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Civilizing Japanese Bodies:
A History of Self-Improvement and the Beauty Industry in the Japanese Empire, 1868-1945

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Abstract

Civilizing Japanese Bodies: A History of Self-Improvement and the Beauty Industry in the Japanese Empire, 1868-1945

This dissertation is a social and cultural history of the body and the beauty industry in the Japanese Empire from 1868 to 1945. The emphasis is on the thoughts and actions of state and private actors such as doctors and the first generation of Japanese cosmetic product developers. When these actors began promoting new beauty ideals, they were also constructing the cultural underpinnings of what eventually evolved into a vibrant beauty industry. By the early 1920s they not only served the mainland but also its colonies in East Asia. This dissertation traces how and why at that particular moment the modern Japanese industry developed and how precisely its existence became legitimized and then evolved. It examines how the modern identity of the constituents of the Japanese Empire were constructed both politically and commercially, and how that played out in the mass-market for goods and services. It demonstrates how entrepreneurs promoted various discourses on bourgeois virtues, such as the striving for social prestige, as well as how specific ideas about the intersection of bodily markers and consumerism, race, gender, and colonialism developed in the context of imperial Japan and its most important colony, Korea. This research explains why Japanese felt the need to spend their disposable income on beauty products and, in some cases, resort to extreme measures such as cosmetic surgery. Using a wide array of sources such as corporate reports, advertisements, newspaper articles, biographies of doctors and opinion pieces, this dissertation explains ideas surrounding the body changed with modernity.

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Introduction

The growing importance of physical beauty in modern societies can be quantified by the amount of money and effort people spend on purchasing and applying cosmetics and undergoing cosmetic surgical procedures. In 2017, the global cosmetics industry was valued at over $500 billion US dollars and projected to reach a market value of $805 billion by 2023.[1] East Asia is a major contributor to these figures. According to statistics, the cosmetics market in the Asia-Pacific region amounts to $98.5 billion, and is forecasted to reach around $126.8 billion by 2020.[2] Japan is the region's largest and the world's second largest consumer, with the premium beauty and personal care market valued at $12.4 billion.[3] In 2017, the domestic beauty industry generated a revenue of over 36 billion U.S dollars.[4] The *Nikkei Asian Review* reported that approximately 90 percent of cosmetics produced in Japan are bound for Asian markets such as Hong Kong, South Korea, China and Taiwan.[5] Shiseidō, Kosé and Pola reportedly sold a combined 93.9 billion yen ($883 million) in beauty products to foreign visitors in 2017, an 80%

[1] "Global Cosmetics Products Market Expected to reach USD 805.61 billion by 2023- Industry Size & Share Analysis," *Reuters*, March 13, 2018. https://www.reuters.com/brandfeatures/venture-capital/article?id=30351 [site accessed June 1st, 2018]

[2] "Size of the Cosmetics market in Asia-Pacific From 2015 to 2020," *Statista.* https://www.statista.com/statistics/550547/cosmetic-market-size-asia-pacific/ [site accessed May 27th, 2018]

[3] "Japan is the World's Second Largest Cosmetics Market," *Cosme Market 2019.* http://www.cosmetokyo.jp/en/to-exhibit/why-japanese-market/ [site accessed June 1st, 2018]

[4] "Cosmetics Market in Japan," Statista/ https://www.statista.com/topics/4661/beauty-industry-in-japan/ [site accessed June 1st, 2018]

[5] "Japan's cosmetics industry coming off another year," in Nikkei Asian Review Online. January 27th, 2018. https://asia.nikkei.com/Economy/Japan-s-cosmetics-industry-coming-off-another-bumper-year [site accessed May 27th, 2018.

increase from 2015.[6] So how did Japan become the hub of cosmetics production and consumption in Asia and one of the largest beauty industries in the world?

This dissertation is a cultural history of the body and the beauty industry in the Japanese Empire from 1868 to 1945. It focuses on the thoughts and actions of both state and private actors, including the first generation of Japanese cosmetic product developers and doctors. They promoted new body ideals, and in the process constructed the cultural underpinning of what eventually evolved into a vibrant beauty industry, which by the early 1920s served both Japan and its colonies in East Asia.

One of the primary assumptions at the heart of the dissertation is that the construction of the modern identity of the constituents of the Japanese empire was not only a political project but also a commercial one that played out in the mass market for goods and services. Tracing the construction of the body and the beauty industry in modern Japan and its colony in Korea during this period, I show, allows us to better understand the contemporary beauty cultures and markets in East Asia.

I explore the following questions: how did ideas surrounding the body change with modernity? What roles did the beauty industry play in supporting these changes? Why did Japanese increasingly feel the need to spend their disposable income on beauty products and, in some cases, resort to extreme forms of surgery? How did beauty products and services spread to Korea, Japan's most important colony? In what ways did the consumption of these product/services lead to new identities in terms of nation, class and gender? Finally, to what extent were developments in Japan similar to those elsewhere in the world?

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[6] Naoko Murai. "Cosmetics firms lay foundation to halt mass buying among tourists," *The Asahi Shinbun Online.* http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201804020055.html [Accessed September 2nd, 2018]

The Body in Modernity and the Emergence of the Beauty Industry

Over the past four decades or so, a growing number of works have explored the history of the body. Scholars have been especially influenced by the ideas of German sociologist Norbert Elias and French philosopher Michel Foucault, who both identified the body as a central site of reference in understanding the effects of modernity on human society. In *The Civilizing Process,* Elias investigated the history of manners and analyzed the inculcation of self-restraint, shame, and repugnance among the upper-class in Europe from the middle-ages to the 1930s.[7] Similarly, Foucault traced how individuals engaged in the self-regulation of their bodies. For Foucault, the modern nation-state is maintained through the production of what he calls "docile bodies," defined as passive, subjugated, and productive individuals. Modern forms of power, according to Foucault, operate directly on the human body.[8] The primacy of science and the discourses attached to it, in particular, gave rise to unprecedented manipulation and control of populations by redefining the boundaries, norms and normality to which individuals increasingly feel the need to conform.[9] Although Elias and Foucault do not directly touch upon beauty, their theories have been useful for many scholars seeking to understand how and why certain standards became dominant.

The beauty industry constitutes an important part of the history of the body, and historians in recent years have attempted to understand how the creation of the modern body resulted in the making of a multibillion-dollar industry. Morag Martin's work has traced the

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[7] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Revised edition (Oxford ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishing, 2000).

[8] Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd Edition (New York: Vintage, 1995).

[9] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction.*, Reissue Edition (New York: Vintage, 1990).

emergence of new standards in France following the Revolution (1789-1799), when French citizens rejected aristocratic artifice. Although cosmetics were strongly associated with the monarchy, Morag shows that French people did not stop beautifying themselves. On the contrary, as France became a Republic, not only did the production and consumption of cosmetics undergo significant change, but so did popular understanding of beautification. Morag demonstrates the role played by the industry and actors such as doctors in transforming beauty standards that reflected the ideals of the Revolution, arguing that French people began to favor a more natural look.[10] Kathy Peiss has examined the making of the American beauty culture, rejecting the notion that women are victims of a male-dominated beauty industry. On the contrary, Peiss argues that women were both active producers and consumers of beauty products, and they purchased cosmetics to assert their identities as they became increasingly visible and took on new roles in the workforce over the course of the twentieth century.[11] Scholarship by Timothy Burke, Geoffrey Jones, Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kuhne has discussed how imperialism and the globalizing force of the cosmetics business and the ideals associated with beauty have redefined race, class and gender in other parts of the world.[12] The growth of cosmetic surgery procedures has also compelled scholars to examine the origins of these practices. Sander Gilman has explored how the specialty took shape, arguing that cosmetic

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[10] Morag Martin, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750–1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

[11] Kathy Lee Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

[12] Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1996); Geoffrey Jones, *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2010); Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kühne, eds., *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Body Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century*, 2013 edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

alterations allowed people to "pass" as members of another group.[13] Similarly, Elizabeth Haiken has traced how the specialty evolved from a tool to reconstruct the bodies of disfigured soldiers to one that catered to women whose faces were "ravaged by time" in the United States in the mid-twentieth century.[14] More recently, anthropological studies by Wen Hua, Alexander Edmonds and Alvaro Jarrín have provided insights into the contemporary practices of plastic surgery in China and Brazil, two countries that have witnessed significant growth in the number of procedures performed.[15]

A central goal of this dissertation is to contribute to the growing body of work on the beauty industry beyond the West by focusing on Japan and its empire. I contend that Japan from 1868 to 1945 is an ideal place and time to explore how the modern body and the beauty industry came into being in modern East Asia. The year 1868, when a group of disgruntled samurai from western Japan toppled the Tokugawa shogunate (1600-1868) and "restored" imperial rule, is a useful date to signify the beginning of modern Japan. More importantly, this was the year when the leaders of the Meiji Restoration established a strong central state, which began imposing a wide range of nation-wide reforms on the inhabitants. The primary goal of the Meiji Restoration was to rapidly modernize Japan so that it could be a participant in a global political system dominated by Western imperial powers. As a result, an intense discussion on the distinguishing

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[13] Sander L. Gilman, *Creating Beauty To Cure the Soul: Race and Psychology in the Shaping of Aesthetic Surgery*, 1st ed. (Duke University Press Books, 1998); Sander L. Gilman, *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery* (Princeton University Press, 2001).

[14] Elizabeth Haiken, *Venus Envy: A History of Cosmetic Surgery*, 1st ed. (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 9.

[15] Alexander Edmonds, *Pretty Modern: Beauty, Sex, and Plastic Surgery in Brazil* (Duke University Press Books, 2010); Wen Hua, *Buying Beauty: Cosmetic Surgery in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013); Alvaro Jarrín, *The Biopolitics of Beauty: Cosmetic Citizenship and Affective Capital in Brazil* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017).

lines between 'civilized' and 'savage' materialized among the Japanese intelligentsia. As Mark Ravina has demonstrated in his work on the Restoration, Meiji statesmen pursued the goal of "civilization" by carefully selecting what they believed to be Western "best practice," while at the same time revering Japan's past. [16] These choices had a significant influence on the public policy initiatives promoted by the Japanese state.

The body formed an integral part of Meiji modernity. Historians Sabine Frühstück, Gregory Pflugfelder, Susan Burns, and, more recently, Yuki Terazawa all have employed a Foucauldian approach to show how the state and new forms of medical knowledge such as sexology exerted considerable influence on Japanese bodies.[17] Specifically, modern public health policies directly linked the health of individual Japanese citizens to the political and economic prowess of the Japanese empire. Miri Nakamura has examined how scientific discourses such as eugenics and psychiatry resulted in a plethora of literary works that re-imagined what it meant to be "abnormal" in modern Japan.[18] As Nakamura argues, bodies that failed to fit the scientific definition of "normal" were embodied as monstrous and uncanny, and consequently, risked national ostracism. More importantly, Nakamura's analysis reveals the deep-seated anxieties

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[16] See Mark Ravina. *To Stand with the Nations of the World: Japan's Meiji Restoration in World History.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). See also D. Eleanor Westney. *Imitation and Innovation: The Transfer of Western Organizational Patterns to Meiji Japan.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987)

[17] Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2003); Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2007); Susan L. Burns, "Rethinking 'Leprosy Prevention': Entrepreneurial Doctors, Popular Journalism, and the Civic Origins of Biopolitics," *The Journal of Japanese Studies,* Vol 38, No. 2. (Summer, 2912), 297-323; Yuki Terazawa, *Knowledge, Power, and Women's Reproductive Health in Japan, 1690–1945* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

[18] Miri Nakamura. *Monstrous Bodies: The Rise of the Uncanny in Modern Japan.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

Japanese felt toward modern bodily expectations as state and private actors ranked some bodies as more desirable than others.

While these works show how power over the body worked in subtle ways, the modernization of the body was also a highly visible process. As I will discuss in chapter one, Meiji statesmen were concerned about how Westerners viewed the physical appearance of the Japanese people. Immediately after the Restoration, the government saw the reshaping of Japanese bodies as a key component in its larger goal of building a modern nation-state, and it introduced a series of decrees that prohibited ancient beauty practices such as eyebrow shaving and teeth dyeing. David Howell and Suzanne O'Brien have both analyzed the significance of what came to be known as the "haircutting edict" (*sanpatsu dattōrei*) of 1871, in which Japanese men were encouraged to crop their hair. Doing so marked the end of the early modern status system because the hairdos of the samurai class differed from those of commoners.[19] Thus, unlike in Europe where changes in the body trickled down from court society to the wider population over an extended period of time, in Japan, the transformation was a fast-moving and deliberate process initiated by the state.

A large part of the Meiji government's "civilization" and "enlightenment" slogan was the promotion of scientific learning, which played an important role in transforming local beauty culture. Japanese doctors returning from the West deemed ancient domestic beauty practices such as women's use of whitening powders on the face and blackening the teeth to be not only uncivilized, but scientifically proven to be toxic, and they worried that these practices would

[19] David L. Howell, "The Girl with the Horse-Dung Hairdo.," in *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from the Treaty Ports to World War II* (Chicago: Center for the Arts of East Asia at the University of Chicago and Art Media Resources, Inc., 2009), 203–19; Suzanne G. O'Brien, "Splitting Hairs: History and the Politics of Daily Life in Nineteenth Century Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 4 (2008): 1309–39.

destroy women's reproductive capacities. This resulted in a new set of scientific beauty practices that were framed in terms of health and hygiene. There was little friction with the government, however, since the doctors pressed for the same modern forms of beautification. These new ways of beautification were in line with the state's goal of establishing what Ruth Rogaski has termed "hygienic modernity."[20] The emergence of these standards was instrumental in the birth of the modern Japanese beauty industry in the late 19th century, as a new class of profit-seeking entrepreneurs commodified new ideas of cleanliness.

As the first East Asian country to possess a modern beauty industry, Japan was integrated within the larger global beauty industry by the 1920s. Despite its long history and continued success, however, historical study of the Japanese beauty industry has been surprisingly limited. Social and cultural histories of the beauty industry in both the East and the West generally neglect the business dimension of the story, slighting the formative role that private corporations played in creating new standards and selling products that helped to achieve the state's goals. Business historian Geoffrey Jones' work is one exception, as he reveals how pioneering entrepreneurs such as L'Oréal and Estée Lauder have "imagined beauty" and realized these visions through products that were eventually sold worldwide. However, his work is only on the business strategies and evolution of a few pioneering corporations; how these organizations actively constructed the cultural dimension of the beauty industry is less developed. In chapter 2, I examine the period from the 1890s to the 1930s, when private actors replaced the central government as the main drivers of change and began to pursue their own agendas. This was also a period of transformation in terms of production. In the early modern period, cosmetics were

[20] Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China*, (University of California Press, 2004).

either homemade or produced on small scale by merchants and artisans. By the turn of the twentieth century, the manufacture of beauty products had transformed into a capitalist industry. Firms expanded their product lines to include cosmetics such as facial creams and lotions. Using innovative marketing techniques, these entrepreneurs established Japan's modern beauty industry and sold the ideal of the "modern body" via the market economy in both the metropole and the colony in Korea. In the process, the industry shaped not only new body norms, but also class and gender ideals.

The existing literature on cosmetics during this period conventionally associates beauty products with the Modern Girl, a global phenomenon that emerged during the first half of the twentieth century.[21] While the Modern Girl in Japan and everywhere else were indeed consumers of cosmetics, I show that they were not the industry's primary target consumers. In fact, in early twentieth-century Japan, firms focused on families and sold the middle-class ideal by using the "good wife, wise mother" figure and successful salaryman husband in its advertisements. Beauty products were presented as a solution to the anxieties felt by many Japanese concerning marriage and employment.

The few historical works that have looked at the Japanese beauty industry generally attribute its genesis and evolution to consumer desires to look more Caucasian.[22] However, the desire for a more Western look was only part of a much more complex story. Laura Miller's

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[21] Alys Eve Weinbaum and Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 2008), chap. 2; Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2009); Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 2003).

[22]Cho Kyo. *The Search for the Beautiful Woman: A Cultural History of Japanese and Chinese Beauty*, trans. Kyoko Iriye Selden, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012); Hiromi Yamamura. *Keshō no nihonshi: Biishiki no utsurikawari.* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunko, 2016).

anthropological study of contemporary Japanese aesthetic salons is invaluable in showing the complex layers associated with beautification and how the consumption of beauty products and services are not always about "deracialization," or what Sander Gilman has termed as "passing."[23] While Japanese certainly imported Western discourses and practices surrounding beauty, they did so not because they wanted to look Caucasian but in order to have a shared ideology with civilized nation-states. As I discuss in chapter 3, the first generation of cosmetic surgeons in Japan imported the discourse on philhellenism from Europe and used it to legitimate invasive cosmetic procedures such as rhinoplasty and blepharoplasty (also known as the double-eyelid surgery). Doctors did not adopt classicism so that their patients could look like Greek statues, but because the emphasis on symmetry and balance made beauty quantifiable. Japanese cosmetic surgeons understood and accepted this because it was "scientific," and hence modern. Moreover, Japanese consumers also took advantage of such medical advancements to help them achieve traits that were already considered desirable in the early modern period.

Although the Japanese cosmetics industry enjoyed rapid growth during the 1920s and 30s, the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars (1937-45) threatened to disrupt what beauty entrepreneurs had built since the 1870s. As the fourth and final chapter discusses, with total war, the state asserted control over the female body. Because the state required women to protect the home front, the wartime government demanded that they sacrifice the hallmarks of modern femininity, including cosmetics, to help the war effort. As a consequence, ideals also changed. The state reverted to Meiji-era standards and emphasized excellent health and hygiene as the

[23] Laura Miller, *Beauty Up: Exploring Contemporary Japanese Body Aesthetics*, (University of California Press, 2006). See also Wen Hua, *Buying Beauty: Cosmetic Surgery in China.* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

ideal form of beauty and even incorporated Nazi ideals into their rhetoric. I show how within this new political climate, the beauty industry strategically worked with the wartime government all the while protecting their brand appeal.

Institutional Entrepreneurs

In this dissertation, I show how the making of the modern Japanese beauty industry was built by three main groups of middle-class private actors who capitalized on the state's goals and served as the "middlemen" of modernity. Carol Gluck's work on the formation of Meiji national orthodoxy challenged the notion that the state was the sole arbiter of political and social change in Japan. Gluck showed that modern Japan was built by groups of diverse actors, most notably the "popular" *minkan* ideologues, educators and journalists who were involved in the nation-making process.[24] Since then, scholarship by Sheldon Garon and David Ambaras has focused on how the middle-class essentially acted as external civil servants and joined the government in establishing social control.[25] As Ambaras describes, the educated elite "defined social problems, influenced state policies, and reorganized the everyday lives of the Japanese people."[26] These studies are helpful in understanding how new modern social norms and ideals such as consumerism and gender were legitimized in pre-war Japan.

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[24] Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[25] Sheldon M Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds : The State in Everyday Life* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); David R. Ambaras, "Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle Class in Japan, 1895-1912," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 24, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 1–33; See also Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2005); Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*; Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*.

[26] Ambaras, "Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle Class in Japan, 1895-1912." 1

To better understand how various actors established new norms concerning beauty and the body, I use sociologist Paul DiMaggio's notion of "institutional entrepreneurship."[27] Institutional entrepreneurs not only seek pecuniary benefits in the market place but also construct new standards attached to the products and services in the socio-cultural realm. According to DiMaggio, new institutions arise when "organized actors with sufficient resources see in them an opportunity to realize interest that they value highly."[28] By focusing on institutional entrepreneurs, I contribute to the growing scholarship that examines the issue of agency versus structure in the history of modern Japan.

Within the context of the beauty industry, the first group I focus on is the new generation of profit-seeking entrepreneurs. Motivated by the Meiji government's goal of "encouraging industrial development," (*shokusan kōgyō),* they established businesses that would advance the Japanese economy, thereby protecting it from Western imperialism. Although many scholars have focused on the role heavy industry in the Meiji economic transformation, light industrial manufacturing and services involved with beauty were just as important in supporting and furthering the government's modernization agendas. Shiseidō, for example, is well-known for its innovative products and cosmopolitan advertising strategies, but as this dissertation will show, another factor that allowed the company to become an established national brand was its ability to respond to government needs. Shiseidō founder Fukuhara Arinobu (1848-1912) actively contributed to the Meiji government's campaign to promote a "rich nation, strong army" *(fukoku kyōhei)* by producing modern health items such as toothpaste and vitamin tablets to improve the

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[27] Paul J. DiMaggio. "Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory," in Lynne Zucker ed. *Institutional Patterns and Organizations*. (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1988), 3-32

[28] Ibid,.

health of Japan's modern armed forces before becoming a cosmetics company.[29] In constructing the history of the Japanese beauty industry from the point of view of the producers, I rely on the bi-weekly newspaper published by the Tokyo Cosmetics Association (*Tokyo Komamono Shōhō*). The Association, founded in 1895, functioned as a consortium for merchants and emerging entrepreneurs specializing in the sales of cosmetics products. Unlike company histories which are updated every few years or so (thereby resulting in the erasure of "older" information), the newsletters proved to be far more informative and reliable sources that charted the rapid growth of the industry. Moreover, entrepreneurs themselves penned the articles. They shared information on consumer trends, advertising tactics and advice on succeeding in the colonial market. During the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars (1937-45), the Association became a vital organization in ensuring the survival of the industry in a command economy.

Another major group of actors who participated in the making of the Japanese body were medical doctors. In the third chapter of this dissertation, I examine the role of the first generation of Japanese aesthetic surgeons who actively sought to legitimize their practice to a population that had formerly shunned invasive surgical procedures. These doctors lifted these taboos and replaced them with new norms by designating certain physical markers that had been considered normal in early modern society, as hallmarks of cultural deficiencies and intellectual inferiority that needed to be "cured" and "improved" through the power of medical science. Medical practitioners authored countless beauty manuals and medical treatises which borrowed heavily from the Western discourses behind aesthetic surgery and transformed them to fit the Japanese

[29] See for example, Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Selling Shiseido: Cosmetics Advertising & Design in Early 20th-Century Japan," *MIT Visualizing Cultures*, 2009, http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/shiseido_01/index.html.

context. They were astonishingly successful in convincing people to undergo risky elective surgery.

The media, in particular women's magazines, were also important avenues through which beauty products were promoted and new body expectations were articulated. They emerged around the 1880s and continued to grow in numbers with the emergence of a mass culture at the turn of the twentieth century. In the late 1910s, magazines such as *Shufu no tomo* and *Fujin Kōron* had print runs in the tens of thousands. Over a decade later, the circulation of *Shufu no tomo* averaged 300,000, while in 1930, *Fujin Kōron* sold some 100,000 copies.[30] These magazines published numerous articles and handbooks that provided meticulous instructions on make-up, hairstyles, and dress appropriate for a middle-class woman. Given the high literacy rate in Japan, these publications contributed much to the rapid expansion of modern life and consumption in early twentieth century Japan.

Consumer Culture and Bourgeois Ideals

This dissertation also suggests that the desire to work on one's physical appearance in modern Japan was integrally linked to the desire for upward mobility, which was defined entirely in new ways. As Anthony Giddens has suggested, the body in today's world has become essential to an individual's identity.[31] In sharp contrast to early modernity, in which the body was adorned, the modern body has become what sociologist Chris Schilling calls a "malleable

[30] Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2006), 6

[31] Anthony Giddens. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991)

project," in which individuals are constantly conscious of and managing their physical appearance. The body is perceived as a "resource" or what Schilling calls "physical capital." [32] Following sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's tripartite notion of capital, Schilling suggests that investment in the body and mobilizing it as a resource can be "converted into economic capital (money, goods and services), cultural capital (education), and social capital (social networks)."[33] In other words, the body can be used as a tool to achieve various kinds of status.

Scholarship by Earl Kinmonth, Alisa Freedman, Christine Yano, Laura Miller, Mark Jones and, more recently, Timothy J. Van Compernolle has shown how Japanese men and women made sense of new self-help ideas in modern Japan. [34] Within this context, individuals endeavored to find "worldly success" (*risshin shusse*), and, in an ever-competitive world, they sought to get ahead in life through "self-improvement" or "self-cultivation." Past literature on *risshin shusse*, however, has largely focused on the role of education as an avenue to achieve upward mobility, and treating the body as a "malleable project" served the same goals.

Schilling's notion of physical capital is helpful in understanding why modern Japanese placed so much value on their bodies and why they consumed various beauty products and services so avidly. While some Japanese began doing so in the mid-nineteenth century, I date the spread of those behaviors of the general population to the 1920s and 30s, which marked a period

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[32] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

[33] Ibid,.

[34] Earl H Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai To Salary Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller, and Christine Yano, eds., *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility, and Labor in Japan* (Stanford University Press, 2013); Mark A Jones, *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2010); Timothy J. Van Compernolle, *Struggling Upward: Worldly Success and the Japanese Novel.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016).

of vibrant consumer culture and, paradoxically, a period of economic setbacks. In those years, working on one's body became important in overcoming unemployment and finding a marriage partner. It is no coincidence that during this period, as I will show in the third chapter, Japan also enjoyed its first cosmetic surgery boom.

Beauty as a form of social etiquette

Although there were significant ruptures with the onset of modernity, there were also continuities with the past. Attention to one's physical appearance is not only an expression of identity, but in Japan, it has long been considered a form of social etiquette. As Eiko Ikegami and Marcia Yonemoto have shown, throughout the Tokugawa period, instruction manuals provided women with information on how to act in public so that they could dress and behave as they should according to their status.[35] Refining one's personal appearance also served to avoid offending others. This understanding of body management is known in Japanese as *midashinami*, and there is no English language equivalent to the word. Laura Miller and Jan Bardsley have explored this concept in *Manners and Mischief.* They observed that such emphasis on the appearance "leads to self-surveillance in which the virtuous person monitors her or his body, movement, odors and dress in ways to avoid giving offense. The ideal of presentation also creates a divide between private space, where one grooms modestly, and public space where one presents a polished appearance."[36] This concept was refined and developed in various ways throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries.

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[35] Eiko Ikegami. *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Marcia Yonemoto. *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), chapter 2

[36] Jan Bardsley and Laura Miller, eds., *Manners and Mischief: Gender, Power, and Etiquette in Japan*, First edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 7; Also, Miller, *Beauty Up*, 115–22.

Midashinami survived Japan's modernization project, although the rules were rewritten by both the government and private social actors to fit the realities of the nation-building process. *Midashinami* proved to be useful in explaining to Japanese the appropriate manners for dealing with Westerners and why they should adopt them. Failing to learn civilized manners risked offending foreigners but more importantly, jeopardized Japan's chances of becoming accepted as a world power. Etiquette codes also evolved together with new gender ideals. With the emergence of the "good wife, wise mother" rhetoric, middle-class women were expected to be well-groomed in the public eye as part of their familial responsibilities. By the 1920s, the new social groups of salaried men also had acquired new conventions on how to look polished, handbooks provided them with information on "gentlemanly" *midashinami*.

Metropole vs. Colony

The Japanese beauty industry also expanded into the colonies. In 2000, Andre Schmid called for historians of modern Japan to move away from a general tendency to treat the Korean peninsula as a separate entity from the mainland.[37] Since then, numerous scholars have narrowed the gap between the scholarship on the *naichi* (internal/metropole) and *gaichi* (external/colony) and have shown how Japan's nation and empire building process were mutually constitutive.[38] For example, Jun Uchida's history of settler colonialism in Korea has

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[37] Andre Schmid, "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem' in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol 59, No. 4 (November, 2000), 951-976.

[38] For example, Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999),

demonstrated how Japanese civilians, including businessmen, exerted considerable influence in the colonization process, including setting new norms for daily life.[39]

The activities of Japanese beauty firms show precisely how this integration worked. Annika Culver has discussed Shiseido's expansion into northeast Asia following the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, but the industry began developing much earlier in the empire.[40] As Japanese entrepreneurs began to build a beauty industry during the 1890s, they quickly extended their efforts into Japan's expanding territories.[41] Then, when Japan finally secured formal colonial control over Korea in 1910, firms began to aggressively expand into the peninsula. By the 1920s, urbanization and the dissemination of information through a rapidly growing print culture—the same trigger as in the *naichi*-- promoted beauty trends, including new hairstyles and cosmetics surgery, and ideals from the metropole to the colony.[42] These groups influenced the bodies of Korean colonial subjects through the sales of beauty products and services during the early twentieth century, contributing in various ways to the debate over the extent to which Korean bodies resembled Japanese ones and how that could change. Todd Henry and Ruth Rogaski have both shown how Japan enforced "hygienic modernity" on Korea and China as a form of colonial control, but that is only part of the story. The beauty industry took

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[39] Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[40] See Annika A. Culver, "Shiseido's 'Empire of Beauty': Marketing Japanese Modernity in Northeast Asia, 1932-1945," in *Shashi: The Journal of Japanese Business and Company History.* (Vol. 2, No.1, 2013).

[41] For a collection of essays on how modernity affected fashion, beauty and representations of gender, See Aiden Yuen Wong. *Visualizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia*. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012); Rebecca Ann Nickerson, *Imperial Designs: Fashion, Cosmetics and Cultural Identity in Japan, 1931-1943.* Ph.D. Dissertation., The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011.

[42] For literature on print culture in colonial Korea, see Ji-Eun Lee. *Women Pre-Scripted: Forging Modern Roles through Korean Print* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2015)

these ideals and cemented new norms through the introduction of new products and services such as soap, toothpaste and facial creams in the Empire.[43] As Anne McClintock and Timothy Burke have discussed in their studies on the British colonial production of cleanliness, such as the circulation of commodities such as soap in Africa, colonialism was a powerful means through which nineteenth-century European norms about gender, health, beauty and bodies radically transformed local societies.[44] The same was true in Asia.

Studies on Korean body ideals generally focus on developments post-1945. According to statistics, South Korea has had the most plastic surgeries per capita since 2009, with an estimate of 20 procedures per 1,000 people.[45] These works interpret the boom in invasive procedures as a by-product of neo-imperial cultural domination by the United States during the Cold War period.[46] Yet, institutional pressure on the Korean body already existed during the Japanese colonial period, and American cultural hegemony only can explain the continuation of the phenomenon rather than its genesis. Lee Young-Ah's study of the emergence of the modern

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[43] Chieko Nakajima's forthcoming book on Chinese entrepreneurs also makes the argument that businessmen capitalized on the Chinese government's self-strengthening movement by producing soap and toothpaste. While her work focuses largely on Chinese businessmen, she mentions how the presence of Japanese businesses that established factories in Shanghai in the 1890s influenced the growth of healthful goods in China. See Chieko Nakajima. "Healthful Goods": Health, Hygiene, and Commercial Culture in Early Twentieth Century Shanghai," *Twentieth Century China.* Vol. 37, (3) 2012, 250-274. Also, Nakajima's forthcoming book: *Body, Society, and Nation: The Creation of Public Health and Urban Culture in Shanghai.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018)

[44] Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1996). See also, Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context.* (New York: Routledge, 1995), especially chapter 5, Geoffrey Jones, *Beauty Imagined.*

[45] In the United States, the figures are at 13 procedures per 1,000. Drake Baer, "Why South Korea is the plastic surgery capital of the world," *Business Insider.* http://www.businessinsider.com/south-korea-is-the-plastic-surgery-capital-of-the-world-2015-9 (Accessed April 10th, 2018)

[46] John DiMoia, *Reconstructing Bodies: Biomedicine, Health, and Nation-Building in South Korea Since 1945* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2013).

body and the "making of the beautiful woman" is one exception; she discusses how Korean women during the colonial period beginning in the 1920s were both active consumers of new beauty products and services within the rubric of colonial modernity imposed by Imperial Japan.[47] While insightful, her work is more about the gendered aspect of mass consumption; the production side of the story represented by institutional entrepreneurs, such as cosmetic companies, are largely absent in her work.

Despite their extensive activities in Asia, firms tended to be reluctant to open their archives in the colonies. Firms such as Club Cosmetics and Shiseidō, which both sold and outsourced production to Japan's colonies, claimed that they did not have any archival materials related to their overseas activities and beyond what could be found in their published company histories. It is likely that with the impending collapse of the empire on August 15th, 1945, company employees simply did not take any materials with them, and that valuable documents were lost in the midst of the chaos as Japan surrendered to the Allied forces. It is also probable that these firms do not want their involvement in colonialism exposed. However, companies that collapsed shortly after the Second World War, such as Lait Cosmetics, left behind valuable materials on their overseas growth. The Lait Cosmetics archives not only shows the expansiveness of Japanese beauty products in Asia, but also the enormous influence the industry had on the local beauty culture. To overcome the problem of a paucity of sources on the beauty industry in Korea, I turned to the rich print culture which had emerged on the peninsula by the

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[47] See Yong-Ah Lee, *Yukch'e ui t'ansaeng: mom, ku an e sagyojin kundae ui chaguk*. (Seoul: Minumsa, 2008), Yong-Ah Lee, *Yeppun Yoja Mandulgi: Miin Kangbak ui Munhwasa, Han'guk eso miin un ottok'e manduro chonnun'ga* (Seoul: P'urun Yoksa, 2011).Also, most recently, Han Min-Ju has explored the relationship between gender and science in early twentieth century Korea and delves into the scientification of beauty. See Han, Min-Ju. *Haebudae wi ui yojadul: kundae yosong kwa kwahak munhwasa*. (Seoul: Sogang Taehakkyo Ch'ulpanbu, 2017).

mid-1920s. Advertisements in magazines and newspapers allowed me to piece together how products were promoted, and the messages embedded in them.

As this dissertation shows, the beauty industry was a key site of Japanese modernity, and its evolution reflects the social, cultural and economic transformations that occurred in Japan from 1868 to 1945. Actors not only responded to the far-reaching changes brought about by modernity and the globalization of ideas, but they also played an important role in re-shaping perceptions of beauty in both the metropole and the colony.

Chapter 1
Civilizing Japanese Bodies: The Origins of Modern Japanese Beauty Ideals

Introduction

This chapter examines how the dismantling of the early modern order, the quest for "civilization and enlightenment," and new prospects of upward mobility drastically transformed the ways in which Japanese viewed and treated their bodies in the modern period. With the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868, status no longer became the principal criterion of membership in the polity and was swiftly replaced by imperial subjecthood. As a consequence, individual bodies were discussed as if they were one with the nation. This is most discernible in the way in which Meiji ideologues termed the two characters that made up "nationhood"- *kokutai,* which is literally translated as the "national body," with the second character also in use for the human body. The Meiji leaders also aimed to convince the wider population to adopt new standards regarding a variety of corporeal practices, including haircuts, beauty routines and dental care. Symbolically, one of the best-known edicts issued by the Great Council of State (*Daijōkan*), the top administrative organ in the early Meiji government, was the "hair cutting edict," which permitted men to cut off their top-knots in favor of Western-style haircuts. The law shows the extent to which the government saw corporeal transformation as key to remaking Japan into a civilized nation-state that could stand equally with Western powers. Indeed, within fifty years, corporeal practices and standards that had persisted for centuries in Japan were swiftly replaced by more modern ideals.

After the Meiji Restoration, beauty and the body increasingly became framed in terms of health, cleanliness and science. As Annelie Ramsbrock has explored in her work on European cosmetics culture, scientific developments and concern with cleanliness in the eighteenth through

twentieth centuries in Germany led to the "scientification" of beauty and cosmetics, in which care for the outward appearance became linked to health.[48] Such an understanding of beauty differed from the early modern view of "adorning the body," in which what people could do to their bodies were determined by religious authorities.[49] Meiji Japan underwent similar transformations. This meant that in the thinking of the new government and its officials, in order to strengthen Japan, Japanese bodies also required "progress." A part of this development was to denounce older, "unscientific" beauty practices in order to achieve what Ruth Rogaski has termed "hygienic modernity."[50] This chapter explains how, the legitimizing logic advanced by both the state and private actors, such as a new generation of doctors trained in the West, which set in motion a new understanding of the body. That new concept contributed to the rise of Japan's modern beauty industry, which then continued to grow over the course of the twentieth century.

The Body and Beauty in Early Modern Japan

Tokugawa Japan (1600-1868) was a highly stratified society, and physical appearance served as an important marker in denoting a person's status. This took shape in various ways, including through differing hairstyles, make-up and clothing. Moreover, those who occupied special positions within the Tokugawa social order, that is, members of both the upper rungs of

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[48] Annelie Ramsbrock. *The Science of Beauty: Culture and Cosmetics in Modern Germany, 1750*-1930 (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2015).

[49] Chris Shilling, *The Body and Social Theory* (London: SAGE Publications, 2003).

[50] Ruth Rogaski. *Hygienic Modernity: Meaning of Health and Disease in Treaty Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

society and those classified as outcastes, were required to mark themselves more clearly than others.[51] For example, the male samurai, who were the ruling class of Tokugawa society, signaled their statuses by carrying two swords. The *burakumin,* who were an outcaste group and thus literally outside of the status system, were generally conspicuous by their loose hair.

There were several groups of commoners, including farmers, artisans and merchants, who were the majority in Tokugawa society. For this reason, there were tremendous variations in how they presented themselves. Hair, for example, functioned as a marker of legal status for men, and both samurai and commoners were expected to tie their hair in a top-knot. However, many were able to make slight changes to their knots as an expression of fashion.[52] For the shogunate, it mattered that various classes marked themselves in some form of another, but they appear to have been less concerned about how individuals achieved this.

Appropriate status markers not only acknowledged status differences but were also coded as a form of social etiquette, or *midashinami.* Throughout the Tokugawa period, numerous didactic texts written by Confucian scholars inculcated both men and women with values that promoted hierarchical civility.[53] Women in particular were instructed to pay careful attention to how they carried themselves. For example, handbooks such as the *Mirror of Womanhood* (Onna Kagami Hidensho) (1650), *The Women's Treasure Trove* (Onna Chōhōki) (1692) and Kaibara Ekken's *Wazoku Dōjikun* (1710) provided women with elaborate instructions for various social

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[51] David L Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 135–3

[52] David L. Howell, "The Girl with the Horse-Dung Hairdo.," in *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from the Treaty Ports to World War II,* Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjame Thomsen ed. (Chicago: Center for the Arts of East Asia at the University of Chicago and Art Media Resources, Inc., 2009), 203–19.

[53] Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), chap. 12.

expectations and prepared them for major life events, including marriage, pregnancy and childbirth.[54] Although excessive attention to the physical appearance was frowned upon by both the *shogunate* and moralists because aspiring to be beautiful was considered vain, these handbooks also suggested that a woman's appearance served as a visual index of her level of cultivation.[55] These texts offered women advice on hygiene through bathing, explained the importance of maintaining well-coiffed hair, and instructed them on how to apply make-up that was appropriate to their status.[56] As this dissertation will show, the government and social actors built on this idea of *midashinami* throughout the twentieth century to define new boundaries for appropriate corporeal management in modern Japanese society.

There were three main types of make-up worn by Edo women: whitening powder, *ohaguro,* a substance used to blacken the teeth and rouge. Married women also shaved their eyebrows (*hikimyaku*).[57] These beauty practices had their origins in the imperial court in the Heian period (794-1185) that had gradually trickled down to the rest of society. Pale skin was considered admirable and women often covered their skin with a thick layer of whitening powder known as *oshiroi*. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, however, women began to favor a more natural look. Sometime in the 1840s, Kitagawa Morisada, who observed and meticulously recorded the people and changing customs in Edo, Kyoto and Osaka in *Ruiji Kinsei Fūzokushi*

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[54] Author Unknown. *Onna Kagami Hidensho* (1650); Namura Jōhaku, *Onna Chōhōki* (1692); Kaibara Ekken, *Wazoku Dōjikun* (1710)

[55] Marcia Yonemoto, *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 71–73.

[56] For importance of *midashinami* in contemporary Japan, see Jann Bardsley and Laura Miller. *Manners and Mischief: Gender, Power, and Etiquette in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 7

[57] The practice of applying powder, dyeing the teeth and applying rouge began during the Heian period (794-1185), an era marked by the flourishing of Japanese art, literature and fashion. This was also a period during which much of the beauty rituals described above began to take shape.

noted that "these days in Edo, there are many women who are bare faced. Even on special occasions make-up is subtle, and the lips are pink."[58] According to the preface in the 1908 edition of the *Ruiji Kinsei Fūzokushi*, the emergence of more natural make-up in Edo was attributed to the Tenpō Reforms (1842), which banned certain luxury items.[59]

The blackening of the teeth (*ohaguro*) and practice of shaving the eyebrows (*hikimyaku*) were also important customs among women in Tokugawa society for the social information they conveyed. *Ohaguro* primarily functioned as a rite of passage to adulthood. Men and women of the aristocracy, including the Emperor, began this practice to symbolize their coming-of-age (*genpuku*). For boys, this was between the ages of twelve to sixteen, whereas for girls, it was eighteen to twenty.[60] The practice spread to commoner men and women sometime during the Muromachi period (1336-1573) and by the sixteenth century, it had become commonplace for both girls and boys to be "stamped" with black dye on their teeth by their parents to symbolize passage into adulthood. During the Tokugawa period, however, men, except for aristocrats and the emperor, abandoned the practice of blackening their teeth. The trend for women was different; by the mid-nineteenth century, married commoner women as well as geisha and *yūjo* (prostitutes) practiced both *ohaguro* and *hikimyaku*.

