

Displayed Modernity

Advertising and Commercial Art in Colonial Korea, 1920-1940

Yongkeun Chun

Victoria and Albert Museum/Royal College of Art

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Abstract

This thesis explores advertising and commercial art in Korea under Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). It questions how visual artefacts, mainly press advertisements and posters, reflect the social, cultural, political, and economic conditions of colonial Korea. It focuses on the period from 1920 to 1940, when Korean-owned and -language newspapers were published for Korean readers.

The colonial period has largely been marginalised in histories of Korean design, partly because of the scarcity of the remaining material, but also due to the reluctance of many Korean design historians to acknowledge design artefacts produced under Japanese rule as authentically 'Korean' or genuinely 'modern'. The thesis problematises existing nationalist and Eurocentric-modernist definitions of 'Korean design' and sheds light on a little-studied period with a scope beyond the single nation.

Advertising in colonial Korea was a complicated field in which the economic interests, political agendas, and cultural identities of both Korean and Japanese agents were entangled. To disentangle this complexity, the thesis adopts a design-historical methodology; it closely analyses visual artefacts and traces their production and dissemination within broader contexts of commerce, industry, technology, and education. It also takes a transnational perspective to trace movements of objects, people, knowledge, and institutions in a more global contextual background, incorporating exchanges across Korea and Japan. To this end, an extensive range of magazines, newspapers, and books produced in the two countries by both Koreans and Japanese are examined.

The four chapters of the thesis discuss Korean nationalists' promotion of advertising design as a project of 'self-strengthening'; the expansion of Japanese companies and products in the Korean market through localised advertisements; the rise of urban consumerism and modernist design styles in advertisements; commercial art education and the professionalisation of the commercial artist.

By examining advertising from the vantage points of nationalism, colonialism, consumer culture, and education, the chapters collectively articulate how design changes in print advertisements relate to the circumstances of colonisation and modernisation in Korea more broadly. The thesis argues that modernity was displayed in colonial Korea in the sense that advertisements presented images of modern lifestyles with modern stylistic vocabularies, but also in the sense that there existed a significant dissonance between the visual gloss and the fragile social and economic conditions of the colony. Such dissonance was particularly salient given the lack of social, industrial, and educational systems to sustain the production of the displayed images themselves.

Through this critical examination of design and modernity, the thesis contributes to the discourse of colonial modernity in Korea and East Asia more generally. It not only offers a history *of*

design in colonial Korea, but also provides a more nuanced understanding of colonial Korea *through* design, in terms of the modernities aspired to, pursued, and experienced, as well as unachieved, during the period. It also suggests design history as an analytical framework for understanding cultural transmission within asymmetrical power relationships, or more generally for writing empirical and more nuanced histories, which may be relevant for historians of other regions and periods.

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Author's declaration

During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

Yongkeun Chun
August 2019

List of abbreviations

CAE: *Commercial Art Exhibition* (Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai)

Dentsū: Japan Telegraphic Communication Company (Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha)

FTS: Fujisawa Tomokichi Shōten

Kyōngbang: Kyōngsong Spinning and Weaving Company (Kyōngsong Pangjik)

Morinaga Busan Office: Morinaga Products Busan Sales Office (Morinaga Seihin Fuzan Hanbaishō)

Morinaga Seoul Office: Morinaga Products Seoul Sales Office (Morinaga Seihin Keijō Hanbaishō)

NCAE: *National Commercial Art Exhibition* (Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai)

SS: *Sanggong segye* (Commerce-industry world)

TI: *Tonga ilbo* (East Asia daily)

TICAE: *Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition* (Tonga Ilbo Sangōp Misul Chōllamhoe)

Zenshū: *Complete collection of contemporary commercial art* (Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū)

Notes on translation and transliteration

All translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

Korean names and terms are transliterated in Roman using the McCune–Reischauer system. Japanese names and terms are transliterated using the Modified Hepburn system (except the names of places familiarly used in English, such as Seoul and Tokyo).

Korean and Japanese names are given in their customary order: surname followed by given name (except the names of Korean and Japanese authors of English-language works).

If an English title of a Korean or Japanese text is provided by the author, that version of translation is prioritised over mine in the citation.

Some authors who have published in Korean and English are cited in two forms (e.g. Min-Soo Kim [Kim Min-su]).

Introduction

On 20 June 1921, the *Tonga ilbo* (East Asia daily, hereafter *TI*), the best-selling Korean-language newspaper in colonial Korea,¹ published an article entitled ‘Advertising is ammunition in the commercial war’ (*Kwanggo nŭn sangjŏn ūi p'ot'an*).² It stated:

Today, the rise and fall of commerce and industry (*sanggongŏp ūi hŭngmang*) depends entirely on whether advertising a lot or a little; depends on advertising well or badly; depends on continuing or stopping [advertising]. [...] No matter how good a product one has, if [one] does not advertise well, it is like a soldier having a very good cannon but not preparing shells. [...] People who have succeeded in commerce and industry in advanced countries (*sŏnjin kakkuk*) are usually ones that have advertised well; in our Korea, people who will have a big success in commerce and industry in the future (*changnae*) will certainly be those that utilise advertising well.³

Considering that the *TI* was launched in 1920, and advertisements were an important source of profit for newspapers,⁴ the article’s argument that advertising was crucial for a business to succeed may be seen as the newly launched newspaper’s effort to persuade Korean business owners to invest more in advertising. On another level, the article may suggest that the staff of the newspaper thought that Koreans’ knowledge and practice of advertising was generally underdeveloped at the time. It suggested that Korean businesses should follow those in ‘advanced countries’⁵ in terms of the development of advertising, and implied that such development among Koreans would happen ‘in the

¹ In this thesis, by ‘colonial Korea’ I refer to the polity on the Korean Peninsula during the period of Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945), which in Korean was known at the time as ‘Chosŏn’ (‘Chōsen’ in Japanese). By ‘Korea’, I refer more generally to the historical polities in the area: referring to the period before 1945, ‘Korea’ refers to the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1897), the Korean Empire (1897-1910), and colonial Korea; after 1945, Korea refers to South Korea (the Republic of Korea) and North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea). But regarding the post-war period I focus on South Korea, as I am mainly concerned with the historical connection between design in colonial Korea and South Korea. This focus is also due to my limited knowledge of, and access to, North Korean material.

² ‘Kwanggo nŭn sangjŏn ūi p'ot'an (1)’ [Advertising is ammunition in the commercial war (1)], *Tonga ilbo*, 20 June 1921, 3.

³ Ibid.

⁴ According to the 1975 history of the Tonga Ilbo Company, from 1921 to 1938 advertising was responsible for about 30 to 45 per cent of total sales. Tonga Ilbo Sasa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, *Tonga Ilbosa sa I* [The history of the Tonga Ilbo Company] (Seoul: Tonga Ilbosa, 1975), 409.

⁵ The article directly referred to the United States, but we will see in the following chapters that Korean advertising practitioners at the time generally saw Japan, the United States, and some Western European countries as ‘advanced’ in terms of advertising.

future'. As we will see in Chapter 1, some Korean intellectuals in the early 1920s, whom the staff of the *TI* may have been among, were advocating the development of Korean advertising.

This thesis explores the response to this call thereafter. It investigates stylistic, technical, and industrial changes in advertising and commercial art in colonial Korea. Although Japan's colonial rule of Korea lasted from 1910 to 1945, the thesis focuses on the period between 1920 and 1940, for reasons I will discuss below. The thesis asks how visual artefacts produced during this period, mainly press advertisements and posters, reflect the social, cultural, technological, political, and economic conditions of colonial Korea: how did the commercial images of advertising change, stylistically and technically? How did Korean and Japanese agents contribute to those changes? How might we explain stylistic and technical changes, which often appear today to be refinement or development, during a period which many Koreans today believe was one of the most difficult times in modern Korea? To what extent do commercial images reflect the everyday lives experienced in colonial Korea more generally?⁶ By asking these questions, the thesis aims to present a design history not only of designed objects, but one that deepens our understanding of colonial Korea *through* those objects.

Overall, the thesis will show that advertising in colonial Korea was a complicated field in which economic interests, political agendas, and cultural identities of both Korean and Japanese agents were entangled. To disentangle this complexity, the thesis adopts a design-historical methodology; it closely analyses visual artefacts and traces their production and dissemination within broader contexts of commerce, industry, technology, and education. It posits a diverse range of agents around the production and consumption of these visual artefacts: manufacturers, retailers, advertising agencies, media, designers, and writers. It also takes a transnational perspective to trace the movements of objects, people, knowledge, and institutions in a more global contextual background, incorporating exchanges across Korea and Japan. In this respect the thesis engages with everyday visual artefacts as both subject matter and methodology. Through this it expands the interpretive potential of mass-printed commercial images: I analyse them not only as reflections of the consumerist experiences of urban and upper-class Koreans, but also as visual embodiments of modernities aspired to, pursued, and experienced, as well as unachieved, by various subjects living during the period of Japanese colonial rule in Korea. By doing so, the thesis aims to articulate what I

⁶ Literature scholar Christopher P. Hanscom has similarly asked how what he calls the 'flourishing and diversification of cultural production' in literature happened under the difficult conditions of the 1930s, and how this relates to the facts of colonisation and modernisation. Christopher P Hanscom, *The Real Modern: Literary Modernism and the Crisis of Representation in Colonial Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2013), 7-8.

call ‘displayed modernity’ in colonial Korea, or the dissonance between the superficial gloss of images and the social, cultural, and economic limitations conditioned by colonisation.

In the following sections, I will explain how the thesis aims to fill the gaps in the existing literature by examining advertising and commercial design in colonial Korea with a design-historical methodology. I will first discuss how and why design in colonial Korea has been largely overlooked in Korean design history and how such marginalisation has been related to Korean nationalism and a Eurocentric notion of design as modernist and industrial progress. I will then explain design history as my empirical and critical methodology, with a particularly global and transnational focus. This leads to my positioning of this study within the discourses on ‘colonial modernity’ in Korea: I will articulate how I draw on conceptual frameworks in existing histories of Korea and propose design history as an analytical dimension that offers critical and more nuanced historical accounts of colonial Korea. I will then explain my periodisation and provide an overview of the period and outline how the chapters are constructed.

i. Problematising ‘Korean design’ and its history

While many art, cultural, and social historians have studied the history of design in Korea,⁷ Korean design history is a relatively young and undeveloped discipline in higher education research in South Korea.⁸ Design during the colonial period (1910-1945) is a subject that has been particularly overlooked by Korean design historians.⁹ The scarcity of remaining objects and documents, partly due to the substantial physical deterioration of the country during the Korean War (1950-1953), certainly makes the study of this period more difficult than that of later periods. But more importantly, some Korean design historians have refused to acknowledge that objects and design phenomena that

⁷ I will discuss below how scholars of these adjacent disciplines have studied the history of design in Korea.

⁸ In her 2012 historiography of Korean design history, design historian Yunah Lee aptly suggested that the field had not been established as an academic discipline in Korea, despite some notable studies and publications. See Yunah Lee, 'Design Histories and Design Studies in East Asia: Part 3 Korea and Conclusion', *Journal of Design History* 25, no. 1 (2012). In 2013 and 2014, respectively, the postgraduate Design History and Culture programme at Seoul National University and the Design and Humanities Lab at the alternative design school Paju Typography Institute (PaTI) were established, and recently a growing number of scholars have been presenting design-historical studies of Korea.

⁹ Yunah Lee notes that one of the key questions in Korean design history has been ‘when and where Korean design began’; she suggests that many histories, from the 1970s until relatively recently (2012), posit the 1960s as the starting point. *Ibid.*, 94.

emerged during a period of foreign intervention are part of Korean design. This section will discuss how Korean nationalism and a Eurocentric notion of design as industrial progress is related to such exclusion.

In his 1976 volume *Modern design in Korea* (Han'guk ūi hyōndae tijain), one of the earliest studies of the history of Korean design in the modern period, design critic and historian Chōng Si-hwa first presented a view that excluded the colonial period from the history of Korean design.¹⁰ Chōng posits modern design as a 'Western' (*sōgu ūi*) phenomenon and idea that emerged as a result of the Industrial Revolution and political democratisation in Europe.¹¹ Based on this Eurocentric and industrialisation-centric notion of design, Chōng argues that the 'development' of design in Korea was 'delayed' because of what he calls the 'historical specificity' (*yōksajōk t'ūksusōng*) of Korea: he explains that 'development from the modern (*kūndae*) to the contemporary (*hyōndae*) was not smooth', as it was in Europe.¹²

Chōng characterises the whole era between the late nineteenth century and the 1960s as 'the period of bankruptcy' (*pasan sidae*), when Korea was deprived of opportunities to pursue 'modern' design.¹³ He emphasises the impact of the colonial period on this phase of 'bankruptcy': he writes that 'the influence of Japan had been immense (*chidae*) on Korean design, and this also is a cause that weakened (*kamt'oe*) our industrial design education or the activities of industrial designers';¹⁴ he also writes that 'the development of graphic design has been slow (*pujin*) in general [...] because of Japanese influence (*Ilbonjōk yōnghyang*)'.¹⁵

Chōng referenced the approach of British art historian Herbert Read when he suggested his view of design as 'industrial design'.¹⁶ As design historian Victor Margolin notes, Read advocated the idea of design as industrial design, which was suggested by scholars like the art and architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner in the 1930s and had a lasting influence on British histories of design until

¹⁰ Chōng Si-hwa, *Han'guk ūi hyōndae tijain* [Modern design in Korea] (Seoul: Yōrhwadang, 1976).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8-11, 20.

¹² *Ibid.*, 24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 51.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 71. Chōng identified the starting point of modern Korean design as the 1960s partly to legitimise design education in universities in Korea, which was established and formalised around that time by educators like himself. *Ibid.*, 25-33.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

around the 1970s.¹⁷ But many design historians around the world since then have challenged, successfully, this industrialisation-centric, Eurocentric, and modernist view of design and design history, as I will discuss further below.

In contrast, some Korean design historians adopted this modernist view until relatively recently. For example, in his 2008 volume *History of Korean design* (Han'guk tijainsa), a standard text for students and scholars of the subject, design historian Kim Chong-gyun shares Chöng's industrialisation-centric view regarding the beginning and historical specificity of Korean design.¹⁸ Kim boldly argues that 'the history of design is the history of modernisation' (*tijain üi yöksa nün kũndaehwa üi yöksa*).¹⁹ Based on this perspective, Kim argues that although industrialisation may have taken place to some degree during the colonial period, it was a 'deformed modernisation' (*kíhyöngjök kũndaehwa*), because of the oppressive nature of colonial rule.²⁰ Despite offering accounts of design during the colonial period that discussed fields such as design education, craft and architecture, Kim explicitly dismisses these phenomena and claims that 'no sign (*umjigim*) of modern design is found in Korea throughout the Japanese colonial period'.²¹ Instead, Kim argues that design emerged in Korea with a 'budding process (*ssak t'ünün kwajöng*)' alongside US-supported industrialisation from the 1950s,²² and that a 'truly modernist design' (*chinjöngghan modönijüm tijain*) appeared in Korea only in the 1980s, with further political democratisation of the country.²³

This demarcation of Korean design as beginning after liberation from colonial rule not only derives from Eurocentric and industrialisation-centric ideas of design, but is also linked to Korean

¹⁷ See Victor Margolin, 'Design History or Design Studies: Subject Matter and Methods', *Design Issues* 11, no. 1 (1995).

¹⁸ Kim Chong-gyun, *Han'guk tijainsa* [History of Korean design] (Seoul: Mijinsa 2008). The second edition of this book was published in 2013 as Kim Chong-gyun, *Han'guk üi tijain* [Korean design] (Paju: An Kũrap'iksü, 2013 [2008]). In a 2016 review of the second edition of Kim's book, design critic Ch'oe Pöm has commented that it is 'the precious, one and only, complete history of Korean design' (*sojunghan, tan hana ppunin Han'guk tijain t'ongsa*). Ch'oe Pöm, 'Kim Chong-gyun üi *Han'guk üi tijain*' [*Design of Korea* by Kim Chong-gyun], *Tijain*, November 2016.

¹⁹ Kim Chong-gyun, *Han'guk tijainsa*, 18.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

²² *Ibid.*, 11.

²³ *Ibid.*, 23. Accordingly, Kim's 'Chronological table of Korean design history' starts from 1945. *Ibid.*, 252.

nationalism, an approach broadly adopted by post-war historians of Korea until the 1990s.²⁴ Immediately after Korea's liberation from Japanese occupation in 1945, many Korean historians sought to overcome what they called 'colonialist history' (*singmin sagwan*), or the historical framing of Korea that justified Japanese occupation (presented mostly by Japanese historians before and throughout the colonial rule): the theories of 'heteronomy (*t'ayulsǒng*) and 'stagnation' (*chǒngch'esǒng*).²⁵ Against these theories, Korean historians adopted the frameworks of 'internal development theory' (*naejaejǒk palchǒllon*) and 'colonial exploitation theory' (*singminji sut'allon*). Proponents of these counter-colonialist and nationalist frameworks argued that indigenous economic and social developments in Korea up to the late nineteenth century would have led to a modernisation of Korea on its own; but economic exploitation and ethnic discrimination imposed by Japanese colonial rule during the first half of the twentieth century limited the growth of productivity in Korea, and the fruits of development were transferred to Japan. They argued that colonial rule delayed a 'genuine' modernisation of Korea until after liberation.²⁶

Although in his aforementioned book Kim Chong-gyun calls for historical interpretations 'beyond the nationalistic view' (*minjokchuiijǒk sigak ūl nǒmǒ sǒsǒ*),²⁷ the limited view of Korean design as a post-liberation achievement resonates with this nationalist historical framework. For example, Kim states bluntly that design was absent during the colonial period because it was not formed 'with our hands' (*uri sonūro*).²⁸ Kim dismisses design during the colonial period because it happened in Korea but was supposedly led by non-Koreans (Japanese). In this respect his view shares

²⁴ For historiographical debates in post-war Korea, see Pak Ch'an-sǔng, 'Han'guk'ak yǒn'gu p'aerǒdaim ūl tullǒssan nonūi' [For the new paradigm of Korean studies], *Han'guk'ak nonjip* 35 (2007); Chǒng Yǒn-t'ae, *Han'guk kǔndae wa singminji kǔndaehwa nonjaeng* [Beyond the controversies over the theory of colony modernization] (Seoul: P'urūnyǒksa, 2011).

²⁵ The narrative deriving from these theories is that from ancient times the history of Korea has developed 'heteronomously', only by foreign pressure and intervention; and by the turn of the nineteenth century, during the late Chosǒn dynasty, the country had 'stagnated' in a premodern stage, lacking the ability to pursue modernisation on its own. This narrative justifies colonial rule by Japan (which had pursued and achieved Western and capitalist industrialisation earlier than other countries in East Asia) as modernising a supposedly underdeveloped Korea. Pak Ch'an-sǔng, 'Han'guk'ak yǒn'gu p'aerǒdaim ūl tullǒssan nonūi', 76.

²⁶ This narrative has again been challenged by a group of economic historians from the 1980s, and more recently by historians advocating 'colonial modernity theory', which I will discuss below.

²⁷ Kim Chong-gyun, *Han'guk tijainsa*, 248.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11. Kim often substitutes the term 'Korean' ('*Han'guk*' or '*Han'guk ūi*') with the term '*uri*' ('we' or 'our'). While he does not offer a clear definition of 'Korean', the terminology '*uri*' used interchangeably with 'Korean' indicates that his ideas of 'Korean design' are based on the notion of 'Korean' as a monolithic nationality or ethnicity.

the nationalist perspective of internal development theory, which suggests that social and economic development by Japanese during colonial rule was not a ‘genuine’ modernisation of Korea. Kim Chong-gyun’s perspective on Korean design repeats what sociologist Gi-Wook Shin and historian Michael Robinson pointedly describe as the ‘simplistic binary of colonial repression/exploitation versus Korean resistance’ in nationalist histories of Korea.²⁹

A rare counterpart to the narrative of Korean design history that excludes the colonial period is a 1995 article by design historian and theorist Min-Soo Kim [Kim Min-su].³⁰ Kim has proposed ‘the continuity of aesthetic experience’ between the colonial and post-liberation years in Korea, with the notion of ‘abstraction’ as a link; he suggests that design historians should examine ‘causalities’ around design changes across the pre- and post- war periods.³¹ In a similar vein, in 2009 craft and design historian No Yunia suggested the significance of the colonial period as a ‘link’ (*yŏn'gyŏl kori*) that connects traditional crafts and modern design in Korea, the latter of which, as discussed above, had often been perceived as a post-liberation phenomenon.³²

Despite these scholarly efforts, many Korean design historians have described the transition from the colonial to the post-liberation era as a rupture, rather than as continuity. From the 2000s, although small in number, there have been significant design-historical studies that examine the colonial period, to which this thesis is indebted. A notable tendency in these studies is to investigate the ideas and practices of ‘*kongye*’ (craft) and ‘*toan*’ (design) as distinct predecessors of post-liberation ‘industrial design’ (*sanŏp tijain*).³³ Also, these studies have tended to put the focus upon the

²⁹ Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, eds., *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 4.

³⁰ Kim Min-su, 'Han'guk hyŏndae tijain kwa ch'usangsŏng ūi parhyŏn, 1930-yŏndae-1960-yŏndae' [Korean modern design and the revelation of abstraction, from the 1930s to the 1960s], *Chohyŏng* 18, no. 1 (1995).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 53-57. Accordingly, Kim traces closely the education and activities of Korean designers (such as Yi Sun-sŏk, Im Suk-chae, and Yi Sang) during the colonial period, and relates these to tendencies in contemporary Japanese design.

³² No Yunia, 'Han'guk kŏndae tijain kaenyŏm kwa yangsik ūi suyong: Tonggyŏng Misul Hakkyo toan'gwa yuhaksaeng Im Suk-chae rŭl chungsim ūro' [Adoption of modern design concept and style: Sook-Jae Lim and his works], *Misul iron kwa hyŏnjang* 8 (2009), 28.

³³ See, for example, Ch'oe Kong-ho, *Sanŏp kwa yesul ūi kiro esŏ* (Seoul: Misul Munhwa, 2008); Hŏ Po-yun, *Kwŏn Sun-hyŏng kwa Han'guk hyŏndae toye* [Kwon Soon-Hyung and Korean contemporary ceramics] (Mijinsa 2009); O Ch'ang-sŏp, 'Han'guk esŏ ūi kŏndaejŏk tijain saengsan chuch'e ūi ch'urhyŏn' [Study on the emergence of the modern design subject in Korea], *Tijainhak yŏn'gu* 25, no. 1 (2012); Boyoon Her, 'The Formation of the Concept of Gong-ye in the Korean Modern Age', *Journal of Design History* 27, no. 4 (2014).

biographical examination of celebrated post-war studio craftspeople and industrial designers who emerged publicly during the colonial period.³⁴

While these studies shed light on the variety and vitality of design activities during the little-studied colonial period and expand our understanding of Korean design history, their collective inclination towards craft and industrial design arguably reflects the persisting Eurocentric and modernist framework of design as a result of industrialisation. With this modernist notion of design as industrial design, even when the colonial period is studied, design historians tend to characterise design phenomena of the colonial period only as potential or precursory, heading towards ‘industrial design’ (*sanŏp tijain*) in post-liberation South Korea.

Design historian and critic O Ch'ang-sŏp exemplifies this approach in his 2012 study of what he calls the ‘modern subject of design production’ (*kŭndaejŏk tijain saengsan chuch'e*) in Korea.³⁵ Despite examining Korean design from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1960s, O describes the institutions of craft education and production in the 1900s as ‘precursory’ (*chŏnjojŏk*) to the industrial designer; he also suggests that design ideas and activities in the 1930s, around the terms ‘*kongye*’ (craft) or ‘*toan*’ (design), were ‘located in the transition process from handicrafts (*sugongye*) to industrial design (*sanŏp tijain*)’.³⁶ In this narrative the ‘transitional subjects of design production’ of the colonial period are subordinated as potential entities, not yet qualifying as design in the Eurocentric and modernist sense.³⁷ O argues that the existence of these ‘transitional subjects’ is ‘specific’ (*t'ŭksushan*) to Korea, because the situation differs from the West, where the shift from handicraft tradition to modern industrial design was ‘natural’ (*chayŏnsŭrŏpge*) and continuous.³⁸ O identifies Japanese colonial rule as partly responsible for the specificity of the ‘transitional’ stage and

³⁴ See for example, Ch'oe Ok-su, 'Yi Sun-sŏk ūi kongye wa tijain kyoyuk e kwanhan yŏn'gu' [A study on education of modern craft and design by Lee, Soon-Suk in Seoul National University], *Chohyŏng tijain yŏn'gu* 2, no. 2 (1999); Sin Hi-gyŏng, 'Han'guk e issŏsŏ ūi kŭndae tijain suyong e kwanhan koch'al: Cheguk Misul Hakkyo ūi toan kongye kyoyuk kwa Chosŏnin yuhaksaeng (1920-1945) ūl t'onghayŏ' [An investigation about the acceptance of the modern design in Korea: The case of design education and Korean students at Teikoku Art College 1929-1945], *Tijainhak yŏn'gu* 60 (2005).

³⁵ O Ch'ang-sŏp, 'Han'guk esŏ ūi kŭndaejŏk tijain saengsan chuch'e ūi ch'urhyŏn'. The English translation given in the English title of the article is ‘the modern design subject’. However, the original term in Korean clearly marks the ‘production’ (*saengsan*) aspect of this subject, therefore is translated here as ‘modern subject of design production’.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 67-68.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

therefore justifies the supposed establishment of ‘truly’ ‘modern’ Korean design in the 1960s after liberation.³⁹

Some historians of visual and graphic design have also presented a similar perspective. For example, in her 2012 study of the post-war graphic designer and educator Han Hong-t'aek (1916-1994), design historian Kang Hyōn-ju discusses the colonial period in relation to the designer's education in Japan and work as a corporate advertising designer.⁴⁰ Kang's close biographical examination of the designer and his work from the 1930s to the 1970s is significant in terms of both uncovering historical events in the field of graphic design and understanding the continuity of experiences around design during and after colonial rule. Kang describes Han as a ‘pioneering designer in the embryonic stage of contemporary Korean graphic design’, which may highlight his role in the institutionalisation and professionalisation of the field in Korea.⁴¹ But she also extends this evaluation and positions his life and work as ‘the prehistory of Korean graphic design’ (*Han'guk kūraep'ik tijain ūi chōnsa*), which I argue is a characterisation that dangerously reduces the historical significance of design during the colonial period.⁴²

In O's and Kang's studies, design of the colonial period is relativised as part of a teleological narrative that validates the post-liberation establishment of what they perceive as ‘modern Korean design’, rather than discussed in terms of its own historical significance.⁴³ This teleological narrative is arguably a version, in the Korean context, of the Eurocentric ‘grand narrative’ of the history of design from the Industrial Revolution to the present;⁴⁴ it shares the same underlying perception of modernist industrial design, but with an adjusted timeframe to account for the later industrialisation in South Korea. More generally, it exemplifies what historian and postcolonial theorist Dipesh Chakrabarty has pointedly described as local versions of the historicist ‘first in Europe, then

³⁹ Ibid., 67.

⁴⁰ Kang Hyōn-ju, 'Han Hong-t'aek tijain ūi t'ūkching kwa ūimi: Han'guk kūraep'ik tijain ūi chōnsa' [The characteristics and meaning of Hong-Taik Han's design: the prehistory of Korean graphic design], *Tijainhak yōn'gu* 25, no. 3 (2012).

⁴¹ 'Han'guk hyōndae kūraep'ik tijain t'aedonggi ūi sōn'gujōk tijainō'. Ibid., 143.

⁴² Ibid., 142, 149.

⁴³ This narrative parallels what design historian Victor Margolin characterises as the ‘teleological account of practices [...] leading up to the Modern Movement’, in reference to Nikolaus Pevsner's seminal text *Pioneers of Modern Design*. Victor Margolin, 'A World History of Design and the History of the World', *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 3 (2005), 236.

⁴⁴ D. J. Huppatz, 'Globalizing Design History and Global Design History', *Journal of Design History* 28 (2015), 188.

elsewhere' structure reproduced by non-Western nationalisms, where 'Europe' is replaced by another locally constructed centre (in this case post-liberation South Korea).⁴⁵ In this sense, although the studies discussed above certainly contribute to the broader discipline of design history in terms of expanded geography, the embedded Eurocentric framework and the teleological narrative can limit their methodological contribution to the field. This kind of narrative possesses what design historian Anna Calvera describes as 'the danger of giving even more legitimacy to the centre's power',⁴⁶ in this case by reinforcing the idea of design as a modernist and Western construct.

This thesis challenges the narrow view of Korean design history by shedding light on a rich body of objects and images of design from the colonial period. It will show that Koreans and non-Koreans produced and consumed design *in* Korea, regardless of the political system or power-holders at the time; it argues that these actors and activities of design constitute Korean design, and therefore are subjects of Korean design history.⁴⁷ In other words, the thesis aims to overcome the historiographical rupture presented in the existing literature between past and current design phenomena in Korea, by expanding the idea of Korean design as a more inclusive and plural notion.

ii. Design history as methodology

To present an alternative to the modernist and nationalist view of Korean design and its history in the existing literature, this thesis adopts design history not only as a theme, but more importantly, as a critical methodology.

As design historian Jonathan M. Woodham writes, design history as commonly understood within the anglophone scholarship emerged as a distinct field of academic study in the 1970s, primarily in Britain; from the earliest stages of the discipline design historians have sought alternatives to the earlier modernist frameworks of design history which focused on the products of

⁴⁵ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 7.

⁴⁶ Anna Calvera, 'Local, Regional, National, Global and Feedback: Several Issues to be Faced with Constructing Regional Narratives', *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 4 (2005), 375.

⁴⁷ Similarly, Ignacio Adriasola, Sarah Teasley, and Jilly Traganou have recently warned of the danger of linking design culture in Japan directly to Japanese nationality. They argue that 'the claim that "Japanese design" is the outcome of a particular national territory, mindset, sensibility or corporeality of the "Japanese people" is problematic in that it conflates culture and nation'; they therefore focus on the discussion of 'design in Japan' rather than 'Japanese design'. Ignacio Adriasola, Sarah Teasley, and Jilly Traganou, 'Design and Society in Modern Japan: An Introduction', *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 28 (2016), 2-3.

industrial design and the celebrated designers who designed them (like the work of Pevsner and Read discussed above).⁴⁸ Core to this practice since the 1980s has been adopting object or artefact analysis as a key method. In *Design History and the History of Design* (1989), art and design historian John A. Walker has articulated that empirical research, or direct experience and observation of concrete objects or images, is a key method that characterises design history.⁴⁹ He acknowledges that ‘the designer, the design process and designed goods’, as well as the issues around them (style, taste, clients, management, marketing, and consumers), are the central focus of design history. But he also suggests that these subjects ‘cannot be studied in isolation’, because designed objects are part of larger systems, which are also located within broader social and historical processes.⁵⁰ Walker therefore claims that design history as methodology needs to incorporate factors both internal and external to design.

More recently, design historians D. J. Huppertz and Grace Lees-Maffei have offered a summary of how design historians, in consulting adjacent fields such as art history, literary studies, cultural anthropology, and the history of technology, have developed and refined distinct design-historical methodologies.⁵¹ They explain that the methodology of design history, while being interdisciplinary and diverse, involves analysing designed artefacts and their practitioners, production, mediation, and consumption, as well as the complex interactions of social, cultural, political, and economic forces that surround them. The methodology they describe resonates with the methods that I have used and gained as part of my PhD training and practice. This thesis closely analyses the visual artefacts of colonial Korea and traces their production and dissemination within broader contexts of commerce, industry, technology, and education. To do so, it also posits a diverse range of agents around the production and consumption of these design objects, such as manufacturers, retailers, advertising agencies, media, designers, and writers.

Another important aspect of my design-historical methodology is a global and transnational perspective. For more than a decade, many design historians around the world, influenced by

⁴⁸ See Jonathan M. Woodham, 'Resisting Colonization: Design History Has Its Own Identity', *Design Issues* 11, no. 1 (1995).

⁴⁹ See John A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), 1-37.

⁵⁰ Walker's claims that design history as methodology needs to incorporate factors both internal and external to design well represent standard methodological practice within design history as practiced in the V&A/RCA PhD in History of Design, as in other scholarly loci.

⁵¹ See D. J. Huppertz and Grace Lees-Maffei, 'Why Design History? A Multi-National Perspective on the State and Purpose of the Field', *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 12, no. 2-3 (2013). See also, Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2010), 1-54.

postcolonial or post-structuralist lines of thinking or sometimes by empirical research outside a North American or European perspective, have challenged Eurocentric, industrialisation-centric, and modernist perspectives on design (which, as discussed above, have affected some Korean design historians' narrow definition of Korean design history).⁵² In 2011, Sarah Teasley, Giorgio Riello, and Glenn Adamson observed that design history had developed as a more global discipline in terms of both research topics and sites of scholarship.⁵³

Teasley, Riello, and Adamson suggest 'global design history' as a methodology rather than a topic. They emphasise the global connections between design phenomena and present this approach as one that 'acknowledges that design as a practice and product exists wherever there is human activity, on axes of time as well as space, and recognizes the importance of writing histories that introduce the multi-sited and various nature of design practices'.⁵⁴ I embrace this geographically and temporally expanded view of design, and aim to capture the non-Western and supposedly pre-industrial design of colonial Korea not as preliminary to later events, but as a historical phenomenon with its own context and significance.

Design historians Yuko Kikuchi and Yunah Lee have presented 'transnational design history' as another approach towards a more global examination of design, particularly in the East Asian context.⁵⁵ They suggest that the transnational approach 'identifies the porousness of national borders' and articulates 'different flows of human activities, including interactions of people, objects, ideas and

⁵² For a historiographical survey of global design history, see Christopher Bailey, 'The Global Future of Design History', *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 3 (2005); Huppertz, 'Globalizing Design History and Global Design History'. Considering that Korea has a relatively short history of design history as an academic discipline, compared, for example, to Britain, it is to some degree inevitable that methodologies of global design history, having emerged mainly in English-speaking or Euro-American scholarship, have not been immediately adopted in local scholarship. But postcolonial critiques of Eurocentric modernity and historiography, which have fuelled the pursuit of global design histories, have also been embraced by historians of Korea since the 1990s and have brought new insights to local scholarship of Korean studies and Korean history (which I will discuss below). In this regard, it seems the time is ripe to incorporate the more global perspectives and methodologies presented in design history and Korean history into writing a more inclusive and global history of Korean design.

⁵³ Sarah Teasley, Giorgio Riello, and Glenn Adamson, 'Introduction: Towards Global Design History', in *Global Design History*, ed. Glenn Adamson, Giorgio Riello, and Sarah Teasley (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁵ Yuko Kikuchi and Yunah Lee, 'Transnational Modern Design Histories in East Asia: An Introduction', *Journal of Design History* 27, no. 4 (2014).

art and design movements'.⁵⁶ They argue that this approach is especially useful to the study of modern design in East Asia where imperialism and colonialism were crucial forces in the introduction and dissemination of Euro-American ideas and institutions of modernity.⁵⁷ I draw on transnational design history as a strategic framework to capture what Kikuchi and Lee call the 'interconnectedness of modernity' and to analyse border-crossing interactions between Korea and Japan during a time of colonialism.⁵⁸ While I focus primarily on design phenomena in Korea, I also investigate extensively the Japanese context of commercial art and advertising for a comparative examination of colonial modernity in Korea and Japan.

In short, adopting design history as methodology, I discover and closely observe objects and images of advertising and commercial art within everyday print media such as newspapers, magazines, posters, and catalogues. I investigate how these visual artefacts were shaped by or reflect their social, cultural, economic, and political surroundings. I consult a broad range of sources and literature produced in both countries by both Koreans and Japanese and trace the flow of objects and people, as well as knowledge, information, ideas, institutions, and systems in a more global contextual background. This cross-border and comparative examination compensates for the relative shortage of local records often noted by Korean design historians, and it also brings new perspectives to the examination of local phenomena.⁵⁹ The following chapters also demonstrate that the seemingly fragmented phenomena around advertising and commercial art in colonial Korea can be more richly explained by incorporating the context of the Japanese empire.⁶⁰ I will show how advertising and commercial art in colonial Korea was a complex network, conditioned by social, cultural, economic,

⁵⁶ Ibid., 325.

⁵⁷ Although discussing a later period, Min-Soo Kim's study of post-war graphic designers in Korea and Japan shows that a comparative approach may be useful in examining design of the past as a series of historical constructs that embed broader historical contexts. See Min-Soo Kim, 'Mapping a Graphic Genome: A Cross-Cultural Comparison between Korean and Japanese Designers', *Visible Language* 37, no. 2 (2003).

⁵⁸ Kikuchi and Lee, 'Transnational Modern Design Histories in East Asia: An Introduction', 323. Historian Itagaki Ryūta has also suggested that colonial modernity in Korea is not a matter confined to the Korean Peninsula. He aptly argues that Japanese experiences of modernity, in both Korea and Japan, were affected by Japan's colonial relationship with Korea. Itagaki Ryūta, "'Shokuminchi kindai" o megutte: Chōsen-shi kenkyū ni okeru genjō to kadai' [Around 'colonial modernity': The current state and tasks of the historiography of Korea], *Rekishi hyōron*, no. 654 (2004), 43.

⁵⁹ Lee, 'Design Histories and Design Studies in East Asia: Part 3 Korea and Conclusion', 94.

⁶⁰ Kikuchi and Lee also suggest the usefulness of building upon accumulated design historical knowledge from different countries in East Asia. Kikuchi and Lee, 'Transnational Modern Design Histories in East Asia: An Introduction', 325.

political, and technological exchanges between Korea and Japan. Furthermore, through a close reading of objects and examination of their trajectories and wider contexts I aim to show how design history as methodology can contribute to histories of colonial Korea and East Asia more generally, in which scholars have debated how to articulate the specificities of ‘colonial modernity’, which I will discuss in the next section.

iii. Discourses on colonial modernity in Korea

While Korean design historians have overlooked the colonial period, cultural and social historians, and especially art historians, have studied the visual culture and design of colonial Korea more extensively. Art historian Kwŏn Haeng-ga has shown that since the 2000s there has been a significant increase in studies of visual media outside the traditional categories of fine art in Korean art history.⁶¹ Influenced by the tendencies of new art history and visual culture studies in Euro-American scholarship, Korean art historians have discovered and examined a variety of visual objects from the colonial period that had not attracted academic attention until then, such as photographs, illustrations, postcards, magazine and book covers, cartoons, and advertisements.⁶² Their studies of mass-produced visual artefacts illustrated the visual culture of the period and revealed what the ‘experience of modernity’ may have been like in colonial Korea.⁶³ Such attention to the artefacts of the colonial period was linked to discourses on ‘colonial modernity’ (K: *singminji kŭndaesŏng*, J:

⁶¹ Kwŏn Haeng-ga, 'Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae sŏyanghwa mit sigak munhwa yŏn'gusa' [A historiography of Western-style painting and visual culture in modern Korea], *Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae misulsahak* 24 (2012), 52-53.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 53-54. See, for example, Chŏng Hi-jŏng, 'Han'guk kŭndae ch'ogi sisa manhwa yŏn'gu: 1910-1920-yŏn,' [A study on Korean cartoons of early modern ages : 1909-1920], *Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae misulsahak* 10 (2002); Sin Myŏng-jik, *Modŏn psoi, Kyŏngsŏng ūl kŏnilta: Manmun manhwa ro ponŭn kŭndae ūi ōlgul* [Modern boy walks Seoul: the face of modernity seen through essay-cartoons] (Seoul: Hyŏnsil Munhwa Yŏn'gu, 2003); Yi Yun-hi, 'Han'guk kŭndae yŏsŏng chapchi ūi p'yojihwa rŭl t'onghae pon yŏsŏng imiji' [Female images seen through the covers of modern women's magazines in Korea] (MA thesis, Ehwa Women's University, 2007); Ham Pu-hyŏn, 'Han'guk kŭndae sinmun kwanggo tijain ūi pyŏnhwa e kwanhan sahoesajŏk koch'al' [A study on the Korean modern design trends of newspaper advertisement from social perspectives] (PhD thesis, Chung-Ang University, 2007); Sŏ Yu-ri, 'Ttakchibon sosŏlch'aek ūi p'yoji tijain yŏn'gu' [A study on cover designs of 'ttakjibon' novels], *Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae misulsahak* 20 (2009). For a more extensive list of related studies, see Kwŏn Haeng-ga, 'Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae sŏyanghwa mit sigak munhwa yŏn'gusa', 54-55.

⁶³ Kwŏn Haeng-ga suggests that this thematic expansion enabled Korean art historians to move beyond what she calls the ‘narrow closed circuit’ (*chobŭn p'yeswae hoero*) of Korean art history, by which she means nationalism and the preoccupation with the historical reception of Western modernisms in Korea in the field. Kwŏn Haeng-ga, 'Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae sŏyanghwa mit sigak munhwa yŏn'gusa', 54.

shokuminchi kindai or *shokuminchi-teki kindai*) in the wider historiography of Korea. In this section, I will outline the emergence of, and the different strands within, the discourse of colonial modernity in Korea; I will also explain how I draw conceptual frameworks from these studies and how I locate this thesis in the discourse.

In the early 1990s, historian Tani E. Barlow proposed ‘colonial modernity’ as a notion or framework to discuss the histories of colonialism in East Asia.⁶⁴ Barlow problematised the term ‘postcolonialism’, which had been suggested largely by scholars of Anglo-Indian colonialism, becoming a universal frame to explain all of the formerly colonised world.⁶⁵ From the perception that ‘the existing postcolonial language may not prove adequate’ in contexts from which it did not derive, Barlow suggested ‘colonial modernity’ as an extranational or multinational analytical framework to explore histories of East Asia.⁶⁶

While some historians have criticised Barlow’s approach,⁶⁷ many scholars of East Asian studies have agreed with Barlow in terms of the inadequacy or danger of applying the canons of postcolonialism or postcolonial theory drawn from colonial relations between the West and non-West to the particular context of East Asia, where the coloniser was also predominantly a non-Western entity (Japan).⁶⁸ In design history in particular, Yuko Kikuchi, in her edited volume on the visual

⁶⁴ The journal *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* (since 1993), edited by Barlow, played a pivotal role in stimulating discussions around this idea. Some articles in the journal were published in 1997 in *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (1997), also edited by Barlow.

⁶⁵ Tani E. Barlow, 'Introduction: On "Colonial Modernity"', in *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 4-5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

⁶⁷ For example, historian Arif Dirlik argued that ‘colonial modernity’ was too general and lacked the clarity to be adopted as an alternative to ‘postcolonialism’ in the East Asian context. Arif Dirlik, review of *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 2 (1998).

⁶⁸ For example, Leo Ching argues that ‘*postcolonial* is an exclusively Anglo-American construction and phenomenon’, while Allen Chun criticises postcolonial approaches that fail to acknowledge the diversity of colonial experiences as ‘new Orientalism’ or ‘Eurocentric solipsism’. Leo Ching, “‘Give Me Japan and Nothing Else!’ Postcoloniality, Identity, and the Traces of Colonialism”, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 99, no. 4 (2000), 767; Allen Chun, 'Introduction: (Post)Colonialism and its Discontents, or the Future of Practice', *Cultural Studies* 14, no. 3/4 (2000), 380. See also, Leo Ching, 'Yellow Skin, White masks: Race, Class, and Identification in Japanese Colonial Discourse', in *Trajectories: Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, ed. Kuan-Hsing Chen (London and New York: Routledge, 1998). More recently, scholar of literature Hwang Chŏng-a has argued that, as a way to overcome Eurocentrism, scholars of East Asia need to refine historical narratives and frameworks specific to the East Asian or Korean context, as distinct from ‘postcolonialism’.

culture of colonial Taiwan, has shown that the framework of colonial modernity is useful in exploring the design phenomena of former colonies in East Asia.⁶⁹

This thesis does not consider postcolonial theories of other geographies to be entirely irrelevant to the East Asian context. But as Korean studies scholars Hyunjung Lee and Younghan Cho have shown, South Korean and Japanese scholars of the colonial past of East Asia, whether consciously rejecting ‘postcolonialism’ or not, have referred to ‘colonial modernity’ more explicitly;⁷⁰ historians of Korea-Japan have since the 1990s accumulated a body of discourse more directly concerned with this notion.⁷¹ Also termed the ‘colonial modernity theory’ (*singminji kũndaesõngnon*) in Korean, this concept-framework has been the focal point of scholarly discussion about how to understand and evaluate the period of Japanese colonial rule, and how to relate the colonial past to contemporary Korean (and Japanese) society.

Historiographical accounts of colonial modernity in Korea commonly suggest that the framework provides an alternative to the two existing and competing historical perspectives on the colonial period: the aforementioned nationalist internal development theory and a revisionist theory of development which acknowledges the significance of economic and industrial growth during the colonial period, or what its opponents have called ‘colonial modernisation theory’ (*singminji kũndaehwaron*).⁷² Proponents of colonial modernity theory generally agree that the two existing

Hwang Chõng-a, 'Han'guk ùi kũndaesõng yõn'gu wa "kũndae chuũi"' [Modernity discourses and ‘modernism’ in South Korea], *Sahoe wa ch'õrhak* 31 (2016), 59-60.

⁶⁹ Yuko Kikuchi, *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007).

⁷⁰ See Hyunjung Lee and Younghan Cho, 'Introduction: Colonial Modernity and Beyond in East Asian Contexts', *Cultural Studies* 26, no. 5 (2012).

⁷¹ Historiographical overviews of colonial modernity in Korea have been presented by many scholars based in Korea, Japan, and the United States. See Matsumoto Takenori, 'Chõsen ni okeru "shokuminchi kindai" ni kan suru kinnen no kenkyũ dõkõ' [Recent trends of research regarding "colonial modernity" in Korea], *Ajia keizai* 43, no. 9 (2002); Itagaki Ryũta, "'Shokuminchi kindai" o megutte: Chõsen-shi kenkyũ ni okeru genjõ to kadai'; Pak Ch'an-sũng, 'Han'guk'ak yõn'gu p'aerõdaim ùl tullõssan nonũi'; Matsumoto Takenori, "'Shokuminchi kindai" o meguru kinnen no kenkyũ dõkõ ni tsuite' [On the recent trends of research regarding 'colonial modernity'], *Tõyõbunka kenkyũ* 10 (2008); Cho Hyõng-gũn, 'Pip'an kwa kulchõl, chõnhwa sok ùi han'guk singminji kũndaesõngnon' [Criticism, refraction and transformation in the discourse on Korean colonial modernity], *Yõksahakpo* 203 (2009); Chõng Yõn-t'ae, *Han'guk kũndae wa singminji kũndaehwa nonjaeng*; Younghan Cho, 'Colonial Modernity Matters? Debates on Colonial Past in South Korea', *Cultural Studies* 26, no. 5 (2012); E. Taylor Atkins, 'Colonial Modernity', in *Routledge Handbook of Modern Korean History*, ed. Michael J. Seth (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

⁷² The perspective that emphasises development during the colonial period emerged in the 1980s and expanded in the 1990s among Korean economic historians like An Pyõng-jik and Yi Yõng-hun, and

perspectives, while seemingly antagonistic to each other, share a common problematic premise: both uncritically accept the simplistic notion of linear modernisation and historical development based on Eurocentric standards; the difference between the two perspectives is to whom that linear progress can, or should be, attributed (Koreans before and after the colonial period or Japanese colonisers).⁷³ Advocates of colonial modernity theory, instead of arguing when and by whom modernisation was achieved, shifted the focus to articulating what modernity might have meant to people on the Korean peninsula at the time and how their experiences of modernity may have varied. This reframing of modernity opened up new horizons in the historiography of Korea, in terms of fundamental premise, methodology, and research subject.⁷⁴

Following this reconsideration of modernity in the historiography of Korea, by ‘modern’ and ‘modernity’ I do not mean a definite state of social, cultural, economic, technological, or artistic progress based on Eurocentric standards. I acknowledge and will show in the following chapters that many Koreans during the colonial period associated modernity with ideas, systems, and institutions of Western European and North American origin, often mediated by Japan, such as democracy, capitalism, industrialism, and scientific technology.⁷⁵ But I use the terms ‘modern’ and ‘modernity’

scholars of Korean studies, mainly in the United States, such as Carter Eckert. Based on new statistical data, economic historians critiqued the internal development theory and denied the possibility that an autogenous capitalisation or modernisation began to emerge in Korea in the nineteenth century. They focused on Japanese imperialists as colonial developers, emphasising their role in building infrastructure and introducing and propagating modern social systems in Korea. They also argued that Koreans were stimulated by these developments, subsequently accepting modern technology and institution proactively, and accumulating resources and capabilities to pursue a more self-directed modernisation during and after the colonial period. See An Pyōng-jik, 'Chosōn hugi chabonjuūi maenga ūi palsaeng' [Formation of the bud of capitalism in late Chosōn Dynasty], in *Han'guk'ak yōn'gu immun*, ed. Han'guksa Yōn'guhoe (Seoul: Chisik Sanōpsa, 1981); Yi Yōng-hun, 'Han'guk chabonjuūi maenga munje e taehayō' [On the issue of the bud of capitalism in Korea], in *Han'guk ūi sahoe kyōngchesa*, ed. Kim T'ae-yōng (Han'gilsa, 1987); Carter J. Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, [2014] 1991); Yi Yōng-hun, 'Han'guksa e issōsō kūndaero ūi ihaeng kwa t'ūkchil ' [Periodization in Korean history; transition to the modern Era in Korea], *Kyōngje sahak* 21, no. 1 (1996). This revisionist point of view was again severely critiqued by mainstream Korean historians as ‘colonial modernisation theory’ or even ‘new colonialist history’, furthering the debate on colonial modernisation in the late 1990s. For a historiographical overview, see Chōng Yōn-t'ae, *Han'guk kūndae wa singminji kūndaehwa nonjaeng*, 24-28.

⁷³ Chōng Yōn-t'ae, *Han'guk kūndae wa singminji kūndaehwa nonjaeng*, 57-58.

⁷⁴ Cho Hyōng-gūn, 'Pip'an kwa kulchōl, chōnhwa sok ūi han'guk singminji kūndaesōngnon', 303.

⁷⁵ Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson suggest that modernity in East Asia was the result of a conscious response to the challenge of the modern West. They also explain that many Korean nationalists during the colonial period sought to move beyond what they saw as ‘backward’ traditional society, and aspired to a

to indicate the process or the conscious pursuit of change towards a new society, culture, economy, and technology, as well as art and design. I focus on what people at the time aspired to and how they achieved or failed to achieve those aspirations towards modernity. Accordingly, I will also discuss how Koreans' perceptions of modernity changed. This view of modernity as a changing aspiration enables me to explore Korea's particular path to modernity and how it may have been shaped by colonialism.⁷⁶

Sociologist Cho Hyöng-gün's articulation of the three strands within colonial modernity theory in Korea is useful to clarify where this thesis stands in the discourse.⁷⁷ According to Cho, three texts published in the late 1990s played a pivotal role in the formative stage of the discourse, and set out the trajectories of research that followed.⁷⁸

The first strand focuses on the critique of modernity itself. This tendency is represented by *The modern subject and colonial disciplinary power* (Kūndae chuch'e wa singminji kyuyul kwöllyök, 1997) edited by sociologists Kim Chin-gyun and Chöng Kūn-sik.⁷⁹ Kim and Chöng question the predominant understanding of modernity as a given virtue, or as 'something that *has* to be achieved some day' [emphasis added].⁸⁰ The chapters in the volume examine how what Kim and Chöng call 'colonial disciplinary power' (*singminji kyuyul kwöllyök*) operated in colonial Korea at an everyday level in 'modern' institutions (families, schools, factories, hospitals, and the military), and how it took part in the formation of the 'modern subject' (*kūndae chuch'e*). By analysing the oppressive and violent aspects of disciplinary power embedded in these 'modern' institutions, the volume problematised the perception of modernity as progress and offered a critical perspective towards modernity itself; it pointed to a new direction for the critique of Japanese colonialism.⁸¹

'modern' Korea; Koreans defined 'the modern' 'first in Western terms, and later in comparative terms to Japan's modernity'. Shin and Robinson, *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, 10-12.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁷ Cho Hyöng-gün, 'Pip'an kwa kulchöl, chönhwa sok üi han'guk singminji kūndaesöngnon'.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 307-309. Historian Itagaki Ryūta adds the significance of women's history and educational history to the three strands. Itagaki Ryūta, "'Shokuminchi kindai' o megutte: Chōsen-shi kenkyū ni okeru genjō to kadai', 38-39.

⁷⁹ Kim Chin-gyun and Chöng Kūn-sik, eds., *Kūndae chuch'e wa singminji kyuyul kwöllyök* [Modern subjectivity and colonial discipline power] (Seoul: Munhwa Kwahaksa, 1997).

⁸⁰ Kim Chin-gyun and Chöng Kūn-sik, 'Singminji ch'eje wa kūndaejök kyuyul' [The colonial system and modern discipline], in *Kūndae chuch'e wa singminji kyuyul kwöllyök*, ed. Kim Chin-gyun and Chöng Kūn-sik (Seoul: Munhwa Kwahaksa, 1997), 18.

⁸¹ Cho Hyöng-gün, 'Pip'an kwa kulchöl, chönhwa sok üi han'guk singminji kūndaesöngnon', 311.

The second strand is exemplified by the English-language volume *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (1999) edited by sociologist Gi-Wook Shin and historian Michael Robinson.⁸² While Shin and Robinson maintain a critical perspective towards modernity as progress, to overcome nationalism that had prevailed in the historiography of colonial Korea they put more focus on inclusive and pluralist approaches that avoid politicised and polarised ‘master narratives’.⁸³ Shin and Robinson refute ‘the binary logic of true nation/anti-nation’ and claim to rewrite the history of Korea ‘around, beneath, and beyond the nationalist approaches’.⁸⁴ As a model for such an approach, they posit ‘cultural hegemony’ as a unique characteristic of Japanese colonialism, and explore complex and overlapping relations among the three ‘mutually reinforcing frames’ in colonial Korea: colonialism, modernity, and nationalism.⁸⁵

The third strand is represented by art historian Kim Chin-song’s *Allow dance halls in Seoul* (Sōul e ttansūhol ūl hōhara, 1999).⁸⁶ Stemming from art history, the book traces ‘modernity in its dawn’ in Korea that the author suggests continues to the present day, by examining the cultural sphere of the colonial period.⁸⁷ Kim claims that his methodology involves analysing ‘raw’ texts and images of ‘concrete everyday phenomena’, which may seem ‘trivial or dull’, but nevertheless ‘speak abundantly’ of the modernity in colonial Korea.⁸⁸ This approach uncovered the existence of a ‘modern’ lifestyle enjoyed by newly emerging urbanites in Korea in the 1930s, and expanded archives around urban popular cultures.⁸⁹

These three strands of study on colonial modernity can be summarised as critiquing the idea of modernity as progress, challenging nationalist historiography, and rediscovering everyday

⁸² Shin and Robinson, *Colonial Modernity in Korea*.

⁸³ Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, 'Introduction: Rethinking Colonial Korea', in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, ed. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

⁸⁶ Kim Chin-song, *Sōul e ttansūhol ūl hōhara* [Allow dance halls in Seoul] (Seoul: Hyōnsil Munhwa Yōn'gu, 1999).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Historians Matsumoto Takenori and Itagaki Ryūta characterise this tendency to focus on the everyday culture of the colony as the ‘theory of urban culture’ (*toshi bunka ron*). Matsumoto Takenori, 'Chōsen ni okeru "shokuminchi kindai" ni kan suru kinnen no kenkyū dōkō', 32; Itagaki Ryūta, "'Shokuminchi kindai" o megutte: Chōsen-shi kenkyū ni okeru genjō to kadai', 38.

objects.⁹⁰ While they share the aim of exploring the socio-cultural actualities of the colonial period with neither nationalist nor Eurocentric prejudice, the three texts, and following studies, as Cho Hyöng-gün notes, ‘overlap and contradict’, focusing on diverse levels of phenomena with different intentions.⁹¹

Sociologists Kim Tong-no and Cho Hyöng-gün observed in 2004 and 2009 respectively that many historians of Korea had overcome the dichotomy of colonial exploitation versus colonial modernisation, and had generally reached a consensus that a certain form of modernity did exist during the colonial period.⁹² Nevertheless, scholars of history, sociology, and literary studies have continued to refine the framework of colonial modernity in Korea. One of the most keenly discussed pitfalls of the colonial modernity approach, which I recognise and intend to address in this thesis, has been its relative lack of criticality towards colonialism. In an article reviewing Shin and Robinson’s *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, historian To Myön-hoe argued that the discussion of cultural hegemony in colonial Korea ‘lacks colonialism’, in that most of the chapters overlook the political and economic interests of the colonial power that often result in invasion, discrimination, and oppression.⁹³ To also points out that in an attempt to dismantle nationalist historiography, the volume only highlights agents that were ‘cooperative’ with the colonial policies, and ignores the presence of nationalist sentiment and resistance movements.⁹⁴ From this To warns of the danger of ‘unintendedly affirming the colonialist historiography’ of the colonial modernity framework.⁹⁵ In 2011, historian Cho Kyöng-dal similarly suggested that the preoccupation with escaping from nationalism led some studies of colonial modernity to almost ‘advocate colonial rule’ and to neglect ‘the marginalised public’ in

⁹⁰ Korean studies scholar Younghan Cho also suggests a similar articulation of three dimensions of the colonial modernity approach: (1) ‘displacing the traditional dichotomy within Korean historiography’, (2) overcoming macro-analysis, and (3) moving beyond modernity as the ultimate destination. Cho, ‘Colonial Modernity Matters? Debates on Colonial Past in South Korea’, 651.

⁹¹ Cho Hyöng-gün, ‘Pip’an kwa kulchöl, chönhwa sok üi han’guk singminji kündeasöngnon’, 309.

⁹² See Kim Tong-no, ‘Singminji sigi ilsang saenghwal üi kündeasöng kwa singminjisöng’ [Modernity and coloniality in everyday life of the colonial period], in *Ilche üi singmin chibaewa ilsang saenghwal*, ed. YöNSE Taehakkyo Kuk’ak Yön’guwön (Seoul: Hyeon, 2004); Cho Hyöng-gün, ‘Pip’an kwa kulchöl, chönhwa sok üi han’guk singminji kündeasöngnon’.

⁹³ To Myön-hoe, ‘Singminjuüi ka nurak toen “singminji kündeasöng”’ [‘Colonial modernity’ lacking colonialism], review of *Colonial Modernity in Korea* eds. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, *Yöksa munje yön’gu* 7 (2001), 263.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

colonial Korea.⁹⁶ More recently, historian Hong Yung Lee also argues that scholars espousing colonial modernity have sometimes failed to adequately address the essential question of how the political interests of the colonial power shaped the process of modernisation in colonial Korea.⁹⁷

iv. Everyday visual artefacts: Subject matter and methodology

The critiques of colonial modernity theory mentioned above may be particularly pertinent to histories of advertising and visual culture of the colonial period. As historian Hong Chong-uk has pointedly argued, some studies that apparently discuss colonial modernity, despite claiming to look at both modernity and coloniality, often end up merely noting that ‘modernity existed also in the colony’.⁹⁸

Despite the notable thematic expansion beyond the traditional subjects of art history mentioned above, there has been little discussion in Korean scholarship about how ‘visual culture’ can move away from being merely a subject within art history and can function as a methodology, especially regarding the colonial period.⁹⁹ Kim Chin-song’s *Allow dance halls in Seoul* was a pioneering text in one strand of the colonial modernity approach which triggered historical interest in the everyday material and visual culture of colonial Korea.¹⁰⁰ But it is also an example of a reserved criticality in relation to objects and images from the colonial past. Kim claims that the book aims to ‘portray the aspects of modernity’ by uncovering specific and actual experiences of the period, or ‘raw things as they were’.¹⁰¹ In doing so, he explicitly refuses to engage in theoretical discussion of

⁹⁶ Cho Kyōng-dal, *Shokuminchi Chōsen: Sono genjō to kaihō eno michi* [Colonial Korea: Its present situation and the road to liberation] (Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2011), 2-3. I disagree with Cho that studies of colonial modernity ‘advocate’ colonial rule, but I acknowledge that the neglect of the marginalised public or a lack of criticality may lead to the presentation of an inaccurate historical account of the period.

⁹⁷ Hong Yung Lee, 'Introduction: A Critique of “Colonial Modernity”', in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, ed. Hong Yung Lee, Yong-Chool Ha, and Clark W. Sorensen (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013), 14.

⁹⁸ Hong Chong-uk, 'Chubyōnbu ūi kŭndae: Nambuk'an ūi singminji panbonggōllon ūl tasi saenggak'anda' [Modern in periphery: Rethinking the theory of colonial semi-feudalism in North and South Korea], *Sai* 17 (2014), 181.

⁹⁹ In relation to this, Kwōn Haeng-ga has observed that ‘art history and visual culture studies co-exist without much debate’ in Korea. Kwōn Haeng-ga, 'Han'guk kŭnhyōndae sōyanghwa mit sigak munhwa yōn'gusa', 60.

¹⁰⁰ Lee, 'Design Histories and Design Studies in East Asia: Part 3 Korea and Conclusion', 97.

¹⁰¹ Kim Chin-song, *Sōul e ttansūhol ūl hōhara*, 7.

modernity to avoid ‘modernity falling into an idea’.¹⁰² In other words, Kim justifies his reservation about the critical analysis of modernity with a supposedly objective depiction of ‘actual material’.¹⁰³

Some subsequent studies of visual culture in colonial Korea have shared this descriptive, superficially ‘objective’, approach towards objects and images.¹⁰⁴ These histories of art and visual culture have significantly expanded archives and deepened our knowledge of everyday life in colonial Korea; but the descriptive approach to visual artefacts which accompanies the limited critical accounts of colonialism, although seemingly unintentional, is problematic because it may provide partial, inaccurate, or misleading histories of the colonial period.

The focus on images themselves may obscure the fact that in colonial Korea, the print media, on which the images were printed, were produced and consumed among a small number of people within a privileged class. Readers of newspapers and magazines were largely middle- or upper-class people (who were literate and wealthy enough to afford them) living in major cities like Seoul and Busan, rather than the majority of the Korean population.¹⁰⁵ In this sense, studying the period through visual images in the public media might naturally involve a bias towards the more positive aspects of the colonial experience, leaving out the realities of life for the unrepresented classes and regions. This is why even accurate descriptions of visual artefacts, without a critical framework, can be liable to provide inaccurate historical accounts of the colonial period and unintentionally romanticise it.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 6.

¹⁰⁴ A notable example is art historian Hong Sŏn-p'yo's 2005 study of ‘images of new civilisation’ (*sinmunmul imiji*) in Korea around the turn of the twentieth century. Taking images of new technology (e.g. bicycles, cars, and trains) and fashion (e.g. Western-style clothing and hairstyle) as examples, Hong asserts that mass-reproduced images conveyed through the newly introduced print media played a pivotal role in the penetration and popularisation of a ‘modernity, devised by the West and translated by Japan’ among the Korean public. In doing so, Hong emphasises the significant role of Japanese colonialism in the process by arguing that such a ‘generalisation’ of modernity was accelerated after 1906 when Korea became a protectorate of Japan. See Hong Sŏn-p'yo, 'Kŭndaejŏk ilsang kwa p'ungsok ū chingjo: Han'guk kaehwagi inswaemisul kwa sinmunmul imiji' [Sign of the modern everyday life and custom: Printing art and the images of new culture during the Enlightenment period], *Misulsa nondan* 21 (2005). For other examples, see Kim Yun-su, ed. *Han'guk misul 100-yŏn* [100 years of Korean art] (Paju: Han'gilsa, 2006).

