmun, 2005).
51. Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 26.
52. Roger Scruton, *The Aesthetic Understanding: Essays in the Philosophy of Art and Culture* (London and New York: Methuen, 1983), 11.
53. See Yeongu Gonggan, *Sin Yeoseong* (Seoul: Hangyeore Sinmun, 2005).
54. Robert Lubar, "Unmasking Pablo's Gertrude: Queer Desire and the Subject of Portraiture," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (March 1997): 69.
55. See *Na Hye-seok ui saengae wa geurim*, 11.
56. Na Hye-seok, "Sinsaenghwal e deulmyeonseo (Entering a New Life)," *Samcheolli* (February 1935).

Chapter 6

1. Extensive research has been conducted on the Joseon Art Exhibitions. One of the latest pieces of research is a book by Kim Hye-sin, *Hanguk geundae misul yeongu* (Research on Modern Korean Art) (Tokyo: Brücke, 2005).
2. Sim Eun-suk, "Sinyeoseong gwa guyeoseong" (New Women and Traditional Women), *Yeoseong* (Woman) 3 (June 1936): 56.
3. Lee Seong-Hwan, "Hyeonha joseon eseoui jubu roneun yeogyo chulsin i naheunga guyeoja ga naheunga" (Who is Better as a Future Wife, the New Woman or the Traditional Woman?), *Byeolgeongon* (An Unusual World) 3, no. 7 (January 1928): 90–8.
4. *The Story of Chunhyang* was created in the latter part of the Joseon Dynasty (eighteenth century). The author is unknown. It made its first appearance in a *pansori* (a traditional Korean narrative song) and then took root in a fictional novel. The story was published in 1910, when it developed into one of the most widely read Korean classics among the general public. During the 1930s, *The Story of Chunhyang* was popular not only as a novel but also featured in theater productions and movies.
5. Kim Bok-jin (a representative modern Korean sculptor) died in 1940 and was survived by his wife, Heo Hwa-baek.
6. Park Hyang-min, "Geukdan, Insaeng Geukjang ui changnip gongyeon eul bogo" (After Watching the Play by Insaeng Geukjang), *Donga ilbo* (The Donga Daily News) (December 17, 1937).
7. *Mi-in-do is understood to be* "Painting of Beautiful Women"; however, it did not specifically portray a woman. Instead, it was a picture of a young woman clad in clothes representing the fashionable style of the period and served as a form of "pinup girl." Currently, many versions of "Painting of Beautiful Women" from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are being circulated.
8. This information about Kim Eun-ho's *Portrait of Chunhyang* comes from Guan Haengga, "Gimeunho ui chunhyangsang ikgi" (The Interpretation of Kim Eun-ho's *Portrait of Chunhyang*), *Hanguk geundae misulsa yeongu* (The History of Modern Korean art) 9 (2001): 191–219.
9. Nam Man-min, "Chunhyang ui jeongjo jaeummi" (A Look at Chunhyang's Sense of Chastity), *Yeoseong* (October 1936): 38–40.