These practices, however, were not consistently observed throughout Japan and appears to have been significant differences between the urban and rural areas. Historian Asakura Yūko has shown how these variations often complicated the official understanding of what constituted

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[58] Kitagawa Morisada. *Ruijū Kinsei Fūzokushi*. (1857)

[59] Suzuki Noriko. "Nihon no keshōishiki no kindai ka wo meguru hikakuteki kōsatsu- seiketsu shūkan no tenkai wo megutte," *Kosumetorojī Kenkyū Hōkoku,* Vol. 11, 2003. 95-98

[60] For a comprehensive study of the blackening of the teeth in Japan see Mitsumasa Hara, *Ohaguro No Kenkyu* (Tokyo: Ningen No Kagakusha, 1981).

as a "woman" (*onna*) and "unmarried woman" (*koonna*).[61] This was particularly confusing when women traveled throughout the archipelago. Women were required to carry a travel documents (*onna tegata*) that detailed the bearer's identity, which was based a woman's association to a male figure. As described above, officially, a married woman was supposed to show her social standing by shaving off her eyebrows, and dyeing her teeth and wearing a kimono with shortened sleeves (*tomesode).* An unmarried woman, on the other hand, did not dye her teeth and wore long-sleeved kimono (*furisode*). In reality, things were much more complicated. For example, in Kyoto and Osaka, women dyed their teeth when they turned twenty years old, regardless of whether they were married or not. In Edo, it was also not uncommon for women to blacken their teeth before the age of twenty. In the Kyushu region, sources show that married women in Nagasaki did not even shave off their eyebrows.[62] This meant that although women were married, in the eyes of the shogunate, they were "unmarried" and vice-versa, which resulted women to be denied entry and having their travel permits re-issued to reflect the official definition of a married woman or *onna*. These differences reveal the gap that existed between official expectations and actual practices concerning physical markers.

In addition to whitening their faces, and blackening their teeth, women also added rouge (*beni* or *tsuya beni*) to add a pop of color to their complexion. Men in the imperial court had originally been the first to apply rouge because, in Shintō tradition, the color was believed to ward off bad energy and offer protection from evil spirits and illnesses such as smallpox. Women of the imperial court gradually began to incorporate *beni* on their lips into their make-up

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[61] Asakura Yūko. "Kinsei ni yoru onna tegata to takada han: sekigawa sekisho wo chūshin ni." *Jōetsu Kyōiku Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō.* Vol 23, No. 1, September 2003. 191-203. See also Laura Nenzi. *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender and Status in Edo* (Hawaii: The University of Hawaii Press, 2008).

[62] Ibid,. 197

repertoire at the same time that they began to cover their skin with white powder. Asides from using rouge as a lipstick, women also started to use *beni* as blush and even as eyeshadow to accentuate certain parts of the face.

Hair also played an important role in the Tokugawa political system. It not only served as marker of social status but was also an indicator of age and, for women, marital status. In general, there were four main hairstyles for men, but there were numerous variations within each category. There were so many variations for women's hair that, by the mid-nineteenth century, styles often overlapped among different age groups, occupational groups and geographic locations.[63] For example, the *shimada* style had six different versions and was worn by newly married women as well as by women working in the pleasure quarters. Geisha changed their hair each time they ascended in their careers. As discussed above, there were also differences in styles between geisha in East and Western Japan. Conversely, hairstyle worn by commoners were also adopted by *maiko*. Japanese courtesans were often trendsetters and it was not uncommon for women to adopt their hairstyles and make-up, contributing to this blurring of the lines between different classes. A representative item was a product called *Hana no Tsuyu,* a facial toner that was sold widely by Edo merchants from the early nineteenth century, which proved to be quite popular with commoners hoping to learn how geisha maintained their pale skin.[64]

Given this diversity, what then, was considered the ideal beauty in early modern Japan? The *Tenpō Book of Fortunes,* a physiognomy book published in 1838, describes the facial

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[63] Na-Young Choi, "Symbolism of Hairstyles in Korea and Japan," *Asian Folklore Studies.* Vol. 5, No. 2 (2006), 77

[64] Sayama Hanshichimaru. *Miyako Fūzoku Keshōden* (1813), 245-246

characteristics of beauties (*bijin no sō*).[65] Beautiful women were described as "neither tall nor short" and in possession of "white lustrous skin." They also possessed a "slightly long and round face with beautiful long hair." Moreover, "the eyes are long and thin- with the outer corner neither hanging too low nor too high. The pupils should be black and large with a slight glimmer. The nose is not too thin and has a distinct bridge."[66] According to the book, the existence of such beauty was "rare" and "could be observed in as few as one in ten thousand people."[67] Beauty was therefore seen as a birthright and not something that could be earned or managed.

The fact that physical beauty was largely seen as an innate trait, however, does not mean that men and women of early modern Japan did not try to beautify themselves in a variety of ways. In fact, Edo Japan's vibrant and sophisticated beauty culture is best illustrated in Hanshichimaru Sayama's 1813 book, *Handbook of Customs and Cosmetics in the Capital* (*Miyako Fuzoku Keshō Kewaiden*), which unlike moral handbooks such as *The Women's Treasure Trove,* is dedicated entirely to the technical aspect of beautification.[68] Unfortunately, all we know about the author's background was that he was a known "beauty expert." The handbook was one of the best sellers of its time and was reprinted five times before more modern beauty techniques gained popularity during the early twentieth century. In three separate volumes, Sayama offers extensive advice to women on how to improve their physical appearance through better hairstyles and through skin care techniques such as blemish concealment and skin

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[65] *Tenpō Shinsen Eitai Zassho Banreki Taisei* (1838). See chapter 3 of this dissertation for further discussion on early modern physiognomy.

[66] Cited in Tomoko Sue, *Edo no josei : Shitsuke, kekkon, shokuji, uranai* (Tokyo: Shintensha, 1998), 213-214

[67] Ibid,. 2

[68] Sayama. *Miyako Fūzoku Keshōden*

whitening.[69] Other notable topics include a variety of make-up techniques on how to make the eyes look thinner and the nose more distinct. Interestingly, Sayama repeatedly emphasizes that women should not try to conform to a single beauty standard but rather embrace and enhance their own individual strengths through the application of the techniques described in his book.[70] In the introduction, Sayama encouraged women to work on their outward appearance to enhance their charm. He clearly saw personal improvement as a way to polish one's virtue. He also treated working on one's outward appearance as a social obligation; that is, beautifying oneself served not only acknowledge one's class status, but the act of working on oneself served to put "order in the household (*ie)"* which meant for the good of people around her and to "purify one's soul" for herself.[71] Like the *Onna Chōhōki,* Sayama emboldened women to put effort into their physical appearance as part of self-cultivation.

Sayama's handbook also hinted at the presence of a small but burgeoning market for beauty products that had started to take shape in Japan by the beginning of the early nineteenth century. Indeed, *Yanagiya*, one of Japan's oldest cosmetics company, was founded even earlier, in 1615. The founder, Ro Ikkan was a physician from Ming China who served Tokugawa Ieyasu from 1584 and followed the shōgun to Edo at the end of the civil war in 1603. Once in Edo, Ieyasu rewarded Ro with a plot of land in Nihonbashi for his service to the Tokugawa household, and, with that asset, Ro abandoned practicing medicine and set up a cosmetic shop first known as Beniya. Ro then turned to producing ready-made rouge, whitening powders and hair oil, all of

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[69] In early modern Europe, whitening powders were also used to conceal scars caused by smallpox. It is highly likely that Japanese used whitening powders for the same reasons, as smallpox was an endemic disease in the early modern period.

[70] Sayama. *Miyako Fūzoku Keshō Kewaiden.* (1813)

[71] Ibid,. 25

which had previously been handmade within user households. The store was eventually renamed Yanagiya and it gradually developed a reputation for excellent quality products. They became highly popular among the shōgun's consorts, concubines and ladies-in-waiting as well as with the imperial household in Kyoto.[72] In 1804, Yanagiya was taken over by Sotoike Uhei, a wealthy Ōmi merchant who continued to build on Ro's brand.[73] Yanagiya became one of Japan's first beauty brands and became a model followed by Edo merchants in years to come. Yanagiya also benefitted from Tokugawa Japan's trade network that allowed for an array of goods --including beauty products-- to reach urban consumers throughout the country. As the economy boomed, moreover, beauty products that had previously been reserved for the upper social strata gradually trickled down to the commoners.

The growing Edo economy also supported a flourishing print culture that included woodblock prints, illustrated fiction, handbooks and advertisements featuring information about the latest styles in major cities such as Edo, Osaka and Kyoto.[74] An important outcome of the circulation of printed materials --and increasing economic competition-- was new innovations in advertising. Beginning in the 1770s, merchants began to collaborate with Edo artists, writers and actors for advertising purposes. Illustrated fiction often depicted the streets of Edo and featured

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[72] The company became known as Yanagiya sometime in the late seventeenth century and exists to this day. Yanagiya Honten. *Yanagiya Honten Yonhyakunenshi: Sōgyō 1615 nen.* (Tokyo: Yanagiya Honten, 2015)

[73] The Ōmi Merchants were a powerful group of merchants who were at first, highly active along the Nakasendō and played an important role in the growth of the Edo economy. Ebina Kenzō. *Nihonbashi no Ōmi Shōnin-Yanagiya Sotoike Uhei Toramatsuke no yonhyakunen* (Tokyo: Shinhyōron, 2001).

[74] See Mary Elizabeth Berry. *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkley; University of California Press, 2006)

famous stores and their signature products.[75] Writer Shikitei Sanba (1776-1882), who was Edo's most important literary figure in the comic fiction genre *(gesaku)* was also a merchant who sold medicine, employed this method of advertising for his business.[76] In fact, Shikitei was famous for producing *Edo no Mizu* in around 1811, a facial toner which soon became highly coveted among Edoites. He frequently promoted *Edo no Mizu* by strategically placing his products in a number of his literary works, including *Ukiyoburo* (1809-1813), one of his most famous works which was illustrated by ukiyo-e artists Utagawa Kuninao (1793-1854) and Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820). Shikitei even published an entire novel named after his best-selling product.[77] Towards the end of the Edo period, packaging for whitening powders featured famous kabuki actors such as Ichikawa Danjurō IX (1838-1903) and images of beautiful women (*bijinga*) became popular among townswomen.[78] Powders, hair oils and rouge were often featured in Edo shopping guides such as *Edo Kaimono Hitori Annai* (1824). Another major market was samurai on alternate-attendance journeys (*sankin kōtai),* who purchased these goods for their families as souvenirs (*miyage*). These much-coveted mementos of a trip to Edo further stimulated economic and cultural exchange and new fashion trends throughout the provinces.[79]

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[75] David Pollack, "A Note on Advertising and the Arts in the Edo Period," *Oboegaki* 5, no. 1 (1995): 6–8; Yoshiyuki Sakaguchi, "Kenkyu Repōto: Kabuki, Nishike, Kusazōshi: Edo Ki Ni Okeru Bunka to Shogyo No Kankeisei Ni Kan Suru Kōsatsu," *AD Studies* 19 (2007): 36–40.

[76] The product was featured in Edo shopping guides such as *Edo Jida Meibutsu shū* (date of publication unknown) and *Edo Kaimono Hitori Annai* (1824)

[77] Shikitei Sanba. *Edo no mizu saiwaibanashi* (1812)

[78] "Oshiroi keshō," POLA http://www.poholdings.co.jp/csr/culture/bunken/reading/5.html

[79] Penelope Francks. *The Japanese Consumer: An Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), especially chapter 2. The alternative attendance system was a mechanism of control established by the Tokugawa shogunate, which required daimyos to divide their time between their *han* and Edo. See Constantine Vaporis. *Tour of Duty: Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan.* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2009)

The growing popularity of beauty products during the Edo period reveals a desire among the commoner class to "reinvent" themselves through the consumption of new goods sold by an increasingly wealthy merchant class. Buyō Inshi, an Edo samurai, recorded with great scorn the negative effects of luxury goods on Tokugawa society in the early nineteenth century:

"In today's world, both men and women have acquired the disposition of such beasts. They are not ashamed of their greed and lust. Even old men with white hair keep women and toy with girls the same age as their grandchildren, while women care nothing for character or age but fawn on men with money. Both in Edo and in other areas where numerous people live in close proximity to one another and struggle to earn a livelihood, there are inequalities between poverty and wealth. Some people pursue greed and become rich, indulge in luxury and lust to their heart's content, and commit inhuman acts. Others who are poor but who have a single daughter not only live comfortably, by depending on their daughter they can obtain plenty of hair accessories, clothing and the like; therefore everyone follows their suit and ends up committing acts beyond the boundaries of proper human behavior."[80]

Buyō Inshi's writings reveal that new fashion caused a great deal of anxiety among those who were meant to represent the upper tier of the status system about the behavior of others. While the actual act of beautifying oneself was never directly criticized by authorities, the shogunate took issue with commoners having access to certain items. As Donald Shively has shown, the shogunate promulgated a series of sumptuary laws to curb lavish spending by townsmen and to maintain the social order.[81] Between the mid-seventeenth and late nineteenth centuries, the Tokugawa authorities issued over twenty-five sumptuary laws pertaining to beauty tools, such as

[80] Buyō Inshi's writing was published under the title of *Matters of the World: An Account of What I Have Seen and Heard* (*Seiji Kenbunroku)* in 1816. The passage is quoted from the English translation, Fumiko Miyazaki, Anne Walthall, and John Breen, *Lust, Commerce, and Corruption: An Account of What I Have Seen and Heard, by an Edo samurai,* ed. Mark Teeuwen and Kate Wildman Nakai (Columbia University Press, 2014). 355

[81] Donald H. Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964): 123–64

prohibiting commoner women from possessing hair ornaments or make-up tools (*keshōdōgu*) including brushes, mirrors and ceramic containers decorated with gold or silver.[82]

The rise in the number of sumptuary laws issued in the late nineteenth century shows that the shogunate was also troubled by the emergence of female hairdressers (*onna kamiyui*). By 1830, the majority of women in Edo no longer styled their own hair and instead used the services of the *onna kamiyui*. This surge in the demand for *onna kamiyui,* meant that hairdressing became a highly profitable business for women in Tokugawa Japan. Observing a *kamiyui* in the early twentieth century, British photographer Clive Holland wrote that "the profession of a hairdresser should be esteemed as honorable just as it is a lucrative one."[83] In fact, many hairdressers made a living that often surpassed their husband's, so much so that men married to *onna kamiyui* were viewed by society as economically secure and referred to as "the hairdresser's husband" (*kamiyui no teishu*). This apparently resulted in a number of men who did not see the necessity to earn a living, and in the eyes of the authorities, failing to contribute to the needs of the shogunate. The reversal in gender roles itself was undoubtedly also a source of anxiety to authorities. In 1842, as part of the Tenpō Reforms, which aimed to restore old virtues and reverse moral decline, the shogunate passed a sumptuary law directed specifically at *onna kamiyui* in an attempt to control the growing number of hairdressing services, a "luxury" that "disrupted social mores." As punishment, hairdressers faced sentences of imprisonment for one hundred days, fined three *kanmon* and handcuffed for thirty days. The client and the client's family also

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[82] A complete list of sumptuary laws can be found in Hiroto Murasawa, Noriya Tsuda, Takako Murada ed. *Keshōshi Bunken Shiryō*. (Tokyo: Pola Bunka Kenkyūjo.

[83] Clive Holland and Montagu Smyth. *Old and New Japan* (London: J.M. Dent&Co., 1907). 244.

received similar punishments.[84] However, following the Tenpō Reforms, the shogunate appears to have abandoned such attempts at control as the *kamiyui* business continued to grow. In 1853, there remained over fourteen hundred *kamiyui* businesses.[85] A strong desire to change one's physical appearance through the consumption of various goods and products, in other words, clearly already existed in the early modern period.

The Effect of International Diplomacy and the Birth of the "Civilized Body"

The Meiji Restoration accelerated change, however. Of the many new ideas that emerged in the early days of the Meiji Restoration, the slogan of "civilization and enlightenment" or *bunmei kaika* was particularly vigorously promoted throughout Japanese society by the new government. This slogan provided the basic rubric for installing formal institutions in the mold of Western countries. It also guided the way the government extensively managed the everyday lives of Japanese people, including diet and sexual behavior.[86] Such interventions, which were at times met with resistance from the general populace, were legitimized on the grounds that Japan needed to build a powerful modern nation-state capable of withstanding the onslaught of Western colonialism. The immediate and practical policy objective was to revise the unequal treaties that the Western powers had imposed on the Tokugawa shogunate in 1854 and to eventually stand equal with them.

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[84] Murasawa, Tsuda and Murata. *Keshōshi Bunken Shiryō.* 302

[85] Ibid,. It is unclear if these figures represent the city of Edo or all of Japan.

[86] See for example, Sabine Fruhstuck, *Colonizing Sex Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan.* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 2003); Gregory M Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire : Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

The key players within the Meiji government were especially concerned with how the Japanese people appeared to Western observers. The common Japanese corporeal practices discussed above, particularly shaved eyebrows and dyed teeth, shocked Western visitors. The Meiji officials saw this as a problem that needed to be resolved by changing Japanese behavior. For instance, Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858), the American who succeeded in bringing Japan "out of isolation," wrote in his account of the expedition:

"The married women of Japan enjoy the exclusive privilege of dyeing their teeth, which is done with a mixture of urine, filings of iron, and sake, termed *ohagur* [sic] or *camri* [sic]. This compound, as might be naturally inferred from its composition, is neither pleasantly perfumed nor very wholesome. It is so corrosive that, on applying it to the teeth, it is necessary to protect the more delicate structure of the gums and lips, for the mere touch of the odious stuff to the flesh burns it at once into a purple, gangrenous spot. In spite of the utmost care the gums become tainted, and lose their ruddy vitality and color."[87]

It should be noted that Perry's statement that the mixture was made with urine is false-- the combination of vinegar and ferric acetate most likely gave off a strong smell that resembled ammonia. Observing the women who served him refreshments during a visit to the chief magistrate of a town, Perry further observed that "the smiles with which they perseveringly greeted their guests might have been better dispensed with, as every movement of their lips exposed their horrid black teeth and decayed gums."[88] Perry's reaction was precisely what later Meiji leaders wished to avoid. Similarly, British diplomat Ernest Satow, recalling his encounters with geisha, expressed disappointment as the sight of these women, writing that "some of them were certainly pretty, others decidedly ugly, but we thought their looks were ruined in any case

[87] *Ohaguro* was also known as kanetsuke and hagurome and it is unclear where Perry got *camri* from.Matthew Calbraith Perry and Robert Tomes. *Japan and the Japanese: A Narrative of the U.S. Government Expedition to Japan Under Commodore Perry*. (Trübner, 1859) 255-256

[88] Ibid,. 257

by the blackened teeth and white-lead powdered faces."[89] Most Western accounts give similarly unfavorable views of Japanese physical appearance when confronted by Tokugawa-era corporeal practices.

Baron Redesdale, a prominent British diplomat who was received at the Imperial Palace shortly before the Restoration, was fascinated enough by the physical appearance of the Japanese to delve deeper into the origins of Japanese beauty practices. Redesdale was particularly concerned with the Emperor's appearance. Tracing the practice of *ohaguro* to the twelfth century, he concluded that the Emperor "blackened his teeth, powdered his face white, and rouged his lips in order to render himself as like a woman as possible."[90] He saw the use of make-up as not only barbaric but also a sign of the Emperor's effeminacy. Redesdale's observation, along with those of many other Western visitors, alarmed the Meiji leadership, who feared that this perception of the Emperor's appearance would unfavorably affect diplomatic relations with the West. For that reason, the Meiji leadership decided to immediately transform the Emperor's appearance to make him more closely resemble the contemporary Western image of a masculine patriarch. The purpose of restoring the Emperor to imperial rule was not only to unite the Japanese people as a *kokutai*, (the national body) but to also demonstrate that Japan was enlightened enough to conduct diplomatic relations with other civilized nations on an equal basis. For the Meiji oligarchs, creating a strong image of the Japanese imperial household was key if Japan was to revise the series of unequal treaties imposed by the West at the end of the Tokugawa period. As Nakayama Kazuyoshi's account of Japanese diplomatic etiquette in the

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[89] Ernest Mason Satow. *A Diplomatic in Japan: The Inner History of the Critical Years in the Evolution of Japan When The Ports were Opened and the Monarchy Restored.* (Lippincott, 1921), 192

[90] The precise date of Rededale's visit to the Emperor is 1858. Algernon Betram Freeman-Mitford,1st Baron Redesdale. *Tales of Old Japan*. (McMillan, 1871). 250

years following the Restoration illustrates, prominent Meiji politicians such as Kido Takayoshi (1833-1877) argued that the Emperor was perceived by the West as an "outsider" (*ijin*) who could not interact with them on an equal basis. Therefore, in order to enhance Japan's chances of becoming a legitimate "insider" in the shifting world order, Kido believed that both the Emperor and the Japanese people must reinvent themselves by radically transforming their appearances.[91] The Japanese bodies, of both the Emperor and his subjects in this way gradually became viewed by the leadership as essential to the modern nation state.

Most importantly, in April 1868, the Meiji government promulgated the Charter Oath, which first and foremost called for the dismantling of status differences. One of the first laws the government issued to achieve this was to remove Tokugawa sartorial markers as part of the larger effort to modernize the physical appearance of the Japanese people. In 1868, the government first ordered court nobles to stop blackening their teeth and shaving their eyebrows. Three years later, in 1871, the government issued another ban on teeth dyeing, this time directed at all married women. According to Ishii Kendō (1865-1943), an observer of Meiji culture, the law was "met with great discontent among citizens."[92] They were not pleased that the ancient practice of teeth blackening was suddenly labeled as an "evil custom" of the past that had to be abandoned.[93] Indeed, it appears that not everyone abandoned the custom, which took many years to fade out particularly in rural areas. Women born during the Meiji period in Minamata, Kumamoto prefecture, for example, decades later recalled getting their teeth dyed upon marriage

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[91] Kazuyoshi Nakamura. *Mikado no gaikō girei: Meiji Tennō no jidai.* Tokyo: Asahi Sinbunsha, 2007.

[92] Ishii Kendō. *Meiji Jibutsu Kigen*. (1908) 41. Ishii Kendō (1865-1943) was a writer and a specialist of Meiji culture, and meticulously documented the formation of modern Japanese life.

[93] Ibid,. 42

and shaving off their eyebrows after giving birth.[94] Even the urban areas, the practice appears to have persisted. Writer Tanizaki Jun'ichiro, who was born into a merchant family in Tokyo almost two decades after the Restoration, observed in *In Praise of Shadows* that in 1890, "my mother, my aunts, my relatives, most women of their age, still blackened their teeth."[95]

Despite the swift enactment of these laws, behind the scenes, Meiji statesmen bickered over what Japan should maintain and what it needed to throw away in the modernization process. They were most divided over the topknot worn by samurai men. Like the teeth, Japanese hair styles all signaled barbarism to Westerners, and, perhaps worse, a commonality with China. Ivan Goncharov, a Russian novelist who also served in official capacities for the Tsarist Russian government, repeatedly referred to the top knot as "pig tails" in his memoirs during his travels to Japan in 1852:

> "Soldiers," [the Japanese] told us. Soldiers! It would be impossible to think of anything more unlike soldiers in our sense of the word than these men. They could scarcely stand on their legs from old age, and their sight was poor. The little grey pigtails, composed of three hairs, could not lie on the head and stood upright: through the scant pigtail baldness peeped, the color red copper. In general, there was not a single manly, energetic face to be seen, although there were many intelligent and cunning ones. Even if there are some, the brushed back pigtail and smooth-shaven faces makes them unlike men..."[96]

Goncharov's observations mirror Redesdale's impressions of the Emperor's physical appearance; those who were meant to hold significant power in Japan, namely the country's supreme commander and his soldiers, appeared instead as feeble and feminine. Such attitudes toward the top-knot by Westerners resembled the reactions toward the queue in China. As

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[94] Tatsuaki Okamoto. *Kikigaki Minamata Minshūshi: Meiji no mura.* (Tokyo: Sofukan, 1990), 112-113.

[95] Junichiro Tanizaki, *In Praise of Shadows*. (Sedgwick: Leete's Island Books, 1977).

[96] Ivan Goncharov. *I.A. Goncharov's Account of Russia's Attempt to Open Japan in 1853, trans. Kathleen Price* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1952), 8.

Michael R. Godley has discussed, Westerners in China viewed the Manchu queue as a sign of weakness, uncleanliness and backwardness.[97] It is unclear precisely when the Japanese leadership became aware of how Westerners viewed the Chinese appearance, but they quickly decided that certain cultural changes to the male body were necessary in order avoid China's fate. Nonetheless, unlike the rapid promulgation banning the blackening of the teeth in the days following the Restoration, the government remained divided when it came to hair, because for men, hair served as an indicator of legal status and the Meiji oligarchs divided over whether to protect or abolish all such markers of samurai status. Despite the abolition of the status system, for many of them, the top-knot remained a sign of prestige and pride that they could not easily abandon.

Meiji leaders were equally divided over how to manage their own bodies at first. Progressive statesmen such as Kido and Watanabe Noboru saw the topknot as a hindrance to the government's immediate foreign policy goal of revising the unequal treaties with the West and rated that higher than all the reasons for keeping it. Kido attempted to influence Japanese citizens by publishing a short song in the May 1871 issue of *Shinbun Zasshi*, a newspaper he founded in order to inform Japanese citizens about the various social changes in Meiji Japan: "when you knock on the head with *zangiri* hairstyle, and makes the sound of "civilization and enlightenment."[98] Kido, a former samurai, was willing to lead the way- in early August 1871, he noted in his diary that he "went to cut off his top knot with Watanabe Noboru."[99] By contrast,

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[97] Michael Godley, "The End of the Queue: Hair as Symbol in Chinese History," *East Asian History*, no. 8 (December 1994): 53–72.

[98] English translation from Suzanne G. O'Brien, "Splitting Hairs: History and the Politics of Daily Life in Nineteenth Century Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 4 (2008): 1309–39.

[99] Kido Takayoshi, ed Tsumaki Chūta. *Kido Takayoshi Nikki: Daiichi*. (Hayakawa Ryokichi, 1932), 82.

Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883), another prominent Meiji statesman who had served as chamberlain to Emperor Kōmei during the Tokugawa period, demonstrated his determination to maintain Japanese tradition in the face of rapid modernization by refusing to cut his hair. His resistance is evident in the 1871 photograph prior to the departure of the Iwakura Mission, in which Iwakura was one of the few participants with the traditional hairstyle and dress. However, by the end of the Iwakura tour in 1873, Iwakura is sported shorter hair and western attire. According to the diary of Sasaki Takayuki (1830-1910), another prominent figure in the Meiji government, Iwakura cut off his topknot during the Chicago leg of the tour at the encouragement of his sons, who were studying in the United States.[100] Sasaki, still a holdout, criticized Iwakura in his diary for "catching the American enlightenment fever." Nonetheless, by the end of the tour, Sasaki himself had changed his mind, writing that "cutting the hair and reforming clothing was necessary for the appearance of the nation."[101] With the majority of the oligarchs showing support for these drastic changes in corporeal management, the next step was to convince the Japanese people to do the same.

The result of these discussions and introspections among the Meiji leadership developed most clearly on August 9th, 1871 when the Great Council of State (the *Daijōkan)* issued a proclamation that permitted (but did not enforce) cutting the topknot. The same law also forbade the samurai from carrying their swords except on ceremonial occasions.[102] Thus, the "hair cutting edict" (*danpatsurei*), as it came to be known, stripped away the two key status markers that visibly demarcated the distinction between samurai and commoners. Inevitably, the

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[100] Sasaki Takayuki. *Hogohiroi: Sasaki Takayuki Nikki,* Volume 5. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan kai, 1974), 288-289.
[101] Ibid,.
[102] The law in its entirety is known as the *sanpatsu dattōrei*.

proclamation was met with mixed feelings. Some segments of the population welcomed the decree, while others, especially more conservative former samurai, resented it as a clear sign that their previously privileged status was rapidly disintegrating. According to Ishii Kendo's *Meiji Jibutsu Kigen*, the former merchant class embraced the edict because it liberated them from a social system that had placed them at the lowest rung of the social order.[103] Chopping off the knot thus empowered those who were of lower status but left many who were in the upper class feeling disenfranchised. More generally, as Suzanne O'Brien has discussed in her work, the hair cutting edict, far from being a top-down policy which everyone followed diligently, was a highly contested suggestion. Different segments of the population responded to it differently depending not just on their relative position within the old social order but also on their personal views on the nascent Meiji one.[104]

Although not clearly specified in the wording of the edict, the hair-cutting law was in fact, only intended for men. Nonetheless, some women embraced the decree and began to cut their long hair which had hitherto been forbidden. Here too low-status women often set the new tone. According to Ishii, "women who worked in the tea houses near the Ueno Kiyomizudō wore their hair short and even wore men's Inverness coats," revealing that these women took advantage of the tumult to change their appearance early on. While the government leaders were eager to rid Japan of the teeth dyeing tradition, they were far less enthusiastic about women cutting their hair. They expressed fears that it would make it difficult to distinguish men from women.[105] In early 1872, Kido's *Shinbun Zasshi* published numerous articles urging women to

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[103] Ishii Kendo. *Meiji Jibutsu Kigen*, 14.

[104] Suzanne G. O'Brien, "Splitting Hairs: History and the Politics of Daily Life in Nineteenth Century Japan."

[105] Ishii Kendō. *Meiji jibutsu kigen*, 43

"maintain their past hairstyles."[106] But women did not listen. The city of Tokyo issued a decree in April 1872 prohibiting women there from cutting their hair, an equally futile step. In these government actions, modernity and nationhood were solely for men while women were expected to maintain Japanese tradition. The government's attempts to exclude women from the modernization process meant their bodies entered modernity in different ways from men. For one thing, they became susceptible to contradictory messages that attempted to define "femininity" in specific but clashing ways. For another, private actors such as social commentators and medical practitioners soon claimed the right to decree new "Japanese beauty ideals" which led to intense discussions on what was acceptable and what was not as Japan transitioned into modernity.

While men and women both quickly embraced the hair cutting edict, the Meiji Emperor, -- whose appearance once had initiated this debate-- was slow to change. He resisted dismantling traditions that had been vital to the Imperial Court for centuries. As Higashikuze Michitomi, (1834-1912), a Meiji statesman who worked closely with the Imperial court noted in his diary, the Emperor and the lady-in-waiting (*nyokan)* who was responsible for tying his hair, "vehemently refused to abandon a practice that had been part of the Imperial culture for well over a century [merely] in order to conform to Western standards."[107] The tension between the Meiji oligarchs and the Imperial Household about westernizing the Imperial appearance is most evident in the first photographic portraits taken of the Meiji Emperor. In April 1872, when much the rest of the population was cutting off their hair, the then-twenty-year old Emperor showed his

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[106] "Joshi no danpatsu wa miruni shinobizu," *Shinbun Zasshi*, March 1872; "Fujoshi no kami wa jūrai dōri," *Shinbun Zasshi*, April 1872.

[107] Higashikuze Michitomi. *Chikutei kaikoroku ishin zengo* (Tokyō: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1969) (Originally published Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1905) 136.

defiance when he was photographed in his top-knot and clothed in formal court attire.

In March 1873, after two years of wrangling among statesmen and the highly visible nationwide responses to the hair cutting edict, the Meiji Emperor finally gave in to the mounting pressure to transform his physical appearance. According to the *Meiji Tennōki,* on the morning of March 20th, the Emperor followed his usual routine of getting his hair tied and his face powdered by a lady-in-waiting. He then went to his study, where he ordered Chamberlain Ariji Shinanojō to cut off his top-knot.[108] The Emperor also decided to stop dyeing his teeth black to "set an example to his citizens" and to unite a country fractured over how it needed to modernize.[109] Perhaps Iwakura Tomomi, who had transformed his appearance in Chicago, influenced the Emperor's decision, since he too was an aristocrat. But the Emperor's change of heart may have just been a recognition that times had changed. To symbolize the physical restyling of the Emperor as a modern and masculine patriarch, the Meiji government released another portrait of him taken by photographer Uchida Kyūichi in 1873. In the famous photograph, the Meiji Emperor is seated on a chair in a Western military uniform with his hair cropped short, and an elegant military hat on the table. The portrait of the Meiji Empress taken by Uchida at the same time, however, shows her dressed head to toe in traditional court attire, which meant that customary dress was still acceptable for women, but not for men in professional or diplomatic settings. This changed, however, when in 1887 the Meiji Empress appeared in public for the first

[108] Imperial Household (Kunaichō) ed,. *Meiji tennō ki*, volume 3, 1969, p. 47. Cited in Donald Keene. *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World. 1852-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 774.

[109] Ishii Kendō "Meiji shoki no ifūhentai." *Shinkyūdai*. February, 1926. 1

wearing Western attire and issued a memorandum encouraging Japanese women to wear western dress because it was much far practical than kimono.[110]

The new photograph became a powerful image that demonstrated Japan's willingness to achieve the goal of civilization and enlightenment. It also inspired others to follow suit. According to Ishii Kendō, Japanese who had resisted cutting off their top-knots quickly followed the Emperor's example.[111] Decades later, poet Takamura Kōtarō (1883-1956) penned a poem titled "Topknot," based on his grandfather's experience that reveals the powerful effect the Emperor's transformation had on those who had resisted: "No matter what the officials and cops say to me/I don't twitch a muscle/but if that what the Mikado says/I can't win/The Shogun is the head clerk/the Mikado is the boss/ And the word's from him, right?"[112]

Japanese leaders continued to model these desired transformations in bodily comportment and physical appearance for their countrymen and women through the 1880s. The Rokumeikan project, in particular, popularized Western appearance and comportment in Japan. The Rokumeikan was a colossal Western-style building designed by British architect Josiah Condor under the auspices of the Foreign Minister, Inoue Kaoru, who planned the two-story building for the sole purpose of entertaining foreign dignitaries. The long-term goal of "Rokumeikan Diplomacy," as his initiative came to be known, was to revise the unequal treaties by showing the West that Japan was already a civilized nation-state. But another goal Inoue had in mind was to use the Rokumeikan as a setting in which Japanese men and women would become acquainted

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[110] Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 404.

[111] Ibid,.

[112] Takamura Kōtarō, "Topknot" (*Chonmage)* in Satō Hiroaki. *A Brief History of Imbecility: Poetry and Prose of Takamura Kōtarō.* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 130.

with Western social etiquette.[113] As Jason Karlin has discussed in his work on gender and nation in modern Japan, many socially ambitious Japanese men and women believed that gaining mastery of Western manners and style was necessary to succeed in the new Meiji social order.[114] Although the context was new, this understanding adapted early modern understanding of *midashinami* that personal grooming was vital to avoid "offending" others. What had changed was that the judges were Westerners and those Japanese who had already adopted Western customs.

Another new element of modern comportment was the fact that wives and daughters of the Japanese nobility and government officials were also expected to appear before foreigners with proper *midashinami.* Etiquette coaches began preparing them to do so both for events at the Rokumeikan beginning in the mid-1880s and for other venues. New magazines for upper-class women offered a myriad of advice on modern social etiquette. An article in the August 1885 issue of *Jogaku Zasshi*, for example, advised women to powder their faces only "lightly" rather than piling on whitening powder, so as to "avoid looking like a prostitute."[115] The magazine also encouraged women to use perfume and soap to achieve a civilized and bourgeois appearance.[116] Consequently, the Japanese upper-class became ardent consumers of Western beauty products including powders, perfumes and soap. Although the Meiji leaders had dismantled the status system, the Rokumeikan era also symbolized the formation of new class realities which, as the

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[113] Jason Karlin. *Gender and Nation in Modern Japan*: *Modernity, Loss, and the Doing of History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 26.

[114] Ibid,.

[115] *Jogaku Zasshi*, August 1885

[116] *Jogaku Zasshi*, August 1893

next chapters will discuss, continued to reshape modern Japanese beauty culture and consumption.

Modern Hygiene and the Scientification of Beauty

Another major shift in the way beauty was understood in Meiji Japan was that, from the 1870s, it became closely tied to health and hygiene. After Japan suffered a series of devastating outbreaks of cholera and smallpox in the 1860s, the Meiji state sent a group of Japanese to Germany to learn Western medical sciences in order to adopt foreign ideas on how to contain contagious diseases.[117] Over the course of the next thirty years, more than one thousand Japanese medical students made their way to German universities to learn the latest in medical advancements. As Hoi-Eun Kim shows, Japanese physicians brought back with them myriad forms of knowledge and applied them within the context of Meiji Japan. As was true throughout the globe, scientists wielded considerable authority in shaping modernity in Japan, in part because new medical knowledge provided a better understanding of the causes and effects of infectious and chronic diseases and indicated how Japan could curtail them in the process of building a modern nation-state. [118]

A vital part in the prevention of infectious disease and in building a "rich nation and strong army" (*fukoku kyōhei*) was the introduction of the concept of *eisei* to the Japanese lexicon in the late nineteenth century.[119] Cleanliness and looking after one's health were, of course, not

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[117] See Yuehtsen Juliette Chung. "Sovereignty and Imperial Hygiene: Japan and the 1919 Cholera Epidemic in East Asia" in Tosh Minohara, Tze-Ki Hon, Evan Dawley ed. *The Decade of the Great War: Japan and the Wider World in the 1910s* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 438-460.

[118] Hoi-eun Kim, *Doctors of Empire: Medical and Cultural Encounters between Imperial Germany and Meiji Japan* (University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2014).

[119] A serious outbreak of smallpox and cholera at the end of the Tokugawa had ravaged the archipelago, claiming the lives of thousands of Japanese. The epidemic was a rude awakening to the waning Tokugawa government, as it

new to Japanese culture. Traditionally Japanese had excellent hygiene habits by European standards. Westerners visiting Japan in the 1860s often remarked on Japanese people's cleanliness, particularly the country's bathing culture. In 1868, Richard Mouteney Jephson, a visiting Englishman, observed that all Japanese, regardless of their status, bathed frequently and paid close attention to hygiene. He noted that "some Englishmen are rather given to calling their countrymen the most 'tubbin' nation in the world. However, we must really undeceive these individuals, and state that the Japanese are infinitely ahead of us in this respect." [120]

Japanese living at the time of Jephson's observation, however, would not have seen bathing as a conscious effort to become "hygienic" but rather, as an important part of *yōjō*, which Confucian philosopher Kaibara Ekken described as "nourishing one's health."[121] For Meiji statesmen, however, there was something lacking in *yōjō* to meet the needs of a modern nation. Nagayo Sensai (1838-1902), the doctor and statesman who first had observed how hygiene was implemented in Germany and the Netherlands, criticized early modern Japanese ideals for lacking any public-health aspect of hygiene. Around 1873, Nagayo coined the word *eisei* to explicitly mean "hygienic modernity."[122] Indeed, while both *yōjō* and *eisei* share the characteristic of paying diligent attention to one's health, there were also critical differences

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revealed that Japan was not medically equipped to adequately respond to large-scale epidemics. Although the Bakufu had made some efforts to learn new medical technologies from the West, it was not until after the Restoration that Japan prioritized what Ruth Rogaski has coined "hygienic modernity."

[120] While numerous foreigners praised Japanese cleanliness, many expressed shock and disgust that Japanese men and women bathed in the same space. The Tokugawa government had, in the past, attempted to ban mixed bathing due to "moral corruption." The Meiji government, concerned that mixed bathing in public bath houses made Japanese look primitive, banned it in 1869. For a history of public bath houses, see Miki Kawabata. *Kindai Nihon no kōshū yokujō undo*. (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan, 2016); See Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity:* Chapter 5; Narita Ryuichi. "Shintai to Koshu Eisei," in *Shihon Shugi wa hito o do kaeta ka.* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan, 1995) 375-401

[121] Kaibara Ekken. *Yōjōkun* (1713)

[122] Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*.

between the two concepts. Unlike *yōjo*, in which the individual was responsible for his or her own personal health, Nagayo defined *eisei* as a form of social medicine that established a relationship between national socio-economic conditions and individual people's health. Mori Ōgai (1862-1922), the famed novelist and public health doctor, aptly described *eisei* as the "economic planning of the people's health."[123] In this concept, not only is the environment regulated to better the health of the people through scientific rationality, but citizens themselves become subjected to greater surveillance and control by the state through various social mechanisms to maintain a hygienic society. The development of the sewage system to control cholera, for example, was important in the emergence of public health concepts.[124] With the introduction of this term to the Japanese vocabulary, the state conveyed that the health of the Japanese people was valued as a resource that needed to be mobilized for the purpose of nurturing national wealth and strength. Soon new policies developed to do just that.