¹⁰⁵ The literacy rate for the Korean language among Koreans was around 10 per cent in the 1910s and rose to around 30 per cent in the 1940s. No Yŏng-t'aek, 'Ilche sigi munmaengnyul ch'ui' [Changes of the illiteracy rate during the Japanese colonial period], *Kuksagwan nonch'ong* 51 (1994). See also, Kim Yŏng-hŭi, 'Ilche chibae sigi Han'gugin ū sinmun chŏpch'ok kyŏngnyang' [The trends in newspapers exposure of Korean under the rule of the Japanese imperialism], *Han'guk ŏllon hakpo* 46, no. 1 (2001). The issue of the limited availability of modern media and commodities in colonial Korea will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Later histories of art and visual culture have provided the groundwork for a more expanded and critical interpretation of mass-printed and seemingly modern images as colonial constructs. For example, in her 2008 study of the visual culture of 1910s Korea, art historian Pak Kye-ri demonstrates the existence of an ‘extensive and vigorous spread’ of ‘diverse modern images’ in early colonial Korea.¹⁰⁶ She directly criticises Japanese colonialism, articulating how some images published in the *Maeil sinbo* (calligraphy and paintings by Japanese government officials or illustrations for serialised novels that heroise Japanese teachers and gendarmes) may have served to enhance the authority of Japanese colonial rule in Korea.¹⁰⁷ But despite presenting throughout the study what seems to be a diverse and complex field of visual imagery, Pak concludes that ‘below all this underlay the strategy of the Government-General to stabilise colonial rule’.¹⁰⁸ While Pak’s critical approach to colonialism through images is compelling, this reductive conclusion, which seems to be drawn from general presumptions about Japanese colonialism, fails to capture the operation of colonial power in everyday life.¹⁰⁹

In her 2013 PhD thesis on magazine covers, historian of art and visual culture Sō Yu-ri expanded the potential of visual artefacts in interpreting modernity and coloniality.¹¹⁰ Drawing on the colonial modernity approach, Sō provides meticulous and extensive analyses of magazine covers of the colonial period that were created by and aimed at Koreans of different classes, genders, and generations. Through this she shows how different ‘modern subjects’ (*kūndaejōk chuch'ae*), such as the ‘new woman’, ‘student’, and ‘worker’, were visually constructed in colonial Korea. Sō also traces stylistic influences of contemporary Japanese design in the covers of Korean magazines, and compellingly describes Japanese influence as reflecting the ‘reality of the colonial image field’ (*singminjijōk imijjang ūi hyōnsil*).¹¹¹ But she does not fully elucidate in what way, apart from its visual resemblance to that of Japan, the visual culture of Korea was ‘colonial’, nor how colonial conditions and institutions shaped the various modern subjects and their images in colonial Korea. In

¹⁰⁶ Pak Kye-ri, 'Maeil sinbo wa 1910-yōndae kūndae imiji' [The *Maeil sinbo* and modern images of the 1910s], *Misulsa nondan* 26 (2008).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 103-120.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 135.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 109.

¹¹⁰ Sō Yu-ri, 'Han'guk kūndae ūi chapchi p'yoji imiji yōn'gu' [A study on cover images of magazines in modern Korea] (PhD thesis, Seoul National University, 2013). Sō's PhD thesis has more recently been published as a book. Sō Yu-ri, *Sidae ūi ōlgul: Chapchi p'yoji ro ponūn kūndae* [The faces of magazines in modern Korea: Iconography, history and politics] (Seoul: Somyōng Ch'ulp'an, 2016).

¹¹¹ Sō Yu-ri, 'Han'guk kūndae ūi chapchi p'yoji imiji yōn'gu', 94.

this sense, although Sō's study contributes substantially to our knowledge of visual culture in colonial Korea, the aims of the colonial modernity approach, to critique both modernity and colonialism, seem only partly fulfilled.

More recently, scholars have demonstrated the potential of utilising visual artefacts as a tool for a more critical analysis of colonial modernity. Art and visual culture historian Mok Su-hyŏn, in her 2010 study of body imagery in newspaper advertisements during the colonial period, has discussed modernity as a matter of desire rather than reality.¹¹² Mok acknowledges that many Koreans familiarised themselves with modern commodities through mass-printed images, but considers those images as a 'virtual experience'.¹¹³ She highlights the fundamentally 'illusory' nature of modernity in the images around modern fashion, hygiene, and taste, compared to the actual life of contemporary Koreans.¹¹⁴ Art historian Kim Chi-hye, in her 2017 study of commercial newspaper advertisements from the 1920s and 1930s, presents a similar view to Mok.¹¹⁵ Examining advertisements for fashion and cosmetics, Kim identifies the characteristic appearance and activities of Korean urbanites who enjoyed and led the 'cutting edge of consumption culture' (*sobi munhwa ūi ch'ŏmdan*) in colonial Seoul.¹¹⁶ Referring to contemporary denunciations of these modern subjects, she also pointedly suggests that behind these hostilities lay an 'incongruity between their desires for consumption and the impoverished realities of the colony'.¹¹⁷ Art historian Pak Ŭn-yŏng, in her 2017 study of images of shop windows from the colonial period, presents a similar perspective on colonial visual culture and consumption to that of Mok Su-hyŏn and Kim Chi-hye.¹¹⁸ By incorporating a diverse range of visual and textual materials around shop windows, Pak offers a more multifaceted and empirical analysis of coloniality embedded in images around modern consumption. Drawing on contemporary accounts published in popular magazines and newspapers, she explains how the visual splendour of

¹¹² Mok Su-hyŏn, 'Yongmang ūrosŏui kŭndae: 1910-1930-yŏndae Han'guk sinmun kwanggo ūi sinch'e imiji' [A desired modernity: Body images of Korean newspaper advertisements in 1910-1930], *Asia munhwa*, no. 20 (2010).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

¹¹⁵ Kim Chi-hye, 'Kwanggo ro mannanŭn Kyŏngsŏng ūi miin, modŏn kŏl modŏn poi' [Modern girl and modern boy, beauties of Gyeongseong shown in advertisement], *Misulsa nondan* 43 (2017).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹¹⁸ Pak Ŭn-yŏng, '1920-1930-yŏndae Kyŏngsŏng ūi syowindo' [Show windows in Gyeongseong in 1920s-1930s: Focusing on newspaper and magazine materials], *Misulsa nondan* 43 (2017).

display windows was often ‘deceptive’.¹¹⁹ Combining this with a close visual examination of photos and illustrations, she convincingly argues that display windows could represent ‘marginalisation and disparity’ (*sooe wa ch'ai*) in terms of ethnicity or class that existed in colonial Korea.¹²⁰

To further refine these critical perspectives towards visual artefacts and present a more multifaceted analysis of colonial modernity in Korea, I draw on approaches to everyday life suggested by social and cultural historians. Chŏng Kŭn-sik, one of the earlier proponents of the colonial modernity theory discussed above, has called for ‘the everyday as methodology (*pangbŏmnon*)’, as opposed to ‘as object (*taesang*)’.¹²¹ Chŏng explains that ‘the everyday as methodology’ is an approach that ‘rediscovers systems, institutions, and ruling policies *from the slices of things* that are repeated and unconsciously embodied’ [emphasis added] in a colonial setting.¹²² With this framework he not only emphasises the examination of new sources that reflect the everyday, such as diaries, memos, letters, or photos, but also suggests analysing these relatively trivial records as interpretive tools to elucidate macro-level structures and institutions of colonial rule.¹²³ Cultural historian Yu Sŏn-yŏng has similarly suggested that to critically examine colonial modernity, scholars need to closely analyse everyday experiences and at the same time investigate the relationship between individual experiences and the broader structures of colonisation.¹²⁴

A useful notion in analysing links between ‘things’ and ‘structures’ may be ‘subjectivity’ (*chuch'esŏng*). Sociologist Kim Tong-no has emphasised ‘subjectivity’ as a vital level of analysis in studies of everyday life, in order to avoid superficial understandings of colonial modernity based on the superficial appearance of empirical evidence.¹²⁵ Kim argues that as there is a general consensus among historians that a certain form of modernity did take place during the colonial period, it is essential to articulate more specifically ‘by whom and with what intent and purpose’ the changes

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 91.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 93.

¹²¹ Chŏng Kŭn-sik, 'Singminji ilsang saenghwal yŏn'gu ūi ūiŭi wa kwaje' [The significance and tasks of research on the colonial everyday life], in *Singminji ūi ilsang, chibae wa kyunyŏl*, ed. Kong Che-uk and Chŏng Kŭn-sik (Seoul: Munhwa Kwahaksa, 2006), 17.

¹²² Ibid., 18-19.

¹²³ Ibid., 21.

¹²⁴ See Yu Sŏn-yŏng, 'Singminji kŭndaesŏng kwa ilssang p'ongnyŏk' [Concerning on relational violence in a perspective of `colonial modernity`], *Taedong munhwa yŏn'gu* 96 (2016).

¹²⁵ Kim Tong-no, 'Singminji sigi ilsang saenghwal ūi kŭndaesŏng kwa singminjisŏng', 25.

happened, and ‘to whom and how they influenced’.¹²⁶ Similarly, Cho Hyōng-gūn notes that the key question regarding colonial modernity is ‘how, by whom, and within what structure, it was experienced’; he calls for an ‘interpretational dimension of the subject’s experience’.¹²⁷

This idea of the everyday as methodology resonates with my design-historical methodology, which, as I have explained above, involves closely observing and analysing visual artefacts and articulating how they were shaped by or reflect their social, cultural, economic, and political surroundings. Drawing on Chōng Kūn-sik, I engage with everyday visual artefacts as both subject matter and methodology. But I also expand the interpretive potential of mass-printed commercial images, not only as reflections of the consumerist experiences of urban and upper-class Koreans, but more as visual embodiments of the modernities aspired to, pursued, and experienced by various subjects that lived during Japanese colonial rule of Korea. I examine beyond what is depicted in images of advertising and commercial art, which existing histories of design and visual culture of colonial Korea have often been limited to. As discussed earlier, I trace the transnational trajectories of a diverse range of subjects, around the production and consumption of visual artefacts (manufacturers, retailers, advertising agencies, media, designers, and writers, both Korean and Japanese). Unlike Chōng’s approach that primarily concerns human actors, my design-historical methodology will incorporate a more heterogeneous network of humans and non-humans. In other words, I propose design history as a framework that offers another, possibly more multifaceted, dimension of analysis that contributes to the broader discourse of colonial modernity.¹²⁸

v. Periodisation: ‘Cultural rule’ and advertising in colonial Korea

The thesis examines the period between 1920 and 1940. 1920 certainly does not mark the beginning of advertising in Korea, nor 1940 the end.¹²⁹ But 1920 was a watershed in Korean

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Cho Hyōng-gūn, 'Pip'an kwa kulchōl, chōnhwa sok ūi han'guk singminji kūndaesōngnon', 320.

¹²⁸ Political scientist Yong-Chool Ha has called for more comprehensive conceptual and theoretical frameworks, rather than ‘single or monosectoral analysis’, that reveal complex social dynamics among different sectors under colonial control. I propose design history as such a methodological framework. See Yong-Chool Ha, 'Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea: The Paradox of Colonial Control', in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, ed. Hong Yung Lee, Yong-Chool Ha, and Clark W. Sorensen (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013).

¹²⁹ Advertising historians generally agree that commercial advertising through mass-printed media started in Korea in 1886, in the *Hansōng sunbo* (Seoul ten-day report). See, for example, Sin In-sōp and Sō Pōm-sōk, *Han'guk kwanggosa* [The history of Korean advertising], 3rd ed. (P'aju: Nanam, 2011 [1986]), 29.

advertising: it was when the *TI* and other private Korean-language newspapers were first launched, after a decade in which there was a lack of such media in Korea under Japan's colonial rule. Governor-General Saitō Makoto (in office 1919-1927, 1929-1931) gave Koreans permission to publish private-owned newspapers in 1920, following his adoption of so-called 'cultural rule' (K: *munhwa chongch'i*, J: *bunka seiji*). Meanwhile, although 1940 did not mark the end of Korean advertising, it was when Governor-General Minami Jiro (in office 1936-1942) shut down the Korean-owned and Korean-language dailies under a policy of control and mobilisation during World War II.¹³⁰ The two decades from 1920 to 1940, broadly under the effect of 'cultural rule', was when companies in Korea, Korean- and Japanese-owned alike, expanded their advertising activities alongside the expansion of print media.

To further justify my focus on this period, I will provide an overview of 'cultural rule' and explain how key moments in Japan's colonial rule in Korea were interlinked with the circumstances of print media and advertising.¹³¹ Japan's increasingly aggressive involvement in Korea started in the 1880s, with its emergence as a new colonial power in East Asia from the Meiji Restoration (1876).¹³² Japan defeated its rival powers in East Asia through the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Subsequently, through the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, it established the Japanese Resident-General of Korea and deprived Korea of its diplomatic sovereignty. In 1910, Japan formally colonised Korea through the Annexation Treaty, and established the Japanese Government-General of Korea (K: Chosŏn Ch'ongdokpu, J: Chōsen Sōtokufu) as the ruling body of colonial Korea. Between 1910 and 1919, the Government-General abolished Korean-owned and Korean-language dailies, under what historians generally call 'military rule' (K: *mudan t'ongch'i*, J: *budan seiji*), or an oppressive and violent colonial rule symbolised by the Japanese gendarmerie.¹³³

¹³⁰ See Chŏng Chin-sŏk, *Han'guk ŏllonsa* [A history of journalism in Korea] (Seoul: Nanam, 1990), 305-562; Kim Min-hwan, *Han'guk ŏllonsa* [A history of journalism in Korea] (Seoul: Sahoebip'yŏngsa, 1996), 203-316. I will discuss the significance of the launching and discontinuation of Korean newspapers below.

¹³¹ While this history is well-known within Korean history, the thesis' aims to contribute to both Korean history and design history means that it will be important throughout the thesis to summarise key political events and conditions. By doing so, non-Korea specialists are equally able to engage with the arguments.

¹³² For Japan's colonisation of Korea, see Mark R. Peattie, 'The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945', in *The Cambridge History of Japan 6*, ed. Peter Duus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Andre Schmid, *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002); Mark E. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014 [2009]). See also, Kyung Moon Hwang, *A History of Korea* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹³³ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*, 111.

The March First Movement (Samil Undong) of 1919 was a significant historical event that eventually led to the adoption of ‘cultural rule’ by Saitō.¹³⁴ It was a demonstration by Koreans to protest against Japanese rule and call for Korean independence. Although the March First Movement did not lead to Korea’s independence, it was a turning point in the colonial policy of the Government-General. Its nationwide scale made politicians and political commentators in Japan realise that Japan’s assimilation policy in Korea during the first decade of colonial rule since 1910 had ‘failed’.¹³⁵ Recognising the ineffectiveness of former military rule and the difficulties of assimilating Koreans as Japanese, Japanese Prime Minister Hara Takashi (1856-1921) and his cabinet in Tokyo made substantial amendments to Japan’s colonial policy in Korea. More specific revisions were carried forward from 1920 by the newly-appointed governor-general of Korea, Saitō Makoto. Saitō’s policy revisions came to be known collectively as ‘cultural rule’, because they emphasised the ‘cultural advancement’ (K: *munhwa ch'angdal*, J: *bunka chōtatsu*) of the Korean people. The new scheme was based on the principle of ‘extended mainland’ (K: *naeji yōnjang*, J: *naichi enchō*): measures were taken to lower the barriers and alleviate discrimination between Koreans and Japanese on the Korean Peninsula.

Historian Mark E. Caprio suggests that ‘cultural rule’ merely ‘camouflaged’ the control imposed by the colonial power.¹³⁶ Historians generally agree that despite claiming ‘cultural advancement’ and the improvement of life for the colonised, ‘cultural rule’ essentially strengthened Japanese control over Korea while ostensibly softening the appearance of that control: it was a means to conciliate the anti-Japanese sentiment (made apparent through the March First Movement), create a division among Koreans by nurturing a cooperative class, and ultimately dismantle Korean resistance and stabilise colonial rule.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ For the March First Movement and the Government-General’s ‘cultural rule’ policies, see *ibid.*, 111-127.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹³⁷ See, for example, Michael Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2014 [1990]), 4; Kang Ch'ang-il, 'Ilche ūi Chosŏn chibae chŏngch'aek: singminji yusan munje wa kwallyŏn hayŏ' [Ruling policies of Japanese imperialism in Korea: Regarding the legacies of colonial rule], *Yŏksa wa hyŏnsil*, no. 12 (1994), 45-46; Yi T'ae-hun, '1920-yŏndae chŏnban'gi Ilche ūi "munhwajŏngch'i" wa purŭjoa chŏngch'i seryŏk ūi taeŭng' [Japanese imperialism's 'rule of culture' and reaction of the bourgeoisie in early 1920's], *Yŏksa wa hyŏnsil*, no. 47 (2003), 9. Yi T'ae-hun suggest that the self-contradictory nature of ‘cultural rule’ was most significant in that Koreans were deprived of fundamental political rights: although the reform of 1920 included non-

Compared to the earlier period, some of the changes brought under ‘cultural rule’, which contributed to ‘the softened appearance’ of colonial rule, did alleviate political and social oppression in colonial Korea from 1920.¹³⁸ Caprio suggests that this occurred especially through educational reform, and opportunities and the quality of formal education generally improved for Koreans.¹³⁹ Most notably, the colonial government established more state-funded schools, although mostly primary rather than higher-level ones.¹⁴⁰ In parallel to the propagation of classroom education, the Government-General also promoted a more generalised form of education, what Caprio calls ‘social education’.¹⁴¹ The expansion of social education was particularly apparent in the growth of Korean (as in Korean-owned and Korean-language) print media, which was enabled by the Government-General’s revised application of publication policies regarding newspapers and magazines.

Newspaper publication in Korea started as early as the 1880s, gradually growing in scale, but a severe decline had taken place around the colonisation of Korea by Japan in 1910.¹⁴² The Japanese Resident-General of Korea first promulgated the Newspaper Law (Sinmunji Pöp) and the Publication Law (Ch’ulp’an Pöp), in 1907 and 1909 respectively, to control the publication of periodicals and books in semi-colonial Korea.¹⁴³ After the formal annexation in 1910, the Government-General started to apply both laws more strictly. This eliminated most of the existing Korean newspapers and magazines. The Newspaper Law and the Publication Law applied to ethnic Koreans only, and they had to acquire government permission before they were able to publish periodicals (newspapers and

discrimination between Koreans and Japanese as a key principle, Koreans were not given the right to vote and elect their representatives at the Japanese Imperial Diet.

¹³⁸ Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 4.

¹³⁹ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*, 128-130.

¹⁴⁰ According to Caprio, in addition to the limitation on secondary and higher education, ethnic segregation in schools and classes also continued, which limited the opportunity for Koreans. Ibid. I will discuss Japan’s colonial educational policies in Korea further in Chapter 4.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 128.

¹⁴² Media historians of Korea generally agree that the modern newspaper in Korea has its origins in the *Hansöng sunbo*, a periodical published every ten days from 1883 by King (later Emperor) Kojong’s government during the late Chosön Dynasty. Subsequently, private newspapers such as the *Tongnip sinmun* (The Independence) expanded, and print media in Korea saw gradual expansion until the first decade of the twentieth century. For histories of press and journalism in Korea, see Chöng Chin-sök, *Han’guk öllonsa*; Kim Min-hwan, *Han’guk öllonsa*; Kim Min-hwan, Pak Yong-gyu, and Kim Mun-jong, eds., *Ilche kangjömggi öllonsa yön’gu* [A history of Korean journalism during the period of Japanese occupation] (Paju: Nanam, 2008).

¹⁴³ For the limitations on the publishing activity of the Korean-language press in the 1910s and 1920s, see Chöng Chin-sök, *Han’guk öllonsa*, 305-435.

magazines). During the first decade of colonial rule (1910-1920), the colonial police did not issue one permit for a daily newspaper to a Korean publisher; the *Maeil sinbo* (Daily news), the Korean-language version of the *Keijō nippō* (Seoul daily), which essentially served as an organ of the Government-General, was the only daily newspaper published in the Korean language.¹⁴⁴

The repression of the Korean press was alleviated in 1920, as the Saitō administration decided to grant more permissions to Korean publishers as part of ‘cultural rule’ reforms.¹⁴⁵ Under the relaxed publication policy, the Korean press emerged and expanded.¹⁴⁶ The Government-General granted permits to three Korean-published newspapers, and the *TI, Chosōn ilbo* (Korea daily), and *Sisa sinmun* (Current affairs news) started publication in the spring of 1920.¹⁴⁷ Korean magazines also expanded, albeit with prepublication censorship,¹⁴⁸ starting with six ‘current affairs’ (*sisā*) magazines in 1920 that covered social and political issues.¹⁴⁹ Subsequently Korean publications expanded in quantity, and also in terms of their coverage of specialised topics.¹⁵⁰ As we will see in the following chapters, in addition to this expansion of the Korean press, economic and industrial development

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 312. Media historian Kim Min-hwan notes that Korean ‘underground newspapers’ (*chiha shinmun*) existed from the 1910s. They surged after the March First Movement, reaching around fifty in total in 1919. According to Kim, these newspapers were crucial in communicating and inspiring national identity among Koreans when official newspapers were banned. Kim Min-hwan, 'Ilche kangjōmgi ōllonsa ūi sigi kubun' [Periodisation in the historiography of Korean journalism during the Japanese occupation], in *Ilche kangjōmgi ōllonsa yōn'gu*, ed. Kim Min-hwan, Pak Yong-gyu, and Kim Mun-jong (Paju: Nanam, 2008). But because the thesis is concerned with the newspaper as a medium of advertising, the discussion will be limited to officially published newspapers with advertisements.

¹⁴⁵ Chōng Chin-sōk, *Han'guk ōllonsa*, 378.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Under the Newspaper Law, in principle magazines were categorised as periodicals, and were not subject to pre-publication censorship. While this was the case for Japanese magazines, the Police Department adopted an expedient to censor Korean magazines before publication: the Government-General applied the Publication Law rather than the Newspaper Law to Korean magazines, regarding each issue of a magazine as a separate book. Therefore every issue of a Korean magazine had to go through pre-publication censorship. Ibid., 384-385.

¹⁴⁹ Cho Yong-man, 'Ilcheha ūi uri sinmunhwa undong' [New culture movements under Japanese rule], in *Ilcheha ūi munhwa undongsa* ed. Cho Yong-man, Song Min-ho, and Pak Pyōng-chae (Seoul: Hyōnūmsa, 1982), 121.

¹⁵⁰ Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 54.

during the period of ‘cultural rule’ contributed to significant quantitative and qualitative changes in advertising in Korea.¹⁵¹

My decision to focus on the period up to 1940 may be less conventional, because historians generally agree that the political atmosphere in colonial Korea between 1937 and 1945 was very different from the earlier period, during ‘cultural rule’. While I follow their judgement that the general political atmosphere was different, I argue that in the case of advertising, the evidence clearly shows that the period between 1937 and 1940 needs to be examined as continuous with the earlier period.

In Japan, following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) in July 1937, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945), his cabinet, and the Imperial Diet implemented the National Mobilisation Law (*Kokka Sōdōin Hō*) in April 1938.¹⁵² Historian Gordon M. Berger suggests that the law gave the Japanese government powerful economic and political control across the Japanese empire, to develop and mobilise resources in Japan and its colonies and enhance wartime military strength.¹⁵³ From 1937, the cabinet also initiated the Movement for Mobilising Popular Morale (*Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin Undō*) to seek public cooperation and support for Japan’s war efforts. Under the effect of these measures, Japan had entered the phase of ‘*sōdōin*’, or total mobilisation. From September 1938, the Japanese Ministry of Commerce and Industry implemented a ‘paper supply limitation’ (*yōshi kyōkyū seigen*) and shut down newspapers: the total number of daily newspapers across Japan, 1,208 in 1937, was reduced to 54 by 1942.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ For economic histories of Korea, see Kim Nang-nyŏn, ed. *Han'guk ūi kyōngje sōngjang: 1910-1945* [Economic growth in Korea: 1910-1945] (Seoul: Sōul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2006); Kim Nang-nyŏn, ed. *Han'guk ūi changgi t'onggye* [Historical statistics of Korea] (Seoul: Sōul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'an Munhwawŏn, 2012 [2008]); Hō Su-yŏl, *Kaebal ōmnŭn kaebal: Ilche ha, Chosŏn kyōngje kaebal ūi hyōnsang kwa ponjil* [Development without development: The phenomenon and nature of economic development in Korea under Japanese colonial rule] (Seoul: Ŭnhaeng Namu, 2005); Hō Su-yŏl, 'Singminjigi Chosŏnin 1-in tang sodŭk kwa sobi e kwanhan nonŭi ūi kōmt'o' [Critical review of the theory of colonial modernity], *Tongbuga yōksa nonch'ong*, no. 50 (2015). For economic histories of Japan and its colonies, see Yamamoto Yūzō, *Nihon shokuminchi keizaishi kenkyū* [A study on the economic history of Japanese colonies] (Nagoya-shi: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 1992); Yamamoto Yūzō, '*Dai Tōa Kyōeiken*' *keizaishi kenkyū* [A study on the economic history of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere'] (Nagoya-shi: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2011).

¹⁵² Gordon M. Berger, 'Politics and Mobilization in Japan, 1931–1945', in *The Cambridge History of Japan* 6, ed. Peter Duus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 128. See also, Brandon Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy: Koreans in Japan's war, 1937-1945* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013).

¹⁵³ Berger, 'Politics and Mobilization in Japan, 1931–1945', 128-132.

¹⁵⁴ Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi* [History of the development of Japanese advertising] (Tokyo: Dentsū Tōkyō, 1980), 390-392.

Korea was not exempt from total mobilisation. The National Mobilisation Law applied to Japan's colonies by default, and the Government-General initiated the Movement for Mobilising Popular Morale in Korea soon after it started in Japan.¹⁵⁵ Mark E. Caprio has shown that the Government-General made revisions to its administrative policies as a colony-specific countermeasure to what was euphemistically referred to as the 'current situation' (*jikyoku*).¹⁵⁶ Complying with the Tokyo government's policy of control to reduce print media, Minami Jirō and his administration in Seoul shut down existing Korean newspapers like the *TI* in 1940.¹⁵⁷ From 1940 until 1945, the semi-governmental *Maeil sinbo* was the only Korean-language newspaper on the Korean Peninsula. In addition, because Korea was close to the battlefields in China, it became more important for the Tokyo and Seoul governments that Koreans supported and cooperated with Japan's war efforts. After 1937 the colonial government further emphasised the rubric of '*naisen ittai*' (literally, 'Japan-Korea, one body'; '*naesŏn ilchae*' in Korean). To weaken Korean culture and identity, the government adopted more radical assimilation policies than before, most famously the official ban on the Korean language and the enforced conversion of Korean names to Japanese-style ones (J: *sōshi kaimei*, K: *ch'angssi kaemyōng*).¹⁵⁸

From these social and political changes, advertising historians have generally defined the last years of colonial rule, along with the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War (from 1937 to 1945), as a period of deterioration in advertising. For example, Kwŏn Ch'ang-gyu calls it a 'dark period' (*amhŭkki*);¹⁵⁹ Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk a 'phase of decline' (*soet'oegi*);¹⁶⁰ and Ham Pu-hyŏn a 'slump' (*ch'imch'egi*).¹⁶¹ These studies argue that advertising in Korea declined because the number of newspapers and overall volume of advertisements decreased, and commercial advertisements conformed to or supported the wartime propaganda of Japanese imperialism. In this framework the regression during wartime becomes something that is, or even has to be, followed and overcome by

¹⁵⁵ Chin P'il-su, 'Ilche ch'ongdongwŏn ch'eje ūi kiwŏn kwa t'ŭkching e taehan chaegŏmt'o: Chŏnjaeng illyuhak ūi mosaek' [A review of imperial Japan's general mobilization system for the anthropology of war], *Pigyo munhwa* 22 (2016), 431-432.

¹⁵⁶ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*, 141-146.

¹⁵⁷ Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*.

¹⁵⁸ Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*, 142. For Japanese policies of assimilation in Korea during the war, see also Miyata Setsuko, *Chōsen minshū to 'kōminka' seisaku* [Korean public and the 'imperial subject' policy] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1985).

¹⁵⁹ Kwŏn Ch'ang-gyu, *Sangp'um ūi sidae* [The age of commodities] (Minŭmsa, 2014), 46.

¹⁶⁰ Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 101-105.

¹⁶¹ Ham Pu-hyŏn, 'Han'guk kŭndae sinmun kwanggo tijain ūi pyŏnhwa e kwanhan sahoesajŏk koch'al', 45.

the ‘restoration of advertising’ (*kwanggo pokku*) after the liberation in 1945, in order to discuss the ensuing development of (South) Korean advertising up to the present.¹⁶²

I acknowledge that advertising of late colonial Korea under total mobilisation was in many ways different from that of earlier periods. But I will show in Chapter 4 that Korean advertising practitioners continued to do their work in terms of developing the practice and industry even under conditions of war. For example, on 11 August 1940, in the final issue before discontinuation, the *TI* published an article entitled ‘Advertising and publicity: A preface to a theory of advertising’ (Kwanggo wa sŏnjŏn: Ŏnŭ kwanggoron ũi sŏŏn).¹⁶³ It was a two-part series,¹⁶⁴ written by Min Pyŏng-gi, staff member of the advertising department of the *TI* at the time.¹⁶⁵ As the title noted, it was intended as a preface to a more expansive theory of advertising; Min wrote that he would further discuss the ‘refinement of advertising’ (*kwanggo ũi sunhwa*) in Korea.¹⁶⁶ Although Min’s series ended as an introduction, it demonstrates that Koreans practised advertising in the Korean press until 1940, and they were willing to continue. The thesis therefore examines a period from 1920 to 1940 to capture these activities around advertising when the Korean-owned and Korean-language press existed within the colonial period.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 201.

¹⁶³ Min Pyŏng-gi, 'Kwanggo wa sŏnjŏn: Ŏnŭ kwanggoron ũi sŏŏn (2)' [Advertising and publicity: A preface to a theory of advertising (2)], *Tonga ilbo*, 11 August 1940, 4.

¹⁶⁴ The first part was published on 10 August. Min Pyŏng-gi, 'Kwanggo wa sŏnjŏn: Ŏnŭ kwanggoron ũi sŏŏn (1)' [Advertising and publicity: A preface to a theory of advertising (1)], *Tonga ilbo*, 10 August 1940, 4.

¹⁶⁵ *Tonga Ilbo Sasa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe*, *Tonga Ilbosa sa 1*, 387.

¹⁶⁶ Min Pyŏng-gi, 'Kwanggo wa sŏnjŏn: Ŏnŭ kwanggoron ũi sŏŏn (2)', *Tonga ilbo*, 11 August 1940, 4.

¹⁶⁷ 1940 certainly did not mark the end of advertising in colonial Korea. I have researched the period between 1940 and 1945 and identified that many advertisers, Korean and Japanese alike, continued to advertise in the *Maeil sinbo* from 1940 until the final days of the war in August 1945. Advertisements from this period showed a conspicuous shift in terms of messages and images: advertisers published advertisements that reflected or strongly promoted the war. They suggest that as the war intensified, Koreans resisted against, tolerated, or collaborated with Japan’s assimilation and control policies. I have decided not to include the period in the final version of this thesis. This is because, considering the significant social and political implications of the advertisements of the period, I cannot fully discuss them within the word limit of this thesis.

vi. Primary research sources

As mentioned above, one of the reasons that Korean design historians have often overlooked the colonial period is the lack of records. Accordingly, I have painstakingly searched, gathered, and investigated an extensive range of visual and textual evidence to present an empirical study of design in Korea during this period. The majority of primary sources that I have consulted and used in this research project are publications from the period under examination: newspapers, magazines, exhibition catalogues, and books. These publications include Korean, Japanese, and European material; I have examined them first-hand or as facsimiles at public and private libraries and company archives based in Korea (Seoul), Japan (Tokyo), and the United Kingdom (London), as well as through digital repositories.

Daily newspapers published in colonial Korea were the main source of visual artefacts (images of advertisements). I examined the Korean-language dailies *TI* and *Maeil sinbo* from 1920 to 1940; in general, I sampled one issue per five days, and compiled a collection of around eight thousand advertisements categorised by date and advertiser. Regarding advertisements discussed in detail in this thesis, I examined issues from adjacent dates and the Japanese-language daily *Keijō nippō* (Seoul daily) for comparison. I have also utilised daily newspapers as a source of textual evidence, such as writing on advertising, reports on advertising-related events, and records of individual figures or institutions. Other newspapers examined include the *Chosŏn ilbo* (Korea daily), *Chosŏn chungang ilbo* (Korea central daily), and *Chunggoe ilbo* (Home and abroad daily).¹⁶⁸

I have examined a diverse range of monthly magazines published in Korea, Japan, and Europe with different purposes and foci. *Sanggong segye* (Commerce-industry world), a Korean-language monthly on commerce and industry published in 1923, provided a key case study in Chapter 1.¹⁶⁹ I analyse both the magazine's visual-material form and its content to articulate its significance as a rare publication on advertising in colonial Korea.¹⁷⁰ I have also examined Korean-language literary and popular magazines like *Paekcho* (White tide), *Kaebiyŏk* (Creation), *Pyŏlgŏn'gon* (Another world),

¹⁶⁸ These newspapers were accessed at the National Library of Korea and the Seoul National University Library in Seoul and through the digital archives Naver News Library and BigKinds Library.

¹⁶⁹ I accessed the existing issues of *SS* at Adan Mun'go (library) in Seoul.

¹⁷⁰ For a discussion of magazines as objects of analysis and the methodological approach to design magazines as physical objects and cultural artefacts, see Jeremy Aynsley and Francesca Berry, 'Introduction Publishing the Modern Home: Magazines and the Domestic Interior 1870-1965', *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 1 (2005); Jeremy Aynsley and Kate Forde, *Design and the Modern Magazine* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2007).

Samch'ōlli (Three thousand ri), and *Tonggwang* (Eastern light) as objects of visual analysis and sources of textual evidence.

Beyond Korea, I have consulted specialist advertising and design magazines published in Japan and Europe. These include *Kōkoku to jinretsu* (Advertising and display), *Jigyō to kōkoku* (Business and advertising), and *Kōkokukai* (Advertising world) in Japan;¹⁷¹ *Commercial Art* in Britain and *Gebrauchsgraphik* in Germany.¹⁷² These publications provided visual and textual evidence of advertising practices and industries in the respective regions and direct and indirect frames of reference for examining the Korean context; they offered a more globally contextualised view of advertising and design in colonial Korea.

Other key Japanese publications examined include: the *Complete collection of contemporary commercial art* (Shōgyō bijutsu zenshū, 1928-1930), the twenty-four volume series on commercial art which included extensive contributions (visual examples of design and essays) by Japanese designers, critics, and theorists;¹⁷³ and the catalogues of the *Commercial Art Exhibition* (Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai, 1934) and *National Commercial Art Exhibition* (Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai, 1936-1940). I will analyse the former in Chapters 2 and 3 to articulate theoretical and stylistic tendencies in Japanese design that had an impact on Korea. I will closely examine the latter in Chapter 4 to discuss visual and systemic parallels between commercial art education in Korea and Japan.

Company archives have also provided primary material indispensable to this thesis.¹⁷⁴ I was able to discover and examine internal documents, in-house newsletters, and photographs held in company archives of the Japanese consumer goods companies Morinaga (confectionery) and Lion (toiletries) in Tokyo.¹⁷⁵ Based on these records (directly related to their advertising activities in Korea

¹⁷¹ These Japanese magazines were accessed at the National Diet Library, the Sankō Library, and the company archive of publisher Seibundō Shinkōsha, in Tokyo.

¹⁷² These European magazines were accessed at the National Art Library at the V&A Museum in London.

¹⁷³ I examined my personal collection of this series.

¹⁷⁴ I contacted the Tonga Ilbo Company and Kyōngbang (current name of the Kyōngsōng Spinning and Weaving Company), surviving Korean companies whose advertisements and advertising activities are a key topic in this thesis, to access their respective archives. Unfortunately, I was unable to gain access because their archival documents from the colonial period either had not been retained or were in an unrepresentable condition.

¹⁷⁵ My visit to the Morinaga and Lion archives took place on 26 June 2017 and 30 May 2017 respectively. I also contacted the Mitsukoshi Department Store, Kaō (cosmetics and toiletry), and Ajinomoto (seasoning); but I was unable to gain access because their archival documents relating to Korea during the colonial period either had not been retained or were in an unrepresentable condition.

during the colonial period but not published in their company histories) I have been able to establish these narratives for the first time in scholarship, and to use them as case studies that reveal the specific operations of Japan-based companies in the colonial Korean market (discussed in Chapter 2).

vii. Chapter structure

This thesis consists of four chapters. They are organised in a broadly chronological order, and each chapter focuses on themes and cases that reflect social, cultural, economic, and political issues and contexts significant at the time in colonial Korea. Chapters 1 and 2 focus on how Koreans and Japanese, respectively, participated in the expansion and development of advertising in Korea after the initial implementation of ‘cultural rule’. Chapters 3 and 4 address how Koreans and Japanese eventually and collectively shaped advertising and commercial art in Korea, in terms of style, practice, industry, and education, and further scrutinise what those collective changes tell us about colonial modernity in Korea more generally.

Chapter 1 focuses on how Koreans sought to develop their practice of advertising between 1920 and 1925 in the changing political atmosphere and media environment under ‘cultural rule’. As a central case it studies *Sanggong segye*, a Korean-language specialist magazine on commerce and industry published in 1923. Through visual and textual analysis, I demonstrate how *Sanggong segye* envisioned the development of modern Korean advertising. I show how it embodied, both ideologically and visually, ‘cultural nationalism’, or a new strand of Korean nationalist ideology that emphasised cultural and economic progress and ‘self-strengthening’. Comparing new forms of advertisements presented in the magazine with Korean advertisements commonly published at the time, I also argue that the project of modern Korean advertising envisioned in the magazine essentially failed, however (as cultural nationalism did). The chapter argues that this failure, or more precisely deferral, in the early 1920s reflects the colonial aspect of modernity in Korea, in that social and economic changes in Japan and changes in Japan’s colonial policy both stimulated and limited the development of advertising in Korea.

Chapter 2 shifts the focus to Japanese, and how they increasingly engaged in advertising in Korea from around 1922 to 1933. The chapter problematises the common assumption, found in Korean advertising histories, that equates Japan-based advertisers with political institutions of colonial rule. It posits Japan-based advertisers as individual economic and cultural agents and explores why and how they sought to expand and advertise in the Korean market. First I examine how ‘modern’ advertising in Japan emerged within the economic slump after World War I, while companies and advertising people pursued ‘efficient’ advertising. Then, with the cases of Japan-based

companies Morinaga, Lion, and Ajinomoto, I trace the specific and multiple processes through which Japan-based companies expanded their distribution in Korea and participated in advertising in the Korean press; I also demonstrate how Japanese advertisers eventually adapted to the Korean market and media by modifying the design of their advertisements to appeal to Koreans. The chapter argues that Japanese brands transformed themselves from national brands to what I call ‘imperial brands’ with their market expansion and localised advertising design in Korea; and that through such transformation they participated in the formation of colonial modernity in Korea, both directly and indirectly.

Chapter 3 explores the relation between the rise of modernist design in Korean advertising and urban consumerism in Korean society from around 1924 to 1935. It demonstrates that advertising, as a visual medium that promoted and celebrated new commodities and urban popular culture, was one of the most visible forms of an expanding modernity in colonial Korea. By examining advertisements for the Kyōngsōng Spinning and Weaving Company and Korean cinemas Tansōngsa and Chosōn Kūkchang, among others, I explain how a technical shift from text to image and the typographical influence of Japanese ‘design letters’ (*zuan moji*) contributed to the establishment of a modernist design language in Korean advertising. I then interrogate how these stylistic changes were interlinked with shifting perceptions of modernity in 1930s Korean society. Furthermore, the chapter shows how the stylistic refinement of design in Korean advertising may have symbolised a cultural and material modernity, but was fundamentally illusive, in terms of both the limited consumption and production and the lack of knowledge and information production in advertising. The chapter articulates this dissonance between the superficial gloss of modern imagery and the socio-economic limitations of the colony as ‘displayed modernity’.

Chapter 4 examines education and the professionalisation of commercial art in the period between 1934 and 1939. The chapter adds another dimension to the discussion of displayed modernity in colonial Korea introduced in Chapter 3. The chapter compares the activities of commercial art education in secondary commercial schools in Korea and Japan, and exhibitions that were representative of those activities: the *Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition* (1938-1939) in Korea and the *Commercial Art Exhibition* (1934-1935) and the *National Commercial Art Exhibition* (1936-1940) in Japan. By consulting newspaper records, school histories, textbooks, and exhibition catalogues, I demonstrate how students in Korea and Japan conducted parallel activities of commercial art education and created stylistically comparable works. I also show that professional utility of commercial art education differed significantly, corresponding to the social status of the commercial artist in the two countries. Tracing two professional commercial organisations and broader conditions of education, the chapter asserts that in contrast to Japan, in Korea commercial art

was only professionalised in a limited way. It further argues that this disjuncture between ostensibly modern works of student commercial art and the limited professionalisation of the field indicates the systemic and colonial limitations in education, another aspect of displayed modernity in colonial Korea.

I conclude the thesis with its contribution to knowledge in terms of new information and arguments, and in terms of methodology. I articulate how it rethinks Korean design history towards global design history and understands colonial modernity in Korea through the lens of design history.

Chapter 1. Cultural nationalism and modern Korean advertising, 1920-1925



Figure 1. Newspaper advertisement for SS. *Tl*, 5 February 1923, 1.

In February 1923, an advertisement for a newly published magazine appeared in the *Tonga ilbo* (East Asia daily, *Tl*), the best-selling Korean-language newspaper in colonial Korea (Figure 1). The text highlighted in boxes on either side of the advertisement read:

Don't waste your precious time, read this magazine, absolutely beneficial to your business (*kyŏngyŏng*) and sales (*yŏngŏp*).

The only magazine in Korea dealing with the prosperity of commerce-industry (*sanggongŏp pŏnyŏng*). The only one in Korea with original and brilliant editorial design (*ch'amsin kibarhan ch'eje*). Readers of our magazine will not fail in business.¹⁷⁶

The title of the advertised magazine was *Sanggong segye* (Commerce-industry world, hereafter *SS*). In the context of modern Korea and Japan, the terms 'commerce' (K: *sang*, J: *shō*) and 'industry' (K: *kong*, J: *kō*) respectively referred to the 'selling' and 'making' aspects of business. Often the two terms were combined as 'commerce-industry' (K: *sanggongŏp*, J: *shōkōgyō*) to indicate

¹⁷⁶ 'Sanggong segye', *Tonga ilbo*, 5 February 1923, 1.

the wider business context. In this sense, *SS* was a magazine about business, in terms of both the production and distribution of commodities.

Published in February and March 1923, only the first and second issues of *SS* survive, and details about its circulation and readership remain unclear.¹⁷⁷ But the surviving two issues are useful sources for understanding advertising and commercial art in colonial Korea. *SS* appears to be the only (as the above advertisement claimed) specialist Korean-language magazine on commerce and industry in the 1920s which also discussed advertising extensively.¹⁷⁸ The magazine was not only unique in its content, but also unprecedented in its appearance. The overall editorial design of the magazine and the design of individual advertisements in it were in many ways different from what was common at the time. It is also apparent from the above advertisement that the creators behind *SS* were conscious and proud of its visible uniqueness. I will show in this chapter that these unique traits of the magazine make it a telling reflection of ‘cultural nationalism’, a nationalist ideology that emerged among Korean elites in the changing social and intellectual climate of the 1920s.

I will first outline how the shift in Japanese colonial policy in Korea to ‘cultural rule’ in 1920 contributed to the rise of ‘cultural nationalism’, a new strand of Korean nationalist ideology which highlighted cultural and economic ‘self-strengthening’. Then I will analyse the content and appearance (articles, covers, and advertisements) of *SS*. I will examine how the creators of the magazine sympathised with cultural nationalism in their promotion of modern Korean advertising and how they visualised cultural nationalism with inventive editorial and advertising design. Finally, by comparing the design of advertisements presented in *SS* with those more commonly published by

¹⁷⁷ Adan Mun'go, the private collection of modern Korean publications, holds both of the issues. The Korea University Library also holds the first issue. Apart from these copies available to the public, no instance of another issue or copy was found during this research.

¹⁷⁸ Before the annexation in 1910, according to economic historian Carter J. Eckert, at least two Korean-language commerce-industry magazines existed. One is *Sangŏpkye* (Commerce world), published in Tokyo (1908-?) by a group of Korean students studying there. An editor of *Sangŏpkye*, Yun Chŏng-ha, after returning to Korea, became one of the first editors of the other, *Sanggong wŏlbo* (Monthly commerce-industry, 1909-1911). *Sanggong wŏlbo* was the organ of the Hansŏng Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Hansŏng Sanggong Hoeŭiso). Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945*, 276-277. These magazines would be precedents for *Sanggong segye* that are worth examination, but unfortunately I was not able to locate them during the period of this study. Japanese-language magazines on commerce and industry in Korea include *Chōsen keizai zasshi* (Korean economy magazine, 1916-1932) and *Keizai geppō* (Monthly economy, 1932-1944) published in Seoul by the Seoul Chamber of Commerce and Industry (J: Keijō Shōkō Kaigijō, K: Kyōngsŏng Sanggong Hoeŭiso), and *Jitsugyō no Chōsen* (Enterprising Korea, 1919-1940) published in Kunsan.

Korean advertisers, I will argue that the project of modern advertising envisioned in *SS* remained a deferred project in the early 1920s.

1.1. *Sanggung segye* as a cultural nationalist project

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, upon his appointment in 1920 Governor-General Saitō Makoto adopted ‘cultural rule’ as the ruling policy in Korea. He implemented a more relaxed policy for the publishing industry and gave Koreans permission to publish newspapers and magazines. Subsequently Korean-language publications expanded in quantity, and also in terms of specialised topics.¹⁷⁹ The growth of the Korean press in the early 1920s provided a background for the publication of *SS* in 1923, with its specialist focus on commerce and industry. It also contributed to the emergence of a new strand of Korean nationalist thinking, ‘cultural nationalism’, with which the creators of *SS* sympathised. This section will explain the origins and ideological character of cultural nationalism and demonstrate how it resonated with the aims of *SS* in terms of the development of commerce and industry.

1.1.1. Cultural nationalism

Historian Michael Robinson has argued convincingly that the expansion of the Korean press in the 1920s contributed to a ‘renaissance of nationalist activity’.¹⁸⁰ The new Korean-owned and Korean-language newspapers and magazines provided a forum for Koreans to express their ‘voices’ and debate their future.¹⁸¹ Along the debates in the media, a new generation of Korean intellectuals emerged. They eventually developed a new brand of nationalist thinking, what Robinson aptly terms ‘cultural nationalism’.¹⁸²

If the reform of the publishing policy provided an institutional opportunity for the publication of *SS*, cultural nationalism, as an ideology with which the editor-in-chief Hyōn Hi-un sympathised, shaped the aims and values of the magazine. To understand what *SS* sought to achieve, it is imperative to examine the ideological character and historical evolution of cultural nationalism in Korea.

¹⁷⁹ Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 54.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 55.

Historians Pak Ch'an-sŭng and Michael Robinson generally agree in terms of where this specific brand of right-wing nationalism came from, what it aimed at, and by whom it was formed and advocated.¹⁸³ Cultural nationalism of the 1920s followed the idea of 'self-strengthening' (*sillyŏk yangsŏng*), a tenet of Korean nationalism that emerged before the formal colonisation of Korea by Japan in 1910. 'Self-strengthening' was an ideology that many Korean leaders, such as the Korean independence activist An Ch'ang-ho (1878-1938), had advocated during the semi-colonial period between 1905 and 1910, as a way to defend Korean independence from foreign intervention. Pak Ch'an-sŭng aptly summarises the fundamental logic of this approach to nationalism as 'self-strengthening first, then independence' (*sŏn sillyŏk yangsŏng, hu tongnip*).¹⁸⁴ Advocates of this ideology thought that Korea had become susceptible to foreign interference and eventually lost independence because of its lack of strength. Therefore, they prioritised fostering national strength as a prerequisite for political independence.

From the early 1920s, this line of nationalist thinking evolved into cultural nationalism, which emphasised a gradual programme of cultural development (education and economy) for the Korean people under colonial rule. Succeeding the logic of Korean 'self-strengthening', cultural nationalists sought to gain cultural autonomy and promote national identity within the political boundaries of the colony. To establish a foundation for future independence, they emphasised the construction of a Korean 'new culture' (*sinmunhwa*) through 'reform' (*kaejo*).

Proponents of cultural nationalism were largely literary or business elites. For example, the writer Yi Kwang-su (1892-1950) and the journalists Yi Ton-hwa (1884-1950) and Yi Sang-hyŏp (1893-1957) were literary intellectuals who had received higher education in Japan, particularly during the first decade of colonial rule.¹⁸⁵ Their more business-oriented contemporaries, most notably the brothers Kim Sŏng-su (1891-1955) and Kim Yŏn-su (1896-1979), the businessmen-turned-landlords who owned the Kyŏngsŏng Spinning and Weaving Company (Kyŏngbang) and the *TI*, were also from the upper-class elites, educated in Japan.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ See Pak Ch'an-sŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chŏngch'i sasangsa yŏn'gu* [A study on the history of political ideas in modern Korea] (Seoul: Yŏksabip'yŏngsa 1992), 168-305; Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 48-106.

¹⁸⁴ Pak Ch'an-sŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chŏngch'i sasangsa yŏn'gu*, 32.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 167; Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 56-57.

¹⁸⁶ Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945*, 35.

Robinson convincingly argues that cultural nationalism was elitist in that its core supporters (the well-educated middle- or upper-class intellectuals) derived their vision for new Korean culture from their privileged experience and education in Japan, and aimed to project this vision from the top down to the Korean public.¹⁸⁷ Through their education in major Japanese cities such as Tokyo or Osaka, the literary and business elites were able to gain first-hand experience of Japan's material and cultural affluence, which they often thought of as a result of Western civilisation and industrial capitalism. Their perception of Japanese modernity probably had a strong influence on their ideals for the future of Koreans. In this version of nationalism, as we will see, positing Japan, the coloniser, as a model for Korean progress was not a problem, as long as it provided the means for a better future for Koreans.¹⁸⁸

Pak Ch'an-sŭng and scholar of literature Travis Workman agree that cultural nationalism in Korea resonated philosophically with the neo-Kantian 'culturalism' (*bunka shugi*) of contemporary Japan.¹⁸⁹ Workman suggests that culturalism was one of the most powerful liberalist ideologies of late 1910s and early 1920s Japan, established by thinkers like Kuwaki Gen'yoku (1874-1946) and Sōda Kiichirō (1881-1927). Japanese culturalism emphasised what Workman calls 'self-legislated morality', or the ability of an individual to cultivate their knowledge and practical reason with freedom, ultimately contributing to the universal progress of human culture.¹⁹⁰ Such anthropocentric and universalist thinking had a profound impact on Korean intellectuals like Yi Kwang-su, who sought to establish cultural autonomy for Koreans within the political conditions of colonisation.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile, although culturalism emphasised spiritual development, Sōda Kiichirō also acknowledged the significance of capitalism and economic development as foundations for human and cultural progress.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 74.

¹⁸⁸ Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945*, 35-36.

¹⁸⁹ See Pak Ch'an-sŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chōngch'i sasangsa yōn'gu*, 176-185; Travis Workman, *Imperial Genus: The Formation and Limits of the Human in Modern Korea and Japan* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 27-61.

¹⁹⁰ Workman, *Imperial Genus: The Formation and Limits of the Human in Modern Korea and Japan*, 31.

¹⁹¹ Literature scholar Michael D. Shin has demonstrated that Yi Kwang-su, while studying philosophy at Waseda University, was directly influenced by Kuwaki, who taught there at the time. Michael D. Shin, 'Yi Kwang-su: The Collaborator as Modernist against Modernity', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 1 (2012), 117.

¹⁹² Workman, *Imperial Genus: The Formation and Limits of the Human in Modern Korea and Japan*, 45-48.

In parallel with Japanese culturalists, cultural nationalists in 1920s Korea embraced democratic freedom and equality as their ideal for new culture, and refused traditional Confucian social customs.¹⁹³ As a material basis for such spiritual progress, they also acknowledged the need to develop industrial capitalism.¹⁹⁴ ‘Culture’, as the cultural nationalists perceived it, was a matter of both personal and social education and of economic development. For example, Han Chung-jön, a journalist at the *TI*,¹⁹⁵ wrote in the newspaper in 1920 that ‘we have to live not only in terms of culture, but also in terms of economy’.¹⁹⁶ Writing in the *TI* in 1921, an anonymous commentator even asserted that ‘political rights’ (*chöngch'i sang kwöllli*) had no ‘use’ (*soyong*) without ‘economic capacity’ (*kyöngjejök nüngnyök*).¹⁹⁷ In this vein, cultural nationalists promoted Korean ‘business’ (*siröp*, equivalent to ‘commerce-industry’) as a way of developing national strength.

One of the most notable examples of the cultural nationalists’ promotion of the Korean economy and industry was the Movement for the Promotion of Korean Production (Chosön Mulsan Changnyö Undong).¹⁹⁸ Nationalist activist Cho Man-sik (1883-1950) initiated a small campaign to promote Korean production in 1920 in Pyongyang.¹⁹⁹ In 1922, similar local campaigns across the country merged into the nationwide Movement for the Promotion of Korean Production with the organisation of the Society for the Promotion of Korean Production (Chosön Mulsan Changnyohoe). The movement, according to its inaugural declaration, aimed ‘to promote local production by

¹⁹³ Pak Ch'an-süng, *Han'guk kündae chöngch'i sasangsa yön'gu*, 199.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 200.

¹⁹⁵ Han was also a committee member of the Korean Industry Convention (Chosönin Sanöp Taehoe) of 1921, a gathering of Korean businessmen and nationalist activists to discuss the industrial future of Korea and present their requests to the government-general. ‘Chosönin Sanöp Taehoe ch’onghoe kyönggwa’ [Progress for the organisation of the Korean Industry Convention], *Tonga ilbo*, 1 August 1921, 2.

¹⁹⁶ ‘*Uri nün munhwa esöman saraya hal köt i anira kyöngje esödo saraya hagetta*’. Han Chung-jön, ‘Chosön Mulsan Changnyöhoe üi sanch'ul ül ttara sanöp chohap üi kaeyo rül sogae hanora’ [Introducing the outline of an industrial association along the organisation of the Society for the Promotion of Korean Production], *Tonga ilbo*, 4 September 1920, 1.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Kyöngjejök nüngnyök kwa chöngch'i sang kwöllli’ [Economic capacity and political rights], *Tonga ilbo*, 16 August 1921.

¹⁹⁸ For the Movement for the Promotion of Korean Production see Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 95-96.

¹⁹⁹ A parallel movement for the promotion of national production emerged in contemporary China. See Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Koreans'.²⁰⁰ More specifically, it called for a two-way effort, of 'Koreans [the public] buying and using things made by Koreans [businesses]' and 'Koreans [businesses] uniting to produce and supply the things used [by the Korean public]'.²⁰¹ It was largely a campaign implemented by Korean business owners and nationalist activists to urge Koreans to support local commerce and industry, relying on the logic of economic 'self-strengthening' and Korean patriotism. Hyōn Hi-un, the editor-in-chief of *SS*, participated in the movement as a committee member of the Society for the Promotion of Korean Production.²⁰² In addition to Hyōn's connection to the movement, cultural nationalism's promotion of Korean business resonated with the aims of *SS*, and of Korean advertising of the period more generally, as I will discuss below.

1.1.2. Promoting commerce and industry

In parallel to cultural nationalism's emphasis on economic development, *SS*, as the advertisement cited at the beginning of this chapter claimed, pursued the 'prosperity of commerce-industry' of Koreans.²⁰³ The preface to the magazine's inaugural February 1923 issue explained why this was important for the creators of the magazine:

As civilisation advances and standards of life elevate, the competition for survival becomes severer. How much strength (*him*) to compete with others and capacity (*nūngnyōk*) to survive do we have? We would not know if we look only at ourselves, but we would if we compare ourselves with others. What would we know? Perhaps that we lack so much more than others. Then can we live like others, with insufficient and inferior [means]? Perhaps it is true that we can't. [...] Then shouldn't we try to make efforts (*him ssō poaya*) to live [like others]? To do that, shouldn't we get rid of those insufficiencies (*pujok'an kōt*)? And to get rid of them, we must endeavour (*noryōk*) and struggle (*puntu*). To create materials (*charyo*) for this struggle and endeavour is [the work of] the practical magazine of commerce-industry (*sanggongōp ūi silmu chapchi*), *Sanggong segye*.²⁰⁴

The preface identified that Koreans did not have enough 'strength or 'capacity' to compete with 'others' and to survive. *SS* posited the development of Korean commerce-industry as a means to

²⁰⁰ 'Mulsan Changnyō ch'wiji' [The purpose of the Promotion of Korean Production], *Tonga ilbo*, 27 January 1923, 2.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² 'Mulsan Changnyō ch'onghoe' [A general meeting for the Promotion of Korean Production], *Tonga ilbo*, 2 May 1923, 3.

²⁰³ 'Sanggong segye', *Tonga ilbo*, 5 February 1923, 1.

²⁰⁴ 'Kwōnduōn' [Preface], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, 1.

overcome this deficiency; it aimed to provide knowledge and information to achieve that development. The magazine shared cultural nationalism's ideology of 'self-strengthening' through economic development, in that it posited commercial and industrial development as a way to gain national strength. The perception that Koreans could not 'live like others' because of 'insufficient and inferior' means of their own also resonated with 'self-strengthening': it attributed the loss of political independence to a lack of national strength.

In another article, entitled 'The reason why we are publishing *Sanggong segye*', the editors discussed the aims of *SS* and further articulated what the supposed 'insufficiencies' of Koreans meant:

We ask, what sort of basis do we have for our economic status and industrial foundation? We, the editors (*tongin*), cannot but blush with shame when we even start to talk about this. There are many stores in our market, but how many of them have solid foundations and substantial (*ch'ungsil*) sales? If we survey the advertisement copy (*kwanggomun*) in the newspaper for a month, how many false and fraudulent advertisements (*hŏwi ūi kwanggo wa sagi ūi sŏnjŏn*) would we find?²⁰⁵

The insufficiencies that the magazine intended to deal with were related to Korean business practices, particularly around sales and advertising. The editors 'blush[ed] with shame' because of what they thought as Koreans' lack of proper business practices, which for them was responsible for the underdevelopment of the Korean economy and its industry.

In 'Hoping for prosperity and advancement' in the February 1923 *SS*, Hyŏn Hi-un (1891-1965, pseudonym Hyŏn Chŏl), the publisher and editor-in-chief of *SS*, more specifically condemned what he perceived as the primitive state of Korean commerce-industry.²⁰⁶ He noted that the commercial and industrial practices of Koreans, in particular, were clinging to old conventions of the previous era:

In the past, we have despised (*myŏlsi*) commerce-industry. No! Not only in the past, but still today such tendency largely persists. [...] the words artisan (*kongjang*) or merchant (*sanggo*) feels somewhat contemptuous [...] [Koreans] still don't want to become factory or shop owners.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ P'yŏnjipkuk, 'Chejoga wa p'anmaejŏm ūi silmu chapchi *Sanggong segye* rŭl parhaeng hanŭn soyŏn' [The reason why we are publishing *Sanggong segye*, the practical business magazine for manufacturers and retailers], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923.

²⁰⁶ Hyŏn Hi-un, 'Pŏnch'ang kwa chinbo rŭl parasŏ' [Hoping for prosperity and advancement], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, 11.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

The disdain for artisans and merchants in Korea that Hyön referred to had its origins in the Confucian notion of ‘*sa-nong-kong-sang*’, or ‘four classes’, consisting of ‘intellectual-bureaucrat, farmer, artisan, merchant’.²⁰⁸ According to this traditional frame of vocational hierarchy adopted by the ruling class (*yangban*) of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), people working in commerce were given the lowest social value, followed by those making goods.

Hyön further wrote:

None of the conditions required for sales, such as respecting customers or displaying and decorating (*chinyŏl changsik*) are worth having a look. In other words, nothing excites the desire to purchase (*kumaesim*). I bring money to buy things, but instead I am offended. How can business prosper and stores advance when this is the case?²⁰⁹

Hyön thought that commercial and industrial activities were unjustly despised in contemporary Korean society based on the old Confucian convention of the Chosŏn dynasty. In the 1920s context, he saw such disdain as a reason why unsophisticated business practices persisted among Korean artisans and merchants: they did not have much social incentive to improve their commercial practices, hence they did not put effort into them. As mentioned above, in the logic of ‘self-strengthening’ shared by cultural nationalists, the Chosŏn dynasty represented a lack of strength, and was held responsible for the national collapse. Hyön, and the editors of *SS*, accorded with cultural nationalism not only in their emphasis on economic development, but also in their perception that the old Korean-ness of the Chosŏn dynasty hindered national progress.

Hyön’s educational and professional background, similar to that of many cultural nationalists, might explain his sympathy with the ideology.²¹⁰ Born in 1891, Hyön was educated at Posŏng School in Seoul, one of the earliest and most respected private Korean schools of modern education (as opposed to the traditional study of Chinese classics).²¹¹ After graduating in 1911, he moved to Tokyo and studied law at Meiji University, one of the most prestigious private universities in Japan. But his interest soon moved towards the theatre. In 1913 he entered Geijutsuza (Art Theatre) and trained as an

²⁰⁸ For the perception of occupational class during the late Chosŏn Dynasty in Korea, see An Pyŏng-jik, ‘Chosŏn hugi ūi chigŏpkwan’ [The views on jobs in the late Yi Dynasty], *Kyŏngje nonjip* 37, no. 2 (1998).

²⁰⁹ Hyön Hi-un, ‘Pŏnch’ang kwa chinbo rŭl parasŏ’, 12.

²¹⁰ For biographical accounts of Hyön, see Yu Min-yŏng, ‘Hyön Ch’ŏl e taehan yŏn’gŭksa chŏk koch’al’ [A study of Hyön Ch’ŏl in theatrical history], *Tongyanghak* 15 (1985); Mun Kyŏng-yŏn, ‘1920-yŏndae ch’oban Hyön Ch’ŏl ūi yŏn’gŭngnon kwa kŭndaejŏk kihŏek’ [Hyön Ch’ŏl’s drama theory and modern project in the early 1920s], *Han’guk yŏn’gŭk’ak* 25 (2005).

²¹¹ Mun Kyŏng-yŏn, ‘1920-yŏndae ch’oban Hyön Ch’ŏl ūi yŏn’gŭngnon kwa kŭndaejŏk kihŏek’, 9.

actor and writer under Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871-1918), the scholar and critic of art and literature.²¹² Shimamura, together with his teacher Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859 - 1935), played a crucial role in establishing modern theatre in Japan, or *shingeki* (literally, ‘new theatre’).²¹³ As intellectual elites, through their artistic practice based on the model of Western drama, proponents of *shingeki* sought to educate the Japanese public culturally.²¹⁴ Their idea of *shingeki* very possibly affected Hyōn’s perception of the theatre; moreover, through his encounter with figures like Shimamura, Hyōn may have familiarised himself with the newest tendencies in intellectual and artistic modernism in Japan. Having worked in the theatre world in Japan and China, Hyōn returned to Seoul in 1919 and led a movement for Korean modern theatre.²¹⁵ At the same time, in 1920 he joined *Kaebiyōk* (Creation), a popular magazine and a central forum for cultural nationalist discourse, as a feature editor.²¹⁶ Through these activities he gained a reputation in Korean intellectual and literary circles of 1920s Seoul as an expert on modern theatre.²¹⁷

One of Hyōn’s most famous writings on theatre, ‘Advocating popular theatre as the most pressing cultural enterprise’, published in 1921 in *Kaebiyōk*, explains his cultural nationalist view on economic development.²¹⁸ The article shows Hyōn’s view on ‘culture’ (*munhwa*) as a broad notion, as ‘truly developing the individual and society’ in terms of both the ‘material life’ (*mulchil saenghwal*) and ‘spirit’ (*chōngsin*).²¹⁹ In the article, Hyōn mainly asserted the need to promote the art of popular

²¹² For Shimamura, see Sharon H. Nolte, *Liberalism in Modern Japan: Ishibashi Tanzan and His Teachers, 1905-1960* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 63-89; Massimiliano Tomasi, ‘The Rise of a New Poetic Form: The Role of Shimamura Hōgetsu in the Creation of Modern Japanese Poetry’, *Japan Review*, no. 19 (2007).

²¹³ For *shingeki* in Japan, see Brian Powell, *Japan's Modern Theatre: A Century of Change and Continuity* (London: Japan Library, 2002), 24-54.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

²¹⁵ Hyōn founded the Theatre Institute (Yōn'gūk Kangsūpso) in 1920, and later established the Korea Actors’ School (Chosōn Paeu Hakkyo) in 1925. Mun Kyōng-yōn, ‘1920-yōndae ch'oban Hyōn Ch'ōl ūi yōn'gūngnon kwa kūndaejōk kihōek’, 9.

²¹⁶ For the intellectual network of editors of *Kaebiyōk* and their role in Korean nationalist discourse, see Chōng Yong-sō, ‘Kaebiyōksa ūi chapchi parhaeng kwa p'yōnjipchin ūi yōk'al’ [The magazine publications of Kaebiyōksa and the role of its editorial staff], *Han'guk minjok undongsa yōn'gu* 83 (2015).