10. For more information about *Portrait of Unnangja*, see Kim Yisoon, *Hanguk ui moja sang* (Portraits of Mother and Child in Korea) (Seoul: National Museum of Contemporary Art, 2006), 216–29.
11. Gu Jeong-hwa, “Hanguk geundaegi ui yeoseong inmulhwa e natanan yeoseong imiji” (The Female Image in Modern Korean Art), *Hanguk geundae misulsa yeongu* 9 (2001): 138.
12. Lee Gwang-su, “Moseong” (Maternal Love), *Yeoseong* 1, no. 2 (May 1936): 12–3.
13. Lee Gi-yeong, “Widaehan moseong” (Great Maternal Love), *Yeoseong* 5, no. 4 (April 1940): 76–7.
14. See Kim Suk-ja, “Dongnip sinmun e natanan yeoseong gaehwa ui uiji” (Enlightening Efforts for Women in Independent Newspapers), *Hanguksa yeongu* (The Study of Korean History), 54 (September 1986): 59–74; Song In-ja, “Gaehwagi yeoseong gyoyunnon ui uui wa hangye” (The Meaning and Problems with the Education of Women), *Hanguk gyoyuksahak* (The History of Korean Education) 17 (1995): 127–66; and Shin Yeong-suk, “Daehanjeguk sigi gabujangje wa yeoseong ui yeokhal” (Patriarchism and Women’s Role in the Daehan Empire Period), *Yeoseoghak* (The Studies of Women) 11 (1994): 85–110.
15. See Lee Gwang-su, “Moseong jungsim ui janyeo gyoyuk” (Education of Children Based on Maternal Love) *Sinyeoseong* (New Women), (January 1925): 19–20; and Lee Eun-sang, “Joseon ui moseong eun joseon ui moseong” (Maternal Love Represents Women in Joseon), *Sinyeoseong* (May and June 1925): 2–6.
16. See Choi Seok-ju, “Seongtan eul majihaya joseon ui moseong eul saenggakham” (Thinking about Maternal Love of Joseon Women on Christmas Day), *Cheongneon* (The Young) 10, no. 8 (December 1930): 23–6; Ju Yo-seop, “Eomeoni ui sarang” (Maternal Love), *Singajeong* (The New Family) 1 (January 1933): 182–3; and Im Jeong-hyeok, “Janyeo reul gajin cheongsang gwabu ga jaehonham i oreunya, geureunya” (Is it Acceptable for a Widow with Children to Remarry?), *Yeoseong* 1, no. 2 (May 1936): 36–7.
17. For more information about this opinion, see Shin Myoeng-jik, *Modern boi, gyeongseong eul geonilda* (Modern Boy Wandering Around Gyeongseong) (Seoul: Hyeonsil munhwa yeongu, 2003): 75–232.
18. For more articles focusing on maternal love published by women’s magazines in the 1930s, see Lee Gim-jeon, “Moyu wa yua” (Breast-feeding and Babies), *Sinyeoseong* 7, no. 6 (June 1933): 86–7; No Ja-yeong, “Munye e natanan moseongae wa Yeongwon ui Byeol” (Maternal Love Described in Literature and Yeongwon ui Byeol), *Singajeong* (March 1934): 74–81; Lee Gwang-su, “Moseong euroseoui yeoja” (Women are Nothing but Maternal Love), *Yeoseong* 2, no. 1 (June 1936): 8; Il Hye, “Widaehan eomeoni anhae ui jonjae” (Great Mothers and Great Wives), *Woori gajeong* (Our Family) (October 1936): 38–40; Hong Jong-in, “Moseongae gunsang” (Maternal Love), *Yeoseong* 2, no. 1 (January 1937): 82–3; Jeon Ae-rok, “Moseongae wa gajeong gyoyuk” (Maternal Love and Family Education), *Yeoseong* 2, no. 4 (April 1937): 70–3; Heo Yoeng-sun, “Moseong gwa moseongae” (Mothers and Maternal Love), *Yeoseong* 3, no. 9 (September 1938): 36–9; Lee Dal-nam, “Jeolmeun eomeoni dokbon” (For Young Mothers), *Yeoseong* 4, no. 1 (January 1939): 71–4; and Min Chon-saeng, “Widaehan moseong eul” (For Great Maternal Love), *Yeoseong* 5, no. 4 (April 1940): 76–8.
19. Starting in the late nineteenth century, this country realized the importance of children. *Seoyugeonmun* (The Record of Europe) and *Dokribsinmun* (Independent Newspaper) by Yu Gil-jun talks about the significance of children as future leaders. Particularly during Japanese colonial rule (1910–45), children were considered saviors of Korea’s future. People started to think that children were more like little adults and had their own values. Under these circumstances, Children’s Day was designated in 1923.
20. At that time, a radio was a symbol of wealth, owned only by upper-middle-class households.
21. The models for the painting were not actually mother and daughter, but they act these roles in the picture. For more information about the models, see Gu Jeong-hwa, “Hanguk geundaegiui yeoseong inmulhwa e natanan yeoseong imiji” (The Female Image in Modern Korean Art), *Hanguk geundae misulsa yeongu*, no. 9 (2001): 136.
22. At that time it was rare for women and children to wear Western-style shoes. Those shoes indicate an acceptance of Western culture. The Korean *hanbok* coexists in this picture with Western shoes, a symbol of modernization. The combination of the two, however, still makes a relatively conservative image.
23. Hwang Sin-deok, “Joseon eun ireohan eomeoni reul yoguhanda” (Joseon Needs Mothers Like These), *Singajeong* 1 (May 1933): 12–15.
24. Kim Youngna, “Modernity in Debate; Representing the ‘New Woman’ and ‘Modern Girl,’” *20th-Century Korean Art* (London: Laurence King, 2005): 64–87.