Promoting Hygiene in the Navy

One of the first places where this new view developed was the Navy. The new Japanese government wanted to build a modern military rapidly. The Meiji Restoration occurred during a period of aggressive Western encroachment in Asia, and the Japanese leaders were well aware that they needed to bolster their national security. In 1870, an imperial decree declared that the modern Japanese navy would be modelled on the British Royal Navy, the first step in the

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[123] Mori Ōgai. *Eisei Gaku Daii*. (1907), 2. For further discussion on transition from yōjō to eisei, see Shinmaru Taku. *Kenkō no shakai shi: yōjō eisei kara kenkō zōshin e*. (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan, 2006); Katabuchi Mieko. "Eisei, yōjō ni kansuru rekishiteki kenkyu no bunmyaku," in *Taiku, Spōtsu Tetsugaku Kenkyū*. (17:2, 1995) 13-25

[124] Philippe Chemouilli, "The cholera epidemics and the development of public health in Meiji Japan. 1. Modernity, cholera, and health thought," *Medecine Sciences: M/S* 20, no. 1 (January 2004): 109–14

Imperial Navy's meteoric rise over the next seventy years. Modern warships alone, however, did not make a "strong military." Building a powerful army and navy required soldiers and sailors, whose health needed to be carefully maintained despite being herded together in tight quarters, an invitation to infectious diseases. For symbolic reasons too, their health needed to be carefully regulated and monitored. As Yoshida Yutaka has shown, men who enlisted in the Army and Navy were the first group of Japanese to undergo rigorous physical and behavioral "regimentation" (*kiritsuka*) in Japan because sailors and soldiers played a vital role in representing the national body, or the *kokutai*.[125]

In 1882, the nascent Imperial Navy faced a serious epidemic that threatened to decimate Meiji Japan's most important armed forces. In July, in the Imo Incident, the Meiji government sent warships to Incheon Bay to pressure Korea's Choson court, which had become divided between pro-Chinese and pro-Japanese factions. Much to the horror of the Imperial Navy, however, half of the squadron fell ill with a disease known as *kakke* in Japanese and beriberi in English. The disease, which had been prevalent in urban areas since the Edo period, attacked the heart and circulatory system and, in many cases, caused muscle paralysis. Although it would eventually be determined that beriberi is caused by a deficiency in vitamin B1, in the nineteenth century, both Japanese and Western doctors believed not just that it was a contagious disease but also that it was uniquely "Japanese."[126] Sailors in the Navy ate white rice, which although popular, ironically, meant losing the vitamin-rich husks that poorer Japanese ate at home. The

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[125] Yoshida Yutaka. *Nihon no guntai: Heishitachi no kindaishi.* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 2002); Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex,* 21

[126] Alexander R Bay, *Beriberi in Modern Japan: The Making of a National Disease* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2012), 39.

resulting rise in sickness caused embarrassment to the Navy, which was meant to symbolize Japan's rise as a world power.

In a bid to eliminate *kakke,* both the Navy and the Army began instituting new hygiene practices to improve the health of their soldiers. The *Official Army Sanitary Rules* reveals the contents of the military's modern health regime. The first section of the pamphlet, "hygiene of the body," stressed the importance of protecting one's body from germs as follows: "1. Whitlow [inflammation of fingers and toes], boils, toothache, or any such bodily disorder, even of slight nature, tends to decrease the fighting capacity of an army by obstructing the free action of the body. As these disorders are mostly caused by unclean habits, it is necessary that everyone should keep their bodies clean." Soldiers were required to keep their hair "short, and wash it from time to time to prevent skin eruptions and parasitic diseases such as lice." Every morning, upon waking up, "the mouth and teeth need to be carefully cleaned." The hands, "being in constant use are soiled more readily than any other member of the body and in this manner various eruptive disturbances may be caused, such as whitlow. Infection present on the hand can most easily enter the body, therefore the hands shall be washed with soap and water frequently."[127] The pamphlet outlined the soldiers' responsibility to maintain a balanced diet and to keep their uniforms clean to avoid spreading bacteria.

One way that the Imperial Navy modelled itself on the British Navy was to adopt commodities that had sustained the health of the Royal Navy. For example, curry rice, now a popular Western dish in Japan, was first introduced to the naval force by British officers who had served in India. It was eagerly adopted by the Imperial Navy sometime during the 1880s on the

[127] It is unclear when this pamphlet was published, but in 1906 an American surgeon included an English translation of it in his report on Japanese naval medical features. See William C. Braisted. *Report on the Japanese Naval Medical and Sanitary Features*, (1906). 76

grounds that the combination of vegetables, meat and rice made the dish an ideal balanced meal.[128] Drugs and hygiene products such as soap, toothpaste and toothbrushes, which were then largely manufactured by British companies such as Lifebuoy, also made their way to the Imperial Navy via their British counterparts. During the 1870s, the Japanese government had actually tried, but with very little success, to encourage the domestic production of various Western products, including hygiene products.[129] Few civilians had purchased these costly foreign commodities, so the Navy and the Army, became the first big consumers for Japanese producers of hygiene products. Problematically, however, at first the quality of their soap and toothpaste was often poor and ineffective.

This began to change in 1888 when Fukuhara Arinobu (1848-1924), a pharmacologist who specialized in Western drugs, produced Japan's first toothpaste. Fukuhara had briefly served as the chief pharmacologist during the nascent years of the Imperial Navy before leaving to open

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[128] Eiko Kosuge, *Karē Raisu No Tanjō.* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2013).

[129] In 1870, the Meiji government tried to domestically manufacture soap by gathering a group of chemists who had trained under Dutch teachers during the last years of the Tokugawa Bakufu. In 1872, Makimura Masanao, the mayor of Kyoto, established the *Seimikyoku* (s*eimi* stemming from the Dutch for chemistry, *chimie)* in the ancient capital. There were two primary goals of the research institute. The first was to maintain Kyoto's prestige as the ancient imperial city after the new government declared Tokyo as the new capital and the Emperor's new home. One of the ways in which Makimura wanted to achieve this was by stimulating the local economy and to transform Kyoto into a hub of "civilization and enlightenment" comparable to that of Tokyo. The *Seimikyoku* was a part of this larger goal. The second objective of the institute was to research and create home-grown "foreign products" (*hakuraihin*) which were considered vital in the country's modernization process under the guidance of German engineer Gottfried Wagner. The institute employed over one hundred and sixty students to cultivate a new generation of scientists who could replicate an array of Western products. According to the Kyoto City History, by 1874, two years after the institute was established, the *Seimikyoku* had produced a little over one hundred and forty one bars of soap- a tiny amount compared to what Western companies were producing in large factories. Japan had lacked the basic infrastructure and general knowledge to manufacture soap, projects initiated by the government during the early years of the Meiji era, remained purely experimental and failed to produce any tangible results, resulting in the *Seimikyoku*'s eventual demise in 1881. *Kaō Sekken Gojyūnenshi*. (Tokyo: Kaō Sekken Gojyūnenshi Henshūiin kai, 1940) and Aketa Tetsuo. *Ishin Kyoto wo sukutta gōwan chiji: Makimura Masano to Machishūtachi.* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2004)

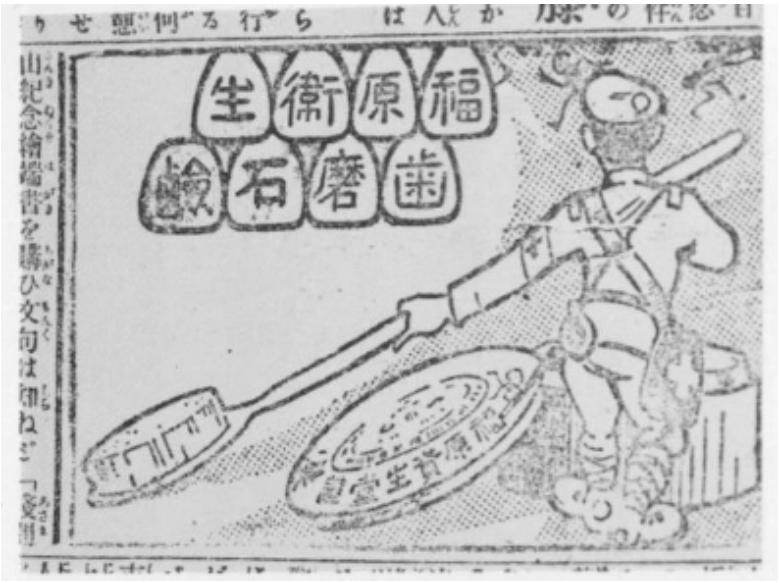
Japan's first Western-style drug store named Shiseidō in Ginza.[130] Modern hygiene practices played an important role in not just creating a powerful military, but also in translating the practice to domestic life. Like many entrepreneurs in his time, Fukuhara was mesmerized by the quality and effectiveness of Western drugs. He decided to make such products available to all Japanese and set out to learn how to manufacture hygiene products. Nagayo Sensai, the statesman who coined the term *eisei,* was aware of Fukuhara's ambitions and shared the view that the manufacture of high-quality, scientifically proven, domestically produced hygiene products could contribute significantly to achieving hygienic modernity. Using his political connections from his time in the Navy, Fukuhara embarked on a mission to create products that could both compete with Western products and serve the entire nation.

Traditionally, Japanese people rubbed their teeth with whatever natural source was available to them, such as salt or sand, to keep them polished. Fukuhara introduced a toothpaste that set the tone for the new Japanese hygiene and beauty industry, and his training allowed him to authoritatively market it as scientifically advanced. Using chemical compounds such as calcium and magnesium carbonates, as well as flavorings such as rose and mint, his product promised to "maintain the natural state of the teeth"- that is, white teeth. It also claimed to prevent both tartar and cavities, which, he explained, were medically proven signs of unhygienic teeth. Moreover, Fukuhara also focused on packaging. He noticed that the products available on the market were poorly presented to consumers. Powders were sold in loose bags which made brushing one's teeth a rather cumbersome and a rather messy endeavor. The wrapping was also

[130] During the waning years of the Tokugawa period, Fukuhara was a student of pharmacology at the *Bakufu Igakujo*, one of the medical schools specializing in Western medicine established in the late nineteenth century by the Shogunate. The school was attended by many who would later go on to occupy important posts in the Japanese military. After the Restoration, the *igakujo* became the *Seiyō Igakujo*, the predecessor to the Tokyo University Medical School.

unattractive. Fukuhara changed the way toothpaste was packaged by placing it in a round case with "Fukuhara Sanitary Toothpaste" written on the lid in both English and Japanese. His product was at first clearly marketed only to upper-class Japanese. Tooth brushing powders were usually sold at two *sen* per bag, but Fukuhara charged almost ten times more, selling his product at twenty-five *sen* which undoubtedly could have been afforded by only a very few. Fukuhara differentiated his product from others on the market by promising a superior scientific formulation that effectively achieved hygiene.

The Japanese armed forces played an important role in expanding Fukuhara's civilian consumer base. Fukuhara's product was endorsed by Nagai Nagayoshi (1844-1929), who was then a famed professor of organic chemistry at Tokyo Imperial University. One advertisement for the product claimed that the Home Ministry, as well as the Navy and the Army, deemed the toothpaste a "superior product." In 1893, Fukuhara further contributed to the health of the Navy by producing *Kakkemaru,* Japan's first vitamin B1 tablet for the prevention of beriberi. As one of the most prestigious institutions that made up the *kokuktai*, official recognition from the Navy became part of Shiseidō's success as a trustworthy Japanese brand that produced effective and scientific products. By the late 1890s, numerous Japanese soap and toothpaste companies such as Kaō Soap (established in 1887), also advertised that their products had successfully "passed the hygiene test administered by the Home Ministry," and were approved by the Surgeon General of the Japan Imperial Army. Indeed, numerous companies made it a selling point that they too were purveyors of hygiene products to the Imperial Navy and Army. Hygiene became so closely associated with the armed forces that one company named its toothpaste *Gunkan Hamigaki* or Warship Toothpaste.



1.1 One of the advertisements for Fukuhara Sanitary Toothpaste, showing the company's connection with the military. (1910)

"Hygienic Beauty"

The term hygiene was associated with not just "cleanliness" but also acted as an umbrella term for all practices associated with achieving a higher state of beauty and health. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, hygiene became the guiding principle of healthful living and the framework through which beauty was discussed and understood in Japan.[131] In fact, Japanese physicians trained in the West began to employ the term "hygienic beauty" or *eisei biyōjutsu* to describe beautification through care of internal health. They quickly discredited early modern beauty practices on the basis that they were "uncivilized," and sometimes even hazardous to a person's health. To return to the example of hair, in 1885, military doctor and politician Watanabe Kanae established The Association for the Promotion of Western Hairstyles (*Fujin*

[131] For the process of "scientification" of beauty and cosmetics in Germany, see Ramsbrock. *The Science of Beauty.*

Sokuhatsu Kai) that convinced the government to permit women to cut their hair short.[132] As previously discussed, the government had attempted to prevent women from cutting their hair despite an 1871 edict that permitted male citizens to do so. By 1885, a growing number of Japanese physicians, however, believed that traditional hairstyles were "out of touch" with the goals of "civilization and enlightenment" because they were "time consuming, uneconomical and unhygienic."[133] In *Women's Westernized Hairstyles* published in 1885, for example, Murano Tokuzaburō, a member of Watanabe's association, argued that since women were essential in the modernization process, they were also entitled to exert control over their bodies.[134] While Murano did not outright call for women to have the freedom to choose shorter hair, he suggested that they be allowed to "modernize" the way they styled their long hair in order to achieve a more hygienic status.[135]

Murano identified numerous health issues caused by traditional Japanese hairstyles to support his case. For one, they were taxing on the neck because women were required to sleep on propped-up pillows to avoid ruining their hairstyles. This not only led to "poor sleeping patterns" but also "difficulty in breathing" which was injurious to a woman's respiratory system. Murano also pointed to the large amount of oil required to maintain hairstyles, which—he claimed-- was unhygienic for the hair. Moreover, because hairstyling was both time consuming and expensive, women did not wash their hair until their next styling appointment, "fostering bacterial

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[132] See David Howell. "The Girl with the Horse-Dung Hairdo."

[133] Watanabe Kanae. *Sokuhatsu Annai* (Tokyo: Jogaku Zasshi sha, 1887)

[134] Murano Tokuzaburō. *Yōshiki Fujin Sokuhatsuhō* (1885)

[135] Ibid,. 5

growth."[136] To remedy these problem, the Association presented Japanese women with illustrated pamphlets of new hairstyles that were not only more "modern" but also required very little hair oil.[137] More importantly, these new styles were simple enough for a woman to style on her own, thus eliminating the need to see a hairdresser. By 1890, doctors' arguments that pointed to the unhygienic aspect of traditional hair became increasingly focused on cleanliness. The *Women's Hygiene Magazine* (*Fujin Eisei Zasshi*) too began to feature numerous articles written by doctors on how to maintain clean hair, something that was not a priority in the early modern period.

1.2 Ukiyoe painting showing different types of *sokuhatsu*. **"**A comparison of beautiful women in s*okuhatsu* hairstyles" Yōshū Chikanobu, 1887.

The emphasis on health and hygiene also forced Japanese to reevaluate their existing make-up culture and, in particular, use of whitening powders. Knowledge about the detrimental effects of lead poisoning came from Europe, where physicians in the eighteenth-century linked make-up used by the aristocracy to a plethora of physiological problems, including blindness and neurological disorders. In 1887, kabuki actor Nakamura Fukusuke was reportedly carried off

[136] Ibid,.

[137] Ibid,. 7

stage after experiencing violent leg spasms in the middle of a performance. Physicians determined that Nakamura's symptoms revealed an acute case of lead poisoning, a consequence of years of applying thick coats of whitening powder containing mercury. Powders containing white lead (*enpaku*) were cheap and were popular for their long-lasting effects among women during the Tokugawa period. But the side-effects from lead poisoning that most fully caught the attention of Japanese physicians were infertility and birth defects. Japanese women not only painted their faces white but also applied the powder to their décolletage. Doctors eventually realized that mothers absorbed lead into their breast milk, thereby directly affecting infants. Such hazardous effects were, of course, undesirable for a country that wanted to rear a generation of healthy citizens.

Another ancient beauty tradition that became viewed as scientifically harmful was teeth blackening, although this concern developed long after it was criticized by Westerners as barbaric. In 1898, for example, Mutō Kirijirō a dentist, writing in one of the many medical journals that began appearing during the Meiji era, called the practice "equivalent to foot binding in China and the corsets women wore in the West." [138] Mutō did not view these customs in terms of women's rights but purely in terms of the negative impact they had on the health of Asian peoples. These customs were only abandoned when they became identified as harmful to the body. Mutō argued that contrary to popular belief that the black dye prevented cavities, the dye used for the teeth poisoned the body because the substance was transferred to the internal organs through the saliva.[139] Beauty cultures and cosmetics not only needed to be modernized to end

[138] Mutō Kirijirō. *Futsūshika Eisei*. (Chiba) 1898, 37-41

[139] Ibid,. 41

these sources of harm, newer treatments could nourish the body by maintaining internal health. This, in turn, would improve the person's outward appearance.

The change toward a scientific understanding of beauty and its relation to health is evident in the beauty manuals that began to appear at the turn of the century. Early twentieth manuals that were published following the Meiji era were organized along the same lines as books on health and hygiene. In 1907, for example, the Hygiene Newspaper (*Eisei Shinpō*) editorial office published a series titled *Practical Responses and Answers* which aimed to provide information on a wide array of health and disease issues. The series included volumes on gynecological diseases (*fujin byō*), venereal diseases, pregnancy, respiratory diseases, and the nervous system.

The series also featured an entire 1907 volume titled *Men and Women's Beauty*, showing that beautification had transformed into a matter closely related to health while still maintaining a moral dimension.[140] Like many other medical handbooks that were published during this period, it too started by criticizing the past. According to the preface, early modern beauty practices were not only unhygienic but were also "lewd and indolent habits."[141] The purpose of the *Men and Women's Beauty* was to discard unhealthy and archaic traditions and to promote behaviors that "displayed the elegance of civilized citizens."[142] The first chapter, "beautification through hygiene" outlined the importance of inner health in achieving true beauty. The author first criticized the heavy use of whitening powder for the reasons previously discussed and

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[140] Eisei Shinpōsha. *Jitsuyō Mondō: Danjo Biyō hen*. (Tokyo: Maruyama Shosekibu, 1907), preface (page unnumbered)

[141] Ibid,.

[142] Ibid., page unnumbered

complained that whitening powders and rouge served no beneficial purpose aside from covering the skin. Worse, these powders made the underlying complexion appear "grey" and "unnaturally pale," that is, sickly. Excellent nutrition and exercise promoted circulation, which, in turn allowed for a healthier appearance, rendering the application of harmful whitening powders unnecessary.[143]

The emphasis on health and natural beauty did not mean rejecting make-up. Rather, the manual urged Japanese to adopt new beauty techniques that promoted natural beauty. According to the manual, cosmetics should "enhance the appearance of the complexion" and "cover minor imperfections." Powder, for example, needed to be changed to a color that resembled something "closer to the natural color of the skin" rather than abandoned.[144] The stress on natural, healthy skin prompted the mass manufacture of a broad range of pinkish powders rather than ones that effaced the natural color of the skin.

The importance of clean, healthy skin was also reflected in the emergence of new types of beauty services. In 1905, Endō Hatsuko opened Japan's first modern esthetic salon, *Riyōkan* (literally "Salon") in Tokyo's upscale shopping district of Ginza. These esthetic salons were described as promoting a "hygienic facial culture" (*eisei biganjutsu).* A 1907 publication titled *New Western Beauty Techniques* (*Ōbei Saishin Biyōhō*), gives us an insight into the kinds of treatments Endō offered in her salon. The book underscored the benefits of scientific tools in achieving a healthy complexion.[145] A facial treatment at the *Riyōkan* lasted forty minutes and the process went as follows: first, the esthetician applied a hot towel to soften the skin and to

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[143] Ibid,.

[144] Ibid,. 8-9

[145] Tamaki Kōji. *Ōbei Saishin Biyōhō*. (Tokyo: Tokyo Biyōinhen, 1907)

open up the pores. This was followed with a cream that was massaged into the skin to stimulate blood flow. The esthetician then wiped off the excess facial cream with a towel. As a final step, tools such as the "complexion bulb" were used to give the face a glowing complexion. [146] According to an advertisement by the Chicago-based company that manufactured the complexion bulb, the tool "removes pimples, blackheads, flesh worms, and makes the skin soft, clear, smooth and white."[147] As the next chapter will show, Endō, along with Shiseidō's Fukuhara Arinobu, belonged to a new generation of entrepreneurs who helped the Meiji government's goals of civilizing and enlightening a population by commercializing scientific beauty.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced how beauty was perceived and treated early in modern Japan and how perceptions evolved as Japan became a modern nation after 1868. While early modern Japan possessed a sophisticated body ideology and a small market for beauty products, how people presented themselves in public was ultimately determined by their position within the Tokugawa social hierarchy. Meiji statesmen deemed the physical appearance and the practices associated with the body to be vital to Japan's modernization process and more importantly, significant markers to gain acceptance from the rest of the world. Specifically, bodily appearance issues were largely structured around the Emperor and men.

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[146] *Fujin Sekai,* June 1907

[147] A.R. Krueger Manufacturing Company. "The Rubber Complexion Bulb," 1905.

Early modern beauty practices were discredited by both the State and Western-trained doctors on the grounds that they were "uncivilized" and damaging to a person's health. Indeed, some of them were injurious while others simply did not fit new assumptions about proper hygiene. With the introduction of the concept of modern hygiene, Japanese were encouraged to follow "hygienic beauty practices," in which clean skin, hair and white teeth became the new ideal. This was first systematically incorporated into the daily routines of soldiers in the Navy.

Then, a new generation of entrepreneurs such as Shiseidō's Fukuhara Arinobu collaborated with and capitalized on the Meiji government's goals of establishing hygienic modernity at home and abroad by commodifying new understandings of health and beauty. They not only manufactured new products but also participated in educating Japanese by instilling new beauty rituals that was based on health and cleanliness. Within this context, the modern Japanese beauty industry began to take shape, and would continue to expand over the course of the early twentieth century, spreading beyond the metropole and into Japan's colonial territories.

The next chapter will discuss how beauty entrepreneurs, motivated by the national slogan of "production promotion" (*shokusan kōgyō)*, further collaborated with and capitalized on the Meiji government's goals to expand hygienic modernity both at home and abroad. More and more they did so through consumer driven practices. Producers increasingly began to interact with consumers rather than the state. The new social climate and economic difficulties in the 1920s placed a premium on the role of the physical appearance in order to succeed in life and many young Japanese invested in their bodies to an unprecedented degree through the consumption of beauty products and services from that decade.

Chapter 2

Selling Beauty:
The Growth of the Modern Japanese Beauty Industry

In the 1883 issue of *The Greater Japanese Hygiene Association Magazine,* medical doctor and statesman Nagayo Sensai (1838-1902) observed with growing concern that hygiene products were being marketed as luxury products.[148] Nagayo feared that entrepreneurs "misunderstood" (*gokai*) what he intended *eisei* (hygiene) to achieve. *Eisei* denoted the "self-discipline" of individual bodies in order to improve the health and welfare of the Japanese people, and so bolster national security. Instead, Nagayo lamented, entrepreneurs used *eisei,* as a marketing ploy to promote "luxury" and "indulgent consumption."[149] Although the modern Japanese beauty industry was still small in 1883, what Nagayo was witnessing was the very beginning of a burgeoning market for luxury toiletries and beauty products in Japan. Nagayo's frustration was understandable: just two years before he penned this article, Nagayo had approached Shiseidō founder Fukuhara Arinobu encouraging him to use his training in pharmacology to help Japan establish a hygienic regime in some form or another.[150] Nagayo probably hadn't imagined at the time that Fukuhara would transform toothpaste into a high-end commodity for upper-class Japanese. Nor would he have approved of the ways consumers coveted that product. By the 1890s, firms routinely used the language of science and hygiene to sell luxury skin care items and make-up products in addition to soap and toothpaste, regardless of their actual health benefits. With rapid industrialization, urbanization and a growing middle-class at the turn of the

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[148] Nagayo Sensai, "Eisei gokai no ben," *Dai Nippon Shiritsu Eiseikai Zasshi*, Vol 2, (1883), 27.

[149] Ibid,.

[150] Mitsuo Yamazaki, *Kaika No Hito: Fukuhara Arinobu No Shiseidō Monogatari.* (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha., 2013).

twentieth century, the beauty industry grew fast, to the point where, by the mid-1920s, Japan possessed the largest beauty industry in Asia. It served consumers in both the metropole and the colonies, and was firmly integrated within the larger global beauty industry.[151] The beauty business soon became such a vital part of Japanese consumer life that in 1936, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry declared cosmetics to be a "vital industrial product" (*jūyō kōsanhin*).

This chapter traces how beauty entrepreneurs capitalized on the government's agenda to promote a broad range of products and services, in the process importing and forming new ideals about the "modern body," and its place in modern Japan. They sold their products through innovative marketing techniques, advertisements and in new kinds of retail establishments. The industry exploded during the 1920s and 30s, a period of vibrant consumer culture, but somewhat paradoxically, it was also one of economic hardship. In those decades, the industry reconceptualized the body as a malleable "project" that could be continually worked on and transformed by consuming cosmetics, rather than just a "healthy body."

From a hygiene to a beauty industry

As discussed in the previous chapter, the beauty industry in early Meiji Japan was essentially a hygiene industry consisting largely of soap and toothpaste that promoted the strengthening of Japanese bodies. However, this gradually began to change as manufacturers began to diversify their product lines to include cosmetics. In the 1890s, Fukuhara noticed that many of his customers at the pharmacy were upper-class women, who also purchased novel Western products such as cosmetics. He recognized that women were a valuable consumer base and decided to create a product comparable in quality to imported goods. Fukuhara's innovation was

[151] For a history on the global beauty industry, see Jones. *Beauty Imagined.*

to manufacture a product that replaced something already familiar to many Japanese women, but with a modern twist: the facial toner.[152] As discussed in the previous chapter, facial toners had been essential to early modern beauty culture, when they were used to prepare women's skin for the thick coat of whitening powders applied afterwards. Fukuhara had started selling Eudermine, based on his own recipe in his Western-style pharmacy. He appears to have been inspired by writer Shikitei Sanba, who also was by day, a wholesaler of Chinese medicine as well as the manufacturer of one of Edo's most popular beauty products, *Edo no Mizu.*[153] In addition to *Eudermine*, Fukuhara concocted nine other beauty aids, including hair oils, dry shampoo and beard oils for men to help shape their handle bar mustache that was the most popular style among upper-class Japanese men in the 1890s.[154] Nor was Fukuhara the first Meiji-era beauty entrepreneur to produce a facial toner. In 1879, Hirao Sanpei introduced *Komachisui* but since this did not differ from early modern products such as *Edo no Mizu,* sales were lackluster. By the 1890s, Japanese consumers had moved onto cosmetics sold by foreign companies and they sought to purchase similar "new" products.

Fukuhara set himself apart from his competitors through careful attention to the rhetoric, content and packaging of his product. He highlighted the "scientific" formula of his facial toner, which as he had he learned from the success of his toothpaste, was a crucial selling strategy in an era of "civilization and enlightenment." He once again enlisted the help of his close friend, organic chemist Nagai Nagayoshi (1845-1929), to formulate a modern product. Upon his return

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[152] Yamazaki, *Kaika no hito*.

[153] See chapter 1 for discussion on Shikitei Sanba.

[154] Shiseidō. *Shiseido Shashi: Shiseidō to Ginza no ayumi hachijūgonen* (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1957), 70-71.

to Japan from Germany, Nagai was appointed Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy at the prestigious Tokyo Imperial University and he also founded the Pharmaceutical Society of Japan. In the new toner, Nagai used a combination of chemical compounds and natural oils such as rose oil and musk. Not only was the scent of the product new to Japanese consumers, but the formula also gave the liquid a red color, making the product visually distinct. Nagai then chose a foreign name, *Eudermine,* derived from the Greek word for good (*eu*) and skin (*derma*), adding transnational cultural sophistication to the product's credibility as "scientific."

While the composition of this product was important to its success, Fukuhara also focused on packaging. *Eudermine* was sold in an elegant corked glass bottle through which consumers could see the red formula, a radically new idea. A pale pink ribbon was wrapped around the bottleneck and the word *Eudermine* was written in the Roman alphabet, along with roses on the label. All of these presentations were unprecedented in Japan.[155] *Eudermine* was also promoted as a "high quality toner," and touted as a "must have" for both noblewomen (*kifujin*) and young women (*reijo*). Fukuhara most likely had the women who attended the Rokumeikan parties as his main consumers in mind. Priced at seventy-five *sen* for a box of three bottles, *Eudermine* was expensive. His advertisements encouraged consumers to use it liberally on the face, hands and legs or any irritated areas in order to achieve "smooth" and "beautiful skin" that was free of blemishes.[156] While *Eudermine* was distinctively different from the toothpaste that he had produced almost a decade before, Fukuhara continued to draw on the Meiji government's language of *eisei* by promoting his toner as contributing to healthy and clean

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[155] Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Selling Shiseidō: Cosmetics Advertising and Design in Early 20th Century Japan," *MIT Visualizing Cultures*, accessed May 1st, 2017. https://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/shiseido_01/index.html

[156] *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*. November 10, 1898.

looking skin. This, along with the interest in satisfying women's desires, is precisely what would have disturbed Nagayo Sensai.

2.1 Shiseido's first beauty product, *Eudermine*.

Although Fukuhara focused largely on women as his consumers, in general the Japanese beauty industry in the early Meiji period saw men as equally important consumers. As discussed in the previous chapter, men were at the center of early Meiji bodily appearance issues, more so than women, and discussions on beauty often included men. This is evident in the title of beauty manuals published in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, such as *White Skin for*

Men and Women (1891) *Make-up for Beautiful Men and Women* (1907), and *Men and Women's Beauty* (1907).[157]

Beauty products were also marketed to both men and women. As Laura Miller has noted in her anthropological study of aesthetic salons in contemporary Japan, the "product category roughly equivalent to 'cosmetics' (*keshōhin*) was never strictly gendered in Japan as it is in the United States."[158] In 1893, for example, Teikokudō Yamasaki sold *Kirei Sui* that promised beauty for both "men and women."[159] Club Cosmetics, founded by Nakayama Taichi in 1903, targeted men as part of their consumer base. Between 1907 and 1908, the company released a series of advertisements for Club's cleansing powder, which encouraged men to "maintain their beauty." In one advertisement, a man whose back is turned to the consumer is wearing a traditional Japanese *hakama* and *geta* shoes. He also carries a cane and sports a hat, neither part of Japanese conventional dress. The advertisement reads: "cold wind and cold water have a detrimental effect on skin. Ladies and gentlemen, Club cleansing powder is a vital daily necessity in maintaining beauty." Despite the verbal discussion of the face, only the dapper gentleman's back is visible in the image. The advertisement next to it showed a photograph of a young man with short hair. As in the first illustration, he is wearing a *hakama* and aside from his shorn hair, appears rather traditional; he is young, and the use of the new medium of photography also adds an impression of youthful energy. Another advertisement showed a

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[157] Tezuka Haru. *Danjo nikutai iroshiro hō* (Tezuka Haru: Yokohama, 1891); Mitamura Maki. *Bijin Ichimei: danjo keshō hō* (Osaka: Bijinsha, 1894); Eisei Shinpōsha Henshūkyoku. *Jitsuyo monto danjo biyō hen* (Tokyo: Maruyamasha Shosekibu,

[158] Laura Miller, *Beauty Up.*

[159] "1893 Kirei sui- Teikokudō Yamasaki." *Japan Archives*, https://jaa2100.org/entry/detail/032777.html (accessed May 27th, 2018)

military man who seems to be wearing moustache wax, who asserted that the cleanser was "the most civilized cosmetics coveted by upwardly mobile men." A fourth advertisement touched upon class, using words such as "elegance" and "distinguished" above photographs of two Japanese men with short Western hairstyles and bushy mustaches. According to this advertisement, the brand's products added to the "elegance" of gentlemen in Tokyo and helped preserve their "natural beauty." Club Cosmetics thus attempted to reach several types of emerging masculine figures- the modernized but traditional Japanese gentleman, the "military man," the "average" young Japanese man, and the refined Westernized gentleman.

2.2 Advertisements for Club Cosmetics Cleanser, 1907-1908 Source: *Club Cosmetics Hachijūnenshi*

As new gender ideals of what it meant to be "masculine" were formed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, men's physical appearance became politicized in new ways. Gregory Pflugfelder's work on the history of same-sex love in Japan shows how the state first redefined and then eschewed effeminacy and advanced a new form of masculinity.[160] In a March 1917 issue of the *Yomiuri* newspaper, for example, a journalist penned an article titled "Men also use cosmetics: a problem at home or a social trend?" before concluding that it was both.[161] The author first observed the increase in demand for cosmetics, and noted that they were not only popular among women but were also avidly consumed by men, including "soldiers, students and bankers." The journalist saw this as a "social problem" caused by a "lack of information within the home." While it was acceptable for women to purchase beauty products to improve their physical appearance, men should not be using them because it rendered them effeminate. Instead, they needed to "focus on cultivating a healthy body" that served the nation. The journalist thought of cosmetics use as "deviant behavior" and blamed Japanese mothers for failing to instill their children with "appropriate behavior" and hence embody the "good wife, wise mother ideal." This echoed Nagayo Sensai's original vision and was helped by journals and newspapers like the *Yomiuri.* Cosmetics therefore gradually became coded as something that only women were meant to consume. By the 1920s, the cosmetics industry catered largely to

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[160] Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (University of California Press, 2007); See also, Donald Roden, "Thoughts on the Early Meiji Gentleman," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Uno, Kathleen S., Harvard East Asian Monographs (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 61–98; Jason G. Karlin, *Gender and Nation in Meiji Japan: Modernity, Loss, and the Doing of History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014).

[161] "Otoko no hito tachi mo kesho suru," *Yomiuri Shinbun,* March 27th, 1917.

women and this segment of evolving media culture and advertising techniques most directly and most often promoted new images of modern femininity.

Promoting Cosmetics

Newspaper and women's magazines, were powerful mediums through which cosmetics were advertised. Japan had had a high literacy rate since the early modern era and this had further expanded through the introduction of compulsory education in 1872. Print media of all kinds grew rapidly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Andrew Gordon has pointed out, "the purchase of these publications itself was perhaps the single most rapidly expanding modern form of consumption in the early decades of the century."[162] In particular, the number of magazines aimed at women grew, including *Fujin Gahō*, *Fujin Sekai*, *Fujin Kōron*, *Shufu no tomo* and *Fujin Kurabu* and these were a major vehicle through which beauty entrepreneurs promoted modern goods directly to women, both through articles and advertisements. In 1912, there were a total 6,899 cosmetics advertisements in Japanese newspapers, and by 1914, these figures jumped to 11,941 ads. Cosmetics occupied more than a quarter of the total advertising space.[163]

While print ads were common ways to encourage women to buy cosmetics globally, Japanese beauty companies advertised their products through their expansive promotional activities to an unusual extent. As Geoffrey Jones has noted, a distinct feature of Japanese firms

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[162] Andrew Gordon, "Consumption, Consumerism, and Japanese Modernity," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentman (The Oxford University Press, 2012), 485–503.

[163] Nihon Keshōhin Kōgyō Rengōkai, *Keshōhin Kōgyō 120-Nen No Ayumi* (Tokyo: Nihon Keshōhin Kōgyō Rengōkai, 1995), 183–84.

was the degree to which they endeavored to educate their consumers on how to use their beauty products.[164] Whereas Shiseidō became famous for its luxe packaging, Hirao Sanpei's Lait Cosmetics made its mark through its marketing strategies in both the urban and rural areas throughout Japan's empire.[165] Lait educated consumers to use its products by conducting product demonstrations in front of retail stores and distributing free samples.[166] Beginning in the 1910s, these product demonstrations were conducted by female beauty experts, who also lectured at department stores, and to women's groups. They also preached their beauty messages in factories throughout Japan, indicating that Lait was looking to broaden its consumer base beyond the middle-class to the working class.[167]

Lait also reached into Japan's past to resurrect old customs as promotional devices to sell its products. The company conducted flag parades, which were also known as "daimyō processions" because they were modelled on the processions by vassals to and from Edo as part of the alternate attendance system (*sankin kotai*) in the early modern period. Instead of a suite of retainers carrying spears and longbows, however, company employees marched through towns and cities carrying flags bearing the company logo and product name. The firm also exploited the Tōkaidō railway line, Japan's most important route connecting Kyoto to Tokyo, by placing massive billboards in villages along the route so that both villagers and train passengers would become familiar with the Lait Cosmetics brand.

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[164]Jones, *Beauty Imagined,* 120

[165] Taro Hirao, *Hirao Sanpei shōten gojūnenshi* (Tokyo: Hirao Sanpei Shōten, 1929), 534–35.

[166] Ibid,.

[167] Ibid,.

2.3 "For a bright and youthful face: Lait Powder" A large billboard near the Settsu-Tonda station near Osaka on the Tōkaidō railway line. Source: *Hirao Sanpei Shoten 50 nen shi*.

Branded cosmetic products were also sold in new sites, most notably the department store, the prestigious shopping, dining, and visual display destination of an emerging middle-class. Louise Young argues that the department store was a "key agent for the cultural production of the new middle class in Japan" in the early twentieth century.[168] At the same time, the department store was also gaining recognition as a quasi-public space-- free for all to enter, opening the possibility that consumption of modern goods could become democratic and egalitarian. Shopping in department stores quickly became a form of entertainment, in addition to the formal exhibitions and concerts they housed. As Jinnō Yuki also argues, partly for this reason, the department store played a crucial role in the formation of "modern tastes."[169] The department store housed a range of Western-style but Japanese-made products and explicitly

[168] Louise Young, "Marketing the Modern: Department Stores, Consumer Culture, and the New Middle Class in Interwar Japan," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 55 (1999),63.

[169] Yuki Jinnō, *Hyakkaten de "shumi" o kau: taishū shōhi bunka no kindai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2015).

claimed to the public that "good taste" meant the consumption of these objects. In other words, shopping in a department store became an activity through which an individual could accumulate what Pierre Bourdieu calls "cultural capital," a way for middle-class people to secure and improve their position in society and also reconstitute what "society" consists of through these actions.[170] Department stores also defined and developed "fashion" (*ryūkō)* and "good taste" through monthly publications of magazines that doubled as newsletters and advertisements for a wide range of goods. These journals offered clients information on such things as the latest trends and announcing clearance sales before the new season.

Nakayama Taichi, the founder of Club Cosmetics, specifically targeted the Mitsukoshi department store in Tokyo to sell his cosmetics line. Mitsukoshi was Japan's first department store and an ideal venue because it attracted upper-class women and also because it offered a wide range of Western clothes and accessories and art exhibits and elegant coffee shops all under one roof. In 1905, the store exclusively sold Western cosmetics because they were still considered far superior to Japanese ones. Nakayama aspired to become the first Japanese brand to break into Mitsukoshi. After studying the store's clientele, his solution was to create a hybrid East-West brand image. First, he re-named his signature product from *Nakayama Taiyōdō oshiroi* (powder) to Club *oshiroi* to give it a modern feel. He also established a company logo, a set of "beautiful twins" (*futago bijin*), which, according to the company, represented the ideal melded image of a modern, yet classically elegant Japanese lady, defined as embodying both traditional Japanese and European beauty ideals.

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[170] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

2.4 Club Cosmetics' advertisement for company's cleansing powder and signature logo. Date unknown. Source: *Kurabu 80 nenshi.*

However, despite their cachet, Mitsukoshi's upper-class customers simply were too few to comprise a mass market and Nakayama did not want to limit his clientele to them. His long-term goal was to sell Club's line to as many women as possible, which meant attracting women who did not yet wear makeup at all and selling some goods at lower price points. Nakayama already knew that, as the Rokumeikan craze had shown, the growing middle-class tended to follow trends set by Mitsukoshi's customers. This is why he negotiated with Mitsukoshi to allow Club Cosmetics into the store's product line. After the success of this first step in his two-part strategy, Nakayama changed the way he advertised his products to make the most of the department store's cultural cachet. A 1906 advertisement for Club Soap which appeared in the Mitsukoshi magazine *Jikō*, touted itself as a "trusted national brand" as evidenced by its availability at one of Japan's premier department stores. Club Soap's advertising executives also

emphasized the idea that the product was useful for women to women of all ages, from mothers to young ladies, whose "beauty shone with daily use of cosmetics."[171]

Nakayama was an innovative advertiser in other ways too. Rather than using illustrations in advertisements, still the norm in the early 1900s, Club Cosmetics pioneered commercial photography. As Gennifer Weisenfeld has noted, photography formed an important visual strategy in directing consumer life and consumption habits of modern Japanese.[172] In his early photography advertisements, Nakayama depicted upper-class women, both modelling the kind of customers the company already enjoyed and implying that other young women could become modern yet elegant ladies if they purchased Club's products. Club was also the first cosmetics company to mobilize famous actresses and actors such as Tanaka Kinuyo to raise the profile of the firm.