²¹⁷ Yu Min-yōng, ‘Hyōn Ch'ōl e taehan yōn'gūksa chōk koch'al’, 129-130.

²¹⁸ Hyōn Hi-un, ‘Munhwa saōp ūi kūpsōnmu ro minjunggūk ūl chech'ang hanora’ [Advocating popular theatre as the most pressing cultural enterprise], *Kaebiyōk*, April 1921.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 109.

theatre (*minjunggŭk*) as a means to educate (*kyohwa*) the Korean public.²²⁰ But he also acknowledged that the ‘complete progress and development’ (*wanjŏn han hyangsang palchŏn*) of culture required a harmony of the spiritual and the material.²²¹ Regarding the material life of Koreans, Hyŏn lamented, as he did in *SS*, that ‘our economy’s strength of self-sufficiency (*chagŭp ūi him*) is weak for the self-support (*chajok*) of our people’.²²² Although Hyŏn was most eminent as a critic and writer on theatre and literature, his perception of the Korean economy expressed here reflects his interest in the pursuit of progress in commerce-industry. This interest may have led him to publish *SS*.

1.1.3. Japan as a model

Hyŏn and the editors of *SS* identified that Korean commerce-industry was ‘insufficient and inferior’ compared to ‘others’. They also found solutions for that lack from others. In an article in the February 1923 *SS* entitled ‘Management strategies of commerce-industry during a time of depression’, Hyŏn asserted that Korean businessmen needed to learn the ‘advanced scientific management methods of foreign countries’ (*oeguk ūi paltal toen kwahakchŏk sin kyŏngyŏngbŏp*).²²³ To this end, he claimed that the editors, on behalf of the readers, would ‘read and study lots of foreign books’ and select and summarise material that suited readers’ needs.²²⁴ It is not clear what ‘foreign books’ the editors of *SS* consulted, because references were not given in the magazine. But it is very possible that most of those materials were sourced from Japan, whether they were Japanese works or Japanese translations of Euro-American ones.

Notable evidence for this speculation can be found in a diagram published in the first issue of *SS*, one of the few pieces in the magazine with a clear reference.²²⁵ The diagram, which explained the economic cycle of boom and depression, was attributed to a professor of economics at the University of Cambridge, a Mr. ‘Masik'al’ (마시칼) or ‘Masik'yal’ (마시칼) in Korean script.²²⁶ This was

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Ibid., 110.

²²³ Hyŏn Hi-un, 'Chŏnhwang sidae ūi sanggongŏp kyŏngyŏngch'aek' [Management strategies of commerce-industry during a time of depression], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, 17.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ 'Yŏngguk K'aembŭriji Taehak kyŏngje kyosu Masik'al ssi ūi hohwang purhwang sunhwanp'yo' [The Diagram of the cycle of boom and depression by a professor of economics at the University of Cambridge Masikal], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923.

²²⁶ The table of contents stated ‘Masik'al ssi’ and the caption under the diagram stated ‘Masik'yal ssi’.

probably the eminent British economist Alfred Marshall (1842-1924). The transliteration ‘Masik'al’ in Korean may seem odd compared with the English spelling, ‘Marshall’. But if we consider that the Japanese transliteration of ‘Marshall’ at the time was often ‘Māshiaru’ (マーシアル), it is possible that the editor who wrote the name in Korean misread it as ‘Māshikaru’ (マーシカル). The odd transliteration in Korean then indicates that the diagram in *SS* was based on or taken from a Japanese-language source. This might hint that the editors of the magazine consulted Japanese sources to deliver information about ‘others’, in both Japan and the West.

The fact that Hyōn used Japanese sources elsewhere for his own writing also makes it probable that this was also the case for the content in *SS*. As discussed above, cultural nationalists who wrote frequently in the Korean media were strongly influenced by the culturalism of contemporary Japanese thinkers.²²⁷ As a specific example, Pak Ch'an-sŭng has identified that Hyōn's article in *Kaebŏk*, ‘Advocating popular theatre as the most pressing cultural enterprise’, was largely extracted and quoted from an article published two years earlier in the Japanese magazine *Kaizō* (Reform), written by Kuwaki Gen'yoku.²²⁸ But Hyōn did not explicitly refer to Kuwaki, which might indicate his pattern of borrowing from Japanese sources without clearly noting them.²²⁹

As mentioned above, *SS* professed a need to know how ‘others’ in the world were pursuing modern business. The magazine delivered this knowledge to its readers through information generated in or translated through Japan, and also set Japan as a primary exemplar more explicitly. In the above-mentioned ‘Hoping for prosperity and advancement’, Hyōn advocated that Korean businessmen should follow their Japanese counterparts (in Japan and Korea) as good examples and models:

I do not ask you, the people in commerce-industry, to look further. Just compare Japanese stores and Korean stores anywhere. Think about how the merchandise is displayed and how the customers are treated. [...] Shouldn't we [do business] more practically (*silsok itke*), more prosperously (*pōnch'ang hage*), in other words, a little more progressively (*chinbojōkūro*)?²³⁰

²²⁷ Pak Ch'an-sŭng has also suggested that cultural nationalists sympathised with the ideas of European philosophers such as Bertrand Russell and Edward Carpenter as ‘theories of reform’ (*kaejoron*), through the mediation of Japanese writings. Pak Ch'an-sŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chōngch'i sasangsa yōn'gu*, 176-183.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Hyōn Hi-un, 'Munhwa saōp ūi kŭpsōnmu ro minjunggŭk ūl chech'ang hanora'.

²³⁰ Hyōn Hi-un, 'Pōnch'ang kwa chinbo rŭl parasō', 12.

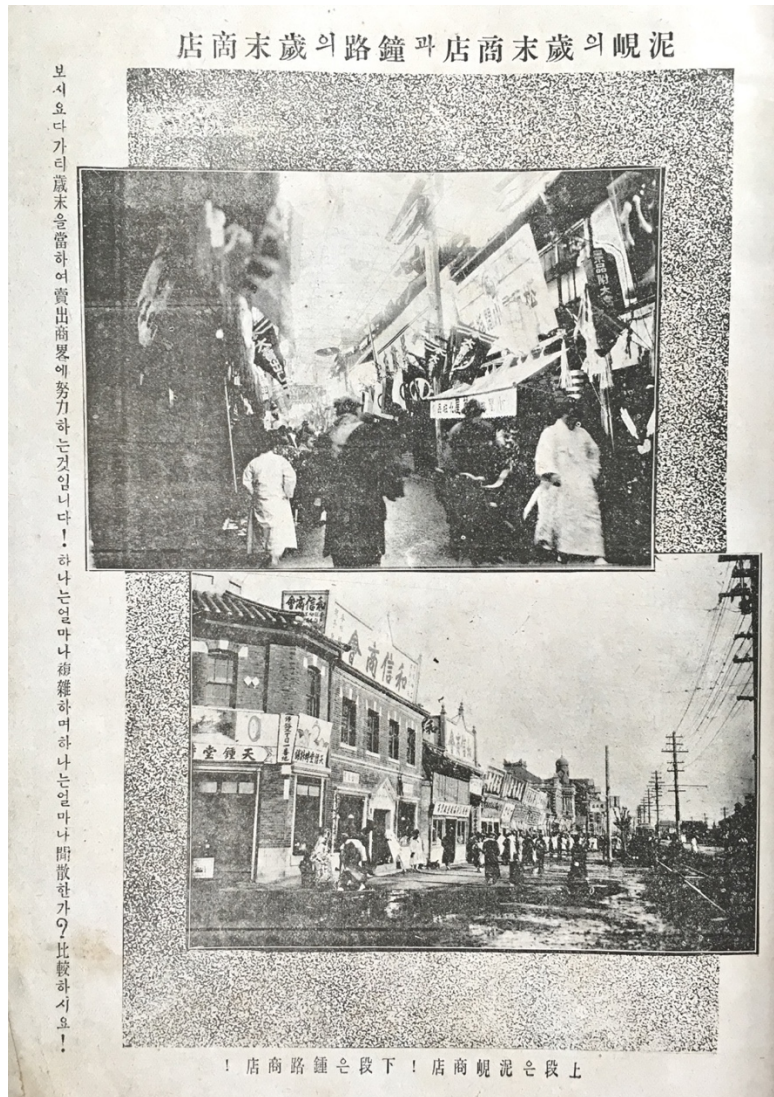


Figure 2. 'Stores in Ihyön and Chongno at the end of the year'. SS, February 1923, n.p. Adan Mun'go.

SS presented Japan as the model for the development of Korean commerce-industry not only through words, but also through imagery. The frontispiece of the inaugural issue explicitly demonstrated self-criticism of Korean business practices and admiration for Japanese examples (Figure 2). A full-page photographic comparison between Korean and Japanese commercial areas in Seoul was presented under the title 'Stores in Ihyön and stores in Chongno at the end of the year' (Ihyön ūi semal sangjöm kwa Chongno ūi semal sangjöm).²³¹

²³¹ Sanggong segyesa sajinban, 'Ihyön ūi semal sangjöm kwa Chongno ūi semal sangjöm' [Stores in Ihyön and Chongno at the end of the year], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, n.p.

The page consisted of two photographs laid vertically, portraying the Japanese and Korean shopping areas of Seoul respectively.²³² The upper photo depicted ‘Ihyŏn’, or more colloquially ‘Chin'gogae’.²³³ Chin'gogae was a commercial part of a broader area called ‘Namch'on’ (literally, ‘southern village’), located in the south of the Ch'ŏnggye Stream which ran across Seoul. As the location for the first Japanese legation in Korea, Namch'on had been the central base of Japanese settlement since the 1880s.²³⁴ By the 1920s, with focused urban development of the area led by the colonial government from 1910 onwards, Namch'on, while remaining a Japanese area, had grown from a small foreign settlement to the ‘cultural and economic centre’ of Seoul.²³⁵ Chin'gogae was the heart of shopping and entertainment activities within Namch'on.

The lower photo depicted ‘Chongno’, the Korean shopping area located in ‘Pukch'on’ (literally, ‘northern village’). Traditionally, from the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, Chongno was Seoul’s centre of commerce, where licensed merchants (*sijŏn sangin*) with monopoly privileges (granted by the monarch) were located.²³⁶ With the weakening of the Korean monarchy, from the late nineteenth century onwards, the licensed merchants lost their privileges, and gradually collapsed after Japanese companies in Chin'gogae took more control of Seoul’s commerce, from 1910.²³⁷ But Chongno remained largely a Korean shopping area throughout the colonial period, occupied by former licensed merchants who managed to survive by transforming themselves into modern

²³² For the structure of the Korean-Japanese division of Seoul, see Chŏn U-yong, 'Chongno wa Ponjŏng: Singmin tosi Kyŏngsŏng ūi tu ōlgul' [Chongro and Honmachi: Two faces of downtown shopping area in Seoul], *Yŏksa wa hyŏnsil*, no. 40 (2001); Kim Yŏng-gŭn, 'Ilche ha Kyŏngsŏng chiyŏk ūi sahoe, konggan kujŏi pyŏnhwa wa tosi kyŏnghŏm' [Changes in social and spatial structure and urban experience in Keijo area during the Japanese colonization], *Sŏurhak yŏn'gu*, no. 20 (2003).

²³³ ‘Ihyŏn’ is the translated term in Chinese characters for ‘Chin'gogae’, which literally means ‘muddy hill’.

²³⁴ For the formation and development of Namch'on as a Japanese district within Seoul, see Sŏul Sirip Taehakkyo Pusŏl Sŏurhak Yŏn'guso, ed. *Sŏul Namch'on: Sigan, changso, saram* [Namch'on of Seoul: Time, place, and people] (Seoul: Sŏul Sirip Taehakkyo Pusŏl Sŏurhak Yŏn'guso, 2003).

²³⁵ Chŏn U-yong, 'Ilche ha Sŏul Namch'on sangga ūi hyŏngsŏng kwa pyŏnch'ŏn' [The formation and change of the Namch'on commercial area in Seoul under Japanese colonial rule], in *Sŏul Namch'on: Sigan, changso, saram*, ed. Sŏul Sirip Taehakkyo Pusŏl Sŏurhak Yŏn'guso (Seoul: Sŏul Sirip Taehakkyo Pusŏl Sŏurhak Yŏn'guso, 2003), 173.

²³⁶ For the transition of Chongno between the Chosŏn and colonial periods as a commercial area, see Chŏn U-yong, 'Kŭndae ihaenggi (1894-1919) Sŏul sijŏn sangŏp ūi pyŏnhwa' [A study on the change of commerce in Seoul sijeon, the stores licensed by the government, in the period of switching over to the modern age], *Sŏurhak yŏn'gu*, no. 22 (2004).

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 32-42.

wholesalers and retailers, and newly emerging Korean capitalists (often former bureaucrats or regional landlords) who sought opportunities in commerce.²³⁸

Visual analysis of the photos reveals a contrast between Chin'gogae and Chongno in terms of the means adopted by Japanese and Korean shopkeepers to attract consumers and promote sales. The upper photo in the frontispiece suggests that the Japanese shopping area was equipped with various devices. A notable feature is the roof-like frame structure set up along the street between the buildings. This structure seems to be a form of '*hiōi*' (awning), the steel structure erected in shopping streets (*shōten'gai*) in pre-war Japan.²³⁹ *Hiōi* was a structure that kept rain and sun away from the passages: the cloth coverings over the frame improved the experience of shoppers.²⁴⁰ According to architecture historians Tsujihara Makihiko and Fujioka Rika, a *hiōi* was usually installed by local trader communities, and from the 1910s to the 1930s it was a feature adopted in 'relatively pioneering shopping streets' across Japan.²⁴¹ Thus, the *hiōi* captured in the photo might indicate that Chin'gogae in the early 1920s was a 'pioneering' commercial area which provided a modern shopping experience to the residents of Seoul.

Another significant feature in the photo of Chin'gogae is the decorative devices that Japanese shopkeepers employed to promote their end-of-year sales. The store in the centre of the photo had around ten flags hung in front of it. The flags, bearing what seems to be the store's trademark symbol, were presented in various shades, and were possibly intended to catch pedestrians' attention. The next store to the right, which sold small goods such as cosmetics, was equipped with various decorative devices: a shade with its name and the types of products written on it, bright ornamental tassels between the shade and the signboard, and a set of flags advertising the seasonal 'grand sale' (*ōuridashi*). Although vague in the photo, other stores along the street seem to have had similar decorative devices, helping to create an impression of Chin'gogae as busy and crowded.

The photo of Chongno presents a contrasting scene to that of Chin'gogae. Most of the stores in the photo have large signboards which mainly indicate their names, sometimes with additional images of the goods they sold. For instance, Hwasin Sanghoe, the store that occupied two buildings in

²³⁸ Ibid., 54-55, 60.

²³⁹ For a historical account of *hiōi* as the origin of modern arcades in Japan, see Tsujihara Makihiko and Fujioka Rika, 'Ākēdo no genkei toshite no hiōi ni kansuru kenkyū' [Historical study on 'hi-oho-i' (awning for street) as the origin of arcades in Japan], *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaku-kei ronbunshū* 70, no. 596 (2005).

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 86.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 89.

the left half of the photo, had two large white signboards with distinctive peaks in the middle and display windows installed by the entrances. Hwasin, a jeweller and one of the largest Korean businesses in Chongno that later developed into a department store, had no signs or decorations for end-of-year sales. Other than permanent installations, Korean stores did not feature extra seasonal promotional devices added to the storefront, nor did they have a communally installed structure to improve the outdoor environment, such as the *hiōi*. In short, the photos of Chin'gogae and Chongno illustrate that Korean stores, compared to their Japanese counterparts, had fewer and less visible means to promote and display their merchandise and business. This contrast was part of what Hyōn was criticising Korean business practices for.²⁴²

According to the table of contents of the February 1923 *SS*, the photos were not borrowed from elsewhere, but had been taken by members of the magazine's 'photography group' (*sajinban*).²⁴³ Taking the more obvious differences between the Korean and Japanese shopping streets, it seems that the photographers and editors of *SS* carefully presented the photos to exaggerate the contrast between the two areas. A caption for the photos, printed vertically along the left edge of the page, explained the intention of this juxtaposition more directly:

Look, both are making efforts (*noryōk*) for sales (*maech'ul*) and business strategies (*sangnyak*) as the year-end approaches! How intricate (*pokchap*) is one, and how dull (*hansan*) is the other? Try to compare!²⁴⁴

The upper photo of Chin'gogae was taken at close range, so that the busy movements of the shoppers in the narrow alley were captured dynamically, which contributed to the supposedly 'intricate' atmosphere of the scene. In contrast, the lower photo of Chongno was taken from relatively far away. Because the road in front of the stores was broad, with a railway on the opposite side rather than another row of stores, the static scene captured in the lower photo gives an impression of the district as 'dull', although a larger crowd was present towards the further end of the street.

By representing the two districts with different photographic compositions, it seems that the photographers attempted to amplify what they saw as the dullness, and therefore inferiority, of the Korean commercial district. The layout of the photos on the page also hints at this intention of the magazine's editors: the photo of Chin'gogae is placed on top of and slightly overlapping the photo of Chongno.

²⁴² Hyōn Hi-un, 'Pōnch'ang kwa chinbo rūl parasō', 12.

²⁴³ *Sanggong segye*, February 1923.

²⁴⁴ *Sanggong segyesa sajinban*, 'Ihyōn ūi semal sangjōm kwa Chongno ūi semal sangjōm'.

The contents and presentation of the photos suggest that the purpose of the frontispiece was to show the magazine's Korean readers how the Japanese shopping district was 'intricate' and advanced, while theirs was 'dull' and underdeveloped. Reminding Korean readers of how their business seemed 'dull' in this way would have been a strategy to stimulate Korean shopkeepers to emulate their Japanese counterparts as a way to improve their business practices. In this sense *SS* posited Japan as a model for the progress or modernisation of Korean commerce-industry.

1.2. *Sanggong segye*: Visualising modern commerce-industry

1.2.1. Editorial design

In addition to presenting Japanese commercial practice as a model, another strategy that *SS* adopted to urge its Korean readers to modernise their business practices was to show, visually and symbolically, what the results of commercial and cultural progress might look like in print form. As the newspaper advertisement mentioned at the beginning of this chapter claimed, the editors of *SS* promoted its 'original and brilliant editorial design' (*ch'amsin kibarhan ch'eje*) as the magazine's unique strength.²⁴⁵

Compared to Korean magazines at the time, especially those with a similar male readership, *SS* stood out in its appearance. The cover was the most distinctive aspect of the magazine's appearance and editorial design. Most of all, the size of the cover (and the magazine itself) was substantially larger than that of contemporary Korean magazines. *SS* was printed on a '4-6-bae-pan' (188mm x 258mm) format. While this format became more common later in the 1930s, in the early 1920s, when *SS* was published, a much smaller format, the '4-6-pan' (130mm x 186mm, approximately half of the 4-6-bae-pan), was common for monthly magazines in Korea.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ 'Sanggong segye', *Tonga ilbo*, 5 February 1923.

²⁴⁶ Sō Yu-ri, 'Han'guk kũndae ũi chapchi p'yoji imiji yŏn'gu', 155, 213.



Figure 3. Cover of *Kaebyök*, February 1923. Adan Mun'go.

On the usual and smaller format of the 4-6-pan, the covers of Korean magazines that targeted male readers were usually composed only of text elements. The February 1923 issue of *Kaebyök*, the most popular magazine in Korea at the time, is a notable example (Figure 3). According to visual culture historian Sō Yu-ri, designing and printing coloured images on the cover was a costly process, and Korean publishers at the time generally considered it unnecessary for magazines that targeted educated men.²⁴⁷

Given this convention in the 1920s, it was unusual that *SS*, which was for businessmen (largely male at the time), used images on its covers. The covers of the two issues of *SS* were designed by the artist and designer An Sök-chu (1901-1950), who I will discuss below in detail. On the larger format of the 4-6-bae-pan, An designed covers of the magazine that were distinct from the ordinary designs of the time and expressed a sense of modernity, in terms of both subject matter and style.

²⁴⁷ Sō Yu-ri articulates that three factors generally affected whether a magazine adopted images on its covers: the seriousness of content, the scale of the publisher, and readership. Sō suggests that publishers generally considered women and children less educated than male adults; hence they thought that images were essential for the cover of popular magazines for female or child readers because images were easier to understand. *Ibid.*, 79-80.



Figure 4. Cover of SS, February 1923. Adan Mun'go.

The cover of the February 1923 issue demonstrates how An Sŏk-chu, utilising the larger format, attempted an unusual style while presenting an ideal image of Korean commerce (Figure 4). The cover included more information than usual: the magazine's slogan along the top end, the name of the editor-in-chief (Hyŏn Hi-un) under the title, vertically laid text along the sides that state 'magazine that gathers money' and 'magazine that makes money' and An's signature written in Roman script ('Ahn').

The textual components were placed on a black background, which itself was a visually striking feature compared to the more conventional white (or blank, as in having nothing printed). Covers with images were rare at the time among Korean magazines targeted at male readers, and in those rare cases, images were typically singled out and juxtaposed with other textual elements. For example, the August 1922 *Kaebŏk* had a pictorial cover that was typical at the time (Figure 5). Text that indicated the title, publication date, volume, issue, and theme were allocated to the top and bottom of the cover. An image was placed in the lower centre, a simple two-colour illustration framed

in a circle. The cover had components juxtaposed on a blank background space, with clearly configured boundaries between the texts and the image. In other words, the image was treated as an individual element on a blank page. The treatment of the image as a single component is more clearly demonstrated by comparing the August 1922 cover with the August 1923 one: the illustration in the former, with a slightly different hue, was reused in the latter to convey a similar seasonal theme (Figure 6).²⁴⁸ This type of layout, that adopted the central image as an individual component, was common in early 1920s pictorial covers in Korea; the February 1923 cover of *SS* was different.



Figure 5. Cover of *Kaebŏk*, August 1922. Adan Mun'go.

²⁴⁸ The illustration presented the seasonal theme of 'enjoying the cool breeze' (*namnyang*).



Figure 6. Cover of *Kaebŏk*, August 1923. Adan Mun'go.

The unusual black background applied to the February 1923 cover of *SS* probably functioned as an effective device that gave the magazine a distinctive, possibly modern, image. A notable stylistic feature is the way in which the background permeated the illustration in the centre. Instead of setting a clear border between the image and the background, as seen in the *Kaebŏk* covers discussed above, An Sŏk-chu organically integrated the composition of the overall cover: he extended the black surface into the image by transforming it into silhouettes of buildings on the bottom; it also functioned as a backdrop to the human figures in the centre. Another effect achieved by this black background is the highlighting of the central image. Contrasting with the dark surroundings, the central image, an illustration of figures drawn in black, green, and red on a bright backdrop, stands out on the page. This integrated composition arguably resembled the visual experience of watching a film in the dark space of a cinema, an activity strongly associated with modern technology and lifestyle at the time in Korea.²⁴⁹

The highlighted central illustration also depicted figures that may have represented modernity in the 1920s Korean context: a man and woman dressed in fashionable Western-style outfits. The man is fully dressed in Western-style clothing, with a hat, overcoat, tie, and shoes. The woman is wearing what might be a hybrid of Korean and Western dress: a Korean-style top (*chŏgori*) and skirt (*chima*), but with slimmer sleeves and a shorter skirt compared to the traditional forms, paired with Western-

²⁴⁹ Yu Sŏn-yŏng, 'Kŭndaejŏk taejung ŭi hyŏngsŏng kwa munhwa ŭi chŏnhwan' [The formation of modern masses and cultural transition in Korea], *Ōllon kwa sahoe* 17 (2009), 65-72.

style shoes, a handbag, and short hair. This kind of female attire represented the Korean ‘new woman’ (*sin yōsong*) of the 1920s.²⁵⁰ The modern-looking couple shopping in the streets was possibly what the editors of the magazine imagined to be a symbol of modern commerce-industry. A small detail, the neatly wrapped boxes in the man’s hand, may also exemplify what Hyōn suggested to his Korean readers were modern retail practices, ‘such as respecting customers or displaying and decorating’.²⁵¹



Figure 7. Cover of SS, March 1923. Adan Mun'go.

On the cover of the March 1923 SS, An Sŏk-chu also represented the magazine’s modern image through subject matter and layout (Figure 7). If the February cover incorporated diverse elements of modernity such as film, fashion, and shopping, the March cover focused on a single theme: a dance performance. Social historian Yi Chin-a suggests that in the 1920s, Western-style

²⁵⁰ Kim Su-jin, *Sin yōsong, kŭndae ū kwaing: Singminji Chosŏn ū sin yōsong tamnon kwa chendŏ chŏngch'i, 1920-1934* [Excess of modernity: The new woman in colonial Korea, 1920-1934] (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2009), 182-183.

²⁵¹ Hyōn Hi-un, 'Pŏnch'ang kwa chinbo rŭl parasŏ', 12.

modern dance or ballet was largely a novelty to Koreans.²⁵² Dance as a form of art, rather than as colloquial entertainment, was imported to Korea in the mid-1920s, via Japan.²⁵³ Alongside *shingeki*, Tsubouchi Shōyō sought to establish ‘*buyō*’ (dance) as a modern artistic pursuit that would contribute to the civilisation of Japan.²⁵⁴ As discussed above, Hyōn Hi-un was a disciple of Shimamura Hōgetsu, a disciple of Tsubouchi’s, and it is probable that Hyōn and An selected the scene of a dance stage for the cover of *SS* as a presentation of a novel form of art and modern culture.

An Sök-chu further developed the stylistic devices that he had used for the previous cover in creating a more integrated layout on the March 1923 cover. The illustration of a dancer in the centre was not an isolated motif in the composition. The illustrated scene comprised the cover itself; the whole cover page was a stage seen from the perspective of the audience. The stage floor and the dancer were placed in the lower centre. Stage devices (backdrop and curtains) surrounded them, forming divided sections where textual elements were allocated. The texts that indicated the date and theme were in the upper part of the central section along the stage backdrop, and the volume and issue number were placed on white curtains on each side of the stage. The title typography added a unique three-dimensional effect to the cover, because it overlapped with the backdrop of the stage, the side curtains, and another layer of black curtains on the top. These features contributed to an integrated layout with image and text elements organically interlinked with each other.

The style of illustration was simpler than that of the previous issue. An Sök-chu illustrated the dancer in the centre with flat patterns and coarse, bold brushstrokes. He also expressed the outlines of the curtains and round decorative patterns on them with coarse, irregular lines. Overall, he drew the elements with bright, contrasting colours: yellow, green, red, and black.

The covers, or exemplars of what *SS* advertised as ‘original and brilliant editorial design’, indeed differed from what was usual in Korea at the time. The inventive design of the covers of *SS* was possibly related to Hyōn Hi-un’s specific interest in the appearance of things. As I have explained above, Hyōn sympathised with cultural nationalism in his writings in the Korean media such as

²⁵² See Yi Chin-a, 'Singminji Chosŏn ūi sin muyong kwa kŭndaejŏk yesul kaenyŏmŭi suyong', *Sahoe wa yŏksa*, no. 112 (2016).

²⁵³ Yi suggests that the March 1926 performance of the Japanese dancer Ishii Baku (1887-1962) was a watershed moment in the history of modern dance in Korea; thereafter, Ishii’s Korean disciples like Ch’oe Sŭng-hŭi and Cho T’aegwŏn played a pivotal role in propagating modern dance. *Ibid.*, 213-214.

²⁵⁴ Kimiko Ohtani, 'Japanese Approaches to the Study of Dance', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 23 (1991), 26.

Kaebŏk, and in that sense he was arguably part of the mainstream nationalist elites of the time.²⁵⁵ But a reference to him in the popular magazine *Pyŏlgŏn'gon* (Another world) in 1927, as ‘the mate who puts powder on his face’ (*ŏlgul e pun parŭgo taninŭn ch'in'gu*), hints that within the intellectual circle of Seoul, he was also an unusual figure in terms of how he presented himself to the public.²⁵⁶

Recent studies of Hyŏn Hi-un by scholars of Korean literature Sin Hyŏn-gyu and Ryu Su-yŏn have revealed another side of his activities, as a specialist on ‘beauty’ (*miyong*) and ‘makeup’ (*hwajang*).²⁵⁷ It is relatively well known that as an editor at Kaebŏksa, the publishing body of *Kaebŏk*, Hyŏn was in charge of the popular women’s magazine *Puin* (Lady) published from 1922; in the magazine he wrote about beauty and makeup for women.²⁵⁸ A newly discovered fact by Sin and Ryu is that from around 1920 (before working for Kaebŏksa), Hyŏn was the founder and owner-head (*wonjang*) of an institution called the Seoul Beauty Centre (Kyŏngsŏng Miyongwon).²⁵⁹ According to a 1922 advertisement for the Seoul Beauty Centre published in *Puin*, it was a ‘research institute of makeup and cosmetics’ (*miyongsul, hyangjangp'um, yŏn'guso*) which also sold beauty products that Hyŏn had ‘invented’ (*palmyŏng*).²⁶⁰ A full spread advertisement for the Seoul Beauty Centre was also published in the March 1923 *SS*, which adds visual explanation to the earlier ad; it featured Hyŏn in a white lab coat and an illustration of the package containing a product he had presumably invented, Seoul Powder (Sŏul Pun) (Figure 8).

²⁵⁵ In her study of Hyŏn Hi-un, scholar of Korean literature Mun Kyŏng-yŏn identifies his theories of theatre as according with the cultural nationalist logic of ‘reform’ (*kaejo*). Mun Kyŏng-yŏn, ‘1920-yŏndae ch'oban Hyŏn Ch'ŏl ũi yŏn'gŭngnon kwa kŭndaejŏk kihŏek’, 20-24.

²⁵⁶ ‘Kyŏngsŏng myŏngmul namnyŏ sinch'un chisang taehŏe’ [Eccentric men and women in Seoul, a new spring's on-paper event], *Pyŏlgŏn'gon*, February 1927, 109.

²⁵⁷ See Sin Hyŏn-gyu, ‘Ch'oech'o ũi miyong chapchi *Hyanghŭn* kwa *Puin* e yŏnjae toen “Miyong kanghwa” e taehayŏ’ [On ‘A lecture on beauty’ series published in the *Hyanghŭn* and the *Puin*], *Kŭndae sŏji*, no. 4 (2011); Ryu Su-yŏn, ‘Hyŏn Hi-un ũi hwajang tamnon’ [Hyŏn Hi-un's discourse of makeup], *Ŏmun yŏn'gu* 43, no. 1 (2015).

²⁵⁸ A five-part series of articles entitled ‘A lecture on beauty’ (*Miyong kanghwa*), published in 1922, is the best known of this kind of writing by Hyŏn. Sin Hyŏn-gyu, ‘Ch'oech'o ũi miyong chapchi *Hyanghŭn* kwa *Puin* e yŏnjae toen “Miyong kanghwa” e taehayŏ’; Ryu Su-yŏn, ‘Hyŏn Hi-un ũi hwajang tamnon’.

²⁵⁹ Sin Hyŏn-gyu, ‘Ch'oech'o ũi miyong chapchi *Hyanghŭn* kwa *Puin* e yŏnjae toen “Miyong kanghwa” e taehayŏ’, 354; Ryu Su-yŏn, ‘Hyŏn Hi-un ũi hwajang tamnon’, 202.

²⁶⁰ *Puin*, July 1922, cited in Sin Hyŏn-gyu, ‘Ch'oech'o ũi miyong chapchi *Hyanghŭn* kwa *Puin* e yŏnjae toen “Miyong kanghwa” e taehayŏ’, 354.

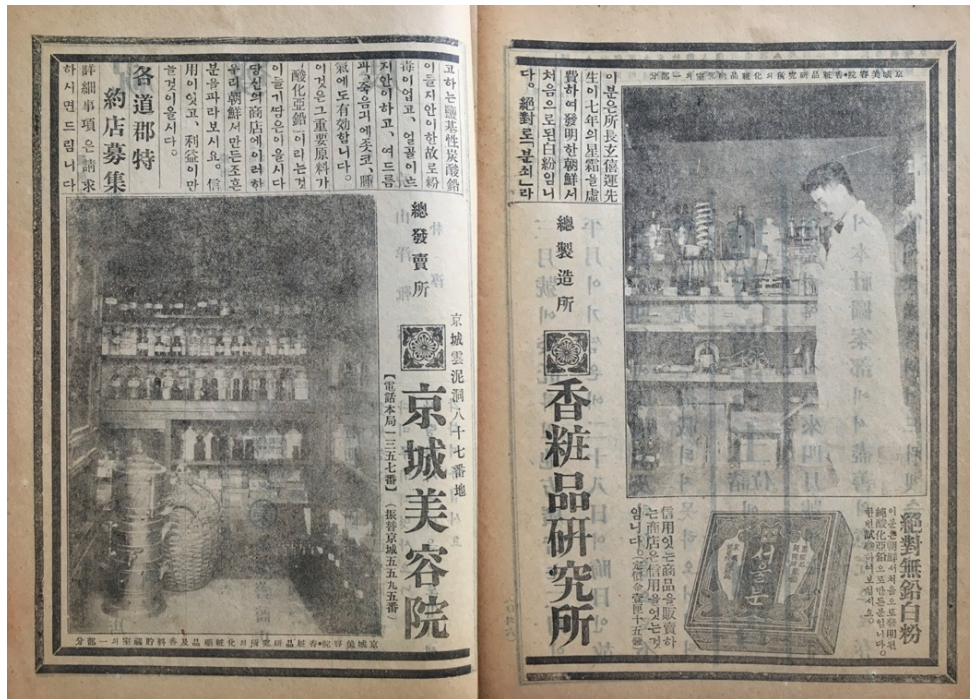


Figure 8. Advertisement for the Seoul Beauty Centre. SS, March 1923, n.p. Adan Mun'go.

While Hyŏn's interest in makeup may be connected to his activities as a theatrical actor, he saw cosmetics and makeup techniques as not merely a practical tool for stage performance, but also as a reflection of 'civilisation' (*munmyŏng*).²⁶¹ He perceived makeup as 'a kind of art' (*ilchong ũ misul chŭk yesul*) that was comparable to the work of 'a painter painting an object on a canvas'.²⁶² As Ryu Su-yŏn convincingly argues, Hyŏn valued 'adorning the exterior' (*oejang*) through makeup as a practice of 'modern refinement' (*kŭndaejŏk kyoyang*).²⁶³

Hyŏn's perception that beautiful appearance was a reflection of civilisation, or a representation of modernity, would have influenced him to plan SS's editorial design carefully. But actualising Hyŏn's vision of a modern editorial design would have been a challenge, in terms of technology and cost. The editors' postscript for the February 1923 issue acknowledged that the ambitious project 'to show off an editorial design (*ch'eje*) never seen in Korea', conforming to Hyŏn's 'design' (*ŭijang*), had not been fulfilled, because in Korea, 'the circumstances of printing technology or print shops' (*inswaesul iradŏnji ttonŭn hwalp'anso hyŏngp'yŏn*) were limited.²⁶⁴ The postscript did

²⁶¹ Hyŏn Hi-un, 'Miyong kanghwa' [A lecture on beauty], *Puin*, October 1922, 64.

²⁶² Hyŏn Hi-un, 'Hwajang kanghwa' [A lecture on makeup], *Wiseng kwa hwajang*, December 1926, 42.

²⁶³ Ryu Su-yŏn, 'Hyŏn Hi-un ũi hwajang tamnon', 221.

²⁶⁴ 'P'yŏnjipsil esŏ' [From the editorial office], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, 80.

not specify what printing technology Hyŏn wanted but was unable to have access to. But it suggests that Hyŏn's plan or idea for *SS*'s editorial design would have been modelled after foreign examples, most likely Japanese, which was beyond the capacity of printers in Korea. Meanwhile, providing material for a more visual editorial design was probably unusually expensive. In a self-review of the February 1923 issue published in the March issue, Hyŏn noted that the illustrations (*kattŭ*) used in the former were worth 200 yen;²⁶⁵ that amount was more than the average monthly income of a middle-class Korean worker in Seoul.²⁶⁶

Despite these challenges, Hyŏn Hi-un and the editors of *SS* managed to create an innovative editorial design that met Hyŏn's standards of visual quality. The editors noted that despite technological limits, the result of the editorial design was significant, and they were happy with it.²⁶⁷ Hyŏn also expressed his contentment with the magazine's appearance. He noted proudly that the magazine was worth reading just for its expensive illustrations, through which he intended to 'stimulate the retinas' of its readers.²⁶⁸ Citing a comment from a reader, he stressed that the magazine had the 'utmost freshness' (*ch'oesŏn ūi sinmi*) in Korea, both in terms of 'content' (*naeyong*) and 'appearance' (*oemo*).²⁶⁹ Hyŏn also boasted that the magazine had a cover designed by 'a first-class artist in Korea' (*Chosŏn illyu hwabaek*), printed with three-colour lithography, which gave readers 'a great impression of colour' (*hullyunghan saekch'ae ūi insang*).²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ Hyŏn Hi-un, 'Ch'angganho wa chugan ūi kwi' [The inaugural issue and the editor-in-chief's ear], *Sanggong segye*, March 1923, 82. The term '*kattŭ*' in Korean probably derived from the Japanese '*katto*'. '*Kattŭ*' and '*katto*' are respectively Korean and Japanese transliterations of the English word 'cut'; they were common expressions that referred to 'illustration'.

²⁶⁶ According to a 1922 estimate by the banker-businessman Sŏnu Chŏn, an average (categorised by Sŏnu as 'middle-of-middle') Korean worker in Seoul earned around 154-177 yen per month. Sŏnu Chŏn, 'Chosŏnin saenghwal munje ūi yŏn'gu 1' [A study on the issue of Korean life], *Kaebŏk*, February 1922, 51.

²⁶⁷ 'P'yŏnjipsil esŏ', 80.

²⁶⁸ Hyŏn Hi-un, 'Ch'angganho wa chugan ūi kwi', 82-83.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

1.2.2. Modernist design via Japan

If Hyŏn Hi-un planned the magazine's overall editorial design, it was An Sŏk-chu (pseudonym An Sŏk-yŏng, 1901-1950) who carried out the actual design work.²⁷¹ An was a trained painter with a particularly commercial career.²⁷² Born in Seoul in 1901, An graduated in 1920 from Hwimun School, a prestigious private Korean school where he met members of later literary elites, such as Hong Sa-yong and Pak Chong-hwa.²⁷³ An started painting while at the school, under the guidance of Ko Hi-dong (1886-1965), one of the earliest and most prominent Western-style painters in Korea and an art teacher at Hwimun.²⁷⁴ Already in 1918 he was a member of the Calligraphy and Painting Society (Sŏhwa Hyŏphoe), then the most influential group of Korean artists.²⁷⁵ In 1921 he went to Tokyo to study art and enrolled at the Hongŏ Western-style Painting Institute (Hongŏ Yŏga Kenkyūjo); it was a private art institute run by the painter Okada Saburōsuke (1869-1939).²⁷⁶ But An recalled in 1932 that in less than a year he returned to Seoul, due to illness and financial difficulties.²⁷⁷ He was eventually hired by the *TI* in 1924 as an art reporter and cartoonist.²⁷⁸

²⁷¹ Both Hyŏn and An were affiliated to Kaebyŏksa in the early 1920s. Hyŏn left Kaebyŏksa on 31 July 1922, and An worked at Kaebyŏksa in 1923. 'Sawon tongjŏng' [Movement of staff], *Kaebhyŏk*, October 1922; Sŏ Yu-ri, 'Han'guk kŏndae ūi chapchi p'yoji imiji yŏn'gu', 96. But records do not specify when An had started, hence it is unclear whether their time at Kaebyŏksa overlapped. However, it is very possible that Hyŏn was aware of An and his work and invited him to design *SS*, or what he planned as a magazine that visually represented modernity. 'Sawon tongjŏng'; Sŏ Yu-ri, 'Han'guk kŏndae ūi chapchi p'yoji imiji yŏn'gu', 96.

²⁷² For a more detailed account of An Sŏk-chu's life and work, see Sin Myŏng-jik, 'An Sŏg-yŏng manmun manhwa yŏn'gu' [A study on An Sŏg-yŏng's manmun-cartoon] (PhD thesis, Yonsei University, 2001). For his writings, see An Sŏk-chu, *An Sŏg-yŏng munsŏn* [A selection of An Sŏg-yŏng's literary works] (Seoul: Kwandong Ch'ulp'ansa, 1984).

²⁷³ An Sŏk-chu, 'Mundan samsip-yŏn pisa' [A thirty-year secret history of the literary world], *Munhwa sibo*, September-October 1947, republished in An Sŏk-chu, *An Sŏg-yŏng munsŏn*, 151.

²⁷⁴ Sin Myŏng-jik, 'An Sŏg-yŏng manmun manhwa yŏn'gu', 8.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 12. For the Calligraphy and Painting Society, see Hong Won-ki, 'Sŏhwa Hyŏphoe yŏn'gu (1918-1936)' [A study of the Calligraphy and Painting Society], *Nonmunchip* 31 (1996); Cho Ūn-chong, 'Sŏhwa Hyŏphoe Chŏn unyŏng e kwanhan yŏn'gu' [A research on the management of the Sŏhwa Hyŏphoe Art Exhibition], *Han'guk kŏnhyŏndae misulsahak* 29 (2015).

²⁷⁶ Kawakita Michiaki, *Kindai Nihon bijutsu jiten* [Dictionary of modern Japanese art] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1989), 69.

²⁷⁷ An Sŏk-chu, 'Na ūi ch'wjjik kyŏnghŏmdam: "Na nŏn sajŏng i t'ŭksu"' [My experience of getting a job: 'My case was peculiar'], *Hyesŏng*, February 1932, 81.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Regarding his activities between returning to Korea and working at the *TI*, An wrote in 1932 that he ‘wandered without a job’ (*mujik ũro pangnang saenghwal*).²⁷⁹ But what he recalled as ‘wandering’ included ‘all sorts of things’ (*pyŏl ũi pyŏl il*) – mostly commercial work, such as ‘handling advertisement commissions’ (*kwanggo taeri ch'wigŭp*) and drawing ‘things like illustrations’ (*sap'wa kat'ŭn kŏt*) for *Kaebŏksa*.²⁸⁰

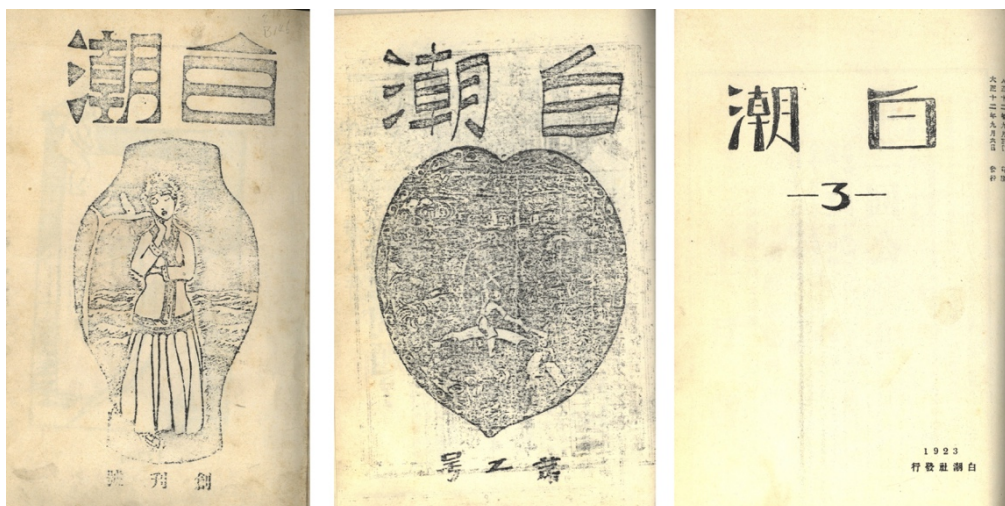


Figure 9. Covers of *Paekcho* (White tide) designed by An Sŏk-chu (1922-1923). Republished in Han'guk Sŏji Tonghoinhoe, *Paekcho*, reprinted ed. (Seoul: Han'guk Sŏji Tonghoinhoe, 1969).

In 1923, when *SS* was published, An Sŏk-chu was in this ‘wandering’ phase of his career. According to An’s later writing, around this time he was mostly known among the literati in Seoul as a member of the artistic-literary circle *Paekcho* (White Tide).²⁸¹ In 1922 An had drawn illustrations for a serial novel published in the *TI*.²⁸² An also designed the covers and drew illustrations for *Paekcho*, the circle’s short-lived but popular magazine published between 1922 and 1923 (Figure 9).²⁸³ Art historian Ki Hye-kyŏng suggests that the cover designs and illustrations of *Paekcho* reflected the group and An’s tendency towards literary and artistic romanticism, influenced by

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ An Sŏk-chu, ‘Mundan samsip-yŏn pisa’ [A thirty-year secret history of the literary world], *Munhwa sibo*, September-October 1947, republished in An Sŏk-chu, *An Sŏg-yŏng munsŏn*, 150-151.

²⁸² The serial was entitled *Magic* (Hwanhŭi) and was written by An’s friend and fellow member of *Paekcho*, Na To-hyang (1902-1926). An Sŏk-chu, ‘Mundan samsip-yŏn pisa’, p. 153.

²⁸³ Ibid., p. 151.

modernist movements in contemporary Japan like that of the artistic-literary group Shirakaba (White Birch).²⁸⁴



Figure 10. Cover of *Shōkō sekai Taiheiyō* (Commerce-industry world of the Pacific), January 1909.

There are no written records documenting how An Sōk-chu or the creators of *SS* designed the magazine's appearance. But my examination of earlier and contemporary Japanese design publications and magazine covers suggests that they generally drew inspiration from modernist design in Japan as a source for the editorial design of *SS*. An example pertinent to *SS* is the Japanese business magazine *Shōkō sekai Taiheiyō* (Commerce-industry world of the Pacific). *Shōkō sekai Taiheiyō* was

²⁸⁴ Ki Hye-kyōng, '1920-yōndae ūi misul hwa munhak ūi kyoryu yōn'gu' [A study on the interaction of art and literature in the 1920s], *Han'guk kŭnhyōndae misulsahak* 8 (2000), 11-20. In Japan, Shirakaba, a group consisting of artists and writers, was one of the most influential groups in 1910s and 1920s Japanese modernist art. Art historian Erin Schoneveld suggests that the group emphasised subjectivity and self-expression, and perceived cultural and creative practices of modernist art and literature as fluid and interconnected; *Shirakaba* (White birch) was the key vehicle through which the Shirakaba artists and writers discussed and propagated their comprehensive approach to art. Schoneveld suggests that magazines similar to *Shirakaba*, such as *Myōjō* (Morning star), *Subaru* (Pleides), and *Hōsun* (Square Inch) also contributed to visual and textual expressions of the modern experience in 1920s Japan. See Erin Schoneveld, *Shirakaba and Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collectives, and the Early Avant-garde* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 1-19. Considering that *Shirakaba* had a monthly circulation of around ten thousand in 1920, and that Korean intellectuals were often educated in Japan, the idea of the artistic network and modernism presented by Shirakaba probably affected Paekcho and other writers and artists in Korea.

large format (approximately 240mm in height), similar to SS's 4-6-bae-pan, and the cover design of its 1909 issues (Figure 10)²⁸⁵ in particular had similar elements to those on the February 1923 cover of SS (Figure 4). In terms of subject matter, the *Shōkō sekai* cover featured businessmen fully dressed in Western-style attire, presenting a modern lifestyle. Stylistically, the cover was a full-page composition with little blank space. The blank space in the centre was integrated into the surrounding illustrations, through the figure superimposed on the two elements. The black silhouette of buildings in the background and the flat expression used throughout are also stylistic elements of the *Shōkō sekai* cover that resemble those of the SS cover. *Shōkō sekai Taiheiyō* was published between 1906 and 1910, so there was a gap of more than a decade from SS.²⁸⁶ But considering that the Japanese term 'shōkō sekai' is the same as the Korean 'sanggong segye', there is a possibility that the publisher Hyōn Hi-un gained an idea for SS from *Shōkō sekai*. If so, he also might have shown the Japanese magazine to the designer An Sōk-chu as a reference to the editorial design of a modern business magazine.



Figure 11. Illustration on title page of 'The principles and arguments of Sanggong segye'. SS, February 1923, 5.

²⁸⁵ The 1909 issues of *Shōkō sekai Taiheiyō* had the same cover design but with different colour combinations for each month.

²⁸⁶ The catalogue of the National Diet Library shows that the publisher Hakubunkan changed the title of *Shōkō sekai Taiheiyō* several times: It was published as *Jitsugyō sekai Taiheiyō* (Practical business world of the Pacific) in 1903; the title changed to *Shōkō sekai Taiheiyō* between 1906 and 1910; from 1911 to 1912, it was published as *Jitsugyō kurabu* (Entrepreneurs' club).



Figure 12. Illustration on title page of ‘The pros and cons of newspaper advertising’. SS, February 1923, 58.

The illustrations in *SS* provide clearer evidence that An Sök-chu consulted Japanese sources for his editorial design. Two articles in the February 1923 issue, ‘The principles and arguments of *Sanggong segye*’ and ‘The pros and cons of newspaper advertising’ featured illustrations on their respective title pages: the former featured a laughing figure pointing a finger towards the viewer (Figure 11) and the latter showed comical figures wearing hats and holding sticks (Figure 12). I have discovered that illustrations almost identical to the two had been published in 1922 in a Japanese book entitled *How to make leaflets that definitely work* (Kanmarazu kiku chirashi no koshirae kata), as examples of good leaflet design (Figure 13).²⁸⁷ Considering that *How to make leaflets* was written by the famous business and advertising critic Shimizu Masami (1888-1954)²⁸⁸ and the first edition of the book had been published in 1916,²⁸⁹ it was a book popular enough to reach the hands of An, a Korean

²⁸⁷ Shimizu Masami, *Kanmarazu kiku chirashi no koshirae kata* [How to make leaflets that definitely work] (Tokyo: Hakuyōsha, 1922).

²⁸⁸ Shimizu Masami was a business-advertising critic in Japan, active in the 1920s as the editor-in-chief of the business magazine *Shōtenkai* (Commerce world) and author of numerous books on business management and advertising. Tajima Natsuko, 'Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū zen 24-kan oyobi shōgyō bijutsu geppō zen 24-gō no shippitsusha ryakureki' [Brief biographies of authors in the 24 volumes of the Complete collection of contemporary commercial art and the 24 issues of Commercial art monthly newsletter], in *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū 25 (bekkan)* (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2001), 139.

²⁸⁹ Shimizu Masami, *Kanmarazu kiku chirashi no koshirae kata* [How to make leaflets that definitely work] (Tokyo: Satō Shuppanbu, 1916). However, the 1916 edition did not contain the above illustrations.

artist with experience of art education in Japan.²⁹⁰ An had made slight modifications to the illustrations in *How to make leaflets*, but the appropriation of the drawings in the Japanese book for his illustrations implies that he may have adopted a similar approach to design other visual elements in *SS*.

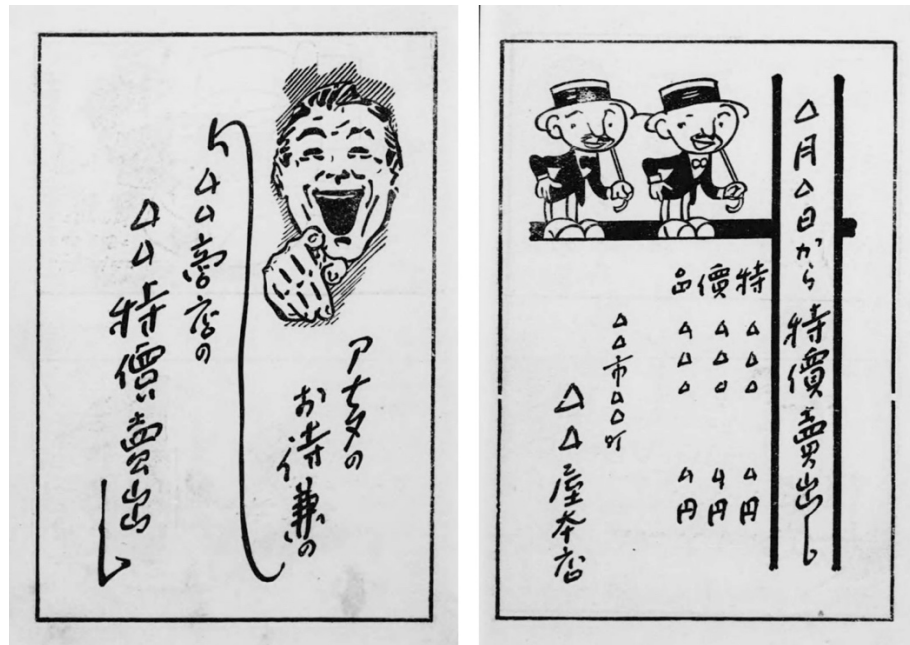


Figure 13. ‘Examples of how to draw leaflets’ (*chirashi no kaki kata jitsurei*). Shimizu Masami, *Kanarazu kiku chirashi no koshirae kata* [How to make leaflets that definitely work] (Tokyo: Hakuyōsha, 1922), 197, 118.

Beyond the specific case of *Shōkō sekai* and *How to make leaflets*, a more general influence on An’s project of modern editorial design for *SS* was likely to have been contemporary Japanese graphic design. In 1910s and 1920s Japan, many well-known designers adopted simple, flat, bold forms of visual expression; Japanese historians often characterise this style as ‘*tanka*’ (literally, ‘simplification’).²⁹¹ The trend towards this simple (as opposed to descriptive and detailed) style was partly influenced by modernist artistic practices in contemporary Europe, such as Art Nouveau and German and British commercial art.²⁹² From the 1900s and 1910s, alongside the Art Nouveau

²⁹⁰ Throughout the colonial period, Japanese books were available in Korea through various channels, as I will discuss further in Chapter 3.

²⁹¹ See Takeuchi Yukie, *Kindai kōkōku no tanjō* [The birth of modern advertising] (Tokyo: Seidōsha, 2011).

²⁹² For Art Nouveau styles in early twentieth-century Japanese design, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan et al., eds., *Nihon no āru nūvō 1900-1923: Kōgei to dezain no jidai* [Art Nouveau in Japan 1900-1923: The new age of crafts and design] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 2005). I will

movement in Japan, Japanese artists and designers such as Asai Chū (1856-1907) and Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943) had experimented and introduced simple, flat, bold visual expressions combined with curvy lines and decorative elements in their designs for mass-printed objects such as books and magazines.²⁹³

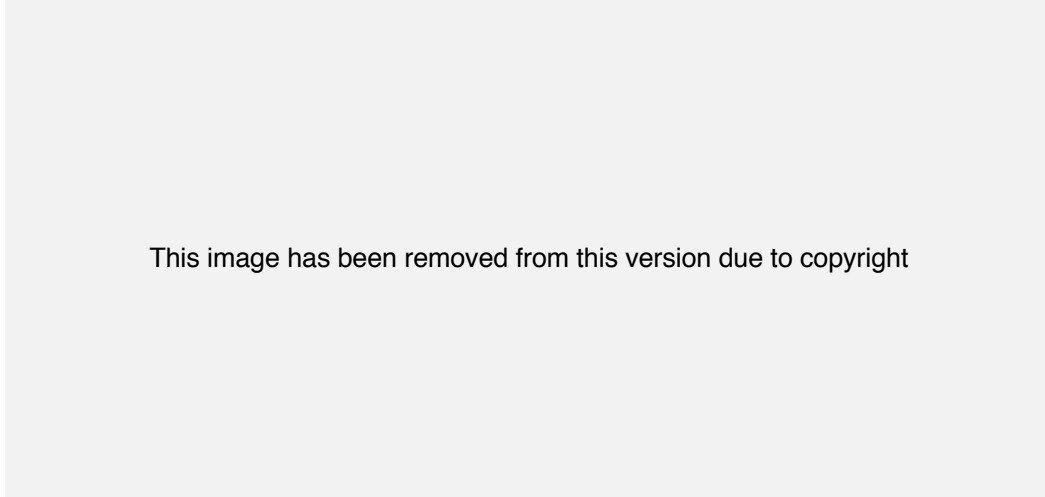


Figure 14. Covers of *Mitsukoshi*, March 1915, December 1915, June 1917. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, Kaneko Kenji, and Imai Yōko, eds., *Sugiura Hisui ten: Toshi seikatsu no dezainā* [Hisui Sugiura: A retrospective] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 2000), 68-69.

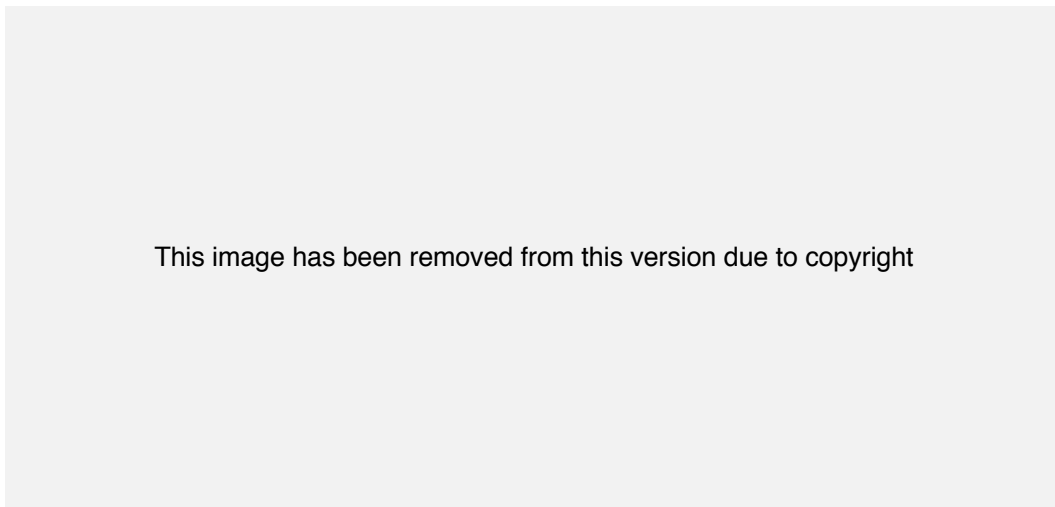


Figure 15. Covers of *Mitsukoshi*, October 1918, November 1918, April 1919. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, Kaneko Kenji, and Imai Yōko, eds., *Sugiura Hisui ten: Toshi seikatsu no dezainā* [Hisui Sugiura: A retrospective] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 2000), 70.

discuss ‘*tanka*’ and European commercial art further in Chapter 2 in relation to Japanese advertising and commercial art of the 1920s.

²⁹³ Ibid., 45-67.

The work of designer Sugiura Hisui (1876-1965) seems particularly relevant to An Sök-chu's design. Hisui, best known in the 1910s and 1920s in Japan as the designer for the department store Mitsukoshi, pioneered and epitomised simple expression in the field of commercial graphics.²⁹⁴ Hisui created a wide range of designs, and his style was certainly not uniform.²⁹⁵ But some of the posters and magazine covers he created in the 1910s and 1920s show visual traits that can be found in An's *SS* covers. For example, many of the Hisui-designed covers of *Mitsukoshi* (Mitsukoshi's promotional magazine) from the mid- to late 1910s featured human figures drawn in simple, flat forms with minimal facial details (Figure 14); many others featured objects and scenery depicted with coarse, bold brushstrokes (Figure 15); the covers were often full-page layouts and adopted vibrant colours. As I have shown above, these were the stylistic features that An incorporated in his *SS* covers, although to a different degree in each issue; they were what separated *SS*, visually, from contemporary Korean magazines. To visualise modernity through the covers of *SS*, An adopted a graphic style that resonated with modernist designs in other parts of the world, more specifically in Japan.

1.2.3. A call for modern Korean advertising

SS promoted advertising as a means of commercial-industrial self-strengthening for Koreans, through articles and in visual examples of advertising. Numerous articles in the two issues of *SS* specifically discussed advertising. For example, 'The point of reconciliation between commerce-industry and art'²⁹⁶ and 'The value of magazine advertisements'²⁹⁷ in the February and March issues, respectively, were articles dedicated to advertising. In addition, other articles briefly discussed

²⁹⁴ Sugiura Hisui trained as a *nihonga* (Japanese-style painting) artist at the Tokyo Fine Arts School, but eventually became more interested in modern European art in general and Art Nouveau in particular; he was influenced by the Western-style painter Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) and the mass of posters and printed matter that Kuroda brought back from the Paris Exposition of 1901. Eventually, Hisui started working for Mitsukoshi as a designer in 1908. For Hisui's life and work as a designer, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, Kaneko Kenji, and Imai Yōko, eds., *Sugiura Hisui ten: Toshi seikatsu no dezainā* [Hisui Sugiura: A retrospective] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 2000).

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ 'Sanggongöp kwa yesul ūi yunghwajöm' [The point of reconciliation between commerce-industry and art], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923.

²⁹⁷ Yu Su-jun, 'Chapchi kwanggo ūi kach'i yōha' [The value of magazine advertisements], *Sanggong segye*, March 1923.

advertising; for example, as a tactic to overcome the economic depression,²⁹⁸ or as a criterion to evaluate a store's management.²⁹⁹ According to an advertisement for future issues of *SS*, articles such as 'Newspapers and the classified sections in Korea' (*Chosŏn ūi sinmun kwa kwanggomyŏn*) and 'American, Japanese, and Korean magazines seen through merchandise' (*Sangp'um ūro pon Miguk chapchi, Ilbon chapchi, Chosŏn chapchi*) were planned.³⁰⁰

The total number of articles on advertising in *SS* may seem small, but given the short life of the magazine, the amount of space allocated to the discussion of advertising and design is significant. This is especially true considering that, from the beginning of colonial rule in 1910 until 1923, a handful of articles in the *Maeil sinbo* are the only published material on advertising in Korea that have been found by scholars to date.³⁰¹

Two of the advertising-related texts in *SS* are particularly useful in articulating how advertising fitted in with the editors' pursuit of modernity and what they envisioned for the practice of modern Korean advertising. 'The pros and cons of newspaper advertising' (*Sinmun kwanggo ūi changdan tŭksil*), the first article dedicated to advertising, was published in the February 1923 issue.³⁰² It was written by Yi Tal-yŏ, a staff member of *SS*'s advertising department (*kwanggobu*).³⁰³ In the article, Yi emphasised the significance of advertising, writing that 'if you look at the advertising page' (*kwanggomyŏn*) of newspapers and magazines, 'you would know whether a country's commerce-industry is superior or inferior (*uyŏl*). He argued that 'in order to develop (*paldal*) commerce-industry, [one] has to develop advertising'.

²⁹⁸ Hyŏn Hi-un, 'Chŏnhwang sidae ūi sanggongŏp kyŏngyŏngch'aek', 23; Yi Yŏn-bo, 'Hyŏndae ūi kyŏngje chojik sang ūro pon purhwang kwa hohwang' [Depressions and booms seen through modern institutions of economy], *Sanggong segye*, March 1923, 90-94.

²⁹⁹ Sanggong Saeng [pseud.], 'Kyŏngsŏng sangjŏnggi: Tonga Puin Sanghoe' [A review of stores in Kyŏngsŏng: Tonga Puin Sanghoe], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, 74.

³⁰⁰ 'Sa wol ho nŭn t'ŭkbyŏrho' [The April issue will be a special issue], *Sanggong segye*, March 1923. But as the magazine was probably discontinued after two issues, as the articles were never published.

³⁰¹ See, for example, 'Saŏp palchŏn kwa kwanggo' [Advertising and the advancement of business], *Maeil sinbo*, 26 June 1912; 'Kwanggo wa kyŏnmun' [Advertising and experience], *Maeil sinbo*, 3 September 1912; 'Sinmun kwa sangin ūi kwan'gye' [The relationship between the newspaper and the merchant], *Maeil sinbo*, 5 March 1916; 'Kwanggo nŭn chabon' [Advertising is capital], *Maeil sinbo*, 26 July 1917.

³⁰² Yi Tal-yŏ, 'Sinmun kwanggo ūi changdan tŭksil' [The pros and cons of newspaper advertising], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, 58-62.

³⁰³ Yi formerly worked for Kaebŏksa as a member of the advertising department and a 'bill collector' (*chipkŭmin*). But he resigned on 31 August 1922, a month after Hyŏn left the publisher. 'Sawon tongjŏng', 28. Presumably, Hyŏn and Yi became acquainted while working at Kaebŏksa, and Hyŏn hired Yi to handle the advertising operations of *SS*.