25. For more information on the changed social perceptions of women in the colonial era, see Kim Gyeong-il, “Hanguk geundae sahoe ui hyeongseong eseo jeontonggwa geund” (Old Values and New Values in the Process of Korea’s Modernization), *Sahoe wa Yeoksa* (Society and History) 54 (1998): 11–42.
26. Sim Hun, “Yakhon saedae ui chueok” (The Memory of Arranged Marriage), *Samcheolli* (The Land of Korea) 12 (1930): 58.

Chapter 7

1. On *Japonisme* in the Euro-American sphere see, for example, Toshio Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme* (Bern and New York: P. Lang, 1991); Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West* (London: Phaidon, 2005); and Julia Meech and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Japonisme comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876–1925* (New York: H.N. Abrams in association with the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, 1990).
2. See Mabuchi Akiko, “Butai no ue no Nihon: 1870 nenndai no Pari” (Japan on the Scenes in Paris, in the 1870s), *Nihon Joshi Daigaku kiyō* (Bulletin of Japan Women’s University) 12 (2001): 169–88.
3. See Hashimoto Yorimitsu, “Chaya no tenshi: Eikoku seiki-matsu no Operetta Geisha 1896 to sono rekishi-teki haikai” (The Angel in the Tea House: Representations of Victorian Paradise and Playground in *The Geisha*, 1896), *Japonisumu Kenkyū* (Studies on Japonisme) 20 (2003): 30–49.
4. Saeki Junko, “Geisha’ no Hakken: ‘Tasha-ka’ sareru Nippon” (Discovery of “Geisha”: Japan Gazed as the “Other”), in *Bijutsushi to tasha* (Art History and the “Other”), eds. Shimamoto Hiroshi and Kasuya Makoto (Kyoto: Kōyōshobō, 2000), 117–52.
5. Fujishima Takeji, “Chōsen Kankō Shokan” (Memory of a Journey to Chōsen), *Bijutsu Shimpō* (Art News) 13, no. 5 (1914): 11–2.
6. Fujishima Takeji, 13.
7. Fujii Keisuke, Saotome Masahiro, Tsunoda Mayumi, Nisiaki Yoshihiro, eds., *Sekino Tadashi Ajia tōsa* (Tadashi Sekino: Explorer of Asia) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005).
8. Fujishima Takeji, 11.
9. Kuraya Mika, “Künstler auf Koreareise: Das Fremde in Japanischen Blick, 1895 und 1945” (Artists’ Journey to Korea: Strangers in Japanese Eyes, from 1895 to 1945), *Comparativ* 3 (1998): 82–97.
10. Fujishima Takeji, 12–3.
11. Kojima Kaoru, “Fujishima no Egaita Josei-zō” (Images of Woman by Fujishima) in *Fujishima Takeji*, ed. Kojima Kaoru (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1998), 84–5.
12. Bert Winther-Tamaki, “Oriental Coefficient: The Role of China in the Japanization of Yōga,” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 85 (2006): 91.
13. Carolus-Duran had lived in Italy from 1862 to 1865. His tableau, *L’Assassiné, Souvenir de la Campagne Romaine* (The Assassinated, Memory of Roman Countryside) of 1862, was shown at the Salon and purchased by the French government.
14. Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunen-shi Hensan Shitsu (Editorial Office of the Hundred-year History of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts & Music), ed. *Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunen-shi: Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō-hen* (Hundred-year History of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts & Music: Tokyo School of Fine Arts), 2 (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1992), 317.
15. Fujishima Takeji, “Itari-fū no hekiga” (Wall Paintings in Italian Style), *Yorozu Chōhō* (Yorozu Morning News), (January 24, 1910): 2.
16. Fujishima, “Dekadansu no igi” (The Meaning of “Decadence”), *Bijutsu Shimpō* 10, no. 8 (1911): 7–8.
17. Fujishima, “Taiō kembun sūsoku” (Some Impressions of Europe), *Bijutsu Shimpō* 9, no. 5 (1910): 12.
18. Kojima Kaoru, “Fujishima Takeji ni okeru ‘Seiyō’ to ‘Tōyō’” (Fujishima Takeji’s “East” and “West”), in *Bijutsushika, Oini Warau: Kōno sensei no tameno Nihon bijutsushi ronshū* (Art Historian, Making Merry: A Collection of Essays on Japanese Art in Honor of Professor Kōno Motoaki), ed. Kōno Motoaki Sensei Taikan Kinen Ronbunshū Henshū Inkaei (Editorial Committee for the Festschrift in Honor of Professor Kōno Motoaki) (Tokyo: Brücke, 2006), 396.