2.5 Club Cosmetics Advertisement for Mitsukoshi Department Store, 1906. Source: *Club Cosmetics 80 nenshi*

[171] Mitsukoshi Gofukuten. *Jikō*, 1906.

[172] Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Publicity and Propaganda in 1930s Japan: Modernism and Method.," *Design Issues* 25, no. 4 (Autumn 2009): 13–28.

The Post-First World War Boom

The Great War (1914-18) further accelerated the beauty industry's expansion along with the rest of the Japanese economy both at home and abroad. The conflict in Europe forced Western cosmetic companies to withdraw from the Japanese market, leaving Japanese producers as the largest suppliers of the market both in the metropole and Asia.[173] However, because the cost of raw materials from Europe skyrocketed, Japanese cosmetics manufacturers also saw a dramatic rise in costs. For example, the price of perfume increased by four-fold, and zinc flower, a vital ingredient of zinc oxide used to pigment make-up and skin creams, went up from eighteen to forty-eight *sen* per pound.

The industry responded by seizing the opportunity in the midst of the crisis. Firms increased their investments in scientific research to become self-sufficient and to create locally-sourced goods rather than importing them. They also, more than ever, framed cosmetics as "scientific" products in which the quality was determined by the degree of scientific research that went into them. Timothy Yang makes a similar observation in his study of the Japanese pharmaceuticals industry; at just the same time, Japanese government authorities instituted a policy of self-sufficiency to prevent future shortages of drugs.[174] Shiseido only formally established a cosmetics research division in 1916, despite having launched its first skincare product over a decade before. The company devoted an entire three-story building to focus on cosmetics in the upscale district of Ginza, with the first floor dedicated to sales, the second for

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[173] Andrew Gordon, "Consumption, Consumerism, and Japanese Modernity," 492.

[174] The 1915 Law for Promoting the Production of Medicine and Dyes provided economic incentives for the domestic production of vital medicines. Timothy Yang. "Selling an Imperial Dream: Japanese Pharmaceuticals, National Power, and the Science of Quinine Self-Sufficiency," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal,* Vol 6, No. 1, (2012): 103-104.

manufacturing, and, more unusually, the top floor was occupied by both the design division and the product testing laboratory. The same year, Nakayama Taichi's Club Cosmetics featured British pharmacologist P.L. Smith in one of its advertisements, showing consumers that the company had employed a Western scientist to formulate its products. The advertisement for Club's new face powder included a photograph of Smith holding up a test tube and described its "unique formula" as "British-style" that "could not be replicated by any other company."[175]

The Mitsukoshi department store, which had been the main supplier of Western cosmetics products to the Japanese upper-class, communicated to its consumers the effects of the war on imports in their newsletter, writing that "any ingredients used in cosmetics that could be used for medicinal purposes, such as alcohol, or for food such as oats, can no longer be imported because of the food shortage in Europe."[176] Consumers were reportedly "heartbroken" that foreign cosmetics were no longer available for purchase but this created an opportunity for Japanese firms, since these lost souls had no choice but to purchase domestic products.[177]

To continue meeting the demand for cosmetics, department stores such as Mitsukoshi, Matsuzakaya and Takashimaya started working closely with Japanese cosmetics companies to replace the empty shelves once occupied by luxurious foreign products. The strategy of expanding domestic production was soon effective. Mitsukoshi wrote in its newsletter that "Japanese products had superior formulas and packaging to Western ones." Moreover, the

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[175] *Kabushikigaisha Kurabu Kosumechikkusu. Kurabu Kosumechikkusu 80 nen shi.* (Ōsaka, Kabushikigiasha Kurabu Kosumechikkusu, 1983), 47

[176] "Sensō to Keshōhin: Sensō no eikyō to kinchakuhin." *Mitsukoshi*. (September 1918), 12-13

[177] Nakayama Taichi. *Jidai wo tsukuru mono: zaikai jinbutsu hen*. *Dai 2 gō*. (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Hyōronsha, 1938), 25-26

quality of European goods had slipped due to the war and therefore not worth purchasing.[178] Department stores also appealed to racial snobbery by holding exhibitions showcasing domestic cosmetic brands to educate their consumers with the claim that "domestic products were developed to suit the hair and skin of the Japanese people." The department stores also promoted Japanese beauty products with in-store demonstrations to convince clients that local products were just as good, if not better than imported ones, a strategy they had used earlier to familiarize would-be consumers with imported brands, as described above. Encouragement to consume Japanese beauty products not only helped boost sales, but also enhanced the prestige of Japanese beauty products.

This approach intensified even after the war ended because the Tokyo Cosmetics Association initiated a campaign calling for a ban on the re-entry of foreign cosmetics. The Movement to Prevent Import of Cosmetics (*Yunyū Keshōhin Bōshi Undō*) was the beauty industry's response to the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, when the United States denied Japan the Racial Equality Proposal. The business community responded by further restricting imports and encouraging the consumption of domestic products. The campaign set a nationalistic tone and Japanese beauty companies employed various strategies to promote consumption of domestic products as a form of patriotic duty. For example, the Movement set up a competition for best slogan in encouraging protection of the domestic industry. Japanese citizens submitted catch phrases such as "stop imports by consuming domestic products!"[179] The Association also encouraged stores to make domestic beauty products more visible to consumers.

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[178] "Sensō to keshohin," *Mitsukoshi*, (September 1918), 12-13

[179] Hirao, *Hirao Sanpei Shoten Goyunenshi*, 689

In 1924 when the United States ended Japanese emigration with the Johnson-Reed Act, the Association reacted by ordering stores in Japan to take down all American products from its shelves and to replace them with Japanese ones.[180] The Movement's strategy was highly effective. The Japanese cosmetics industry during this period showed remarkable growth. In 1914, the aggregate production of cosmetics stood at 1.9 million yen and by the end of the First World War in 1918, these figures grew almost ten-fold to 11 million yen. A decade later, these stood at 23.4 million yen.[181]

Consuming Beauty Products for Upward Mobility

The expansive marketing campaign deployed by the Japanese beauty industry and the encouragement to consume more in the late 1910s and early 1920s was not without its critics. In part the alarm was about economic inequality, but it was also about forms of bodily self-presentation. The growth of the economy during the First World War saw the beginning of a sharp disparity in assets as some businesses (in particular the conglomerates, known as the *zaibatsu*) became highly visible in Japanese society and monopolized whole sectors of the economy. The newly rich individuals associated this kind of wealth were treated with particular scorn: they were known as the *narikin* and often depicted by the Japanese press as materialistic, selfish, immoral, unpatriotic and concerned solely with profit. This disdain was a partly response to growing inequality. As corporate Japan flourished, farmers and factory workers fell into extreme poverty. One result was a series of nationwide protests throughout the summer of 1918

[180] Ibid,. 639

[181] Nihon Keshōhin Kōgyō Rengō Kai. *Keshōhin kōgyō 120-nen no ayumi: shiryōhen.* (Tokyo: Nihon Keshōhin Kōgyō Rengōkai, 1995), 12-13

known as the Rice Riots.[182] Cosmetics and the women who used them soon became symbols for all that was wrong.

The Japanese beauty industry was criticized by social critics for manipulating consumers into purchasing expensive cosmetics products and more fundamentally, for valuing the outward appearance rather than rewarding hard work and ability. The critics saw these misguided priorities as undermining the core values of the *risshin shusse* ideology. In 1918, a man named Saiki Shiba penned an article in the December issue of *Agricultural Review* denouncing the pervasiveness of cosmetics in rural Ibaraki prefecture. Saiki noted that advertisements for luxury cosmetics products were "everywhere- on trains, walls and electricity poles," even in his "poor secluded village."[183] He called cosmetics as waste of scare resources, blaming both consumers and the companies pushing these goods. Saiki proceeded to chide the "women and youth" who were willing to spend what he considered exorbitant amounts of money and time on luxury cosmetics. He noted that each bottle of toner cost an average of twenty-five *sen*, and calculated that this sum was equivalent to five hours of work for the average laborer. He also directed his criticism toward cosmetics companies for wasting precious national wealth on "foreign resources" and toward pharmacists who exploited their knowledge of science to formulate such "useless products." He reasoned that Japanese were willing to spend their income on beauty products because of the excessive premium that people attached to outward appearance in "the vicious age of the survival of the fittest." Saiki pledged to "eradicate cosmetics" and to redirect

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[182] See Christopher Gerteis. "Political Protests in Interwar Japan," MIT Visualizing Cultures. https://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/protest_interwar_japan/pij1_essay03.html, Michael Lewis, *Rioters and Citizens: Mass Protest in Imperial Japan.* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1998).

[183] Shiba Saiki. "Keshō wo norou." *Nōji Shinpō*. Vol 12 Issue 141, December 1918. 25

Japanese society to seek "spiritual beauty" rather than artificial beauty since a "diamond wrapped in shabby cloth" was infinitely superior to "horse manure wrapped in silk." Saiki in many ways, echoed the same fears that Nagayo Sensai had written about in 1883, that commodity capitalism had stripped Japanese of morality.

Leftist publications such as *The Socialist Review* expressed the same view, for example, in a 1920 poem. The poem criticized upper-class women for purchasing luxury beauty products and for using their bodies as a measure of their self-worth. The poem's anonymous author discussed "upper-class women" of Japan, describing them for general readers.[184] This fictive woman doused herself in "the finest perfume" and liberally applied "powder," two of the most popular cosmetics products at that time. The author, however, was quick to point out that while make-up worn by these women advertised their wealth, it failed to hide their "age, hardened expressions and exhausted manners."[185] Like Saiki's article, the poem suggested that material goods in fact did very little to enhance a woman's beauty and instead contributed to moral decay as Japan became more materialistic. As Charles Shencking has discussed, many social critics saw the destruction of Tokyo in the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake as a form of divine punishment for the excesses brought about by the capitalist consumer culture. These critics hoped that national reconstruction would bring about moral, economic and spiritual rejuvenation and encouraged Japanese to refrain from purchasing luxuries, including cosmetics.[186] One of the ways in which the government attempted to do this was by imposing a 100 percent tariff on

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[184] Author Unknown. "Rei Fujin e," in *Shin Shakai Hyoron* (May 20th, 1920), 41.

[185] Ibid,.

[186] J. Charles Shencking. *The Great Kantō Earthquake and the Chimera of National Reconstruction in Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010)

imported luxury items, which included cosmetics. In 1924, the central government launched the Campaign for the Encouragement of Diligence and Thrift to promote frugality, sacrifice and hard work in rebuilding post-disaster Japan. As Shencking notes, however, this initiative failed since expenditure on luxury items such as cosmetics continued to grow. In fact, the high tariff on imported luxury items led to Japanese consumers to purchase more domestic products, which only helped the growth of the domestic industry. In 1922, the year before the earthquake, expenditure for beauty products was over 28 million yen. By 1925, this figure had grown to 32 million yen, which shows that Japanese continued to purchase cosmetics in the midst of the campaign on thrift. By 1930, the population was spending 30 percent more money on cosmetics than one decade earlier.[187] Cosmetics had clearly become a pervasive aspect of everyday life in Japan.

The critics were also right that individuals purchased them because the outward appearance was of growing importance. Nor was Japan unusual. The observations made Saiki and the anonymous poet echoes Thorstein Veblen's 1899 critique of conspicuous consumption among wealthy Americans, in which the purchase of luxury items caused envious emulation by many, resulting in a race in which no one wanted to be left behind.[188] In sharp contrast to the Meiji era when corporeal management was explicitly tied to the goal of national "civilization and enlightenment," from the 1920s, the body became tied to discourses on individual success and

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[187] Shencking, *The Great Kantō Earthquake.* .257. Figures from Ōkawa, Shinohara, Umemura. *Estimates of Longterm Economic Statistics of Japan since 1868, Volume 6: Consumption Expenditure.* (1967), 249

[188] Thorstein Veblen. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of institutions.* (Macmillan, 1899).

upward mobility.[189] The ideology of *risshin shusse,* like civilization and enlightenment, was originally meant to benefit the nation, yet as Saiki clearly recognized, the meaning of the term had changed to connote greater individualism as Japan became an industrialized nation-state. This process intensified in the harsh economic conditions of the 1920s and 30s when the Japanese economy continued to face a series of crises, most notably the 1927 Shōwa Financial Panic and the Great Depression.

The focus on individual success- and failure- from then was most closely tied to one particular feature of the economic troubles: unemployment. Previously, higher education had very reliably served to set up young people for success, but this was no longer true. In 1919, the Ministry of Labor reported that 11% of graduates from the Tokyo Imperial University, the country's most prestigious institution, were without employment. By 1922, this figure had quadrupled to 46.5%. The *kōtōyūmin,* that is, highly educated unemployed Japanese, became a cultural phenomenon throughout the 1920s and 30s.[190] Filmmakers such as Ozu Yasujirō (1903-1963) in films such as *I Graduated, But*… (1929) portrayed the challenges to achieving the middle-class dream during this period. Upwardly mobile Japanese during this period felt enormous insecurity, given that not even college degrees-- once sufficient to achieve social success--could promise them either employment or in a second major consequence- a marriage partner.

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[189] Earl H Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai To Salary Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Timothy J. Van Compernolle, *Struggling Upward: Worldly Success and the Japanese Novel.* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2016).

[190] Yūichi Matsuda. *Kindai Nihon no shūshokunan monogatari: "kōtōyūmin" ni naru keredo* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkō, 2016), 94-95

The ideology of self-cultivation developed new gender implications too. While the discourse on *risshin shusse* was originally directed toward men by the state, by the early 1920s women were also included in the discussion of self-cultivation. As Barbara Sato has argued, unlike for men, the discourse on self-cultivation was not imposed by the state through mechanisms such as military service. Rather, these developments were spurred almost entirely by private actors. Women's magazines, in particular the "big four"- *Fujin Sekai, Shufu no Tomo*, *Fujin Kurabu* and *Fujin Kōron* promoted ideas of self-cultivation. These magazines sought to prepare women for important moments in their lives, such as entry into the workforce, marriage and child rearing, as well as teaching them how to achieve higher social status or more satisfying lives.

The discourse concerning women and beauty during the 1920s and 30s often focused on the importance of looking one's best to secure a marriage partner. Although being born into privilege was the main avenue through which women achieved high status, women could lose it by failing to marry a high-quality man. When men could not find jobs, they also could not support wives. Japanese women therefore found themselves with a smaller pool of men to choose from. Arranged marriages were still common and while one might think this reduced the importance placed on personal appearance, apparently it did not. Women's magazines often included stories of beautiful lower-class women "marrying into wealth" (*tamanokoshi*). These women, such as factory girls, successfully climbed the social ladder by marrying middle-class men. The message of these articles was that, for women, looks alone could provide security. And that meant wearing cosmetics.

Cosmetics during the 1920s and 30s are commonly associated with the Modern Girl, but advertisements and advice on beautification show a strong focus on the family. Firms avoided

depicting women as seductresses or as vain, materialistic consumers. Rather, they participated in reinforcing the "good wife, wise mother ideal" by portraying cosmetics as commodities that helped secure a woman's place in the home. Once women became housewives, the beauty industry and social commentators continued to exhort them to take diligent care of their outward appearance to maintain and enhance the social and cultural capital of the household. Looking good, they asserted, would contribute to the family's social status. They claimed that the "worldly success" (*shusse*) of the housewife depended on mastering a new "etiquette," one that included the use of cosmetics. These expectations rested on an updated version of *midashinami.* To borrow from Ikegami Eiko's insights on etiquette in early modern Japan, internalizing these codes was important in achieving upward mobility, perhaps even more strongly in modernity.[191]

As in the early modern period, *midashinami* in modern Japan was instilled through handbooks. Although these were generally in the form of books in Tokugawa Japan, in the modern period, women's magazines became the main source of information on proper etiquette. In 1925, *Fujin Kurabu* published a special issue, titled *The Foundation of the Wife's Worldly Success.* Contributing authors included prominent male intellectuals such as philosopher Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945), novelists Arishima Takeo (1878-1923) and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927), as well as women's rights activist Yoshioka Yayoi (1871-1959). Spanning one hundred and seventy-five pages, the handbook included topics that bore resemblance to the older handbooks such as *Women's Treasure Trove*, such as advice on elegant speech, writing skills and table manners. *The Foundation of the Wife's Worldly Success* also provided guidelines for the modern women navigating a rapidly evolving society that required new codes of etiquette. The handbook, for example, provided married women meticulous instructions on new form of

[191] Ikegami. *Bonds of Civility,* 326

manners, such as how to entertain their salaryman husband's colleagues, including greeting them at the front door and pouring *sake* for their guests in precisely the correct way. A proper and "modern" housewife was also expected to educate herself about new forms of leisure such as baseball so that she could participate in the conversation with her husband and guests about the latest game. The handbook recommended further that housewives not only understand tennis but also to learn to play because it was as upper-class activity.

Managing the outward appearance, of course, formed an important part of *The Foundation of the Wife's Worldly Success.* The housewife, according to the guide book, "should always do her hair, powder her face, and pay attention to her dress" because doing so was a form of "etiquette" toward those she interacted with. Proper *midashinami* required her to maintain her dignity, which in turn, enhanced her intelligence. Failure to present herself properly, on the other hand, was an "embarrassment" that "betrayed one's upbringing" and could harm her social relationships with others.[192]

The arguments presented by social commentators and the beauty industry closely resembled the discourse deployed by the Meiji government when it sought to transform the bodies of the Japanese beginning in the late nineteenth century. As discussed in the previous chapter, Meiji doctors and social commentators often discussed the importance of the outward appearance when socializing with others. The handbook included over thirty pages on the latest beauty techniques. First, it offered instructions on a multi-step routine to prepare the skin for make-up. Housewives were encouraged to create a clean canvas by massaging and cleansing the skin using cold cream, followed by a facial toner. For women with dry skin, this was followed by

[192] Fujin Kurabu. *Fujin Shusse no Ishizue: Fujin Kurabin Shin nen gō* (Tokyo: Dainippon Yuben Kai, 1925), 25

a moisturizing cream and then a powder. Women were advised "not to apply a thick coat of make-up" and to instead aim for a "natural look." The application of blush was also recommended for a healthy-looking complexion.

Housewives were instructed to use different types of make-up depending on time, place and occasion. Make-up for evening parties for example, required a bolder look that highlighted certain facial features. Because the skin tended to look "ashy" under gas or electric lighting, women were advised to avoid putting on too much powder and to instead aim for make-up that would look more natural under artificial light. The handbook also recommended that women apply more blush than usual, draw stronger eyebrows, and emphasize the eyes to accentuate their features in dimmer light.[193] To achieve the desired results outlined in the handbook, it was necessary for women to purchase cosmetics products. The beauty industry echoed and supported the instructions presented in the article appearing in *The Housewife's Foundation for Worldly Success* by capitalizing on modern forms of *midashinami* in their advertisements. Momotani Cosmetics' facial powder, whose facial powder was advertised on the back of the handbook, explained that its products were used by "stable households of the educated class," implying that purchasing them guaranteed a secure marriage. Lait Cosmetics also advertised their creams to all members of the middle-class household, asserting that the "gentleman who is successful outside of the home uses Crème Lait, as does the wife at home who wishes to appear proper."

While the underlying concern stretched back to the Edo-era in its link between politeness and physical appearance, and back to the Meiji period in the assumption that the human body should be refashioned for the good of the nation-state, now corporeal presentation was for the sake of the family. In the nineteenth century, the key point was that all this effort led to racial

[193] Ibid,. 30

improvement, but in interwar Japan, the nationalistic discourse on racial improvement had declined. The intensity of concern over appearance and the sense that it was an obligation that polite people owed to others intensified and was more often presented as an exclusively domestic responsibility of the wife.

Selling Cosmetics to Salarymen

As previously discussed, the beauty industry's customers increasingly became feminized at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, during the economic crises that plagued Japan during the 1920s and 30s, firms continued to market men as consumers, but they did so in new ways. Firms depicted the consumption of branded products and services and, and more generally, care for the outward appearance as essential to the "salaryman" identity. In the October 1930 issue of *The Salaried Man,* directed toward white collar workers, the publication introduced to its readers an article about the wide range of "gentleman's cosmetics" available on the market.[194] Written by a Shiseidō employee, these were not cosmetics in the conventional sense but more in the range of men's grooming products, such as shampoos, hair tonics, pomades as well as shaving products and perfumes. Hair products were sold as aids to both clean and style hair, while shaving products were meant to "disinfect" and to "keep the skin healthy." As for fragrance, while women wore rose-scented perfumes, men were advised to "wear something stronger." A gentleman "should not douse himself with perfume" but always use a spray to "avoid staining his clothes," for dirty attire was considered "low-class." The "gentlemanly" way of wearing cologne was to subtly spray the scent on handkerchiefs, vest collars, inside the shirt cuffs and behind the ears." Cosmetics, wrote the author of the article, "are not just for women.

[194] "Shinshi no keshōhin," *The Salariedman,* October 1930. 95-96

They are a necessity in maintaining the *midashinami* of the gentleman." Unlike the *Yomiuri* article, which viewed cosmetics products as unsuitable to Japanese masculinity, Shiseidō presented the use of grooming products as a quintessential sign of identity for the upwardly mobile middle-class gentleman.

The inclusion of men in cosmetics advertisements continued throughout the thirties along with the militarization of Japanese society.[195] In 1932, Master Cosmetics advertised a facial lotion with the claim that the product could benefit the status and physical appearance of both men and women equally. In an advertisement published in the December issue of *Shufu no Tomo*, a housewife fixing her salaryman husband's tie remarks that he "smells nice" and notices that his skin is "smooth and pale," to which her husband reveals that he used her facial lotion. The wife jokingly says that she is "worried," presumably because using the lotion might make him appear attractive to other women. In another, a couple are looking into the mirror as they observe the benefits of the product in improving their skin. In both advertisements, the married couple are depicted as happy, their relationship further strengthened by the use of the same product.

[195] See Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999).

2.6 Master Cosmetics Facial Lotion, (*Shufu no Tomo*, December 1932)

In 1934, Club Cosmetics also put men at the center of one of their advertising campaigns. While Club Cosmetics had promoted some of their products to men two decades earlier, like many of its competitors, it had shifted to middle-class women as its main target consumers. But in this particular advertisement, Club Cosmetics returned to men when it utilized the traditional *sugoroku* board game, akin to backgammon, to highlight the importance of working on one's body in order to achieve a fulfilling life. *Sugoroku* games were a highly effective tool in forming a new "imagined community" following the Meiji Restoration.[196] These board games offered a visual narrative of major national events such as the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. Newspapers and magazines often printed game boards with themes related to foreign affairs as extra features and they appealed to both young and old. Japan's expansive print culture and high

[196] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* (London: Verso, 1998)

literacy rate made *sugoroku* a highly effective way to disseminate messages and images concerning nationhood and many other topics.

Businesses also utilized *sugoroku* as a creative advertising strategy to promote an array of products and services. This was a longstanding marketing ploy stretching back to the Tokugawa era, with merchants handing out board games as a way to advertise their businesses among Edoites. A key difference between early modern and modern *sugoroku* games, however, was that the modern versions depicted some sort of progress. The game's inherent structure in which player progressed to the end square made it particularly useful to convey messages of "national progress" in which Japanese advanced to victory. Then, during the 1920s and 30s, these *sugoroku* games focused more and more on "personal progress" in which an individual literally "climbed the social ladder" to personal success. Club Cosmetics' ad fit squarely within this tradition.

2.7 Club Cosmetics *Sugoroku,* 1934. Courtesy of Club Cosmetics

The *sugoroku* advertisement for Club Cosmetics consisted of twenty-one different scenes depicting the personal progress of a young man named "A," whose face was easily recognizable as popular kabuki actor Bando Kōtarō, portrayed in the game as a white-collar worker. The game begins with "A"'s humble upbringing in the Japanese countryside and follows his gradual ascent to middle-class status. He plays rugby, undoubtedly one of the ways to cultivate a modern transnational form of masculinity, and attends "T" University, likely referring to Tokyo Imperial University. "A" clearly strives to become a "company salaryman," that is, a salaried white-collar male employee in the private sector, the ideal position for highly educated and urban middle-class men. "A" is described in the game as a "gentleman," or *shinshi*, and this status is defined by his taste in Western fashion: a white-collar shirt, tie and vest. Moreover, his hairstyle gives us the impression that he already uses pomades and is quite self-conscious of his looks.

However, a general feature of *sugoroku* games is that there are "setbacks" where the players of the game must take one step back on the board. "A" suffers these calamities, including a failure to find employment. Then, looking through a newspaper at home, "A" comes across an advertisement for Club Cosmetics, which he sees as a "sign." He immediately goes to a store and purchases the company's cosmetics. Thereafter, "A"'s life undergoes rapid improvement as he successfully finds employment, works hard, and rises in the ranks at his company.

The next major occurrence in "A"'s life is his romance with "B," a young woman who is clearly of a higher-class status. Her physical appearance shows that she dresses fashionably in both Western and Japanese clothing and hairstyle. The interiors in her home are further indications of her class, particularly the mixing of Western furniture and ornaments with Japanese ones. As Jordan Sand has shown, such tastes in interiors were popular among the

aristocracy and haute bourgeoisie.[197] At the same time, the board game appears to suggest that the woman's beauty had not fully matured. In one of the pictures, "B" is wearing a rather dark and bland kimono and has her hair in a traditional Japanese hairstyle while "A" stands next to her in his modern suit, bow-tie and slicked back hair.

When their relationship faces a crisis, another setback in the game, "A" decides to buy "B" a Club Cosmetics gift box in order to make amends for past missteps. Like the Master's advertisements described earlier, cosmetics are presented as an appropriate gift between men and women but this time as an element in romantic courtship, itself a new phenomenon. Upon using the cosmetics, "B" transforms into a new kind of femininity, presented as the "ideal." Her bright kimono and westernized hairstyle sharply contrast her earlier bland kimono and Japanese hairdo. At the same time, she is also depicted as more elegant and refined than the "modern girl" or *moga,* whose short hair and Western dress posed a threat to the state-sanctioned ideal of "good wife, wise mother." A and B eventually become engaged and the player of the game reaches the final goal, represented by their marriage. The message of the game, of course, was that the use of Club Cosmetics helped both partners respond to challenges and drastically enhanced their joint prospect in achieving the middle-class dream. In order to achieve this, both men *and* women needed to work on their physical appearance.

Although Master and Club Cosmetics explicitly encouraged men to use cosmetics, as noted above, firms were careful to differentiate the salarymen from another controversial emerging figure in Japanese society during the Taishō era: the modern boy or the *mobo.* The "modern boy," like the "modern girl," was often scorned by social critics as materialistic and

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[197] Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 105.

lacking nationalistic consciousness, a sharp contrast to the growing celebration of aggressive military masculinity in the 1930s. As Romit Dasgupta has discussed, the salaryman and the modern boy were both products of urban modernity and their joint taste for Western dress and hairstyles meant these forms of masculinity intersected and overlapped with one another.[198]

The beauty industry worked hard to avoid a cultural script in which cosmetics became the trigger that defined the transformation of the productive "salaryman" into an effeminate and materialistic modern boy. At the same time, advertisements by Club Cosmetics and Master show how firms sought to sell the benefits of cosmetics products to middle class men as a solution to their economic difficulties. In their narrative, cosmetics led to employment, and hard work on the body led to higher salaries. Rather than marketing their products to men as lone individuals, beauty companies cleverly advertised to them within the context of a middle-class relationship. This image of heteronormative stability conveyed the message that their products were not meant for the modern boy, but for the middle-class married gentleman.

The female figure in Club Cosmetics' *sugoroku* advertisement also reveals much about changing ideas concerning romance and marriage. The advertisement signaled not only the importance of good looks in attracting a suitable partner for men as well as women, but also reinforced the message articulated in the *Foundation of a Wife's Success* that woman's physical capital enhanced her suitor's capital. At the end of the game, the woman is clearly transformed by Club Cosmetics. In fact, she resembles the woman in the company's logo. By contrast, the man's appearance has undergone very little change although his life as a whole has been

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[198] Romit Dasgupta. "Creating Corporate Warriors: The "salaryman" and masculinity in Japan," Kam Louie and Morris Low ed. *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan* (London: Routledge, 2003). 118-134; Romit Dasgupta, "Articulations of Salaryman Masculinity in Shōwa and Post-Shōwa Japan," *Asia-Pacific Perspectives.* Vol 15, No.1 (Fall, 2017) 36-54

transformed. In other words, the man did not necessarily need to use cosmetics himself to benefit from them, but the bride and groom needed one another to achieve individual "self-cultivation." By purchasing cosmetics for her, he has allowed both of them to achieve the middle-class dream.

Selling Japanese Beauty Abroad

Japanese beauty entrepreneurs simultaneously eyed expansion into the empire as commerce grew on the mainland. Hirao Sanpei, the founder of Lait Cosmetics, was one of the first major entrepreneurs to venture out into Asia when in 1893, he began selling toothpaste in Singapore through a third-party merchant (*toiya*). He most likely chose Singapore for its cosmopolitan community of European and Asian merchants engaged in intra-Asian trade.[199] After Japan gained concessions in China at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Hirao exported Diamond Toothpaste, which was the company's best-selling item, to the southwestern Chinese city of Chongqing as well as to Hunan province and found enormous success.[200]

The Meiji government, however, wanted to encourage greater Japanese presence in Korea more than anywhere else. Soon after the Restoration, Korea became a great source of concern for Meiji statesmen. Geographically, the peninsula was described by a Germany military adviser as a "dagger aimed at the heart of Japan" because it was essentially a gateway to the Asiatic continent, making Japan susceptible to invasions. At the same time, the Meiji leadership knew that if control of Korea meant the same land formation could also help secure Japan's borders. More importantly, Korea was seen as an ideal location for solving Japan's twin

[199] Taro Hirao, *Hirao Sanpei shōten gojūnenshi,* 508

[200] Ibid,.

problems of food shortage and surplus population. This calculation resulted in Japan's pursuit of colonial domination over the Korean peninsula at the end of the nineteenth century

When Japan gained more concessions in Korea after 1895, the Meiji government initiated a series of state-organized migrations to the peninsula, luring Japanese with the promise of new opportunities. Sugimura Fukashi, who served as Japan's *chargé d'affaires* in Keijō from 1880 to 1894, reported to the Japanese foreign ministry that political pressure would not suffice to secure Korea, and that closer economic integration was also necessary.[201] He urged the transfer and settlement of Japanese nationals to Korea, adding: "considering the weak commercial infrastructure of Choson, it would be more desirable to penetrate the peninsula from a micro-level in order to facilitate and advance commercial exchange rather than rely on official trade."[202] In 1896, 11,000 Japanese settlers, including peddlers, merchants, educators and businessmen, poured into Korea, hoping for a better life.[203] By the time of annexation in 1910, the number of settlers had ballooned to over 170,000, making it the largest settler community in the world in the twentieth century.[204] The peninsula, according to historian Alain Delissen, became "the kingdom of Japanese small business and petty capitalism."[205]

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[201] F. Olinger, George Heber Jones and H.G. Appenzeller. *The Korean Repository*. Vol.3 (The Trilingual Press, 1896), 123

[202] Sang-Ha Park. *Kyongsong Sanggye* (Seoul: Sengak ui namu, 2008), 61.

[203] Jun Uchida. *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea*, 1876-1945 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Sōji Takasaki. *Shokuminchi Chōsen no Nihonjin*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 2002); Kenji Kimura. *Zaichō Nihonjin No Shakaishi: Chōsen Kindaishi Kenkyū Sōsho* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1989)

[204] Takasaki. *Zaichō Nihonjin no shakaishi,*14

[205] Alain Delissen. "Denied and Besieged: The Japanese Community of Korea, 1876-1945," in ed. Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot. *New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842-1953*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 131.

Japan's leading businessmen were at first cautious in Korea because of the volatile political situation on the peninsula.[206] This included beauty entrepreneurs. As evidenced in the Tokyo Toilette Trade Journal, the official publication of the Tokyo Cosmetics Association, beauty entrepreneurs found the Chinese market far more appealing than Korea.[207] Kobayashi Tomijirō, the founder of Lion Toothpaste, penned an article in 1905 predicting that sales of cosmetics in China looked "hopeful and profitable" because of its enormous population. [208] Others shared the same sentiment, and by contrast the general attitude toward Korea was lukewarm.

Interestingly, it was poor Japanese settlers who played an important role in spreading both Japanese and Western beauty practices in Korea at the beginning of the twentieth century. This first took shape in the form of professionalized hairdressing services. According to a survey conducted by the Japanese police in 1906, the year after Korea became a protectorate of the Japanese empire, 132 *onna kamiyui* businesses were already in operation. After Japan annexed Korea four years later, the colonial government continued to encourage Japanese to open small businesses, including hair salons, assuring them considerable profit.[209] Although the intended clientele for *kamiyui* services was most likely other Japanese settlers, it is possible that Koreans used them too. Unlike in Japan, Korea did not have a long history of professionalized hair services because traditional styles were much simpler than Japanese ones. [210] In 1894, as part of

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[206] Uchida, *Brokers of Empire.*

[207] "Shina Keshohin no shorai," *Tokyo Kamono Shohō*, October 1906.

[208] Ibid,.

[209] Chōsen Nichinichi Shinbunsha. *Tokan Seikōhō*. (Tokyo: Chosen Nichinichi Shinbunsha, 1910)

[210] In Korea, young commoner girls wore their hair parted in the middle and braided. When a girl reached puberty, the transition to adulthood was symbolized by tying a girl's hair in a chignon. Adult commoners wore their hair

its modernization efforts, Korea had abolished the status system, and like Japan, announced a hair cutting edict, allowing both men and women the freedom to experiment with new types of hairstyles. At that time most Koreans probably either wore their hair in Korean traditional style of Western style.

Photographs from the immediate post-annexation period show young Korean schoolgirls wearing the traditional Korean *hanbok* and their hair arranged in a *hisashigami* style (low pompadour) a hybrid Japanese-Western hairdo that had emerged in Japan during the Hairstyle Reform Movement in the mid-1880s discussed in Chapter 1. It is very likely that Korean women used hairdressing services offered by Japanese *onna kamiyui* to wear this particular style. With the advent of foreign fashion and increasing exposure of Western ideals via Japan, a greater number of Korean women also sought new trends such as permanent waves and shorter hair, and these fashions too were first provided by Japanese settlers, providing major business opportunities for them.

한복차림에 히사시가미 스타일을 한 여성(아랫줄 왼쪽)과 쪽머리.

parted in the middle, pulled back and twisted in a bun at the nape of the neck and secured with a pin. Men wore their hair in a top-knot. See Sarah M. Nelson. "Bound Hair and Confucianism in Korea," in Al Hitebeitel and Barbara Miller ed. *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), 110.

2.8 Korean schoolgirls. The girl on the far left is wearing the *hisashigami* style. Source: Kim Su-Jeong. *Hanguk Miyon 100 nyon* (Seoul: Tongsō Kyoryu, 2005)

Korean women not only became active consumers of hairdressing services, but also soon became producers. After the March 1st Movement in 1919, which saw thousands of Koreans rise against the Japanese colonizers, the Governor General recognized that iron-fisted military rule was ineffective in assimilating Koreans.[211] The policy was abandoned in favor of Cultural Rule, in which the Japanese slightly loosened their grip on the peninsula. This softened stance sought to reduce segregation between Japanese and Koreans by promising increased Korean access to education. With the wall between the ruler and subject lowered, information about both the West and Japan flowed into the Korean peninsula, and ideas, goods and services were exchanged. More importantly, Japanese officials allowed wider scope for Korean print media, which flourished. Women's magazines such as *Yosong* and *Sinyosong* that introduced Japanese and Western fashion and beauty trends first as had happened in the mainland.[212]

The channels of interaction between Japanese and Korean became even more diversified. As in the metropole, some Korean women enrolled in professional beauty schools in Keijo. By the 1920s Koreans too operated their own hair salons. The July 1920 issue of *Donga Ilbo* included an advertisement for Keijō Beauty Salon (*Kyongson Miyongwon*), a modern beauty salon located in the predominantly Korean neighborhood of Unnidong. The salon offered a wide range of services including haircuts, make-up, massages and facial treatments. Although it is unclear if the owner of the salon was Japanese or Korean, the advertisement was clearly aimed at

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[211] Mark Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies In Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

[212] Ji-Eun Lee, *Women Pre-Scripted: Forging Modern Roles through Korean Print* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015).

Koreans. It is likely that the salon catered to the needs of the growing number of Korean café and bar girls, who wore bobbed hair and were required to look stylish for their jobs.

For Korean women, hairdressing was viewed as a "haikara" (high-collar) occupation or a "fashionable occupation," similar to how *kamiyui* and modern hairdressers were viewed in Japan.[213] In the colony, Oh Yop-Ju (1904-?) became an important figure in the Korean beauty industry because she was one of the very few Korean woman who contributed to the growth of *Chongro*, which became the center of Korean economic activity in Keijō. Oh was the first Korean woman to open her own beauty salon, and like many Japanese women, who became leading educators and experts in the beauty industry, she received a great deal of attention in the media. Like many upwardly mobile Koreans, she had earlier moved to Tokyo and attended a beauty school where she learned about modern beauty and services. Upon her return to Korea, Oh briefly worked at a beauty parlor before opening her own salon on the third floor of the first Korean-owned Hwashin Department Store in 1933.[214]

Oh's salon attracted the wealthiest and most prominent Korean women in Keijo, a group that included actresses, dancers, novelists, educators and wives of bureaucrats.[215] But the first-class *kisaeng* (courtesans) dominated the clientele in her salons. At night, kisaeng would arrive at Oh's salon wearing high heels and a short hanbok and get their hair styled in the traditional Korean style. When they were accompanying a man to Manchuria or Japan, however, a *kisaeng* would transform into a modern woman, changing her hair by adding curls. In other words, they could be both traditional and modern, but they needed Oh to work that magic.

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[213] *Yosong*, June, 1937

[214] "Oh Yop-Ju ssi e miyongwon," *Samcholli,* Vol 5, No. 4 (April 1st, 1933), 63-64

[215] Su-Jong Kim. *Hanguk e miyong* (Seoul: Dongso Gonryu, 2005), 111

Beauty salons were among the few spaces in colonial Korea where the New Women could act as consumers, entrepreneurs and educators, in ways that were not available to women in traditional Korean society. Hair salons therefore became an integral part of colonial Korea through both the official endorsement by the colonial authority as well as the professionalization of the service. Moreover, they were an important space through which Korean women were able to express themselves. Yet the rise came about not as a product of social movement towards gender equality or political rights of the colonized but rather through a mixture of imposed modernization and new opportunities offered through the colonial system.

Japanese beauty companies expanded into the Korean colony much later than professionalized hairdressing services. By 1920, Japanese firms became far more eager to expand into Korea. One reason was that the industry itself was more established by this time, but most importantly, increased political stability brought about by Cultural Rule made the peninsula a more attractive market. Moreover, since even in Japan, beauty firms had barely expanded beyond the urban areas, the expansion in Korea was not far behind trends in the mainland.

Firms promoted beauty products in Korea in a similar way as they did in Japan. Lait Cosmetics, which had far more experience selling in overseas markets than did other firms, led the marketing strategy and quickly established themselves as the dominant Japanese beauty company in Korea. According to the company history, in 1926, Lait Cosmetics began to "invest heavily in developing consumer demands on the Korean peninsula for cosmetics." It also launched a broader education campaign across Korea, where salesmen conducted lectures to "educate" Koreans on hygiene practices using Lait's signature products. As in Japan, Lait went beyond the urban areas and endeavored to stimulate sales of its products not just in the urban areas but also in the countryside, where people were still unfamiliar with branded cosmetics.

According to the company history, employees were sent to remote villages "deep in the mountains," where they went door-to-door to distribute samples and explained their uses.[216] The company also the company localized its products by renaming them in the *hangeul* script, distributed posters in the Korean language and put up large billboards in every province.