Yi Tal-yŏ stated critically that ‘there is nothing worthy of acknowledgment (*kŭngjŏng*)’ among past and current newspaper advertisements by Korean companies. He argued that there was a ‘wide gap of superiority-inferiority (*uyŏl*)’ between Japanese and Korean advertisements published in Korean newspapers. Yi thought that this was partly because Korean press culture was in its infancy, which was true in that it had been officially oppressed between 1910 and 1920. But more importantly, Yi suggested that the gap existed because Koreans in commerce-industry did not have enough knowledge of advertising. He argued that there was a prevailing tendency among Korean businessmen to underestimate the benefits of advertising and to think of it as a kind of ‘favourable act of donation’ (*hoŭijŏk kibu haengwi*) to newspapers. He wrote that the reason Korean advertisers felt that newspaper advertising was a waste of money was not because the medium itself was ineffective, but because their ‘methods and means’ (*pangbŏp kwa sudan*) were ‘bad’ (*nappasŏ*).

Yi Tal-yŏ presented more specific guidelines for advertising.³⁰⁴ He wrote that: ‘format’ (*hyŏngsang*), by which he meant the size of the advertisement, should avoid being ‘extremely long or small’, ‘square’, or ‘circle’, and that an ‘adequate size’ (*chŏkto*) will ‘naturally’ (*sŭsŭro*) emerge; ‘design’ (*ŭijang*) should be ‘clear and elegant’ (*myŏngk’wae hago kosang*) and accord with ‘season and occasion’; in terms of ‘typography’ (*munja*), ‘fresh letterforms’ (*ch’amsinhan chach’e*) should be created rather than adopting ‘existing type’ (*kisŏng ŭi hwalcha*); and ‘copy’ (*munjang*) should be ‘moderate’ (*on’gŏn*) and ‘clear’ (*myŏngk’wae*), and ‘exaggeration’ (*kwajang*) should be avoided.³⁰⁵

Yi Tal-yŏ’s advice on the four aspects of advertising design seem general and arguably vague, especially in the use of ambiguous terms such as ‘adequate’ and ‘moderate’. This ambiguity might have derived from his lack of expertise as an actual producer of advertisements. Although he was affiliated to the advertising department of *SS*, he handled the more financial side of the operation.³⁰⁶ It is likely that Yi’s guidelines for advertising were based on knowledge gained from Japanese writing on advertising, considering that *SS* was one of the earliest Korean publications to discuss advertising extensively; but Yi was not particularly an expert on the theory and design of advertising, and, as discussed above, the editors of *SS* often relied on Japanese sources for its

³⁰⁴ Yi Tal-yŏ, 'Sinmun kwanggo ŭi changdan tŭksil', 60-61.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 61.

³⁰⁶ In the February 1923 issue he was listed as a member of the ‘sales bureau’ (*yŏngŏpkuk*). When he had worked for Kaebŏksa in 1922, he was a member of the advertising department and also a ‘bill collector’ (*chipkŭmin*), which might suggest that his role was to set up deals and handle fees, rather than create ads. 'Sawon tongjŏng', 28.

content.³⁰⁷ In this respect Yi's essay on advertising resonated with *SS*'s modernist vision and the ideological frame of cultural nationalism: it criticised Korean conventions of advertising, urged readers to educate themselves with new knowledge, and referred to Japan as a model for the improvement of Korean advertising.

'The art movement of advertising painting' (Kwanggo hoehwa ūi yesul undong), also published in the February 1923 *SS*, presented a more detailed and analytical discussion of the design of advertising.³⁰⁸ It was written by Kim Pok-chin (pseudonym Chŏng Kwan, 1901-1940), the sculptor and leftist artist.³⁰⁹ Kim presented a perception of Korean advertising as inferior, as Yi Tal-yŏ had done, stating that 'there is not much understanding of advertising' in Korea. Comparing Korea to 'other people's countries' (*nam ūi nara*), Kim argued that to fight in the 'competition for survival' (*saengjon kyŏngjaeng*), Koreans needed to pursue what he called the 'advertising art movement' (*kwanggo yesul undong*). According to him, the aim of such a movement was to 'innovate in advertising to a new direction', advancing beyond 'unfree forms bound to conventional stereotypes' (*insŭp ūi chŏnhyŏng e p'och'ak toeŏ pujayu han hyŏngch'e*), such as using 'Western female portraits' or 'sweet and soft, the dullest' (*tanjohan, talgodo yŏnhan*) colours.

It is not clear from the magazine why Kim Pok-chin wrote the article, where he got the ideas for it, or to what extent he was involved in *SS*.³¹⁰ In 1923, when *SS* was published, Kim was a

³⁰⁷ It is difficult to pinpoint what Japanese sources Yi Tal-yŏ and other authors consulted to write about advertising in *SS*, as at the time a wide range of advertising-related material was published in Japan. Magazines dedicated to advertising and commercial art would expand significantly in Japan later the mid-1920s; but already in the 1910s many Japanese business magazines, like *Jitsugyō no Nihon* (Enterprising Japan), *Jitsugyōkai* (Business world), and *Shōtenkai* (Commerce world) were discussing those topics extensively. Theoretical books on advertising were also published increasingly in the 1910s, written by famous business-advertising critics like Iseki Jūnrō (1872-1932) and Shimizu Masami. See Nakai Kōichi, *Nihon kōkoku hyōgen gijutsu shi* [History of expressive techniques in Japanese advertising] (Tokyo: Genkōsha, 1991), 173-174. I will discuss the emergence of specialist advertising magazines in mid-1920s Japan further in Chapter 2.

³⁰⁸ Kim Pok-chin, 'Kwanggo hoehwa ūi yesul undong' [The art movement of advertising painting], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, 68-72.

³⁰⁹ Kim Pok-chin became more famous as a leftist artist during the latter half of the 1920s, as a leading member of the socialist art group KAPF. For Kim's life and work as an artist-critic, see Yun Pŏm-mo and Ch'oe Yŏl, eds., *Kim Pok-chin chŏnjip* [The complete works of Kim Pok-chin] (Seoul: Ch'ŏngnyŏnsa, 1995); Cho Ũn-jŏng, 'Kim Pok-chin ūi pip'yŏng kwa kŭndae misul' [Kim Pok-chin's art criticism and modern art], *Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae misulsahak* 7 (1999); Yun Pŏm-mo, 'Kim Pok-chin yŏn'gu' [A study on Kim Pok-chin] (PhD thesis, Dongguk University, 2007).

³¹⁰ An anonymous article entitled 'The point of reconciliation between commerce-industry and art' (*Sanggongŏp kwa yesul ūi yunghwajŏm*) preceded 'The art movement of advertising painting' in the February 1923 issue. The article explained from a socialist point of view how 'true art', which is to

promising art student studying sculpture at the Tokyo Fine Arts School (Tōkyo Bijutsu Gakkō), the most prestigious and established art school in Japan (Kim enrolled between 1920 and 1925).³¹¹

Together with An Sök-chu, Kim Pok-chin also was a member of Paekcho, and their activities were known to many of the literary and artistic elites in Seoul (such as Hyōn Hi-un) at the time.³¹²

Therefore it is probable that Hyōn or other editors invited Kim as an art expert, or his friend An Sök-chu personally invited him, to write the article about advertising in *SS*.

Considering his education in Japan, it is very possible that Kim Pok-chin's interest in advertising was influenced by contemporary Japanese leftist art movements. Later, in 1926, he wrote in the *Chosŏn ilbo* that Paskyula, the literary-artistic socialist group he established in 1923, was 'not very different from Dada or Mavo'.³¹³ Art historian Hong Chi-sök has convincingly argued that Kim Pok-chin used the Japanese avant-garde art group Mavo, or their appropriation of Dada or Russian constructivism, as a model for his version of proletarian art in Korea.³¹⁴ Meanwhile, design historian Gennifer Weisenfeld has shown how advertising and commercial design constituted a major part of Mavo artists' production.³¹⁵ Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901-1977), the leading figure of Mavo, wrote in 1970 that from around 1923 he had handled commercial design works, such as 'planning, wall

'express the joy of human labour', does not contradict with commerce-industry but rather 'cooperates' with it. 'Sanggongöp kwa yesul ūi yunghwajöm', 65. Art historians have attributed this article to Kim Pok-chin, but with no clear evidence. (See, for example, Ch'oe Yöl, *Han'guk kŭndae misul pip'yöngsa* [History of criticism on Korean modern art] (Seoul: Yörhwadang, 2001); Hong Chi-sök, 'K'ap'ü ch'ogi p'ürollet'aria misul tamnon' ['Proletarian art' discourse in early period of KAPF], *Sai* 17 (2014), 12-14; Pak Chöng-yön, 'Han'guk kŭndae "sangöp misul" e nat'anan ch'usang p'yohyön' [Abstract expression in Korean modern 'commercial art'] (MA thesis, Ewha Women's University, 2014), 47-48.) Although we cannot exclude the possibility that it was written by another author (for instance, An Sök-chu), it is very possible that Kim Pok-chin wrote it, as a theoretical justification for socialist artists engaging in commercial advertising.

³¹¹ Yun Pöm-mo, 'Kim Pok-chin yön'gu', 1.

³¹² An Sök-chu and Kim Pok-chin met as members of Paekcho in 1922. They also organised artist groups like the Towöl Art Study Group (Towöl Misul Yön'guhoe) in 1923 and the Korean Cartoonists' Club (Chosŏn Manhwaga Kurakpu) in 1925. From the mid-1920s, they participated together in the socialist artistic-literary group KAPF. Ch'oe Yöl, *Han'guk kŭndae misul ūi yöksa* [A history of Korean modern art] (Paju: Yörhwadang, 2006), 166, 192.

³¹³ Kim Pok-chin, 'Paskyula', *Chosŏn ilbo*, 1 July 1926. From 1925 Kim played a leading role in the literary-artistic socialist group KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio in Esperanto), which resulted from the merging of Paskyula and another socialist group, Yömgunsa. Yun Pöm-mo, 'Kim Pok-chin yön'gu', 323.

³¹⁴ Hong Chi-sök, 'K'ap'ü ch'ogi p'ürollet'aria misul tamnon', 12, 24.

³¹⁵ See Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde, 1905-1931* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 165-215.

paintings, signboards, show-windows for stores, cafes, and beauty salons' and designs for books and magazines.³¹⁶ Kim Pok-chin most likely recognised Mavo artists' commercial activities, and sympathised with the importance of advertising design.³¹⁷

In 'The art movement of advertising painting', Kim Pok-chin offered specific guidelines for advertising design.³¹⁸ He explained that viewers looked at an advertisement only for a moment, and in that moment the advertisement had 'to make [them] understand (*tūkshim*)' and 'to make [them] remember (*kiōk*)'. In this vein he suggested that 'advertising painting' (*kwanggo hoehwa*) was an important element for advertisements to 'attract attention' and 'give an impression that lasts'. Therefore, Kim asserted, advertising designers should use, whether for posters or newspaper and magazine ads, 'bold lines, powerful lines, dynamic curves' (*kulgūn sŏn him innūn sŏn pyŏnhwa innūn koksŏn*) in a manner 'as simple as possible' (*toel su innūn taero nūn kandan hage*); he emphasised simple and bold, yet 'coarse' (*choak*) expression. Kim argued that this expression would capture the eyes of the viewer, and also invoke what he called the effect of 'imaginative compensation' (*sangsang poch'ung*): by this he meant the viewer's active engagement by imagining what was not depicted; he suggested that this process would create a lasting impression in their minds.

Kim's interest in advertising and his emphasis on simple, bold expression in design, as a modernist artist, was not unique. In the 1920s, many modernist artists in other geographical contexts were interested in commercial design, such as posters and magazines; they also emphasised simple forms.³¹⁹ Such a tendency also existed in contemporary Japan among leftist artists like the Mavo group, but also among designers in the more explicitly commercial field of advertising.³²⁰ But in the context of early 1920s colonial Korea, Kim Pok-chin's vision as presented in the *SS* article was

³¹⁶ Murayama Tomoyoshi, 'Mavo zen'go' [Before and after Mavo], in *Nihon dezain shōshi*, ed. Nihon Dezain Shōshi Henshū Dōjin (Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1970), 31.

³¹⁷ For interactions between Korean and Japanese leftist artists and activists, see Sunyoung Park, *The Proletarian Wave: Literature and Leftist Culture in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

³¹⁸ Kim Pok-chin, 'Kwanggo hoehwa ūi yesul undong', 68-72.

³¹⁹ Design historians Paul Jobling and David Crowley have shown how modernist (and often leftist) artists in Western and Central Europe in the 1920s were drawn to commercial work, most notably posters, and adopted a simple, flat visual language as a modern expression. See 'Between utopianism and commerce: modernist graphic design', in Paul Jobling and David Crowley, *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation Since 1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 137-170.

³²⁰ I will discuss this tendency towards simple and bold expressions among Japanese commercial artists further in Chapter 2.

certainly extraordinary in terms of innovative advertising design.³²¹ Kim's vision was actualised in the magazine through An Sök-chu's designs, which were distinct from the usual practices of early 1920s Korean advertising.

1.2.4. An Sök-chu's advertising design

Throughout his active years from the 1920s to 1940s, An Sök-chu had a multifarious career within the artistic-cultural circle of Seoul as an actor, stage designer, fine artist, art critic, cartoonist-illustrator, writer, and film director.³²² His statement, mentioned above, that he 'wandered without a job' in the early 1920s suggests that he was not particularly proud of his commercial design work of the period.³²³ In much of his writing collected in the 1986 publication *A selection of An Sök-yöng's literary works* (An Sök-yöng munsön), he generally identified himself as a newspaper reporter (he worked for the *TI* and *Chosön ilbo* throughout the 1920s and 1930s) and film director-producer (from the 1940s).³²⁴

An Sök-chu's commercial design work in the 1920s may have been more extensive and significant than he claims them to be. Art historian Ki Hye-kyöng, examining his retrospective writing and the magazine *Paekcho*, has shown that An had a personal studio, Munhwasa, in 1922, in which he handled commercial design work; Munhwasa was also the publishing body for *Paekcho*, and was used as a meeting point for the members of *Paekcho*.³²⁵

³²¹ Art historian Yun Pöm-mo has also commented on Kim Pok-chin's interest in commercial art and writings in *SS* as 'progressive' and 'pioneering' in the context of 1920s Korean art. Yun Pöm-mo, 'Kim Pok-chin ūi misul pip'yöngnon' [The art criticism of Kim Bok-jin], *Hyöndae misurhak nonmunjip 9* (2006), 92-94.

³²² Sin Myöng-jik, 'An Sög-yöng manmun manhwa yön'gu', 8.

³²³ An Sök-chu, 'Mundan samsip-yön pisa', p. 150-151.

³²⁴ An Sök-chu, *An Sög-yöng munsön*.

³²⁵ Ki Hye-kyöng, '1920-yöndae ūi misul hwa munhak ūi kyoryu yön'gu', 10, 19.

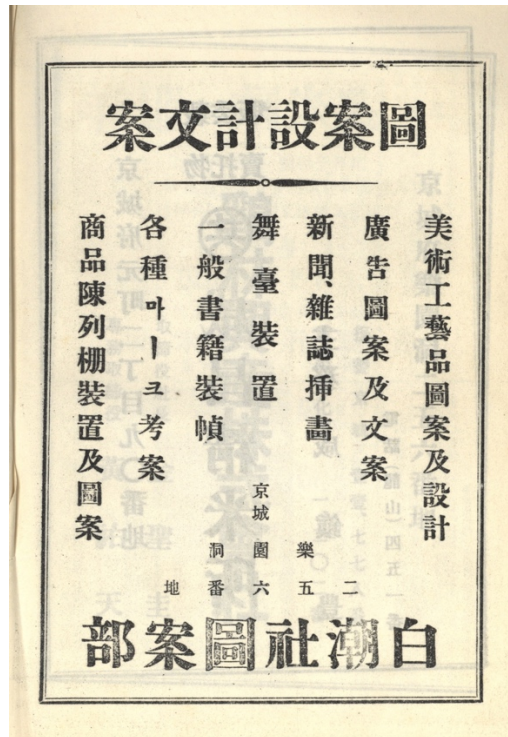


Figure 16. Magazine advertisement by Paekchosa Design Department, published in *Paekcho*, September 1923. Republished in Han'guk Sōji Tonghoinhoe, *Paekcho*, reprinted ed. (Seoul: Han'guk Sōji Tonghoinhoe, 1969), n.p.

In the September 1923 issue of *Paekcho*, an advertisement for the ‘Paekchosa Design Department’ (Paekchosa Toanbu) was published (Figure 16). The advertisement stated that the department offered services such as ‘arts and crafts design and planning’ (*misul kongyep'um toan kūp sōlgye*), ‘advertising design and copywriting’ (*kwanggo toan kūp munan*), and ‘newspaper and magazine illustration’ (*sinmun chapchi sap'wa*). Ki Hye-kyōng argues that this advertisement indicated that An had expanded his personal work on commercial design at Munhwasa into a mission for the Paekcho group, and that he was pursuing a broader artistic notion of ‘art for life’ (*insaeng ūl wihan yesul*).³²⁶ Considering An Sōk-chu’s inclination towards socialist art in the mid-1920s, it is very possible that his commercial art practice in the early 1920s was a conscious ambition to spread art among the general public.³²⁷

But Ki’s explanation overlooks the implications of An’s commercial design as a practical business that generated actual commercial results. By closely examining contemporary records and

³²⁶ Ibid., 19.

³²⁷ In 1930, An wrote in *Pyōlgōn'gon* that his work as an illustrator-cartoonist (*sap'wa manhwa*) accorded with the ‘popularisation’ (*taejunghwa*) of art at the time. An Sōk-chu, ‘Ilga irōn’ [One figure, one comment], *Pyōlgōn'gon*, November 1930, 65.

his later recollections, I have gathered evidence to suggest that between 1921 and 1922 An Sök-chu ran an active advertising agency in Seoul, called Paegyöngsa. Advertising historians Sin In-söp and Sö Pöm-sök have recognised the existence of Paegyöngsa, and have identified it as ‘the only Korean-managed advertising agency’ between 1920 and 1945.³²⁸ Based on its advertisements published in the *TI*, Sin In-söp also suggests that Paegyöngsa was a ‘pioneer of [Korean] advertising’ in terms of creative design; but he notes that it closed in 1922 after running for only about a year, for an unknown reason.³²⁹ In short, the advertising historians have depicted Paegyöngsa as an oddity: a Korean advertising agency that suddenly emerged and disappeared. But although short-lived, Paegyöngsa was part of the larger context of An Sök-chu’s commercial design career (including *SS*) and Korean advertising of the 1920s more generally.



Figure 17. Newspaper advertisement by Paegyöngsa. *TI*, 13 October 1921, 3.

A key item of evidence that suggests that An Sök-chu was involved with Paegyöngsa is the address in its ads. A newspaper advertisement by Paegyöngsa was first published in the *TI* on 13 October 1921; it identified the company as a ‘newspaper and magazine advertising agency’ (*sinmun chapchi kwanggo taeri*) (Figure 17). The advertisement also stated the address of Paegyöngsa, ‘Kyöngsöng Nagwön-tong 256’. This address was the same as that of the other institutions related to

³²⁸ Sin In-söp and Sö Pöm-sök, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 132.

³²⁹ Sin In-söp, 'Tanmyöng ũro kkünnan 1920-yöndaeh ch'o önnü Han'guk kwanggo taehaengsa' [A short-lived Korean advertising agency in the early 1920s], *Kwanggogye tonghyang* 285 (2014).

An Sök-chu: Munhwasa and the Paekchosa Design Department were all in ‘Kyöngsöng Nagwön-tong 256’.³³⁰ An Sök-chu wrote in 1947 that he had a studio called Munhwasa ‘in the corner of Nagwön-tong’ (*Nagwön-tong iru*), where he did ‘advertising design’ (*kwanggo toan*); around the time Paekcho was established, he turned the studio into the office of Paekchosa, and ‘deposited’ (*kitak*) the title of Munhwasa to Paekchosa as well, which would mean that the latter absorbed the former’s work.³³¹ It is thus very possible that Paegyöngsa, Munhwasa, and the Paekchosa Design Department were essentially the same operation, run by An Sök-chu alone or with his colleagues in the Paekcho group.³³²

Paegyöngsa is particularly significant among the three, as the advertisements commissioned for it were actually published in the *TI*. Because advertising agencies and designers rarely left records of their involvement in a particular advertisement, it is difficult to identify the extent of Paegyöngsa’s overall advertising production. But between its first advertisement (October 1921, Figure 17) and the announcement of closure (October 1922),³³³ at least two instances can be identified as part of its production: Paegyöngsa published collective sections of advertisements that included an advertisement for itself.³³⁴ For example, the advertising section of the first page of the *TI*’s 13 December 1921 issue featured seven illustrated advertisements for Korean companies, including one for Paegyöngsa (Figure 18). These advertisements are examples that indicate the stylistic traits of An’s advertising design, which are also apparent in the advertisements in *SS* that he designed.

³³⁰ Munhwasa’s address was given in the first issue of *Paekcho*. *Paekcho*, January 1922, 143; the address of the Paekchosa Design Department was given in the aforementioned advertisement in the September 1923 *Paekcho* (Figure 16).

³³¹ An Sök-chu, ‘Mundan samsip-yön pisa’ [A thirty-year secret history of the literary world], *Munhwa sibo*, September-October 1947, republished in An Sök-chu, *An Sög-yöng munsön*, 151.

³³² By September 1923, when the third issue of *Paekcho* was published, in addition to An Sök-chu, artists Kim Pok-chin and Yi Süng-man had joined Paekcho. The three had worked together closely, designing stage sets for the Towöl Group (Towölhoe) theatre group and organising the Towöl Art Study Group (Towöl Misul Yön'guhoe) in August 1923. Munhwasa was An’s personal operation, but Kim and/or Yi may have participated in the Paekchosa Design Department. Ch’oe Yöl, *Han’guk kũndae misul üi yöksa*, 166.

³³³ *Tonga ibo*, 2 October 1922, p. 1.

³³⁴ See, for example, *TI*, 16 November 1921, p. 3; 13 December 1921, p. 1.

THE TONG-A DAILY, SEOUL (日電大) 日三十月二十年十正大 (可認物標此種三第誌報)

東亞日報

一成果 第四版

一月革命精神 用想與實踐

職業 仁義堂大藥房

林去根

壯筋

水報廣告

僑商注意

萬種書籍

新光社

仕人期到來

天一商會

中央理髮館

海人屋洋服店

Figure 18. Advertising section by Paegyöngsa. The smaller advertisement on the lower left is for Paegyöngsa. *TJ*, 13 December 1921, 1.

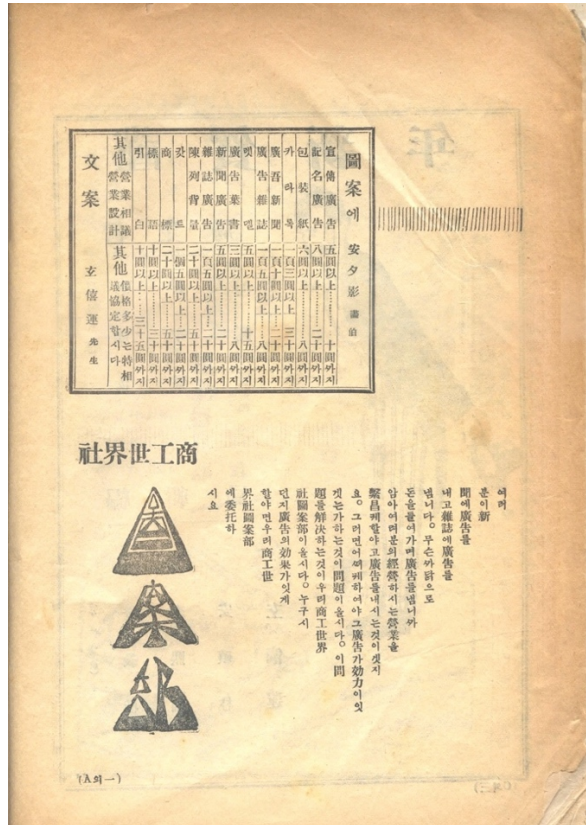


Figure 19. Advertisement for the Sanggong Segyesa Design Department. *SS*, February 1923, A1. Adan Mun'go.

Sanggong Segyesa, the publishing body of *SS*, had a ‘Design Department’ (Sanggong Segyesa Toanbu).³³⁵ The existence of the department can be confirmed in an advertisement that was published in both the February and March 1923 issues of the magazine (Figure 19).³³⁶ The purpose of the design department was similar to the magazine’s, in that it promoted better advertising as part of modern business practice. The texts in the lower part of the advertisement stated:

³³⁵ Sanggong Segyesa was not the first magazine publisher in Korea to establish an in-house design department. *Kaebyoŭksa*, the publisher of *Kaebyoŭk*, had established a ‘Commercial-Industrial Design Department’ (Sanggong Toanbu) by 1921. The design departments of Sanggong Segyesa and *Kaebyoŭksa* were similar in terms of the types of work they handled, the division of work into ‘design’ and ‘copy’, and the focus on ‘effective’ advertising. Given that Hyŏn Hi-un was at *Kaebyoŭksa* between 1921 and 1922, it is possible that the design department was a project that Hyŏn had been involved in there, which he adopted for his own magazine. Considering that An Sŏk-chu was affiliated to *Kaebyoŭksa* from at least 1923, he may also have participated in *Kaebyoŭksa*’s Commercial-Industrial Design Department. ‘*Kaebyoŭksa Sanggong Toanbu*’ [The Commercial-Industrial Design Department of *Kaebyoŭksa*], *Kaebyoŭk*, September 1921; ‘*Sawon tongjŏng*’.

³³⁶ ‘Sanggong Segyesa Toanbu’ [Design Department of Sanggong Segyesa], *Sanggong segye*, February 1923, A1.

You publish advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Why do you spend money on publishing advertisements? Probably to make your businesses prosper. Then the problem is how to make the advertisements effective. We, the Design Department of Sanggong Segyesa, are the ones that solve the problem. If anyone wants to make advertisements effective, commission us [...].³³⁷

The chart on the top stated that ‘design’ (*toan*) was done by An Sŏg-yŏng (Sŏk-chu’s pseudonym) and ‘copy’ (*munan*) by Hyŏn Hi-un. It also listed the types of work the department handled, such as newspaper and magazine advertisements, wrapping papers (*p’ojangji*), catalogues (*k’at’arok*), trademarks (*sangp’yo*), and display backgrounds (*chinyŏl paegyŏng*). Considering the range of work and An Sŏk-chu’s involvement as the designer, the department was very possibly continuous with the operations of Paegyŏngsa, Munhwasa, and the Paekchosa Design Department. Running an in-house design department was possibly a means for Hyŏn Hi-un and An Sŏk-chu to exemplify and propagate what they perceived as modern business and advertising, while seeking additional income for the magazine.

The advertisements by Korean stores and manufacturers published in *SS* were also designed by the Design Department, and therefore by An Sŏk-chu.³³⁸ Most of the advertisements were for commodities that represented the modern lifestyle in 1920s Korea, such as Western-style clothing, shoes, hats, watches, bicycles, and fountain pens.³³⁹ The advertisements in *SS* were stylistically distinct from usual advertisements by Korean companies published in contemporary Korean newspapers.

An examination of the typical styles of design used in contemporary Korean advertisements offers a context for the distinctiveness of An’s designs. Advertisements for Western-style shoes (*yangwha*) were the majority in the two issues of *SS* (eight of a total of twenty-one illustrated advertisements), so I will discuss examples of Korean-owned Western-style shoe stores (*yanghwajŏm*) for a more coherent comparison.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ ‘Chibang kwanggoju ege sago’ [Apologies to regional advertisers], *Sanggong segye*, March 1923, n.p.

³³⁹ For the significance of these commodities as visual symbols of a modern lifestyle in colonial Korea, see Mok Su-hyŏn, ‘Yongmang ũrosŏi kŭndae: 1910-1930-yŏndae Han’guk sinmun kwanggo ũi sinch’e imiji’.

³⁴⁰ Advertisements for Western-style shoe stores were common in 1920s Korea. Media historians Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk et al. estimate that by the 1920s, the number of advertisements for Western-style shoes occupied around ten per cent of the total published in Korean newspapers and magazines. Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk et al., ‘Kŭndae inswae kwanggo rŭl t’onghae pon kŭndaejŏk chuch’e hyŏngsŏng e kwanhan yŏn’gu’ [A study on the formation of the modern subject through Korean modern advertising], *Kwanggohak yŏn’gu* 15, no. 1 (2004), 242, 249. Visual culture historian Mok Su-hyŏn has convincingly explained why Western-style



Figure 20. Newspaper advertisement for Yöngt'aech'ang. *Maeil sinbo*, 22 May 1917, 1.

Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, Western-style shoe stores in Korea published newspaper and magazine advertisements that generally featured images. In the 1910s, a common style was to show the profile image of shoes, in simple illustrations printed in woodcut. Apart from the illustration, most of the advertisement space was filled with lengthy and descriptive text. An advertisement by Yöngt'aech'ang ('Western-style Shoe Store' omitted after store names in this section), published in the *Maeil sinbo* in 1917, exemplifies this style (Figure 20).

In the 1920s, the earlier style generally persisted, but images used in shoe store advertisements diversified with the introduction of the half-tone printing technique.³⁴¹ Advertisements featured more detailed illustrations of shoes or photographs of stores. A 1920 advertisement for Hansöng published in the *TI* exemplifies the former (Figure 21): it featured a half-tone illustration of four styles of shoes juxtaposed along the long horizontal space. A 1921 advertisement by Taech'ang published in the *Maeil sinbo* may be a typical example of the latter (Figure 22): a photo of the store

shoes might have been particularly prevalent in newspaper advertisements in modern Korea. She explains that Korean men resisted Western-style shoes less than Western-style clothing and hairstyles, because the former was a less visible yet 'convenient' option. The relatively easy adoption of Western-style shoes possibly contributed to the growth of the Korean shoe manufacturing and retailing business, which resulted in the expansion of related advertisements. But, as they were an imported and relatively unfamiliar foreign commodity, advertisers often attached modern values such as 'civilisation', 'economy', and 'convenience' to Western-style shoes. Mok Su-hyön, 'Yongmang ürosöüi kündae: 1910-1930-yöndae Han'guk sinmun kwanggo üi sinch'e imiji', 9-10.

³⁴¹ The half-tone printing technique, which allowed the use of photographs and more detailed illustrations, was first employed in Korea in the *Maeil sinbo* in 1912, and eventually spread to other newspapers. Pak Kye-ri, 'Maeil sinbo wa 1910-yöndae kündae imiji', 129.

covered over half of the space – the copy stated that Western-style shoes were the only ‘active’ (*hwaltongjök*) and ‘enterprising’ (*chinch'wijök*) shoes, and that Taech'ang was ‘a leader in the field’ (*sagye üi sön'gu*); the photo in the advertisement can therefore be seen as the store’s effort to represent itself as a leading business, with a solid physical store of a substantial scale.



Figure 21. Newspaper advertisement for Hansöng. *Hansöng*, 71, 25 June 1920, 3.

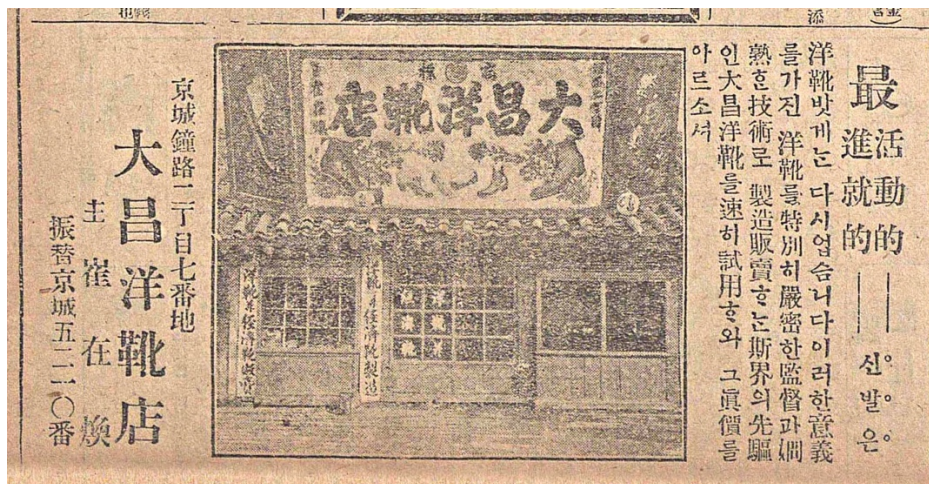


Figure 22. Newspaper advertisement for Taech'ang. *Maeil sinbo*, 12 June 1921, 1.

In short, throughout the 1910s and 1920s, Western-style shoe stores in Korea published newspaper and magazine advertisements that featured images, which were generally illustrations of products or photographs of stores. These images may be characterised as descriptive, in that they depicted the details of objects and spaces. They may also be characterised as static, in that they did not imply a sense of narrative or movement around the depicted objects and spaces.



Figure 23. Newspaper advertisement for Ch'öngnyön. *Maeil sinbo*, 23 December 1920, 3.



Figure 24. Newspaper advertisement for Ch'öngnyön. *Maeil sinbo*, 12 January 1921, 1.

Ch'öngnyön, a shoe manufacturer-retailer that advertised actively in newspapers and magazines throughout the colonial period, was no exception to the typical styles of shoe advertising of the 1910s and 1920s. The newspaper advertisements of Ch'öngnyön in the early 1920s conformed to the descriptive and static style: a 1920 advertisement featured drawings of shoes (Figure 23), and a 1921 advertisement featured a photo of the store (Figure 24).



Figure 25. An Sŏk-chu, advertisement for Ch'ongnyŏn. SS, February 1923, A10.

The advertisement for Ch'ongnyŏn that was published in both issues of *SS*, designed by An Sŏk-chu, was clearly distinct from the descriptive, static style of the company's earlier advertisements (Figure 25). The illustration was not static in that it featured a man's and a woman's shoes being worn and in action, rather than on display. It was also not descriptive, in terms of either drawing style or composition. An depicted the shoes in a simplified manner so that their details as a specific type of shoe are hardly recognisable. He also drew the figures in a flat and simple style, merely with filled-in outlines. The space around the figures was also filled with fine vertical lines, contributing to the simplicity of the composition. The composition was cropped, and the illustration featured only the legs of the figures, leaving the rest of the scene to the viewer's imagination. Thematically, the dynamic figures possibly made the viewer imagine a modern couple dressed in Western-style attire climbing up the stairs, which resonated with the figures in the cover of the February 1923 *SS*. In short, An Sŏk-chu kept the composition simple, used bold lines, and left out the details, invoking what Kim Pok-chin described as 'imaginative compensation'. The advertisement did not merely describe the products that Ch'ongnyŏn sold, but evocatively presented a modern lifestyle and related it to their products. An's design for Ch'ongnyŏn was distinct from the typical Korean shoe advertisements of the

time, and exemplified a modern style that ‘innovates in advertising’, as Kim Pok-chin put it,³⁴² it can be characterised as simple, yet evocative and dynamic.

An Sök-chu used this simple and evocative style in most of the advertisements in *SS*, including those for other shoe stores. For example, the advertisement for Ch'unsu presented a man's foot wearing a leather shoe stepping dynamically forward, over a busy modern street scene symbolised by a car (Figure 26); the advertisement for Pando Puin presented an image of the Korean ‘new woman’ discussed above, and superimposed it on a dark silhouette of a shoe to create a dynamic layout (Figure 27).



Figure 26. An Sök-chu, advertisement for Ch'unsu. *SS*, February 1923, A9.

³⁴² Kim Pok-chin, 'Kwanggo hochwa ūi yesul undong', 71-72.

다 니 할 상 관 을 하 직 관 의 품 상 하 용 의 의 상 관 는 하 직 관 에 본

京釜線	大田	水原	金海	大邱	蔚山	釜山	仁川	京畿道	忠清道	全羅道	慶尚道	江原道	濟州道
... (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) (omitted for brevity) ...	

말이 만 으 면 實地 가 업 을 特히 男子 洋靴 도 製 造 함 니 다
니 다 긴 말 습 라 정 코 한 번 實地 로 試驗 하 여 보 시 오



면경 他店 價格 比較

黑福壽短靴 金八圓五十錢

黑福壽編上靴 金九圓五十錢

黑깃도短靴 金十圓五十錢

黑깃도編上靴 金十二圓也

(但茶色은 八分増受)


第一 것 기 兒 려 운 婦 人 洋 靴 는 우 리 朝 鮮 에 서 하 나 인 半 島 婦 人 洋 靴 店 專 임 니 다

地 番 一 九 洞 雲 慶 府 城 京

店 靴 洋 人 婦 島 半

Figure 27. An Sök-chu, advertisement for Pando Puin. SS, February 1923, D5.

MY LADY'S FEET



*"Her feet beneath her petticoats
Like little mice stole in and out."*

That was seventeenth-century fashion. Today my Lady's feet are not so mouse-like in their habits; modern dress gives them little chance of playing hide-and-seek.

The change is all to the good, for a well-shod foot is worth more than a tantalising glimpse. A good-looking shoe makes a good-looking foot. It must, however, always be remembered that the good looks of a shoe depend not merely on its design but on the quality of the material used, on the workmanship and, above all, on the fit.

If you have your shoes made to your own measure by a first-class private maker you will be sure of being fully satisfied on all these points—at a price. For a fraction of that price you can obtain a pair of Lotus or Delta shoes, which, being built on "made-to-measure" lines, will give you practically the same satisfaction.

Lotus & Delta

120 STYLES
From a Dance Slipper to a Golf Shoe

Get to the Lotus Agents in your neighbourhood and inspect his stock. A prospectus from Lotus Ltd., Stafford, will bring you an illustrated booklet descriptive of the Lotus and Delta range of styles.

Figure 28. Newspaper advertisement for Lotus Ltd. in Thomas Russell, 'Picturing an Idea', *Commercial Art*, December 1922, 52.

Advertising designs by An Sök-chu were distinct from contemporary Korean examples, but they resonated with modern advertising design in other parts of the world at the time. For example, Thomas Russell, a British advertising expert and president of the Incorporated Society of Advertisement Consultants, wrote in 1922 in the British journal *Commercial Art* about the advertising design of what he called the ‘new school’.³⁴³ Russell presented examples of ads, one of which was for a shoe store (Figure 28). The advertisement, instead of images of shoes, featured a simple illustration; it suggested that unlike in earlier times, the look and quality of shoes was important in the modern world. Russell commented:

Footwear is not a fascinating subject, and it is hardly ever well illustrated. [...] By the adoption of designs in this style, Messrs. Lotus, Ltd., have freed themselves from the trite sameness of shoe advertising in general.³⁴⁴

The way in which the design of the Lotus advertisement departed from the ‘trite sameness of shoe advertising’ corresponded with the way An incorporated simple, evocative illustrations in his pursuit of modern design.

Russell also commented about ‘new school’ design more generally:

Commercial art-work suggestive of an idea rather than representative of a product or of its use is upon us. [...] the commercial artist of the new school appeals to the imagination instead of trying to make you see what a thing really looks like. [...] Physically the difference is the difference between picture and design, but psychologically it is the difference between direct statement and provocation of thought.³⁴⁵

Russell claimed that ‘new’ advertising did not illustrate the product, but suggested ideas that appealed to the viewer; he described this as a change from ‘direct statement’ to ‘provocation of thought’. Russell’s perspective was shared in other parts of the world in the 1920s: many advertisers and designers thought that a simple and evocative style of advertising was modern. As mentioned in section 1.3.1., in 1920s Japan ‘*tanka*’ (simplification) was a key stylistic term in commercial art. It also affected the tendency towards evocative illustration and copy in the newspaper advertisement medium, which I will discuss further in Chapter 2. Historian Roland Marchand suggests that the shift of focus from what he calls ‘objective information about the product’ to ‘subjective information about the hopes and anxieties of the consumer’ signalled the rise of ‘modern’ advertising in the United

³⁴³ Thomas Russell, 'Picturing an Idea', *Commercial Art*, December 1922, 52-54.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.

States.³⁴⁶ In this vein, An Sök-chu's unorthodox design for the advertisements published in *SS* was an ambitious departure from the existing practices of Korean advertising, one that corresponded with more global tendencies in modern advertising.

1.3. Modern advertising as cultural nationalism: A deferred project

SS, based on a Japanese model of commerce-industry and influenced by a more global tendency of modernist art, presented a vision for modern Korean advertising. In particular, An Sök-chu experimented with an evocative and dynamic style of design in the advertisements for Korean companies published in *SS*. But in the early 1920s, the majority of Korean advertisers adopted the more descriptive style of advertising that had been common in earlier years. It would take about a decade for the style experimented with by An to become more generally adopted among Korean advertisers, which I will discuss in the following chapters. In this sense, modern Korean advertising as a pursuit of cultural nationalism, presented by Hyön Hi-in, An Sök-chu, and the editors of *SS*, was a deferred project.

Meanwhile, Korean advertisers like Hwasin (which later developed into the largest Korean-owned department store in the 1930s) maintained the descriptive style of advertising design. As mentioned in section 1.1.2., in the 1920s Hwasin was a jewellery and metal crafts retailer, and one of the major Korean stores in Chongno; its storefront contributed to what the editors of *SS* criticised as the 'dull' Korean shopping street. Arguably, the editors would have had a similar opinion of Hwasin's newspaper ads. For example, a March 1923 advertisement published in the *Maeil sinbo* consisted mostly of a single photo (Figure 29). The photo was highly descriptive, in that it depicted various items sold by the store neatly laid out. A 1929 advertisement in the *TI* repeated one of the typical styles of shoe store advertising discussed above: it featured a descriptive photo of the storefront (Figure 30).

³⁴⁶ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making way for modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 11. Marchand further relates this stylistic shift to the changes in American society and advertising industry more broadly: 'American advertising took on a new scope and maturity during these years. Not only did the number of advertisements, the variety of products advertised, and the media available to advertising expand dramatically; in addition, advertisements increasingly gave predominant attention to the consumer rather than the product. In their efforts to win over consumers by inducing them to live through experiences in which the product (or its absence) played a part, advertisers offered detailed vignettes of social life. This evolution toward an emphasis on consumer anxieties and satisfactions, which culminated by the 1930s, was what made American advertising "modern"'. *Ibid.*, xxi-xxii.

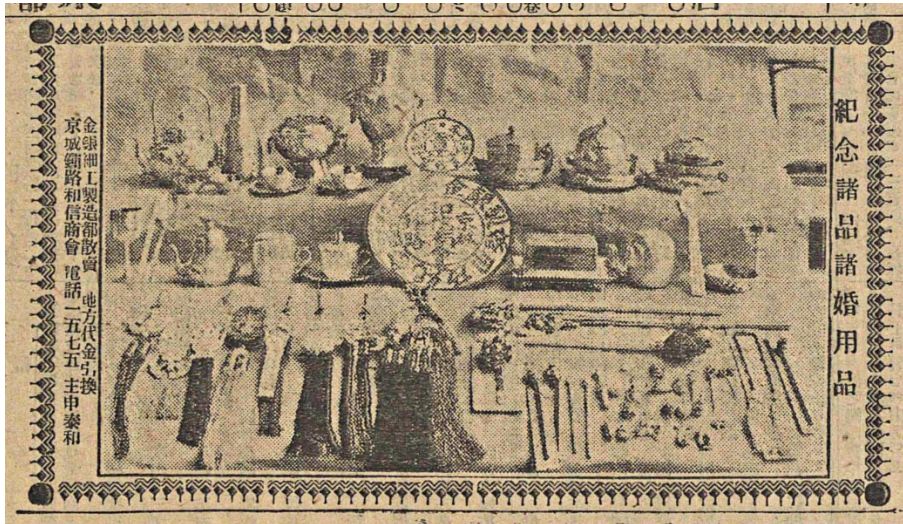


Figure 29. Newspaper advertisement for Hwasin. *Maeil sinbo*, 29 March 1923, 1.



Figure 30. Newspaper advertisement for Hwasin. 71, 19 April 1929, 2.

Another representative example of 1920s Korean advertising design is one for the Kyōngsōng Spinning and Weaving Company (Kyōngbang), the Korean-owned textile company established in 1919.³⁴⁷ Kyōngbang was one of the largest Korean-owned companies during the colonial period, and

³⁴⁷ For the company history of Kyōngbang, see Kyōngsōng Pangjik, *Kyōngbang 70-yŏn* [70 years of Kyōngbang] (Seoul: Kyōngbang, 1989). For economic and business histories of Kyōngbang, see Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945*;

is particularly significant in the context of cultural nationalism. As mentioned in section 1.1.1., Kyōngbang was owned and run by the Kim Sōng-su and Kim Yōn-su brothers, who also owned the *TI*, a main forum for cultural nationalist discussion.³⁴⁸ The Kim brothers and Kyōngbang were advocates for the Movement for the Promotion of Korean Production, discussed in section 1.1.1., the economic self-sufficiency campaign based on cultural nationalism.³⁴⁹ In short, Kyōngbang was a Korean enterprise emblematic of and central to 1920s cultural nationalism. Accordingly, its advertisements in the 1920s and thereafter expressed a strong sense of Korean nationalism. But its advertisements at the time of the publication of *SS* in 1923 did not resonate, at least stylistically, with what fellow cultural nationalists Hyōn and An suggested was modern advertising.



Figure 31. Newspaper advertisement for Kyōngbang, for the Samsōngp'yo and Samgaksan brands. *TI*, 25 September 1923, 1.

For example, in September 1923 Kyōngbang published an advertisement in the *TI* for the company's brands Samsōngp'yo (Three Stars) and Samgaksan (Three Peak Mountain) (Figure 31). According to the company history of Kyōngbang, the Samgaksan brand was devised to symbolise the

Chōng An-gi, 'Singminji ki Kyōngsōng Pangjik ūi kyōngyōngsajōk yōn'gu: Ch'ogi kyōngyōng (1919-26) ūl chungsim ūro' [A study on business history of Kyungsong Spinning Co., Ltd. during the colonial period], *Asea yōn'gu* 49, no. 4 (2006).

³⁴⁸ Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 55.

³⁴⁹ Cho Ki-jun, *Han'guk chabonjuūi songnip saron* [A historical study of the establishment of capitalism in Korea] (Seoul: Taewangsa, 1973), p. 532. Cited in *ibid.*, 96.

Korean capital, Seoul, and to imply that the product was made with ‘national soul’.³⁵⁰ The advertisement accordingly stressed the Korean origin of the products and appealed to the national sentiment of Korean consumers. The copy linked the use of their products to ‘love’ for the country:

Compatriots who love Korea (*Chosŏn ūl saranghasinŭn tongp'o*) use cloth made in Korea (*Chosŏn san*). The first cotton broadcloth with Korean capital and technology, Samsŏngp'yo (Three Stars) and Samgaksan (Three Peak Mountain).³⁵¹

The message of the advertisement resonated with the aims of the Movement for the Promotion of Korean Production and cultural nationalism more broadly, in the sense that it emphasised the commercial and industrial advancement of Koreans.

Visually, the advertisement featured juxtaposed photographic images of the brand labels as the central motif. The line-drawn logos inside the labels symbolised the brands, but did not evoke the product in use imaginatively. The advertisement can be seen as descriptive and static, largely similar to the shoe store advertisements discussed above. In short, the design of the advertisement, or the visualisation of the cultural nationalist message, was not ‘modern’, at least compared to the style exemplified in *SS*. During the early half of the 1920s, although Kyŏngbang diversified its advertising design in terms of size and layout, the company nevertheless maintained the largely descriptive presentation of its products (label images) in its newspaper advertisements (Figure 32, Figure 33).³⁵²

³⁵⁰ ‘Samgaksan’ is a another name for Puk'ansan (Mt. Puk'an), Seoul's ‘guardian mountain’ (*chinsan*) which has three summits. Kyŏngsŏng Pangjik, *Kyŏngbang 70-yŏn*, 78.

³⁵¹ *TI*, 25 September 1923.

³⁵² I will discuss in Chapter 3 how Kyŏngbang adopted a more ‘modern’ style of advertising design from the mid-1920s onwards.



Figure 32. Newspaper advertisement for Kyöngbang, for the Samsongp'yo and Samgaksan brands. *TI*, 8 November 1923, 1.



Figure 33. Newspaper advertisement for Kyöngbang. *TI*, 5 June 1925, 3.

I have argued in this chapter that *SS* was a significant publication that embodied Korean cultural nationalism of the 1920s. It was published after the colonial government adopted the so-

called ‘cultural rule’ policies and when a strong desire for Korean ‘self-strengthening’ was rising. It was a project led by prominent cultural figures, notably Hyön Hi-un and An Sök-chu. It promoted commercial and industrial modernisation by Koreans and sought to visualise such advances in the form of print. Modern advertising was a key component of the nationalist project of *SS*, which Hyön, An, and the editors theorised and exemplified through texts and images in the two issues of the magazine.

Despite its historical significance as a visualisation of 1920s cultural nationalism, it seems that the magazine’s project of promoting modern Korean commerce-industry did not have an immediate or broad impact on contemporary Koreans. So far no record that shows *SS*’s circulation has been found, and it is difficult to identify to what extent the magazine was sold to and read by Koreans; but its discontinuation after two issues suggests that it was not popular or profitable enough to sustain publication. Accordingly, as I have shown above, the style of evocative, dynamic advertising design that An Sök-chu presented in *SS* was not adopted by Korean advertisers at the time of the magazine’s publication.

Meanwhile, it seems that An Sök-chu himself lost interest in commercial advertising soon after the publication of *SS*. As discussed in section 1.2.2., from the mid-1920s he participated in Korean socialist art movements and his artistic pursuits inclined towards proletariat art; in a 1926 interview published in the *Chungoe ilbo*, he noted:

From now on, I am planning to focus on the study of ‘posters’ (*p’osüt’a*). Not as in advertising ‘posters’ (*kwanggojök p’osüt’a*) for business, but things like those with statements of ideology (*sasang ūi palp’yo*); presenting through painting can stimulate the public (*minjung*) several times more than a thousand words and a hundred phrases of speech or writing can.³⁵³

An Sök-chu’s pioneering advertising design in the early 1920s did not lead to a professional career as a commercial artist, although as an illustrator he handled commercial commissions such as magazine covers and illustrations. Eventually he moved away from visual arts towards writing and filmmaking. Commercial art was not a promising career in colonial Korea for a renowned artist like An, which I will discuss further in Chapter 4.

The limited impact of *SS* on Korean companies and advertisers does not merely demonstrate a failed attempt by the magazine’s editors to modernise Korean advertising. It arguably reflects a broader trajectory of cultural nationalism in the 1920s. Pak Ch’an-sŭng has shown how the Movement

³⁵³ ‘Yesulga ūi kajöng: Saphwaga ro yumyöng han An Sök-chu ssi ūi kajöng’ [The home of the artist: The home of Mr. An Sök-chu who is famous as an illustrator], *Chungoe ilbo*, 7 December 1926, 3.

for the Promotion of Korean Production, an epitome of cultural nationalism, was successful for a relatively short period: initially it stimulated the consumption of Korean-made products, but after about a year its effect generally declined.³⁵⁴ Pak has convincingly suggested that the short life of the movement reflected the general decline of cultural nationalism and the logic of 'self-strengthening'.³⁵⁵ Pak shows that as early as the mid-1920s, many proponents of cultural nationalism realised the fundamental limitations of Korean economic and cultural development as a nationalist pursuit under colonial rule. Eventually, many of those who had sought economic and cultural independence increasingly thought that political independence was improbable, and became more cooperative with Japan's colonial rule.

The parallel between the deferred project of modern Korean advertising and the decline of cultural nationalism has a broader implication in terms of colonial modernity in Korea. As we will see in the following chapters, what Hyŏn Hi-un and An Sŏk-chu thought of as modern advertising in 1923 was more widely adopted by Korean advertisers from around 1930; by then, the driving force behind industrial and commercial modernisation became less the ideology of national 'self-strengthening', as SS and cultural nationalists professed, but more the profit motive and consumerism (of both Japanese and Korean actors). The deferred project of modern advertising was not merely a matter of Korea as a late starter; developments in modern advertising in Korea were conditioned – that is, both stimulated and limited – by social and economic changes in Japan, and changes in Japan's colonial policy. The arrival of Japan-based advertisers in the Korean press reveals one aspect of the colonality of Korean advertising, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

³⁵⁴ Pak Ch'an-sŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chŏngch'i sasangsa yŏn'gu*, 270, 274. One of the difficulties the movement faced was the criticism from leftist Koreans that it demanded the Korean masses to sacrifice in order to enrich elite capitalists. See, for example, Yi Sŏng-t'ae, 'Chungsan kyegŭp ūi igijok undong' [Selfish movement of the middle-class], *Tonga ilbo*, 20 March 1923.

³⁵⁵ Pak Ch'an-sŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chŏngch'i sasangsa yŏn'gu*, 379.

Chapter 2. The market expansion and localised advertising of Japanese brands, 1922-1933



Figure 34. 'Celebrating the development of the Japan Telegraphic Communication Company'. Morinaga's advertisement is in the second row of the right-hand column. *TJ*, 30 July 1922, 4.

Throughout the colonial period, many advertisements for major Japanese brands based in Japan appeared in Korean newspapers. *Shinbun sōran* (Newspaper survey), the comprehensive yearbook of press and advertising in Japan and its colonies (published by the advertising agency Dentsū), demonstrates that the volume of advertisements from Tokyo and Osaka in the Korean-

language press grew significantly from the mid-1920s.³⁵⁶ For example, in the *Tonga ilbo* (*TI*), along with the general increase in advertisements, those from Tokyo and Osaka gradually grew from occupying around 50 per cent of the total in the early 1920s to around 65 per cent in the late 1930s.³⁵⁷

A telling example that demonstrates the expansion of Japanese advertisements in Korea in the 1920s is one published in the *TI* on 30 July 1922 (Figure 34). This was a full-page advertisement that consisted of smaller advertisements by eleven Japan-based advertisers; major consumer goods brands like Club Cosmetics, Jintan (refreshing tonic), and Morinaga (confectionery) participated in it.³⁵⁸ The advertisements were distinctively Japanese, in that many of the brand names or logotypes were written in Japanese text; but as the *TI* was a Korean-language newspaper read by Korean readers, smaller, descriptive texts were printed in Korean.

It is uncertain by whom and how this advertisement was commissioned, but the advertisements collectively celebrated the ‘development’ (*palchŏn*) of the Japan Telegraphic Communication Company (Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, commonly abbreviated as ‘Dentsū’) in Korea. Dentsū was the largest advertising and news agency in Japan at the time.³⁵⁹ The company history of Dentsū published in 1938 noted that it had operated in Korea since 1907, after establishing a branch in Seoul.³⁶⁰ It also noted that the Seoul branch underwent a ‘major expansion’ (*dai kakuchō*) in 1922.³⁶¹ The advertisers very possibly published the above advertisement as a favour or courtesy to their business partner Dentsū.³⁶² As we will see in this chapter, in the early 1920s the import of consumer goods from Japan in Korea grew significantly, which might suggest that Dentsū expanded its operation in Korea to handle its growing advertising commissions in the country. Advertising

³⁵⁶ Advertising historians Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk have shown the quantitative dominance of Japanese advertisements by analysing ‘line count’ (*gyōsū*) data in *Shinbun sŏran* published from the early 1920s until 1940. See Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 107-112.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ A similar set of advertisements, for different companies, was published in the *TI* in 25 September 1922.

³⁵⁹ Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 242-244.

³⁶⁰ Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, *Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha shi* [History of Japan Telegraphic Communication Company] (Tokyo: Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, 1938), 599.

³⁶¹ Between July and August 1922, the Seoul branch started to publish a ‘daily communication’ (*nikkan tsūshin*) to supply news, and established a direct news-delivering channel by telephone between Seoul and Tokyo. *Ibid.*, 599-600.

³⁶² This advertisement was the first one for Morinaga to be published in a Korean-language newspaper, which I will discuss further in section 2.3.

historians agree that Dentsū was the most powerful advertising agency in colonial Korea.³⁶³ Kim Sŭng-mun (1900-?), a staff member of the advertising department of the *TI* from 1928 to 1940, even suggested that about 80 per cent of Japanese advertisements in the *TI* came through Dentsū.³⁶⁴

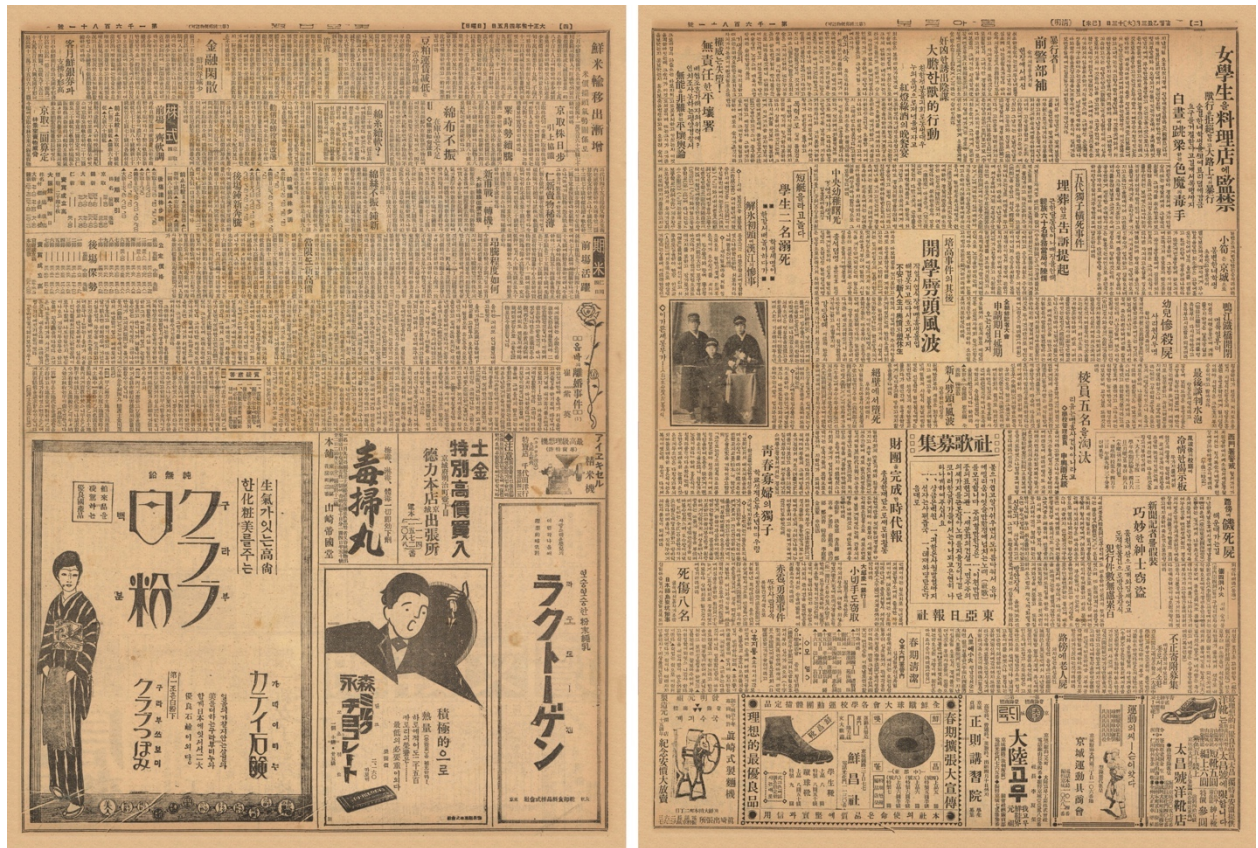


Figure 35. Advertising sections of the 5 April 1925 issue of the *TI*: p. 4 (left) and p. 2 (right).

Japanese advertisers increasingly published advertisements in newspapers in Korea, and their advertisements stood out visually in comparison with Korean ones. The 5 April 1925 *TI* is an example of the visual presence of Japanese advertisements (Figure 35). Large advertisements by Japan-based brands Club Powder, Morinaga Chocolate, and Rakutōgen (baby formula milk) occupied a large advertising section in the lower part of page 4 (left); small advertisements by Korean companies like T'aech'angho (Western-style shoe company) and Taeryuk Komu (rubber manufacturer) occupied a

³⁶³ For the operation of Dentsū in colonial Korea, see Kim Pyōng-hŭi and Sin In-sōp, 'Ilbon kwanggo hoesa Tench'ū ka Han'guk kwanggo sanōp ūi hyōngsōng e mich'in yōngnyang' [The influence on the Korean advertising development by Dentsu], *Kwanggohak yōn'gu* 20, no. 5 (2009); Kwōn Ch'ang-gyu, 'Kūndae Han'guk esō chōn'gaedoen tench'ū ūi chōngbojegukchuūi wa kwanggojegukchuūi' [Information imperialism and media imperialism of Dentsu in modern Korea], *Taedong munhwa yōn'gu* 72 (2010).

³⁶⁴ Sin In-sōp and Sō Pōm-sōk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 181.

smaller advertising section in the lower part of page 2. The Japanese advertisements were not only larger but also stylistically different from the Korean ones; they generally had more blank space and featured distinctive visual features. For example, the Club advertisement had ample white space that made it stand out on the page; within that space, it featured the distinctive Club logotype with decorative flourishes, and a simple illustration of a woman in kimono. Meanwhile, the T'aech'angho advertisement featured a descriptive illustration of a shoe and was packed with text. As discussed in Chapter 1, this style was in common use by Korean advertisers in the 1920s.

Some contemporary Koreans recognised a visual and quantitative gap between Korean and Japanese advertisements in the Korean press. For example, a Korean commentator wrote in 1927 in the popular magazine *Pyölgön'gon* (Another world):

They say that in commerce, advertising tactics (*kwanggosul*) should be elaborate (*kyomyo*). But if one picks up and reads the three major Korean newspapers every day, one cannot see an advertisement for a Korean store (*Chosön sangjöm üi kwanggo*); and even if [Korean advertisements] are sometimes published, they are greatly embarrassing (*ssuksüröpki hani öpsüni*), which is a mystery.³⁶⁵

The anonymous commentator's view about the visual discrepancy between Korean and Japanese advertisements resonated with the perspective of Korean business experts, discussed in Chapter 1, that the marketing of and advertising for Korean companies were generally underdeveloped. While the project of modern Korean advertising was largely deferred in the 1920s, an outside force, Japanese advertising, was expanding its influence in the Korean media and market.

Many historians of the Korean media have acknowledged the predominance of Japanese advertisements during the colonial period.³⁶⁶ Advertising historians, in particular, have articulated the stylistic aspect of this predominance. Kwön Ch'ang-gyu suggests that 'eye-catching advertisements' (*taebön nune türö onün kwanggo*) in Korean newspapers were usually by Japanese companies; he further explains that 'design-centred advertisements' (*toan chungshim üi kwanggo*) increased from the mid-1920s, as major Japanese advertisers 'secured large spaces and utilised illustrations (*kürim*) and photos (*sajin*)'.³⁶⁷ Yi Ki-ri similarly argues that the dominance of Japanese advertisements was not

³⁶⁵ 'Sangöpkye üi pulgasaüi' [Misteries of the commerce world], *Pyölgön'gon*, March 1927, 113.

³⁶⁶ See, for example, Ch'oe Chun, *Han'guk sinmunsa*, [The history of Korean newspapers] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1970 [1960]); Han'guk Kwanggo Yön'guhoe, *Han'guk kwanggo 100-yön (sang)* [100 years of Korean advertising] (Seoul: Han'guk Kwanggo Tanch'e Yönhap'oe, 1996); Kim Min-hwan, *Han'guk öllonsa*; Sin In-söp and Sö Pöm-sök, *Han'guk kwanggosa*.

³⁶⁷ Kwön Ch'ang-gyu, *Sangp'um üi sidae*, 47.

only quantitative but also ‘qualitative’ (*chiljŏk*), in that Korean advertisements were generally ‘visually inferior’ (*sigakchŏk ūro yŏlse*) compared to their Japanese counterparts.³⁶⁸

Existing studies tend to describe the predominance of Japanese advertisements in Korean newspapers as an inevitable result of Japanese occupation. For example, in *The history of Korean newspapers* (Han'guk sinmunsa, 1960), one of the earliest post-war histories of the Korean press, media historian Ch'oe Chun writes:

Under the policies of imperial Japan (*ilche*), our people were forced (*kangyo*) into consumption without production (*saengsan ōmnŭn sobi*), and had to bear the colonial specificity (*singminjijŏk t'ŭksusŏng*), where all kinds of industry were severely limited (*kŏbu*). Therefore, it was hardly possible that ethnic Koreans (*Hanminjok*) had any large-scale advertising. But needless to say, [Korean newspapers] could not run the business helplessly. Thus, [...] [Korean newspapers] filled their pages and covered part of their management by handling and publishing [Japanese] advertisements in huge formats, at almost giveaway prices compared to Japanese-language newspapers in Tokyo.³⁶⁹

Ch'oe argued that colonial Korean newspapers relied on Japan-based companies because of the lack of Korean industry and advertising, which he saw as a result ‘forced’ by ‘imperial Japan’. In a similar vein, some existing histories note that there was a general lack of capital and marketing knowhow in Korean companies, but why there might have been such a discrepancy and what it means more generally have been insufficiently examined.³⁷⁰

This chapter questions the assumption that the quantitative and qualitative predominance of Japanese advertisements from the 1920s was an inevitable or natural result of Japanese occupation. It traces Japanese actors such as companies and their staff members, who have often been subsumed in the existing literature under the generalised notion of ‘*ilche*’ (literally ‘imperial Japan’), as individual economic and cultural agents; it explores the multiple processes that contributed to the growth of Japanese advertisements in Korea. In addition to recognising that Japan-based advertisements had a generally distinctive visual character, the chapter further analyses what historians of Korea describe as ‘eye-catching’ or ‘design-centred’ styles of Japanese advertising:³⁷¹ it asks why, by whom, and how

³⁶⁸ Yi Ki-ri, 'Ilche sidae kwanggo wa chegukchuŭi' [Korean newspaper ads during the colonial period], *Misulsa nondan* 12 (2001), 129.