19. See Toshio Watanabe, “Japanese Landscape Painting and Taiwan,” in *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, ed. Kikuchi Yuko (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007), 74–5.
20. Kyōto Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan (The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto), ed. *Kindai Kyoto Gadan to Seiyō: Nihonga no Kishutachi* (Modern Kyoto Painting Circle and Western Culture—Revolutionaries in *nihonga*) (Kyoto: The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto, 1999), 124.
21. Fujishima Takeji, “Futsukoku Geien no Ichi Myōjō tarishi Karoryusu Dyuran-shi” (Mr Carolus-Duran who was a Star in French Art), *Bijutsu* (Art) 1, no. 7 (1917): 5–10.
22. Fujishima Takeji, “*Ashiato o Tadorite*” (Tracing Footsteps) in *Geijutsu no Esupuri* (Esprit of Art), ed. Fujishima Takeji (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1982).
23. Stefan Tanaka, *Japan’s Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California, 1993).
24. Satō Dōshin, “Sekai-kan no Saihen to Rekishi-kan no Saihen” (Reorganizing World Views, Reorganizing Historical Views), in *Ima Nihon no Bijutushigaku wo furikaeru* (The Present, and the Discipline of Art History in Japan), ed. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, 1999), 111–27.
25. Tsuchida Bakusen, “*Kichō-go no Dai-ichi Inshō*” (The First Impression after Coming Back to Japan), *Chūō bijutsu* (Central Art) 9, no. 9 (1923): 140–1.
26. Furuta Ryō, “*Tsuchida Bakusen Shiron: Meishō wo chūshin nisite*” (Tsuchida Bakusen: With a Focus on a *Maiko* Girl), *MUSEUM* 599 (2005): 57–69.
27. Kawamura Minato, *Kisen: Mono iu hana no bunka-shi* (Cultural History on Gisaeng) (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2001).
28. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan (The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo), ed. *Tsuchida Bakusen-ten* (Tsuchida Bakusen: A Retrospective) (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1997), 182.
29. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 182.
30. The two *gisaeng* in Bakusen’s painting are also shown in submissive poses. As Kim Hyeschin has noted, many Japanese images of *gisaeng*, including that by Bakusen, were products of male and colonial gazes. See Kim Hyeschin, *Kankoku kindai bijutsu kenkyū: Shokuminchiki ‘Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai ni miru ibunka shihai to bunka hyōshō* (Research on Korean Modern Art: Controls over Korean Culture and its Representation in the Analysis of “Chosen Bijutsu Tenrankai” in the Colonial Period) (Tokyo: Brücke, 2005), 102–10.
31. Kuramoto Taeko, *Hayami Gyoshū no geijutsu* (The Art of Hayami Gyoshū) (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1992), 102–3.
32. Kuramoto Taeko, 120.
33. Kusanagi Natsuko, “1930-nen kaisai, Nihon Bijutsu-ten ni Kanshite” (On the Art Exhibition of Japanese Art Held in 1930), *Kindai Gasetu* (Modern Painting Discourse), 11 (2002): 127–40.
34. Tanabe Kōji, “*Chōsen ni okeru Gyoshū-kun*” (Gyoshū in Korea), *Bi no kuni* (Kingdom of Beauty) 11, no.5 (1935): 68–9.
35. Yamatane Museum of Art, ed., *Kaiga no shin seimei: Hayami Gyoshū garon* (A True Spirit of a Painting: Essays on Paintings by Hayami Gyoshū) (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1996), 18.
36. Katō Shōrin, “*Hayami Sensei no Shasei*” (Sketches by Mr Hayami), in *Hayami Gyoshū*, Vol. 1, ed. Kawakita Michiaki (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha), 175–7.