Other firms developed similar strategies to entice Koreans to purchase products. In 1930, Lion, which dominated the toothpaste market in the Japanese Empire, conducted a one-hundred and ten-day campaign tour in Korea in twenty-two different locations.[217] In addition to product demonstrations, a small musical band played catchy jingles promoting oral hygiene, and the campaign also showed publicity movies that touted the benefits of using the company's products. Entry was free if participants brought with them either a tube of toothpaste or a toothbrush. According to Lion, these events attracted fifty-eight thousand people, of which 60% were Koreans. During the tour, the company recorded that it distributed over five hundred and forty thousand fliers, two-hundred thousand samples and put up some five thousand signs bearing the company's name throughout Korea.[218] Although the government played a major role in promoting health and hygiene, these company publicity tours show how firms participated in educating colonial subjects to become more hygienic.[219]

In addition to promoting their products through direct contact with consumers, these firms also widely promoted them in Korean newspapers and magazines, just as they did in

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[216] Hirao Taro. *Hirao Sanpei Shoten 50 nen shi*, 582

[217] Lion Honten, *Hamigaki No Rekishi* (Tokyo: Kabushiki Gaisha Kobayashi Shoten, 1935), 663–64.

[218] Ibid,.

[219] For a discussion on how Japanese viewed Koreans, see Todd A. Henry, "Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905–1919," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 639–75.

Japanese ones. Some companies recycled the advertisements for Japanese consumers and simply translated them into the Korean language. Others tailored their marketing strategies to appeal to the local population. Lait Cosmetics for example, appears to have used the same template across the Japanese Empire, only changing the photographs and the language for each market. For the Korean market, the advertisement featured a Korean woman dressed in a *hanbok* wearing her hair in a traditional style, while the Manchurian and Taiwanese versions included a woman in a Chinese-style robe. The messages embedded in the products were identical to what was promoted in the metropole: the cream promised youthful skin and it functioned as an excellent moisturizer and primer for facial powders.

Sometimes the difference in advertising copy revealed that cosmetics firms imagined Japanese as more sophisticated and modern than were Koreans. Lait Crème, for example, often used Japanese and Korean women side by side in bilingual advertisements. In a 1927 promotional flyer, the left-hand side of the advertisement features a photograph of a middle-class Japanese housewife in a *kimono* with stylishly permed hair, clearly wearing powder and lipstick. By contrast, the right-hand side shows a young Korean woman wearing what appears to be a plain *hanbok*, and her hair in a traditional style. Moreover, it is clear from the photograph that the Korean woman is not wearing any make-up. This choice of images by Lait is curious since by the mid-1920s, Korean women who would have consumed high-end cosmetics such as Lait Crème most likely wore modern fashion, cut their hair short and wore make-up. Although the ad was for a single product, the messages differ slightly between the Japanese and Korea version. The Japanese text simply lists the multi-purpose properties of the product and explains that it can be used on clean skin, as a primer, as a salve and as an anti-ageing aid. The Korean version, on the other hand, directs women to first “wash their face and hands” and then apply the cream,

promising that it "will then make them beautiful." In other words, Lait assumed that Koreans required prior instructions that emphasized the importance of hygiene before applying the product, while the Japanese did not. Interestingly, the Japanese beauty companies did not promote images of upward mobility in selling their products like in either the Japanese or Korean text in the ad that appeared in Korea. Unlike in the metropole, the advertisements by Lait Cosmetics suggested that if Korean women continued purchasing Lait's cosmetics products, they too could become sophisticated and "modern" like the Japanese woman on the left. As E.Taylor Atkins has noted, such juxtapositions reinforced the idea that Korean women were "untainted by modernity." [220] Moreover, as chapter four will discuss, it was not until the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars (1937-45) that Japanese cosmetics advertisements pushed for assimilation.

2.9 Bilingual advertisement for Lait Crème, 1927. Image courtesy of *Nippon Shōgyōkai*.

[220] Specifically, Atkins discusses the juxtaposition of *geisha* and *kisaeng*, who were both entertainers in Japan and Korea respectively. E. Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 175–86.

Conclusion

The Japanese beauty industry grew at a swift pace at the turn of the twentieth century. Firms began to manufacture cosmetics to meet the demands of a growing middle-class who developed a taste for modern objects. The conflict in Europe between 1914 and 1918 gave beauty entrepreneurs the opportunity to consolidate their presence in a market previously dominated by Western products, and this period marked a time in which the industry achieved some significant innovations in terms of product development and marketing strategies. Encouraged by success at home and Japan's acquisition of Korea as a formal colony, the industry quickly established itself on the peninsula. Rapid social, economic and cultural changes also propelled Japanese to attach more value on their outward appearance. Cosmetics firms commodified the traditional concept of *midashinami* as well as the Meiji goal of *risshin shusse* or worldly success, promising consumers that the purchase of creams and lotions was an essential in achieving the middle-class life and gaining social prestige. As the next chapter will show, the first generation of aesthetic surgeons, who were growing numerous in the early twentieth century, also deployed a similar message to Japanese around the same time. And many Japanese chose to go to extremes to transform themselves.

Chapter 3:
The History of Cosmetic Surgery in Modern Japan

Between 2001 and 2003, Fuji Television aired a program titled *B.C. Beauty Colosseum.* The show aimed to help average Japanese citizens who felt that they led unhappy lives because of their physical appearance. At the beginning of the show, participants, who were always female, sat in the middle of the room, surrounded by a panel of beauty experts that included a hair stylist, make-up artist, esthetician, cosmetics surgeon and a dentist. As the name of the program suggests, the set of the show evoked ancient Roman architecture, complete with columns and fake grape vines.

The show typically began with participants tearfully sharing stories of constant bullying and hurtful comments from family, friends and strangers. They claimed that their looks hindered them from making a living, either due to lack of confidence or because they were deemed too unsightly by potential employers. Many felt that they were treated like sub-humans and reported that they endured nicknames such as Frankenstein or *kappa,* a mythical creature from traditional Japanese folklore. They all wanted to drastically change their physical appearance to look "normal" and live happy lives. Just as the Colosseum in Rome had served as an arena for contest and public spectacle, the panel of beauty experts scrutinized and judged the bodies of its participants, picking apart various flaws, commenting on their fashion, hairstyle, body shape and facial features. Finally, the panel came up with a plan to change the contestants' outward appearance and, consequently, their lives. The participants then went off to work on their bodies by undergoing a numerous of beauty treatments, including surgery, and returned to the show some months later, both mentally and physically transformed. In the end, the typical participant left the show satisfied with her new look and embarked on a brand-new life.

Although *B.C. Beauty Colosseum* intended to show how changes in dress, hairstyle, make-up or diet all could drastically transform how a person looked and felt, the show inadvertently became known to viewers in Japan as the "plastic surgery show." The cosmetic surgeon on the panel, Handa Toshiya, the director of Ōtsuka Plastic Surgery Clinic, was lauded as the "charismatic doctor" and "miracle doctor of beauty" for completely altering the participants' facial features. Others criticized *B.C. Beauty Colosseum* episodes for normalizing cosmetic surgery and reinforcing the idea that drastic changes in the outward appearance were necessary to achieve success and happiness.[221]

Articles reporting on *B.C. Colosseum* treated the popularity of cosmetic surgery in Japan as a new phenomenon, and attributed it to the economic recession or the "lost decade of the 1990s."[222] Yet this is not a recent trend. The history of cosmetic surgery in Japan suggests that periods of economic turmoil often contribute to anxieties about the physical appearance, causing individuals to go to extreme lengths in search of physical perfection. Cosmetic surgery in Japan stretches as far back as the late nineteenth century, when a large group of Japanese doctors travelled to Germany to learn Western medicine. While there, many of the doctors familiarized themselves with reconstructive and aesthetic procedures, which were still emerging medical specialties in Europe. By the mid-1920s, the range of aesthetic surgery available in Japan was comparable to that in both Europe and the United States and, without a doubt, was the most

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[221] For English language articles about the show, see Gary Schaefer, "Plastic Surgery makeovers lure the insecure," The Japan Times. October 15, 2003 http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2003/10/15/national/plastic-surgery-makeovers-luring-the-insecure/#.WOf4fFKZPIE and Lisa Takeuchi Cullen, "Changing Faces," Time Magazine. August 5, 2002. http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2047454,00.html
Since the show ended, South Korea, which has one of the highest rates of plastic surgeries per capita in the world, has introduced a nearly identical television program called *Let Me In.* The title of the show insinuates that people will always be considered an "outsiders" if they are not beautiful enough.

[222] The "lost decade" typically refers to the time after the bubble collapse within the Japanese economy from 1991 to 2000 but has also been used to describe the years from 2001 to 2010.

extensive in Asia at that time. This is quite remarkable, given that many Japanese had shown strong resistance even toward cutting their hair during the first wave of the new government's modernization programs in the late nineteenth century (chapter 1). Less than four decades later, however, men and women in urban areas were walking into otolaryngology clinics for quick nose-jobs or visiting ophthalmologists for double-eyelid surgeries.

In recent years, Kim Brandt and Laura Miller have both explored the rise of cosmetic surgery in post-war and contemporary Japan.[223] However, neither has traced the ideological or institutional origins of the specialty. This chapter examines how the specialty transformed the body into a "malleable project" as new medical technologies allowed Japanese to gain unprecedented control of their physical appearance.[224] Beauty became measurable when facial features were discussed in terms of ratios and proportions. Cosmetic surgery is therefore the most explicit – and most drastic- example of the "scientification" of beauty culture.[225] The process was driven by doctors who, much like the other beauty entrepreneurs discussed in the previous chapter, wielded considerable power and authority in transforming the way Japanese thought about their physical appearance. Their main discursive strategy was to borrow from modern Western discourse on Greek antiquity to develop the principles by which they "molded" Japanese bodies. The first generation of Japanese cosmetic surgeons, in particular, built on Western surgical techniques to change Japanese beauty standards.

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[223] Kim Brandt. "Japan the beautiful: 1950s Cosmetic Surgery and the Expressive Asian Body," in Christopher Hanscom and Dennis Wasburn ed, *The Affect of Difference: Representations of Race in East Asian Empire.* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), 260-285; Miller, *Beauty Up*.

[224] The idea of the body as a "malleable project" is discussed in Schilling, *The Body and Social Theory*, 5

[225] For discussion on the scientification of beauty, see Ramsbrock. *The Science of Beauty*.

Cosmetic procedures popular in the metropole also spread to Japan's colony in Korea during the mid-1920s around the same time cosmetics salesmen flooded the colony. Korean doctors learned about blepharoplasty and rhinoplasty- eyelid surgery and nose jobs- from the Japanese colonial medical system. Although cosmetic surgery was not as widespread as in the metropole, newspaper and magazine articles reveal that Koreans too were willing to undergo invasive procedures. As in Japan, the rise of cosmetic surgery in Korea is often believed to have emerged in the post-war era, but as this chapter shows, not just the ideals behind these invasive procedures but the surgery itself was established during the colonial period.

This chapter asks the following questions: how did Japanese doctors think of aesthetic surgery and what did they want to achieve in importing the discipline to Japan? Who underwent these procedures? Why were Japanese and Koreans willing to undergo invasive procedures despite cultural taboos that forbade cutting into the skin? What are the origins of what are today extremely common elective surgeries in both Korea and Japan? What were some of the differences and similarities between how the profession formed in the West and in the Japanese Empire? In tracing these momentous institutional changes and the legitimizing discourses articulated by their key agents, this chapter examines how the specialty came into being both in modern Japan and its flagship colony.

Molding the Profession

In 1869, as part of the larger project of encouraging higher learning and national progress by improving the health of Japanese citizens, the Meiji government rejected traditional medicine

(*kanpō*) in favor of Western medicine.[226] The Japanese leaders chose Germany --which had led the rise of scientific medicine during the nineteenth century-- as the best model for Japan to follow. Over the course of the late nineteenth century, thousands of Japanese students were sent to Germany by the government to study the latest advancements in Western medicine. There they learned the science of modern pathology, physiology and surgical skills.[227] As previous chapters have shown, doctors had considerable authority in shaping and influencing new body ideals. Claiming territory as scientists, they held the key to rationality and modernity. Doctors shared their knowledge in a wide array of publications ranging from medical journals to women's magazine.

During their training in Germany, Japanese medical students also studied modern physiognomy, which was treated at the time as a form of "science" that analyzed facial features such as the eyes, nose, mouth and ears to determine a person's character. Physiognomy (*ninsō*) in other forms had existed in Japan for centuries. Fortune telling books known as *zassho*, were first published during the Muromachi period (1336-1573) and techniques explicated there included reading faces, palmistry, the sexgenary cycle, feng shui and analyses of calendars to determine "favorable" and "unfavorable" days. They were at first consulted mainly by court nobles and the samurai class to foretell marriage compatibility. As print culture flourished during the eighteenth

[226] Western medical science was introduced to Japan through the Dutch during the Tokugawa period. For an account of Western medicine in early modern Japan, see Ellen Gardener Nakamura. *Practical Pursuits; Takano Chōei, Takahashi Keisaku and Western Medicine in Nineteenth Century Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006)

[227] Hoi-eun Kim. *Doctors of Empire: Medical and Cultural Encounters between Imperial Germany and Meiji Japan* (Toronoto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

century, *zassho* became popular among commoners and eventually became an indispensable part of everyday Edo culture for all classes.[228]

Two of the most popular manuals published in early modern Japan were Kitamura Kōnan's *Ninsō Kogagami Daizen* (1684) and Mizuno Nanboku's *Nanboku Sōhō Zenpen* (1788). Much as in Western physiognomy, people's facial characteristics were often compared to those of animals and assigned character attributes to match them. *Ninsō Kogagami Daizen* included a long list of various types of eyes, noses and mouths. For example, a person who possessed a "lion's nose" (*shibi*) was believed to "live a long life." A samurai who was blessed with such a nose was believed to have "excellent fortune,"- most likely because lions were considered fierce- so this was an ideal feature for a warrior. However, no person was without flaws in early modern physiognomy and facial features always revealed a negative characteristic as well as a positive one. Men and women with lion's noses for example, were considered especially prone to illness, and the *Kokagami Daizen* recommended that possessors of this particular nose to pay close attention to their health (*yōjō*) in order to enjoy their many years of life.[229] Individuals who had a nose akin to that of a water deer (*shōbi*), on the other hand, were depicted as having poor character. They were believed to be "short tempered" and were, as a result, likely to "constantly quarrel with others." While individuals could not do much to manipulate facial characteristics to change their personalities, Kitamura advised his readers to "soften" the effects of "bad fortune" by closely adhering to the expectations of the Tokugawa social order, such as respecting others, or by maintaining their own good health.

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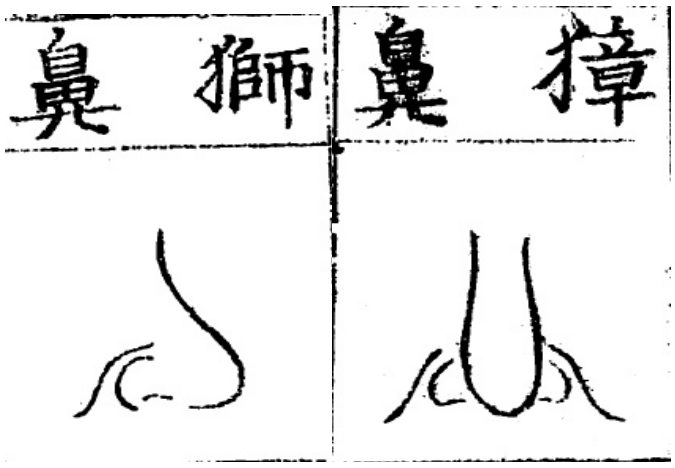
[228] Morita Toyoko. "Daizassho Kenkyū Josetsu: Eitai Dai Zassho Manreki Taisei no Naiyō Bunseki Kara," *Bulletin of International Research Center for Japanese Studies* Vol. 29, (December 2004), 247-276.

[229] Kitamura Konan. *Ninsō Kagami Daizen*. (1684) For an explanation on the importance of *yōjō*, see chapter 1 of this dissertation.

Around the time Mizuno Nanboku published his manual, physiognomy in Europe was taking a different turn. Between 1775 and 1778, Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801), a Dutch pastor, published *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind* which drastically changed how physiognomy was understood in the West. The basic premises of Lavater's version of physiognomy and that of earlier European physiognomy remained the same, in that the main motivation was to deduce the internal from the external. There were, however, several critical differences. Writing during the Enlightenment, Lavater sought to attach a modern scientific basis to physiognomy by establishing a relationship between physical beauty and moral worth. In other words, the closer a person was to ideal beauty, the more "righteous" he believed them to be.



3.1 Illustration *shibi, or "*lion's Nose" (L) and *shōbi* (R) "deer nose" in Kitamura Kōnan's *Ninsō Kogagami Daizen* (1684)

Although Lavater did not establish a universal rule, symmetry was an important part of what he perceived as the foundation of ideal beauty. "A regular, well-formed countenance," wrote Lavater, "is that in which 1) all the parts are remarkable for their symmetry, 2) the

principal features such as the nose and mouth are neither small nor bloated; but distinct and well defined, 3) the position of the parts, taken together and viewed at a distance, appears nearly horizontal and parallel." A "beautiful countenance," added Lavater, is "that in which, besides the proportion and position of the parts, harmony, uniformity, and mind, are visible; in which nothing is superfluous, nothing deficient, nothing disproportionate, nothing superadded, but all is conformity and concord."[230]

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, others built on Lavater's work by using geometry to determine the ideal beauty. Touted as one of the greatest civilizations, the ancient Greeks, as evidenced in their artistic tradition, had supposedly mastered the "law of proportions" of the human body. Europeans elevated ancient Greek sculptures as examples of the ideal perfectly proportioned facial features. Classicism thus became the model to aspire to.[231] Moreover, physiognomy became a powerful tool for European imperialists to justify their mission to civilize the "other" by scientifically ranking and classifying their colonial subjects according to their physical appearance. Those who did not possess perfectly proportioned bodies, namely Jews, Africans and Asians, were associated with negative images. As George L. Mosse notes, these three groups were "made into an evil fraternity that confronted the norm."[232] Nor did Classification based on the outward appearance stop at race. As Sharrona Pearl has shown in her

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[230] Johann Kaspar Lavater. *Essays on Physiognomy, also one hundred phsyiognomical rules, and a memoir of the author.* trans. Thomas Holcroft (London: William Tegg, 1878), 413

[231] Michael Hau. *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890-1930*, 1st ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003). 65 See also. Athena S. Leoussi. "Making Nations in the Image of Greece: Classical Greek Conceptions of the Body in the Construction of Identity in Nineteenth-Century England, France and Germany," in Thorsten Fogen, Richard Warren ed. *Graeco-Roman Antiquity and the Idea of Nationalism in the 19th Century: Case Studies.* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 45-70.

[232] George Mosse. *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 66

work on physiognomy in nineteenth-century Britain, industrialization and urbanization were also important contexts for how people perceived one another and how they presented themselves.[233] City dwellers often viewed the massive influx of people from rural areas with suspicion, and used physiognomy to draw class distinctions. For example, physiognomy was used to pinpoint a "criminal look" which was meant to help police identify criminals. The emergence of modern physiognomy was thus critical in understanding the origins of modern racism and contemporary society's obsession with physical appearance. It did not take long for modern physiognomy to arrive in Japan. Japanese translations of English language physiognomy books began to appear around the 1880s. In 1898, an article titled *On Physiognomy* by Kanzō Sei observed the differences between early modern Japanese and modern Western physiognomy, where he noted that the goal of modern physiognomy was "to point out difference and variations among human groups rather than individuals."[234] This new norm set off a powerful discourse that emphasized the enlightenment and advancement of the Japanese people through corporeal transformation just as in Europe.

Nonetheless, physiognomy was also closely tied to self-improvement in both the West and Japan. In 1894, American Robert Samuel Wells (1820-1875) wrote that physiognomy was an "infallible method" that "enables us to read our own characters, as legibly recorded on our physical system, to judge accurately our strengths and weaknesses, our virtues and our faults; and this self-knowledge is the first step toward self-improvement."[235] Physiognomic knowledge

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[233] Sharrona Pearl. *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth Century Britain*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010)

[234] Kanzō Sei. "Ninsogaku ni tsuite: Zatsuroku," *Ryunankai Zasshi*, February 17, 1898, 29-34.

[235] Samuel Robert Wells. *New Physiognomy*. (New York, Fowler and Wells, 1894), xxii

was increasingly viewed as a toolkit for "self-reconstruction" that allowed individuals to "mold [their] characters and with them [their] bodies, into symmetry and harmony."[236] Excellent character was therefore perceived as attainable through the improvement of the personal appearance. This was the foundation for the emergence of aesthetic surgery.

As Sander Gilman has shown, the advent of cosmetic procedures enabled people to permanently alter distinct or "undesirable" facial and racial markers in drastic ways.[237] In Japan, central to this effort was a new criterion for classification and rank: Japanese bodies were increasingly categorized along the lines of "civilized" and "barbarian," that embraced philhellenism as the perennial model of beauty based on new standards set by the Meiji government.[238] Institutional pressures on the Japanese body were implemented not only through formal channels via government regulations and law enforcement but also by private actors such as doctors.

As Noriko Asō has discussed, Meiji intellectuals strove to position Japan as the "Greece of the East" by constructing a history that linked Japan to ancient Greece. [239] The main motivation in doing so was to show that Japan was on its way to becoming a great civilization once it had fulfilled its modernization plans. This effort closely matched elite discourses in nineteenth century Germany and the essential desire to mold Japanese bodies according to the

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[236] Ibid,.

[237] Sander L. Gilman, *Creating Beauty To Cure the Soul: Race and Psychology in the Shaping of Aesthetic Surgery* (Duke University Press Books, 1998); Sander L. Gilman, *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery* (Princeton University Press, 2001).

[238] See for example, David L Howell, *Geographies of Identity;* Miri Nakamura. *Monstrous Bodies.*

[239] Noriko Asō, "Greece of the East: Philhellenism in Imperial Japan," in Karen Bassi and Peter J. Euben, ed. *When Worlds Elide: Classics, Politics, Culture.* (Lexington Books, 2010), 19-42

rubric of philhellenism became a common and persistent ideological denominator among institutional entrepreneurs seeking to define beauty in early twentieth century Japan.

Nagai Hisomu (1876-1957), a German-educated physician and sexologist who later became a prominent figure in the Japanese Association of Racial Science, was one of the first to discuss Greek antiquity and its relationship to beauty in Japan. He laid down a clear blueprint for action in a 1907 article titled "The Beautiful Body."[240] Nagai's discourse mirrors larger trends in physiognomy and racial science that were already well established in Europe at the time. He saw physical beautification as a science that the Japanese needed to urgently adopt for both medical and socio-cultural reasons. Nagai lauded the Greeks for their "superior understanding of beauty" which, he asserted, was evident in the art they produced. He was specifically referring to the "golden ratio" in ancient Greek aesthetic theory, which posits that the closer a face or object is to the "golden number" 1.62, the more symmetrical and thus more beautiful it is. Nagai also cited German psychologist Adolf Zeising's argument that the golden ratio was a "universal law" of beauty and so should be the "grounding principle of all formative striving for beauty and completeness in the realms of both nature and art."[241] For Nagai, as for Zeising, mathematical measurements provided the most accurate understanding of beauty because science represented absolute truth. This aesthetic theory was based on the idea that Greek art was grounded in an intuitive "truth" that modern people could emulate by applying science. For this reason, Nagai firmly believed that the Japanese race could elevate itself towards a higher state of civilization

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[240] This was later republished in a book titled *Jinseiron* (*On Humankind)* (Tokyo: Jistugyo no Nihonsha, 1916) which became the authoritative work on sexology in Japan. For a discussion of Nagai's role in sexology, see Fruhstuck. *Colonizing Sex.*

[241] Nagai. *Jinseiron.* Although a psychologist, Adolf Zeising (1810-1876) showed a special interest in mathematics and philosophy.

and enlightenment by following adopting the principles of classicism. Nor was he alone. Philhellenism, combined with modern physiognomy, would play a critical role in the way the first generation of cosmetic surgeons discussed and perceived corporeal perfection.

Shaping the Nose

In 1922, Hayashi Kumao (1883-1965), an otolaryngologist, further elaborated on racial science and classicism in one of Japan's first and most comprehensive books on aesthetic surgery procedures, *Aesthetics of the Nose*.[242] Trained in dentistry and ophthalmology, Hayashi worked in the United States for a number of years, experimenting with various specialties. At the age of forty, he eventually settled down as a specialist in otolaryngology. Following a brief stint in his hometown of Kōfu, Hayashi opened his own clinic in Tokyo in 1923. Hayashi spent much of his career developing and performing surgeries such as cheek implants (to make the face appear fuller) that were considered revolutionary at the time. He was, however, best known for his nose-augmentation procedures, and earned a reputation as the "master of rhinoplasty."[243]

In *Aesthetics of the Nose*, Hayashi provided readers with a broad overview on the discourse of beauty and aesthetics, drawing on Western arts, science, social theory and philosophy. Hayashi was particularly attentive to both the technical and theoretical developments in reconstructive and aesthetic surgeries that emerged in the West following the First World War. Modern weaponry had inflicted damage to the human flesh on an unprecedented scale.[244] In

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[242] Hayashi Kumao. *Hana no bigaku,* (1922)

[243] Hidekazu Kawade, "Ryūbijutsu no taika Hayashi Kumao," *Kōshū Jinzairon* (Tokyo: Yamanashi Kyōkai, 1930)

[244] Unlike in the West, there is very little information on the development of reconstructive surgery on wounded Japanese soldiers during this First World War. William C. Braistead, an American surgeon, noted as early as in 1905 that the Japanese had "excellent plastic surgery techniques" but does not elaborate on the types of procedures. The Japan Times, Japan's English language newspaper, reported in the midst of the First World War in August 1917, a

response, European doctors developed new medical techniques to treat and reconstruct the mutilated bodies of disfigured veterans. Hayashi drew on this medical knowledge. He also turned to famed scientists such as biologist and mathematician D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (1816-1948) and German physician and racial aesthete Carl Heinrich Stratz (1858-1924), who both explored aesthetics in terms of proportion and symmetry of the human body.[245] To Hayashi, symmetry, balance and proportional beauty were "fundamental laws of aesthetics" that surgeons should abide by when performing cosmetic procedures. Throughout his books, Hayashi explicitly and repeatedly associated aesthetic perfection with Greek statues. Following the Western trend of aesthetic surgery, Hayashi looked in particular to Venus de Milo, which he called a "fine example of a healthy and beautiful figure." In Japan, as in the West, the most important facial feature in determining beauty was the nose, explaining why this feature became the starting point of cosmetic surgery.

The nose was believed to define both personality traits and race, which were ranked by the standard of "the most human to the least human." Jews were frequent clients of cosmetic surgeons in the West to rid themselves of distinctive and large noses because that physical characteristic frequently targeted them for racial antisemitism. By undergoing rhinoplasty, the surgical procedure in which the structure of the nose is transformed, Jews were essentially able

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doctor named Dr. Tajiro who was supposedly the "greatest authority" on plastic surgery in Japan, returned from France where he "visited the hospitals at Lyons to investigate the real conditions respecting the treatment and surgical operations of wounded and sick soldiers." The article is most likely referring to Tashiro Yoshinori (1864-1938), who was the founding father of orthopedics in Japan. Newspaper advertisements show that Tashiro started out patients affected by treating syphilis in 1892 and was most likely operating on collapsed noses of those infected. Tashiro, however, never identified himself as a cosmetic surgeon but as an orthopedic surgeon. Tashiro coined the term "seikei" or orthopedics in Japanese in 1904. William Braistead. *Report on the Japanese Naval Medical and Sanitary Features: Of the Russo-Japanese War to the Surgeon Gerneral, U.S. Navy.* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1906)

[245] For discussion on Carl Heinrich Statz, see chapter 1 of this dissertation.

to conform visually to the notion of the "beautiful race" and so decrease the possibility of being maltreated. But the nose was only the first step. With the gradual spread of the medical specialty, it became increasingly "possible to imagine altering other aspects of the body that seem permanent."[246] The knowledge, skills and most important, body ideals that Japanese doctors acquired in Europe set in motion the institutionalization of aesthetic surgery in East Asia.

In Japan, early forms of cosmetic procedures were performed soon after the Meiji Restoration. In Europe and in the United States, doctors had long followed a sixteenth century method pioneered by Italian doctor Gaspare Tagliocozzi (1545-1599), in which skin was removed from other parts of the body such as the bicep to reconstruct a new nose for those whose whole face was damaged in battle or through disease. During the eighteenth century, British colonists also discovered an ancient rhinoplasty method in India that utilized the forehead flap. The method was eventually popularized when Joseph Constantine Carpue (1764-1846) published the *Account of Two Successful Operations for Restoring a Lost Nose* in 1815. These techniques were the first known type of "nose-jobs" performed in Japan as well.

In March 1869, the *Bankoku Shinbunshi* published a story about a farmer named Kiyozō, who made the trip from his hometown in Jōshu to the Great Hospital (*Daibyōin*) in Tokyo to see British physician William Willis (1837-1894).[247] In the winter prior to the Restoration, Kiyozō had committed a robbery for which he received the punishment of *hanasogi,* or nose amputation. This not only left Kiyozō disfigured, but it also permanently marked him as a criminal. Shortly

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[246] Sander L. Gilman, *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery* (Princeton University Press, 2001), 16; See also Gilman, *Creating Beauty to Cure the Soul.*

[247] *Bankoku Shinbunshi,* vol 16, March 1869. The newspaper was a Japanese language publication founded by Michael Buckworth Bailey (1827-1899), who was the Consular Chaplain to the British legation in Yokohama.

after Kiyozō had his nose severed, however, harsh corporeal punishments such as *hanasogi* were swiftly abolished in Japan because they were considered barbaric by Western observers.[248] Kiyozō therefore bore the last vestiges of the "backward" Tokugawa regime and he was determined to "enlighten" his body using modern medicine.

It is unclear how Kiyozō knew about William Willis, but the British physician had gained considerable fame in Japan when he served as the head of medical operations on the side of the Imperial Court during the Bōshin War (1868-1869). He treated both civilians and soldiers using Western surgical techniques as the troops advanced from Kyoto to Aizu, and likely performed early forms of reconstructive procedures. [249] Willis appears to have been aware of fellow countryman Joseph Constantine Carpue's study on reconstructive rhinoplasty, which borrowed from Indian techniques. According to the *Bankoku Shinbunshi*, Willis promptly reconstructed Kiyozō's nose using "skin from the forehead to construct a new nose." [250] Within a few days, Kiyozō recovered from the procedure and was no longer noseless, and he "profusely thanked" Willis before returning to his hometown.

A decade later, a Japanese language surgery textbook titled *Lessons of Special Surgery*, included references to similar reconstructive procedures, including *zōbijutsu*, literally "construction of the nose" written by Dutch surgeon Christian Jacob Ermerins (1842-1888) in

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[248] Daniel Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[249] Because there had been no civil war for over two centuries, Japanese doctors were unexperienced with the wounds inflicted by modern weaponry and enlisted Willis' services. In the process taught Japanese doctors new surgical procedures. Following the Restoration, the new Meiji government appointed Willis as professor of the Great Hospital. Willis' tenure at the Great Hospital was short lived however, as the Meiji government chose Germany as the model for Western medicine.

[250] *Bankoku Shinbunshi,* (March 1869)

collaboration with two *rangaku* doctors, Harada Shunzō and Monobe Seiichirō.[251] The most common reason for rhinoplasty was tertiary syphilis, a sexually transmitted disease, that causes disfiguration of those infected was widespread in Tokugawa Japan.[252] In February 1885, the *Yomiuri* and *Asahi* Newspapers both reported that Dr. Satō Susumu, professor of medicine at Teikoku University (present day Tokyo University), successfully put Tagliocozzo's method into practice on a thirty-year old former samurai whose nose had completely collapsed from syphilis. The procedure provided a way to hide markers of a diseased and scarred body, which was becoming increasingly stigmatized during a time when improving the health of the Japanese people had become a national priority.[253]

Soon, however, Japanese began undergoing rhinoplasty to perfect the structure of fully functioning noses. By the first decade of the twentieth century, moreover, Tagliocozzo's method had become outdated in both Europe and in Japan. In the 1890s, Austrian physician Robert Gersuny discovered that paraffin (the same substance used in candle wax) served as an excellent filler to shape the nose. Melted paraffin was placed in a syringe and slowly injected into the patient's nose, and the doctor would then mold the nose into an appropriate shape. Compared to Tagliocozzo's rhinoplasty method, paraffin injections meant that neither a scalpel not chloroform (used as an anesthetic) was necessary, making the procedure quick, less expensive and relatively painless with no obvious scarring.[254] Gersuny's method was considered a breakthrough as he had

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[251] Christian Jacob Emerins and Shinzō Harada. *Geka kakuron* (Ōsaka: Ōsaka Kōritsu Byōin, 1879)

[252] *Yomiuri Shinbun*, February 1885. For a history of syphilis in Japan, see Susan Burns. "Bodies and Borders: Syphilis, Prostitution, and the Nation in Japan, 1860-1890" in *US-Japan Women's Journal*. No 15. 1998. 3-30

[253] See Miri Nakamura. *Monstrous Bodies.*

[254] The paraffin-based procedure is explained in "Hayashi Kumao, Hayashi Yoshio," in Tokugawa Musei ed. *Mondō yōyū* : *Musei Taiwa Shū* (Tokyo: Asahi Shibunsha, 1954) 121-130

made the nose a literally malleable part of the face. More importantly, he was shaping a whole new field in medicine through his invention, paving the way for the emergence of modern cosmetic surgery. Japanese otolaryngologists quickly adopted Gersuny's technique and began to perform it for both reconstructive and cosmetic purposes.

As in the West, the line between reconstructive and aesthetic surgery in Japan blurred as smaller "imperfections" came to be perceived as reasons to undergo surgery. However, the Japanese "problem of the nose" differed in significant ways from that of the West. While Jews wanted to make their noses smaller, in Japan, people sought to make them "higher-bridged," or taller. Some Japanese may have wished to appear more "Greek," but there were other reasons for a preference for high-bridged noses. Sources from early modern Japan reveal that a tall nose had long been considered an ideal feature. Sayama Hanshichimaru, who authored Japan's first beauty instruction book in 1813, offered numerous ways of making the nose appear taller using whitening powder. If make-up alone did not improve the appearance of the nose, Sayama advised women to "pinch their noses using their right thumb, index and middle finger, massage their noses upwards," and chant a spell that helped to grow their noses.[255] Such methods were obviously not effective, but Sayama's advice nevertheless offers a glimpse into the beauty ideals prior to the advent of modern surgical techniques or broad dissemination of Western ideas about the body.

In *Aesthetics of the Nose*, Hayashi Kumao argued that the pursuit of beauty was a "human and rational" desire.[256] He also identified this goal as a quintessentially modern one. Modernity

[255] Sayama Hanshichimaru. *Miyako Fūzoku Kewaiden*. 1813.

[256] Hayashi Kumao. *Hana no Bigaku*, (Tokyo: Tsukumo Shobō, 1922) 1-2

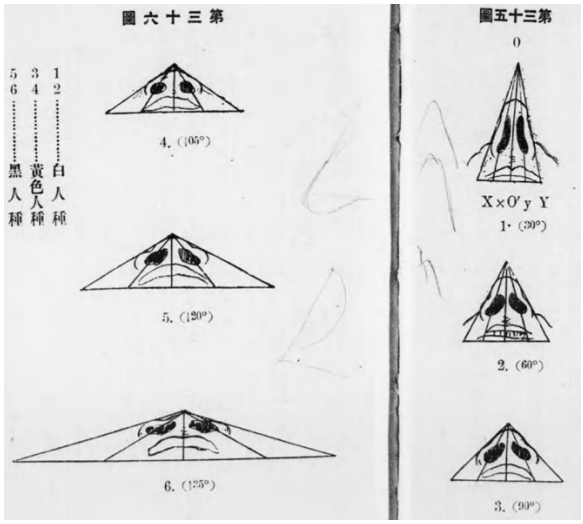
led to more interaction among social constituents, and as a result, individuals became increasingly self-conscious of their image and, through constant interaction with others, crafted stronger identities and self-awareness. According to Hayashi, this engagement with a wider range of people was the reason why there were more beautiful people in urban than in rural areas. Looking beautiful was a "social obligation" and, when individuals decided to improve themselves, they also contributed to making Japanese society aesthetically pleasing.[257] While true beauty was "a gift from the heavens," medical intervention could "polish a dusty jewel," meaning that the primary role of the surgeon was to bring out the potential beauty in everybody.[258]

Hayashi further elaborated on racial science to explain the ideal nose. He examined three types of racial noses- that of the white, yellow, and black races, ranking them according to their height and narrowness of the angles. Hayashi agreed with his sources that the nose of the white race occupied the highest and most desirable position. The tall nose, most common among whites, "made them appear intelligent, elegant and sensitive" while the flat nose possessed by blacks made them look "ignorant, intellectually slow, and apathetic." Although Hayashi did not discuss the "yellow nose," his opinion was obvious. Nose 1 and 2 on his diagram are classified as two variants of the noses "of white people," 3 and 4 and classified as "yellow people's noses," while 5 and 6 are "black people's noses." In discussing where the Japanese stood within this hierarchy, Hayashi wrote that he "rarely" saw Japanese who naturally possessed nose 1 in the

[257] Ibid,.

[258] Ibid.,

diagram but that the typical Japanese nose was either nose 2 or 3, therefore putting them racially between the white and yellow races, or in a "semi-civilized" and "semi-white" status.[259]



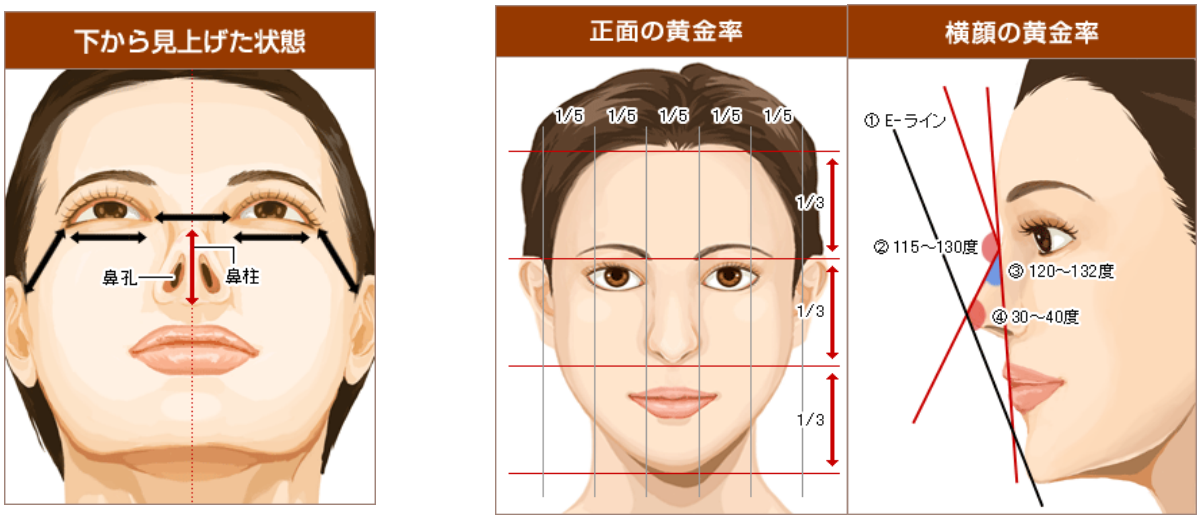
3.2 Hayashi Kumao determined the height of the nose by measuring the angle of the nostrils from below. Nose 1 and 2 are classified as "white people" noses, 3 and 4 are classified as "yellow people" noses. While 5 and 6 are "black people noses. Hayashi, *Hana No Bigaku*, (1922)

Hayashi would later clarify his views in *Fujin Sekai*, a women's magazine. There he explained that when bestowing the "ideal nose" on a client, a surgeon should not simply construct a Western nose, for this would not suit the face of the Japanese individual. Rather, he emphasized the importance of harmony (*chōwa*) among all the features.[260] Like many Western cosmetic surgeons during this period, Hayashi identified the "golden point," which was the spot between the eyebrows and the inner-corner of the eyes. Then, he established the "golden line" by drawing a line from the tip of the nose to the "golden point" and claimed that the smaller the

[259] Ibid,. 86-90

[260] Kumao Hayashi. "Hikui minikui hana ga takaku utsukushikunaru: ryūbijtsu wo hadokoshita watashi no saikin no jikken," *Fujin Sekai*. (192?)

gap between point A and point B, the more elegantly proportioned was the nose. The equilibrium among parts of the face was referred to as “the golden ratio.” This ratio essentially provided a way to measure and calculate beauty, and to this day in contemporary Japan, Hayashi’s model is used by cosmetic surgeons.