³⁶⁹ Ch'oe Chun, *Han'guk sinmunsa*, 315-316.

³⁷⁰ See Kwŏn Ch'ang-gyu, *Sangp'um ūi sidae*, 53-54; Yi Ki-ri, 'Ilche sidae kwanggo wa chegukchuŭi', 129.

³⁷¹ To show that certain styles of design were generally adopted by many Japanese advertisers, I will utilise some of the figures in this chapter as illustrative visual exemplars, rather than as objects of close visual analysis.

these styles were developed, diffused, and appropriated in Japan. Such an analysis of visual styles in Japan and their origins is integral to understanding the Korean context, as Japanese advertisements physically constituted advertising in Korea. Moreover, the logic and knowledge behind these visual creations conditioned and gradually changed how Japanese advertisers produced advertisements for the Korean market; eventually, they also affected the practice of Korean advertisers and advertising producers, which I will discuss further in Chapter 3.

In this chapter, I will first examine the general shift towards ‘rationalisation’ in 1920s Japanese advertising and analyse the design change accompanied by this systemic shift. Then I will trace the context and process of the market expansion of Japanese advertisers in Korea, through the case of Morinaga. I will then return to newspapers in Korea and scrutinise the impact of the changes in Japanese advertising and Japanese companies’ market expansion in Korea. Through the cases of Morinaga, Lion, and Ajinomoto, I will articulate how Japanese brands gradually modified their approach to, and design of, advertising in Korea. Ultimately, this chapter highlights how Japanese brands transformed themselves from national brands to what I call ‘imperial brands’; it also elucidates how, in the process of this transformation, Japanese actors may have participated in the formation of colonial modernity in Korea, both directly and indirectly.

2.1. The rise of modern advertising in 1920s Japan

In his seminal history of Japanese advertising, media historian Uchikawa Yoshimi has convincingly shown that the period between the Great Kanto Earthquake (1923) and the Sino-Japanese war (1937) marked a ‘qualitative leap’ (*shitsuteki hiyaku*) in Japanese advertising.³⁷² He writes that ‘amid the modernisation of the environment of advertising, techniques of expression and methods of advertising were upgraded and diversified’. Similarly, graphic design historian Kawahata Naomichi has shown how what he calls the ‘genuine’ ‘modernisation’ of Japanese graphic design started to take shape during the mid-1920s: designers consciously theorised and innovated in their design for modern Japan, while seeking to establish their social standing as specialists.³⁷³ In accord with Uchikawa’s and Kawahata’s views, scholars of Japanese advertising and graphic design

³⁷² Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 260.

³⁷³ Kawahata Naomichi, *Shijō no modanizumu: 1920-30-nendai Nihon no gurafikku dezain* [Modernism on paper: Japanese graphic design of the 1920s and 30s] (Tokyo: Rokuyōsha, 2003), 9.

generally agree that a self-consciously modern field of advertising and commercial art was established in Japan by the end of the 1920s.³⁷⁴

This section examines the social and economic environment in which modern Japanese commercial art and advertising emerged, and closely analyses the stylistic vocabularies of advertising design that Japanese advertising staff and designers developed in the process. Both the more general (social and economic) and the more specific (visual and stylistic) aspects of modern Japanese advertising are crucial in understanding colonial Korean advertising, because the former may explain *why* Japanese advertisers sought to expand in the Korean market, and the latter *how*. In this context, an examination of Japanese records is particularly useful because direct records relating to the advertising activities of Japanese companies in Japan's colonies are relatively scarce. Furthermore, a detailed account of modern Japanese advertising here will enable a transnational comparison with its Korean counterpart, which I will discuss further in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.1.1. Economic depression and efficient advertising

Economic historian Penelope Francks has shown how the Japanese economy grew and then relatively declined during the 1910s and 1920s.³⁷⁵ During World War I (WWI) and its immediate aftermath, Japan's economy grew significantly: it developed domestic industrial production and raised export to markets previously dominated by major industrial powers like the United States and Western European countries, who were then preoccupied by the war; but as the war ended in 1918 and Euro-American industrial countries focused on their economic and trading activities again, Japan's economic boom also came to an end. Historian Andrew Gordon also explains that Japanese exporters were placed at a sharp disadvantage when their European competitors returned to the Asian market, because the price of Japanese goods had climbed during the war; the Japanese government emphasised retrenchment to alleviate this situation and restore the country's economy.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ See, for example, Nakai Kōichi, *Nihon kōkoku hyōgen gijutsu shi*; Gennifer Weisenfeld, 'Japanese Modernism and Consumerism', in *Being Modern in Japan*, ed. Elise K. Tipton and John Clark (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000); Takeuchi Yukie, *Kindai kōkoku no tanjō*.

³⁷⁵ Penelope Francks, *Japanese Economic Development: Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1999 [1992]), 60-88.

³⁷⁶ Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 140.

Uchikawa demonstrates how the economy affected the Japanese advertising industry in particular.³⁷⁷ He suggests that the economic boom during WWI laid the foundations for the growth of the advertising industry, but the subsequent recession made further growth difficult: advertisers' financial resources were limited in a stagnant market. Many companies retrenched their advertising expenses by negotiating rates and reducing volume and media usage.³⁷⁸ Accordingly, in contrast to the boom years when Japanese companies and advertising experts focused on investing more and increasing the scale of advertising, they started to focus on cost-efficiency, or the quality of their advertising. Uchikawa has characterised this shift as the 'rationalisation' (*gōrika*) of Japanese advertising in the 1920s.³⁷⁹

My examination of contemporary records offers a closer account of how the economic slump in the 1920s might have affected advertisers, advertising agencies, commentators, and designers in Japan to become more aware of cost-effective advertising. In 1925, Iimori Kan'ichi (1885-1964), director of advertising at Club Cosmetics, wrote a review of the Japanese advertising industry that year in the monthly advertising magazine *Jigyō to kōkoku* (Business and advertising).³⁸⁰ In the essay, Iimori explained how the 'depression in the advertising world' (*kōkokukai no fukyō*) in turn provided what he perceived as 'the greatest stimulation and best lesson' (*mottomo dai naru shigeki to mottomo yoki kyōkun*).

Iimori recognised that the recession influenced both the newspaper and the advertiser.³⁸¹ He also explained how each responded: generally, newspapers faced a severe 'shortage of articles' (*genkō nan*), which meant that they had insufficient numbers of advertisements to publish; in order to overcome this shortage, newspapers made efforts towards the 'enhancement of advertising pages' (*kōkoku men no jūjitsu*), by rearranging page layouts, introducing colour-printing, or inserting photos

³⁷⁷ Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 257-335.

³⁷⁸ For example, the confectioner Morinaga reduced the scale of media usage by a fifth; the toiletries and cosmetics companies Kaō, Lion, and Rēto cut the total volume of advertisements in minor newspapers by half; the cosmetics company Itō Kochōen initiated a competitive bidding system among advertising agencies to reduce the cost of their campaigns; and some of these mainstream advertisers formed alliances to demand advertising fee reductions from newspapers.

³⁷⁹ Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 300.

³⁸⁰ Iimori Kan'ichi, 'Taishō 14-nen ni okeru shinbun kōkokukai taikan' [Comprehensive survey of the newspaper advertising world of 1925], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, January 1926, 15-17.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

or cartoons within ads.³⁸² Meanwhile, advertisers, whom Iimori described as ‘most directly influenced by the depression’, carried out ‘advertising reductions’ (*kōkoku seiri*) to cut their costs.

But Iimori contended that cost-cutting did not necessarily have a negative effect on the Japanese advertising industry, because it was directed towards an ‘improvement in advertising efficiency’ (*kōkoku nōritsu no zōshin*): advertisers tended to publish advertisements in fewer media, less frequently, and in smaller sizes, but strived to boost efficiency within those limitations.³⁸³ He summarised their efforts as trying to compensate for the ‘reduction in quantity’ (*ryō no shukushō*) by an ‘improvement in quality’ (*shitsu no kōjō*). Iimori further elucidated that to improve quality, companies ‘added a careful touch’ (*shinchōmi o kuwae*) to their advertisements, and paid attention to the smallest details of text and design. Iimori concluded that while the ‘reduction’ at the time was an inevitable result of depression, the general focus on efficiency rather than scale, regardless of the economic situation, meant the ‘scientification of advertising’ (*kōkoku no kagakuka*), and therefore progress.³⁸⁴

Improving the quality and efficiency of advertising did not remain rhetorical. Advertisers, advertising agencies, and newspapers, as well as designers and advertising theorists, collectively contributed to the creation of efficient advertising. In order to awake a general interest in advertising, advertising agencies and media companies actively held public events.³⁸⁵ For instance, in 1924 the advertising agency Shōjikisha started the Movement for Understanding Advertising (Kōkoku Ryōkai Undō) and gave lectures on advertising culture.³⁸⁶ Mannensha, a rival agency of Shōjikisha, also set up a series of advertising studies lectures from 1927, after hiring Nakagawa Shizuka (1866-1935), a former professor at the Kobe Higher Commercial School and an influential advertising theorist.³⁸⁷ Mannensha also started to hold the *Newspaper Advertisement Design Competition* (Shinbun Kōkoku Ishō Zuan Kenshō Boshū) in 1929 and promoted advertising design.³⁸⁸ Similar events followed in 1930, such as the *Tokyō asahi shinbun*’s *International Advertising Photography Competition* (Kokusai Kōkoku Shashinten) and the newspaper advertisement award held by the Newspaper

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid., 16-17.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 16.

³⁸⁵ Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 302.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 381.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Miyajima Hisao, ‘Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbunsha no shōgyō bijutsu undō’ [The Commercial Art Movement by the Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun Company], *Dezain riron*, no. 47 (2005), 115.

Advertisement Promotion Group (Shinbun Kōkoku Shōreikai), a division of Dentsū.³⁸⁹ In a 1928 article in *Jigyō to kōkoku*, a commentator noted that the newspapers *Tokyo asahi shinbun*, *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*, *Hōchi shinbun*, and *Osaka asahi shinbun* had started to hold advertising design competitions, and acknowledged that this represented the newspaper companies' efforts to 'boost the effect of advertising' (*kōkoku kōka no sokushin*).³⁹⁰

The 1920s also saw an increase in the publication of advertising-related books. Some were outputs of the events mentioned above: for instance, the Osaka Advertising Association (Ōsaka Kōkoku Kyōkai), the *Fukuoka nichinichi shinbun*, and the Japan Advertising Society (Nihon Kōkoku Gakkai) published the contents of their advertising lectures in book form.³⁹¹ Associations and companies also published catalogue-like books, as a collection of entries for a competition³⁹² or as a selection of actual examples advertised in newspapers.³⁹³ Staff members of corporate advertising departments, advertising critics, and scholars, such as Nakagawa Shizuka (director of advertising at the advertising agency Mannensha),³⁹⁴ Matsumiya Saburō (director of the advertising department at Mitsukoshi),³⁹⁵ and Kuramoto Chōji (business and advertising critic, *Shōtenkai* editor-in-chief, and major contributor to *Kōkokukai*),³⁹⁶ also published theoretical books on advertising and design.

³⁸⁹ Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 302.

³⁹⁰ Although the article questioned whether these competitions were fully successful, it acknowledged their intention to improve the effectiveness of advertising. Shōsonko [pseud.], 'Kōkoku no hattatsu to jyōka undō ni shishita *Tōnichī Ishō*, *Asahi Kappu* o hihansu' [Criticising the *Tokyo Nichinichi Design Competition* and *Asahi Cup* which contributed to the development and purification movement of advertising], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, February 1928.

³⁹¹ Osaka Kōkoku Kyōkai, *Kōkoku Kōshūkai kōenshū* [Lectures of the Advertising Class] (Osaka: Osaka Kōkoku Kyōkai, 1922); Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbunsha, *Kōkoku kōen* [Lecture on advertising] (Fukuoka: Fukuoka Nichi Nichi Shinbunsha, 1925); Katagiri Ryushichirō, ed. *Kōkoku kōshūroku* [Advertising course records] (Osaka: Nihon Kōkoku Gakkai, 1926).

³⁹² Osaka Kōkoku Kyōkai, *Shinbun kōkoku gohyaku an* [Five hundred examples of newspaper advertisements] (Osaka: Osaka Kōkoku Kyōkai, 1922); Shōjīkisha, *Shinbun kōkoku zuan shū* [Collection of newspaper advertising designs] (Tokyo: Shōjīkisha, 1926).

³⁹³ Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, *Shinbun kōkoku senshū* [A selected collection of newspaper advertisements] (Osaka: Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, 1926).

³⁹⁴ Nakagawa Shizuka, *Kōkoku to senden* [Advertising and publicity] (Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1924).

³⁹⁵ Matsumiya Saburō, *Kōkokugaku gairon* [Introduction to advertising theory] (Tokyo: Ganshōdō Shoten, 1924).

³⁹⁶ Kuramoto Chōji, *Kōkoku zuan no kaki kata* [Methods of advertising design] (Tokyo: Shōtenkaisha, 1925).

Between 1928 and 1930, the *Complete collection of contemporary commercial art* (Gendai shogyō bijutsu zenshū, hereafter the *Zenshū*) was published.³⁹⁷ Edited by the commercial artist and theorist Hamada Masuji (1892-1938), the *Zenshū* was a series of twenty-four commercial art reference books, which included thousands of visual examples of design accompanied by practical and theoretical articles by practitioners, journalists, and educators. It was divided into volumes according to forms of commercial art, such as the poster, window display, newspaper advertising, photography, and typography. Historians of Japanese advertising and design generally agree that this extensive series was the most influential publication on advertising in inter-war Japan; it also played a pivotal role in establishing the term ‘*shōgyō bijutsu*’ (‘commercial art’).³⁹⁸

Specialist magazines on advertising and design were also published, providing a forum to share and discuss ideas and perspectives towards improving the quality and efficiency of advertising. In 1924 a specialist monthly magazine on advertising, *Kōkoku to chinretsu* (Advertising and display), was published by the Japan Advertising Association (Nihon Kōkoku Kyōkai).³⁹⁹ In 1925, the aforementioned *Jigyō to kōkoku* was published.⁴⁰⁰ Then prominent figures in the Japanese advertising industry like Nakagawa, Matsumiya, and Nitta Uichirō (manager of advertising at the *Tokyo asahi shinbun*) frequently contributed to *Jigyō to kōkoku*.⁴⁰¹ In 1926, *Kōkokukai* (Advertising world) was launched. It soon became the central and most influential advertising and commercial art magazine in inter-war Japan.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁷ Kitahara Yoshio, ed. *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* [Complete collection of contemporary commercial art], 24 vols. (Tokyo: Arusu, 1928-1930).

³⁹⁸ See Weisenfeld, 'Japanese Modernism and Consumerism'; Tajima Natsuko, 'Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū fukkoku ni yosete'. I will discuss different aspects of the *Zenshū* in more detail in the following chapters.

³⁹⁹ Takeuchi Yukie, *Kindai kōkoku no tanjō*, 106. Apart from the fact that it was the predecessor of *Kōkokukai*, little has been discovered or discussed about *Kōkoku to chinretsu* in previous studies. I have not been able to discover publicly accessible copies of the magazine during this research.

⁴⁰⁰ *Jigyō to kōkoku*, June 1925.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid. *Jigyō to kōkoku* was published from May 1925 until January 1929, and the National Diet Library (Kokkai Toshokan) of Japan holds most of the issues. Although *Jigyō to kōkoku* started publishing earlier than *Kōkokukai*, as the two magazines had similar content and readership the success of the latter may have resulted in the discontinuance of the former.

⁴⁰² *Kōkokukai* was published from March 1926 until December 1941. Seibundō, the publisher behind the leading retail business magazine *Shōtenkai* (Commerce world), had bought the publication rights of *Kōkoku to chinretsu* and renamed it *Kōkokukai*, as *Shōtenkai*'s 'sister magazine' (*shimaishi*) that specialised in advertising and design. For a more detailed account of *Kōkokukai*, see Takeuchi Yukie, *Kindai kōkoku no tanjō*, 103-258. The Sankō Library (Sankō Toshokan) in Tokyo holds the most extensive collection of *Kōkokukai*. The publisher Seibundō Shinkōsha (formerly Seibundō) also holds several issues

Meanwhile, in the context of effective advertising, Japanese advertising professionals and theorists also sought the ‘scientification’ (*kagakuka*) of advertising.⁴⁰³ Many of them referred to contemporary American advertising theories to rationalise their practice of modern advertising.⁴⁰⁴ For example, *The Psychology of Advertising* (1908) and *The Psychology of Advertising in Theory and Practice* (1920), written by the American psychologist Walter Dill Scott (1869-1955), were translated into Japanese by Sasaki Jūku (director of advertising at Velvet Soap) in 1924 and Matsumiya Saburō in 1925 respectively; many Japanese advertising practitioners accepted these books as standard reference works, and some furthered Scott’s theories in the Japanese context.⁴⁰⁵ Regarding this American influence, commercial artist and *Kōkokukai* editor-in-chief Murota Kurazō (active 1920s-1940s) wrote in 1929 that the United States was ‘the home of scientific advertising’ (*kagakuteki kōkoku no honba*).⁴⁰⁶

The various measures to make advertising more efficient, especially the publication of magazines, also contributed to the formation of a stronger professional community in Japanese advertising. Design historian Takeuchi Yukie has aptly suggested that specialist advertising magazines served as a ‘space’ (*ba*) that ‘industry people’ (*gyōkaijin*) in advertising gathered: that is, designers, educators, theorists, and advertising managers at manufacturers, agencies, and media companies.⁴⁰⁷ The advertising magazines like *Kōkokukai* had a circulation of around seven to ten

that are not held in the Sankō Library. However, during this research I have not been able to locate issues published before 1928.

⁴⁰³ One of the most frequently debated topics regarding scientific advertising in Japan was the objective evaluation of the effect of advertisements. Many advertising professionals considered the system of the ABC (Audit Bureau of Circulations) in the United States as a model. See, for example, Tsuji Shin, ‘Kōkoku kōka no sokutei ni tsuite’ [On the measurement of effect of advertising], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, June 1925. See also, Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 210.

⁴⁰⁴ Advertising historian Ellen Mazur Thomson demonstrates how science, in the form of experimental psychology, provided theoretical foundations for practices of advertising in the United States in the 1900s to 1920s. See Ellen Mazur Thomson, “‘The Science of Publicity’: An American Advertising Theory, 1900-1920”, *Journal of Design History* 9, no. 4 (1996).

⁴⁰⁵ Nakai Kōichi, *Nihon kōkoku hyōgen gijutsu shi*, 174-176.

⁴⁰⁶ Murota Kurazō, *Kōkoku reiauto no jissai* [The practice of advertising layout] (Tokyo: Seibundō Shōtenkaisha, 1929).

⁴⁰⁷ Takeuchi Yukie, *Kindai kōkōku no tanjō*, 108. Because issues of *Kōkokukai* before 1928 were not discovered during this research, I will mainly refer to *Jigyō to kōkoku* to discuss the period between 1925 and 1928.

thousand copies in the late 1920s.⁴⁰⁸ The magazines presented design examples and theoretical writings about better advertising and commercial art in Japan, and also introduced the newest work and theories from Europe and the United States.⁴⁰⁹ Through these discourses various professionals within the industry exchanged information and formed a sense of community. As social historian Nanba Kōji has aptly put it, they came to ‘realise the advertising world’ (*kōkokukai o jikkan*) in Japan.⁴¹⁰

In sum, triggered by the post-WWI economic slump, a collective pursuit of rationalisation took place in the Japanese advertising world in the 1920s. Advertisers sought to reduce the scale but improve the efficiency of advertising. Critics, theorists, and designers adopted various measures to contribute to efficient advertising, which in turn resulted in the development of specialist knowledge and a stronger network of advertising professionals, like the advertising designer (*kōkoku zuanka*) and the commercial artist (*shōgyō bijutsuka*). These changes contributed to the formation of a more self-consciously modern field of Japanese advertising. In the process, designers and critics also further articulated efficient advertising in terms of style.

⁴⁰⁸ Consistent records of circulation are not found in the magazines themselves or in other primary sources. However, according to the *Almanac of advertising* (*Kōkoku nenkan*) published by Mannensha, *Jigyō to kōkoku* had a circulation of 7,500 in 1926 and 9,000 in 1927, and *Kōkokukai* had 10,000 in 1927. Mannensha, *Kōkoku nenkan* [Almanac of advertising] (Osaka: Mannensha, 1926), 316; Mannensha, *Kōkoku nenkan* [Almanac of advertising] (Osaka: Mannensha, 1927), 300-301.

⁴⁰⁹ Gennifer Weisenfeld, “‘From Baby’s First Bath’: Kaō Soap and Modern Japanese Commercial Design”, *The Art Bulletin* 86, no. 3 (2004), 579; Takeuchi Yukie, *Kindai kōkoku no tanjō*, 106-108.

⁴¹⁰ Nanba Kōji, ‘Zasshi *Kōkokukai* ni miru hito to sangyō’ [People and industry seen through the magazine *Kōkokukai*], *Ado sutadīzu* 21 (2007), 25.

2.1.2. Effective newspaper advertising design



Figure 36. 'Advertising overview', *Jigyō to kōkoku*, October 1925, 100-101.

The general tendency towards efficiency in the 1920s Japanese advertising industry had an impact on design. Specialist books and magazines offered spaces for commentators and designers to discuss how they could achieve rational, scientific, and therefore effective design. For instance, *Jigyō to kōkoku* had a section called 'Advertising critique' (*Kōkoku manpyō*) or 'Advertising overview' (*Kōkoku sōmakuri*) where the editors of the magazine and guest contributors (designers, and staff members of manufacturers, advertising agencies, and newspapers) left comments about the design and copy of advertisements published in the previous month (Figure 36).⁴¹¹

In terms of newspaper ads, an important factor that was linked to effective design was size, because it partly determined the cost of advertising. In the inaugural June 1925 issue of *Jigyō to kōkoku*, an anonymous director of advertising (*kōkoku buchō*) at a major manufacturer wrote about

⁴¹¹ See, for instance, Shachū dōjin, 'Kōkoku manpyō' [Advertising critique], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, July 1925. After *Jigyō to kōkoku* was discontinued in 1929, *Kōkokukai* started a section called 'Newspaper advertising kaleidoscope' (*Shinbun Kōkoku Mangekyō*). Although the titles changed, *Kōkokukai* continued to present 'monthly critique' (*geppyō*) of newspaper advertisements until 1941. See, for example, Tatsumi Shinji, 'Shinbun kōkoku mangekyō' [Newspaper advertising kaleidoscope], *Kōkokukai*, February 1929.

the ‘reckless investment that kills advertising fees’ (*kōkoku ryō o korosu mubōna tōshi*).⁴¹² The article asserted that ‘weak’ (*hakujaku*) advertising effects and wasteful expenditure were caused by ‘stereotypical’ (*kata ni kakowareta*) advertisements that followed established conventions. It explained that a representative symptom of such a stereotypical approach to newspaper advertising in Japan was ‘*daikōkoku*’, literally ‘big advertising’. The article argued that *daikōkoku* was problematic because it was costly, but the effect of an advertisement was not directly proportional to its size.⁴¹³

The opposition to *daikōkoku* was not only a matter of size and cost, but also one of style. For example, Inagaki Seijirō, a staff member at the advertising agency Teikoku Communications, suggested in a 1926 article in *Jigyō to kōkoku* that around a quarter of a page was sufficient to ‘accomplish the goal’ of advertising.⁴¹⁴ He further argued that a smaller size contributed to a more ‘attractive’ (*miriyoku aru*) advertisement. To support this claim, Inagaki cited the words of his colleague, supposedly a designer (*zuanka*), about the approach involved in designing small ads:

What may be called a professional moral (*shokugyō dōtoku*) is stimulated, that the advertisement must be completed in a way that it fully achieves the purpose within the small space. [...] a sort of professional interest (*shokugyō teki kyōmi*) is stimulated, wanting to produce [an advertisement] that further achieves, completely, the efficiency of advertising (*kōkoku nōritsu o kanzen ni eru*).⁴¹⁵

According to Inagaki’s colleague, this kind of attention, or what he/she called the ‘alertness’ (*kinchō*) of the designer, resulted in advertising designs that featured ‘the product’s name and two or three lines of text that simply (*sararito*) explain its merits’.⁴¹⁶ Inagaki asserted that this kind of simple design satisfied the ‘majority of consumers’ (*tasū no shōhisha*) rather than the ‘ignorant (*murikaina*) advertiser’ who usually wanted the full-page advertisement.⁴¹⁷ In sum, Inagaki and his colleague articulated the correlation between smaller sizing and the ‘efficiency’ (*nōritsu*) of advertising; they also suggested that simpler styles of design would contribute to efficiency.

⁴¹² 'Kōkokukai zeze hihi' [Right and wrong in the advertising world], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, June 1925, 25-26.

⁴¹³ In a subsequent article in *Jigyō to kōkoku*, a managing director at Furō Pharmaceuticals named Tokuoka Sōtarō even called for the institutional ‘limitation’ (*seigen*) of *daikōkoku* by newspapers. Tokuoka Sōtarō, 'Shinbunsha ni nozomu' [Expect from newspaper companies], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, June 1925, 27.

⁴¹⁴ Inagaki Seijirō, 'Zen-pēji kōkoku no tokushitsu' [Pros and cons of a full-page advertisements], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, February 1926, 24-26.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

Efficiency was also a key factor in the discussion of visual expression and style. A 1925 book entitled *Methods of advertising design* (*Kōkoku zuan no kaki kata*), written by Kuramoto Chōji (1899-1982), the advertising critic and editor-in-chief of *Shōtenkai*, shows meticulously how advertising professionals in 1920s Japan theorised effective advertising design.⁴¹⁸

In his book, Kuramoto argued that to ‘accomplish the purpose’ (*mokuteki o tassei*) of advertising, advertisements should be something to ‘see’ (*miru*) rather than to ‘read’ (*yomu*).⁴¹⁹ He suggested that pictorial design was essential to effective advertisements: people did not read lengthy texts unless they were interested, but images had the power to raise curiosity (*kōkishin*) immediately.⁴²⁰

Kuramoto further explained about the key function of images in advertisements. He wrote:

In modern advertising (*gendai no kōkoku*) [...] to make the general public buy things, it is good to invoke the imagination (*sōzō o okosaseru*). [...] [I]magination indicates a picture (*e*) that is drawn inside the mind, and this picture is one of the causes that makes us buy things.⁴²¹

The above quote is significant in showing that Kuramoto put emphasis on how an advertisement was processed in the mind of the viewer. In suggesting the invocation of the imagination as an essential quality of effective and ‘modern advertising’, Kuramoto’s idea resonated with the more global tendency of ‘modern’ advertising towards evocative rather than descriptive images, which I discussed in Chapter 1.

Kuramoto also suggested that simplicity was key to effective design. He asserted that ‘advertising does not take effect (*kiku*) according to quantity (*ryō*)’.⁴²² He disapproved of ‘large’ (*ōkī*) advertisements, and also ones ‘with lots of design’ (*zuan no ōi*); he suggested that advertisements ‘that are small but shining like a diamond, are better’.⁴²³ He explicitly stated that ‘the shorter the texts, the more effective’, and ‘the simpler [the design], the better’ (*kantan na mono hodo yoi*).⁴²⁴ In sum,

⁴¹⁸ Kuramoto Chōji, *Kōkoku zuan no kaki kata*.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 6.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 3-5.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 15.

⁴²² Ibid., 21.

⁴²³ Ibid., 20.

⁴²⁴ Kuramoto wrote the latter regarding posters, but noted that it was applicable to other forms of advertising. Ibid., 69.

Kuramoto's ideal of effective advertising consisted of image-based design with simple, minimal elements.

Regarding newspaper advertisements in particular, Kuramoto also presented more specific guidelines. Noting that newspaper advertisements were usually surrounded by others, he argued that 'clearly distinct design' (*kubetsu o hakkiri suru zuan*) was crucial.⁴²⁵ He suggested leaving ample 'blank space' (*johaku*), utilising outlines (*rinkaku*), or 'covering with black' (*kuroku nuritsubusu*) as suitable techniques.⁴²⁶ In a similar vein, Nakagawa Shizuka suggested that blank or black surfaces were useful for a newspaper advertisement to secure what he called the 'power to compete' (*kikkō suru chikara*) against its surroundings.⁴²⁷ Nakagawa also argued that 'character' (*tokuchō*) was essential to newspaper advertising design, and such a quality could be gained from the consistent use of original visual components like illustrations or outlines.⁴²⁸

What Japanese designers and commentators considered to be effective advertising design was not uniform, and brands published advertisements in different styles of their own. But the key factors of effective design articulated by Kuramoto and Nakagawa – a focus on images, evocative approach, simplicity, blank space, and visual character – were generally adopted in work by leading Japanese advertisers in the 1920s. These visual traits can be confirmed by reviewing contemporary Japanese newspapers, but catalogues of advertising design contests illustrate more clearly how the above factors were visualised and shared among Japanese advertising professionals around the mid-1920s. *Five hundred examples of newspaper advertisements* (*Shinbun kōkoku gohyaku an*), published in 1922 by the Osaka Advertising Association,⁴²⁹ and the *Collection of newspaper advertising designs*, published in 1926 jointly by the Japan Advertising Society and Shōjikisha,⁴³⁰ are telling examples. They show that among the entries created for design competitions, those which conformed to the simple style suggested by Kuramoto were highly praised by judges (Figure 37, Figure 38).

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 78.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 79.

⁴²⁷ Nakagawa Shizuka, *Kōkoku to senden*, 359.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 361.

⁴²⁹ Osaka Kōkoku Kyōkai, *Shinbun kōkoku gohyaku an*.

⁴³⁰ Shōjikisha, *Shinbun kōkoku zuan shū*.



Figure 37. Examples of winning designs, in Osaka Kōkoku Kyōkai, *Shinbun kōkoku gohyaku an* [Five hundred examples of newspaper advertisements] (Osaka: Osaka Kōkoku Kyōkai, 1922), n.p.



Figure 38. Examples of winning designs, in Shōjikisha, *Shinbun kōkoku zuan shū* [Collection of newspaper advertising designs] (Tokyo: Shōjikisha, 1926), n.p.

In terms of Japan-based companies' advertisements in Korea, *A selected collection of newspaper advertisements* (Shinbun kōkoku senshū), published in 1926 by the *Osaka asahi shinbun*, is particularly significant.⁴³¹ Unlike the two publications above, which featured work that was newly created for the competitions, the examples presented in *A selected collection* consisted of actual advertisements by major brands that had been published in newspapers in Japan. The introduction to the book explained:

In sum, this collection is a compilation of advertisements published daily on the pages of newspapers, of outstanding ones (*yūshū naru mono*) selected by leading contemporary advertisers (*tōdai ichiryū no kaku kōkokunushi*) in our country.⁴³²

The book featured around a hundred newspaper advertisements in total by what it acknowledged as leading advertisers in 1920s Japan, such as Club (cosmetics), Lion (toothpaste), Kaō (soap), Rakutōgen (baby formula milk), Morinaga (confectionery), Ajinomoto (artificial seasoning), and Calpis (soda). As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, and will discuss further below, these brands were among those that advertised regularly and saliently in Korean newspapers.

The advertising departments of these brands were pioneering ones in inter-war Japan. For example, Morinaga established an advertising department in 1915, appointing copywriter Kataoka Toshirō (1882-1845) as director.⁴³³ According to designer Imaizumi Takeji (1905-1995), who worked at Morinaga in the 1930s, designers like Fujisawa Tatsuo (1893-1969) and Murota Kurazō created innovative advertisements at the department in the early 1920s; because the advertising department fostered many young designers, contemporaries sometimes called it the 'Morinaga advertising school' (*Morinaga kōkoku gakkō*).⁴³⁴ Meanwhile, Ajinomoto's founder Suzuki Saburōsuke realised the power of advertising keenly from the 1910s;⁴³⁵ Takaki Kiyoshige (formerly a copywriter at Jintan) and Saburōsuke's son Saburō respectively led Ajinomoto's advertising departments in Tokyo and Osaka in the 1920s, which I will discuss further in section 2.3.5. When *Jigyō to kōkoku* started a series of interviews with corporate advertising directors in 1925, Takaki was the first and Matsumoto

⁴³¹ Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, *Shinbun kōkoku senshū*.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Morinaga Seika, *Morinaga gojūgo-nen-shi* [The fifty five-year history of Morinaga] (Tokyo: Morinaga Seika, 1954).

⁴³⁴ Tanaka Ikkō, ed. *Kiki gaki dezain shi* [Transcribed design history] (Tokyo: Rokuyōsha, 2001), 19. Fujisawa and Murota later became founding members of the Association of Commercial Artists in 1926.

⁴³⁵ Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensanshitsu, *Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha shashi* [The company history of Ajinomoto Corporation] (Tokyo: Ajinomoto, 1971), 99-106.

Chūsaburo (of Morinaga) the second to be interviewed.⁴³⁶ Advertisements for the two companies were also frequently discussed in the advertising review sections in the advertising magazines mentioned above.

A selected collection presented advertisements by these pioneering advertisers as examples of ‘practical’ (*jissaiteki*) and ‘live’ (*ikita*) advertising, to show ‘through what means, methods, and forms (*shudan hōhō keishiki*) small amounts of advertisements (*ikubaku no kōkoku bunryō*) could render the largest effects (*motto mo ōku no kōka*).⁴³⁷ In other words, the aim of the book was in line with the focus on the cost-efficiency of the 1920s Japanese advertising industry more generally.

Advertisements for Ajinomoto and Morinaga are particularly significant here because I will discuss their examples in detail in the following sections, as active advertisers in Korea.

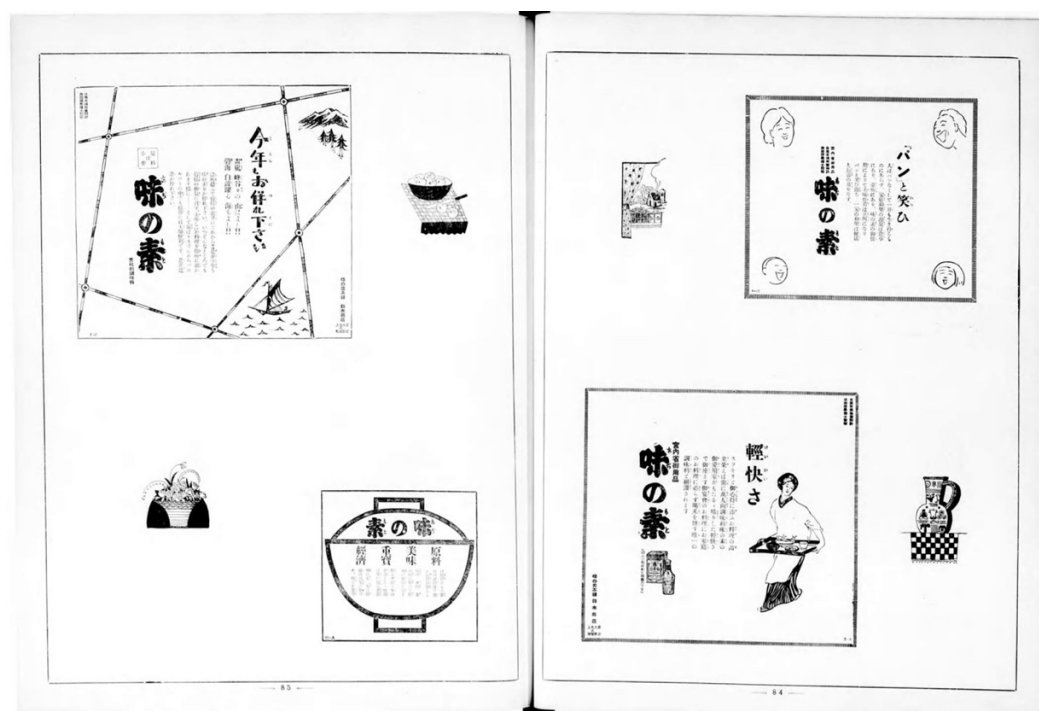


Figure 39. Advertisements of Ajinomoto, in Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, *Shinbun kōkoku senshū* [A selected collection of newspaper advertisements] (Osaka: Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, 1926), 84-85.

The four advertisements for Ajinomoto presented in *A selected collection* were generally evocative rather than descriptive (Figure 39): only one (lower right) featured the actual product, and it was not the focal point; others featured images of a happily smiling family (upper right), seasonal

⁴³⁶ 'Kōkoku buchō rekihō ki (1)' [Visits to directors of advertising departments (1)], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, September 1925; 'Kōkoku buchō rekihō ki (2)' [Visits to directors of advertising departments (2)], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, October 1925.

⁴³⁷ Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, *Shinbun kōkoku senshū*.

scenery (upper left), and a bowl of soup (lower left), which may have, as Kuramoto put it, ‘invoke[d] the imagination’ about the pleasures Ajinomoto would bring to consumers. The advertisements had similar simple layouts, which featured a body of main copy placed between a bold headline and the Ajinomoto logotype, with ample blank space surrounding them. The consistency of layout and logotype probably contributed to the distinctive character of the overall designs. In short, the visual traits of Ajinomoto’s advertisements resonated with what Kuramoto articulated as effective advertising design.

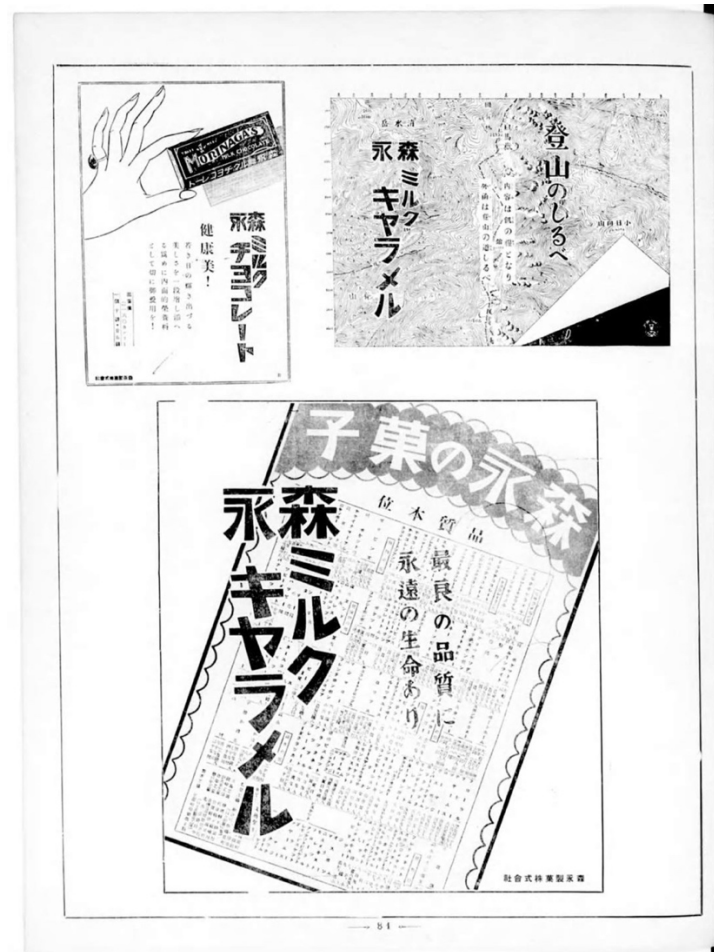


Figure 40. Advertisements for Morinaga, in Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, *Shinbun kōkoku senshū* [A selected collection of newspaper advertisements] (Osaka: Osaka Asahi Shinbunsha, 1926), 81.

The three advertisements for Morinaga presented in the book were less uniform than Ajinomoto’s, but shared the characteristics of effective advertising design (Figure 40). The advertisement in the upper left corner followed the more typical format of Morinaga’s ads: it featured an illustration of a chocolate bar in a suggestive setting (in what seems to be a female hand); the slogan ‘The beauty of health!’ (Kenkōbi!) implies that the illustration suggested that beauty was the

benefit of the product. As in Ajinomoto's examples, the advertisement also featured a distinctive logotype, a box of main copy, and substantial blank space.

The visual expression in the other two advertisements were less simple: the one in the upper right corner featured a complex contour map and the one at the bottom a long list of Morinaga's products. While visually more complex, the two were also possibly composed with a similar emphasis on simplicity. The former was an advertisement focusing on the Morinaga Caramels box that worked as a 'guide to mountain-climbing', and the latter emphasised Morinaga's 'quality-oriented' (*hinshitsu hon'i*) principles. The images can thus be seen as concise visual representations of these messages, with minimal use of text. Furthermore, the distinctive character of the brand was maintained through the consistent use of the Morinaga Caramel logotype.

The particular types of advertisements discussed above were not the only styles adopted by Japanese advertisers. But the tendency towards what I have described as image-centred, evocative, simple design, with elements of visual identity, was pronounced in the advertisements for major Japanese consumer goods manufacturers in the 1920s. Historians, although with different terminologies, have similarly recognised a shift towards simpler techniques of expression at the time.⁴³⁸ This design shift in 1920s Japanese advertising resonated with what Kuramoto and Nakagawa suggested was effective advertising design.

In this section, I have examined the rise of modern Japanese advertising in the 1920s. The post-WWI economic slump, the collective pursuit of efficient advertising, and the theoretical and stylistic development of effective design were key factors in the modernisation of advertising within Japan. But the impact of these factors was felt beyond Japan. We will see in the following sections that the economic conditions and the tendency towards efficiency in 1920s Japan had an impact on Korea, where Japanese advertisers expanded sales and advertising in the local market. The knowledge and design expertise that Japanese actors had accumulated gradually shaped their approach to the design of advertisements in the colonial market. In this respect, modern Japanese advertising was not just a Japanese project; it contributed to the Japanese empire's colonial project more broadly.

⁴³⁸ Takeuchi Yukie suggests that since 1921, commercial artists in Japan increasingly used the term '*tanka*' (literally, 'simplification') as a reference to a style of advertising design. She suggests that Japanese designers considered the simple, bold expression of the *tanka* style efficient and advantageous in terms of its power to attract attention and for ease of printing. Takeuchi Yukie, *Kindai kōkoku no tanjō*, 41-46. Uchikawa Yoshimi has summarised a shift in techniques of expression in 1920s Japanese advertising from 'realistic' (*sokubutsuteki*) to 'multi-dimensional' (*rittaiteki*) and 'psychological' (*shinriteki*). Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 325.

2.2. Market expansion

2.2.1. Colonial markets as emerging opportunities

The post-WWI economic depression also affected Japan's trade with colonial Korea. Economic historian Kobayashi Hideo has suggested that in the post-war years Japanese politicians and businessmen actively pursued economic and commercial development in Japan's colonies to sustain the Japanese economy, which had grown significantly during the war but was facing difficult conditions.⁴³⁹ Economic historian Hori Kazuo has also articulated that maintaining or developing export markets for Japanese goods became difficult after the war (especially European and American markets), as the exceptional situation of foreign warfare that facilitated the expansion of Japanese production and export in the 1910s was gone by the 1920s.⁴⁴⁰

In this context, from the late 1910s, Japan's exports to its colonies increased, particularly in Korea and Taiwan. Hori Kazuo's statistical analysis of Japanese trade shows that the proportion of Japan's exports towards Korea and Taiwan within its total exports increased steadily from 1914 to 1928 (Table 1). Accordingly, in Korea, imports from Japan grew significantly from 1914 to 1928; more pertinently to the advertising for Japan-based companies in Korea, the imports of consumer goods from Japan followed the general increase, but surged notably from 1920 onwards (Table 2).

Table 1. Japan's export to Korea and Japan between 1914 and 1928 (unit: million-yen, 1935 constant price)⁴⁴¹

Year	Total Export of Japan	Export to Korea and Taiwan	Proportion of Korea and Taiwan
1914	769	89	11.6%
1916	1,172	99	8.4%
1918	1,374	123	9.0%
1920	951	105	11.0%
1922	1,107	126	12.3%
1924	1,101	150	13.6%
1926	1,407	207	14.7%
1928	1,637	280	17.1%

⁴³⁹ Kobayashi Hideo, *'Dai Tōa Kyōeiken' to Nihon kigyō* ['The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' and Japanese corporations] (Tokyo: Shakai Hyōronsha, 2012), 33. See also Kobayashi Hideo, 'Nihon teikoku shugi ka no shokuminchi: Dai Ichi Sekai Taisen ikō (jō)' [Colonies under the Japanese imperialism: After the World War I (I)], *Komazawa Daigaku keizaigaku ronshū* 18, no. 4 (1987).

⁴⁴⁰ Hori Kazuo, *Higashi Ajia shihon shugi shiron 1: Keisei, kōzō, tenkai* [A history of capitalism in East Asia 1: Formation, structure, and development] (Kyoto: Mineruvua Shobō, 2009), 157.

⁴⁴¹ Source: Ōkura Shō, *Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*; Ōkura Shō, *Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*; Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen bōeki nenpyō*; Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*; Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan bōeki nenpyō*. Published 1914-1928. Cited in Hori Kazuo, *Higashi Ajia shihon shugi shiron 1*, 156.

Table 2. Korea's import from Japan between 1914 and 1928 (unit: million-yen, 1935 constant price)⁴⁴²

Year	Total import from Japan in Korea	Total import of consumer goods from Japan in Korea
1914	47.6	26.3
1916	59.0	32.5
1918	71.5	32.5
1920	60.5	27.8
1922	93.1	46.1
1924	133.3	66.2
1926	167.0	79.3
1928	221.7	99.7

One of the factors that contributed significantly to the increased imports from Japan in Korea around 1920 was colonial policy. Korea was only one of Japan's markets that were spread across the globe, but as a formal colony, it was one (along with Taiwan) that Japan had strong political control over. Historians have shown how Japanese policy-makers in Tokyo and Seoul facilitated Japan-based companies' market expansion in Korea through the two major economic policies in the early 1920s: the abolition of the Company Law (J: Kaisha Rei, K: Hoesa Ryōng) in 1920 and the reform of import tariffs in 1923.

The Company Law was implemented in Korea by the Government-General in 1911, soon after colonisation in 1910.⁴⁴³ Under this law, all newly established companies and branches, whether Korean- or Japanese-owned, required approval from the colonial government, and existing ones could be suspended or closed by governmental decree.⁴⁴⁴ Historian Chōn U-yong suggests that the law enabled the Government-General to control all private capital (that is, Korean, Japanese, and other foreign capital based in Korea, and also capital based in Japan), to correspond to the Government-General's political aims, thus suppressing the development of Korean business in the 1910s.⁴⁴⁵ Kobayashi Hideo generally shares Chōn's view, and highlights that the law hindered the investment

⁴⁴² Source: Ōkura Shō, *Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*; Ōkura Shō, *Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*; Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen bōeki nenpyō*; Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan gaikoku bōeki nenpyō*; Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan bōeki nenpyō*. Published 1914-1928. Cited Horii Kazuo, *Higashi Ajia shihon shugi shiron* 1, 60.

⁴⁴³ For the Company Law, see Kobayashi Hideo, *Shokuminchi e no kigyō shinshutsu: Chōsen Kaisha Rei no bunseki* [The advance of enterprise to the colony: An analysis of the Korean Company Law] (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1994); Chōn U-yong, *Han'guk hoesa ūi t'ansaeng* [The emergence of Korean enterprise] (Seoul: Sōul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'an Munhwawōn, 2012).

⁴⁴⁴ Chōn U-yong, *Han'guk hoesa ūi t'ansaeng*, 307.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 326-327.

of Japan-based capital in Korea as well.⁴⁴⁶ Michael Robinson similarly suggests that the Company Law limited the growth of local entrepreneurship during the first decade of colonial rule, and further articulates that by 1920 the Korean market was increasingly dependent on imported manufactures from Japan.⁴⁴⁷ Therefore, when the Company Law was abolished in 1920 as part of the Saitō regime's 'cultural rule' reforms, it opened new opportunities for Japan-based companies in the Korean market.⁴⁴⁸

The market expansion of Japan-based products and companies was further facilitated by the reform of import tariffs in Korea implemented by the Tokyo and Seoul governments in March 1923.⁴⁴⁹ The reform abolished tariffs for products from Japan and its colonies imported to Korea, except liquors and textiles.⁴⁵⁰ Historian Song Kyu-jin, among others, has demonstrated that the tariff reform lowered the price of Japanese products and improved their competitiveness in the Korean market.⁴⁵¹ The abolition of the Company Law made it easier for Japan-based companies to establish local branches, and the almost tariff-free trade system improved their products' price-competitiveness in Korea. The political changes thus facilitated the market expansion of Japanese companies in Korea and potentially contributed to the increase of Japan-based advertisements in Korean papers.

My examination of records in contemporary Japanese business and advertising magazines and company archives suggests that amid the political changes, Japan-based consumer goods manufacturers proactively sought to penetrate the Korean market. As economic historian Hirayama

⁴⁴⁶ Kobayashi suggests that the Company Law oppressed the establishment of new businesses in 1910s colonial Korea in general. He also argues convincingly that the colonial government implemented the law in favour of Japanese, and as a result Koreans were excluded from what he calls the 'major axis' of commerce and industry in Korea. Kobayashi Hideo, *Shokuminchi e no kigyō shinshutsu: Chōsen Kaisha Rei no bunseki*, 79-81.

⁴⁴⁷ Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 93.

⁴⁴⁸ Kobayashi suggests that from the WWI boom years politicians and businessmen in Japan had pressured the Government-General of Korea to ease the restriction, and investment in Korea had been gradually liberalised from the mid-1910s. Kobayashi Hideo, *Shokuminchi e no kigyō shinshutsu: Chōsen Kaisha Rei no bunseki*, 79.

⁴⁴⁹ For Japan's tariff policies in colonial Korea, see Song Kyu-jin, 'Ilje ha 'Ilbon Kwansebōp' ūi Chosōn chōgyong kwa pyōnyong' [The application and modification of Japanese Custom Act into Chosun under the rule of Japanese imperialism], *Han'guksa hakpo* 32 (2008).

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 391.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.* See also, Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*, 98; Pak Ch'an-sŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chōngch'i sasangsa yōn'gu*, 186.

Tsutomu rightly argues, Japanese enterprises operating in the colonies did not merely serve the ‘state policy’ (*kokusaku*) of Japan; they prioritised their pursuit of profit.⁴⁵²

I contend that observation of opportunity, rather than conformity to state policy, was what prompted many Japanese companies to venture into less familiar markets. For example, in the December 1925 issue of *Jigyō to kōkoku*, an editor of the magazine, Takeo Takanori, wrote an article about advertising in the colonies for Japan-based advertisers.⁴⁵³ It is a rare case of writing in inter-war Japan that directly discussed such a topic. Takeo explained why advertising in the colonies was important:

While the business world is in pain because of the recession in the mainland, among the colonies there are many places that are surprisingly not so. Although recession takes place, the purchasing power (*kōbairiyoku*) of residents is quite abundant. Unlike the mainland where stock is piling up, it is said that retailers in those lands are beaming with pleasure (*hokuhoku mono*). In order to relieve the recession in the mainland (*naichi no fukyō o kyūsai*), and to sell leftover stock, this is a point to which mainland businessmen should pay attention.⁴⁵⁴

In line with the views of historians of the Japanese economy discussed above, Takeo acknowledged that Japan’s ‘mainland’ economy was facing a difficult time and suggested that opportunities were emerging for Japan-based companies in what he perceived as thriving colonial markets. Based on such a perception, he concluded that ‘success will be easy’ (*seikō wa yōi*) as long as Japanese businessmen considered the specificities of the colonies when advertising.⁴⁵⁵ Takeo’s conclusion probably underestimated the challenge of developing colonial markets, but the publication of the article may reflect a growing interest among Japan-based companies towards the colonies as a market in which to sell their products.⁴⁵⁶

Japanese products being sold in Korea was not a new phenomenon, but, as discussed above, the importation of Japanese goods into the Korean market surged in the early 1920s. In addition, throughout the 1920s and early 1930s many major Japan-based consumer goods manufacturers

⁴⁵² Hirayama Tsutomu, “‘Kokusaku’ to kigyō keiei’ [‘State policy’ and business management], in *Nihon shokuminchi kenkyū no ronten*, ed. Nihon Shokuminchi Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2018), 45.

⁴⁵³ Takeo Takanori, ‘Shokuminchi ni taisuru kōkokuhō ni tsuite’ [On methods of advertising for the colonies], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, December 1925.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁵⁶ In the remainder of the article Takeo offered more detailed advice on how to devise colony-specific advertising strategies, which I will discuss below.

changed the structure of their businesses in Korea, in that their headquarters became involved more directly in distribution and marketing, as opposed to delegating these functions to local wholesalers.

One of earliest examples of such market expansion was Fujisawa Tomokichi Shōten (FTS), the Osaka-based pharmaceuticals company. According to the company history, FTS set up a branch in Seoul in 1921, and appointed a Nakada Yukisaburō as branch manager.⁴⁵⁷ Nakada was a former employee of Arai Yakubō, one of the largest Japanese pharmacies in Korea, based in Inch'ŏn and Seoul.⁴⁵⁸ More importantly, Nakada was a nephew of Fujisawa Tomokichi (the founder of FTS), and had been sent to Arai as an apprentice in 1906 when FTS formed a partnership with Arai as its major dealer in Korea.⁴⁵⁹ In 1917, Tomokichi visited Korea for market research, and after discussion with his business partner Arai Toratarō (owner of Arai Yakubō), Tomokichi allowed Nakada to open his own pharmacy, Nakada Yakuten, in Seoul in 1918; Nakada Yakuten assumed the role of FTS's Seoul 'office' (*shucchōjo*) as well.⁴⁶⁰ As sales of FTS products grew significantly in Korea, between 1920 and 1921 Tomokichi 'progressively dissolved' (*hatteneki ni kaisho*) Nakada Yakuten and established the FTS Seoul Branch (Keijō Shiten).⁴⁶¹ The company history notes that Tomokichi gained Arai's 'understanding' (*ryōkai*) for dissolving Nakada Shōten and establishing the FTS Seoul Branch, which may indicate that Arai lost some of its distribution rights or privileges during this process.⁴⁶² In short, the establishment of the FTS Seoul Branch exemplifies how some Japan-based companies expanded their sales in Korea in the 1920s; the FTS case is particularly significant because it reveals that the headquarters in Japan initially delegated its colonial sales to a local partner, but eventually reclaimed them and regained enhanced control.

Similar examples followed. Hirao Sanpei Shōten, the manufacturer of Lait Cosmetics, established a Seoul branch in 1925.⁴⁶³ Its company history, published in 1929, stated that the Seoul branch 'concentrated on raising demand' (*juyō no kanki ni bottō*): sales staff of the branch travelled to

⁴⁵⁷ Fujisawa Yakuhin Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha, *Fujisawa hyakunenshi* [The 100-year history of Fujisawa] (Osaka: Fujisawa Yakuhin Kōgyō, 1995), 48.

⁴⁵⁸ Hong Hyōn-o, *Han'guk yagōpsa* [The history of the Korean pharmaceutical industry] (Seoul: Handok Yakp'um Kongōp Chusik Hoesa, 1972), 193.

⁴⁵⁹ Fujisawa Yakuhin Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha, *Fujisawa hyakunenshi*, 48.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

⁴⁶³ Hirao Sanpei Shōten, *Hirao Sanpei Shōten 50 nenshi* [The 50-year history of Hirao Sanpei Shōten] (Tokyo: Hirao Sanpei Shōten, 1929), 15.

the ‘backwoods’ (*sanson okuchi*) of Korea, to hand out samples, explain their usage, and lecture to students on personal hygiene at local schools.⁴⁶⁴ Ajinomoto founded a branch in Seoul in 1931,⁴⁶⁵ and Kaō in 1932.⁴⁶⁶

Among Japanese consumer goods brands, the confectionery company Morinaga and the toothpaste brand Lion make particularly useful case studies: in addition to their various advertisements published in contemporary Korean newspapers, the companies currently retain, in their archives, documents relating to their operations in Korea during the colonial period. It is impossible to assume that companies whose archives are available are representative of the larger community. However, records held in the company archives provide a more detailed account of the processes of expansion of Japanese brands in the Korean market in the 1920s.

2.2.2. Morinaga’s market expansion (1): The reform of the sales system

Morinaga was founded in 1910 and soon became a best-selling brand in Japan, most famously for its boxed milk caramel candies and milk chocolates.⁴⁶⁷ According to its 1954 company history, Morinaga’s products were sold in Korea from around 1912.⁴⁶⁸ Matsuzaki Hanzaburō (1874-1961), the deputy manager of the company, carried out a market research tour (*shisatsu*) around China, Manchuria, and Korea; after that, Morinaga appointed Saitō Shōten in Busan as a ‘privileged agency’ (*tokuyakuten*) in Korea.⁴⁶⁹ Matsuzaki recalled in 1951 that the deal with Saitō Shōten in 1912 opened the ‘road to advance to Korea’ (*Chōsen e no shinshutsu no michi*).⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 582.

⁴⁶⁵ Ajinomoto had a resident employee (*chūzaiin*) in Seoul from 1929, but without a formal office until 1931. Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha, *Ajinomoto enkakushi* [The history of Ajinomoto] (Tokyo: Ajinomoto, 1951), 436.

⁴⁶⁶ Kaō Kabushiki Kaisha and Nihon Keiei Kenkyūjo, 'Kaō shi 100 nen' [100 years of Kaō history], (1993), 104.

⁴⁶⁷ For the company history of Morinaga, see Morinaga Seika, *Morinaga gojūgo-nen-shi*.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 104.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ Matsuzaki wrote: ‘On 9 February [1908], the old Mr. Morinaga, with his burning ambitions for overseas export, made a market research tour of central China, Manchuria, and Korea. I too, [...] left for a tour towards China in 1910. As a result, [...] Saitō Shōten in Busan was established as a privileged agency, and here the road to advance to China, Manchuria, and Korea was opened for the first time.’ *ibid.*, 105.

Morinaga geppō (Morinaga bulletin), the company's internal newsletter launched in 1923, is a useful source that offers contemporary accounts of its operations in the 1920s and 1930s.⁴⁷¹ The first issue of *Morinaga geppō* (May 1923) confirms Matsuzaki's remark in terms of Morinaga's expanded operation in Korea from 1912 onwards.⁴⁷² The bulletin listed thirteen members of the 'Morinaga Society in Korea' (Chōsen Morinaga-kai) spread across the country.⁴⁷³ Considering that Morinaga had one dealer in Korea in 1912 (Saitō Shōten), the fact that it had thirteen members in 1923 indicates that the company had significantly expanded its dealer network across major cities in Korea between 1910 and the early 1920s. The members of the society, judging from their names, were very possibly stores run by Japanese settlers or branches of companies based in Japan.⁴⁷⁴

In the July 1923 *Morinaga geppō*, the manager of Morinaga's Colonial Sales Department (Shokuminchi Hanbaika) reported on his business trip to Korea.⁴⁷⁵ The report offers a lively account of Morinaga's expansion in Korea.⁴⁷⁶ Regarding the southern port city of Mokpo, the manager noted that Morinaga was achieving satisfactory sales:

Although the financial world (*kinyūkai*) is still strained (*hikishimari*), confectionery shows satisfactory sales. If we attempt market expansion (*hanro no kakuchō*) from now on, we could expect a significant increase in sales (*ureyuki sōtō kōjō*).⁴⁷⁷

His report on Seoul explained one of the reasons for significant sales and emphasised the emerging opportunities in Korea:

Recently, while there are many bankruptcies and stores are extremely tense (*hijōni kinchō*), the confectionery world still shows a boom (*kōkyō*), which is significant. After the abolition of tariffs, manufacturers in Korea are severely damaged (*dageki o kōmuri*), and it is a golden opportunity (*zekkō no kikai*) for market expansion.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷¹ All individuals in *Morinaga geppō* are anonymised within this thesis, according to the regulations of Morinaga and Company.

⁴⁷² 'Chōsen Morinaga Kai' [The Morinaga Society in Korea], *Morinaga geppō*, May 1923, 28.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ 'Chōsen yori' [From Korea], *Morinaga geppō*, July 1923.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

Although the manager's observation of potential sales improvement was limited to the confectionery industry, it may explain how some Japanese consumer goods brands saw opportunities in Korea at the time. As discussed above, the post-WWI depression in Japan generally put Japanese manufacturers in a difficult position, but the abolition of import tariffs in Korea in 1923 improved the price-competitiveness of Japanese products in the Korean market. The manager's remark shows that contemporary Japanese businessmen perceived the change in the tariff policy as a relief and an opportunity.

The manager saw a 'golden opportunity' emerging, and during the trip he probably attempted to seize it by enhancing Morinaga's dealer network in Korea. He/she met with local distributors and established regional dealer assemblies called 'Friends of Morinaga' (Rinyū-kai), which aimed at what he/she described as the 'co-development of the privileged agencies' (*tokuyakuten no kyōdō hatten*).⁴⁷⁹

Subsequently, Morinaga significantly reformed its distribution system in Korea. In the January 1924 *Morinaga geppō*, instead of the members of the Morinaga Society in Korea, the 'Morinaga Products Seoul Sales Office' (Morinaga Seihin Keijō Hanbaisho, hereafter Morinaga Seoul Office) and the 'Morinaga Products Busan Sales Office' (Morinaga Seihin Fuzan Hanbaisho, hereafter Morinaga Busan Office) were listed as Morinaga's distributors in Korea.⁴⁸⁰ The particular position of the Seoul and Busan sales offices in Morinaga's distribution network is unclear due to the lack of records, but the 'sales office' (*hanbaisho*) was very possibly a smaller-scale version of Morinaga's 'sales corporation' (*hanbai kabushiki kaisha*) in Japan.

In Japan, Morinaga had developed the 'sales corporation' system in 1923 under the leadership of Matsuzaki Hanzaburō; Matsuzaki's account included in the 1954 company history explains its purpose and implementation.⁴⁸¹ Before the system was established, regional wholesalers, or *toiya*, controlled Morinaga's sales, and for Morinaga this had caused problem such as over-reduced prices (*ranbai*). Morinaga's regional sales corporations were devised to recover control over sales and distribution, which supposedly had been lost to *toiya*. Regional sales corporations were business bodies separate from both Morinaga and existing dealers; they were newly formed, around the *toiya*

⁴⁷⁹ 'Keijō Rinyū Kai', *Morinaga geppō*, July 1923, 17; 'Wonsan Rinyū Kai', *Morinaga geppō*, July 1923, 17.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Gaikoku oyobi shokuminchi hanbaibu' [Sales departments overseas and in the colonies], *Morinaga geppō*, January 1924, 18.

⁴⁸¹ Morinaga Seika, *Morinaga gojūgo-nen-shi*, 163-166.

that had exclusive dealership in a given area.⁴⁸² Matsuzaki noted that the intention was that Morinaga and the sales corporations would ‘cooperate for the promotion of Morinaga products in full unity (*tettei ni ittai to natte*)’.⁴⁸³ But the sales corporation system seems to have been Morinaga’s strategy to mobilise existing dealers’ distribution capacities with minimal investment while enhancing the headquarters’ control throughout its operation. The management of sales corporations was assigned to executives of *toiya* and investment from Morinaga was limited to 10 per cent of the total capital of each sales corporation. Business historian Kazuo Usui has explained the distribution reform of Morinaga in the 1920s and 1930s as what he terms the ‘*keiretsu*’ phenomenon: the manufacturer’s organisation of exclusive networks of distribution, by establishing subsidiaries and/or by making contracts with independent merchants.⁴⁸⁴

Matsuzaki acknowledged that through the network of sales corporations he sought to ‘seize (*shōaku*) in our hands all three rights (*kenri*) of manufacture, advertising, and sales’, and ultimately, ‘break away from the passive stance (*ukemi no tachiba*), and take an autonomous stance (*jishūteki na tachiba*)’.⁴⁸⁵ In this vein Morinaga’s sales corporation system is significant in terms of both distribution and advertising, as the supposed ‘autonomous stance’ may have brought changes in the promotional events and advertisements of the company.⁴⁸⁶

Meanwhile, foreign exports were also a major goal for Morinaga in the 1920s. In January 1924, Matsuzaki wrote an article in the Japanese business magazine *Jitsugyō no Nihon* (Enterprising Japan) entitled ‘Devote [yourself] to the growth of export with all [your] strength’.⁴⁸⁷ In the article, Matsuzaki urged fellow Japanese businessmen to focus on export for the ‘revival’ (*fukkō*) of the Japanese economy. He noted that Morinaga was already practising what he preached, in that it had

⁴⁸² For instance, in Tokyo, local *toiya* had formed an organisation called Yūshin-kai to collectively promote Morinaga products; in March 1923, upon Matsuzaki’s request, Yūshin-kai was reformed into the Morinaga Products Tokyo Sales Corporation (Morinaga Seihin Tokyo Hanbai Kabushiki Kaisha), an official corporate body.