Chapter 8

1. Yamada Eizaburō, “Kenchikubi no honshitsu” (The Essence of Architectural Beauty), *Kenchiku sekai* (Architectural World) 17, no. 4 (1923): 8.
2. Murooka Sōshichi, “Kenchiku no biteki taikō” (Outline of the Aesthetic Relations of Architecture), *Kenchiku sekai* (Architectural World) 2, no. 9 (February 1915): 31–5. The treatise was serialized in *Architectural World* in eleven parts, ending in the April 1916 issue of the journal.
3. Murooka, 31.
4. Murooka, 31.
5. Kogakushi K. K.-sei, “Sōshoku-bi” (Decorative Beauty), Parts 1–5, *Kenchiku gahō* (The Architectural Graphic) 4 (May–December 1913). For each of the three principles, K. K. gives first the Japanese name

- in Chinese characters, glossed with a phonetic reading of the English translation, and then the English translation in Roman characters. The principles set out in this series are extremely close to those presented in another article in the same journal two years prior, Fujinami-sei, “Kenchiku-bi gaisetsu” (Outline of Architectural Beauty), *Kenchiku gahō* (The Architectural Graphic) 2, no. 13 (December 1911): 27–9.
6. Itō Chūta and Ichihigashi Kenkichi, “Kenchikujutsu to bijutsu no kankei (Meiji juroku-nen san-gatsu yōka tsujōkai enzetsu)” (The Relationship between Architectural Arts and Fine Art [Speech given at the regular meeting on March 8, 16th Year of the Meiji Era]), *Kenchiku zasshi* (Architectural Journal) 7, no. 75 (March 1893): 86–7. Interestingly, Itō argues for the need for artistic and beautiful architecture for six of the article’s seven pages before defining what he means by these terms.
 7. Wakayanagi Midori, “Shopenhaueru no kenchikukan” (Schopenhauer’s View of Architecture), *Kenchiku sekai* (Architectural World) 10, no. 8 (1916): 69.
 8. Mitsuhashi Shirō, “Kenchikubutsu no bijutsuteki taikō” (The Artistic Relations and Measures of Architectural Objects), in *Wayō kairyō daikenchikugaku* (Improved Japanese and Western Great Architectural Knowledge), Vol. 3, 666–713 (Tokyo: Okura Shoten, 1911). For a biography of Mitsuhashi and list and images of major works, see Fujioka Shigeichi, “Seikaiin kōgakushi Mitsuhashi Shirō shi no itami” (The Obituary of Full Member Mitsuhashi Shiro), *Kenchiku zasshi* (Architectural Journal) 30, no. 349 (December 1915): 31–4, iii–iv; and Horiguchi Kankichi, “Mitsuhashi Shirō shi cho dai kenchiku gaku ni tsuite: kenchikushi, kenchiku ishō” (On Mitsuhashi Shiro’s *Great Architectural Learning: Architectural History and Architectural Design*). *Gakujutsuron en kōgaishu: Keikaku-kei* (Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting: Architectural Design) 46 (September 1971): 1075–6 is a summary of the compendium.
 9. Mitsuhashi, 666.
 10. Mitsuhashi, 667–9.
 11. Mitsuhashi, 667.
 12. Mitsuhashi, 667.
 13. In “Nihon no hyōgen-ha” (Japan’s Expressionists), *Shinden ka gokusha ka* (Shrine or Prison?) (Tokyo: Sagami Shobō, 1972), 1–114, Hasegawa Gyō discusses the fissure between technical and art-based practice in the 1910s. For an English-language overview and introduction to the work of Itō and Sano Toshikata (a.k.a. Sano Riki), the main proponent of the technical side, see Jonathan M. Reynolds, “The Formation of a Japanese Architectural Profession,” in *The Artist as Professional in Japan*, ed. Melinda Takeuchi (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 180–202.
 14. See, for example, Mitsuhashi Shirō, “Tekkin kongyō-do narabi ni sono ōyō” (Reinforced Concrete and its Application), *Kenchiku zasshi* (Architectural Journal) 22, no. 264 (December 1908): 476–90.
 15. Mitsuhashi, 667.
 16. The Nakagyō Post Office is also famous as the object of a major historic preservation battle in the mid-1970s that ended in the preservation of the façade and construction of a new concrete structure inside.
 17. The role of architecture in building the Meiji state has been well researched and well documented. In English, see David Stewart, *The Making of Modern Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 2003), and William Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), Chap. 6.
 18. The college was established in 1871; full-time instruction began in 1873, and the full-time architecture program in 1877. English-language sources for early architectural education in Japan include Don Choi, “Domesticated Modern: Hybrid Houses in Meiji Japan, 1870–1900,” particularly Chap. 1, “Architectural Education and Residential Architecture in Early Meiji Japan,” and Reynolds, “The Formation of a Japanese Architectural Profession,” 180–202.
 19. The government bureaucrats who founded the school chose to model its architectural training on the British system, which had ties to civil engineering, rather than the French counterpart at the Beaux-Arts, which emphasized drawing (*dessin*, or design) over practical considerations and on-site training. Choi suggests that it was this primary interest in the technical, engineering side of architecture that led to the selection of the British model over the Beaux-Arts model. Choi, 42.
 20. Mitsuhashi Shirō, “Parutenon Tempuru” (The Temple of the Parthenon), *Kenchiku zasshi* (Architectural Journal) 18, no. 208 (April 1904): 217.