3.3 Above) Measuring the perfect bridge. Hayashi, *Ryūbijutsu Mondai.* Below) Advertisement from present day Japan that shows “The Golden Ratio” from various angles. Ulysses Cosmetic Surgery Clinic: http://www.ulysses-clinic.com/menu/nose/nose_ex.html

Who submitted to rhinoplasty during the Meiji period? In addition to male soldiers, thieves and sufferers from syphilis, according to Kuroiwa Hisako, rhinoplasty became popular among upper-class women for the same reasons as were cosmetics. By diligently working on

their bodies, they hoped to enhance their marriage prospects. [261] Author Watanabe Junichi has claimed in his biography of the famous actress Matsui Sumako that Matsui underwent the nose augmentation procedure around 1908 after failing to become admitted to Shoyō Tsuboichi's theater group on the basis that her face was "too plain."[262] Because *shingeki* theater introduced plays by Western writers, Matsui believed that she needed more prominent facial features to convincingly play foreign roles.[263] Strong facial expressions (*hyōjō*) were vital for actors and actresses performing Western plays, and for this reason, rhinoplasty (and later other surgeries) became popular among a new generation of stage and screen stars. Thus, unlike the early modern era, Matsui's reasons for undergoing the procedure was thus more specifically about looking Western than it was for some others.

Regardless of the reasons, the demand for rhinoplasty continued to grow during the early twentieth century as more people became comfortable with the idea of medical intervention. In the April 1908 issue of *Miyako Shinbun*, a reader wrote to the advice column of the newspaper seeking more information on rhinoplasty. The reader remarked that she/he frequently came across advertisements on the operation and wished to "undergo the procedure that fixed unsightly noses," mirroring the language and attitudes of plastic surgeons themselves. The reader, however, was unsure about how the procedure worked because advertisements rarely elaborated on the surgical process. The reader questioned, "does the procedure consist of removing part of the skin from the face and the leg? If so, will this cause permanent damage to

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[261] Hisako Kuroiwa, *Meiji no ojōsama* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2008).

[262] Matsui became famous for her portrayal of Nora in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*.

[263] Junichi Watanabe. "Joyū" in *Watanabe Junichi zenshū, vol 13* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1997) 21-23

the body?"[264] The article reveals a growing curiosity among Japanese regarding aesthetic surgery and willingness to at least consider undergoing invasive measures to transform their personal appearance. In the May 1908 issue of *Idan*, Junzō Umeda, a doctor, remarked that he frequently came across advertisements for two kinds of rhinoplasty promoted by a growing number of otolaryngology clinics- reconstructive rhinoplasty *zōbijutsu* ("the making of the nose") as well as aesthetic rhinoplasty *ryūbijutsu* ("the augmenting of the nose".)[265] Another article in the Asahi newspaper published in the same year reported that only six doctors were qualified to perform the paraffin-based nose-augmentation procedure, and that this number was barely enough to handle the high demand. By 1910, numerous otolaryngologist clinics made the procedure a major selling point of their practice, explicitly publicizing the operation as "beauty nose augmentation surgery" rather than "reconstructive surgery" to attract more customers.[266] The procedure appears to have been lucrative for many doctors. In the early 1920s, a reputable doctor charged fifty yen for a nose augmentation procedure, equivalent to a typical month's salary for a Tokyo Imperial University law department graduate.

Although rhinoplasty at first was seen by doctors and patients alike as a "miracle cure" for unsightly noses, paraffin injections proved to be harmful to the body. Soon, both the Yomiuri and the Asahi newspapers reported on the complications experienced by those who underwent the procedure. Because paraffin is essentially candle wax, the substance melted easily in high temperatures when clients bathed or simply walked outside in the summer heat. This

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[264] "Ryubijutsu ni tsuite," *Miyako Shinbun*, April 16, 1908, 4

[265] Junzō Umeya. "Chinki naru iryō kōkoku," *Idan* (Tokyo: Shiritsu Shōshin Ikai Jimusho), Vol 109. May 1908, 23-24

[266] "Ryūbijutsu no ryūkō: Anzen ni hana ga takakunaru." *Asashi Shinbun,* June 27 and June 29, 1908

consequently caused a condition called paraffinoma, in which clumping of the substance caused bumps to appear beneath the skin. Removing the paraffin residues was an incredibly difficult and painful procedure, and ironically, many people became permanently disfigured when they tried to do so, a problem that also occurred in the West. Despite the publicity concerning the risks, there is no indication that the Oto-Rhino-Laryngological Society of Japan (established in 1893) or the Japanese government intervened to regulate paraffin injections or any other dangerous practices associated with aesthetic surgery. [267] By the mid-1920s, quackery had become a rampant problem. On January 27th, 1925 the Asahi Newspaper published an article about the growing numbers of doctors who performed cosmetic procedures in Ōsaka without learning how to do them safely.[268] Many of them were medical practitioners in fields such as ophthalmology who faced stiff competition, reportedly began to turn to aesthetic procedures to attract patients. Japanese who could not afford to pay to undergo procedures at well-respected clinics went to these doctors who charged far less and had little to no experience in performing cosmetic procedures. Many doctors who botched these aesthetic procedures were found guilty for false advertising and had their medical licenses revoked.

A reason for rampant quackery in the 1920s was because cosmetic surgery was not yet recognized as a distinct field in Japan. While in the West, reconstructive and aesthetic surgery had garnered recognition by the 1930s, the profession of what is known in present-day Japan as *biyogeka* (aesthetic surgery) did not become a legally recognized medical specialty until 1978,

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[267] See "Hayashi Kumao, Hayashi Yoshio," *Mondō Yūyō: Musei Taiwashū,* 126

[268] "Kurushī magire ni hairu isha: kanja wo atsumeru tame ni ihan koi wo kokoku shite." *Asahi Shinbun*, January 27th, 1925.

when the House of Representatives passed a bill defining it.[269] While the terms "beauty surgery" and "aesthetic surgery" both existed had since the early twentieth century, no clinics specialized exclusively in cosmetics procedures. People who wanted to undergo nose augmentation procedures went to otolaryngologists and, anyone who wished to surgically alter his or her eyes to make them double-lidded, went to see an ophthalmologist.

Newspapers reports in the 1920s on this growing number of disastrous procedures set in motion a nation-wide discussion of the ethics and practices of cosmetic surgery. For example, a seventeen-year old boy recounted his disastrous nose augmentation surgery in a 1927 Asahi Newspaper article. He had suffered a classic case of paraffinoma, resulting in permanent disfiguration. He clearly regretted his decision to alter his features and questioned whether procedures of such kind should exist in the first place. In another news story, Dr. Nishihata, a professor of otolaryngology, was particularly critical of what he saw as the abuse of cosmetic procedures in pre-war Japan.[270] He emphasized repeatedly that paraffin injections were not appropriate for cosmetic purposes but should be reserved solely for reconstructive operations. These procedures, wrote Nishihata, "are not to be taken lightly and should not be performed for the simple reason that one was born with a small nose and wishes to have a nose like Cleopatra." Nishihata also found it absurd that people wanted to shape their nose or eyes to look like certain movie stars.

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[269] The term seikei geka (reconstructive surgery) became accepted as a specialty in 1975. The issues on naming the specialization came from a group of doctors who did not believe "beauty surgery" was considered a legitimate form of medical treatment. "Ninchi sareta biyo geka," *Asahi Shinbun*, October 14th, 1978.

[270] *Asahi Shinbun*, May 14th, 1936

Doctors in Japan continued to use paraffin in rhinoplasty through the early 1930s, when specialists found that ivory transplants provided safer and longer-lasting results. According to a 1925 medical-journal article by Dr. Jacques Malinak, who introduced the procedure in the United States, ivory was safer because it "resembled human bone closely," and "when implanted in human tissues does not irritate them but becomes encapsulated. Being easy to procure, easily sterilized, practically non-absorbable and very resistant, it forms an ideal internal prosthesis."[271] The ivory transplant process, however, was far more invasive and, consequently, costlier than the paraffin-based procedure. For this reason, the paraffin procedure remained popular for those who sought quicker and cheaper results.

Other people, who could not afford either the ivory transplant or the paraffin injection or who were perhaps too afraid to undergo any invasive procedures at all turned to commercial products that claimed to make the nose appear taller. In 1903, a company called *Tosan Shōkai* began to advertise a "nose augmentation tool" (*ryubiki*). The advertisement promised potential consumers that the product would make any low-bridge nose taller and yield such natural results that even "an expert in the profession [presumably a doctor] would approve." To purchase the product, the consumer had to send in four *sen*-- equivalent to a bowl of noodles -- to an address in Kyōbashi. The advertisement shows the profiles of two faces looking at each other- one of a Japanese woman and another of what appears to be a Japanese man, both with protruding bridges. (3.4)

[271] Jacques Malinak. "The Use of Ivory in Rhinoplasty," *Archives of Otalaryngology.* Vol.1, Number 6. (1925) . 609


鼻が高くなる

▲隆鼻器無料貸與

鼻は人生の花で最も大切な物で幸と不幸の分れ道は實に鼻の格好一つである青年男女の内で▲猪鼻▲だん子鼻▲わし鼻▲裏天鼻▲其他鼻の格好の醜しき人本法は醫式の注射や隆鼻術でなく自宅で人知らぬ間に何人にても見違ふ程立派に鼻の隆くなる新案特許の器械を希望者に無料で貸與す郵券二錢封入申込ば療法見本の全部を郵送す

東京市神田區猿樂町一丁目貳番地

東京醫療器械製作所

3.4 Advertisement for the mysterious "nose augmentation tool" (*ryūbiki*), Asahi Newspaper, July 1918

3.5 Advertisement for another "nose augmentation tool," sold by *Tosan Shōkai. Asashi Shibun,* October 20th, 1904.

Another company, *Tokyo Iryō Kikai Seisakujo*, frequently placed photographs of a woman in bridal wear in their ads. The product was directed at both young men and women, and promised that a beautiful nose led to life-long happiness. (3.5) More precisely, by using a photograph of a young bride, the implied promise was that this miracle product could help women find marriage partners. It also suggested that men who used it could attract a beautiful

bride. The advertisement promised that the nose "will grow tall." The nose, the advertisement read, "is the flower of life and determines if one will lead a happy or unhappy life…you can achieve excellent results in the comfort of your own home." The text played on the fact that "hana" can mean flower as well as nose in the Japanese language, also invoking the idea that the nose was the most important part of the face.

None of the companies clearly described how this nose augmentation tool worked, let alone showed what it looked like. According to Kuroiwa, it was merely a gadget, equivalent to pinching one's nose with a clothing peg that fit over the nose. The tool served to "correct" (*kyōsei*) the shape of the nose. The logic was that if one slept with the apparatus pinched on the nose on a nightly basis, the nose would eventually change shape.[272] This idea therefore closely resembled Sayama Hanshichimaru's nineteenth century advice to pinching one's nose, but was now commercialized by other entrepreneurs as a gadget. A 1928 volume of *Hentai Jūninenshi*, which explored the deviant and bizarre aspects of the "erotic, grotesque, nonsense" culture that marked the 1920s, included a small section on rhinoplasty which described the use of this tool in greater detail.[273] (3.6) The book also included two rare illustrations of the tool, which resembles a muzzle. Children under the age of ten apparently had a better chance of seeing results because their bodies were changing, while older people had to wear the device longer in the hopes of improving their nose. According to the instructions, those over the age of ten needed to wear the device for seven minutes, while people from ages twenty to thirty needed to devote fifteen minutes nightly to see results and so on. The product appears to have been in high demand given

[272] Kuroiwa, *Meiji no Ojōsama*, 181

[273] Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2007).

that these companies continued to advertise consistently until the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941 when the ads disappeared because of government bans on luxury items.[274]

3.6 An illustration of how the "nose augmentation tool" might have looked. *Hentai Jyūninenshi Furoku*, Vol 3. (Tokyo: Bungei Shiryō Kenkyūkai, 1928).

The growing obsession with the nose was satirized by social observers such as manga artist Kitazawa Rakuten (1876-1955). Kitazawa drew numerous editorial cartoons for the humor magazine *Tokyo Puck*, which he established in 1905. In the October 1912 issue of *Family Puck,* which lampooned the modern urban family, Kitazawa poked fun at the growing popularity of rhinoplasty in a cartoon titled "Tonko's New Nose Augmentation Technique."[275] (3.7) The cartoon depicts a young woman, Tonko (a double-entendre for "Piggy"), who possesses a flat nose. As Tonko sniffs a dahlia flower, a bee suddenly appears from the flower and stings her nose. Tonko later looks at herself in the mirror and is pleasantly surprised to see that the bee sting has given her tall nose, and that she has "transformed into a beauty." Kitazawa may have

[274] "Ryūbijutsu seikeijustu," *Hentai Jyūninenshi Furoku*, Vol 3. (Tokyo: Bungei Shiryō Kenkyūkai, 1928), 49-51

[275] This was the Japanese version of the US humor magazine, Puck. "Tonko no shin ryūbijutsu," *Katei Pakku*, (Tokyo: Rakutensha,) October 1912, 10

been alluding to the pain of the injection, akin to a bee sting, or perhaps he wanted to offer a "cheaper" alternative to a procedure that was undoubtedly expensive for the average Japanese citizen. It is also likely that Kitazawa was satirizing the increasing obsession with physical appearance in Japan, and the extremes some were willing to go to in order to change it.

Another cartoon by Kondō Kōichirō (1884-1962) in the February 1919 issue of *Shōjo no Tomo*, also humorously depicted a family's quest for taller noses.[276] (3.7) The cartoon tells the story of Hanako (*hana* meaning both flower and nose) who, along with her mother and grandmother, has a low-bridged nose. Her neighbor Takeko, "laughs at their shortcoming every time she saw them." Determined to make her nose taller, Hanako ponders different ways to change her family's unfortunate trait. She proceeds to place a rose in the middle of the room and pours expensive perfume over the flower, creating another punning joke since "expensive" and "high" in Japanese are both written and read as *takai.* Thus, by putting perfume on the flower, she has transformed the rose into an "expensive flower" (*takai hana*) which can also mean "taller nose." Hanako, her mother and grandmother gather around the flower and begin to vigorously sniff the "expensive flower" in the hope of growing their noses. When their neighbor Takeko comes by Hanako's house, she is "shocked" to see the entire family with transformed noses. Thereafter, Hanako no longer becomes the subject of mockery.

[276] Koichirō Kondō. "Ohana ga takaku naru" *Shōjo No Tomo.* Volume 12, Issue 2. February 1919, 58-59

3.7 Kitazawa Rakuten. "Tonko's New Nose Augmentation Technique." In *Katei Pakku.* October 12, 1912.

Kondo's caricature reveals the ways that the flat nose became regarded as a flaw or defect that needed to be "cured." As indicated in Kitazawa's cartoon of Tonko/Piggy, those who were perceived as having unsightly features, were laughed at and teased. Hanako earns Takeko's respect only when her features become more "humane." As previously discussed, early modern physiognomy often saw human and animals having certain resemblances, and each feature had both positive and negative qualities. But, beginning in the Meiji era, "animal-like" features were increasingly viewed only in a negative light. For example, while those who possessed a lion's nose (*shibana*) had previously been seen as having heroic qualities, in modern Japan, this particular feature became associated only with disproportion. Other unsightly noses included the

witch's nose (*majobana*) in which the nose was tall but resembled a "hook," and a "rice cake nose" (*dangobana*) which referred to those who appeared to have no bridge.[277]

3.8 Kondō Kōichirō. "Ohana ga takaku naru," *Shojo no tomo*, Vol 12, Issue 2. February 1919-58-59.

Making the Eyes Bigger

In Japan, from the 1920s, the numbers of cosmetic surgery procedures continued to increase as the types of operations diversified, meaning that a greater number of people went "under the knife" to improve new kinds of "undesirable" facial features. The concern with corporeal improvement intensified in general as Japan's economic situation worsened in the

[277] Tomio Kitahara. *Mizukara Jisshi suru Biganjutsu*. (Tokyo: Shibameisha, 1908), 150

1920s. People felt increasingly judged based on their physical appearance both for work and for marriage. Those pressures help explain both the growth of the cosmetics industry and of plastic surgery. Takahashi Masao, another otolaryngologist, exploited these anxieties to sell rhinoplasty in his 1922 book, *Discussions of Rhinoplasty: Studies in Beauty.*[278] "In our current society," wrote Takahashi, "those who seek employment in companies, even servants, are judged by the employers based on their physical appearance. Marriage, which determines one's happiness in life, also depends on looks as everyone seeks an attractive partner. Those who successfully marry into the upper class (*tamanokoshi*) are usually possessors of great beauty."[279] Takahashi used French philosopher and mathematician Blaise Pascal's famous quote that "if Cleopatra's nose had been shorter, the whole face of the world would have changed" to argue that the shape of one's nose could have a drastic impact on the outcome of entire civilizations.[280] The message to his readers was clear: changing one's facial structure could bring about life altering changes.

Yet the biggest story of the 1920s was that this increasing premium on outward appearance soon prompted upwardly mobile Japanese to focus on new perceived physical flaws, and the eyes soon became the next marker of personality as well as beauty. Small eyes with "mono-lids," a feature that had been considered beautiful in the early modern era, became a marker of untrustworthiness and introvertedness. Unlike rhinoplasty, which addressed a longstanding concern among the Japanese, the preference toward larger eyes was a new twentieth century trend. The solution to fix this "flaw" was a procedure called blepharoplasty, a technique invented by Austrian surgeon Karl Ferdinand von Gräfe in the early twentieth century

[278] Masao Takahashi. *Ryubijutsu no hanashi- bibō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōmeisha, 1922)

[280] Blaise Pascal. *Pensées*. (1670)

to repair deformities caused by cancer of the eyelids.[281] European and American surgeons also began to perform blepharoplasty to remove excess skin from the upper eyelid, which at times obstructed a person's vision. The line between reconstructive and aesthetic surgery again became ambiguous over time as surgeons began to use the technique for anti-ageing purposes by cutting away sagging skin to make the eyes appear more youthful. In Japan, blepharoplasty quickly became known as the "double-eyelid procedure" and eventually evolved into one of the most widely performed medical procedures in contemporary East Asia.[282]

In Japan, the double-eyelid surgery was first performed even earlier by Dr. Mikamo Kōtarō in 1896. In the September 1896 issue of *Chūgai Shinpō*, Mikamo published findings on three case studies of women who underwent his double-eyelid procedure. Mikamo performed the procedure not to make these women look "more Western" but because he saw single-lidded eyes as a "defect of the muscle fibers" that caused "narrow vision" and also made the facial expression "monotonous and impassive."[283] In other words, he was already advocating for the surgery on aesthetic as well as medical grounds. To create the lid, Mikamo first marked a line on the eyelid and then applied three sutures along the line. The sutures were then removed after four to six days. The procedure left "no major scars, and a physician can control the results after

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[281] Nirmala Subramanian, "Blepharoplasty," *Indian Journal of Plastic Surgery*. Vol 41, (October 2008). 88-92

[282] See Lam, Samuel M, "Mikamo's Double-Eyelid Blepharoplasty and the Westernization of Japan," *Arch Facial Plast Surg* 4, no. July-September, (2002) ; Shirakabe, Yukio, "The Development of Aesthetic Facial Surgery in Japan: As Seen Through a Study of Japanese Pictorial Art," *Aesthetic Surgery* 14 (1990): 215–21; Shirakabe, Yukio et al., "The Double-Eyelid Operation in Japan: Its Evoution As Related To Cultural Changes," *Annals of Plastic Surgery* 15, no. 3 (September 1985): 224–48; Miller, *Beauty Up.* 115–22.

[283] An English translation of Mikamo's 1896 article can be found in Suzanne L. Sergile M.D. and Kazuo Obata, M.d., "Mikamo's Double-Eyelid Operation: The Advent of Japanese Aesthetic Surgery," in *Plastic Reconstructive Surgery*, Vol 99, No.3, (March 1997). 662-667

mastering the procedure. The result of the operation is natural looking double eyelids." Mikamo then concluded with a message to other doctors:

"I hope that fellow doctors will try this procedure and let the beautiful young ladies become much more attractive. Appearance is by all means one of their greatest concerns. With the most delightful smiles and new double eyelids, your patients will surely give you their gratitude and true words of love that are usually so hard to get from the young ladies."[284]

Mikamo's case study is exemplary not just of the ways in which Japanese doctors designated certain facial features as "defects" but also saw the problem in gendered terms.

Nonetheless, Mikamo's innovation went largely ignored until the 1920s, when Uchida Kōzō (1882-1952), an ophthalmologist, performed a similar procedure on a male patient. Born in 1881, Uchida attended Kyūshū University and spent some years training in Germany. He then briefly worked for the South Manchurian Railway Company as an otolaryngologist.[285] In 1923, he opened his own practice in the Marunouchi Building, one of Japan's most famous office buildings, located in the central business district of Tokyo. He gained fame after performing a series of *pro bono* procedures on injured Tokyoites in the aftermath of the catastrophic Great Kantō earthquake in September 1923.[286]

The year following the earthquake, Uchida received a young male patient who told him that he had read about his good deeds and reputation as an excellent doctor in the newspaper. He did not appear to have a visible eye disease, nor did he appear to have a serious eye injury. Upon asking the reason for his visit, the patient requested that he wanted Uchida to fix his "unfriendly

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[284] Ibid., 664

[285] Hisae Shiono, *Uchida Kōzō* (Tokyo: Battenkai, 1953). 42-45

[286] "Hayari- sudako hakasebari bira de appare mei wo ageta marubiru ganka Uchida Kōzō." *Yomiuri Shinbun*, November 30, 1923

looking eyes," a response that startled the doctor.[287] The patient was a recent college graduate who, like many men his age at that time, was having great difficulty finding employment. He told Uchida that companies did not hire him because of his personal appearance. Potential employers were repelled by his "malicious looking eyes" and had pointed out in interviews that the man's small, single-lidded eyes made him appear to be glaring at people. This suggested an unpleasant character, which made the young man appear untrustworthy and thus unemployable. Upon examining him, Uchida agreed that "the single eyelid did indeed give off a stern, grim look." The doctor decided that "perhaps giving him a double-eyelid would be the solution." The ophthalmologist did not elaborate on his technique, but we know that he performed a procedure that consisted of creating a "fold" in the lid, apparently making the eyes look more "alert" and "friendlier." Following the procedure, the young man reportedly found employment at a prominent company, which both men believed was due to his physical improvement. Uchida had changed the overall expression of his face, making him "look quite amiable."[288] The young man lauded Dr. Uchida a "savior" for ending his unemployment. It is unclear if Uchida was aware of Mikamo's 1896 operation, since the ophthalmologist claimed that this procedure was his own invention and he devoted the rest of his career to performing a variety of cosmetic procedures, which became his main source of revenue. By 1926, he had begun to promote his business as a cosmetic surgery clinic rather than an ophthalmology one. Priced at thirty-five yen, the double-eyelid surgery proved to be excellent business for Uchida, and he continued to treat

[287] Shiono, *Uchida Kozo*.

[288] Ibid., 42-45

"imperfections" by developing new cosmetic surgery techniques, notably a series of anti-ageing procedures.[289]

Although his first patient was male, most subsequent ones were female. Uchida's method was later widely publicized through radio talk-shows and was frequently featured in numerous women's magazines such as *Fujin Sekai*, *Shufu no Tomo, Fujin Kurabu* and *Fujin Salon*, earning him celebrity status. Famous actresses such as Takao Mitsuko, Date Satoko and Irie Takako flocked to Uchida's clinic asking for the miracle surgery that was known to drastically change a person's facial features in order to improve their chances of professional success. Many other women went there for other reasons. It is unclear how many patients Uchida operated on throughout his career, but according to a research paper he published in 1926, he had already performed the double eyelid procedure on over fifteen hundred people.[290] Since Uchida began offering the operation in 1924, this would mean that he performed an average of seven hundred and sixty double-eyelid surgeries per year. [**3.9** Before (Right) and After (Left): Photographs of Uchida's patients who underwent double-eyelid surgery. Uchida Kōzo, *Seikei no iroiro*, 1938]

[289] Uchida Kōzō. *Seikei no iro iro* (Tokyo: Uchida Shuppanbu, 1938)

[290] Uchida Kōzō. "The Uchida Method for the Double-Eyelid Operation in 1523 cases," in *The Japanese Journal of Opthalmology*. 1926; 30: 593

Uchida's frequent articles in newspapers and popular women's magazines such as *Fujin Koron* showed that he had become an established expert in cosmetic procedures by the late 1920s. Uchida articulated his own vision of beauty, going so far as to claim that the double-eyelid was a necessity to succeed in life. Citing William Shakespeare, the eyes, he said, were "the window to the soul." Uchida sometimes employed the language of "civilization and enlightenment" and references to Greek antiquity, but unlike the doctors who wrote about cosmetic procedures before him more often used the economic downturn to his advantage. In a radio appearance on the JOAK radio program in January 1928, Uchida told the story of the college graduate to sell the procedure to his listeners and stressed the importance of "facial expression" to employability. He claimed that people with single lidded eyes were "dark, introverted and dangerous looking," while people with double eyelids seemed "lively and cheerful." When his patients underwent the procedure, their "overall expression brightened, like a sun emerging from behind dark clouds."

Uchida further claimed that people with the following "problems" should consider undergoing the double-eyelid surgery:

1) Those with thin eyes that make them appear sleepy, or as if they are glaring or appear dangerous. Such eyes degrade the quality of one's face (*kao no hin wo otosu*).

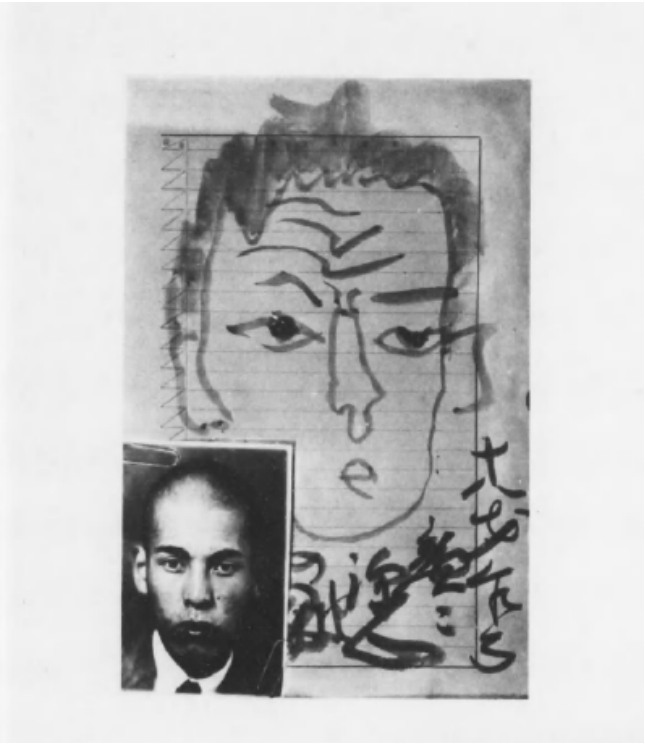
2) If a person has a partial single eyelid or a defective double eyelid.

3) Those with eyelashes that face downwards into the eyes and impair vision.

4) Those who are in a profession that requires making a strong impression, such as actresses.[291]

[291] JOAK Broadcasting, November 1928, Full interview reprinted in Shiono, *Uchida Kozo*. 135-138

Uchida's views of his patient's "imperfections" are evident in his 1936 book, *Sketches*.[292] As the title suggests, the book consisted of several pen-and-ink sketches of Uchida's patients' faces before they underwent procedures. Although it was customary for doctors to photograph their patients, Uchida preferred to sketch them because he felt that photographs did not accurately capture their "natural expression." He drew his patients in a distorted manner, with contorted face lines and misshapen eyes, lips and nose. Devoid of symmetry, many of his images are reminiscent of the *heno heno moheji,* a face commonly drawn by Japanese school children using hiragana characters. Flaws were drawn as monstrous and grotesque.



3.10 One of Uchida's many pre-operation sketches of his patients. Uchida, *Shitae*, 1936

[292] Uchida Kōzō. *Shitae*. (Tokyo: Marubiru Ganka Shuppanbu, 1936)

In publishing these sketches, Uchida clearly thought of himself as an artist. As a doctor, Uchida cured people of their "defects" but he also claimed responsibility for sculpting them into what he envisioned as "beautiful" or "acceptable." In a round table discussion titled "Anyone can be beautiful," in the April 1927 *Fujin Sekai* issue that also included otolaryngologist Hayashi Kumao, Uchida claimed that the process of aesthetic surgery was similar to *ikebana* flower arrangements.[293] Like Hayashi's aesthetics of the nose, Uchida was referring to the careful arrangements of each facial feature to create a harmonious balance.

This idea of balance quickly led to recommendations for multiple surgeries. In the *Fujin Sekai* round table discussion, Uchida stated that fixing the eyes alone did not necessarily make a person's face well-proportioned. Because the most common feature of the Japanese face was the "wide gap between the eyes due to lack of a distinct bridge," a low-bridged nose often hindered people from achieving true beauty. Hayashi agreed with Uchida's definition of the beautiful face and explained that the surgically improved face would look "incomplete" with only the double-eyelid surgery. The nose now needed to be molded in order to complement the eyes.

The conversation between the beauty experts presented in this article demonstrates the escalating discourse on aesthetic surgery that had begun nearly two decades before. The underlying message, as the title suggests, was two-fold: anyone could achieve beauty if they were willing to go under the knife. At the same time, the experts were constructing a more comprehensive beauty standard. The emphasis on the need to harmonize double lidded eyes with a high-bridged nose demonstrates their argument that the face needed to be perfected not only in its parts but in totality. By contrast, the numerous debates among social commentators, doctors, lawyers and ordinary citizens surrounding the moral implications of various procedures in Japan

[293] "Daredemo bijiin ni nareru," *Fujin Sekai*, April 1927

resembled that in the West in the early 1920s. Should a doctor be performing surgery on and altering a perfectly healthy body? What was the dividing line between mere physical flaws and defects? Were people who underwent such cosmetic procedures really "patients" when their so-called condition was not medically required? How should the success of aesthetic surgery be measured?[294] As rhinoplasties and blepharoplasties grew in popularity, doctors and social commentators began to share these concerns in both places.

3.11 Photograph from "Home Life" showing a doctor performing aesthetic procedures, published in *Home Life Magazine*, September 1937. The magazine often published photographs of "modern bourgeois culture" and shows the popularity of cosmetic procedures before the war.

As was the case for the nose-augmentation procedure, commercial products designed to create the double-eyelid effect soon emerged to offer consumers a more convenient option to invasive surgery. In 1931, entrepreneur Sakamoto Seizaburō manufactured a type of glue or

[294] See Gilman, *Creating Beauty To Cure the Soul*; Carolyn Comiskey, "Cosmetic Surgery in Paris in 1926: The Case of the Amputated Leg," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 30–54.

"putty" which could be applied directly to the eyelid as the skin was pushed back by a metal tool to create a temporary crease. Sakamoto hoped to create a cheaper, quicker, safer, and more natural-looking alternative. More importantly, the glue allowed consumers to avoid even entering the doctor's offices- they could achieve the double-eyelid in the comfort of their own homes. To evoke this message, Sakamoto connected the English word "eye" and "home" together, which somehow became *Eyehorn*.

The product promised a "beautiful" double-eyelid that would create "pacchiri [big and sparkly] eyes that lasted all day long." Moreover, the packaging claimed that it was "scientifically proven" that when one applied the glue on a daily basis, single-eyelids would gradually become "double-lidded." Such arguments were similar to those used for the "nose augmentation tool" discussed earlier, and also likewise, despite its claims, the product only produced temporary results. At six yen per set in addition to the fifteen *sen* for domestic shipping, the glue was almost one-sixth of the price of Uchida Kōzō's invasive procedure, still an expensive option for those who wanted to achieve the look.

Of course, Uchida was critical of the eyelid glue manufactured by *Eyehorn.* In *The Journal of Ophtalmology*, Uchida highlighted the side effects of the glue and the dangers it posed to the eyes. Uchida described a number of patients who came to his practice with serious reactions from the glue, such as swollen eyelids, blisters and calluses. As he reported it, patients were so fed up with the trouble of having to apply the glue every single day and dealing with the physical pain that they asked Uchida to perform the double-eyelid surgery because it was convenient and permanent. Uchida, based on treating numerous patients who had had disastrous results using *Eyehorn*, also conveniently found that the glue made the eyes looked unnatural, unlike his invasive technique. Uchida wrote that *Eyehorn* made "the eyes appear even thinner

and even uglier and the patients must decide how to beautify them. That is when they decide that they wish to have cosmetic surgery on their eyes."[295] He also warned users of *Eyehorn* that if they continued using the glue for an extended period of time, there was a strong possibility of permanent damage. Nonetheless, to this day, *Eyehorn* remains Japan's most successful manufacturer of the double-eyelid glue, boasting over three million users, as people continue to turn to such products as an alternative to invasive and costly surgeries.[296]

3.12 Eyehorn advertisement. Asahi Shinbun, March 22nd, 1940

[295] Kōzō Uchida. "Minkan emabuta yaki ni yori sonshō saretarume: mabuta no shoken oyobi chiryōhō." *Ganka Rinji Ihō*. Vol 34, No. 2

[296] See Eyehorn's Official website, http://二重まぶたアイホーン.net/story/origin.html. See also, Laura Miller, *Beauty Up*.

Aesthetic Surgery and Related Products in Colonial Korea

Eyehorn was also exported to Japan's colony in Korea, where the product was advertised in Korean women's magazines. *Eyehorn*'s expansion into Korea reveals that the ideals and practices associated with aesthetic surgery had also reached Japan's colony by the mid-1920s. Newspaper and magazine articles published there also show that procedures such as rhinoplasty and blepharoplasty were already well-known and even accepted forms of beautification among Koreans despite Confucian taboos concerning cutting into the skin.

The *Donga-Ilbo* newspaper, a Korean language newspaper founded in 1920, featured a column in which readers could submit health-related questions to be answered by doctors. Their concerns were similar to those of Japanese. In the February 5th, 1927 issue, a woman in her mid-twenties submitted a question to *Family Advice*. She wrote that she was "ashamed of her unsightly nose" and wanted to know if it was at all possible to change its shape. Six months later, the column featured yet another reader who was unhappy with his nose, but not because it was too small. The reader possessed an aquiline nose (also known as a hook nose) which supposedly made him appear "wretched" and he sought a permanent fix.[297] In 1938, a nineteen-year-old male complained of his "small eyes" and asked if an invasive procedure was the only option to "create a double eyelid (*yijoongeom*)"[298] None of the Koreans writing to these columns articulated whether they hoped to improve their marriage or employment prospects, but they were certainly curious about them. The most common questions were: Was success guaranteed? Where could they get the procedure? Was it available in Korea and how much did it cost?

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[297] "Kajong Munko," *Donga Ilbo,* November 12, 1927.

[298] "Jisang Byongwon," *Donga Ilbo*, May 25, 1938.

The Korean doctors who responded to these letters were educated within the colonial medical system, either in Japan or in one of the national hospitals established by the colonists in Korea, which offered curricula and medical treatments that were identical to what was offered in Japan. Unsurprisingly, the most popular procedures were rhinoplasty and blepharoplasty, just as in Japan, and the terms describing them were both directly translated from Japanese words. Newspaper columns reveal that most cosmetic procedures were performed in government-run hospitals such as the Governor-General Hospital, and the Keijō (K: *Kyongsong*) University Hospital or at the Japan Red Cross Hospital. Korean doctors encouraged their readers to undergo invasive procedures for the same reasons as their Japanese counterparts. In response to the young male who sought to undergo the double-eyelid procedure, Dr. Ko Yong-Ok of the Japan Red Cross Hospital wrote that "commercial products will not provide sufficient results," and recommended that he "undergo the operation. The procedure will not only make your eyes bigger, but they will make them even more beautiful."[299] In this regard, colonized modernity looked exactly like modernity in the metropole.

A satirical short story titled "A Husband's Excuse" by Kim Taek-Woong in the July 1937 issue of *Yosong,* a popular women's magazine, also portrayed the growing popularity of cosmetic surgery.[300] The story is centered on a conversation between a married couple and told through the perspective of the husband. The wife abruptly asks her husband, "do you know something called beauty aesthetic surgery?" The husband is clearly unfamiliar with the medical specialty but instantly becomes curious. Although the wife does not explicitly tell her husband that she wishes to undergo some of kind of procedure, her excitement and "starry eyes" as she

[299] Ibid.,

[300] Kim Taek-Woong. "Yūmo ui sosol- nampyun ui byun myeong." *Yosong*, July 1937.

answers his questions regarding cosmetic procedures suggests that she is interested in it. The husband then observes his wife's outward appearance: he describes her as having "heavy eyelids and narrow eyes" as well as a "flat nose." Moreover, the husband hints that ever since she gave birth to their child, she has aged significantly. He does not dare call her ugly, but he also hesitates to tell her that she is beautiful because he does not think she is. The husband is clearly thinking of the possibilities cosmetic surgery could offer in beautifying his wife but does not immediately encourage her to explore it because he does not yet understand what it is.

3.13 *Cosmetic surgery in the Korean imagination. Yosong, July 1937.*

When his wife leaves the room, the husband picks up the special issue of a women's magazine that she had been reading prior to their conversation. He finds that she was "not reading about women's health but about cosmetic surgery" and that the magazine article was written by doctors. He discovers that the eyes "can be made double-lidded and beautiful, something that would have been a dream just thirteen years ago." He is also stunned to find that it was not just the eyes and nose that could be fixed, but there were also procedures that could improve the appearance of the lips and cheeks. Although the husband is clearly mesmerized at

the possibilities modern medicine had to offer, as he reads the magazine, he is simultaneously taken aback by the commodification of women's bodies. By using difficult medical jargon, doctors and the magazine, he realizes, were luring women into getting cosmetic surgery. Much like the husband, at the end of the story, the reader is left conflicted about the uses of new technologies and how people use them.

Pre-war Korean society seems to have shared this ambivalence to a greater degree than in Japan. In May 1930, *Byeolgeongong* magazine reported that a number of Koreans also traveled to Japan to get the cosmetic procedures because the techniques were more advanced there.[301] One of the first Koreans to undergo the double-eyelid surgery was Oh Yop-Ju, the first Korean woman to open a beauty salon in colonial Seoul, discussed in chapter 2. Choi embraced modern forms of beautification and encouraged women to take advantage of treatments that made them feel better about themselves. Oh was one of the very few, if not the only person, in Korea to openly admit that she had undergone the double-eyelid surgery and received publicity for her modern views on beauty. Although many Koreans expressed interest in cosmetic surgery and probably some of them opted for it, in contrast to Japan, there are hardly any accounts of people who actually underwent any procedures, suggesting that they worried that others would judge them harshly, perhaps due to the lingering taboo against cutting into the flesh.

Yet the long-term impact of the modern Japanese beauty ideology on Korea was profound. In 1955, ten years after the peninsula was liberated from Japanese colonial rule and two years after the Korean War ended in a ceasefire, American doctor D. Ralph Miller, published an article titled "Oriental Peregrinations" in *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery,* a medical

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[301] "*Haehak sok e shil jeong.*" *Byeolgeonggon.* May, 1930.

journal.[302] Millard had served in the Marines during the Korean War and worked as a surgeon in a Mobile Army Surgical Hospital unit, where he performed reconstructive procedures on wounded soldiers and civilians. In the second half of the article, Millard wrote a section titled "Oriental to Occidental," in which he recounted one particular day during the war when a "slant-eyed Korean interpreter, speaking English, came to him requesting to be made into a 'round eye'" because "Americans could not tell what he was thinking and consequently did not trust him." Upon examining the patient, Millard continued that "this was partly true" and thought about what he could do to make the Korean interpreter appear more trustworthy to Americans. In observing the general Korean population, Millard noted that "the flat nose and the oriental eyes were the two features which seemed to lend themselves to the most striking change with the least radical surgery." Millard proceeded to perform both a nose augmentation procedure and a double-eyelid surgery on the interpreter. The results were apparently so impressive that "one entire local village, *papa-sans*, *mama-sans* and *baby-sans* came in requesting new nasal bridges."[303] After explaining the technical aspects of the double-eyelid surgery, Millard noted that "since the American Forces have been in the Far East, the occidental look has become more and more in vogue. Many Japanese, Chinese and Korean have been demanding to be deorientalized."[304] Millard's account bears a strong resemblance to the Uchida Kōzō's first double-eyelid patient discussed earlier. While Miller believes that the interpreter wanted to look

[302] D.R. Millard, Jr,. MD. "Oriental Peregrinations," in *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery.* Vol 16, (1955). 319-336.

[303] Ibid., 332

[304] Ibid., 334

"more Western," the Korean man was more interested in appearing friendlier and trustworthy than about erasing racial markers.