⁴⁸³ Morinaga Seika, *Morinaga gojūgo-nen-shi*, 166.

⁴⁸⁴ See Kazuo Usui, *Marketing and Consumption in Modern Japan* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 6-9, 18-42.

⁴⁸⁵ Morinaga Seika, *Morinaga gojūgo-nen-shi*, 163.

⁴⁸⁶ Historian Louisa Daria Rubinfien demonstrates that, in parallel to Moringa, Kaō and Ajinomoto reformed their distribution in Japan and enhanced their local advertising activities. See Louisa Daria Rubinfien, ‘Commodity to National Brand: Manufacturers, Merchants, and the Development of the Consumer Market in Interwar Japan’ (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1995).

⁴⁸⁷ Matsuzaki Hanzaburō, ‘Yushutsu zōka ni zenryoku o keichū sen’ [Devote [yourself] to the growth of export with all [your] strength], *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, January 1924, 14.

recently issued corporate bonds and increased capital to ‘establish branches and factories in foreign countries’. Matsuzaki claimed that Morinaga would continue the policy to ‘export products to foreign countries with all its strength (*zenryoku o tsukushite*)’.

Considering Morinaga’s pursuit of stronger control over sales and focus on foreign export, the two Morinaga sales offices established in Seoul and Busan between July 1923 and January 1924 can be seen as part of the headquarters’ effort to engage more directly in the Korean market.⁴⁸⁸ A *toiya* called Nakajima Shōten was deeply involved in this process. Before the reform, Nakajima Shōten had been a member of the Morinaga Society in Korea, and covered Seoul, Busan, and Wōnsan, three major cities of Korea-Japan trade.⁴⁸⁹ According to a 1922 directory of Japanese citizens in Seoul, Nakajima Shōten was a sugar and flour trader and wholesaler.⁴⁹⁰ The company was originally based in Shimonoseki, the port city that connected Korea and Japan through the Shimonoseki-Busan ferry.⁴⁹¹ In 1910, Nakajima Shōten’s headquarters in Shimonoseki sent Ōmori Nobuharu (an employee since 1906) to Seoul, to manage its Seoul branch.⁴⁹² Given that Morinaga started selling in Korea in 1912, it is likely that Nakajima Shōten’s experience in the Korea-Japan trade enabled it to handle the distribution of Morinaga’s confectionery in the largest cities of Japanese settlement in Korea.

The Morinaga Seoul Office and Morinaga Busan Office overlapped with Nakajima Shōten’s branches in Seoul and Busan respectively. Most of all, the addresses of the Morinaga offices listed in *Morinaga geppō* were same as the Nakajima branches.⁴⁹³ In addition, the Morinaga offices and the Nakajima Shōten branches were very possibly under the same management. Although the records of Morinaga’s sales offices in Korea have not been published in business directories, records regarding a later business body, the Morinaga Products Korea Sales Corporation (Morinaga Seihin Chōsen Hanbai Kaisha), explains the relationship between Morinaga and Nakajima Shōten. The corporation

⁴⁸⁸ 'Gaikoku oyobi shokuminchi hanbaibu', 18.

⁴⁸⁹ 'Chōsen Morinaga Kai', 28.

⁴⁹⁰ Chōsen Chūō Keizai Kai, *Keijō shimin meikan* [Directory of citizens in Seoul] (Keijō: Chōsen Chūō Keizai Kai, 1922), 84.

⁴⁹¹ Yamaguchi Prefecture, of which Shimonoseki was a part, was also where the largest number of Japanese settlers in Korea came from throughout the colonial period. Yi Kyu-su, 'Chaejo Ilbonin ūi ch'ui wa chonjae hyōngt'ae' [The existing forms and transition of Japanese residents in Chosun], *Yōksa kyoyuk* 125 (2013), 53.

⁴⁹² Chōsen Chūō Keizai Kai, *Keijō shimin meikan*, 84.

⁴⁹³ The addresses were 'Keijō Hasegawa-machi 251' (Seoul) and 'Fuzan Sakae-machi 3-4' (Busan). 'Chōsen Morinaga Kai', 28; Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, *Chōsen ginkō kaisha yōroku* [Directory of banks and companies in Korea] (Keijō: Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, 1921).

was established in Seoul in 1929, at the same address as Nakajima Shōten Seoul and the Morinaga Seoul Office; Ōmori Nobuharu, who had managed Nakajima Shōten Seoul since 1910, was also listed as managing director of the corporation;⁴⁹⁴ capital investment in the corporation was largely from Nakajima Shōten rather than Morinaga, which accords with Morinaga's policy relating to its sales corporation system mentioned above.⁴⁹⁵

In sum, the Morinaga Seoul Office and Morinaga Busan Office were smaller versions of Morinaga's sales corporations in Japan. Their establishment in Korea may indicate that the Morinaga headquarters, after observing a 'golden opportunity' for market expansion, extended its sales control scheme, implemented in Japan, to Korea. That Morinaga eventually established the Morinaga Products Korea Sales Corporation in 1929 indicates that the sales offices were provisional or transitional establishments that enabled the company to expand to the less familiar Korean market. In this sense, the establishment of the sales offices reflects a gradual process of colonial market expansion. Meanwhile, as Matsuzaki claimed, the sales corporation system was intended to give Morinaga more power over marketing and advertising. The following sections will discuss how that aim towards enhanced advertising was pursued and actualised in Korea.

⁴⁹⁴ Ōmori Nobuharu became managing director of the Morinaga Products Korea Sales Corporation when it was established in 1929, which implies that he managed the Morinaga Products Seoul Sales Office as well. He continued to work for both Nakajima Shōten and Morinaga in Korea until at least 1942. Chōsen Chūō Keizai Kai, *Keijō shimin meikan*, 84; Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, *Chōsen ginkō kaisha kumiai yōroku* [Directory of banks, companies, and co-operatives in Korea] (Keijō: Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, 1931); Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, *Chōsen ginkō kaisha kumiai yōroku* [Directory of banks, companies, and co-operatives in Korea] (Keijō: Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, 1942).

⁴⁹⁵ Nakajima Shōten and the members of the Nakajima family were the major stockholders of the Morinaga Products Korea Sales Corporation. Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, *Chōsen ginkō kaisha kumiai yōroku*.

2.2.3. Morinaga's market expansion (2): The expansion of advertising events

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Figure 41. Photo of 'The Morinaga Day at the Keijō Theatre', May 1924. Morinaga and Company Archive.

Among the Korea-related documents in Morinaga's archive, two photos from the 1920s show that soon after the Morinaga Seoul Office and Morinaga Busan Office were established, the former launched a number of advertising events in Korea.⁴⁹⁶ One photo is dated May 1924 and is described as 'The Morinaga Day at the Keijō Theatre' by the Morinaga Seoul Office (Figure 41).⁴⁹⁷ In the photo, a signboard on the building reads 'Keijō Gekijō', which indicates that the event took place in front of

⁴⁹⁶ No record of the advertising activities of the Morinaga Busan Office was found in the company archive. Considering that the Morinaga Seoul Office later developed into the corporation, it may have been more active or powerful than the Morinaga Busan Office.

⁴⁹⁷ The album in Morinaga's company archive lists this event as held by the 'Korea Sales Corporation' (Chōsen Hanbai Kaisha). But considering that the Morinaga Products Korea Sales Corporation was established in 1929 and the event took place in Seoul, it is most likely that the Morinaga Seoul Office held the event.

the Keijō Theatre. The Keijō Theatre was located in Honmachi, the central area of the Japanese district in Seoul.⁴⁹⁸

Written documents relating to this specific event were not found in the archive, but according to advertising historian Uchikawa Yoshimi, ‘brand day’ promotions in Japan at the time were often in the form of outdoor parades and performances, with discounts on products or free giveaways.⁴⁹⁹ As a typical format, a group of performers called ‘*chindonya*’ would march through towns, playing music and handing out leaflets and product samples to bystanders. The scale of outdoor campaigns grew significantly and became popular across Japan, to the extent that in 1911 the Advertising Material Regulation Law was enacted to limit disturbance to public order, as these promotions often caused neighbourhood nuisance. Uchikawa suggests that, despite the regulations throughout the inter-war period, this form of outdoor advertising was adopted by major consumer goods brands in Japan as a standard method, because it was an effective means of attracting the attention of a random public.

The group of people featured in the photo of the Morinaga Day suggests that the event of 1924 was a usual ‘brand day’ and *chindonya* campaign. In the photo, a group of around forty men and boys stand in front of the Keijō Theatre: it includes flag-holders, a band, a group of street performers, and what seems to be the staff of the Morinaga Seoul Office.

⁴⁹⁸ Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, *Chōsen ginkō kaisha yōroku*. According to theatre historian Hong Sŏn-yŏng, the Keijō Theatre was the ‘symbolic [Japanese] theatre’ of 1920s colonial Seoul. Hong Sŏn-yŏng, ‘Kyŏngsŏng ūi ilbonin kŭkchang pyŏnch’ŏnsa’ [History of Japanese theater in Seoul], *Ilbon munhwa hakpo* 43 (2009), 299.

⁴⁹⁹ Live outdoor advertising involving street performers first appeared in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century. It became popular and expanded in scale around the 1910s, with major advertisers such as Lion Toothpaste, Club Cosmetics, and Kirin Beer, employing this method. Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 74, 92, 139-140, 233.

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Figure 42. Detail of Figure 41. Men in the centre. 'Morinaga Day at the Keijō Theatre', May 1924. Morinaga and Company Archive.

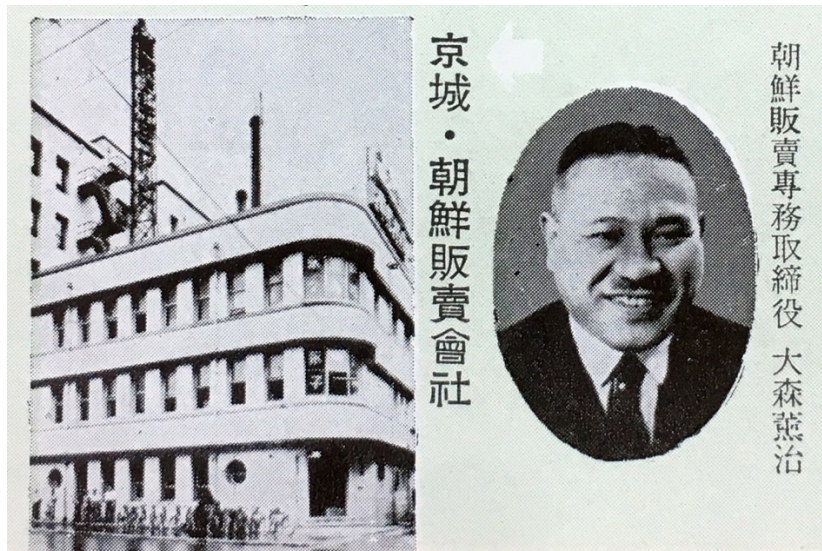
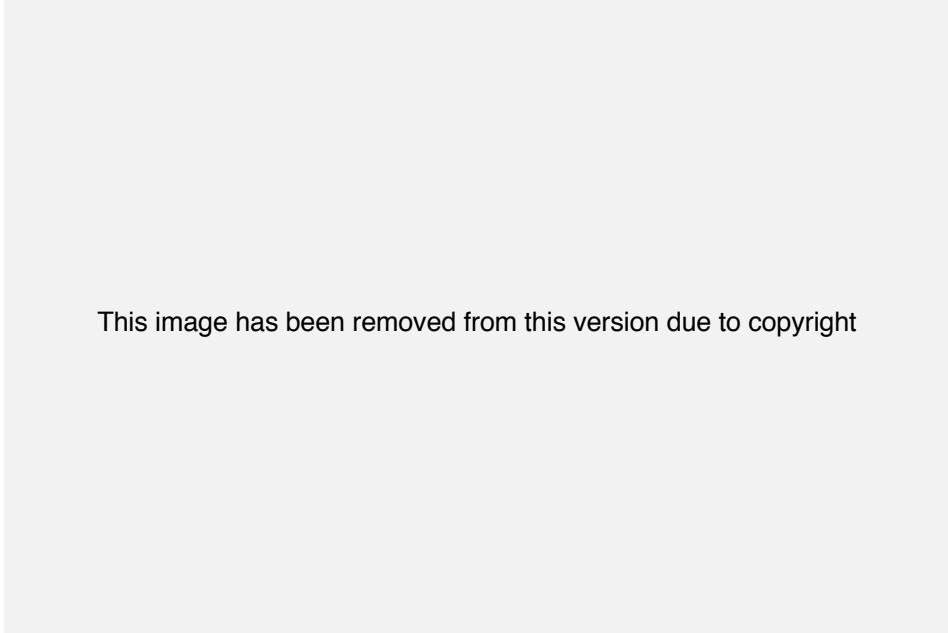


Figure 43. Photo of Ōmori Nobuharu, 'Executive director, Morinaga Products Korea Sales Corporation'. Morinaga Seika. *Morinaga gojūgo-nen-shi* [The fifty-five-year history of Morinaga] (Tokyo: Morinaga Seika, 1954), 335.

The details of the photo tell further stories about the particular event. A notable feature is the two men in the middle of the row (Figure 42). They are very possibly corporate figures who had organised the Morinaga Day. Unlike others around them who were in costume, the two were dressed in Western-style suits. As I will show below, the two also appeared in another photo of Morinaga's advertising event in Korea. Furthermore, the person on the right was probably Ōmori Nobuharu (the manager of the Morinaga Seoul Office around 1924), whose photo was published in the 1954 company history of Morinaga (Figure 43). That Ōmori was a central figure of the Morinaga Day


suggests that Morinaga's sales reform (and the establishment of the Morinaga Seoul Office) in Korea enhanced the company's local advertising endeavours. The fact that the photo was collected, given back to, and kept at Morinaga in Tokyo may also imply that the headquarters was more attentive to colonial advertising activities around this time.



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Figure 44. Detail of Figure 41. Flags. 'Morinaga Day at the Keijō Theatre', May 1924. Morinaga and Company Archive.

The banners featured in the photo of the Morinaga Day hint at the intended audience for the event. The banners, in various shades, featured logotypes of Morinaga's products, such as Morinaga Milk, Dry Milk, Milk Caramel, and Peace (candy), some with simple illustrations of the package design on the bottom (Figure 44). The logotypes were presented in both Japanese and Korean script. Morinaga's product logotypes were normally in Japanese on the packaging as well, until a Korean-language version was introduced in 1930, which I will discuss in section 2.3.2. Hence the Japanese logotype would have provided a visual reference to its products for consumers in Korea, whether they were able to read Japanese or not. But the bilingual composition of the banners indicates that although the Morinaga Day took place in the Japanese district and was aimed mainly at a Japanese audience, the organisers of the event did not ignore the Korean audience in the area. The Korean texts were smaller and placed in the margins, probably because their function was to help understand the Japanese logotype; but they may also reflect the fact that Koreans were still a minority within the company's clientele at the time.



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Figure 45. Photo of ‘Korea Sales Corporation Animated Pictures Advertising’, 1924. Morinaga and Company Archive.

Another Korea-related photo in Morinaga’s archive is of a film screening, entitled ‘Korea Sales Corporation Animated Pictures Advertising’ (Figure 45). The photo suggests that the film screening was an event similar to the Morinaga Day, in that it was organised by Ōmori (centre right) and his colleague (centre left). It was also very possibly for a Japanese audience: the audience in the photo were mostly women in Japanese hairstyles and dress and their children; Morinaga’s logotypes around the screen were in Japanese, and the film was entitled, in Japanese, *The brave man on the horse* (Bajō no yūsha).

Morinaga geppō further explained the context and outcome of Morinaga’s film screening events in Korea. The April 1924 *Morinaga geppō* announced a three-month ‘animated pictures advertising’ (*katsudō shashin senden*) campaign in thirteen provinces in Korea.⁵⁰⁰ The August 1924 *Morinaga geppō* reported on the successful completion of part of that campaign in the Chōlla and

⁵⁰⁰ ‘Chōsen de katsudō shashin taikai’ [Animated pictures event in Korea], *Morinaga geppō*, April 1924, 12.

Hamgyōng Provinces, amid ‘great acclamation’ (*dai kassai*).⁵⁰¹ The screening had toured over twenty cities from 25 June to 26 July, with each event attracting audiences ranging from around five hundred to two thousand.

The October 1924 *Morinaga geppō* provided more general accounts of ‘animated pictures advertising’.⁵⁰² It stated that Morinaga’s screening usually consisted of a ‘dedicated advertising film’ (*kōkoku senmon no firumu*) that promoted the products and general films of various genres; the former occupied about one-third or a quarter of the total. Technical and human resources for the screenings, including films and narrators, were assembled by Morinaga in Tokyo. Film advertising events toured around Japan and also reached the ‘remote villages (*hensū*) in Korea, Manchuria, and Taiwan’, to ‘attempt a thorough market expansion of products’ (*tetteiteki ni shōhin no hanro kakuchō o hakari*). Considering these explanations given in *Morinaga geppō*, the implementation of the film screening campaign in Korea was part of Morinaga’s effort to expand in the Korean market.

In the initial phase around 1923 and 1924, Morinaga’s pursuit of market expansion in Korea through enhanced advertising was focused on the Japanese settler community. But Korean consumers were nevertheless included in the events, and Morinaga’s marketers were aware of that. The above report on the film screening tour around Chōlla and Hamgyōng noted that there were several occasions on which the size of the Korean audiences was significant.⁵⁰³ It noted that among the audiences, ‘half was Korean’ (*hansū wa senjin*) in Kwangju, and ‘the majority was Korean’ (*daibubun wa senjin* or *taihan wa senjin*) in Wonsan and Nanam.⁵⁰⁴ The predominance of Korean audiences seems to have been exceptional, given that only three were described as such, out of more than twenty screenings. But that it was specially mentioned in the report might imply that Morinaga’s marketers found the significant presence of Koreans surprising, and thought it was worth informing the Tokyo headquarters about it; they may have started to recognise Koreans as a potentially significant consumer base.

⁵⁰¹ 'Dai kassai ri ni Chōsen senden taikai shūryōsu' [Advertising event in Korea completed amid great acclamation], *Morinaga geppō*, August 1924, 12.

⁵⁰² Machiba Taizō, 'Kōkoku jō ni mitaru katsudō shashin senden no kōka' [Advertising effects of the animated pictures campaign], *Morinaga geppō*, October 1924, 9.

⁵⁰³ 'Chōsen de katsudō shashin taikai', 12.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

According to a Government-General census, as of 1925 the total population in Korea was 19,522,945, of which 443,402 were Japanese residents (approximately 2.2 per cent).⁵⁰⁵ Although the Japanese settler society in Korea was a significant consumer base for Japanese products and grew steadily before and throughout the colonial period, it never exceeded 3 per cent of the total population.⁵⁰⁶ Put differently, within Korea the Korean population was a much larger market than the Japanese settler community, hence potentially a more attractive one for Japan-based companies to advertise to. But in 1924, Morinaga did not fully pursue this larger, yet less familiar, Korean market; this changed gradually from this point onwards, which I will discuss in the next section.

The implementation of the Morinaga Day and the film screening tours demonstrate Morinaga's intensified advertising in Korea. As discussed above, the launch of these events was linked to the company's reform of the sales system in Korea and its broader aims of foreign market expansion. The events also suggest that Morinaga and its marketers may have been increasingly conscious of Korean consumers as they further pursued market expansion. Morinaga's print advertisements published in newspapers in Korea also reflected the process of the company's expansion, which I will also discuss in the next section.

Before further examining Morinaga's advertising activities in Korea, I should emphasise that many other Japanese companies were going through the process of sales and marketing reform in the 1920s. Kazuo Usui explains that in the 1920s many Japanese manufacturers of medicines, confectionery, cosmetics, and electrical products established their own *keiretsu* system, or networks of distribution, with strong control from the headquarters.⁵⁰⁷ In her doctoral thesis on consumer goods brands in inter-war Japan, Louisa Daria Rubinfien suggests that companies like Ajinomoto and Kaō successfully transformed themselves from 'purveyors of interchangeable commodities' to 'makers of differentiable brands' in the 1920s.⁵⁰⁸ She demonstrates that Japanese manufacturers, to survive in the increasingly competitive domestic market of the post-WWI years, reorganised sales networks and enhanced marketing and advertising activities; such endeavours enabled them to access and take control of a nationwide market. Rubinfien convincingly argues that the expansion of Tokyo- and

⁵⁰⁵ Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Kan'i kokuzei chōsa kekka hyō* [Summary of national census results] (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1926).

⁵⁰⁶ Yi Kyu-su, "'Chaejo Ilbonin" yōn'gu wa "singminji sut'allon'" [The study of 'the Japanese resided in Korea' and 'the colonial exploitation theory'], *Ilbon yōksa yōn'gu* 33 (2011), 168-169; Yi Kyu-su, 'Chaejo Ilbonin ūi ch'ui wa chonjae hyōng'tae', 48-49.

⁵⁰⁷ See Usui, *Marketing and Consumption in Modern Japan*, 18-42.

⁵⁰⁸ Rubinfien, 'Commodity to National Brand: Manufacturers, Merchants, and the Development of the Consumer Market in Interwar Japan', 101.

Osaka-based manufacturers in regional markets and the incorporation of local retailers and consumers into nationwide marketing campaigns contributed to a shared commercial experience; in this process, many Japanese manufacturers successfully established their products as what she calls ‘national brands’. Advertisements discussed in the following section will show how Japanese national brands may have once again transformed while expanding to a larger market, one on an imperial scale.

2.3. Localised advertising

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the volume and visual presence of advertisements by Tokyo- and Osaka-based companies in the Korean-language press became increasingly significant in the 1920s; I have argued that two general factors, the tendency towards efficiency in Japanese advertising and the market expansion of Japanese companies, contributed to this. This section examines further developments in Japanese advertising in Korea: it articulates how Korean newspapers and Japanese advertising agencies may have collectively accelerated the publication of Japanese advertisements in the Korean press; it closely analyses, through the cases of Morinaga, Lion, and Ajinomoto, how Japanese companies gradually adopted localised approaches in their advertising in Korea. The amount of existing records regarding each case is limited, but the cases will reveal different aspects of Japanese advertising in Korea: the Morinaga case illustrates a shift from textual to visual translation, the Lion case highlights the challenges of localised advertising, and the Ajinomoto case demonstrates how Korean actors were involved in the operations of advertising. I will examine the cases to articulate their broader contexts and implications, while incorporating records in contemporary Japanese periodicals.

2.3.1. Japanese advertisements in Korea: A collective pursuit of profit



Figure 46. ‘Celebrating the establishment of the Teikoku Communications Seoul Branch’, newspaper advertisement. *Keijō nippō*, 14 May 1923, 6.

As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, a symbolic case that reflected the quantitative growth of Japanese advertisements in Korea was the expansion of Dentsū’s Seoul branch in 1922.⁵⁰⁹ Dentsū’s Japan-based advertisers celebrated the expansion by publishing collective advertisements in Korea-based newspapers. While Dentsū was the most powerful advertising agency in Korea, it was certainly not the only one. A newspaper advertisement indicates that Teikoku Communications, one of Dentsū’s rivals in Japan, established a branch in Seoul in 1923 (Figure 46); as in Dentsū’s case, the advertisement celebrated the agency’s expansion in Korea. Considering that these advertising agencies handled the advertisements of major Japan-based companies, their expansion in Korea in the early 1920s may reflect the growing business of Japanese advertising in the Korea-based press.

⁵⁰⁹ Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, *Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha shi*, 599.

Korean newspapers also played their role in the growth of Japanese advertisements in Korea. For example, later in 1932, a critic named Yi Chök-pong wrote in the popular magazine *Cheilsŏn* (First front) about the business relations and special deals between the Korean press and Japanese advertisers from the 1920s.⁵¹⁰

I sometimes hear complaints that [Korean newspapers] offer quite generous deals to advertisers in Tokyo or Osaka and reduce fees, but apply high rates to small Korean merchants. If this is true, it feels a bit preposterous (*chugaek chŏndo*), and I cannot quite agree with it in terms of so-called business ethics, either.⁵¹¹

What Yi Chök-pong called ‘generous deals’ for Japan-based advertisers were most likely real. Japanese newspapers at the time officially had fixed rates for their advertising space, but in reality, it was the usual practice to charge reduced fees for large-scale advertisers, especially through the mediation of advertising agencies like Dentsū.⁵¹² The same approach was taken in Korea, although as local newspapers had smaller circulations, the cost was generally cheaper than Tokyo- and Osaka-based ones.⁵¹³ As large-scale advertisers in Korea were normally Japan-based companies, they most likely benefited from this fee system offered by Korean newspapers.

Media historian Ch'oe Chun has also explained the relationship between Korean newspapers and Japanese advertisers:

After Yi Sang-hyöp⁵¹⁴ paved the way to increasing advertising income by directly connecting with Japanese manufacturer-advertisers (*saengsan kwanggoju*), all private [Korean] newspapers focused on the search for advertisers, establishing branches in Tokyo and Osaka just to bring in advertisements.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁰ Yi Chök-pong found this practice ‘preposterous’ and condemned it as the ‘sin’ (*choeak*) of the Korean press. Yi Chök-pong, 'Min'gan sinmun choeaksa' [A history of sins of private newspapers], *Cheilsŏn*, August 1932, 47.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Gotō Shōta, 'Kōkoku ryōkin ni taisuru ichi kōsatsu' [A thought on advertising rates], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, April 1926, 78-79.

⁵¹³ Sin In-söp and Sō Pöm-sök, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 106-113.

⁵¹⁴ Yi Sang-hyöp (1893-1957) was a journalist who worked for and managed various newspapers such as the *Maeil sinbo*, *TI*, and *Chosŏn ilbo* during the colonial period. Kang Ok-hŭi et al., *Singminji sidae taejung yesurin sajŏn* [Encyclopedia of popular arts figures during the colonial period] (Seoul: Sodo, 2006), 258-259.

⁵¹⁵ Ch'oe Chun, *Han'guk sinmunsa*, 315-316.

Records in advertising yearbooks and company histories of newspapers support Ch'oe's remark: the *Chosŏn ilbo* had a Tokyo office by 1925,⁵¹⁶ and the *TI* established its Tokyo and Osaka branches in September 1927.⁵¹⁷ Meanwhile, in April and September 1927 respectively, the Dentsū headquarters' Director of General Affairs Yoshikawa Yoshiaki and President Mitsunaga Hosirō (1866-1945) visited the two Korean newspapers while visiting Seoul; the Tonga Ilbo Company greeted Mitsunaga with a celebratory banquet.⁵¹⁸

The enhanced relations between Korean newspapers and Japanese advertisers might suggest that the business of Japan-to-Korea advertising was profitable for both Korean and Japanese actors. Yi Chök-pong criticised the business relations between Korean newspapers and Japanese advertisers as unethical, but he acknowledged that it was a decision based on profit.⁵¹⁹ In a similar vein, in 1935 a critic named Hwang T'ae-uk wrote in *Kaeybyŏk* about the 'dilemma of the Korean newspaper world' (*Chosŏn shinmun'gye ūi tillema*).⁵²⁰ What Hwang described as the 'dilemma' was that the Korean press 'should sell the Korean nationality (*Chosŏn minjok*) for newspaper sales, but had to sell products from Tokyo and Osaka for advertising revenue'.⁵²¹ Hwang condemned, for example, the *TI*'s efforts to attract Tokyo-Osaka advertisers by 'pouring drinks' or inviting them for tours around Mt. Kūmgang.⁵²² But he also cynically acknowledged that after all, 'as long as the newspaper is a commodity', prioritising 'interests' (*ihae kwan'gye*) was 'more than natural' (*tangyŏn isang ūi tangyŏn*).⁵²³ These contemporary accounts suggest that Japanese advertisements in the Korean press would have been primarily a matter of business and profit, for both Koreans and Japanese. Accordingly, Japanese advertising in Korea generally developed towards maximising profit, by adapting to the local Korean market.

⁵¹⁶ Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, *Shinbun sōran* [Newspaper survey] (Tokyo: Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, 1925).

⁵¹⁷ Tonga Ilbo Sasa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, *Tonga Ilbosa sa 1*, 279.

⁵¹⁸ Kim Pyŏng-hŭi and Sin In-sŏp, 'Ilbon kwanggo hoesa Tench'ŭ ka Han'guk kwanggo sanŏp ūi hyŏngsŏng e mich'in yŏnghyang', 116.

⁵¹⁹ Yi Chök-pong, 'Min'gan sinmun choeaksa', 47.

⁵²⁰ Hwang T'ae-uk, 'Chosŏn min'gan sinmun'gye ch'ongp'yŏng' [A general review of the Korean private press], *Kaeybyŏk*, March 1935, 16.

⁵²¹ 'Sinmunji ūi p'anmae rūl wihayŏ nŭn Chosŏn minjok ūl p'araya ketko kwanggo ūi suip ūl wihaya nŭn Tonggyŏng, Taep'an tŭngji ūi sangp'um ūl p'araya hanŭn kŏt'. Ibid.

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Ibid.

A significant factor in maximising profit was the nationality of potential consumers. As mentioned above, the Korean population was substantially larger than the Japanese settler population in Korea. But Takeo Takanori's December 1925 article in *Jigyō to kōkoku* (discussed in section 2.2.1.) suggests that many Japanese advertisers initially focused on Japanese residents in the colonies, as in the Morinaga case in Korea.⁵²⁴ Takeo offered advice about advertising in the colonies, and although he mentioned the benefits of selling to 'indigenous people' (*dochakumin*), he mainly focused on 'mainlanders' (*naichijin*) as target customers. His discriminatory distinction between the coloniser and colonised may reflect the violence of colonialist expansion, but with these terms he was primarily trying to convince Japan-based advertisers that they should pay attention to 'the homesickness of settlers' (*ijūmin no kaikyōnetsu*). He explained how advertisers could take advantage of the settler mentality and translate it into sales:

Because they [settlers] live a comfortable life, despite the high prices, they [Japanese products] are taken as reminders (*yosuga*) that comfort them. Purchasing power is abundant. The love for mainland (*naichi*) products is strong. Businessmen interested in the colonies must consider this point.⁵²⁵

Based on this perception, Takeo offered general advice that Japan-based advertisers should produce advertisements 'that have insight into the subtle conditions' (*kichō o ugatta*) of Japanese residents in the colonies.⁵²⁶

Japanese advertising staff who actually engaged in colonial advertising also expressed their view in *Jigyō to kōkoku*. For example, Kotori Kiyotomo, manager of the Tokyo branch of the Manchuria-based newspaper *Manshū nichinichi shinbun*, wrote in 1926:

Among current advertisers there are people who, intimately informed about the land through actual surveys, understand the colony; but most people [...] retain at a rough conceptual approach (*oomaka na gainen teki toriatsukai*), according to barometers such as sales numbers or points of market expansion.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁴ Takeo Takanori, 'Shokuminchi ni taisuru kōkokuhō ni tsuite', 27-28.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29. Takeo noted that he would provide more detailed advices on 'practical advertising methods' regarding each colony (Korea, Taiwan, Sakhalin, Manchuria, and the South Seas) in subsequent issues of the magazine. But for unclear reasons, only one article discussing Hokkaidō was actually published. Takeo Takanori, 'Shokuminchi ni okeru kōkokuhō (2)' [Methods of advertising in the colonies (2)], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, April 1926.

⁵²⁷ Kotori Kiyotomo, 'Shokuminchi no rikai ga senketsu mondai' [Understanding the colony is a prior issue], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, July 1926, 90.

In relation to what he perceived as a lack of understanding of the colonies, Kotori argued that Japan-based advertisers should consider the specificities of the colonial ‘land’ (*tochi*), or ‘industry’ (*sangyō*), education (*kyōiku*), climate (*kikō*), nature (*fūdo*), humanity (*ninjō*), custom (*fūzoku*), and trend (*ryūkō*).⁵²⁸ He further advised advertisers to reflect on how their products might relate to or benefit from those conditions when planning and producing advertisements in the colonies.⁵²⁹

Similarly, a manager (pseudonym Shizuka Sei) of the Tokyo branch of the Taiwan-based newspaper *Taiwan shinbun* wrote in 1926:

Looking at the methods of mainland advertisers that advertise towards the colony, is it not too slipshod (*hanahada zusan*) that the copy (*kōkokubun*) or form (*yōshiki*) is the same as those in mainland newspapers?⁵³⁰

Shizuka asserted more explicitly and specifically that advertisers must rethink their use of ‘stereotypical advertisements’ (*senpen ichiritsu no kōkoku*) in the colonies, where the ‘mentality and lifestyle’ (*seikatsu shinri seikatsu yōshiki*) was different from those of Japan.⁵³¹ While both Kotori and Shizuka asserted the importance of localised advertising in the colonies, their critical tone also suggests that many Japanese advertisers did not fully adopt such a method. The following cases will show how, in Korea, some of the major Japanese brands actually practised the method of localised advertising.

2.3.2. Morinaga’s newspaper advertising (1): Textual translation and effective design

Morinaga’s newspaper advertisements in Korea-based newspapers demonstrate how the company, corresponding with its sales reform and intensified marketing in Korea, gradually adapted to the Korean market through advertising as well.

Morinaga had been selling in Korea from 1912 and had published advertisements in the daily newspaper *Keijō nippō* (Seoul daily) since then. Commissioned by the Government-General to promote Japanese colonial rule,⁵³² the *Keijō nippō* was the best-selling Japanese-language daily in

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Shizuka Sei [pseud.], ‘Shokuminchi ni kōkoku suru ni wa’ [To advertise in the colony], *Jigyō to kōkoku*, January 1926, 127.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Historians generally agree that the *Keijō nippō* (and its Korean-language counterpart *Maeil sinbo*) was essentially the organ of the Government-General, which served to promote the government’s policies. See,

colonial Korea;⁵³³ it served as a central news channel for the Japanese settler population.⁵³⁴ The *Keijō nippō* was a Japanese newspaper in terms of language and readership, and Morinaga accordingly published advertisements in Japanese. In the 1920s, Morinaga's advertisements in the *Keijō nippō* were generally the same as those it published in Japan-based newspapers. For example, a Morinaga advertisement published in the *Keijō nippō* on 9 January 1922 (Figure 47) was identical to what the company published in Japanese newspapers in January 1922 (Figure 48).

On 30 July 1922, about a year before establishing the Morinaga Seoul Office and Morinaga Busan Office, Morinaga published an advertisement in the Korean press for the first time, in the *TI*. It was part of the collective advertisement that celebrated Dentsū's expansion in Korea discussed at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 34). The advertisement suggests that Dentsū was expanding its activities to mediate the publication of Japan-based advertisements in Korea, and might imply that the advertising agency convinced its client Morinaga to start publishing advertisements in the Korean-owned press, in addition to the *Keijō nippō*.

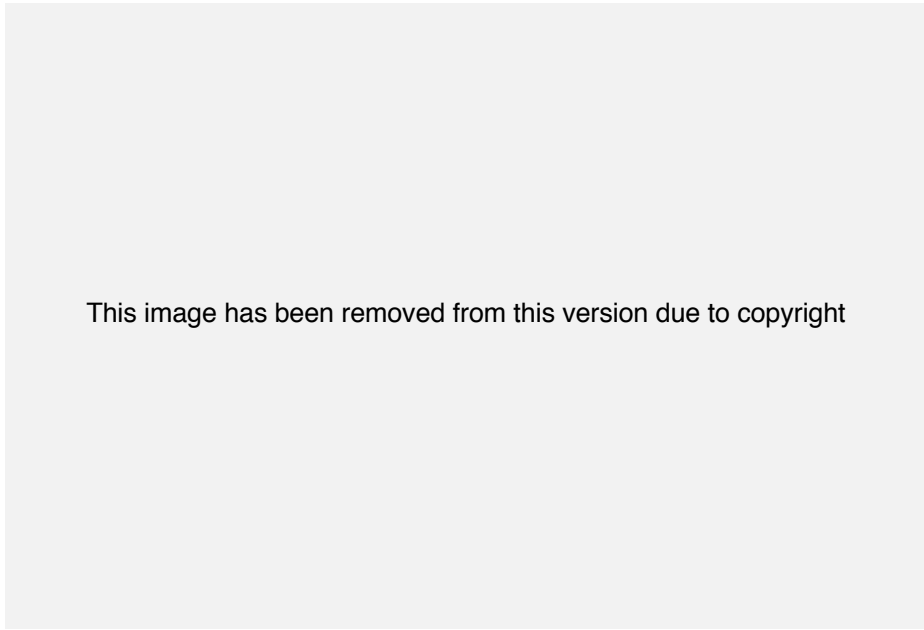
for example, Ri Sōtetsu, *Chōsen ni okeru Nihonjin keiei shinbun no rekishi: 1881-1945* [History of Japanese journalism in Korea, 1881-1945] (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gaekugei Shuppan, 2009), 129-202.

⁵³³ So far, scholars have not been able to discover comprehensive circulation numbers for newspapers and magazines in colonial Korea, and records published by the Police Department of the Government-General in 1929 seem to be the most reliable source. According to daily circulation figures in this record, in 1929 the *Keijō nippō* (26,352) and the *Fuzan nippō* (14,195) were the best-selling Japanese-language dailies, and the *TI* (37,802) and the *Chosŏn ilbo* (24,286) were the best-selling Korean-language dailies. Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, ed. *Chōsen ni okeru shuppanbutsu gaiyō* [An outline of publication in Korea] (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, 1929) cited in Taehan Min'guk Kukhoe Tosōgwan Sasōguk, ed. *Han'guk ōllon yōnp'yo* [A chronology of Korean press] (Seoul: Taehan Min'guk Kukhoe Tosōgwan, 1973), 305.

⁵³⁴ Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 102-103, 215-217. See also, Jun Uchida, "'Brokers of Empire': Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1910-1937" (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2005), 246-269.



Figure 47. Newspaper advertisement for Morinaga. *Keijō nippō*, 9 January 1922, 7.



This image has been removed from this version due to copyright

Figure 48. Newspaper advertisement by Morinaga used in Japanese newspapers in January 1922. Reproduced in Hajima Tomoyuki, ed. *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikei 7 (Taishō hen: inshoku shikōhin)* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 2003), 254.



Figure 50. Comparison of the Morinaga advertisements in Figure 34 (left) and Figure 49 (right). *TI*, 30 July 1922, 4; *Keijō nippō*, 29 July 1922, 6.

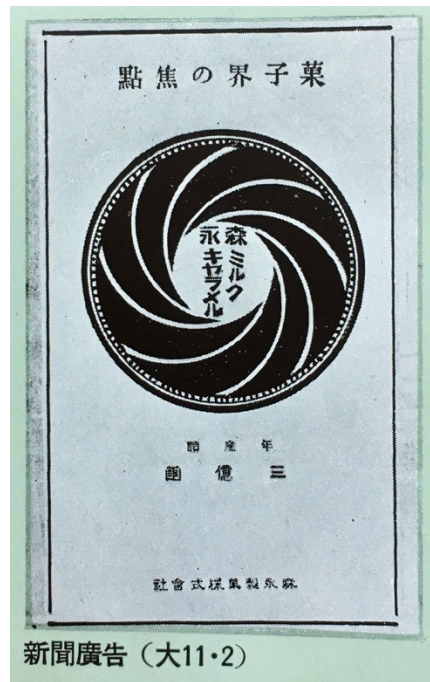


Figure 51. Morinaga's newspaper advertisement used in Japan in February 1922. Morinaga Seika. *Morinaga gojūgo-nen-shi*, 335.

A further analysis of the 30 July 1922 advertisement in the *TI* suggests that it was a version of an existing Japanese-language one. On 20 July 1922, a full-page Dentsū advertisement very similar to the one in the *TI* had been published in the *Keijō nippō* (Figure 49). Both the *TI* and *Keijō nippō* versions included a sub-ad for Morinaga (Figure 50). The two Morinaga advertisements in the *TI* and the *Keijō nippō* were almost identical in design: they both emphasised Morinaga's production of

caramels with an image of the camera aperture and related copy: ‘The focus of the confectionery world’ (‘*Kwajagye ũi ch'ojŏm*’ in Korean, and ‘*Kashikai no shōten*’ in Japanese). The only difference between the two advertisements was the language of the term ‘of’ in the copy, the Korean letter ‘*ũi*’ (으이) in the *TI* version and the Japanese letter ‘*no*’ (の) in the *Keijō nippō* version. Compared to that of ‘*ũi*’, the letterform of ‘*no*’ is more consistent with other letters in the advertisement, in terms of the constant stroke-width and square stroke-end; it suggests that the Korean advertisement was an altered version of the Japanese one. Moreover, the central motif, as in many other Morinaga advertisements in the *Keijō nippō*, was reused from Morinaga’s advertisements published in Japan more generally (Figure 51). In short, Morinaga’s first advertisement in the Korean-language press (in the *TI*) was probably a one-off commission and a marginally altered version of the design used in Japan. It may suggest that initially Morinaga was not very attentive to advertising to Korean readers and consumers.

Morinaga gradually focused more on Korean readers and consumers. From October 1922, Morinaga became a regular advertiser in the *TI* and published one advertisement about once a week. But the company’s approach to advertising design for the Korean press remained, in that it reused layouts designed for the Japanese press (including the *Keijō nippō*), with minimal textual translations in Korean. For example, two advertisements published in the *Keijō nippō* and the *TI* in April 1922 were identical in design and layout (Figure 52): both featured an illustration of a person reading on a desk, the slogan ‘The season of reading’, the Morinaga Milk Caramel logotype, and a box of body copy. But textual translations were applied in the *TI* version: the body copy was translated from Japanese to Korean; the logotype, which was in *katakana*, was added with readings in *han’gŭl* (Figure 53). Morinaga generally maintained this method throughout the 1920s, using the same design for its advertisements in the Korean and Japanese press but with textual translation for the former (Figure 54, Figure 55).

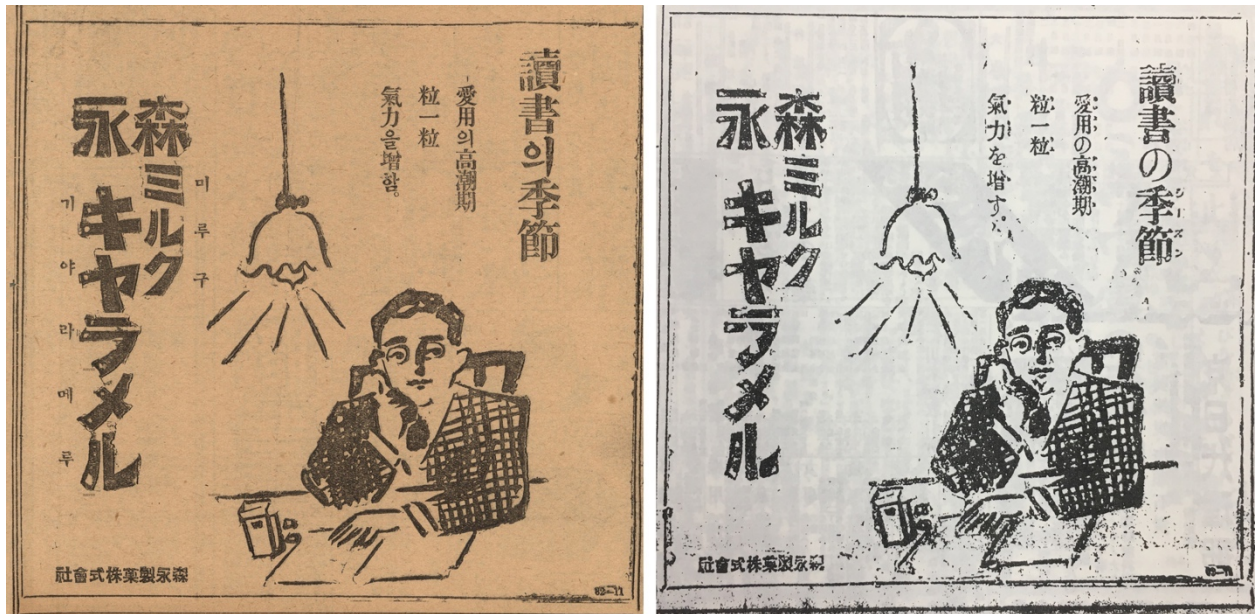


Figure 52. Comparison of Morinaga's advertisements in the *TI* (left) and the *Keijō nippō* (right). *TI*, 6 November 1922, 4; *Keijō nippō*, 3 November 1922, 8.



Figure 53. Detail of Figure 52 (left). *Han'gŭl* readings added to the logotype. *TI*, 6 November 1922, 4.



Figure 54. Comparison of Morinaga's advertisements in the *TI* (left) and the *Keijō nippō* (right). *TI*, 9 August 1925, 4; *Keijō nippō*, 19 August 1925, 6.



Figure 55. Comparison of Morinaga's advertisements in the *TI* (left) and the *Keijō nippō* (right). *TI*, 10 April 1930, 5; *Keijō nippō*, 5 April 1930, 5.

In addition to the way in which Morinaga modified its advertisements for Korean readers, another significant aspect of its 1920s advertising in the Korean press is as an example of the visual contrast between Korean and Japanese ads. As I have shown in Chapter 1, although An Sök-chu and

SS presented a vision of modern Korean advertising design, Korean advertisers in the early to mid-1920s tended to publish static and descriptive ads, with photos and/or illustrations of their products or stores. Although Morinaga's advertisements in the Korean press did not differ from the ones they published in the Japanese press, they were very distinct from those by Korean companies in terms of visual expression. As discussed in section 2.1., Morinaga was one of the leading advertisers in Japan in terms of what I have articulated as effective design (image-centred, evocative, simple design, with elements of visual identity). Its advertisements shown above, published in the *TI* in 1922, 1925, and 1930, all conformed to that style of design: they featured evocative motifs using simple visual expression, minimal text, ample blank spaces, and characteristic logotypes (Figure 52, Figure 54, Figure 55). By adopting such design Morinaga's advertisements contributed to the visual contrast between Korean and Japanese advertisements discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

2.3.3. Morinaga's newspaper advertising (2): Localisation and visual translation



Figure 56. Newspaper advertisement for Morinaga. *Keijō nippō*, 28 June 1930, 3.

Around 1930, Morinaga started to adopt a different approach in its advertisements published in Korea-based newspapers. In June 1930, it published an advertisement in the *Keijō nippō* that was

specifically aimed at the Korean market (Figure 56). Most significantly, the advertisement featured an image of the product that had the *han'gŭl* characters ‘Morinaga Milk’ŭ K’yaramel’ on the package. The body copy of the advertisement explained that Morinaga had launched a smaller package of Morinaga Milk Caramels, ‘To spread widely (*tettei fukyū*) among the twenty-million public across Korea (*zendo ni-sen-man taishū*)’. Because records relating to the product have not been found in Morinaga’s archive, the context of the product launch is unclear. But considering that the caramel would have generally been a less familiar commodity in Korea than in Japan, the launch of a smaller package might be seen as Morinaga’s strategy to further penetrate the Korean market. The price of the smaller package (written in the advertisement) was much cheaper (two sen per box) than existing packages (five or ten sen per box). Since 1923, Morinaga’s sales system in Korea had once again expanded in 1929 with the establishment of the Morinaga Products Korea Sales Corporation; this institutional change probably also contributed to Morinaga’s launch of the new package as a localised sales strategy in Korea.⁵³⁵



Figure 57. Newspaper advertisement for Morinaga. *Keijō nippō*, 22 February 1922, 1.

⁵³⁵ Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, *Chōsen ginkō kaisha kumiai yōroku*.

Another important aspect of the advertisement is that the copy explicitly addressed ‘the twenty million public across Korea’. A target of twenty million was different from what Morinaga had stated earlier as its customer base. For example, a 1922 advertisement in the *Keijō nippō* expressed thanks to ‘the seventy-million compatriots’ (*nana-sen-man dōhō*), which possibly meant the ethnic Japanese in Japan and overseas (Figure 57). The shift from seventy to twenty million suggests that Morinaga made the June 1930 advertisement geographically more specific but ethnically more inclusive. As mentioned in section 2.2.3., twenty million was approximately the population in Korea at the time, Koreans and Japanese combined;⁵³⁶ hence ‘the twenty million public across Korea’ most likely indicated all those living in Korea, regardless of nationality. This approach was possibly a more profitable one, as Koreans constituted most of the Korean market. In this respect, Morinaga’s June 1930 advertisement suggests that the company considered the Korean market more seriously and introduced more localised marketing. The potential of Koreans as a significant consumer base, as I will show below, probably triggered many Japanese companies to further localise their advertising campaigns in Korea.



Figure 58. Newspaper advertisement for Morinaga. *TJ*, 20 December 1930, 7.

⁵³⁶ Yi Kyu-su, "'Chaejo Ilbonin" yŏn'gu wa "singminji sut'allon'", 168-169; Yi Kyu-su, 'Chaejo Ilbonin ũi ch'ui wa chonjae hyŏngt'ae', 48-49.

Morinaga applied a significant design change in an advertisement published in the *TI* in December 1930, several months after the launch of the smaller packages of caramels (Figure 58). Some stylistic consistency was maintained: the overall layout of the advertisement was similar to Morinaga's advertisements of the 1920s; texts were translated into Korean, and the two figures were drawn with a similar visual expression as those in the 10 April 1930 advertisement (Figure 55), in that their blushing cheeks were emphasised with grey circles. But the new advertisement featured a distinctively Korean motif. The two main figures were depicted wearing white *hanbok*, the epitome of Korean dress at the time. The Korean motif, combined with the *han'gŭl* package superimposed on it, suggests that from 1930, Morinaga started to design advertisements more specifically for Korean readers and consumers, as part of its localised marketing: advertisements were translated not only textually, but also visually.



Figure 59. Newspaper advertisement for Morinaga. *TI*, 14 February 1931, 7.

Morinaga continued to publish diverse visually-translated advertisements for the small-package Morinaga Milk Caramels in the Korean press. For example, in February 1931 Morinaga published an advertisement in the *TI* that featured a boy and girl as a central motif (Figure 59). The two were depicted flying kites, which was a traditional activity that Koreans enjoyed, particularly

around the Lunar New Year.⁵³⁷ The girl was in a *saektong chǒgori* (multi-coloured striped top), a form of Korean dress often given to girls to celebrate the Lunar New Year.⁵³⁸ The celebration of the Lunar New Year was a particularly Korean tradition in the colonial context.⁵³⁹ Put differently, Morinaga's February 1931 advertisement reflected Korean culture on two levels: the illustration depicted traditional Korean play and dress, and these motifs implied a more general feature of Korean culture, the celebration of the Lunar New Year. Hence, the visual translation adopted in the advertisement suggests that Morinaga directed its marketing more specifically towards Koreans in Korea.

To summarise, the case of Morinaga indicates that in the early 1920s, the company expanded its operation in Korea while reforming its sales structure and intensifying its marketing. Initially, the focus of their marketing was mainly on the Japanese settler community. But eventually, especially around 1930, Morinaga became more attentive to Korean readers and consumers, which was reflected in the design of the print advertisements in the *Keijō nippō* and the *TI*.⁵⁴⁰ Throughout Morinaga's expansion in Korea in the 1920s and 1930s, the increased publication of its advertisements in the Korean press also contributed to propagating the styles of effective design that had developed in Japan with the 'rationalisation' of the Japanese advertising industry.

⁵³⁷ *Han'guk minjok munhwa tae paekkwa sajōn* [The encyclopaedia of Korean culture]. s.v. 'yōn nalligi', accessed 3 April 2019, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/>.

⁵³⁸ *Han'guk minjok munhwa tae paekkwa sajōn* [The encyclopaedia of Korean culture]. s.v. 'saektongot', accessed 3 April 2019, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/>.

⁵³⁹ Koreans conventionally celebrated the Lunar New Year, according to the Chinese tradition; but from around the beginning of Japanese colonial rule, Korea officially celebrated the New Year of the Gregorian Calendar, as the Japanese Resident-General of Korea had officialised the Gregorian Calendar in 1909. Regarding this cultural and institutional gap between the holidays, a Korean commentator wrote in the popular magazine *Samch'ōlli* (Three thousand ri) in 1936 that although Koreans ostensibly followed the 'new New Year' (*sinjōng*), their 'feelings or emotions' (*kibun ina kamjōng*) were attached to the 'old New Year' (*kujōng*). Sin Rim, 'Kusok chōngwōl haengsa' [Events of the old and conventional New Year], *Samch'ōlli*, February 1936, 164. For the shift in the calendar system in Korea, see Pak Kyōng-su, 'Kaehwagi yōksō yōn'gu: Kūndae Han'guk singmin chibae sisūt'em ūi pyōnhwa rŭl chungsim ūro' [A study on almanacs in the age of enlightenment in Korea: On focus the changes in the colonial rule system of modern Korea], *Ilbonō munhak* 1, no. 68 (2016).

⁵⁴⁰ While Morinaga continued to sell and advertise in Korea, it seems that the small-package version was discontinued in less than a year from its launch. From 1932 Morinaga did not publish advertisements for this particular package, and localised visual motifs were rarely used in its advertisements for other products in the Korean press. It is difficult to identify why this was the case, because, apart from the photos discussed above, records in *Moringa geppō*, and advertisements published in Korea, records that further explain how Morinaga planned and produced advertisements specifically for the Korean market have not been discovered during this research.

More generally the increasingly localised advertising of Japan-based companies in Korea was possibly related to the growing consumerist culture in Korea. From around 1930, the consumption of modern mass-produced goods was substantially popularised among Koreans in urban centres like Seoul, which I will discuss further in Chapter 3. In other words, the significance of the Korean market grew substantially, in both the minds of Japanese marketers and society. The growth of consumerism in Korea and localised advertising by Japanese brands co-existed, possibly while stimulating each other. In relation to this, in order to articulate the context and broader implications of Morinaga's advertising in Korea, records in Japanese advertising magazines and cases of other Japanese companies require examination.

2.3.4. Lion Toothpaste: Challenges in the Korean market and localised advertising

The case of Lion Toothpaste demonstrates how a Japanese company faced challenges in the Korean market and how it attempted to overcome them through advertising. Lion, manufactured by Kobayashi Shōten, was one of the best-selling dental hygiene brands in inter-war Japan. Like Morinaga, Lion was keen on exporting its products:⁵⁴¹ according to an advertisement published in the *Maeil sinbo* in 1911, Lion Toothpowder was sold in Korea as early as 1911, through its Japanese dealers in Seoul, Arai Yakubō and Morihisa Shōten.⁵⁴²

In the late 1920s, Lion began to advertise more actively in the Korean market. I examined Lion's in-house newsletter *Raion dayori* (Lion news) held in the Lion Corporation archive and discovered reports about two of Lion's 'Grand Advertising' (*Dai Senden*) promotion tours in Korea, in 1927 and 1930.⁵⁴³ The reports offer a close account of the preparation, execution, and results of the tours.

The campaign in 1927 toured around twenty-one cities in Korea for fifty-five days, with a team of twenty-three members.⁵⁴⁴ It was very possibly similar to Morinaga's *chindonya* advertising

⁵⁴¹ In 1906, the founder and president of the company, the first-generation Kobayashi Tomijirō, toured around China, Manchuria, and Korea, and established a branch in Tianjin. Raion Hamigaki Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Henshū Iinkai, *Raion Hamigaki 80 nenshi* [The eighty-year history of Lion Dentifrice] (Tokyo: Raion Hamigaki, 1973), 120-121.

⁵⁴² *Maeil sinbo*, 17 January 1911, 4.

⁵⁴³ All individuals in *Raion dayori* are anonymised within this thesis, according to the regulations of Lion Corporation.

⁵⁴⁴ 'Chōsen senden no hōkoku' [Report on the advertising in Korea], *Raion dayori*, August 1927, 3.

discussed above.⁵⁴⁵ The aim of the tour was threefold: to provide the ‘ten million Koreans’ with ‘a motive to use toothpowders’ and ‘somehow make them possess toothpowders’;⁵⁴⁶ to ‘express gratitude’ (*shaon*) to Japanese residents across Korea; and to ‘support’ (*ōen*) Lion’s local retailers. These aims of the 1927 tour imply that although Lion’s products had been sold in Korea from the early 1910s, until 1927 their consumers had mainly been Japanese residents. Through the tour, Lion attempted to expand their sales to Koreans, by holding town parades in ‘both Japanese towns and Korean towns’ of cities in Korea.

The 1927 report in *Raion dayori* acknowledged that the aims of the tour were only partially achieved:

Although the results regarding Koreans are immeasurable (*fukasoku teki*), fortunately it is clear from various sources that in terms of the sentiment (*kanjō*) of Japanese in general (*Nihonjin no ippan*) and retailers, the original aims have been fully accomplished.⁵⁴⁷

The report concluded that although the campaign was meaningful as ‘a first step (*dai ippō*)’ which ‘sowed good seeds’ (*yoki tane o maite*) in Korea, the company should further ‘endeavour’ (*doryoku*), in terms of advertising, to ‘dominate the dental hygiene of Koreans in general’ (*Chōsenjin ippan no kōkō hoken o sihai*). No part of the report indicates that the tour included advertising materials specifically devised for potential Korean customers, which may suggest that Lion’s marketers were not fully attentive to or sufficiently knowledgeable about Koreans, despite wanting to sell to them. In short, in the 1927 campaign, attracting Korean consumers was very possibly a failed mission.

Lion held the second Grand Advertising campaign in Korea in 1930, touring sixty-seven venues for 110 days.⁵⁴⁸ The report on the 1930 tour acknowledged the limitations of the previous 1927 iteration:

The entertainment advertising of Shōwa 2 [1927] left a significant impression in Korea. But it seems that it was largely limited only to Japanese (*Nihonjin nomi ni kagirare*). The authorised dealers, needless to say, but also from small retailers to Japanese in general, have been talking

⁵⁴⁵ The team for the tour consisted of four employees from Lion’s Tokyo and Osaka offices, and a hired ‘entertainment troupe’ (*engei dan*). For each event, spectators had to buy and bring a Lion product to enter the main performance, but public ‘town parades’ (*machi meguri*) were also held to attract attention more broadly. Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ ‘Ten million Koreans’ was probably a mistake, given that the Korean population in Korea at this time was around twenty million.

⁵⁴⁷ ‘Chōsen senden no hōkoku’, 3.

⁵⁴⁸ ‘Chōsen senden ki’ [Record of the advertising in Korea], *Raion dayori*, September 1930, 3.

about how the event was good (*yoi*). But among the Koreans, [we] not even once heard things like the above. Of course, there would have been many Koreans who saw those events, but those words [of compliment] do not come out of their mouths. Therefore, it is a clear fact that they were not impressed (*inshō tsuke rarete inai*).⁵⁴⁹

Practising the lesson learnt from 1927, Lion's marketers targeted Koreans more specifically in the 1930 tour. The 1930 report explained that the new campaign had shifted its focus to Koreans, and that advertising methods were devised accordingly. Most notably, the members of the tour handed out giveaway samples and leaflets that were printed in Korean.

In terms of the result, the 1930 report estimated that more than 60 per cent of the 58,400 spectators for the main performances of the tour were Korean.⁵⁵⁰ It therefore judged the tour to have been a success, in that the scale of the tour expanded, and unlike the 1927 iteration it 'left a deep impression' (*fukai inshō o nokoshi*) among Koreans. The report concluded that Lion's reputation in Korea, previously only 'potentially perceived' (*senzai teki ni ishiki*), was brought 'to the public stage and to the high street' (*hare no butai e kaidō e*).



Figure 60. Photo captioned 'Shōwa 6 [1931]'. Lion advertising parade in Korea. Lion Corporation Archive.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

Visual analysis of photographs from Lion's archive supports the claim in *Raion dayori* that Lion became more attentive to Koreans from around 1930. First, a photo of a Lion advertising parade held in 1931 (Figure 60). The parade was held about a year after the 1930 tour, and might suggest that the 1930 tour used similar visual materials to those in the photo of the 1931 parade. In the photo, many of the banners featured the *han'gūl* logotype of Lion Toothpowder (Raion Ch'imabun). The photo also featured children in Korean attire in the lower corners; they may indicate that around this time substantial Korean audiences were present at Lion's public parades.



Figure 61. Photo captioned 'Shōwa 8 [1933]'. Lion advertising parade in Korea. Lion Corporation Archive.



Figure 62. Detail of Figure 61. Signboard of the Pyongyang Cosmetics Company. Lion Corporation Archive.



Figure 63. Detail of Figure 61. Banner of the Pyongyang Cosmetics Company. Lion Corporation Archive.

Other photos show how Lion continued its localised advertising in Korea from 1930. Figure 61 is a photo dated ‘S 8-*nen*’, or 1933 (Shōwa 8). The photo contains no written description apart from the year, but visual analysis suggests that it was of Lion’s advertising parade in Pyongyang. Small details are difficult to identify, but the building in the centre had a signboard that read ‘Pyongyang Cosmetics Company’ (Heijō Keshōhin Kaisha) (Figure 62). The far-left banner in the photo also featured the name and logo of Pyongyang Cosmetics, which indicates that the store was involved in the parade as well (Figure 63). According to a company directory from 1933, Pyongyang Cosmetics was in Honmachi in Pyongyang, owned by a Japanese named Akita Takeshige.⁵⁵¹ In the photo, the store’s outside wall had signs that advertised Japanese cosmetics-toiletry brands like Lait, Kintsuru, and Jintan (Figure 62), which suggests that Pyongyang Cosmetics was a retailer of Japanese products. In short, the photo indicates that Lion held an advertising parade in Pyongyang in 1933, in collaboration with a local Japanese dealer.



Figure 64. Photo captioned ‘date unidentified’. Lion advertising parade in Korea. Lion Corporation Archive.

⁵⁵¹ Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, *Chōsen ginkō kaisha kumiai yōroku* [Directory of banks, companies, and co-operatives in Korea] (Keijō: Tōa Keizai Jihōsha, 1933).



Figure 65. Detail of Figure 61. The parade materials and the performer. Lion Corporation Archive.

A significant factor in Figure 61 regarding Lion's localised advertising in Korea is the parade materials in *han'gŭl*. Another photo in the Lion archive offers a closer view of the materials used in the 1933 parade (Figure 64). Figure 64 is captioned in the archive as 'date unidentified' (*nendai fumei*), but it most likely depicted another iteration of the 1933 parade: the parade materials and the performer in a bowler hat were same in both photos (Figure 64 and Figure 65). Figure 64 shows that, as in the 1931 parade, most of the banners from 1933 were in *han'gŭl*; it also shows that more diverse advertising materials were made in *han'gŭl*: three cushion-like mock-ups of the Lion Toothpowder package, a drum decorated with arch-shaped panels, and a panel that featured a child brushing its teeth.⁵⁵² The Korean-language parade materials used in the 1931 and 1933 tours suggest that Lion, after facing challenges in its 1927 tour and introducing translated printed matter in the 1930 tour, eventually increased the level of localisation of its outdoor advertising in Korea.

⁵⁵² Due to a lack of records, it is difficult to articulate who made these advertising materials. Considering that a team from Japan collaborated with Lion's local dealers in Korea, some of the materials, especially those with Korean-language elements, may have been made by local sign-painters or store decorators.



Figure 66. Newspaper advertisement for Lion. *TI*, 15 October 1929, 5.

Lion's newspaper advertisements in Korea corresponded to its increasingly localised outdoor advertising events. Generally, the pattern of change was similar to Morinaga's print advertisements in Korea, in that textual translation was followed by visual translation. For example, Lion's 1929 advertisement in the *TI* had typical features of effective design in 1920s Japanese advertising: an evocative motif, blank space, and a logotype; but it was localised for Korean readers – the body copy was translated into Korean and *han'gŭl* readings were added to the *katakana* logotype (Figure 66).