21. Richard A. Moore, “Academic ‘Dessin’ Theory in France after the Reorganization of 1863,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36, no. 3 (October 1977): 145.
22. Nakatani Reiji and Nakatani Seminar, *Kinsei kenchiku ronshu* (Pre-modern Architectural Theory) (Kyoto: Acetate, 2004), is a brilliant analysis of the persistence of traditional building and design techniques among Meiji period architectural culture. See also Cherie Wendelken, “The Tectonics of Japanese Style: Architect and Carpenter in the Late Meiji Period,” *Art Journal* 55 (1996): 28–37. Reynolds, “The Formation of a Japanese Architectural Profession” also addresses the class split between architect and carpenter. The paradigmatic Meiji approach represented by Mitsuhashi can also be contrasted to that of English design reformers in the late nineteenth century and architects working after the introduction of the International Style in the 1920s. While Mitsuhashi’s façade indicated the building’s function through the use of a particular style, its form did not depend on structure or materials, the “form follows function” equation central to modernists several decades later.
23. William R. Ware, *Parallel of historical ornament, a selection of ... examples ... arranged ... to present ... a comparative view of their principal features, prepared under the supervision of William R. Ware* (Boston, MA: L. Prang and Company, 1876) and *Modern Perspective: A Treatise upon the Principles and Practice of Plane and Cylindrical Perspective* (Boston, MA: Ticknor, c. 1882). For a biographical sketch of Ware and a discussion of his influence on architectural education in the United States, see J. A. Chewning, “William Robert Ware at MIT and Columbia,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 33, no. 2 (November 1979), 25–9, and John Vredenburg Van Pelt, *A Discussion of Composition, Especially as Applied to Architecture* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902).
24. John Beverly Robinson, *Principles of Architectural Composition: An Attempt to Order and Phrase Ideas which have hitherto been only felt by the Instinctive Taste of Designers* (1899; reprint New York: Van Nostrand, 1908), mentioned in Mitsuhashi, “Kenchikubutsu no bijutsuteki taiko,” 709. Mitsuhashi was not alone in deriving his aesthetics of architectural composition from the Beaux-Arts via New York, or in understanding beauty as a product of natural forces. For example, Murooka’s treatise also introduced Robinson’s principles of architectural composition and borrowed the title of Robinson’s book (in translation) for the title of his treatise.
25. For those not well versed in the history of the architectural profession in modern Japan, this complete adherence to Western architecture models could seem odd. By the 1920s, architects had begun to reevaluate the importance of employing vernacular aesthetics within the hybrid architectural framework, and Itō Chūta argued for attention to historical vernacular form from the 1890s. However, the bulk of Meiji architectural culture looked to Western architectural models as modern and appropriate for the new state—which should not be surprising, considering that early architects were trained specifically to build it.
26. In this analysis, I have been inspired by Penny Sparke’s argument in *As Long as it’s Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste* (London: Pandora, 1995).
27. For the early years of women’s involvement in architectural education and the architectural profession in mid-century Japan, see Matsukawa Junko, “Nihon ni okeru senzen sengo no sōsōki no josei kenchikuka gijutsusha” (The Pioneer Years of Women Architects and Engineers in Prewar and Postwar Japan), *Housing Research Foundation Annual Report* 30 (2003): 251–62.
28. Girls’ higher school education was the purview of the elite. In 1899, the Ministry of Education mandated that each prefecture establish and operate at least one girls’ higher school; however, no more than three percent of primary school graduates attended in 1912. See Tsunemi Ikuo, *Kateika kyōikushi* (The History of Domestic Economy Education) (Tokyo: Koseikan, 1972), 120–1, 126. By 1926, ten percent of female graduates of primary schools continued to the girls’ higher schools (compared to twenty percent of male graduates continuing to middle school). See Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture 1880–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 2003), for a description and analysis of women’s domestic economy education in the late Meiji period.
29. In *House and Home in Modern Japan*, Sand analyzes the rhetoric of prescriptive interior decoration texts, particularly the difference in treatments of “Japanese-” and “Western-” style rooms. See the section “Recoding Interiors,” 100–7. This chapter treats some of the same texts but is principally concerned with how the methods for providing beauty they present encode gender roles for the reader within a larger system of gendered spatial creation practices.