Today, South Korea has the highest rate of cosmetic surgery per capital in the world, with an estimated that between one fifth and one third of women in Seoul alone having undergone some sort of aesthetic procedure.[305] The double-eyelid surgery and nose augmentations are two of the most commonly performed procedures in Korea, often performed simultaneously to "balance out" facial features. As scholarly works and reports on the popularity of cosmetic surgery in Korea have suggested, men and women believe that such alterations are necessary in order to find a marriage partner and to secure employment at a reputable company. Failure to conform to beauty standards meant risking "falling behind" and "missing out" on a successful middle-class life.

Conclusion

The rise, spread and normalization of aesthetic surgery in Japan were driven by a complex interaction among different sectors in society. The primary movers, as discussed above, were Japanese physicians, who, armed with new knowledge and medical techniques, took advantage of the Meiji government's aggressive drive towards modernization, civilization and enlightenment to propagate and legitimize various cosmetic procedures. They designated certain features as physical defects that required surgical intervention and legitimized these new standards and prescriptions in the name of science, civilization and enlightenment. Japanese doctors evoked ancient Greek aesthetics, but they did not replicate modern European trends in cosmetic surgery; rather than making noses smaller, they made them taller and they invented

[305] Patricia Marx. "About Face: Why is South Korea the world's plastic surgery capital?" *The New Yorker*. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/03/23/about-face (accessed April 10th, 2018)

double-eyelid surgeries in order to make a person seem more "alert," rather than for anti-ageing purposes. The 1920s saw a huge increase in many kinds of elective surgeries. During the economic crisis that plagued Japan, especially women, doctors tied cosmetic surgery to marriage and employment. The rising Japanese middle-class enthusiastically consumed these new services as a way to achieve upward mobility. The language of civilization and enlightenment, defined as replicating ancient Greek beauty ideals, drove the initial stages of the development of aesthetic surgery. This was eventually, however, replaced with a language that promoted modern bourgeois values in the early twentieth century. In turn, growing desires for taller noses and double eyelids gave rise to new entrepreneurial forces that made these new beauty ideals available through cheaper options such as *Eyehorn* and the "nose augmentation tools" that eventually made "better" noses and eyes available to the masses. Within half a century, these complex set of interactions, not only institutionalized new beauty ideals among Japanese but also spread the same ideals to Korea. As exemplified in the television show *B.C. Beauty Colosseum* and the massive popularity of cosmetic surgical procedures in South Korea today, the impact on contemporary East Asia continues to into the 21st century.

Chapter 4
The Wartime Beauty Industry
1937-45

Introduction

In the weeks immediately following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, the Home Ministry formed the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement (*Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin Undō*) to stimulate support for war at home. The Ministry declared the Japanese Empire in a "state of emergency" (*hijōji*) and moved quickly to regulate daily life for total war mobilization. Between 1938 and 1945, the state repeatedly reminded Japanese civilians that "luxury was the enemy" (*zeitaku wa teki da*) and that they should devote themselves spiritually and materially to the war effort.[306] The state not only dictated how and where resources should be allocated but also controlled what people could consume and how their appearance should match the national spirit. War mobilization reversed the fifty-year trend in which the beauty industries and beauty ideals were increasingly controlled by private actors rather than the state.

Like everywhere else beauty ideals in Japan transformed during the war. As men were shipped off to the front, the state relied on women to keep the home front functioning. This requirement unleashed an all-pervasive "biopower" effort in which women's bodies came under intense state scrutiny to maintain the health of the national body (*kokutai*).[307] Nor was Japan alone. As Melissa McEuen has observed in her work on femininity in the United States during

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[306] See Sheldon Garon, "Luxury Is the Enemy: Mobilizing Savings and Popularizing Thrift in Wartime Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 26, no. 1 (January 1, 2000): 41–78; Sheldon M Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds : The State in Everyday Life* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[307] Michel Foucault defined bio-power as power over life and a distinctly modern phenomenon. The body is disciplined and treated like a machine, requiring it to be productive to meet the needs of the state. Moreover, the reproductive capacity of the human body is regulated as a form of social control. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction.*, Reissue Edition (New York: Vintage, 1990). Noriko Horiguchi has also discussed how women's bodies became an essential part of the *kokutai* in the Japanese Empire. Noriko Horiguchi, *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011)

the Second World War, the female body became a "battleground," as the state, social commentators and business enterprises, each with their own interests, attempted to construct a gender ideal that would benefit a nation at war.[308] The Home Ministry demanded that Japanese women be patriotic, economically savvy, physically robust, and industrious, all the while maintaining the "good wife, wise mother" ideal. What that meant in practice was that the beauty ideals of the 1920s and 30s, which idolized urban cosmopolitan glamour, were shunned by wartime Japanese leaders as mere flashiness. Instead, Japanese officials, beauty producers and consumers reverted back to Meiji-era ideals by defining beauty primarily in terms of health and cleanliness.

By 1940, Japan's political and economic situation was in a heightened sense of urgency as relations with the United States and Britain rapidly deteriorated and right-wing extremists became more influential domestically. In September 1940, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, signaling Japan's allegiance to the fascist camp. The turmoil in Europe, stalled war in China and American stance of diplomatic belligerence and economic sanctions led Konoe to declare a 'New Order.' This New Order soon included the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, an attempt to politically and economically control a vast area that could supply the Empire with raw materials and, in turn, accept Japanese exports. To justify the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Japan portrayed itself as the savior of the region, freeing Asia from the shackles of Western imperialism.

As Japan became increasingly fascistic during this period, so did body aesthetics. Fascist beauty ideals began with hygiene, and went further in that that they encouraged women to

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[308] Melissa McEuen. *Making War, Making Women: Femininity and Duty on the American Home Front, 1941-1945* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011)

reproduce the next generation of soldiers to serve in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Here too, developments in Japan resembled changes elsewhere. The discourse deployed by the government and its experts echoed the ideals espoused by Nazi Germany and sometimes were modelled on them. The wartime state envisioned an aesthetic that was based on fascist modernism, which overlapped with practicality and health.[309] As recent scholarship on the nature of Japanese fascism has shown, the wartime state did not revert back to "tradition" but, like fascist Germany and Italy, embraced what historian Jeffrey Herf has called "reactionary modernism."[310] Moreover, as detailed below, the discussion of beauty ideals centered on women in the early 1940s contributed to the larger discourses on the nature of Japanese fascism.

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, the beauty industry was under pressure to reject cosmetics as decadent luxuries. However, this did not mean that beauty products disappeared altogether in 1937. Ishida Ayū has shown how the industry continued to advertise beauty products well until the end of 1943, until Japan's endless war brought the national economy to near collapse.[311] It is surprising that the Japanese beauty industry, a luxury goods sector, survived so long in a state-controlled economy and an increasingly authoritarian political atmosphere. One clue as to why comes from examining how the industry interpreted what the state required from women in their product advertisements. As Andrew Gordon, Kenneth Ruoff

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[309] See Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex.*

[310] Hiromi Mizuno, *Science for the Empire: Scientific Nationalism in Modern Japan* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009); Kenneth J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary*, 1st ed. (Cornell University Press, 2010); Alan Tansman, ed., *The Culture of Japanese Fascism* Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2009); On reactionary modernism, see Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[311] Ishida Ayū. *Senjika no Keshōhin Kōkoku.* (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 2016)

and Gennifer Weisenfeld have observed, Japanese modern mass-culture co-existed and even expanded during the war.[312] Even beauty companies found ways to work closely with the wartime state to mobilize the home front without destroying their "brand appeal." Firms often played a balancing act to maintain their reputation as producers of luxury items, while depicting their products as daily necessities that served the interests of the wartime state and the health of the Japanese people. [313] They did so by skillfully employing the state's wartime ideological language of health, austerity and patriotism in their promotion campaigns rather than by upending or ignoring that language.

The Scent of War

One of the major challenges that the beauty industry faced was the September 10th, 1937 Temporary Import-Export Grading Act, which restricted the import of non-urgent materials.[314] At first glance, the ban on importing foreign-made products may appear to have provided an opportunity for the Japanese beauty industry. Indeed, firms had thrived during and after World War I precisely because restrictions on Western cosmetics had allowed for their explosive growth in the 1920s. That decade was when the beauty industry very rapidly caught up with its European and American competitors. Since Japan's cosmetics consumers still favored Western

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[312] Andrew Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers: The Sewing Machine in Modern Japan*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2011); Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith*; Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Selling Shiseido: Cosmetics Advertising & Design in Early 20th-Century Japan," *MIT Visualizing Cultures*, 2009, http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/shiseido_01/index.html.

[313] For discussion on Shiseidō during the war, see Weisenfeld. *Selling Shiseid*

[314] Yoshiro Miwa. Japan's Economic Planning and Mobilization in Wartime, 1930s-1940s: The Competence of the State. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) See also Akira Hara. "Wartime Controls," in Takafusa Nakamura and Konosuke Odaka ed. *The Economic History of Japan*, *1914-1955: A Dual Structure* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 247-286 and Erich Pauer ed. *Japan's War Economy.* (London: Routledge, 1999)

products over domestic ones in the late 1930s, the ban had the potential to increase sales for local brands once again. Some journalists rejoiced at the idea that Japanese consumers would stimulate the national economy and strongly urged civilians to "show support for domestic products" (*kokusan aiyō*), even frivolous items such as facial creams, as a display of nationalism during the war.[315]

The problem for many beauty entrepreneurs, however, was that they imported a hefty amount of resources from the West, often including precisely the ingredients that made branded cosmetics most popular.[316] This was particularly true for scents. Indeed, one half of the nine hundred thousand-yen worth of bulk fragrances consumed by Japanese firms was imported. The raw materials on the government banned list of imported goods included geranium and lavender that were impossible to find in Japan.[317] Described in *120 Years of the Cosmetics Industry* as "one of the hallmarks of Western civilization," these perfumes gave soap, facial creams and lotions their luxurious aromas. Finding attractive alternatives became a major task for the wartime beauty industry.

Throughout the month of October 1937, the Tokyo Cosmetics Association, which had served as the most important lobbying organization for the modern Japanese beauty industry since 1895, frantically communicated through its weekly newspaper the immediate implications of the Temporary Import-Export Grading Act. In a three-part essay titled "Hurry! The Race to Manufacture Substitutes" published serially in the October 2nd, 9th and 16th 1937 issues, the authors described the import laws as having a "damaging effect" on the industry and called for

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[315] "Yunyū seigen , kinshi no hanashi: Keshōhin no maki."*Asahi Shinbun*, October 13, 1937

[316] "Wasei Keshōhin no genjō," in *Asahi Shinbun*. December 6, 1937.

[317] Ibid,.

an emergency plan to solve the impending "resource famine" (*genryō kikin*). The Association predicted that the combined challenges of the new law and the war in China would create two main problems: its first and main concern was that material shortages would halt production. Yet, even if they overcame that challenge, the Tokyo Cosmetic Association fretted, inflation would result in increasing prices, driving away consumers.[318] Yet the article urged entrepreneurs "not to become dispirited" by the import restrictions and to "make sure that the factories did not stop running" because "production was the essence of national strength and supported the war from the home front."[319] To prevent a decline in cosmetics production, the Association urged producers to be creative in finding scents.

For the industry, the solution was to follow the army deeper into the Empire in search of new resources and to sell more items in the newly occupied territories. Some firms had already begun to look to the colonies for raw materials in the mid-1930s, after the Great Depression led Japan to strive for autarky. Like many other Japanese seeking better opportunities in the late 1930s, these entrepreneurs viewed Manchuria as a promised land for further expansion and a "life line" to secure the future of the beauty industry.[320] While the government imagined such a scenario for heavy industry, the Cosmetics Association adopted the same language and actions for lipstick, perfume, powders and blush.

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[318] *Tokyo Komamono Shōhō*, October 9th, 1937 3-4

[319] Ibid,.

[320] Annika A. Culver, "'Shiseidô's "Empire of Beauty": Marketing Japanese Modernity in Northeast Asia, 1932-1945,'" *Shashi: The Journal of Japanese Business and Company History* 2, no. 2 (January 3, 2014): 6–22, https://doi.org/10.5195/shashi.2013.16.

The *Tokyo Cosmetics Association 1937 Yearbook* featured an entire section on the prospects and challenges of Manchuria for the industry.[321] By the end of 1937, twelve of Japan's major beauty companies, including Hechima Cologne, Kaō, Club Cosmetics, Hollywood, Mitsuwa, Utena Cosmetics, Lait Cosmetics, Master Cosmetics, Shiseidō, Coty, Original and Chiyoda had set up sales operations in Manchuria.[322] Many of these firms also set up factories in Japan's Empire in the late 1930s to cities such as Tianjin, Shanghai, Qingdao in China and Keijō (present day Seoul) and Busan in Korea. One attraction was cheap labor costs while another was proximity to new resources. The third was a desire to develop and produce materials equivalent in quality to European imports. Taiwan, in particular, was viewed by the industry as a treasure trove of resources because of its tropical climate.[323] One of the most important resources found in Taiwan was camphor, which had been under the monopoly of the Japanese government since 1899. Camphor was particularly important for the beauty industry because it used in the formulation of various skincare cosmetics products. In 1936, Club Cosmetics built a research laboratory and factory in Taiwan to extract fragrances such as gardenia, bergamot and jasmine.[324] Shiseidō soon followed suit, and in November 1939 the company established a plantation (*Shiseidō Nōen*) on the outskirts of Taipei to cultivate a wide array of flowers. Sōda Aromatics, along with four other fragrance companies, also opened local branch offices to mass-produce citronella and patchouli oils. Sōda Seiji, the head of the company, recalls in his company

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[321] Tōkyō Komamono Keshōhin Shōhō. *Komamono Shōhō nenkan*, *1937*. (Tokyo: Tokyo Komamono Keshōhin Shohosha, 1937)
[322] Ibid.

[323] Nihon Keshōhin Kōgyō Rengōkai. *Keshōhin Kōgyō 120 nen no ayumi.* (Tokyo: Nihon Keshōhin Kōgyō Rengōkai, 1995), 247

[324] Pharmaceutical companies, such as Hoshi Pharmaceuticals also extracted resources in Taiwan to make up for shortages. See also Yang. "Pharmaceuticals, National Power, and the Science of Quinine Self-Sufficiency."

history that Sōda Aromatics along with five other firms succeeded in producing some three hundred tons of citronella oil per year throughout the war.[325] One way that Sōda accomplished this difficult feat was that he personally travelled with the Japanese Imperial Navy to the Philippines and Indonesia in search of raw materials.[326] Sōda was typical in that he responded to restrictions in sources by intensifying his participation in Japan's empire-building process.

Another significant consequence of the wartime shortages of fragrances was the cultivation of lavender in Japan. Wisely, Sōda Aromatics obtained eleven pounds of lavender seeds from the South of France in 1937 and planted them in Chiba, Okayama and Hokkaidō in order to determine the best climate for cultivation. By 1939, the company had successfully extracted a significant amount of lavender oil in Hokkaidō and began focusing on raising the quality of the oil. Although new wartime restrictions halted the production of lavender oil, this effort not only temporarily helped meet the demands of the beauty industry but also made Hokkaidō famous for its lush lavender fields, an association it continues to enjoy today.[327]

Members of the Association were also concerned about the war's effect on packaging, another vital component in the sales and brand identity of luxury beauty products.[328] Fujishima Jūrō, the supply chains manager for Kaō Soap Company expressed fears in 1937 of a paper shortage in particular. All the stylish labels used high-quality boxes to convey brand identities and visually communicate their value to consumers. "How could companies present their products to consumers without the packaging?" questioned Fujishima. There was no good

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[325] Sōda Kōryō Kabushiki Gaisha. *Soda Kōryō 70 nen shi* (Tokyo: Sōda Koryo, 1986), 128-131

[326] Ibid., 128-136.

[327]Ibid., 109-114, 217-218

[328] *Tokyo Komamono Keshōhin Shōhō*, October 16, 1937, 3

replacement for paper, noted Fujishima, and he urged companies to collectively conserve as much of it as possible for difficult times ahead.

Particularly striking in the discussions concerning material shortages among beauty entrepreneurs was that they appear to have been fully aware early in the war that Japan simply did not have sufficient material resources to wage a prolonged war. Yamasaki Asakichi, the director of Lion Toothpaste Company, commented in the October 16th,1937 issue of the Association newspaper that "it was only a matter of time before tin will also be restricted," making it "necessary to come up with alternate options in packaging products." Yamasaki was especially concerned about tin, which his firm used to package toothpaste, because he recognized that it was "equally crucial material for the battlefield." One of the competing uses for tin, for example, was morphine syrettes, the medical device used to inject the drug at that time. Airplane instrument panels and navigation equipment were also made of tin. But toothpaste makers had few good alternatives. "Without tin tubes," wrote Yamasaki, "the paste would not last long, which would be problematic during a time when consumers would be looking to rely on long-lasting products." Yamasaki's predictions came true just a month later when the government added tin to the banned list, forcing the company to find less effective alternatives. Lion switched to making toothpaste tubes out of aluminum, but soon this too was diverted to military needs.

One of the ways in which companies tried to conserve resources was through private recycling campaigns. Shiseidō was especially successful in leading the "Material Savings Campaign" (*Busshi Aigo Undō*) in the later years of the war, when it asked consumers in both the metropole and the colonies to return glass bottles and lids to the company via "recycling boxes"

that Shiseido placed throughout stores.[329] Doing so not only allowed them to literally sell new products in old bottles, it also helped them underline their commitment to the war effort. As Gennifer Weisenfeld has shown, Shiseido's "reactionary and restrictive ideological context of this recycling effort did not entirely restrict its creative mode of expression," and the firm's actions served to "negotiate the anti-luxury ordinances by tying its products to the morality message of the wartime spiritual mobilization movement."[330]

Despite beauty entrepreneurs' pessimism about finding enough raw materials, the early stages of the war did bring lucrative opportunities for some companies. In the days following the outbreak of the war in July, the Japanese Army negotiated contracts with Shiseidō, Club Cosmetics, Lait Cosmetics, Lion and Kaō to supply troops with soap and toothpaste. As discussed in the first chapter, many beauty entrepreneurs had started their businesses during the Meiji government's aggressive campaign for health and hygiene by selling soap and toothpaste to the military, so they were returning to a business they already knew. These military contracts were substantial. Shiseidō reportedly sent five hundred eighty thousand bars of soap to China in the first year alone. Output also grew at an impressive rate. In fact, supplying the military became so profitable for Shiseidō that at the end of the fiscal year in 1938, it recorded the largest profit in the company's history. During the first year of the war, the beauty industry as a whole recorded an output worth sixty million yen, a 124% increase from the previous year.[331] Producing soap and toothpaste were defined as war-related industries and these military contracts saved many firms from the brink of collapse. But these benefits were unevenly distributed.

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[329] Weisenfeld. *Selling Shiseido*.

[330] Ibid.

[331] Keshōhin Kōgyō Rengōkai. *Keshōhin Kōgyō 120 nen shi*, 203

Generally, only the larger firms benefited while smaller businesses never recovered from the devastation caused by the reduction of their supplies.

Advertising "Healthful Beauty"

Despite the political and economic pressures the industry faced, firms continued to manufacture and advertise a range of beauty products in addition to soap and toothpaste well into the early 1940s. The industry was of course, aware that in order to survive, it had to relinquish its images of luxury and upward mobility. Rather, cosmetics firms changed the messages embedded in their products and their advertisement campaign to fit the new government line. The beauty industry first and foremost mobilized women by portraying them as patriots and instructing them in defining on how women should behave during the war. This effort included new ways of visually representing their ideal customers. As Barak Kushner notes in his study of wartime propaganda, "advertising executives and the industry in general recognized they had a window of opportunity to join the government, jump on the bandwagon, and raise their professional prestige. Opportunism and the desire to increase profits merged nicely with patriotic fever."[332] Moreover, as Gennifer Weisenfeld has discussed, developments in modernist images and photography during the 1930s provided an opportunity to shape social mobilization through advertisements along different lines.[333]

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[332] Barak Kushner. *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 68

[333] Gennifer Weisenfeld. "Publicity and Propaganda in 1930s Japan: Modernism as Method." In *Design Issues.* Vol 25, Issue 4. 13-28. See also Gennifer Weisenfeld. "From Baby's First Bath: Kaō Soap and modern Japanese Commercial Design," The Art Bulletin 86:3 (September 2004): 573-598

Japan's "state of emergency" meant that the government quickly mobilized women to defend the home front (*jūgo*, literally meaning behind the gun.) It was aided in this effort by women's groups, most notably the National Defense Women's Association (*Kokubō Fujinkai*). Established in Ōsaka in 1932, the purpose of the association was to stimulate patriotism in Japan following the establishment of Manchukuo. Membership surged from one thousand members in 1933 to almost eight million in 1938.[334] Their activities included sending off soldiers, welcoming back injured soldiers, and returning the repatriated remains of soldiers to family members. The Association also organized care packages for soldiers and led air raid drills in cities, towns, and villages. [335]

Officers of these associations were lauded by the state as role models that other Japanese women should follow, and the beauty industry followed suit. For example, Club Cosmetics featured actress Tanaka Kinuyo (1909-1977) in its 1937 advertisements, posing as a member of the National Defense Women's Association, conspicuous in her sash, which signified her dedication to the war effort. [1.1] Shiseidō depicted a military nurse in its cold cream advertisements, another female figure celebrated as vital in protecting the Japanese Empire.

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[334] Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999), 173

[335] Other important women's organizations during the wartime period included the Greater Japan Federated Women's Association (*Dai Nippon Rengō Fujinkai*) created by the Ministry of Education and the Patriotic Women's Association (*Aikoku Fujinkai*), tied to the Home Ministry. In 1942, the government merged all of these women's organizations into one group called the Greater Japan Women's Association (*Dai Nippon Fujinkai*).

4.1. "Healthy Make Up" for Women on the Home Front. The advertisement starred actress Tanaka Kinuyo wearing a National Defense Women's Association Sash. *Shufu No Tomo*, November 1937

Unlike earlier ads, a running theme in wartime cosmetics advertisements was the emphasis on "healthful beauty" or *kenkōbi,* which the state began to aggressively promote in 1937. This ideal was a revival of the Meiji-era understanding of "hygienic beauty" discussed in chapter one, in which cleanliness and care for one's internal health, rather than flashy make up

such as bright lips, was considered the epitome of beauty.[336] Throughout the war, beauty companies claimed that they helped "women on the home front wear healthful make-up (*kenkō keshō*)." The small-print text for a Club Cosmetics advertisement read that "during the state of emergency (*hijōji*), women must pay careful attention to their health in order to protect the home front. Make-up must be elegant and should make the skin appear healthy." Other advertisements emphasized that their products served to protect the skin by "disinfecting" and "sterilizing" it, or by "strengthening" the skin barriers. Rather than using the more general and common character for "protection" (*mamoru*, 守る), both firms chose the Chinese characters used to describe military defense from a foreign incursion (*mamoru*, 護る). Skin was therefore reframed as an important part of "home front defense," so that patriotic women protected the home front from foreigners while beauty products, in turn, protected their skin from external threats, namely germs.

The beauty industry also attempted to frame beauty products as daily essentials that benefitted everybody in the household rather than something selfishly used by women for themselves alone. Club Cosmetics, for example, advertised facial lotions as a "necessity" for the "family's health," promising that the product would not only result in beautiful skin, but also provide "nourishment" for women, allowing them to do more for others. By reframing cosmetics as "health" products that benefited their children and husbands too, women fulfilled their duties of looking after their family's well-being when they patted on lotions or toners. This narrative also fit neatly into the "good wife, wise mother" ideal prescribed by the state.

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[336] "Kenkōbi, kore ga shinjitsu no okeshōhō desu- beni ya oshiroi wa dai ni no mondai" *Asahi Shinbun*, December 9, 1937.

4.2 "A dramatic increase in demand as a necessity for the hygiene of the household!" Club Emulsion Advertisement, *Tokyo Komamono Keshōhin Shōhō*, October 1937

Cosmetics not only became health aids that benefited the entire family in this approach, but they were also presented as serving multiple functions to help women economize during the war. Firms encouraged women to simplify their beauty routines, so as to spend less money on products and less time on their physical appearance, leaving more of both for patriotic duties. Utena and Tangodohran both advertised their facial creams and toners as "economical" in terms

of both of money and time, stressing that applying the contents of one bottle, rather than an elaborate routine consisting of several products, was enough to achieve a "healthful" complexion. During the war, beauty companies also dropped their implied promises of upward mobility, instead pushing hygiene and efficiency as their selling points.

Firms also boasted that their products fulfilled multiple needs because of scientific (*kagakuteki*) innovations. The emphasis on science went hand in hand with what Hiromi Mizuno has termed "scientific nationalism." For the wartime state, "scientific Japan" played an important role in national security that officials hoped could bring swift victory in China and, later, in the Pacific.[337] Cosmetics companies also used "scientific nationalism" to mask the challenges caused by the shortages of materials, touting products made out of synthetic ingredients as more scientific and hence even more effective and powerful than older botanicals. In 1938, Club Cosmetics began to aggressively promote what eventually became its best-selling product, Hormone Cream (*horumon kurīmu)*. This concoction consisted of synthetic steroidal estrogen and vitamin B6, which was known for its moisturizing properties. The company advertised the product as a "scientific health cream" that promised "youthful and healthy skin." The formula also functioned to maintain the longevity of face powders, making them more economical than other products. Meishoku Astringent promised that these "scientific advancements would drastically change the way in which women applied their make-up," assuring consumers that "the power of science would allow make-up to look even better on the skin." "When applying five to six drops of this scientific and powerful product," claimed the advertisement, "the scientific functions will feel like nourishment to your skin. Applying cream and powder over the

[337] Mizuno. *Science for the Empire: Scientific Nationalism in Modern Japan*.

product will also result in flawless skin." Such creams and lotions were in many ways promoted as "super" products that displayed the scientific innovations of the Japanese beauty industry.

4.3 Club Cream Advertisement for the Hormone Cream. "A nourishing cream that helps facilitates healthful beauty." One of the benefits of the cream was that it "disinfected and sterilized the skin." *Tokyo Komamono Shōhō. September*, 1937.

Until the government enforced stricter rules on the content of advertisements in 1941, cosmetics companies continued to use both images of women in traditional kimono and modern female figures in advertisements. This solved a problem for the industry: to illustrate Japanese women exclusively in traditional make-up, hair and kimono risked making them appear "backwards" yet making them appear too "modern" implied a dependence on Western beauty ideals and a loss of

"Japaneseness." As many scholars studying the nature of Japanese modernity have discussed, Japanese of the day felt a constant tension between the traditional and modern/Western. This struggle was particularly evident in advertisements, especially of hairstyles and fashion depicting women. As many of these advertisements seem to suggest, the "ideal" Japanese woman was not the "traditional Japanese woman," but someone who displayed a "new Japanese ideal" defined by health, western-style modernity and patriotism, but authentically connected to a distant Japanese past. During the early years of the war, firms also still sometimes used images of Western women in advertisements which the censors appear to have allowed as long as firms supported the war.

Selling Cosmetics in Korea

Beauty companies played an important role in instilling the goals of the wartime state in Korea as well as in Japan. Following the passage of the National General Mobilization Law (*Kokka Sōdōin Undō*) in 1938, which officially put the Japanese Empire on a wartime footing, the colonial government initiated a new phase of rule in Korea known as "imperialization" (*kōminka*). Japanese officials attempted to speed up the process of assimilation through a flurry of measures, most notably banning Korean language in schools and requiring that colonial subjects take on Japanese names (*sōshi kaimei*). [338] During this period, the Governor-General promoted the slogan of "Japan and Korea as one body" (*naisen ittai*), which implies not only political unification between the metropole and the colony, but merging individual bodies to battle for the future of the Japanese Empire.

[338] Mark Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

Korean women, like Japanese women, were expected to support the Empire's war efforts and also to construct the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.[339] Exactly like those in the metropole, advertisements in the wartime Empire soon emphasized health, natural beauty and austerity. In 1938, in its Korean-languages ads, Hechima promoted its facial toner as vital in "maintaining good health" while "mobilizing the household" (J:*Katei Sōdōin,* K: *Gajeong*). (Figure 4.4) Moreover, the company promised that its products would help achieve the "shortest route to natural beauty."[340] It also touched upon the multi-function quality of the product, claiming that "each household in Korea had one bottle of Hechima Cologne" that served "numerous purposes." These functions included cleansing, toning and oil control.

Cosmetics advertisements encouraged Korean women to feel as though they were an integral part of Japan's Empire through their purchase. For example, Tangdohoran's labels featured a photograph of two young women with short permed hair, waving their hats. The company promised that their "modern cosmetics" (K: *kundae hwajang* J: *kindai keshōryō*) would deliver healthy, bright and appealing beauty. The company also touted their products as something used by "all women of Asia" (*Kōa josei zentai*), in a nod to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.[341] Lion Toothpaste urged Koreans to brush their teeth "twice a day" for "beauty and health." Perhaps as part of an effort to show consumers that Japan and Korea were united in the war effort, by the 1940s images of Korean women in traditional dress *hanbok* dress had disappeared from advertisements.

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[339] For discussion on the "colonized body" in Korea, see Theodore Jun Yoo. *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor and Health, 1910-1945* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2008)

[340] *Dong-A Ilbo*, September 16, 1934

[341] *Donga Ilbo*, December 5, 1939.

4.4 Hechima Cologne Advertisement, Dong-A Ilbo Newspaper, September 16, 1938.

Debate on Permanent Waves

While cosmetics could be repurposed as health products, hair, more specifically, permanent waves, turned out to be a far more contentious topic. As discussed in chapter one, hair had already become highly politicized in the 19th century throughout East Asia. Then, in 1938, the National Spiritual Mobilization Law banned hair perms on two grounds: because they were a form of Western decadence and a waste of money. Hair salons and clients in Japan reacted to the new regulations with disbelief. One Tokyo hairdresser stated that she could not comprehend, out of all things Western that Japan had come to embrace, why permanent waves were banned. Indeed, items of Western clothing such as shirts or pants were never treated as "un-Japanese" by

the Spiritual Mobilization movement.[342] In fact, in 1940, the government would endorse European-style men's civil attire as the "national uniform" (*kokuminfuku*).

Some social commentators spoke out openly against the ban. The March 1938 issue of *Fujin Kōron* featured a thirteen-page article titled "The Pros and Cons of Permanent Waves," to discuss the restriction.[343] Kimura Matsuyo, a professor at Aoyama Gakuin University, penned the introduction to the article and expressed her disagreement with the Movement's claim that permanent waves were wasteful. She argued that, in fact, "many women find them to be economical and even convenient. When one's hair is permed, it shortens the amount of time to get ready in the morning and the hair stays in place." In terms of cost, while "permanent waves cost between five and ten-yen, one visit to the hairdresser lasts four or five months, making them quite economical. Permanent waves seem a much better solution than going to the *kamiyui* every week." By *kamiyui,* Kimura meant the old-fashioned hairdressers who styled traditional Japanese hairstyles. Kimura claimed that contrary to government criticisms, permanent waves supported, rather than discouraged, efficiency and thrift. Moreover, the alternative, she suggested, was a world of discarded traditions and weak national defenses. Framing the ban as having regressive implications of the ban for women's beauty, Kimura wrote that "she highly doubted" Japanese women really "would be forced to go back to ancient beauty practices because that were often unhealthy and no longer fit the modern lifestyle."[344]

The article also featured the opinions of various intellectuals. Nishimura Isaku (1884-1963), a painter, architect and poet, argued that no Japanese civilians- male or female- should be

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[342] *Shinkō Fujin*, March 1939, cited in Mainichi Shinbunsha. *Ichiokunin no Shōwashi*. (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1977), 41

[343] Kimura Matsuyo. "Pāmanento no zehi," *Fujin Kōron*, March 1938.

[344] Ibid,. 388

deprived of permanent waves, first, on the grounds that no one should have to sacrifice all pleasures. "Just because a person is Japanese, it does not mean that they cannot enjoy getting their hair done. During a time when the world is so complex, it is normal for people to want to lighten their mood by dressing up their hair. Then he added a second argument. People do not get permanent waves to look Western."[345] Rather than assuming that Japan had become "slaves" to Western culture, Nishimura argued that throughout Japan's modern history, the country had "successfully Japanized Western culture" to fit the needs and wants of the Japanese people. Perms were part of this process, allowing them to retain the positive aspects of Japanese culture and also adopt useful parts of Western culture. Nishimura also commented that he thought modern hairstyles looked "far more natural" than traditional hairstyles. Arai Itaru (1888-1951), a social critic and translator of modernist literature who had coined the terms *mobo* (modern boy) and *moga* (modern girl) echoed sentiments similar to Murakami. Although Arai said he personally preferred Japanese women to wear minimal make-up, like Murakami, he agreed that permanent waves were convenient, "especially for working women who probably have very little time to do their hair every morning before going off to work."[346] Moreover, Arai, like Nishimura, blasted the claim by the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement that permanent waves were "not in the style of the country" (*okuni fū dewa nai*), given that shirts, pants, and shoes, not to mention military uniforms were acceptable to the government. Hirai Tsune also pointed out the law's hypocrisy. "Is there anything that suggests that permanent waves result in a lesser love for one's country?" questioned Hirai. "If permanent waves should be banned just

[345] Ibid,. 389

[346] Ibid., 392

because they are 'Western,' I would like to ask just how much of our daily life is "purely Japanese?"[347] These experts were well aware that, for the army, the crucial issue was not style but conserving resources such as electricity and metal parts from the machines that could be used for the war effort.

In response to growing pressure to stop getting permanent waves, however, women's magazines adapted to the wartime situation by inventing new hairstyles that were both simple and stylish. In August 1939, *Shufu no Tomo* magazine introduced a summer hairstyle that did not require the use of a permanent wave machine. Aptly named "Home Front Hair" (*jūgo hatsu*), the economical style sought to "highlight the beauty of Japanese women's black hair" and, more importantly, required neither a curling iron nor electricity. Moreover, according to instructions, it would only take women three minutes to style. However, from photographs of the "home front hair," it is difficult to discern how these styles differed from pre-war permed styles.

A New Order, A New Ideal

Some of the debate over "proper" wartime beauty efforts took place at the local level. To help achieve the goals of the New Order, in October 1940, Konoe Fumimaro inaugurated the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (*Taisei yokusan kai*, hereafter the IRAA), an organization that aimed to unite the people behind the government.[348] An important sub-organization that emerged under the auspices of the IRAA was the neighborhood association (*tonarigumi*), which distributed rationed goods and also mobilized local participation in patriotic rallies. Under the

[347] Ibid.

[348] Ben-Ami Shillony. *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), see also Ruoff. *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith*.

New Order and the watchful eye of the neighborhood organizations, Japanese women continued to face government coercion to sacrifice luxuries. In a July 4th, 1940 Yomiuri article titled "Warships and Cosmetics," the unnamed author asked women to "reflect" (*hansei*) on the money they spent on beauty services. The article claimed that if every woman gave up going to beauty salons during the war, they would be contributing substantially to national security. "If the country had fifty million yen, it is possible to construct two of the latest warships. But if every woman gave up cosmetics, how many ships could we produce?" The author went on to calculate that there were at least two thousand beauty parlors in Tokyo which attracted close to nine hundred customers per month, amounting to 1.8 million people. The average spending for "self-maintenance" per person was approximately fifteen yen per month, which in total equaled 27 million yen. This meant that if women in Tokyo gave up going to beauty salons for a year, they could contribute close to 324 million yen to the war effort – equal to six war ships.[349]

The government also attacked producers who provided luxury products. On July 7th, 1940, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, along with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, pushed the Cabinet to enact the "Prohibition of the Manufacture and Sales of Luxury Products" (*Shashi Hinto Seizō Hanbai Seigen Kisoku*), which became commonly known as the "7.7 Decree" among Japanese civilians. The 7.7 Decree not only signified a new phase of demands for civilian sacrifice in the wartime-controlled economy, but also for greater politicization of the private sphere.

In the days following the enactment of the law, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry published a practical guide written in a Q&A form for businesses titled "Decoding the 7.7 Law,"

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[349] "Gunkan To Keshō" *Yomiuri Shinbun*, July 4, 1940

to explain what constituted "luxury products."[350] The introduction to the pamphlet, written by Finance Minister Fujiwara Ginjirō (1868-1960), explained to businesses the two reasons for introducing the 7.7. Decree. First and foremost, the law aimed to diminish consumption, and secondly, it sought to ban "non-standard" (*kikakugaihin*) products, that is, products deemed unnecessary to the daily lives of the Japanese people. The regulation of consumption, wrote Fujiwara, was "an urgent matter given the situation of the country" and "should have been controlled much earlier." The desired outcomes of the law were to devote "more energy to the manufacture and sales of products that were truly necessary for civilians," thereby making life during the war as bearable as possible.[351] While many goods were already regulated through official pricing, continued Fujiwara, luxury items manufacturers were perversely allowed to "produce and freely sell" unnecessary items. As a result, many civilians continued to purchase luxuries when they should save as much as possible in the form of government bonds to support the war. By the time Japan declared war on the United States in 1941, the military budget had already risen to 23 billion yen. The state could not meet that budget through its national coffers alone and so relied even more on diverting civilian savings to meet the wartime demands. The government also set unrealistic annual savings targets: In 1941, the goal was set at 17 billion yen and in 1942 expectations rose to 23 billion yen. In 1943, the savings target was at 27 billion yen, which would have cost each civilian an average of 365 yen per year, or approximately 30 yen per month. Given that the typical starting salary for a middle-class salaryman was around 100 yen

[350] *7.7. Kinshirei Kaidoku* (Tokyo: Nippon Keizai Kenkyū, 1940)

[351] Ibid,. 1-2

per month, a couple would have had to contribute 60 yen, or two thirds of the household income.[352] Few could afford this, even if they avoided hair salons.

The 7.7. decree immediately dealt a severe blow to the beauty industry. According to the July 1940 issue of the Tokyo Cosmetics Association Newspaper, the total estimated loss for the industry as a consequence of the 7.7. decree amounted to ten million yen. Of particular concern to the beauty industry were the outright bans on perfume spray bottles, compacts, curling irons and leather boxes, all of which were important in the packaging and presentation of cosmetics products. The guide published by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry mentioned above went on to list an extensive list of "banned" materials that once had constituted integral parts of Japanese middle-class identity. They included silk for kimonos, earrings, bracelets, necklaces, necktie pins, furniture, diamonds, sapphires, garnets, silverware and ivory. It was thus apparent to many civilians from as early as 1940 that the government needed every scrap of metal and other precious goods to build tanks, ships, planes and guns. [353]

Contrary to popular assumptions that the use of cosmetics was outright "banned," nothing in the law directly prohibited civilians from wearing or purchasing cosmetics. Officially, the law barred the manufacture and sales of cosmetics, which would, in the long term, inevitably affect consumers. However, the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement took matters into its own hands by policing and shaming civilians who used these products. In August 1940, the Spiritual Movement officials in Tokyo, seen as the center of decadent consumption, put up fifteen hundred sign boards declaring that "luxury was the enemy" and asserted that the Japanese people

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[352] Tomoyuki Hajima. *Shiryō ga kataru senjika no kurashi*. (Tokyo: Azabu Produce, 2004). 48

[353] *Tokyo Komamono Shōhō*, July 1940, 3

"will not desire luxury until the war was won."[354] Moreover, the Movement organized the Committee to Abolish Luxury Items with the cooperation of the Patriotic Women's Association and the National Defense Women's Association and the Greater Japan Federated Women's Association joined this effort although the organization had ironically been part of Club Cosmetics' campaign during the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War. These organizations closely monitored Japanese women in both urban areas and small towns to ensure that they did not use any articles outlined in the 7.7 Decree. The committee also clarified that eye shadow, manicures, permanent waves, lipstick and bright blush were inappropriate under the New Order and were covered by the 7.7 decree. Civilians caught wearing these luxury items were reportedly shamed by given "warning tickets" by members of patriotic women's groups. The warning tickets said things like "Please refrain from wearing extravagant clothing. Let's do away with rings."[355] It is unclear if offenders were also fined for violating the law since the enforcers were only private citizens.