From 1930, corresponding with the use of Korean-language material in the 1930 Grand Advertising, Lion adopted more visually Korean elements in its advertisements in the Korean-language press. An October 1930 advertisement in the *TI* presented a *han'gŭl* logotype of Lion Toothpaste; the original *katakana* logotype was presented smaller, almost as a reading of the Korean one (Figure 67). A March 1931 advertisement, although with the *katakana* logotype, featured an illustration of a woman in Korean attire and hairstyle as the main motif (Figure 68).



Figure 67. Newspaper advertisement for Lion. *Tl*, 15 October 1930, 7.



Figure 68. Newspaper advertisement for Lion. *Tl*, 25 March 1931, 4.

As with the Morinaga case, no record has been found during this research of who decided to adopt Korean visual elements in Lion’s advertisements or who actually designed and produced them. But the Lion case presents a clear example of how Japanese companies might have initially found selling to Koreans a challenge, and how they adopted textual and visual translation in advertising – in other words, localised advertising design – as a specific solution to that challenge. Lion’s use of localised advertising design may also suggest that Japan-based manufacturers’ advertising efforts to

appeal to Korean consumers contributed to the promotion of mass consumption among Koreans from the 1930s.

2.3.5. Ajinomoto: The production of localised advertising

The example of Ajinomoto, the artificial seasoning brand, is different from the Morinaga and Lion cases in two aspects. Firstly, many historians have studied Ajinomoto's advertising in Korea, and have shown how the company published highly localised newspaper advertisements from the late 1920s.⁵⁵³ Most relevant here is historian Cho Hi-jin's comparative examination of Ajinomoto's advertisements in Korea in the 1920s and 1930s, published in the *TI* and the *Keijō nippō*.⁵⁵⁴ Cho shows that from 1927, Ajinomoto published a plethora of localised advertisements in the *TI*, with illustrations and text that depicted aspects of Koreans and their lives: food, cooking, eating, and holiday traditions.⁵⁵⁵ Secondly, although I examined the Morinaga and Lion archives, I have not been able to access Ajinomoto's archive during this research.⁵⁵⁶ However, the case of Ajinomoto is significant for this study because a detailed account of its colonial advertising is documented in the company histories published in 1951 and 1971.⁵⁵⁷ This section presents a more detailed and contextualised account of Ajinomoto's advertising in Korea than in existing studies, by examining the company histories more closely and cross-referencing them with previously undiscovered primary sources. It will show who produced Ajinomoto's localised advertisements in Korea, and why and how the company managed the process.

Ajinomoto's market expansion in Korea described in the 1951 company history is similar to that of Morinaga and Lion, in that it established local retail networks and gradually enhanced the

⁵⁵³ See Chōng Kūn-sik, 'Mat ūi cheguk, kwanggo, singminjijōk yusan' [Empire of taste, marketing, and the colonial residue], *Sahoe wa yōksa* 66 (2004); Kim Tae-hwan, 'Mat kwa singminji Chosōn, kūrigo kwanggo: Ajinomodo kwanggo rūl chungsim ūro' [Tasty (aji) & colony Korea and advertising: Focusing on Ajinomoto advertisements], *OOH kwanggohak yōn'gu*, no. 3 (2008); Kim Yōng-yōn and O Ch'ang-sōp, 'Chomiryo kwanggo rūl t'onghae pon migak ūi kūndaehwa kwajōng' [Modernization of the sense of taste represented in the advertisement of chemical seasoning], *Tijainhak yōn'gu* 21, no. 4 (2008).

⁵⁵⁴ Cho Hi-jin, 'Ajinomodo ūi hyōnjihwa chōllyak kwa sinmun kwanggo' [A study on the image of Ajinomoto advertisement of Dong-A Ilbo], *Sahoe wa yōksa* 108 (2015).

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁵⁵⁶ Ajinomoto has declined access to its archive, due to confidential information included in the records.

⁵⁵⁷ Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha, *Ajinomoto enkakushi*; Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensanshitsu, *Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha shashi*.

headquarters' control.⁵⁵⁸ The 1971 company history further articulates that Ajinomoto's founder, Suzuki Saburōsuke and his son Saburō, focused on overseas market expansion from 1925.⁵⁵⁹ It notes that the Suzukis 'proactively resumed publicity and advertising activities' (*senden kōkoku katsudō o sekkyokuteki ni saikai*) in cooperation with Ajinomoto's overseas distributors. What the company history describes as the 'direct activities of the headquarters for sales promotion' (*honpō no chokusetsuteki na hanbai sokushin katsudō*) resulted in a significant increase in Ajinomoto's overseas export: between 1922 and 1930, export to Korea tripled from seventeen to fifty-one tons (Table 3).

Table 3. Export of Ajinomoto to Korea (unit: tons)⁵⁶⁰

Year	Total overseas export	Export to Korea
1918	21	5
1922	69	17
1926	136	29
1927	158	40
1928	195	42
1929	258	48
1930	257	51
1931	243	58
1932	310	67
1933	434	80
1934	798	103
1935	1,006	136
1936	1,278	175
1937	1,509	218
1938	1,401	239
1939	1,421	249
1940	911	147

⁵⁵⁸ Ajinomoto started selling in Korea as early as 1909. Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, it had two exclusive distributors in Seoul (Tsujimoto Shōten) and Busan (Fukuei Shōten, and Azumaya from 1922 onwards). In 1929 the company sent an employee to Seoul as an overseas representative (but without a permanent office) and started to organise regional 'Ajinomoto Societies' (Ajinomoto Kai) across Korea, consisted of local retailers. In 1931, Ajinomoto established the official Korea office in Seoul. Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha, *Ajinomoto enkakushi*, 432-436.

⁵⁵⁹ Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensanshitsu, *Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha shashi*, 223-224.

⁵⁶⁰ Source: Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensanshitsu, *Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha shashi*, 224, 352.

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Figure 69. Newspaper ad for Ajinomoto published in the *Maeil sinbo* (left) and Japanese newspapers (right) in October 1920. *Maeil sinbo*, 25 October 1920, 4; Hajima Tomoyuki, ed. *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikei 7 (Taishō hen: inshoku shikōhin)* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 2003), 190.

The trajectory of Ajinomoto's localised advertising was also similar to that of Morinaga and Lion. Initially, in the 1910s and 1920s, Ajinomoto published advertisements originally designed for the Japanese market but with textual translations in Korean. For example, a 1920 advertisement in the *Maeil sinbo* had an identical layout and illustration to the advertisement published in Japan, except for the translated body copy (Figure 69).

A telling record regarding Ajinomoto's textually translated advertisements in the Korean press is a 1925 interview with Takaki Kiyoshige, director of advertising at Ajinomoto at the time; it was published in *Jigyō to kōkoku*.⁵⁶¹ The interviewer asked Takaki about Ajinomoto's press advertisements outside of Tokyo and Osaka: why he and his company did not employ what he/she called a 'thorough method' (*tetteiteki hōhō*), or 'changing the copy or design of advertisements for regional newspapers, according to each region (*chihō*)'.⁵⁶² Takaki replied:

⁵⁶¹ 'Kōkoku buchō rekihō ki (1)'.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 73.

[O]f course, I am thinking [about it], but at the moment it is difficult to do that. After all, the amount [we] pay to regional newspapers is a third of that for Tokyo-Osaka.⁵⁶³

Takaki's comment suggests that he was aware of the benefits that localising copy and design according to each regional market might have, but thought it was difficult to justify the additional work and cost considering the small scale of advertising in regions outside of Tokyo-Osaka. But soon after Takaki's interview, Ajinomoto did start to publish more localised advertisements in Korea.



Figure 70. Newspaper advertisement for Ajinomoto. *TI*, 19 January 1926, 5.

The earliest example of Ajinomoto's advertisements that I have discovered so far that was possibly designed specifically for the Korean market is a January 1926 advertisement in the *TI* (Figure 70). Apart from the Ajinomoto logotype in Japanese, most of the elements of the advertisement were Korean-oriented: the central motif was a woman in *hanbok* serving a finished dish; the body copy was in Korean and predominantly *han'gŭl*; and the smallest text stated that adding Ajinomoto would make Korean dishes '*changatchi*' (pickles) or '*kungmul*' (soup) more delicious. Ajinomoto created numerous and diverse advertisements in the Korean-language press that featured motifs depicting Korean culture from 1926 throughout the 1930s. For example, a 1932 advertisement presented a detailed image of the Korean soup *sinsŏllo* in the distinctive serving pot (Figure 71); and a

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

1933 advertisement illustrated men in Korean attire sitting around a small portable table, a conventional way of Korean dining (Figure 72).



Figure 71. Newspaper advertisement for Ajinomoto. *TI*, 11 June 1932, 7.



Figure 72. Newspaper advertisement for Ajinomoto. *TI*, 5 March 1933, 3.

The 1951 company history explains how Ajinomoto handled its print advertisements in Korea. The history does not specify the time period, but states that newspaper and magazine advertisements in Korea (and other overseas markets) were managed by Ajinomoto’s Osaka branch rather than the Tokyo headquarters or the Korea office.⁵⁶⁴ In the aforementioned interview, Takaki, who was in charge of the advertising department at the Tokyo headquarters, also mentioned that

⁵⁶⁴ Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha, *Ajinomoto enkakushi*, 437.

‘advertising towards Osaka’ (*Ōsaka hōmen no kōkoku*) was jointly managed by himself and Suzuki Saburō, then the head of the Osaka branch.⁵⁶⁵ As mentioned above, Saburō, together with his father Saburōsuke, was keen on overseas export; his involvement in the advertising activities of the Osaka branch probably contributed to Ajinomoto’s more localised advertisements in Korea from around 1926.

The company history offers further details about how the Osaka branch produced advertisements for the Korean market:

In the Korean-language papers (*onmonshi*), every month [Ajinomoto] published a large number of advertisements [...] And as producers of the design and copy (*zuan mon'an nado no sakusha*) of these ads, because it was not enough that one was well-informed about the area (*genchi tsū*) or lived in Korea for a long time, [Ajinomoto] borrowed the hands of [its] Korea Office and the Osaka-based branches of the *Chōsen nippō* [*Chosŏn ilbo*] and *Chōsen chūō nippō* [*Chosŏn chungang ilbo*], and **hired local people** (*genchijin*). As a result, **Sin Yōng-gyun, Ko Chae-sŏn, and Sŭng Yōng-ch'ang** were selected; and every month, they would create a general outline (*daitai no kosshi o sakusei*) and send it to the advertising department of the Osaka branch, or the advertising department of the [Osaka] branch would provide suggestions (*shisa*) and make [them] create [an outline]; as the advertising department of the [Osaka] branch received the draft (*genkō*) through these methods, it added an examination (*shinsa*) and created a matrix (*shikei*) as a finished thing; but because there were no *han'gŭl* typefaces (*onmon katsuji*) anywhere, [the advertising department] went to the trouble of making plates (*toppan*) out of hand-written drafts (*kaki genkō*).⁵⁶⁶ [emphasis added]

The above quote shows how, in order to further localise advertising and to shift from textual translation to visual translation, Ajinomoto worked more closely with its Korean partners. The Osaka branch received help from Korean newspapers in finding suitable local and Korean advertising producers. Although the exact role of the Koreans is unclear in the quote, I have found records that suggest they were probably engaged in the advertising business. According to a 1934 article in the *TI*, Ko Chae-sŏn was by then in Osaka and ran a company named Osaka Mutual Communications (Osaka Sōgo Tsūshin), possibly a news or advertising agency.⁵⁶⁷ Newspaper records show that Sin Yōng-gyun was a trained Western-style painter who won prizes (for his landscapes) in the *Chosŏn Art*

⁵⁶⁵ 'Kōkoku buchō rekihō ki (1)', 73.

⁵⁶⁶ Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha, *Ajinomoto enkakushi*, 625-626.

⁵⁶⁷ The article stated that he participated in the establishment of an Osaka-based Korean business organisation in 1934. 'Chae Taep'an tongp'odŭri sanggongdan chojik' [Fellow countrymen in Osaka establish a business organisation], *Tonga ilbo*, 2 January 1934, 2.

Exhibition (Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe, the national academic exhibition) in 1926 and 1927.⁵⁶⁸ In 1932, Sin started working at the advertising department of the *TI*.⁵⁶⁹ He later became a member of the Korean Association for Commercial Art (Chosŏn Sangŏp Misul Hyŏphoe) when it was founded in 1936, and participated in the *Tong Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition* in 1938 as a judge, both of which I will discuss further in Chapter 4.⁵⁷⁰ Considering his training as an artist, it is most likely that Sin drew the illustrations that depicted Korean food culture and lifestyles in Ajinomoto's ads. Although the period of Sin's involvement with Ajinomoto is unclear, if it was from around 1926 when the company started using Korean motifs extensively it is possible that Sin pursued a career as an advertising designer from then on.

Records indicate that translating texts in the advertisements was a relatively simple job that could be done by newspapers or advertising agencies in Korea. For example, in a later interview, Sŏ Hang-sŏk, a politics reporter at the *TI* from 1929, recalled that when he sometimes visited the newspaper's advertising department, he saw the staff 'carving out advertising copy [written] in Japanese and instead inscribing Korean copy', presumably with drafts or plates sent from Japan.⁵⁷¹ But as seen above, to publish advertisements with visual motifs that suited the Korean audience, ideas, designs, and copy had to be exchanged between Ajinomoto and the Korean producers. Such additional work was probably what had made Takaki Kiyoshige initially hesitant about changing the copy or design of advertisements according to each region. For the advertising department of Ajinomoto, working with the local producers would have made the process of making advertisements for the Korean market more complicated.

But around 1926, when Ajinomoto experimented with using Korean motifs in advertisements in the Korean press, there were many reasons for the company to invest in the more complicated process. As discussed in sections 2.1. and 2.3.1. respectively, the mid-1920s was when the Japanese advertising industry was shifting in focus towards quality and effectiveness in advertising, and when

⁵⁶⁸ 'O-hoe Mijŏn ipsŏn palp'yo kyesok' [Announcement of *The Fifth Chosŏn Art Exhibition* winners continues], *Tonga ilbo*, 13 May 1926, 5; 'Che Yuk-hoe Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe' [*The Sixth Chosŏn Art Exhibition*], *Tonga ilbo*, 21 May 1927, 5; 'Sangŏp misul chakp'umjŏn chungdŭng sangŏpkyo saengdŭrŭn ũngmo hara' [Commercial school students, submit to the Commercial Art Exhibition], *Tonga ilbo*, July 19 1938, 2.

⁵⁶⁹ 'Ponsa saryŏng' [Notice from the newspaper], *Tonga ilbo*, 14 September 1932, 1.

⁵⁷⁰ 'Sangŏp Misulga Hyŏphoe' [The Association of Commercial Artists], *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, 25 August 1936, 2; 'Sangŏp misul chakp'umjŏn chungdŭng sangŏpkyo saengdŭrŭn ũngmo hara', *Tonga ilbo*, July 19 1938, 2.

⁵⁷¹ Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 193.

employees of colonial newspapers were asserting the importance of region-specific ads. In addition, from around 1925, the Suzukis and Ajinomoto were trying to enhance export and advertising in overseas markets. Moreover, in 1928, Ajinomoto published ‘reward ads’ (*kenshō kōkoku*) in newspapers across the Japanese empire to see how many responses came from readers of each newspaper.⁵⁷² The reward advertisement campaign was described in the company history as a ‘survey of advertising efficiency’ (*kōkoku kōritsu sokutei*); it revealed that the *TI* was the second most efficient advertising medium in Korea, following the *Keijō nippō*.⁵⁷³ In relation to this, Cho Hi-jin shows that the number of Ajinomoto’s advertisements in the *TI* in 1928 almost doubled from 1927 (from forty-six to eighty-four).⁵⁷⁴ These factors regarding the Japanese advertising industry, the Suzukis’ focus on export, and confirmation of the Korean-language press as an effective advertising medium, would have collectively influenced Ajinomoto to invest additional resources and further the production of localised design and copy for the Korean market. The Ajinomoto case also confirms that Korean advertising producers were sometimes included in this pursuit of localised advertising.

2.4. From national brands to imperial brands

In this chapter, I have discussed how Japanese advertisements came to dominate Korean newspapers from the 1920s. Through the Morinaga example I have shown that it gradually expanded to the Korean market with changes in the distribution system and a shift in its approach to local advertising from textual to visual translation; through the example of Lion I have highlighted that it faced challenges in selling to Koreans, and sought to overcome those challenges by localising its advertising design to suit Korean consumers; and through the Ajinomoto example I have demonstrated that Korean actors participated in the production of the company’s localised advertisements in Korea. While Morinaga, Lion, and Ajinomoto were among the earliest to seek market expansion and attempt localised advertising in Korea in the 1920s, throughout the 1930s Japan-based advertisers increasingly followed their trajectory. For example, in *The Japanese encyclopaedia of advertising* (*Nihon kōkoku jiten*), a 1932 publication written by Iimori Kan’ichi,⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷² Ajinomoto Kabushiki Kaisha, *Ajinomoto enkakushi*, 590.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 590, 596. The *Chosŏn ilbo* was ranked sixth and the *Maeil sinbo* eighth. Japanese-language papers *Fuzan nippō*, *Chōsen shinbun*, and *Chōsen minpō* were third, fourth, and fifth.

⁵⁷⁴ Cho Hi-jin, ‘Ajinomoto ūi hyōnjihwa chōllyak kwa sinmun kwanggo’, 55.

⁵⁷⁵ As discussed in section 2.1.1., in 1925 Iimori worked at Club Cosmetics and wrote about the economic depression as an opportunity to develop efficient advertising. In 1932, he worked for the *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* and the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*.

an entry of ‘*onmon shinbun kōkoku*’ (Korean-language newspaper advertising) was listed.⁵⁷⁶ The entry stated that the *TI*, *Maeil sinbo*, *Chosŏn ilbo*, and *Chungoe ilbo* were the most important media in such advertising. It further explained:

[The Korean-language newspapers] are the most important advertising medium (*mottomo jūyō na baitai*) as a method of advertising to the twenty million Koreans; it can be said that it is natural (*tōzen*) that in recent years, when it comes to product advertising in Korea, advertisers are increasingly paying attention to using Korean-language newspapers. But when using those newspapers, copy and design that conform to their lifestyle (*karera no seikatsu ni soku shita*) is required; it is important to select writings and designs that are relevant for Koreans (*senjin muke*). In terms of the production of advertisement drafts (*kōkoku genkō no sakusei*), the headquarters and branches of above-mentioned newspapers will also undertake (*hikiuke*) it and each will facilitate it (*bengi o hakatte kureru*).⁵⁷⁷

Iimori explained that ‘copy and design that conform to their [Korean] lifestyle’ was ‘natural’, but, as I have shown above, localised advertising was a gradual process that involved trial and error, even for some leading Japanese advertisers.

Regarding the quantitative and visual predominance of Japanese advertisements in Korea, histories of Korean advertising generally tend to criticise Japanese colonial rule as a whole. For example, media historian Kim Min-hwan describes the growth of the colonial Korean advertising industry as ‘abnormal’ (*kihyōng*) because it relied on Japanese advertisers.⁵⁷⁸ Art historian Yi Ki-ri characterises advertising in colonial Korea as a ‘subordinate structure’ (*chongsokchōk kujo*), and argues that the prevalence of Japanese advertisements was an ‘inevitable result’ of the imperialist ‘encroachment’ (*chamshik*) of the Korean market.⁵⁷⁹ Cultural historian Kwŏn Ch'ang-gyu also argues that Japanese advertisements were dominant in Korea because of what he calls the ‘capitalist system without the state’, a ‘characteristic of a colony’.⁵⁸⁰

Articulating the predominance of Japanese advertisements in Korean newspapers as an inevitable result of colonial occupation arguably repeats what historian Todd A. Henry has pointedly critiqued as ‘the simple, yet misleading rubric of *ilche* (literally, imperial Japan)’, or an uncritical

⁵⁷⁶ Iimori Kan'ichi, *Nihon kōkoku jiten* [The Japanese encyclopaedia of advertising] (Tokyo: Shinbun No Shinbunsha, 1932), 28.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ Kim Min-hwan, *Han'guk ōllonsa*, 284.

⁵⁷⁹ Yi Ki-ri, 'Ilche sidae kwanggo wa chegukchuūi', 128.

⁵⁸⁰ Kwŏn Ch'ang-gyu, *Sangp'um ūi sidae*, 49.

assumption of the Government-General's omnipotence.⁵⁸¹ When applied to the context of commerce and industry, this perspective tends to equate economic agents of Japanese identity with colonial political power, and creates a misleading view of Japanese companies, whether Japan- or Korea-based, as having absolute control over the Korean market.⁵⁸²

Critical analyses of the underlying structure of the colonial economy are essential in understanding commerce and advertising in Korea, which I will discuss further in the following chapters. But as Edward Said has aptly suggested, if we question the notion that 'imperial domination can be applied mechanically and deterministically to such complex matters', in this case to the predominance of Japanese goods and advertisements in colonial Korea, then a more 'interesting kind of study', and potentially a more accurate one, becomes possible.⁵⁸³

Historian Jun Uchida argues convincingly that the process of Japan's expansion in Korea 'was messier and more complicated' than has commonly been understood.⁵⁸⁴ I argue that the field of advertising was no exception: the simple and reductive logic of colonial exploitation obscures the complex dynamics behind Japanese advertisements published in Korea. Expanded and localised advertising of Japanese brands in Korea was hardly 'natural', as Imori suggested, or 'inevitable', as historians suggest. It was more a process than a result, a complex one: as I have discussed in sections 2.1.1. and 2.2.1., it was influenced by the post-WWI Japanese economy, changes in the Japanese advertising industry, and political circumstances across Korea and Japan. It was a process of Japanese companies and designers trying to advertise more effectively and efficiently in a less familiar but potentially profitable market. In that sense, it was part of their conscious pursuit of modern advertising.

The understanding of Japanese advertising in Korea as a complex process has significant connotations in terms of the formation of colonial modernity in Korea. My findings based on visual and textual analysis suggests that colonial modernity in Korea involved both the coloniser and the colonised; in turn, the formation of colonial modernity also affected and changed both.

⁵⁸¹ Todd A. Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 6.

⁵⁸² See, for example Hō Yōng-nan, 'Ilche sigi sangōp ūi kūndaesōng kwa singminjisōng' [Modernity and coloniality of commerce in the Japanese colonial period], *Yōksa pip'yōng* 25 (1994); Hō Yōng-nan, 'Kūndaejōk sobi saenghwal kwa singminjijōk soe, ' [Modern consumption and colonial alienation], *Yōksa pip'yōng* 49 (1999).

⁵⁸³ Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Representations of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 20.

⁵⁸⁴ Uchida, "'Brokers of Empire": Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1910-1937', 3. See also, Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945*, 2-7.

This articulation of colonial modernity as involving and changing both Koreans and Japanese supports and furthers the claims of many historical and sociological studies of East Asia and colonial Korea. In her study of Shiseidō, historian Annika Culver presents the Japanese cosmetics company's marketing and advertising in Northeast Asia in the 1930s and 1940s, as what she calls Japanese 'imperial modernity'.⁵⁸⁵ She defines 'imperial modernity' as 'a subjectivity applied to a certain aesthetic or object which connotes Japanese imperialism and modernity', and shows how Shiseidō's products and advertising materials contributed to the acceptance of such modernity among 'imperial consumers' in China, Taiwan, and Korea.⁵⁸⁶ I have shown in this chapter that the aesthetics of modern Japanese advertising design, in conjunction with the market expansion of Japan-based companies in Korea, permeated the pages of the daily newspapers seen by Koreans. In the following chapters, I will also discuss how those modern images may have affected colonial Koreans regarding their ideas and experience of modernity.

I also suggest that 'imperial modernity' was not a self-contained condition developed in Japan waiting to be disseminated through Japan's imperial expansion. Historian Yun Hae-dong has rightly argued that colonial modernity in Korea should be understood as a 'reciprocal link' (*sangho yŏn'gwan*) between the colony and the empire.⁵⁸⁷ Yun aptly suggests that although the coloniser and colonised perceived each other as 'the other' (*t'aja*), it was through that other that they constructed their own identities.⁵⁸⁸ Historian Itagaki Ryūta has also argued that both Japanese settlers in Korea and Japanese on the 'mainland' were in the process of what he calls 'subject formation' (*jiko keisei*), within their relationship with colonial Korea.⁵⁸⁹ In short, the modernities of both the colonial and imperial subjects were mutually reliant in their formation.

The case studies of Morinaga, Lion, and Ajinomoto have allowed me to present an empirical examination of how Japanese commercial agents might have redefined themselves through advertising in Korea in the 1920s and 1930s, and how Koreans also participated in the process. Takeo Takanori, in his 1925 article about colonial advertising, argued that the coloniser and the colonised

⁵⁸⁵ Annika A Culver, 'Shiseido's' Empire of Beauty': Marketing Japanese Modernity in Northeast Asia, 1932-1945', *Shashi* 2, no. 2 (2013).

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁸⁷ Yun Hae-dong, *Singminji ūi hoesaek chidae* [Grey areas of the colony] (Seoul: Yöksabip'yŏngsa, 2003), 51.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁵⁸⁹ Itagaki Ryūta, "'Shokuminchi kindai" o megutte: Chōsen-shi kenkyū ni okeru genjō to kadai', 43.

were ‘completely united’.⁵⁹⁰ But in 1920s and 1930s Korea that was hardly the case: cultures of Korean and Japanese consumers co-existed and may have interacted, but remained largely separate as markets in the eyes of advertisers. Japanese advertisers, as they pursued the colonial market, seem to have recognised the significance of cultural differences outside of the ‘mainland’ but within the Japanese empire, and eventually developed region- and ethnicity-specific measures to maximise the efficiency of their advertising. Iimori Kan'ichi called Korean life ‘their life’.⁵⁹¹ For him, Korea was ‘the other’. But his encyclopaedia, possibly an embodiment or epitome of modern Japanese advertising, had already incorporated the reciprocal interactions between Korea-Japan and between Korean and Japanese actors. Through expanded and localised advertising in Korea in the 1920s and 1930s, Japanese brands like Morinaga, or what Rubinfien has aptly called ‘national brands’,⁵⁹² transformed themselves into what I call ‘imperial brands’. In this respect, the project of modern Japanese advertising, and its key aims of effect and efficiency, were furthered as Japanese national brands grew into imperial brands.

The expansion of imperial brands in Korea throughout the 1920s presents a contrast to the deferred project of modern Korean advertising discussed in Chapter 1. The project to develop modern advertising as Korean ‘self-strengthening’ remained incomplete with the decline of cultural nationalism, its ideological foundation. Meanwhile, the forces of profit motive and capitalism, supported by political and economic systems of colonisation, enabled the project of modern Japanese advertising to reach far outside Japan and to Korea. This contrast between the projects of modern advertising by Koreans and Japanese, or the particular path to modern advertising in Korea, may reflect colonial modernity in Korea more generally. How Japanese imperial brands and modern Japanese advertising may have shaped and/or limited the project of modern Korean advertising will be further examined in the following chapters.

⁵⁹⁰ Takeo Takanori, 'Shokuminchi ni taisuru kōkokuhō ni tsuite', 28.

⁵⁹¹ Iimori Kan'ichi, *Nihon kōkoku jiten*, 28.

⁵⁹² Rubinfien, 'Commodity to National Brand: Manufacturers, Merchants, and the Development of the Consumer Market in Interwar Japan'.

Chapter 3. Modernist design and urban consumerism, 1924-1935

THE DONG-A ILBO
SOME YEAR-END REFLECTIONS
The ticks of the clock were more distinct and hurried. We are suddenly reminded of the precision of time. Lost chances and neglected duties bring us, as if for the first time, a sense of time's compression. That life is short at best is driven home to us. Why? All because in the present. In a world like ours where things are done by fits and starts, it would seem only natural that we should have all our remembrance of duty and emotion in a lump, instead of feeling a little bit every day throughout the year. We are accustomed to be given to a single emotion at a time and that emotion is often a white imperviousness of care in the midst of a comparatively unproductive condition because we have confined our activities to a narrow range of duty which has justified a few drops of tears. We have not had time to feel the natural expression of the accumulated sense of revolt against the unsteady, hazy movements, to which our daily routine of duties has subjected our bodies. Very much for the same reason, it has come to become a tacit understanding that the waning hours of the year should be dedicated to reflection as much as a new year day should be consecrated to fresh resolutions.

To begin with health, our northern neighbor, the international prestige she has gained during the year can not be described adequately without some words of great, over-estimating. The first Labour Government in England, the White Paper on foreign recognition in the diplomatically excommunicated Russia, China and France followed the suit. Japan has been soliciting her acceptance of her proposed recognition, only not without a price in the shape of capitulation of concessions. Mr. Farquhar, the Russian Ambassador to Peking, has had his chin over to his shoulders. But signs of internal dissension are visible. The controversy over Chamberlain Trotsky's book is not a passing phenomenon. Amidst the White splendor they stood like a man. Now in their unadmitted power they begin to disagree among themselves. This shows that properly in a better kind of a system than adversity. (De la conscience.)

立毛品評會
成川夜學盛況
新與夜學好續
職權濫用
面長
寶布任利亞
全海女臨時會
本月全海全
犯刑者取救
守山地小水
新分刊
招分刊

漢江解水
素人劇大盛況
全朝鮮
六烈三大會
大講演會
勸導防止設備
無少年引
同情
地主懇談會
五條水災
定州邑內電燈
明會買男支天
朝鐵馬音線
元山電氣
鐵道貨物狀況
臨時總會
立毛品評會
禮拜堂新築
天國報

水浴全
男女交情研究珍寶
男女生殖器詳解
威興炭金使用時示出




Figure 73. Newspaper advertisement for Tansōgsa. 71, 30 December 1924, 3.



Figure 74. Newspaper advertisement by Tansöngsa for *Continental* (K'onch'inent'al). *TI*, 15 June 1935, 1.

Between the 1920s and 1930s, newspaper advertisements for some pioneering Korean companies changed significantly in their design. For instance, 1924 and 1935 advertisements for the Korean-owned cinema Tansöngsa (which I will discuss in section 3.2. in detail) in the *Tonga ilbo* (*TI*) show a salient contrast in terms of size, complexity of layout, and diversity of letterforms (Figure 73, Figure 74). Whereas the earlier advertisement consisted largely of orderly, aligned plain text, the later advertisement consisted of various irregular letters and overlapping illustrations. Tansöngsa may be one of the more dramatic examples in terms of design change, but during this period many Korean

advertisers gradually moved from adopting overall plain, text-based designs to more complex, image-based ones. At least stylistically, what cultural nationalists in the early 1920s envisioned as modern Korean advertising was becoming more visible on the pages of Korean newspapers in the 1930s.

Regarding this change, advertising historians Sin In-söp and Sö Pöm-sök have articulated that there was a ‘significant improvement’ in the ‘creative’ (*k'ürieit'ibũ*)⁵⁹³ in 1930s Korean advertising.⁵⁹⁴ Sin and Sö argue that this ‘improvement’ was a result of advertising-related events held by, and articles written in, Korean newspapers; they also argue that it was influenced by Japanese advertisements published in Korea, or what they describe as ‘advanced’ (*apsön*) examples.⁵⁹⁵ But they do not further substantiate these claims; instead, with the terms ‘improvement’ and ‘advanced’, they present an unexplained model of the linear development of advertising design, in which Japan was the leader, and Korea was the follower.

This structure of influence between Korea and Japan suggested by Sin and Sö was most probably actual. As I have demonstrated in Chapter 2, throughout the 1920s many Japanese advertisers and designers self-consciously sought to modernise their practices; this chapter will further examine how such a pursuit, alongside the expansion of their brands from national to imperial, may have contributed to a dissemination of ideas, techniques, and styles of modern Japanese advertising in Korea.

An important question to ask in this regard is why a gap may have existed or persisted between Korean and Japanese advertising; or, more fundamentally, why the design shift in Korea followed (or was expected to follow) a trajectory similar to that in Japan. These enquiries about influence and gap invite broader issues into question: how do the design changes in advertising relate to the colonial conditions of Korea, and furthermore, the modernities experienced in that condition?

The significance of advertising in a discussion of modernity lies partly in its capacity to attest to the presence of advertised products and services during a given era.⁵⁹⁶ In colonial Korea, especially in the 1930s, as a visual medium that promoted and celebrated new commodities (fashion, cosmetics, and clothing) and urban popular culture (theatre, film, and department stores), advertising was arguably one of the most visible forms of an expanding modernity. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, scholars of colonial modernity in Korea generally agree that modernity and coloniality are

⁵⁹³ In the context of advertising in Korea, ‘*k'ürieit'ibũ*’ refers to the production side of advertising (as opposed to planning or marketing), most notably copy and design.

⁵⁹⁴ Sin In-söp and Sö Pöm-sök, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 157.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 157-158.

⁵⁹⁶ Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making way for modernity, 1920-1940*, xix.

inseparable and interdependent. Thus, colonial conditions would be embedded in even the most modern experiences of the time. This chapter explores how the seemingly modern imagery of 1930s Korean advertising were shaped by systems and structures of colonisation.

I will first scrutinise an earlier stylistic shift in advertisements for the Kyōngsōng Spinning and Weaving company (Kyōngbang) in the 1920s, to identify a technical factor in design that contributed to the stylistic changes in Korean advertising more broadly thereafter. Then, focusing on typography, I will closely analyse Kyōngbang's advertisements to identify a stylistic influence from the 'design letters' (*zuan moji*) of Japanese advertising design. I will examine the broader propagation of this typographical style in Korea through the cases of the Korean cinemas Tansōngsa and Chosōn Kūkchang. I will then articulate the social and cultural implications of design letters across Korea and Japan as modernist design. Furthermore, I will relate the popularisation of design letters and modernist advertising design to the shifting perception of modernity in 1930s Korean society. Finally, to connect the design changes in advertising to the discussion of colonial modernity, I will suggest the idea of 'displayed modernity'. With this notion I will argue that the stylistic refinement of design in Korean advertising may have symbolised a cultural and material modernity, but was fundamentally illusive on multiple levels of colonial consumption and production.

3.1. Kyōngbang's advertising design (1925-1927)

Kyōngbang, which I discussed in Chapter 1 as a case that reflected the deferred project of modern Korean advertising in the early 1920s, is also a significant example of the changes in colonial Korean advertising in the 1930s. Since its establishment in 1919, Kyōngbang was one of the largest Korean-owned corporations in colonial Korea, and has also been acknowledged by contemporary Koreans and historians as an active advertiser.⁵⁹⁷ In 1927, a commentator wrote in the popular magazine *Pyōlgōngon* (Another world) that Kyōngbang was one of the handful of Korean companies 'that put out worthy ads' (*kwanggo tapke naenŭn*), in a field dominated by Japanese advertisers.⁵⁹⁸ Kyōngbang was a successful and pioneering Korean company, and stylistic and technical traits of its advertisements in the mid- to late 1920s are useful in visually setting out the changes in advertising design that would become prevalent among Korean advertisers more generally throughout the 1930s.

⁵⁹⁷ Han'guk Kwanggo Yōn'guhoe, *Han'guk kwanggo 100-yōn (sang)*, 49.

⁵⁹⁸ 'Sanggye handam' [Commercial world gossip], *Pyōlgōn'gon*, March 1927, 107.

3.1.1. Image-based design and newspaper printing technology

In April and May 1925, Kyōngbang published two stylistically distinct advertisements in the *TI*. The advertisements were the same size (approximately a quarter of a page), were placed in the same lower part of the cover page, and contained similar information (the company's nationalist mission, its products' merits, brand labels, and a list of dealers). But the two versions were substantially different in their design.

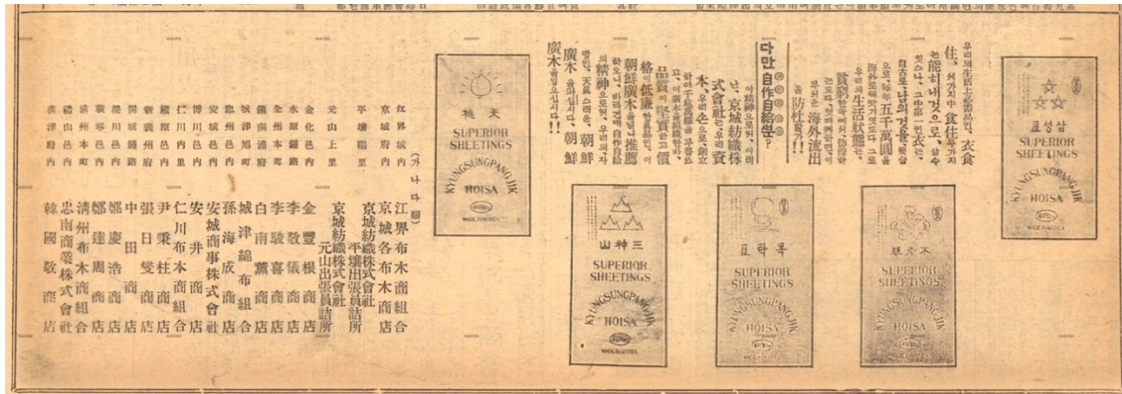


Figure 75. Newspaper advertisement for Kyōngbang. *TI*, 26 April 1925, 1.

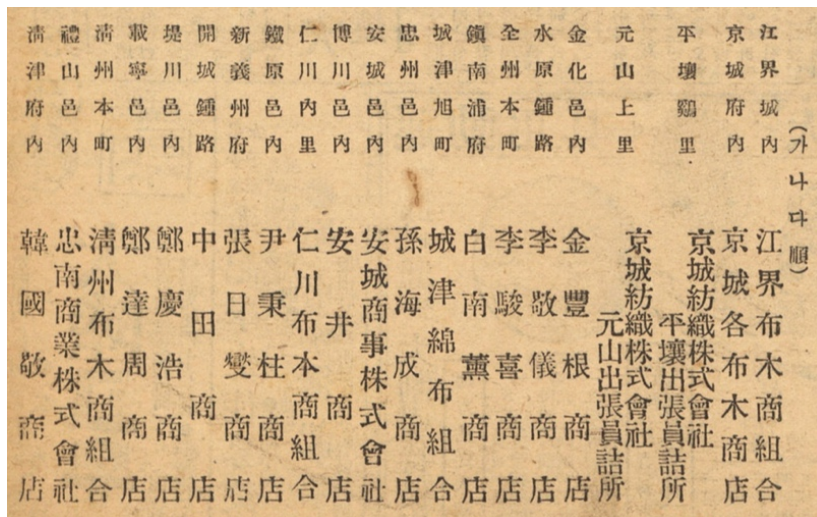


Figure 76. Detail of Figure 75. *TI*, 26 April 1925, 1.

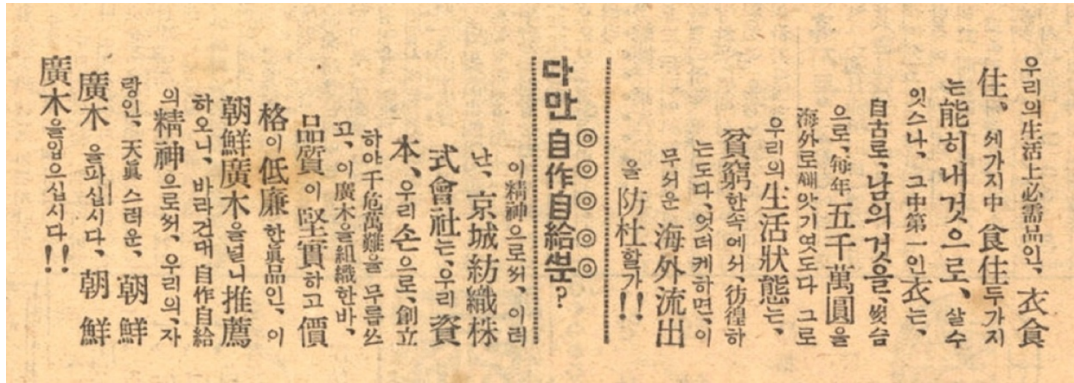


Figure 77. Detail of Figure 75. *TI*, 26 April 1925, 1.

The April version had a generally plain and orderly layout (Figure 75). It consisted mostly of text, with the exception of five label images that represented Kyōngbang’s cloth brands. The labels were aligned in an orderly way, with uniform intervals. The texts were also neatly allocated, in that most of them formed vertical lines with consistent line spaces and were within rectangular boxes (Figure 76). An exception to the otherwise gridded layout was a body of text in the upper right corner, which formed an ‘M’-shaped outline (Figure 77).

Another significant factor that contributed to the orderly look of the April 1925 advertisement was the minimal variation in letterforms; it derived from the use of movable type (*hwalcha*) or letterpress printing. Throughout the 1920s, the *TI* used variations of two general types of standardised typefaces: *myōnjo* (one for *hang’ül* and one for Chinese characters) and *kodik* (one for both Korean and Chinese characters) (Figure 78).⁵⁹⁹ In the scholarship on Korean typography, although there are ongoing debates about terminology, *myōnjo* typefaces are generally characterised by the trace of the brush.⁶⁰⁰ The trace of the brush is reflected in changing stroke-widths and *puri* (the flourish, often

⁵⁹⁹ According to print historian Ryu Hyōn-guk, in the 1920s the *TI* used a *myōnjo hang’ül* typeface that was developed by the Japanese type foundry Tsukiji Movable Type Production (Tsukiji Kappan Seizōsho). A 1927 article in the *TI* articulated that their typeface for Chinese characters was a *myōngjo*, but one that did not match stylistically with the *hang’ül* typeface. The newspaper also used one *kodik* typeface for both Korean and Chinese characters, often for section titles. From 1928 the *TI* started to develop a set of proprietary *han’g’ül* typefaces in *myōngjo* that matched better with the existing *myōngjo* Chinese typeface they used. Ryu Hyōn-guk, *Han’g’ül hwalcha ūi t’ansaeng: 1820-1945* [The birth of han’g’ül movable type: 1820-1945] (Seoul: Hongsi, 2015), 226-234; ‘Ōnmun hwalchach’e kongmo’ [A call for Korean script typeface], *Tonga ilbo*, 9 August 1929, 1.

⁶⁰⁰ For letterforms in Korean typography and terminologies for them, see Sejong Taewang Kinyōm Saōp’oe Han’guk Kūlkkol Kaebal Yōn’guwōn, *Han’g’ül kūlkkol yongō sajōn* [The dictionary of han’g’ül letterform terminologies] (Seoul: Sejong Taewang Kinyōm Saōp’oe, 2011); Yi Yong-je, ‘Munjang panghyang kwa han’g’ül kūlchakkol ūi kwan’gye’ [A relationship between direction of writing and Hangul letter-form], *Kūltchassi* 3, no. 2 (2011), 1037.

triangular, that accentuates stroke-ends); *myŏnjo* typefaces are comparable to serif typefaces in Roman typography (Figure 79). *Kodik* typefaces are characterised by straight strokes with consistent width and rectangular stroke-ends; they are comparable to serif typefaces in Roman.⁶⁰¹

명조체 고딕체

Figure 78. Comparison of typical *myŏnjo* and *kodik* typefaces by *hang'ül* designer and historian Yi Yong-je. Yi Yong-je, 'Han'gŭl kŭljach'e ūi insang' [Impression of hangeul typeface], *Kŭltchassi* 9, no. 2 (2017), 36.



Figure 79. Typical forms of *p'uri* featured in a *myŏnjo* typeface. Sejong Taewang Kinyŏm Saŏp'oe Han'guk Kŭlkkol Kaebal Yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'gŭl kŭlkkol yongŏ sajŏn* [The dictionary of *han'gŭl* letterform terminologies] (Seoul: Sejong Taewang Kinyŏm Saŏp'oe, 2011).

By comparing letterforms in Kyŏngbang's advertisement and in other parts of the *TI*, I have identified that the two large bodies of text in the April advertisement (Figure 76, Figure 77) were printed in the newspaper's standard *myŏnjo* and *kodik* typefaces. For instance, the words '*uri*' ('우리', meaning 'we') and '*Chosŏn*' ('朝鮮', meaning 'Korea') in the advertisement were in identical *myŏnjo* typefaces to those of the same words in a reportage article (Figure 80).⁶⁰² In addition, the headline in the advertisement, '*taman chajak chagŭp ppun*' ('다만自作自給뿐', meaning 'only self-sustenance'), was in a *kodik* letterform, which was the typeface sometimes used for section titles in the *TI* (Figure 81). The bullseye points and dotted lines that surround and highlight the headline were also elements of movable type, called '*yakho*' (symbol) and '*changsikkwae*' (decorative rule mark) respectively.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰¹ Sejong Taewang Kinyŏm Saŏp'oe Han'guk Kŭlkkol Kaebal Yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'gŭl kŭlkkol yongŏ sajŏn*.

⁶⁰² Although there are small differences in the shape of strokes and proportion, these were probably due to variance in the individual metal type.

⁶⁰³ Sejong Taewang Kinyŏm Saŏp'oe Han'guk Kŭlkkol Kaebal Yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'gŭl kŭlkkol yongŏ sajŏn*.

In short, the predominant use of standard movable type elements was a technical factor that contributed to the plain and orderly layout of Kyōngbang’s April 1925 advertisement.

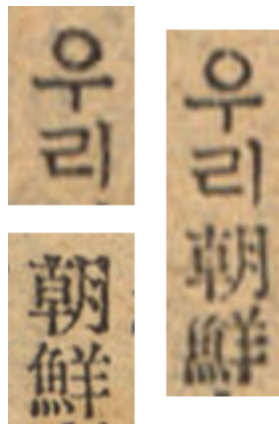


Figure 80. Comparison of *myōngjo* typefaces in the *Tl*. Letters on the left are in the April 1925 Kyōngbang advertisement; the same letters on the right are in an article (printed in a different part of the same page). *Tl*, 26 April 1925, 1.

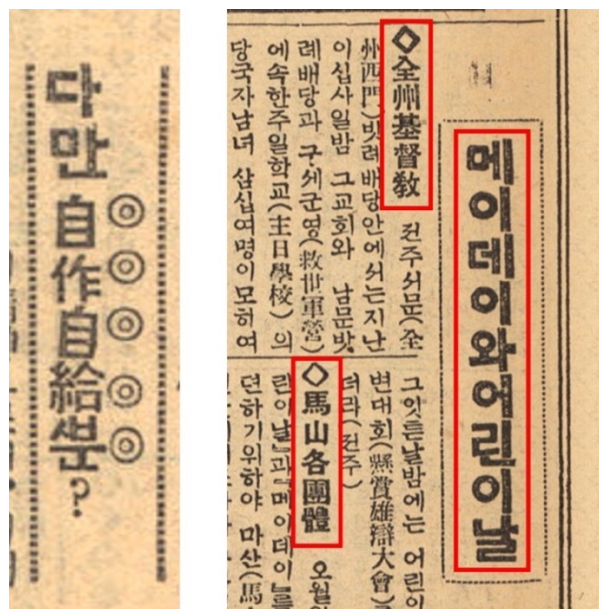


Figure 81. Comparison of *kodik* typefaces in the *Tl*. Letters on the left are in the April 1925 Kyōngbang advertisement; highlighted letters on the right are in an article entitled ‘May Day and Children’s day’. *Tl*, 26 April 1925, 1; 28 April 1925, 2.



Figure 82. Newspaper advertisement for Kyöngbang. 71, 20 May 1925, 1.

In contrast to the April version, the May 1925 version had a more dynamic, decorative, and free-flowing composition (Figure 82). Most obviously, a grey, curvy, trumpet-shaped mass ran across the layout, along which the label images were scattered. The grey mass surrounded a black circle shape placed on the left, which added a tonal contrast to the composition. These illustrative elements contributed to the dynamic composition of the advertisement. They were also the more obviously hand-drawn parts of the advertisement, indicating a difference from the April version, which consisted of movable type.



Figure 83. Detail of Figure 82. 71, 20 May 1925, 1.

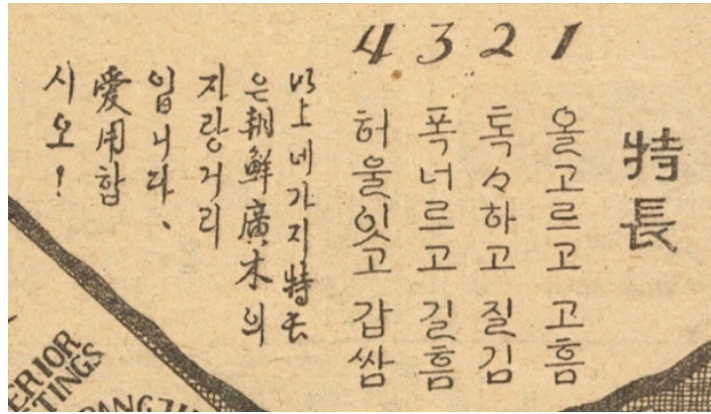


Figure 84. Detail of Figure 82. *TI*, 20 May 1925, 1.

In addition, the May version featured a variety of distinct letterforms in terms of style, size, and tone. For example, within the black circle there were white texts in different sizes and shapes, some bold, some light, and in particular the largest texts in the centre with double outlines (Figure 83). The two blocks of text at the top centre were also in different letterforms; the letters in the right block were fine, wide, and generally rounded; the ones on the left had a stronger character of cursive script, were narrow, omitted strokes, and had connecting lines between letters (Figure 84).

The diversity of letterforms in the May version could only have been achieved by handwriting or hand-drawing the letters, as opposed to setting them in the newspaper's standard movable type. As mentioned above, at the time the *TI* only had about three typefaces for its main texts, and none of the letters in the May 1925 advertisement were in the newspaper's standard *myōngjo* or *kodik* typefaces. Moreover, in the 1920s there were a limited number of *hang'ül* typefaces available in Korea in general, to the extent that the two major newspapers *TI* and *Chosŏn ilbo* used the same typeface, made by a Japanese type foundry, before each were able to develop their proprietary typefaces in the 1930s.⁶⁰⁴ Therefore it is very unlikely that the letters in the May advertisement were printed with movable type.

⁶⁰⁴ Kim Chin-p'yōng, 'Hwalchach'e ro ponūn han'gŭlkkol ūi yōksa' [A history of han'gŭl letterforms seen through movable type], *Sanŏp tijain*, no. 112 (1990).

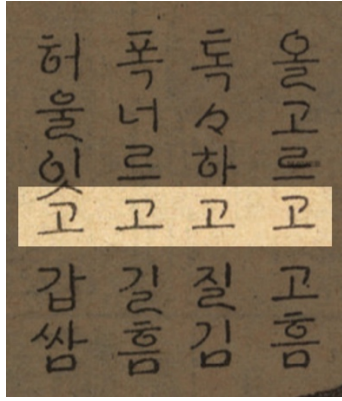


Figure 85. Detail of Figure 82. *Ti*, 20 May 1925, 1.

The inconsistent form of the same characters in some parts of the advertisement also indicate that the letters were hand-written or hand-drawn. For example, the *hang'ul* letters ‘go’ (고), repeated four times in the upper-middle part of the advertisement, although generally similar had different proportions with strokes of different lengths and angles; this variation would not have occurred if they had been printed with standardised type (Figure 85).

An examination of the newspaper printing technology of the time indicates that the shift from standardised type to diverse hand-drawn letterforms in *Kyōngbang*’s April and May 1925 advertisements involved a significant technical change in terms of the combination of textual and visual elements. The technical differences in the two advertisements does not necessarily indicate the technological progress of newspaper printing, but reflects a changing approach to the creation of the advertisement in terms of who designed the image and produced the final outcome.

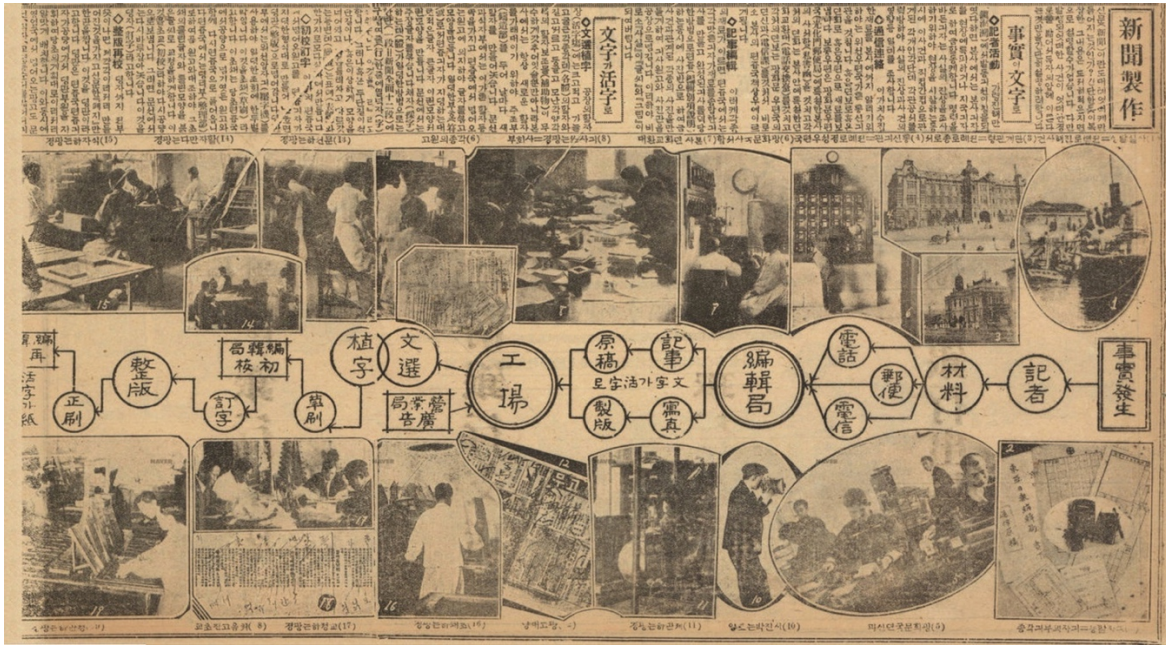


Figure 86. Photographs and diagrams explaining the making of the newspaper. 'Sinmun chejak' (The making of the newspaper), *Ti*, 30 April 1927, 2.

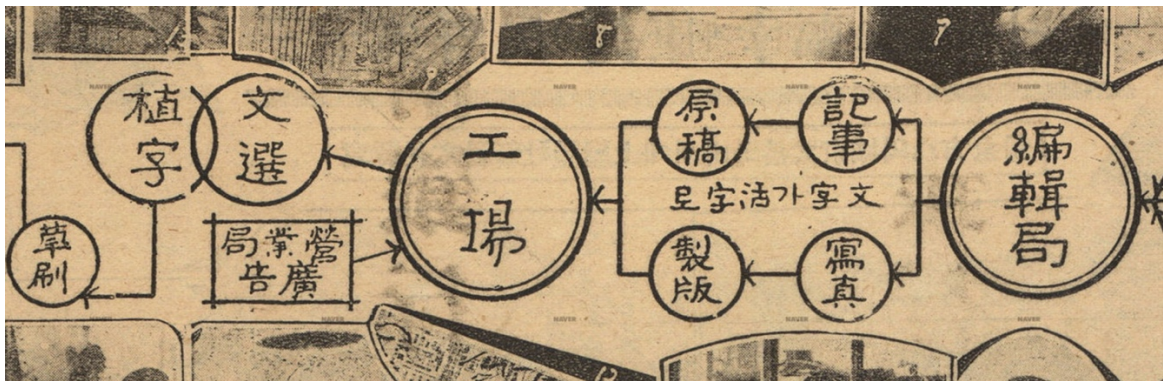


Figure 87. Detail of Figure 86. Diagram explaining the preparation process of newspaper printing. 'Sinmun chejak', *Ti*, 30 April 1927, 2.



Figure 88. Photos depicting ‘type selecting’ (right) and ‘typesetting’ (left) processes at the factory. ‘Sinmun chejak’, *TI*, 30 April 1927, 2.

I have not been able to find comprehensive accounts of the processes of newspaper advertising design and printing in Korea during the colonial period, but sporadic records in contemporary newspapers and magazines hint at how, and by whom, advertisements might have reached the final pages. In 1927, the *TI* published a lengthy and richly illustrated article that explained how the newspaper was made (Figure 86).⁶⁰⁵

According to the article, before entering the rotary press a single page with all the elements of the newspaper (text and image) configured had to be completed as a final ‘matrix’ (*chihyōng*) and then as a ‘stereotype’ (*yōnp’an*).⁶⁰⁶ In this process for printing, textual and visual elements on the pages of the newspaper went through different paths of preparation.

The diagrams and photos in the article indicate that textual elements were transferred ‘from text to type’ (*munja ka hwalcha ro*) through the process of ‘type selecting’ (*munsōn*) and ‘typesetting’ (*sikcha*) at the factory (Figure 87, Figure 88).⁶⁰⁷ Printing technicians, with instructions sent from editors, picked physical metal types from shelves and set them into a frame to transfer manuscripts into a printable form.

⁶⁰⁵ ‘Sinmun chejak’ [The making of the newspaper], *Tonga ilbo*, 30 April 1927, 2-3. It was part of a special issue that celebrated the construction of the Tonga Ilbo Company’s new building, which also boasted its new cutting-edge editing and printing facilities.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

In contrast, the diagram and written descriptions show that images, such as photos and illustrations, went through a process called ‘platemaking’ (*chep'an*) before being sent to the factory (Figure 87). The descriptions explain that platemaking for photos was done by the ‘photography team’ (*sajinban*) within the editorial department (*p'yōnjippu*),⁶⁰⁸ but does not specify how platemaking for illustrations was done; the latter can be inferred from another article in the newspaper.

According to an article that explained the operation of the advertising department of the *TI*, it had a ‘draft arranging division’ (*wōn'go chōngnigye*) and a ‘plate-arranging and proofreading division’ (*chōngp'an kyōjōnggye*).⁶⁰⁹ The name indicates that the former division probably drafted the copy and design. But it is difficult to identify the exact function of the latter division, because the printing term ‘*chōngp'an*’ can mean both the engraving on the physical plate and the arranging of the plate in general.⁶¹⁰ Despite this ambiguity, the article clearly indicates that the two divisions collectively managed the ‘creation of design and copy’ (*toan munan ūi chaksōng*) for advertisements, which means that the design of the images was at least finalised at the department.⁶¹¹ And although the diagram in Figure 87 does not specify the operations within the advertising department, it shows that typesetting was conducted outside of the advertising department at a later process, at the factory. A photo of hand-written corrections given for typographical errors in a sample print of an advertising section (probably from the advertising department to the factory) also hints that the movable type elements of advertisements took form separately from photos and illustrations, at different stages of newspaper production (Figure 89). In this regard, the diagram in the above article itself (Figure 87) would have been printed as a hand-drawn image (including hand-written texts), together with the photos, rather than with other texts set in movable type.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁰⁹ 'Sinmunsa ch'ammobu, yōngōpkuk chojik' [The organisation of the sales department, the advisor of the newspaper company], *Tonga ilbo*, 30 April 1927, 2.

⁶¹⁰ Literally, ‘*chōngp'an*’ refers broadly to ‘the arranging and organising of the plate’, including proofreading and correcting. But in a specific technical sense, it also refers to the process of engraving texts and images on a single plate, as opposed to the letterpress (movable type) technique. *Doopedia*. s.v. '*chōngpan*', accessed 25 April 2018, <http://www.doopedia.co.kr>.

⁶¹¹ 'Sinmunsa ch'ammobu, yōngōpkuk chojik', *Tonga ilbo*, 30 April 1927, 2.

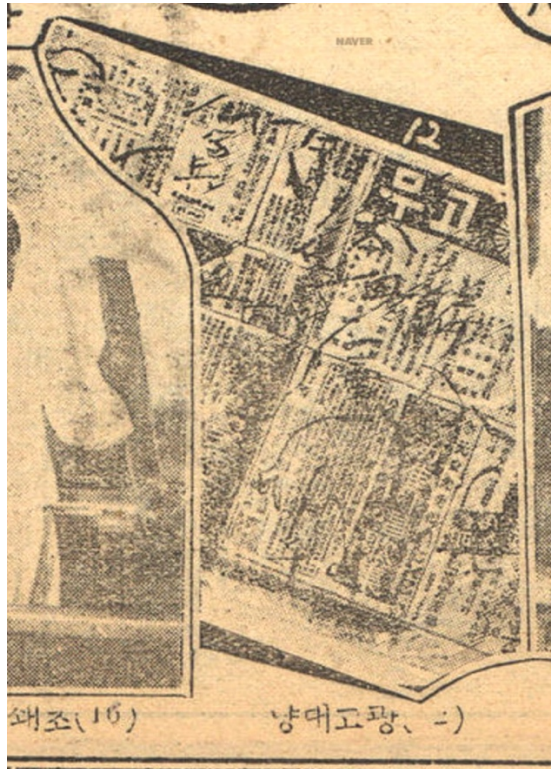


Figure 89 Hand-written corrections given for typographical errors in the sample print of an advertising section. 'Shinmun chejak', 71, 30 April 1927, 2.

Considering these technical details of newspaper printing, the apparent stylistic differences between the April and May advertisements for Kyōngbang indicate a more fundamental change in the design process. For the April version, staff of the advertising department (of Kyōngbang or/and the Tonga Ilbo Company) would have written the copy and outlined the layout as a draft. They would have then sent these drafts as instructions to the factory, where printing technicians would select and set the types to finish the final form. A designer's role (as in someone who draws images) would have been limited in the creation of the advertisement, or there might not have been a designer involved at all. If the visual (the image of labels) and textual (manuscript for the copy) components for the advertisements were provided by the client and/or the advertising department, the printing technician at the factory would have been able to finalise the form. In other words, the plain, orderly layout of Kyōngbang's April advertisement can be seen as the result of a process that only involves the selection and combination of text components.

In contrast, because the May version has no movable type element, all the components of the advertisement, including illustrations and hand-written texts, are effectively images. Texts did not have to be added through type selecting and typesetting, which means that the form of the advertisement should have been finalised before reaching the factory, as a single plate of an image.

The design of the advertisement as a single image is significant because it may require a more active role for a designer. Considering the more dynamic, decorative, and free-flowing composition and elaborate letterforms of the May version, it is very possible that individuals with more artistic expertise created the more image-based advertising design in its final form.

Thus the April and May versions of Kyōngbang's 1925 newspaper advertisements demonstrate a stylistic and technical shift from a text-based design to a more image-based one. This shift is significant because it indicates that Kyōngbang sought to enhance the visual impact (as distinct from the message of the text) of its newspaper advertisements. According to the aforementioned report in *Pyōlgōngon*, around 1927 Kyōngbang had been hiring external experts to create their advertisements, instead of leaving them to its non-expert staff members or newspaper companies.⁶¹² Kyōngbang 'commissioned' (*ūit'ak*) its advertisements to 'a person named Ch'oe' (*Ch'oe mo han pun*), according to the report, whose 'skills [were] nice indeed' (*somssiga kūnsa kūnsa han kōshi sashil*).⁶¹³ It is uncertain to whom 'Ch'oe' refers because it is one of the most common surnames in Korea,⁶¹⁴ but the comment in the report suggests that he/she had more expertise in advertising design than the members of the advertising department of newspapers. Since outside commissions would have incurred a cost, the image-based design might also indicate that Kyōngbang started to allocate more resources towards its advertising in 1925.⁶¹⁵ Meanwhile, as discussed in sections 1.2.4. and 2.1.2., from the 1920s many critics and designers in Japan and Europe (and a small

⁶¹² 'Sanggye handam', 107.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ There is a possibility that 'Ch'oe' refers to Ch'oe Ch'an-sik (1881-1951), who is generally known as a 'new novel' (*sinsosŏl*) writer. Historian Hong Hyōn-o, in his 1972 book on the history of the Korean pharmaceutical industry, has noted that Ch'oe also worked for Hwap'yōngdang and Chosōn Maeyak Chushik Hoesa (the companies mentioned in the *Pyōlgōngon* report). Based on oral recollections, Hong refers to Ch'oe as 'a master of publicity' (*sōnjōn ūi myōngsu*) and 'the number one in advertising design and advertising copy' (*kwanggo toan kwa kwanggo munan ūi che irinja*). According to Hong, in the 1910s Ch'oe worked for Hwap'yōngdang as a 'director of publicity' (*sōn jōn pujang*), and when the company took over its former rival Chosōn Maeyak Chushik Hoesa in 1919, he moved there and managed advertising and publicity, and 'continued to manage newspaper work' (*kyesok sinmun irūl mat'a*). Hong Hyōn-o, *Han'guk yagōpsa*, 17-20. Apart from Hong's claim, which seems to rely on oral testimonies, so far no other evidence has emerged, however, to confirm and explain Ch'oe Ch'an-sik's role in advertising of the firms mentioned above, or to suggest that he was the one who created the advertisements for Kyōngbang around 1927.