30. Because of the growth of suburban single-family housing in the 1910s and '20s, many texts began to include housing law, financing, and site issues, as well as discussions of the relative merits of renting and buying, and advice for the design and management of rental properties. See Sarah Teasley, "Home-builder or Home-maker? Reader Presence in Articles on Home-building in Commercial Women's Magazines in 1920s' Japan," *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 1 (January 2005): 81–97.
31. Among recent analyses, see Sand for an excellent and thorough investigation of the connection between home-building and hygiene texts and the ideology of the home and family circle.
32. Ōe was writing in 1916 but expressed sentiments developed in domestic economy discourse in the Meiji period. Ōe Sumiko, *Shoron Jūkyō* (Assorted Writings and Housing), Vol. 1 of *Ōyo kaji seigi* (Detailed Lectures in Practical Housekeeping) (Tokyo and Osaka: Hōbunkan, 1916), 458.
33. Kondō Shōichi, *Shitsunai sōshoku hō* (Principles of Interior Decoration) (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1907), 3–4.
34. Kondō, 1.
35. Kondō, 18.
36. Shimoda Utako, *Katei kyōiku* (Domestic Education), Vol. 12 of *Katei bunko* (The Domestic Library) (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1901). Shimoda devoted one chapter of her first home economics textbook to aesthetic education, and the 1890s saw the publication of several texts devoted entirely to arguing the necessity of aesthetic education and proposing ways to achieve it through literature, art, music, architecture, and other arts practices of daily life. See, for example, Watanabe Yoshishige and Nishimura Shōzaburō, *Biiku* (Aesthetic Education) (Tokyo: Fukyūsha, 1893).
37. Kondō, 3.
38. Kondō, 19.
39. Kondō, 2.
40. Kondō, 2–3, 17.
41. Kondō, 3.
42. Kondō, 48.
43. See Kondō, 18–20 for one explanation of aesthetic categories or *bi no bunshi* (elements of beauty). Sand mentions the distribution of different adjectives to Western and Japanese-style interiors. See Sand, 103–4.
44. Yamagata Kōhō ed., *Ishokujū* (Clothing, Food, Housing) (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nihonsha, 1907), 5. The emphasis on taste derived partly from Anglo-American domestic manuals like Charles Eastlake's influential 1876 manual *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and Other Details* (London: Longmans Green, 1868). It was reinforced in the 1900s by discourse on taste generated by department stores like Mitsukoshi, whose magazine for women was entitled *Shumi* or "Taste," and analyzed in Jinno Yuki, *Shumi no tanjō* (The Birth of Taste) (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1994), and Sand. For department stores, the promotion of taste was part of the campaign to create the image of an informed, educated consumer who would furnish a tasteful home through purchases at the stores.
45. Ōe, 463–85.
46. For an overview of the secondary literature on late nineteenth-century British and American domestic advice manuals, see Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions, 1830–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
47. For the tea practice as an elite male pastime in the Meiji period, see Christine Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
48. Kondō, 15.
49. The examples discussed in this chapter come from major journals, influential textbooks, popular handbooks, and other representative texts, chosen not for their unique viewpoints but for the sheer ubiquity of the opinions and approaches they express. All of my examples come from publications originating in Tokyo, disseminated nationally, including to colonies and overseas Japanese communities, but emerging from and formed by architectural and home economics cultures that developed in Tokyo specifically. As the administrative, educational, and publishing center of the Japanese Empire, Tokyo had an influence on the development of architectural thought throughout Japan but—this great geographical scope notwithstanding—remained a local culture of its own. My conclusions, then, speak at once to the dissemination of gender role ideals through Japan but also to a set of specific and interrelated cultures of designing and dwelling in Tokyo itself.

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