The August 1940 issue of the *Asahi Graph* ran a story by a member of the committee, Murakami Hideko, to instruct readers on inadequate responses to the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement.[356] The article included photographs of various women in the streets of Tokyo. One photograph showed a young woman in a vibrant summer dress emerging out of a store. Using an elaborate ranking system, Murakami rated the outfit only twenty out of one-hundred points. Murakami berated the young woman for "perming her hair, wearing a necklace,

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[354] Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers.*

[355] Fujii Tadatoshi. *Kokubō Fujinkai: Hinomaru to Kappōgi*. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1985) 193

[356] Murakami Hideko. "Zeitaku wa teki da: Seidō Jissen Iin Murakami Hideko joshi no gaitō saiten," *Asahi Graph*. August 21, 1940, 4-5

a bracelet, gloves, stockings and heels." Murakami also criticized the young woman for the activity of clothes shopping, which she called a sign of Western decadence. In a populist gesture, Murakami sneered that "she was most likely an aristocrat," who needed to be "reminded that Japan is fighting a war with China."[357] Despite Murakami's obvious distaste for pretty western dress, those who wore kimonos were not immune from criticism either. In a photograph showing one woman in a Western dress and another in a kimono, Murakami also rated the "traditional" outfit only twenty points, on the grounds the kimono pattern was too "sophisticated" because it included gold and silver threads. Murakami, however, surprisingly gave ninety points to another young woman wearing a plain Western-style skirt and hat, because she "did not adorn herself with any excesses." Rather than distinguishing between Japanese and Western style, her main concern was avoiding wasted resources.

As the war in China dragged on, however, and goods that had been the hallmarks of modern Japanese femininity disappeared from store shelves, rejecting luxuries lost some of its appeal. Although some people pushed for more restraint, the 7.7 decree led other social commentators became concerned that the government's measures were too harsh and would result in a loss of morale.[358] In addition to losing access to cosmetics, by late 1940, most urban women had resorted to *monpe*, the baggy pants worn by farm laborers and usually made from old dresses and kimono. Many intellectuals were mortified to learn that the Ministry of Health was pushing *monpe* on urban women, claiming that the unsophisticated pants style was "debasing to

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[357] Ibid,.

[358] This was also true in wartime Britain. Contrary to Japan, lipstick was categorized as a necessity. Prime Minister Winston Churchill believed that lipstick was so important for morale that lipstick was exempt from rationing, unlike all other cosmetics. See Jones. *Beauty Imagined.* 97-150.

Japanese women."[359] Before long, an increasing number of intellectuals spoke out against additional new government regulations concerning dress, hair and physical appearance, concerned that women could not maintain their "femininity" throughout the war, a situation that raise the specter of loss and authenticity, precisely what the war was supposed to prevent.

On August 18th, 1940 the Asahi Newspaper reported on a meeting held in the Marunouchi district in Tokyo of scholars and a bureaucrat from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry about daily life under the New Order. Curiously, one of the main points of the five-hour discussion pertained to the issue of make-up. The all-male participants of the round-table discussion eventually concluded that the limits on the use of cosmetics "should not be strict to the point that civilians will lose 'vigor.' Women should at least be able to wear "light make-up (*usu keshō*)" if it helped ease their mood (*kimochi wo sawayaka ni suru*) under the difficult circumstances of war, provided that they do not ignore wartime ethics."[360] However, the pundits still faced the perpetual difficulty of coming to a consensus on what was to advise when it came to women's physical appearance.

This meant that despite official pressure on civilians to "refrain" from wearing showy dress and make-up, the government expected Japanese citizens to maintain an "acceptable" appearance, which they framed as social etiquette, or *midanishinami* falling back on old standards. In 1941, the Ministry of Education published the *Etiquette Handbook for Shōwa Citizens,* a book that provided meticulous guidelines on how to behave both in the public sphere and at home during the war. Under the heading "daily life," the twentieth item of the list clearly

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[359] Cited in Inoue Masato. *Yōfuku no Nihonjin- Kokumin Fuku to yū mōdo*. (Tokyo: Kōsaidō Shuppan, 2001)

[360] *Asahi Shinbun*. August 18, 1940

stated that "make-up can be worn to a degree that does not stand out. One should not wear cosmetics for the purpose of extravagance and should refrain from applying make-up in public."[361] The handbook explicitly allowed cosmetics but demanded modesty and simplicity from Japanese women. What "modest" and "simple" meant was never well defined by the ministry, giving civilians room for interpretation.

The IRAA endeavor to determine a more concrete beauty standard for Japanese women, one that was radically different from earlier ideals, and served the state in more obvious ways. In December 1940, Kita Sōichirō, the IRAA's Director of Citizens' Daily Life (*kokumin seikatsu shidōbu)* announced that the government announced a new set of beauty ideals that reflected the values of the New Order that he predicted would soon be an official standard. These differed from the past in significant ways. According to an article in the December 20th, 1940 issue of the Asahi Newspaper, the most desirable beauty ideal was no longer pale skin or large eyes, but "child bearing hips." The article reported that willowy waists, or *yanagikikoshi*, which had been the ideal body type among Japan women since the early modern period, were "archaic ideals" that had made Japanese women "unhealthy."[362] The new standard should celebrate women with large hips because the trait was a sign of fertility and robust health which "was the very essence of beauty."[363] It was clear from Kita's interview that the motivation for a national standard was to boost the birth rate.

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[361] Kokumin Reihō Kenkyūkai. *Showa no kokumin reihō: Monbusho sei tei*. (Teikoku Shosei Kyokai: 1941), 88

[362] The term *yanagikoshi* is usually used to describe bodies of prostitutes, which means that the state saw willowy waists as "morally corrupt." "Yanagikoshi ni kawaru atarashii bijin gata: kyōryoku kai kara hirotta wadai wo Kaburaki Kiyokata kabaku ni kiku," *Asahi Shinbun*, December 20th, 1940.

[363] Ibid.,

In January 1941, the Konoe cabinet sought to make population growth a reality when it introduced the Guidelines for Establishing a Population Policy (*jinkō kakuritsu seisaku yōkō*). The policy called for a "swift and lasting growth and proliferation of [Japan's] population and dramatic improvement in its quality," and outlined measures to stimulate the birth rate to achieve a population of one hundred million by 1960. In addition to lowering the average marriage age for women from twenty-four to twenty-one, the policy also stated a goal of five children for every married couple, signaling the state's interest in young women's reproductive systems under the slogan of "produce and increase the population" (*umeyo fuyaseyo)*.[364] The cabinet also wanted beauty ideals to support this agenda.

Immediately after the endorsement of the Population Policy, the state began to elaborate on the beauty standard Kita Sōichirō had articulated in December 1940. In an interview with the *Asahi*, Kita distilled the concept down to its essence when he stated that "a fertile woman is the Imperial Assistance Beauty" (*yokusan gata bijin*).[365] Nor was he alone. The state organized a panel of experts to "determine new female beauty ideals" (*Joseibi Sōtei Kenkyūkai*) to further develop and legitimize this preference. The panel included some well-known creative artists and professionals whose expertise centered on the female body, including *yōga* painter Nakamura Ken'ichi, choreographer and modern dancer Baku Ishii, women's physical education specialist Miura Hiro (1989-1969) as well as folklorists Hashiura Yasuo and Segawa Kiyoko. Other experts on the panel included Ministry of Welfare official and physician Koya Yoshio, who was also a bureaucrat in the Ministry of Labor, gynecologist Kinoshita Seiitsu and art theorist

[364] Andrea Germer, Vera Mackie, and Ulrike Wöhr, eds., *Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 200.

[365] Ibid.,

Nishida Masaaki.[366] Together, these actors offered various opinions to legitimize a beauty standard that focused on maximizing reproduction for the sake of the nation.

The "Imperial Assistance Beauty" ideal promoted by the panel bore a striking resemblance to the model of female beauty propagated in Nazi Germany. Like Kita Sōichirō, many of the participants deemed a woman's procreative abilities as not just the greatest form of service to the nation available to women but also a form of "beauty." The idea of "beauty" in this context was not based on how a person looks but on utility for the urgent needs of the Japanese empire. To effectively increase the population, the panel suggested that "it was necessary to carefully monitor women's health," much like that of men who were drafted as soldiers. Kinoshita and Nakamura reiterated the point that Japanese women should shun the trend toward "slim hips" because it made them "appear weak and sickly." They argued that the current generation of mothers (especially those born during Japan's rapid modernization period) had grown up with an "unhealthy notion of beauty" that failed to encompass social and national betterment and so was superficial. Nishida Masaaki added that "too many women attempted to emulate looks promoted by department stores. The imports of foreign beauty ideals should be banned." Nishida added that the "Americanization" of Japanese women was "truly frightening," because American fashion led many Japanese women to "eat very little" and many purposely tightened their kimono sash (*obi)* like a corset to appear thinner. Such habits were not conducive to child bearing, and it was therefore important for the state to "reeducate" this particular generation of women needed "reeducation" so that they could effectively pass on the Empire's values to their daughters.[367] Panelists frequently returned to the point that women should possess

[366] "Yokusangata no bijin umidasu hatsu no kenkyūkai," *Yomiuri Shinbun*, January 21, 1940
[367] "Yokusan gata bijin no hyōjun: osanbaya no chūmon iroiro," *Asahi Shinbun*, January 21st 1940

"developed" figures, in particular "large hips," to encourage population growth. Less crucial qualities of the "Imperial Assistance Beauty" according to the panel included "excellent use of language," "bright, energetic and vibrant bodily movement," "good posture" and a "large appetite."[368]

The panelists appear to have borrowed directly from the Nazi philosophy of "Blood and Soil" (*Blut und Boden*), which celebrated large families and placed idealized rural workers above urban dwellers.[369] While the pre-war ideal beauty in Japan was the pale, bourgeois woman with a high-bridged nose, panelists rejected this beauty goal as incompatible with hard work and repeated motherhood. Yoshida Yukinobu, a physician, commented that rather than admiring women as painted by Pierre-August Renoir, he thought Dutch painter Pieter Bruegel's depiction of farm women walking in the fields with tools were "beautiful." Yoshida further declared his distaste for paintings that depicted figures of sleeping women, "admiring active women" instead. The white-skinned urbanite with soft hands, who had so often been celebrated in Japanese cosmetics advertisements suddenly became a sign of laziness, while the barefaced country woman was now lauded as "pure" and untainted by westernized and urban culture.

The state also attempted to mobilize young rural women across the nation by directly enforcing the "Imperial Assistance Beauty Ideal." In February 1941, the Saitama prefecture edition of the Yomiuri newspaper reported on efforts to form a group of eighteen of the "best and brightest" unmarried women who were already active in the *tonarigumi* and other women's

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[368] Ibid.

[369] See Clifford R. Lovin. "Blut und Boden: The Ideological Basis of the Nazi Agricultural Program," in *Journal of the History of Ideas.* Vol. 28, No. 2 (April-June, 1967), 279-288. John Dower also discusses how in July 1943, the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare published a report titled *An Investigation of Global Policy with the Yamato Race as Nucleus* that included references to numerous Nazi philosophies, including "blood and soil". John Dower. *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 262-290

organizations. The goal was to find women who already embodied the "Imperial Assistance Beauty" ideal so that they could become role models for other women in the neighborhood.[370] In March 1941, the Asahi Newspaper reported that in Aomori, townsmen "guided women toward the Imperial Assistance ideal" by improving women's health through activities such as hiking.[371] Yamagata prefecture held an "Imperial Assistance Beauty Contest," in which ten women were praised for possessing an "energetic spirit, intelligence and large hips."[372] Their photographs were reportedly sent to soldiers on the front to provide them with "solace." Another article briefly reported on the efforts made in Gunma prefecture to educate and encourage women to pursue the Association's new expectations but did not reveal how they did so.[373] The *tonarigumi* was central to wartime daily life so pressure through that channel effectively conveyed the message that women should compete with each other by looking healthy and producing babies.

The government appears to have attempted to project this new ideal in a variety of official publications. Between 1938 and 1945, the Imperial Navy distributed a "comfort magazine" (*ian zasshi*) titled *The Front* (Sensen Bunko) to each sailor. As the title suggests, these magazines aimed to boost morale among its troops by featuring images of young actresses and other young women encouraging troops for the Empire.[374] With an exception of a few issues, the publication always featured women on the front cover, but their appearance changed with the

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[370] "Yokusan gata bijin wo ganpatsu: tsuzuite fujinbu soshiki e," *Yomiuri Shinbun* (Saitama prefecture edition), February 6, 1941

[371] "Mura to Machi Josei Ban: Aomori shi demo yokusangata bijin," *Asahi Shibun*, March 14th, 1941.

[372] "Yokusan gata bijin to tōhyō," *Asahi Shinbun*, March 8th, 1941.

[373] "Mura to machi, josei ban: yokusan gata bijin no hyojun wo kimeru," *Asahi Shinbun*, March 13th, 1941.

[374] Oshida Nobuko. *Heishi no aidoru: Maboroshi no ianzasshi ni miru mou hitotsu no senso.* (Tokyo: Junpōsha, 2016)

new "beauty ideal." Prior to 1941, the cover included glamorous women with slim physiques wearing make-up. Starting in March 1941, two months after the Imperial Assistance Ideal was announced, the magazine featured women who were visibly physically robust. In depicting these changes, the publication sent a message to Japanese men that they too needed to change their aesthetic preferences and to choose women who possessed the "state sanctioned" ideal beauty as their future wives. The same year, Maki Haruo published *Discussion on Marriage in the New Order,* a handbook endorsed by the Ministry of Welfare which functioned as a marital guide for served the needs of the empire.[375] One of the major requirements of an ideal wife, unsurprisingly, was to possess the "characteristics" of the Imperial Assistance ideal described above. The movement to actively promote the "Imperial Assistance Beauty," however, was short lived. In April, just three months after the IRAA officially announced the creation of this new ideal and study group was formed, the Asashi announced that the panel had "done its part" in promoting new beauty ideals and it was swiftly disbanded. Instead, the IRAA put is energy into promoting the savings campaign and collection of resources.[376]

[375] Maki Haruo. *Kekkon Shintaisei danwa shu*. (Tokyo: Asahi Shobo, 1941) In 1944, most likely as a last-ditch effort to promote population growth, the Imperial Assistance Beauty ideal resurfaced when the Ministry of Welfare issued a reprint of *Marriage in the New Order* under the revised title of *Senji no Shin Kekkon* (*New Marriage in Wartime)* in 1944.

[376] "Kieru yokusan bijinron- misogi iro de konshū kara saishuppatsu, yokusan kai," *Asahi Shinbun*, April 15, 1941

4.5 *Sensen Bunko*. L) July 1939 issue and R) July 1942 issue, depicting a plump woman who conformed to the "Imperial Assitance Ideal." Images: Oshida Nobuko. *Heishi no Aidoru.*

The Imperial Assistance Beauty panel never explained how the ideals would fit into the context of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In 1942, Shizuko Oda, a self-proclaimed "beauty expert," published *The Refined Woman's Beauty* (*Joseibi no kyōyō*) which consisted of a collection of essays she had written to celebrate the 2,600th year anniversary of the founding of the Japanese Empire in 1940.[377] Oda built on many of the beauty ideas concerning beauty articulated earlier, calling for women to step away from extravagance and to embrace a more modest apperance. Unlike the Imperial Assistance Beauty study group, however, Oda did not encourage women to reproduce for the Empire. Instead she returned to the question of authentic

[377] Shizuko Oda. *Joseibi no kyōyō*. (Tokyo: Jinbunkaku,1942)

Asian and Japanese modernity. Her treatise differed from her predecessors in that she explicitly discussed ideal beauty within the context of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, earning the praises of educator Takashima Heijūrō (1865-1946) and psychologist Kōra Tomi (1896-1993), two prominent members of Konoe's IRAA.[378] Kōra frequently wrote newspaper columns calling for harsher measures to control the consumption of luxury goods by Japanese women. Oda's dedication in establishing a "new cultural order" (*shinbunka*) to facilitate the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was therefore an addition to the New Order Ideology.

For seventy years, wrote Oda, Japan had imported much of its modern culture from the West, but under the Co-Prosperity Sphere, Japan would lead change by exporting its culture to Asia. Japan could not "afford to let the Philippines, Indochina, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Java and India follow Anglo-American trends, "for "those who controlled fashion (*ryūkō*) also controlled resources."[379] In a chapter titled "The Greater East Asian War and Women's Beauty," Oda portrayed Japanese women as bearing the obligation of leading East Asian women into enlightenment. To achieve this feat, Japan, which had borrowed much from Britain and the United States since the late nineteenth century, first needed to rid itself of Anglo-American influences. Only after Japanese women had "decolonized" themselves from British and American influence could Japan free the rest of East Asia and instill proper beauty ideals in women there. Oda drastically reduced the difficulty of this task when she acknowledged that it

[378] Throughout the early 1940s, Kōra frequently wrote in newspaper columns calling for harsher and more restrictive measures to control the consumption of luxury goods among Japanese women.

[379] Oda, *Joseibi no kyōyō,* 7

was "unrealistic" to completely rid Japan of Western influence and so Japan should simply throw out what was "inconvenient" and to retain anything that suited the spirit of the New Order.[380]

What did that mean in practice for physical beautification? In explaining how Japanese women should change their appearance once the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was at peace, Oda discussed three main aspects of self-presentation that had been most highly politicized in modern Asia: hair, clothing and cosmetics. Oda began with what she called the "hair problem." She did not advocate for Asian women to adopt traditional Japanese hairstyles, but, rather, suggested the construction of a "new" Japanese style for them to emulate. Despite the anti-permanent wave movement in Japan, Oda propose incorporating permanent waves into this new Japanese style. Oda was among those who favored permanent waves because they were "simple and hygienic." She described that permanent waves were simply "advanced forms" of Japanese hairstyles improved by new technology. Oda, however, she did not describe what thse new styles might look like.

Oda also argued for revolutionizing Japanese clothing. As previously discussed, by 1940 the idea of a Japanese "national dress" had been established for men, but not for women. Women wore kimono, dresses, skirts and blouses and, increasingly, *monpe*. Several media outlets attempted to formulate a national dress for Japanese women, but all of them rejected kimono as inconvenient for work, especially given that a growing number of women were laboring in factories. Oda thus joined a lively discourse on the future of women's dress. In October 1940, the *Fujin Shūho* reported that the Ministry of Labor was considering borrowing elements from both "Western and Chinese" clothing.

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[380] Ibid., 59

In an article in the December 1940 issue of *Fujin Gahō,* the author suggested an unusual remedy: that Japanese adopt the *hanbok,* as a national dress for all women in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The author argued that the *hanbok* was ideal because it was easy to sew and allowed women to move much more freely than did the kimono.[381] Moreover, the cost of materials for a *hanbok* was only one third of Western clothing. The *hanbok* did not require expensive materials used to make kimono or western clothing but could be easily constructed with cheaper fabrics still available. Moreover, modern *hanbok* were much more practical than in the past. For example, new hanbok used buttons to secure the jacket as opposed to tying a bow. Modern hanbok also now came in all sorts of fashionable colors.[382] The author also hinted that because the *hanbok* consisted of a long skirt, it was far more feminine than *monpe*. The article even offered readers elaborate instructions on how to sew one in the comfort of their own home.[383]

Oda also suggested that Japanese women look to Asia for other forms of inspiration, but that they synthesize them into a single modern medley of style. She criticized the "double life" that many Japanese seemed to lead, in which they wore purely Japanese clothing on certain occasions and Western clothing on others. Her goal was to construct a consistent attire that borrowed practical features from Asian and Western clothing, which would reflect the spirit of

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[381] "Chōsen Ishō no keitai gakuteki kosatsu," *Fujin Gahō*. December 1940.

[382] In early modern Korea, commoners wore white *hanbok* and colorful ones were usually reserved for court society and courtesans. During the first few years of Japanese colonial rule, authorities considered hanbok because it was easily soiled. The Japanese believe that the lack of consciousness in hygiene made Koreans look "uneconomical, ghostly and incomplete" and the reason for the country's inability to make progress. The Governor-General initiated sporadic campaigns to promote black and navy-colored hanbok, which would make dirt less visible. See Henry, "Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919"; Hyung-Gu Lynn, "Fashioning Modernity: Changing Meaning of Clothing in Colonial Korea." *Journal of International and Area Studies*, Vol. 12, No.1 (Spring 2005): 75-93 ; Jung-Taek Lee. "The Birth of Modern Fashion in Korea: Sartorial transition between h*anbok* and *yangbok* though production, mediation and consumption." *International Journal of Fashion Studies,* Vol4, No. 2 (October, 2017): 183-209

the Japanese Empire. "National dress," wrote Oda, was "closely connected to national ideology (*kokumin shisō*)" and so "the ideal dress [for the empire] was one in which women of Greater East Asia would look to Japan." Alas, what this would actually look like was not clearly described by Oda, who merely lamented that expressing the Japanese spirit through dress was a "complex" issue.

Oda's third and last topic was make-up. Like many social commentators trying to steer the population away from luxury products, she criticized women who adopted "Anglo-American habits." Tellingly, she also lambasted women who wore so much make-up that they looked "mixed race." To Oda, this was once again a dangerous example of Japan's dependency on Anglo-American culture. Taking a page out of Nazi Germany's anti-Semitic fabrications, Oda claimed that Anglo-American cosmetics and fashion industries were monopolized by Jews and for that reason cosmetics contributed to the moral deterioration of unsuspecting Japanese consumers. She also warned her reader that high heels, coveted by Modern Girls across the globe, were a "Jewish conspiracy to cause infertility among women" and therefore should be avoided at all costs. Oda's argument mirrors the Nazi accusations that the fashion industry was not just dominated by Jews but was actually a conspiracy to corrupt German morals, bodies and commerce. Like their Japanese counterparts, the Nazis believed that that it was necessary to establish purified national clothing that was suitable for the Aryan body, and that fit with the Party's values of hard work, austerity, fitness and efficiency.[384]

Like the afore mentioned Imperial Assistance Beauty study group, Oda glorified the work ethic of farm laborers as role models for "natural beauty." Recounting a trip to the countryside,

[384] Eric Kline Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 61.

Oda wrote that she was "moved" when she saw rural women "working in the field dressed in *monpe* with very little make-up." She found their "tanned skin much more appealing and 'healthier' than women who wore powder to whiten their complexion." Oda sought to revalue Japanese beauty ideals in which dark skin was associated with lower status while pale skin was far more highly desirable for women. Sun-tanned skin now became the measure of appropriate behavior and desirable sacrifice among Japanese women on the home front. Farm laborers were also celebrated as "pure" because they were untainted by the temptations of urban life that supposedly polluted the spirit of urban dwellers.

Although Oda attempted to invent a hybrid Asian beauty culture led by Japan, her treatise remained vague. She offered no concrete examples of a modern, yet distinctively "Japanese" beauty or of make-up that was "free of Anglo-American" influences. As historians E. Taylor Atkins and Andrew Gordon have discussed in their respective works on jazz and Japanese dress, wartime efforts to create "authentic" Japanese jazz or to design "Japanese, but modern" clothing were always full of contradictions.[385] Oda's attempts to create a Japanese beauty standard that was essentially Japanese, inclusive of Asian cultures, "modern," but untainted by decadent Western culture was typical of many struggles Japanese individuals faced during the war.

The Assault on the Beauty Industry

Meanwhile, the industry continued to face a barrage of challenges as the war in China intensified and relations with the United States continued to decline. In October 1941, the Ministry of Commerce announced new guidelines on cosmetics advertisements. Although the industry had contributed to the mobilization of the Japanese Empire by incorporating patriotic

[385] E.Taylor Atkins. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. (Durhan, N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 2001); Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers.*

language and images in its advertisements since 1937, the Ministry accused the industry of promoting "extravagant and false images" inappropriate for a nation at war. Extravagant images were defined as photographs of actresses, geisha, and women of the nobility. The Ministry also directly disparaged the industry for falsely advertising creams as "daily necessities" and as "hygiene and health products." In addition, advertisements promising "youthfulness" or stating that they contain vitamins were judged as "deceiving and unconvincing" statements that "invited unnecessary desires among the population." The law demanded that commercial advertisements be "purified" and that firms clearly differentiate between medical goods and cosmetics. The Ministry made sure in 1941 that the beauty industry applied the words "hygiene" and "bactericidal effects" solely to medical products and not cosmetics. The industry was further instructed to provide only essential items that protected the health and hygiene of the nation, now defined exclusively as soap and toothpaste.

Advertising diminished for several reasons. The shortage of paper caused a gradual decrease in the numbers of newspapers and women's magazines, which were the two primary avenues for promoting beauty products. Print runs and pages of each issue also shrank. Moreover, by 1941, the government had already mobilized one million women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five for war work. By 1944, these figures reached three million. Many women who had read these magazines prior to the outbreak of the war now worked in munitions factories and had little free time. Nonetheless, large firms such as Shiseidō and Lait Cosmetics continued to tailor their advertisements to suit wartime realities by appealing to this growing number of female laborers. Advertisements became noticeably simpler compared to the previous promotion campaigns, modelling the idea of avoiding sophistication. In 1942, Shiseidō advertised its facial cleanser without showing the product and instead featured an illustration of

an almost faceless woman wearing a simple dress. [Figure 5] Her anonymity was explained in the text which read: "Work: Wear simple make-up." Lait Cosmetics' promotion for the company's signature facial cream conveyed a similar message and also stressed the importance of *midashinami:* "mainitaining a healthy complexion is the best example of *midashinami*." Despite the growing government crackdown on the industry, advertisements in women's magazines continued during the last years of the war now encouraged women to look after their skin, even if it meant only using "one drop of lotion." These efforts further suggest the tacit acceptance by officials that self-care and cosmetics were necessary to maintain *midashinami* and perhaps morale on the home front.[386]

4.6 "Work. Wear Simple Make-up." Shiseidō Cleanser and Cream. *Shufu no Tomo*, October 1941. By 1943, even these rudimentary illustrations disappeared from advertisements.

4.7 "Maintaining a healthy complexion is the best example of *midashinami*," Lait Crème *Nihon Fujin*, November 1942.

Cosmetics use was effectively ended by other means. In 1943, the consumption tax on cosmetics was set at 80% and the following year, this increased to 120%, making the sale and purchase of cosmetics virtually impossible. Production was also nearly impossible. Club Cosmetics, which had boasted over two-hundred different cosmetics products in 1936, was only able to produce a handful by 1943. The founder, Nakayama Taichi, later recalled that the company resorted to using scrap ingredients such as peanut and pine oils, as well as fruit such as loquats.[387] Resources aside, firms were also unable to function at the corporate level. By this time, most of the able-bodied men who had once worked in the companies had been drafted, disrupting business.

Beautification, by 1945, was something that consumers contrived for themselves. They still had plenty of advice. The continuing importance of self-grooming or *midashinami* even in the last years of the war is evident in the articles published in women's magazines that

[387] Kurabu Kosumechikkusu, *Hyakka Ryōran : Kurabu Kosumechikkusu Hyakunenshi* (Osaka: Kurabu Kosumechikkusu, 2013), 117.

encouraged their readers to look after their physical appearance and avoid losing their femininity during the war. Magazines avoided offering substitutes for make-up items such as lipstick and nail polish because they were too visible, but they gave plenty of advice on skincare, arguing that care for one's skin was a form of personal hygiene. Articles recommended that women concoct their own beauty products and included "ancient recipes" such as ones that included nightingale droppings to cleanse their complexion. To replace brand-name skin care products, newspapers and magazine encouraged women to use food scraps and ingredients available in the home- at least early in the war- such as flour, eggs, lemon juice, grated daikon radish, cucumbers, tomatoes, milk and rice bran. Newspaper and women's magazines advised women to save these ingredients for external use. The favorite ingredient for home-made facial toners was *hechima*, a kind of cucumber.[388] One article recommended using soy pulp, which, "compared to soap, was gentler on the skin."[389] Prior to the war, such homemade remedies had been considered "low-class" or even a sign of poverty. During the war, however, middle-class housewives who created their own beauty products from vegetable scraps were portrayed by social commentators as highly competent. Such economies were also portrayed as the housewife's skills as at science (*shufu no kagaku*), demonstrating that she was capable of managing the household while also meeting the needs of the wartime state.[390] As Jordan Sand has shown in his scholarship on the role of the housewife in modern Japan, this idea of the wife as a scientist was not new.[391] During

[388] "Tejika na mono de rippa na keshōryō," *Asahi Shinbun*, December, 1937

[389] "Sengan nuka no daiyōhin okara areseini koto ni yoi." *Yomiuri Shinbun*, February 22, 1941, 4.

[390] "Shufu no kagaku: keshōsui no tsukuri kata, kyūri keshosui, mikan keshosui." *Asahi Shinbun*, July 5, 1939

[391] For discussion on the home as the "housewife's laboratory" in interwar Japan, see Sand. *House and Home in Modern Japan.*

the war, housewives were forced to adapt in different ways. However, as the war sapped the home front's food supply, even food scraps became essential to prevent starvation.

During the last year of the war, life was actually easier in Korea than in Japan. While both cosmetics and cosmetics advertisements had virtually disappeared in the metropole by the end of 1943, firms continued to advertise in the Empire until 1945. This surprising difference is likely because the Korean peninsula was not subjected to devastating air raids which meant factories there kept running, and because newspapers such as *Maeil Shinbo* continued to publish until the end of the war.[392] Korean newspapers, as in the metropole, did not feature advertisements of luxury items, but cosmetics firms were permitted to celebrate the Empire under the company's name. Throughout 1945, Club Cosmetics urged Koreans to "sacrifice the self for the sake of the group" (*messhi hōkō*) and to "throw themselves into battle." Because the Korean peninsula also served as an important industrial base during the last years of the war, the advertisements urged Koreans to fulfill the Empire's mission by increasing war-related production. Lait Cream promoted the idea that "Until the war is won, all [factory] workers will devote themselves to increasing production."[393] The Japanese beauty industry therefore participated in the government's last ditch efforts in mobilizing colonial subjects to fight Japan's war.

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[392] Annika Culver also makes this observation about Manchuria- "while women in domestic Japan were exhorted by the increasingly fascistic regime that *zeitaku wa teki da* "Extravagance is the Enemy!", Japanese women of all classes in Manchukuo were told they had a "duty" to project an attractive imperial modernity in their appearance." In Culver, *Shiseidō's 'Empire of Beauty.'*

[393] *Mae-il Shinbo*. April 29, 1945 and June 28th, 1945

4.8 Club Cream propaganda in Korea during the last year of the war. "Sacrifice the self for the sake of the group" (messhi hōkō) *Maeil Shinbo*, 1945

Conclusion

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War resulted in the state reasserting control over Japanese bodies to a level unseen since the nineteenth century. Much of the ideological content of the ideals set by the government during the war also was similar to the standards during the Meiji era as the state once again reverted to defining female beauty in terms of health and hygiene. There were, however, some differences with Meiji ideals. Influenced by Nazi ideology, the Japanese government beginning in 1940 prioritized population growth as wartime policy and defined physically robust bodies as the highest form of beauty. Facing a backlash by the state, firms fought to protect the industry by rapidly adapting and catering to the wartime state's goals. The beauty industry marketed its products as "necessary" and even "acceptable" items that served women's health. Most importantly, the consumption of these products were not viewed as beautifying oneself, but as a form of *midashinami* or social etiquette.

Deteriorating relations with the outside world, the Great Depression, the establishment of Manchukuo and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War all contributed prompted the beauty industry to become more and more involved in Japan's plans to establish the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Although the industry had been selling cosmetics in the Empire since the early twentieth century, the threat of material shortages saw firms establish new projects in the Empire to maintain production flow.

Conclusion

Midashinami as Physical Capital in Contemporary Japan

In 2018, several new outlets reported on the importance of *midashinami* in the job search process among Japanese. The reason for the focus on the physical appearance is a familiar one: the economy was going through a rough patch and working on one's body was one of the ways to stand out from the rest. Most of these articles claimed that first impressions at job interviews were vital, and asserted that, based on research, recruiters could easily tell if a candidate was suitable for a company within six to twelve seconds of meeting them. The *Sankei* reported that ninety percent of employers viewed the outward appearance as very important, and that proper *midashinami* often determined hiring decisions.[394] The *Asahi* claimed that employers were usually unimpressed by "fashionable" job applicants and favored candidates who were "properly groomed." This was because fashion was a form of "self-satisfaction" (*jiko manzoku*). *Midashinami*, on the other hand, was a form of business etiquette and about respecting others rather than individual expression.[395] Those who did not conform to appropriate *midashimai* were portrayed in these articles as unhygienic and lazy, and therefore unlikely to find employment.

To help job-seekers achieve a socially acceptable level of personal grooming, many beauty companies have long offered *midashinami* seminars. These workshops were pioneered by Shiseido in 1949, when sales representatives and beauty advisors began to conduct product demonstrations at girls high schools. The tactics employed by Shiseido were similar to the promotional campaigns used by several beauty firms in the early twentieth century. Students

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[394] "Shōbu wa daichi inshō no kyōkui: shukatsu danshi ni midashinami seminā." *Sankei* News, June 15, 2017. https://www.sankei.com/life/news/170615/lif1706150013-n1.html [accessed September 1st, 2018]

[395] Doi Shinpei. "Shushoku: 6 byo de insho ga kimaru Danshi gakusei, midashinami kōza e," *Asahi Shinbun.* July 23, 2018. https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASL7C4W32L7CUTIL01Y.html [site accessed July 25th, 2018]

were presented with a plethora of products manufactured and sold by the firm, and the company's beauty advisors educated the students on how to apply them correctly. For Shiseido, female new high school graduates were an ideal consumer base because they were introducing cosmetics to a large group of women who were previously not allowed to wear make-up. The company also stayed true to the traditional understanding of *midashinami* by making sure that these young women marked their transition into adulthood as college grads and soon wives or company employees through a physical transformation by using Shiseido's beauty products.

Over the past six decades or so, these beauty seminars have become increasingly sophisticated in catering to Japanese hoping to secure a better future. These seminars originally exclusively targeted female consumers, but cosmetics firms in recent years have also begun to appeal to men in this way. In July 2018, newspapers reported that Mandom, a company specializing in men's cosmetics, participated in a course on *midashinami* offered at Teikyō University in Tokyo. These classes were intended for third-year students who were about to begin the job search process. The company started by giving students a comprehensive scientific presentation detailing the structure of men's skin, followed by expert guidance on skin and hair care. Mandom encouraged men to follow an elaborate skin care routine focused on hydration because shaving made the skin sensitive and therefore prone to dryness. The company asserted that irritated skin was not only "unattractive" but also "offensive" in the eyes of employers. For this reason, men were instructed to cleanse their skin using "lukewarm water" and to provide moisture to the skin by applying sheet masks one night a week. Mandom also recommended that men apply sunscreen when going outside and to carry oil blotting papers with them because sunburn and oily skin were also unpleasant to others. As for hair, the company discouraged men from having long hair as this gave the impression that they were "unproductive." Firms preferred

shorter styles because it made men appear "industrious" and even "trustworthy." These courses not only consisted of lectures, but also involved a component in which each student could practice routines using Mandom's cosmetics line. Mandom urged students to think of *midashinami* not as beautification but more in terms of giving a "sense of cleanliness" (*seiketsukan*) to others and further, to think of grooming as a form of business etiquette.

These reports not only show how cosmetics companies continue to recycle and repurpose *midashinami* in contemporary Japan. As discussed in this dissertation, the concept of *midashinami* has existed in Japan since the early modern period and underwent considerable change with modernity. During the Tokugawa period, men and women were expected to observe rules of bodily comportment when they became active members of society. As Japan experienced social, cultural and economic changes after 1868, *midashinami* came to encompass far more than social etiquette as cosmetics firms transformed and commodified the term. Beauty companies promised that the use of new modern commodities such as soap, toothpaste and facial creams would not only help Japanese become civilized, modern and hygienic, but also upwardly mobile. During the Second World War, the government framed *midashinami* as a form of patriotic duty to ensure that Japanese citizens maintained an acceptable appearance despite the difficult wartime conditions. The application of cosmetics for one's own pleasure was too narcissistic, and hence unpatriotic, but *midashinami* was viewed as satisfactory, and even desirable, because such beautification had the distinct purpose of pleasing others. In this way, the beauty industry was able to gain considerable legitimacy by combining and updating old ideals in conjunction with new ones.

"J-Beauty" Goes Global

Recently, the Japanese beauty industry has been garnering more attention from abroad. As I have shown, the Japanese cosmetics industry has had a presence in Asia that stretches back to the early twentieth century. The sales of cosmetics products, services and ideals attached to them first circulated with Japan's colonial expansion. The immediate post-war period saw a temporary halt in the overseas sales of Japanese cosmetics, but it did not take long for firms to reassert themselves in the region. During the late 1950s, when the Japanese economy had just recovered from the war, Shiseidō and new firms such as Kosé (established in 1946) began exporting to Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong where they established themselves as prestige brands sold exclusively in department stores. After the Republic of China liberalized its economy in the 1980s, Japanese cosmetics companies moved quickly to take advantage of the lucrative opportunities there. As Anika Culver points out in her article on Shiseido's expansion into Manchuria during the 1940s, the way in which the firm markets its products in contemporary Asia bears a strong resemblance to the rhetoric that was deployed in the Empire.[396] Shiseidō, in particular, now touts itself as a "global player representing Asia with its origins in Japan," in that the company hopes to sell effective and modern cosmetics while at the same time, maintaining a sense of Asian-ness to them. At present, China is one of the biggest and most important consumer markets for the Japanese beauty industry, as brands such as Shiseido and Kosé have become status symbols among a rapidly growing middle-class.[397] According to an Asahi

[396] Annika A. Culver, "'Shiseidô's "Empire of Beauty": Marketing Japanese Modernity in Northeast Asia, 1932-1945,'" *Shashi: The Journal of Japanese Business and Company History* 2, no. 2 (January 3, 2014): 6–22, https://doi.org/10.5195/shashi.2013.16.

[397] Ibid,. For more on Shiseido's marketing strategy in China, see Kazuyuki Motohashi. "Shiseidō Marketing in China" in *Global Business Strategy*. (Tokyo: Springer, 2015), 155-171

newspaper article published in April 2018, Shiseido, Kosé and Pola sold a combined USD$ 883 million in beauty products to foreign visitors (of which the majority are Chinese) in 2017, an 80% increase from 2015.[398]

Despite the Japanese industry's enormous success in Asia during the post-war period, it has surprisingly struggled to become a global player alongside American and European beauty brands.[399] Japanese firms began exporting to Europe and in the United States in the 1960s, but experienced limited success. However, with increased globalization, this is no longer the case. Ironically, the boom in Korean cosmetics in the global market, achieved with new types of products and ingredients, led the way. The popularity of K-Beauty helped draw attention to the Japanese cosmetics industry, as observers pointed out that many of the trends associated with Korean cosmetics such as oil-based cleansers and skin softening toners have their origins in Japan. *The Financial Times* noted that the Japanese beauty industry was a forced to be reckoned with, describing it as a "sleeping giant" and the Korean beauty industry's "older, more sophisticated sister."[400] Many industry observers even predicted 2018 to be the year of "J-Beauty." Time will tell if these predictions will come true.

Along with the growing interest in Japan-made beauty products, Western firms have also sought to appeal to consumers by exoticizing and commodifying Japan's past. Once rejected as "unscientific" and "backwards," ancient Japanese beauty rituals and ingredients have ironically,

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[398] Naoko Murai. *Cosmetics firm lay foundation to halt mass buying among tourist*. April 2nd, 2018 http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201804020055.html [Accessed September 2nd, 2018]

[399] Geoffrey Jones *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2010); Aki Umemura and Stephanie Slater, "Reaching For Global in the Japanese Cosmetics Industry, 1951-2015: The Case of Shiseido," *Business History* 59, no. 6 (January 2017): 877–903.

[400]Kathleen Baird-Murray. "J-Beauty: Japan's Sleeping Giant Awakens," April 27th, 2018 https://www.ft.com/content/128f5752-291a-11e8-9274-2b13fccdc744 [Accessed September 5th, 2018]

become major selling points among foreign companies. Tatcha, an American brand established in 2010, claim that their products are based on the beauty secrets of geisha. The company is described as a "marriage of Kyoto craftsmanship and wellness philosophies with California natural ease."[401] The company's founder claims that their line is formulated with "time-tested ingredients" captured in Sayama Hanshichimaru's 1813 manual, *Miyako Fūzoku Kewaiden*.[402] The company uses traditional ingredients such as green tea, algae, camellia oil and rice bran while also promising the effectiveness and quality of the products through rigorous scientific research formulated in Japanese and U.S. laboratories. These were the very same values that the first generation of beauty entrepreneurs such as Fukuhara Arinobu envisioned in the late nineteenth century. Almost one hundred and fifty years later, the Japanese beauty industry may finally be gaining recognition, and this dissertation has endeavored to show how this came to be.

[401] Tatcha Official Website. https://www.tatcha.com/our-story.html [site accessed September 15th, 2018]

[402] See chapter 1 of this dissertation for discussion on Sayama's work.

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Jikō
Katei Pakku
Mitsukoshi
Miyako Shinbun
Nōji Shinpō
Ryunankai Zasshi
The Salariedman
Shin Shakai Hyoron
Shinkyu Jidai
Shinbun Zasshi
Shōjo no Tomo
Tokyo Komamono Shohō
Yomiuri Shinbun

Korean

Byeolgonggon
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