⁶¹⁵ Kyōngbang's investment in advertising was very possibly related to its improved profit. According to economic historian Carter J. Eckert, 1925 was the year that Kyōngbang made a profit for the first time since its establishment in 1919. Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945*, 84.

number of them in Korea, such as An Sök-chu) considered image-centred or pictorial design as a key characteristic of modern newspaper advertising. The technical shift in Kyōngbang's 1925 advertisement indicates that some Korean advertisers started to pursue this direction of modern advertising design.

3.1.2. The influence of Japanese design letters (*zuan moji*)

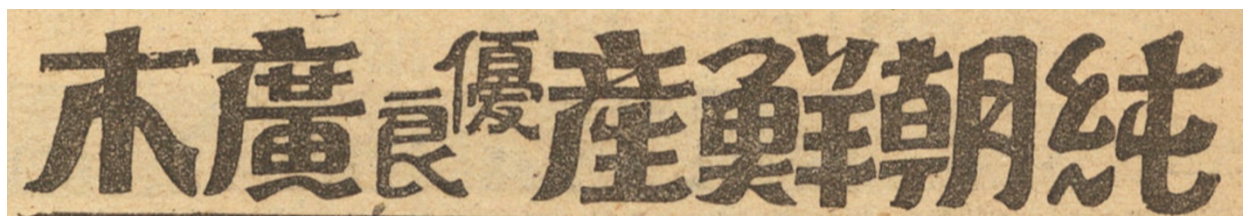


Figure 90. Detail of Figure 82. *TI*, 20 May 1925, 1.

A particular component of Kyōngbang's May 1925 advertisement (Figure 82) that needs closer examination is the slogan in the upper-right corner. It stated the claimed Korean identity of Kyōngbang and its cloth: '*sun Chosŏn san uryang kwangmok*' ('純朝鮮產優良廣木', meaning 'superior sheeting made purely in Korea') (Figure 90). Although the headline emphasised a 'made in Korea' identity, its letterform shows traits of typographical design made in contemporary Japan.

As discussed in the previous section, texts in Kyōngbang's May 1925 advertisement were not printed with movable type but were hand-written or hand-drawn; the headline was no exception. The letterform of the headline was distinct from the standardised *myōngjo* and *kodik* typefaces used by the *TI*; it had heavy strokes, simplified enough to be distinguished from both *myōnjo* and more expressive forms of traditional calligraphy; but it was not entirely reduced to straight lines, which makes it different from *kodik*. The headline letterform had curvy strokes, and, more importantly, decorative flourishes such as the wavy horizontal lines in the lower parts of '*sun*' (純) and '*kwang*' (廣), and the thin diagonal connection lines in '*cho*' (朝), '*sŏn*' (鮮), and '*san*' (產).

The slogan, which conformed neither to forms of calligraphy nor standardised type, can be seen as 'hand-designed', as distinct from being either printed or hand-written.⁶¹⁶ This typographical trait of Kyōngbang's May 1925 advertisement indicates a design influence from contemporary

⁶¹⁶ Gennifer Weisenfeld, 'Japanese Typographic Design and the Art of Letterforms', in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong*, ed. Jerome Silbergeld, et al. (Princeton, NJ: Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press, 2011), 831.

Japanese advertising, where the use of ‘design letters’ (*zuan moji*) was a fashionable mode of visualising text.

The term ‘design letters’ might seem ambiguous from today’s point of view, considering that any form of letter has to be designed in some way.⁶¹⁷ But in the inter-war Japanese context, it had a more specific reference to letterforms that were created through the ‘designification’ (*zuanka*’ or *ishōka*’) of characters.⁶¹⁸ As graphic design historian Kawahata Naomichi suggests, a clear-cut definition of ‘design letters’ seems to have been lacking in Japan at the time, but the notion of ‘design’ applied to letterforms denoted a distinction from forms of both traditional calligraphy (*shodō*) and movable type (*katsuji*).⁶¹⁹ Contemporary accounts also indicate that Japanese designers distinguished design letters from ‘ordinary letterform’ (*futsū shotai*) ‘drawn with a brush’ (*mōhitsu de egaita*),⁶²⁰ ‘ordinary movable type’ (*futsū katsuji*),⁶²¹ or ‘readymade letterform’ (*kisei jitai*).⁶²² In technical terms, design letters were considered ‘designed’ in the sense that they were non-standard and specific (possibly one-off) creations of the designer. Kawahata has aptly characterised this technical aspect of design letters, vis-à-vis calligraphy, as ‘a move from “writing” to “drawing”’

⁶¹⁷ According to Japanese letterform designer Yajima Shūichi (1895-1982), the term ‘*zuan moji*’ was devised by him in consultation with Takeda Goichi, professor of architecture at Tokyo Imperial University. Yajima notes that before settling for ‘*zuan moji*’, the two debated between ‘*zuan moji*’ or ‘*ishō moji*’, which have similar meanings (both can be translated as ‘design letters’ in English). Yajima Shūichi, ‘Shōgyō bijutsu no konjaku’, in *Nihon dezain shōshi*, ed. Nihon Dezain Shōshi Henshū Dōjin (Tokyo: Daviddōsha, 1970), 7. Various synonyms used interchangeably with *zuan moji* at the time might also reflect the ambiguousness of the term, such as *kaki moji* (drawn letters), *sōshoku moji* (decorative letters), *ishō moji* (design letters), *hentai moji* (transformed letters), *kōkoku moji* (advertising letters), and *jitsuyō moji* (practical letters). In post-war Japanese graphic design, the term ‘lettering’ (*retaringu*) became the standard term. See Kawahata Naomichi and Hirano Kōga, *Kakimoji kō* [Discussion on design lettering] (Tokyo: Dai Nippon Sukurīn Seizō, 2005).

⁶¹⁸ In his best-selling 1925 book on design letters, *Designed practical letters* (*Zuanka seru jitsuyō moji*), designer Fujiwara Taichi used the terms ‘*zuanka*’ and ‘*ishōka*’ interchangeably, to explain that the growing tendency of ‘designification’ of characters led to the establishment and prevalence of the term ‘*zuan moji*’. Fujiwara Taichi, ed. *Shōwa modan āto 3* [Modern art of Shōwa 3] (Tokyo: Emu Pi Shī, 2004; reprint, *Zuanka seru jitsuyō moji* [Designed practical letters], 1925), 13. ‘Designification’, the English translation of ‘*zuanka*’ and ‘*ishōka*’, has been suggested by design historian Jennifer Weisenfeld. Weisenfeld, ‘Japanese Typographic Design and the Art of Letterforms’, 831.

⁶¹⁹ Kawahata Naomichi and Hirano Kōga, *Kakimoji kō*, 13.

⁶²⁰ Motomatsu Gorō, *Gendai kōkoku jitai senshū* [A selected collection of contemporary advertising letterforms] (Tokyo: Seishindō Shoten, 1926), 5.

⁶²¹ Iimori Kan'ichi, *Nihon kōkoku jiten*, 11.

⁶²² Fujiwara Taichi, *Shōwa modan āto 3*, 13.

(*'kaku' kara 'kaku' eto ikō*).⁶²³ Considering the newspaper printing process discussed earlier, I suggest that design letters also indicate a shift from 'selecting' from existing typefaces, to 'creating' original and one-off set of letterforms.⁶²⁴ As hand-designed elements, when used for newspaper advertisements design letters would have been integrated into the drafting and platemaking process, as in the case of the May 1925 advertisement for Kyōngbang.

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Figure 91. Examples of design letters in *A survey of design Letters*. Reprinted in Yajima Shūichi, *Zuan moji taikan* [A survey of design letters] (Tokyo: Gurafikkusha, 2009), 49-50.

The idea and forms of design letters became fashionable in Japanese advertising and design from the mid-1920s.⁶²⁵ Between 1925 and 1928 there was a surge in the publication of books

⁶²³ Kawahata Naomichi and Hirano Kōga, *Kakimoji kō*, 16.

⁶²⁴ Kawahata Naomichi has similarly noted elsewhere that in Japan, 'lettering', a more expanded notion related to design letters, facilitated the 'visual designification of letters' (*moji no shikaku dezainka*), which was not achievable by movable type due to the complex nature of Japanese script. Kawahata Naomichi, 'Modan taipogurafii to dezain no yōran 1920 dai-1954: Taidō suru modan' [Modern typography and the birthplace of design 1920s–1954: Fetal movements of the modern], in *Nihon no taipogurafikku dezain: moji wa damatte inai*, ed. Matsuoka Seigō, Tanaka Ikkō, and Asaba Katsumi (Tokyo: Toransu Āto, 1999), 52.

⁶²⁵ Kawahata Naomichi and Hirano Kōga, *Kakimoji kō*, 10.

providing samples of, and technical explanations for, design letters.⁶²⁶ One of the most notable examples was *A survey of design letters* (*Zuan moji taikan*, 1926), a best-selling book by designer Yajima Shūichi (1895-1982); it offered visual examples of how characters could be stylised and ‘designed’ into various forms (Figure 91).⁶²⁷ Critics and designers also frequently discussed design letters in the advertising magazine *Kōkokukai* (Advertising world).⁶²⁸ These publications on design letters contributed to what Kawahata has aptly described as ‘the golden era of hand-drawn letters’ (*kaki moji no ōgon jidai*) in 1920s Japan.⁶²⁹

Stylistically, as evident in the examples in Figure 91, design letters were in general decorative and stylised,⁶³⁰ which made them ‘expressive’, as Weisenfeld suggests.⁶³¹ Motomatsu Gorō (active 1920s-1930s), designer and later *Kōkokukai* editor, explained in 1926 that design letters should have a balance between legibility and decoration, and designers had to follow the principle of ‘*benka*’ (literally ‘to make easy’).⁶³² ‘*Benka*’, in the context of Japanese design, generally refers to the technique of simplification and omission,⁶³³ but for design letters in particular, Motomatsu defined it as ‘adding a sense of fun (*omoshiromi*), while not losing the essence (*hontai*) or nature (*honshō*) [of the letter]’.⁶³⁴ Put differently, Motomatsu characterised design letters as being interesting and creative, while remaining legible.⁶³⁵

⁶²⁶ Ibid., 24.

⁶²⁷ Yajima Shūichi, *Zuan moji taikan* [A survey of design letters] (Tokyo: Shōbunkan, 1926).

⁶²⁸ Kawahata Naomichi and Hirano Kōga, *Kakimoji kō*, 24.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Fujiwara Taichi, *Shōwa modan āto* 3, 7.

⁶³¹ Weisenfeld, ‘Japanese Typographic Design and the Art of Letterforms’, 831.

⁶³² Motomatsu Gorō, *Gendai kōkoku jitai senshū*, 16.

⁶³³ Kawahata suggests that ‘*benka*’ can be roughly defined as ‘to arrange form while omitting and simplifying’ (*shōryaku, tanjunki shitsutsu katachi o totonoeru*). Kawahata Naomichi and Hirano Kōga, *Kakimoji kō*, 26.

⁶³⁴ Motomatsu Gorō, *Gendai kōkoku jitai senshū*, 17.

⁶³⁵ I will discuss the social and cultural implications of design letters in Japan further in section 3.2.



Figure 92. Newspaper advertisement for Kyöngbang's T'aegüksöng brand. *71*, 5 November 1927, 3.



Figure 93. Detail of Figure 92. *71*, 5 November 1927, 3.

The influence of Japanese design letters, apparent in the May 1925 advertisement by Kyöngbang (Figure 82), can be further confirmed in a 1927 iteration (Figure 92). The 1927 advertisement was for Kyöngbang's newly launched T'aegüksöng brand of cloth. The company would have wanted a fresh look for the advertisements to emphasise the novelty of the new brand, to which decorative and expressive letterforms probably contributed. For instance, the large bold letters in the upper centre indicated the brand T'aegüksöng (태극성), which literally means 't'aegük (or *ying-yang*, a symbol of Korean identity) and star' (Figure 93). The letterform itself, apart from the unusually bold strokes and white outline, was close to the straight, rectangular style of *kodik* typefaces. But the letters featured additional ornaments that gave character and symbolic meaning, which might conform to what Motomatsu described as 'a sense of fun': a small *t'aegük* and a star that replace the short horizontal strokes in 'tae' (태) and 'söng' (성) respectively.



Figure 94. Detail of Figure 92. *Tl*, 5 November 1927, 3.

The slogan in the upper-right corner, ‘sagye kwŏnwi’ (‘斯界權威’, meaning ‘prestige in the field’) written in Chinese characters, demonstrates the influence of Japanese design letters more clearly (Figure 94). The four characters have simplified strokes but atypical flourishes, which make them distinct from existing letterforms of both movable type and calligraphy. Furthermore, by closely examining smaller decorative components in the 1927 advertisement and comparing them with those in Japanese publications, I was able to trace a more specific stylistic resemblance beyond the general characteristics of decorative letterforms. Diagonal strokes within the headline, as in the far-left parts of ‘kwŏn’ (權) and ‘wi’ (威), take a form of a curvy and elongated ‘S’ (circled red in Figure 94); these strokes strongly resembled those in examples in *Designed practical letters* (Zuanka seru jitsuyō moji, 1925) (Figure 95), designer Fujiwara Taichi’s book similar to Yajima’s *A survey of design letters*.⁶³⁶ In addition, most of the short strokes within the headline of the advertisement were transformed into small circles (circled blue in Figure 94); similar elements were also found in samples in Fujiwara’s book (Figure 96).

⁶³⁶ Fujiwara Taichi, ed. *Zuanka seru jitsuyō moji* [Designed practical letters] (Tokyo: Daitōkaku, 1925).

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Figure 95. Examples of design letters in *Designed practical letters*. The example on the far left features curvy diagonal strokes stylised as an elongated 'S'. Fujiwara Taichi, ed. *Shōwa modan āto 3* [Modern art of Shōwa 3] (Tokyo: MPC, 2004; reprint, *Zuanka seru jitsuyō moji* [Designed practical letters], 1925), 105.

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Figure 96. Examples of design letters in *Designed practical letters*. The example on the far right features short strokes transformed into small circles. Fujiwara Taichi, ed. *Shōwa modan āto 3* [Modern art of Shōwa 3] (Tokyo: MPC, 2004; reprint, *Zuanka seru jitsuyō moji* [Designed practical letters], 1925), 49.

The specific stylistic and typographical resemblances identified above imply that designers of Korean advertisements had access to and were consulting Japanese sources to create their work. For example, Fujiwara's *Designed practical letters* was advertised in the Seoul-based Japanese-language newspaper *Chōsen shinbun* in 1926; the advertisement indicates that the book was available and there was potential demand for it in Korea (Figure 97).⁶³⁷ Moreover, Fujiwara's *Designed practical letters* and Yajiima Shūichi's *A survey of design letters* were both publicly available in Seoul, at the Seoul Prefectural Library (Keijō Furitsu Toshokan) and the Government-General of Korea Library (Chōsen Sōtokufu Toshokan), the public libraries which I will further discuss in section 3.4.⁶³⁸ Especially

⁶³⁷ *Chōsen shinbun* was one of the most prominent private Japanese-language dailies in Korea, following the *Keijō nippō*. Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, *Shinbun sōran*, 309-311.

⁶³⁸ Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu tosho mokuroku* [Book catalogue of the Government-General of Korea Library] (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1930), 283-285; Keijō Furitsu Toshokan, *Keijō Furitsu*

significant is that the Government-General of Korea Library, unusually, held five copies of Yajima's book, which may indicate that there was substantial demand for Japanese design letter references in Korea.⁶³⁹



Figure 97. Advertisement for Fujiwara Taichi's *Designed practical letters* (Zuanka seru jitsuyō moji), in *Chōsen shinbun*, 30 May 1926, 8.

The shift to an image-based design and the adoption of design letters seen in the examples in this section were not common in advertisements by Korean companies in the 1920s. As the 1927 *Pyōlgōngon* article mentioned above noted, Kyōngbang's advertising was an exceptional case among Korean advertisers.⁶⁴⁰ But the typographical vocabulary of Japanese design letters was gradually embraced in advertisements for Korean companies more generally in the 1930s, especially in film publicity. The following section will show this propagation and examine the broader colonial implications of such changes in terms of typographical styles and techniques of design in Korea, through a comparison of film publicity in Japan and Korea.

Toshokan tosho mokuroku [Book catalogue of the Seoul Prefectural Library] (Keijō: Keijō Furitsu Toshokan, 1934), 259.

⁶³⁹ Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu tosho mokuroku*, 283-285. Among the five copies, three were attributed to Yajima Shūichi, but two were attributed (mistakenly) to Takeda Goichi, who wrote the introduction to the book.

⁶⁴⁰ The article noted that only a handful of Korean companies, including Kyōngbang, published impressive newspaper ads. 'Sanggye handam', 107.

3.2. Design letters, film publicity, and modernity

3.2.1. Cinema letters in film publicity

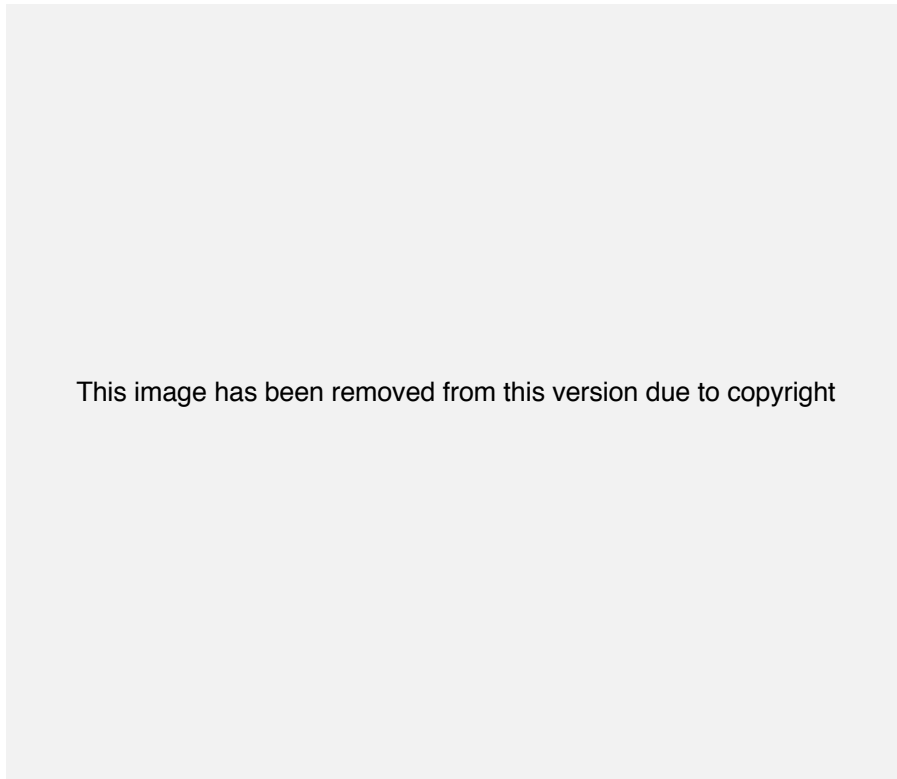


Figure 98. Poster for *The Ten Commandments* (Jikkai) by Shōchiku. Designed by Yamada Shinkichi in 1925. Kawahata Naomichi, *Shijō no modanizumu: 1920-30-nendai Nihon no gurafikku dezain* [Modernism on paper: Japanese graphic design of the 1920s and 30s] (Tokyo: Rokuyōsha, 2003), 46.

In the Japanese context, design historians have closely associated design letters of the 1920s and 1930s with film publicity.⁶⁴¹ Design historian Nishimura Mika has shown that one of the origins of this typographical style was in the early 1920s promotional material of the Osaka-based cinema Shōchiku.⁶⁴² She articulates that Yamada Shinkichi (1903-1981), then an in-house designer at the cinema, first applied distinctive and decorative letterforms in its print advertisements such as posters, pamphlets, and newspaper advertisements (Figure 98). Nishimura demonstrates that after Shōchiku successfully applied design letters to its advertising, design letters became widespread and a characteristic mode of typographic expression in Japanese film advertising from the 1920s, to an

⁶⁴¹ For a more detailed account of design letters in Japanese film publicity in the 1920s, see Nishimura Mika, '1920-nendai Nihon no eiga posutā' [Japanese movie posters of the 1920s], *Dezain riron* 37 (1998); Kawahata Naomichi, 'Modan taipogurafii to dezain no yōran 1920 dai-1954: Taidō suru modan'.

⁶⁴² Nishimura Mika, '1920-nendai Nihon no eiga posutā', 16-24.

extent that the term ‘cinema letters’ (*kinema moji*) gained currency among advertisers and designers as a synonym for ‘design letters’.⁶⁴³ In turn, cinema-themed examples were often featured in design letter publications, such as Fujiwara Taichi’s *Designed practical letters* (Figure 99).

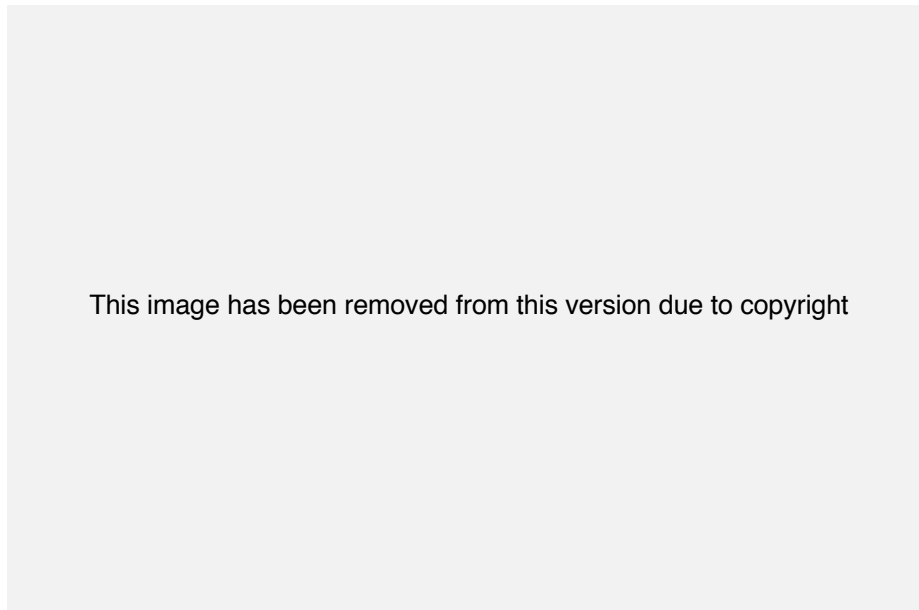


Figure 99. ‘The Ten Commandments’ (Jikkai) design letter sample similar to Yamada’s design for Shōchiku (Figure 98). Fujiwara Taichi, ed. *Shōwa modan āto 3* [Modern art of Shōwa 3] (Tokyo: MPC, 2004; reprint, *Zuanka seru jitsuyō moji* [Designed practical letters], 1925), 56.

This connection between design letters and film publicity in Japan is particularly pertinent in articulating the broader social, cultural, and colonial implications of the typographical style. It further establishes a link between the phenomenon of design letters in Korea and Japan, because from the mid-1920s, design letters were also especially prevalent in Korean film publicity.

In 1920s Seoul, the centre of film culture in colonial Korea, there was a total of seven cinemas, three of which were Korean: Tansōngsa, Umigwan, and Chosŏn Kūkchang.⁶⁴⁴ The three were ‘Korean’ cinemas in that they were mainly run by Koreans, were for Korean audiences, and screened Western (with Korean-language vocal narrations) or Korean-produced films.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 23.

⁶⁴⁴ Cinema historian Dong Hoon Kim suggests that film culture in colonial Korea, or what he calls ‘Joseon cinema’, consisted of a mixture of Korean and Japanese elements, in terms of film production, commercial screening, and audience. Dong Hoon Kim, *Eclipsed Cinema: The Film Culture of Colonial Korea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 4. But in this chapter, I limit the discussion to the more apparently ‘Korean’ cinemas, as they were the ones that consistently published advertisements in the Korean-language press.

⁶⁴⁵ For example, Tansōngsa was founded in 1907 by several Korean businessmen as a drama theatre. In 1918, the pioneering showman (*hŭnghaengsa*) Pak Sŭng-p’il took over the theatre and turned it into a

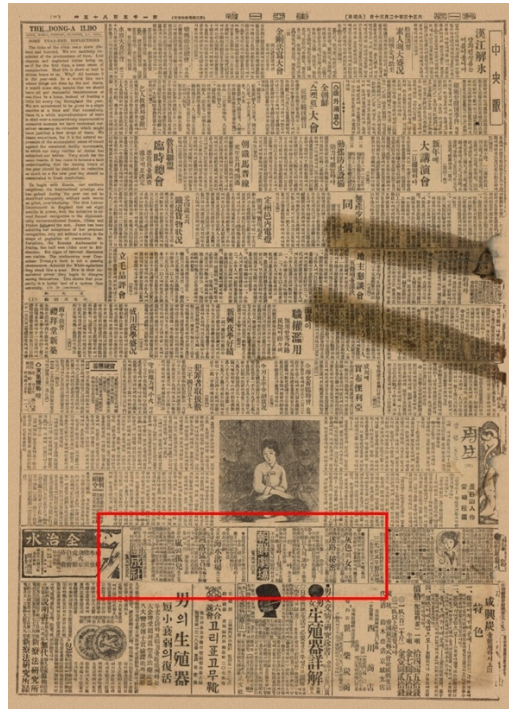


Figure 100. Newspaper advertisement for Tansöngsa and Chosön Kükchang. *Ti*, 30 December 1924, 3.



Figure 101. Newspaper advertisement for Tansöngsa and Chosön Kükchang. *Ti*, 30 December 1924, 3.

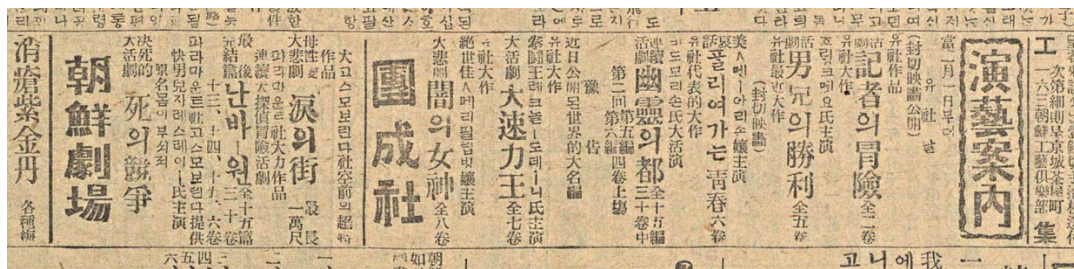


Figure 102. Newspaper advertisement for Chosön Kükchang and Tansöngsa. *Maeil sinbo*, 2 February 1925, 2.

permanent motion-picture cinema. Until being sold in 1939 to Ishibashi Ryōsuke, the owner of the Japanese theatre Meijiza, Tansöngsa screened mostly Western and Korean films for a Korean audience. Yi Sun-jin, (*Chosönin kükchang*) *Tansöngsa: 1907-1939* [(The Korean theatre) *Tansöngsa: 1907-1939*] (Seoul: Han'guk Yöngsang Charyowön, 2011), 11.

Before the mid-1920s, Korean film advertisements typically featured designs in plain text. A 1924 advertisement for Tansöngsa and Chosön Kükchang in the *TI* exemplifies this design (Figure 100, Figure 101). Normally, advertisements for two or three cinemas appeared in a horizontally long space on the upper part of the advertising section (beneath the articles), divided in sections and juxtaposed next to each other. These advertisements consisted of a list of films and their key details. This information was mostly given in plain text, as in printed in standard movable type. The names of the cinemas were often visually distinct from other texts in bold woodblock-printed letters, but they did not have a strong decorative or expressive character.⁶⁴⁶ In addition, following the standard mode of typesetting in Korean newspapers of the time, most of the texts in this type of cinema advertisement were set vertically, which contributed to the plain appearance of the advertisement on the page. In short, as the headline ‘entertainment guide’ (*yönye annae*) in a 1925 advertisement in the *Maeil sinbo* might indicate (Figure 102), these advertisements served more as a descriptive programme for each cinema than as verbal or visual promotions of individual films.

A stylistic shift in film advertisements took place around 1926. Cinema historian Yi Sun-jin has shown that from the mid-1920s, competition between the three Korean cinemas intensified, while a trend for film screening moved from serial or short films to full-length ones.⁶⁴⁷ Yi suggests that extensive introductions were essential to attract audiences for full-length films, and the Korean cinemas started to put more effort into their promotional material to survive in the competition.

My examination of newspaper advertisements by the Korean cinemas supports Yi Sun-jin’s explanation. From around 1926, the two main competitors, Tansöngsa and Chosön Kükchang, published advertisements more frequently in the Korean newspapers.⁶⁴⁸ They continued to publish programme-type ads, if less frequently, but presented a new type of film advertising design in late 1926. This promoted an individual film rather than the cinema as a whole, with more verbal and visual impact or appeal.

⁶⁴⁶ Instead, the names of different cinemas were presented in a similar style when on the same page. Although the cinema names stood out vis-à-vis smaller texts, they did not necessarily attach visual character to the cinema.

⁶⁴⁷ Yi Sun-jin, (*Chosönin kükchang*) *Tansöngsa: 1907-1939*, 53-58.

⁶⁴⁸ Umigwan did not advertise very actively in newspapers, and its advertisements did not show the stylistic changes seen in those of its competitors. This limitation in advertising was probably related to its ‘second-rate’ position among the Korean cinemas. According to Yi Sun-jin, Umigwan was a popular cinema which retained a significant number of audiences, but it had less polished facilities and failed to secure the most recent films for screening; from the mid-1920s it fell behind its competitors as a ‘second-rate cinema’. *Ibid.*, 55.



Figure 103. Newspaper advertisement by Chosŏn Kŭkchang for *A soldier of fortune* (P'unguna). *TI*, 19 December 1926, 1.



Figure 104. Newspaper advertisement by Chosŏn Kŭkchang for *A soldier of fortune* (P'unguna). *TI*, 19 December 1926, 1.

Chosŏn Kŭkchang's advertisement for the Korean film *A soldier of fortune* (P'unguna) seems to be the first of this kind published in the newspaper (Figure 103, Figure 104). Compared to the programme-type ads, this advertisement occupied a larger space, about a quarter of a page. In the expanded space, rather than presenting and informing the viewers about available films in standard text, the advertisement attracted attention and inspired curiosity, both verbally and visually. The copy was more provocative and self-celebratory: for example, the headline copy above the film title proudly presented the film as 'a superstar of the Korean film world' and 'an epoch-making grand show'.

In addition to the provocative messages, the visual traits of the texts were also distinctive. Key textual elements of the advertisement, the film title in the centre and the name of the cinema on

the left, were stylised and transformed to fit into full rectangular frames. In particular, for the main film title, the proportion of the characters was unusual: horizontally stretched and with extremely heavy and exaggerated vertical strokes. The texts also had decorative flourishes. Many short strokes were substituted with small circles and diamonds, which, as I have discussed in section 3.1.2, were common components of Japanese design letters. In short, by presenting the title in distinctive design letters, the advertisement visually emphasised the individual film, and lent typographical character to it. In sum, verbally and visually, it was more evocative than descriptive compared to the programme-type ads.

As written discussion on advertising itself was scarce in colonial Korea, I have not been able to find a particular record referring to the change in Chosŏn Kŭkchang's style of advertising design. But the shift was very possibly related to the unstable management of the cinema at the time. Chosŏn Kŭkchang, which had first opened in 1922, closed and reopened several times in the autumn of 1926, due to management changes.⁶⁴⁹ According to a report in the *TI*, Chosŏn Kŭkchang planned the screening of *A soldier of fortune*, a film directed by the Korean actor-director Na Un-gyu (1902-1937),⁶⁵⁰ to 'celebrate' (*kinyŏm*) the cinema's reopening and the resolution of management issues.⁶⁵¹ The advertisement was published in December 1926, soon after the issues were resolved. A copy in the advertisement also seems to verify the *TI* report, which promoted the cinema's 'grand vision and thrilling vigour' brought by an 'ideal new management' (top of Figure 104). Considering this managerial situation at Chosŏn Kŭkchang, the advertisement's expanded layout may be seen as the cinema's attempt to publicly present its stability after turbulence. Moreover, the new typographical style was arguably a way to visualise Chosŏn Kŭkchang's pursuit of, as the advertisement boasted, 'high-class film that awakens the art of cultural advancement' (*munhwajŏk hyangsang ūi yesul ūl kaksŏngk'e hanŭn kogŭp yŏnghwa*) (bottom of Figure 104).

⁶⁴⁹ 'Chosŏn Kŭkchang kaegwan' [Chosŏn Kŭkchang opens], *Tonga ilbo*, 10 September 1926, 3; 'Chosŏn Kŭkchang p'yegwan' [Chosŏn Kŭkchang closes], *Tonga ilbo*, 10 December 1926, 5; 'Chogŭk kŭmya kaejang' [Chosŏn Kŭkchang opens tonight], *Tonga ilbo*, 18 December 1926, 5.

⁶⁵⁰ *A soldier of fortune* (P'unguna) was the second film directed by Na Un-gyu, one of the earliest and best-known Korean director-actors. *Han'guk minjok munhwa tae paekkwajŏn* [The encyclopaedia of Korean culture]. s.v. 'P'unguna', accessed 3 April 2019, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/>.

⁶⁵¹ 'Chogŭk kŭmya kaejang', *Tonga ilbo*, 18 December 1926.



Figure 105. Newspaper advertisement by Tansŏngsa for *The identity of the stranger* (Koein ũi chŏngch'e). *TI*, 25 February 1927, 5.

The shift in Chosŏn Kŭkchang’s advertising design probably prompted its rival, Tansŏngsa, to implement a similar change. Two months after Chosŏn Kŭkchang’s advertisement was published, Tansŏngsa adopted a similar typographical style in its advertisement for *The identity of the stranger* (Koein ũi chŏngch'e) (Figure 105). Although the name of the cinema was printed in movable type, the design of the film title had a distinctive look. The size was large, occupying around half of the layout; the title also had the clear influence of design letters, with bold and curvy, stylised strokes. The curvy strokes added a decorative character to the letterform, an effect most salient in the ‘3’-shaped hump in the letter ‘in’ (人).

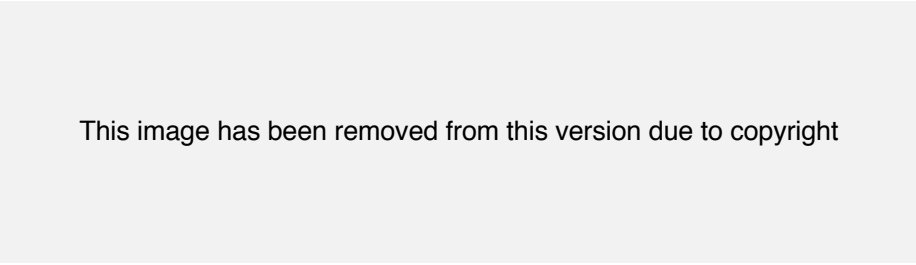


Figure 106. Programme-type advertisements for Japanese cinemas from October 1920. Hajima Tomoyuki, ed. *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikai 9 (Taishō hen: shuppan shumi goraku)* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 2003), 330

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Figure 107. Japanese cinema advertisements with larger film titles from January 1922. Hajima Tomoyuki, ed. *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikei* 9, 443.

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Figure 108. Newspaper advertisements for Suitenkan from November 1925. Hajima Tomoyuki, ed. *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikei* 9, 543.

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Figure 109. Newspaper advertisements for Shōchiku from December 1926. Hajima Tomoyuki, ed. *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikei* 9, 597.

By examining cinema advertisements sampled in *A compendium of newspaper advertising art* (Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikai, 2002), a comprehensive collection of Japanese advertisements, I was able to identify that the design shift in Chosŏn Kŭkchang's and Tansŏngsa's advertisements followed a similar trajectory to those for cinemas in Japan.⁶⁵² Many samples of newspaper advertisements by Japanese cinemas from 1920 were in the plain text-based layout that I have described above as the programme type (Figure 106). The samples from 1922 tended to have larger and horizontally wider spaces with film titles emphasised in bold text (Figure 107). The majority of samples from the mid-1920s featured typography that further highlighted the film title through decorative and stylised 'cinema letters' (Figure 108); 1926 advertisements by Shōchiku were notable examples of this style (Figure 109).

The similar trajectory of film publicity design between cinemas in Korea and Japan may indicate that creators of Korean film advertisements emulated their Japanese counterparts as a model. It is likely that when Chosŏn Kŭkchang sought to promote 'high-class film' and 'cultural advancement' through newspaper advertisements in 1926, visually it adopted the typographical vocabulary that had been presented by Japanese cinemas about a year earlier. While the example of Chosŏn Kŭkchang does not offer a specific account of how or by whom its advertisements came to resemble Japanese examples, the case of Tansŏngsa is more useful in speculating on the process of this emulation.

An important figure in understanding the advertising activities of Tansŏngsa is Yi Ku-yŏng (1901-1973), manager of Tansŏngsa in the 1920s. According to Yi Sun-jin, amid the intensifying competition between Korean cinemas in the mid-1920s, Yi Ku-yŏng played a crucial role in enhancing Tansŏngsa's advertising.⁶⁵³

A 1969 interview with Yi Ku-yŏng (by cinema historian Yi Yŏng-il) gives a detailed account of his activities in the colonial Korean film industry, as manager, producer, director, and writer.⁶⁵⁴ Like many prominent figures in the cultural circle of colonial Seoul, Yi Ku-yŏng graduated from a well-respected private Korean school (Paejae Haktang, where he also met with later prominent

⁶⁵² Hajima Tomoyuki, ed. *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikai 9 (Taishō hen: shuppan shumi goraku)* [A compendium of newspaper advertising art 9 (Taishō era: publishing and entertainment)] (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 2003).

⁶⁵³ Yi Sun-jin, (*Chosŏnin kŭkchang*) *Tansŏngsa: 1907-1939*, 63.

⁶⁵⁴ Han'guk Yesul Yŏn'guso, ed. *Yi Yŏng-il ūi Han'guk yŏnghwasa rŭl wihan chŭngŏllok: Kim Sŏng-ch'un, Pok Hye-suk, Yi Ku-yŏng p'yŏn* [Testimonies for the history of Korean film by Yi Yŏng-il ūi: Kim Sŏng-ch'un, Pok Hye-suk, and Yi Ku-yŏng] (Seoul: Sodo, 2003), 176-200.

cultural figures such as the artist Kim Pok-chin) and then departed to Japan in 1920. But instead of entering higher education like many of his contemporaries, Yi worked for the daily newspaper *Osaka mainichi shinbun* in Osaka, translating articles from Korean newspapers. Alongside this work he studied film theory and experienced Japanese theatre and film in Osaka and Tokyo, which, according to him, was his real passion.⁶⁵⁵ After returning to Seoul in 1923, he started publishing essays on film in Korean newspapers, and joined Tansöngsa in 1925 as a film producer and director.

Contemporary newspaper records suggest that soon after Yi Ku-yöng returned from Japan he was already a prominent figure in the Seoul film industry. A 1925 report in the *TI* referred to him as ‘a leader of the film world’ (*yönghwagye yuji*).⁶⁵⁶ He established the Korea Actors’ School (Chosön Paeu Hakkyo) together with the theatre specialist Hyön Hi-un (discussed in Chapter 1) in 1925, and taught there as a lecturer in film, which also suggests that he was an influential figure in the cultural circle of Seoul.⁶⁵⁷

A particularly significant part of Yi Ku-yöng’s career in the Korean film industry was in marketing. From 1925 he was also ‘director of publicity’ (*sönjon pujang*) at Tansöngsa, and managed all aspects of the cinema’s marketing.⁶⁵⁸ In the aforementioned interview he commented extensively on the programme booklets for Tansöngsa that he made. He boasted that he changed an earlier text-based single-page into a new sixteen-page booklet in which he ‘wrote the text, inserted previews of films, illustrations (*köñü*) and photos about foreign films, and [other] plates (*topan*)’.⁶⁵⁹ Yi was not a trained artist or designer, but his efforts to improve the image of the cinema through printed matter, as well as his attention to visual detail, makes it very possible that he designed, or at least directed, Tansöngsa’s newspaper advertisements as well.

Yi Ku-yöng’s memoirs also show that he was not hesitant about using Japanese examples to produce his own works. He had first-hand experience of Japanese film culture, and through his writing he circulated information about modern cinema that he had originally gained from Japanese film journalism to a Korean audience.⁶⁶⁰ He also proudly linked his sophisticated programme booklet

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 192-193.

⁶⁵⁶ ‘Yönghwa ro chaehyön toen *Ssangongnu*’ [*Ssangongnu* reproduced as a film], *Tonga ilbo*, 24 August 1925, 3.

⁶⁵⁷ ‘Paeu hakkyo ch’urhyön’ [An actors’ school appears], *Tonga ilbo*, 13 December 1924, 2.

⁶⁵⁸ Yi Sun-jin, (*Chosönin kükchang*) *Tansöngsa: 1907-1939*, 60.

⁶⁵⁹ Han’guk Yesul Yön’guso, *Yi Yöng-il üi Han’guk yönghwasa rül wihan chüngöllök: Kim Söng-ch’un, Pok Hye-suk, Yi Ku-yöng p’yön*, 250.

⁶⁶⁰ Yi Sun-jin, (*Chosönin kükchang*) *Tansöngsa: 1907-1939*, 59.

with his experience in Japan, saying, ‘You know, I wasn’t from the theatre, I was a person who used to live in Japan. I wouldn’t make those immature (*yuch'ihan*) programmes [of his competitors]’.⁶⁶¹ On a more practical level, Yi even noted that he used photos that he had taken from Japanese cinema programmes to produce his own for Tansōngsa.⁶⁶²

Although Tansōngsa was not the first Korean cinema to adopt design letters in its ads, considering Yi Ku-yōng’s responsibility as director of publicity and his familiarity with Japanese sources it is likely that he played a crucial role in producing the new style of Korean film advertisements that featured design letters, or cinema letters, as they were called in the context of film publicity.



Figure 110. Newspaper advertisement by Chosōn Kūkchang for *Dark street* (Amhūkka). *TI*, 25 November 1926, 6.



Figure 111. Newspaper advertisement by Tansōngsa for *The secret of China town* (Chinaga üi pimil). *TI*, 25 May 1928, 6.

After first introducing a new type of advertising design in 1926, Chosōn Kūkchang and Tansōngsa generally maintained a similar design for their newspaper advertisements during the late 1920s and the 1930s. The advertisements published during this period were typically wide horizontal spaces, with the title of the film in the centre in large design letters (Figure 110, Figure 111). The decorative and expressive quality of design letters would have attached a visual identity to each film, but at the same time their continuous and repeated appearance in film advertisements would have

⁶⁶¹ Han'guk Yesul Yōn'guso, *Yi Yōng-il üi Han'guk yōnghwasa rül wihan chūngōllok: Kim Sōng-ch'un, Pok Hye-suk, Yi Ku-yōng p'yōn*, 249.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*

linked the typographical style to the film industry itself. In this sense, design letters in colonial Korea, as in Japan, were a visual representation of film culture.

3.2.2. Design letters as typographical modernism

In Japan, contemporary designers and advertisers explicitly linked design letters with what they perceived as the modernity of the 1920s. Yajima Shūichi, in *A survey of design letters*, asserted that ‘design letters were indispensable in the modern [world]’ (*gendai ni wa zuan moji wa fukaketsu*).⁶⁶³ Takeda Goichi (1872-1938), professor of architecture at Tokyo Imperial University and a major figure in design education in inter-war Japan,⁶⁶⁴ supported Yajima’s claim in the preface to the book, writing that ‘the architecture and craft of the new era (*atarashii jidai*) needs a new style of letters (*atarashii sutairu no moji*) that suits (*fusawashii*) it’.⁶⁶⁵ Yajima and Takeda saw Yajima’s ‘new letter design’ (*atarashii moji dezain*), or design letters, as responding to the demands of the modern era.⁶⁶⁶

Yajima further articulated this link between modernity and design letters in a later book, entitled *Anatomy of design letters* (*Zuan moji no kaibō*), which provided a more thorough theoretical account of design letters.⁶⁶⁷ He asserted that forms of traditional calligraphy (*shodō*), because they had neither advanced nor regressed, had lost its authority in modern Japan. He also argued that forms of movable type (*katsuji*) were ‘incongruous’ (*fuchōwa*) with modern Japanese script, as their origins were in Roman script.⁶⁶⁸ This was his rationale by which he proposed ‘the new design letter of the modern’ (*gendai no atarashii zuan moji*) as the letterform that ‘evolved (*shinka*) along with the

⁶⁶³ Yajima Shūichi, *Zuan moji taikan* [A survey of design letters], reprint ed. (Tokyo: Gurafikkusha, 2009 [1926]), 2.

⁶⁶⁴ For Takeda Goichi’s influential role in Japanese design education, see a series of studies by architectural historian Adachi Hiroshi, the most recent of which is published as Adachi Hiroshi, ‘Takeda Goichi no kenchikukan to ātsu ando kurafutsu undō 6’ [Takeda Goichi’s architectural philosophy and the Arts and Crafts Movement 6], *Kenchiku rekishi ishō* (2017). See also, Miyajima Hisao, ‘Takeda Goichi to Kansai dezain kai’ [Takeda Goichi and the Kansai design world], *Dezain riron* 57 (2011).

⁶⁶⁵ Yajima Shūichi, *Zuan moji taikan*, 3.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Yajima Shūichi and Takeda Goichi, *Zuan moji no kaibō* [Anatomy of design letters] (Tokyo: Shōbunkan, 1928), 3, 35-39.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 35, 39.

evolution of society' and functioned as a 'total art where beauty and utility intersects' (*bi to yō no kōsa suru sōgō geijutsu*).⁶⁶⁹

Yajima's articulation of the link between design letters and a sense of modernity seems slightly vague, which might indicate that contemporary Japanese felt that design letters were 'new' in various ways. For instance, Furuta Tachiji (1885-?), designer and former employee at the Tokyo-based department store Shirokiya,⁶⁷⁰ wrote in a 1930 essay on letterforms that the novelty of design letters was partly a matter of technical tools.⁶⁷¹ Furuta related the novelty of design letters to the fact that they were drawn with the metal pen ('*pen*', in Japanese), a Western import and a tool associated with writing Western script, rather than the conventional brush made of animal hair.

Design letters could also be perceived as new in terms of their constant re-creation. Similarly to Yajima, Motomatsu Gorō, in a 1926 volume entitled *A selected collection of contemporary advertising letterforms* (*Gendai kōkoku jitai senshū*), acknowledged that the 'designed letter' (*ishōka shita moji*) was the 'modern letterform' (*gendaishiki jitai*),⁶⁷² in that it had departed from the 'old-fashioned' (*kyūshiki*) calligraphic styles and gave an impression of a 'new era' (*shin jidai*).⁶⁷³ But Motomatsu also articulated that design letters, created freshly and uniquely for each instance, delivered a 'sense of novelty' (*shinmi*), an effect unachievable with ready-made and standardised movable type.⁶⁷⁴

The function of design letters to provide fresh and unique letterforms was particularly significant in the commercial context. Design historian Jennifer Weisenfeld has convincingly argued that the propagation of design letters in 1920s Japan reflected the rapid expansion of the Japanese consumer market at the time.⁶⁷⁵ She articulates that through design letters, Japanese advertisers and

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., 3, 38-39.

⁶⁷⁰ Tajima Natsuko, 'Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū zen 24-kan oyobi shōgyō bijutsu geppō zen 24-gō no shippitsusha ryakureki', 144.

⁶⁷¹ Furuta Tachiji, 'Honpō zairai no shotai yori saikin no shinshotai made' [From traditional letterforms of our country to most recent new letterforms], in *Jitsuyō zuan moji shū*, ed. Kitahara Yoshio, *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Arusu, 1930), 31.

⁶⁷² Although Motomatsu used the term '*kōkoku jitai*' (advertising letterform) rather than '*zuan moji*', he shared the basic idea of the 'designification' of letters. Motomatsu Gorō, *Gendai kōkoku jitai senshū*, 5.

⁶⁷³ Ibid., 6. Similarly, in the introduction to *Designed practical letters*, Sugiura Hisui noted that more traditional calligraphic letterforms such as *kanteiryū*, used in the theatre world, were 'legacies of the feudal age', and were not 'an ideal that corresponded to the modern'. Fujiwara Taichi, *Shōwa modan āto 3*, 8.

⁶⁷⁴ Motomatsu Gorō, *Gendai kōkoku jitai senshū*, 4.

⁶⁷⁵ Weisenfeld, 'Japanese Typographic Design and the Art of Letterforms', 846-847.

designers attempted to expand and diversify the expressive possibilities of text, ‘to encourage increased consumption of new products’.⁶⁷⁶ Weisenfeld shows that design letters were therefore notably employed in the promotional materials of manufacturers and retailers of modern commodities, such as the cosmetics companies Shiseido and Club and the department store Mitsukoshi.⁶⁷⁷ In short, design letters, in accord with their quality of visual novelty, were also closely associated with modern consumption itself in the 1920s Japanese context.

Kawahata Naomichi further suggests that design letters were particularly useful in film advertising because they conveyed a sense of a ‘modern European style of decoration’.⁶⁷⁸ Kawahata argues that design letters were deemed suitable to make a display of *yōga*, or Western film, the most popular and accessible form of Western culture in Japan at the time, because sometimes they resembled letterforms used in European design movements such as the Vienna Secession or Art Deco.⁶⁷⁹

The 1930 essay by Furuta Tachiji mentioned above seems to support Kawahata’s explanation.⁶⁸⁰ Although Furuta did not refer to a specific school of design in Europe, he acknowledged that the style of design letters in Japanese advertisements was partly a result of the ‘application of letterforms, from Western letterforms to Chinese characters’ (*ōbun shotai yori kanji e no shotai no tenka*). Furuta noted that with this Western influence, ‘motion [picture] letters’ (*katsudō moji*)⁶⁸¹ conveyed ‘a special modern sense exclusive to the cinema’ (*eigakan senyō no tokushū no modānmi*).⁶⁸² He praised this modern sense as ‘corresponding to the taste of movie fans’, or more broadly, to that of ‘contemporary young men and women’ (*tōdai no seinen, joshi*).

In contrast to Japan, where advertisers and designers discussed design letters extensively in numerous publications, in the context of colonial Korea I have been able to confirm little written record relating to the newly emerging letterforms of the 1920s, despite my extensive review of books and periodicals from the period. While legibility, standardisation, and the mechanisation of *han'gūl* for the reproduction of lengthy texts was an issue that was more substantially discussed among

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., 832.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., 834-838.

⁶⁷⁸ Kawahata Naomichi, 'Modan taipogurafii to dezain no yōran 1920 dai-1954: Taidō suru modan', 54.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰ Furuta Tachiji, 'Honpō zairai no shotai yori saikin no shinshotai made', 31.

⁶⁸¹ 'Katsudō moji' was an alternative term for 'kinema moji' (cinema letters).

⁶⁸² Furuta Tachiji, 'Honpō zairai no shotai yori saikin no shinshotai made', 31.

linguists and type engineers,⁶⁸³ Korean-language discussions of decorative and expressive letterforms remains scarce and fragmented in existing records. For example, the artist Kim Pok-chin (discussed in Chapter 1), in a 1927 critique of signboards in Seoul published in *Pyölgöñ'gon* (Another world), mentioned that the signboard of a Korean retailer in Chongno had an ‘interesting letterform’ (*hüngmi innün chach'e*).⁶⁸⁴ But without further elaboration, Kim vaguely commented that the letterform enabled the signboard to have ‘a substantial effect’ (*sangdanghan hyogwa*).⁶⁸⁵ In a similar vein, a 1930 article in *Pyölgöñ'gon* on promotional calendars distributed by Korean retailers suggested that companies should ‘at least use a unique style (*tokt'ük'an ch'e*) for the letters’, to improve the promotional effect of their calendars.⁶⁸⁶ A more specific instruction for letterforms for advertising design appeared in Yi Tal-yö’s 1923 article in *Sanggong segye*, as mentioned in Chapter 1. Yi suggested that ‘rather than using the existing type (*kisöng üi hwalcha*) that is customary to the eyesight of the general public’, advertisers should ‘create fresh letterforms’ (*ch'amsinhan chach'e*) for better advertising design.⁶⁸⁷

‘*Toan munja*’ (design letters), the Korean-language equivalent of the Japanese term ‘*zuan moji*’, did not appear in the above texts. Because documented discussion about letterforms for advertising is scarce, it is also difficult to identify why the term did not gain currency in Korean newspapers and magazines. But the above comments on letters in advertising, as fragmentary as they are, suggest that Korean advertisers and designers saw unique and distinctive letterforms as a useful means to enhance the effect of an advertisement. As I have shown above, from the mid-1920s pioneering Korean advertisers like Kyöngbang and the cinemas Chosön Kükchang and Tansöngsa used letterforms that referenced Japanese design letters. The parallel adoption of design letters in Korea and Japan as a representation of film culture enables a comparative examination of the typographical style as a reflection of modernity and coloniality more broadly, which I will discuss in the next section.

⁶⁸³ For the history of the mechanisation of *han'gül* letterforms, see Han'guk Ch'ulp'an Yön'guso, ed. *Han'gül külichakkol kich'o yön'gu* [Foundational research on han'gül letterforms] (Seoul: Han'guk Ch'ulp'an Yön'guso, 1990); Ryu Hyön-guk, *Han'gül hwalcha üi t'ansaeng: 1820-1945*.

⁶⁸⁴ Kim Pok-chin, An Sök-chu, and Ilgija, 'Kyöngsöng kak sangjöm kanp'an p'ump'yönghoe' [Comments on the signboards of stores in Seoul], *Pyölgöñ'gon*, January 1927, 114.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ 'Kak sangjöm illyök p'yöng' [Comments on the calendars of stores], *Pyölgöñ'gon*, January 1930, 103.

⁶⁸⁷ Yi Tal-yö, 'Sinmun kwangö üi changdan tüksil', 61.

3.3. Urban consumerism

3.3.1. The rise of 'the modern'

Economic historian Chu Ik-chong has demonstrated that real consumption expenditure per capita in colonial Korea grew steadily between 1912 and 1939, at an average annual rate of about 1.85 per cent.⁶⁸⁸ But Chu also observes 'a pattern of modern economic growth', in that towards the 1930s, the proportion of income spent on food, or Engels' 'coefficient', decreased; for example, whereas the percentage of expenditure on food fell from 75 to 65 per cent between 1912 and 1939, spending on clothing rose from 6 to 13 per cent, and spending on recreation, entertainment, education, and cultural services rose from 0.7 to 1.4 per cent.⁶⁸⁹ Chu's estimations concern Korea generally, but the increased expenditure on clothing and leisure activities might explain a steeper rise in conspicuous modern consumption in Seoul.

Geographer Pak Sŏn-hŭi has demonstrated that commercial companies (wholesalers and retailers) increasingly converged on Seoul during the 1930s.⁶⁹⁰ Those with more than 200,000 yen of capital more than tripled between 1922 and 1938, from eleven to thirty-nine; during this growth, the total capital of these companies also surged from 3,687,500 yen to 21,629,550 yen.⁶⁹¹ Pak also identifies that the commercial growth of Seoul was particularly significant in the Chin'gogae Japanese area, most notably around the Honmachi shopping district (discussed in Chapter 1).⁶⁹²

Department stores epitomised this commercial growth of Seoul in the 1930s. Major Japanese retailers in Chin'gogae that were established in the beginning of the twentieth century, such as Mitsukoshi, Chōjiya, Minakai, and Hirata, built new buildings or extended existing ones, and turned their businesses into large-scale department stores (*hyakkaten*) around 1929.⁶⁹³ In 1931, the owners of

⁶⁸⁸ Chu Ik-chong, 'Min'gan sobi chich'ul' [Private consumption], in *Han'guk ūi kyŏngje sŏngjang: 1910-1945*, ed. Kim Nang-nyŏn (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2006), 203-205.

⁶⁸⁹ In the same vein, whereas the average expenditure on food only doubled, expenditure for clothing and leisure increased by 3.6 and 4.4 times respectively, during the same period. *Ibid.*, 206.

⁶⁹⁰ Pak Sŏn-hŭi, 'Kyŏngsŏng sangŏp konggan ūi singminji kŭndaesŏng: Sangŏp hoesa rŭl chungsimŭro' [A Study on colonial modernity of commercial space in the case of commercial companies in Kyungsung(Seoul) during Japanese colonial period], *Taehan chiri hakhoeji* 41, no. 3 (2006).

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 305.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 311.

⁶⁹³ Mitsukoshi, the major Japanese retailer, had a small branch in Seoul from 1906 called the Mitsukoshi Seoul Office (Mitsukoshi Keiijō Shucchōjo). In 1929 it was elevated to a larger branch as the Mitsukoshi Seoul Branch (Mitsukoshi Keijō Shiten), with a completely new building in the centre of Honmachi built in October 1930. Chōjiya and Minakai, retailers of Western- and Japanese-style clothing (*gofukuten*)

the largest Korean retailers in Chongno, Ch'oe Nam (of the clothing and accessories retailers Tōgwŏn Sanghoe and Tonga Puin Sanghoe) and Pak Hŭng-sik (of the jeweller Hwasin Sanghoe), also built new buildings and established the department stores Tonga and Hwasin respectively.⁶⁹⁴ In *New edition guide to Great Seoul (Shinpan Dai Keijō annai, 1936)*, a touring guide to Seoul for Japanese visitors, Seoul-based Japanese journalists Yano Kanjō and Morikawa Kiyohito celebrated department stores in 1930s Seoul as symbols of modern culture, writing: 'Seoul is indeed the centre of culture: it has five large and small department stores' (*Keijō wa sasuga ni bunka no chūshinchi, depāto ga daishō goken mo aru*).⁶⁹⁵

In a section entitled 'Playing Seoul' (Asobu Keijō), *New edition guide to Great Seoul* introduced (in addition to the department stores) cinemas, theatres, cafés, and bars as also representing the consumer culture of Seoul.⁶⁹⁶ In 1930s Seoul there were a total of eleven cinemas, consisting of the Korean cinemas discussed above and Japanese cinemas, such as Kirakukan, Chūōkan, Wakakusa Gekijō, and Shōchikuza, which collectively provided the 'greatest entertainment for Seoulites' (*Keijōjin saidai no goraku*).⁶⁹⁷ The city also had 116 cafés and 18 bars run by Koreans and Japanese, where more than one thousand 'waitresses' (*jokyū*) 'welcomed and served the Seoulites of the night, while jazz was playing' (*jazu no naka de yoru no Keijōjin o mukaete sabisu shite iru*).⁶⁹⁸ There were also 217 restaurants owned by Japanese residents, and another 57 owned by Koreans.⁶⁹⁹

Contemporary commentaries by Koreans suggest that the consumer culture of 1930s Seoul depicted in *New edition guide to Great Seoul* was enjoyed not only by Japanese tourists and residents, but also by Koreans in the capital. For example, in a 1930 article in *Pyōlgŏn'gon*, entitled 'Modernism' (Modōnissŭm'on), a Korean commentator (pseudonym Imin Saeng) wrote about 'the

established by Japanese settlers in 1904 and 1905 respectively, turned their businesses into corporations (*kabushiki kaisha*) in the early 1920s. They both extended their buildings in Seoul in 1929, and renamed themselves as department stores (*hyakkaten*). Son Chōng-suk, 'Ilche sigi paek'wajōm kwa ilsang sobi munhwa' [Department stores and the everyday consumer culture under the Japanese Rule], *Tongyang kojōn yōn'gu* 25 (2006), 243-244.

⁶⁹⁴ After a fierce competition between the two, in 1932 Tonga was bought by Pak Hŭng-sik and merged into Hwasin. *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁵ Yano Kanjō and Morikawa Kiyohito, *Shinpan Dai Keijō annai* [New edition guide to Great Seoul] (Seoul: Keijō toshi bunka kenkyūjo, 1936), 192.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

modern' (*modŏn*) in colonial Korea.⁷⁰⁰ Imin Saeng observed that symbols of modern and capitalist consumerism such as talkie films, radios, taxis, short skirts, flared trousers, jazz, and bars were 'plentiful' (*nŏngnŏk hada*) in Korea, enjoyed by 'modern girls' and 'modern boys' of the colonised Korean population.⁷⁰¹ The poet Kim Yŏng-jin (pseudonym Chŏngnasanin, 1899-1981), writing in the literary magazine *Sinmin* (New people) in 1930, more explicitly related 'the modern' in colonial Korea to life in the commercialised centres of Seoul:

Where is the modern life (*modŏn saenghwal*)? [...] In the end it is a production of the city. [...] In terms of Seoul, it is a life lived on the roads of Chongno or Chin'gogae, or on chairs in cafés, restaurants, cinemas, concert [halls]. [...] Modern life [...] is a product of a monster called the modern metropolis (*kŭndaejŏk taedosi ranŭn koemul ũi sosan*).⁷⁰²

Although Imin Saeng and Kim Yŏng-jin remained critical of the phenomenon of 'the modern', their writing acknowledged the existence of, as the former writer put it, a 'one-sidedly consumerist' (*sobi ilmyŏnjŏk*) modernity in colonial Korea.⁷⁰³

Historians have also convincingly argued that, from the late 1920s, modernity in colonial Korea increasingly became a matter of urban and capitalist consumption.⁷⁰⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 1, historian Pak Ch'an-sŭng has shown that Korean economic and cultural self-strengthening movements started to lose momentum as early as the mid-1920s, as their proponents realised the fundamental limitations of progress under colonial rule and the improbability of political independence.⁷⁰⁵ In his groundbreaking work on everyday modernities in colonial Korea, art historian Kim Chin-song has demonstrated that 'reform' (*kaejo*) and 'culture' (*munhwa*), ideas that had been

⁷⁰⁰ Imin Saeng [pseud.], 'Modŏnissŭm' [Modernism], *Pyŏlgŏn'gon*, January 1930.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁷⁰² Chŏngnasanin [pseud.], 'Modŏn suje' [Topics on the modern], *Sinmin*, July 1930, cited in Kim Chin-song, *Sŏul e ttansŭhol ũl hŏhara*, 330-333.

⁷⁰³ Imin Saeng [pseud.], 'Modŏnissŭm', 140.

⁷⁰⁴ Consumerism in 1930s colonial Korea has been studied in various disciplines, such as art history, literary studies, social history, and gender studies. See, for example, Kim Chin-song, *Sŏul e ttansŭhol ũl hŏhara*; Kim Kyŏng-il, 'Sŏul ũi sobi munhwa wa sin yŏsŏng: 1920-1930-yŏndae rŭl chungsim ũro' [Urban consumption culture and the new women in Seoul during the 1920-1930s], *Sŏurhak yŏn'gu*, no. 19 (2002); Se-Mi Oh, 'Consuming the Modern: The Everyday in Colonial Seoul, 1915-1937' (PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2008); Sŏ Chi-yŏng, 'Sobi hanŭn yŏsŏngdŭl: 1920-30-yŏndae Kyŏngsŏng kwa yongmang ũi kyŏngjehak' [Female consumers: Gyeongseong in 1920-30s and the economics of desire], *Han'guk yŏsŏnghak* 26, no. 1 (2010). See also, Jina E. Kim, *Urban Modernity in Colonial Korea and Taiwan* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

⁷⁰⁵ Pak Ch'an-sŭng, *Han'guk kŭndae chŏngch'i sasangsa yŏn'gu*, 379.

advocated by Korean nationalist literati and that had dominated nationalist discourse in the Korean press until the mid-1920s, gradually became obsolete thereafter.⁷⁰⁶ By meticulously tracing the development of imagery and writing in Korean popular magazines and newspapers, Kim suggests that from the 1930s, ‘modern’ (*modŏn*), a term free from the burden of ‘self-strengthening’ and national progress, represented a consumption-oriented modernity experienced among Korean urbanites.⁷⁰⁷ Literary historian Sŏ Chi-yŏng has also pointedly emphasised the consumption-oriented aspect of ‘the modern’ in 1930s colonial Korea.⁷⁰⁸ She suggests that through their everyday consumption, 1930s Koreans increasingly adopted the ‘capitalist mechanism that controls and reproduces desires through the mediation of commodities’, instead of earlier nationalist ideologies.⁷⁰⁹

In sum, with the continuing colonial rule leaving little room to anticipate political independence, from the 1930s modernity in colonial Korea was increasingly expressed in the everyday life and consumption of urbanites, rather than discussed as a nationalist project or ideal. This version of modernity was particularly visible in the urban centre of Seoul, where modern spaces (department stores, theatres, cinemas, and cafés) and commodities (Western-style fashion and food, cosmetics, and records) were gradually and increasingly available to Koreans.⁷¹⁰

3.3.2. Visual representations of consumerism

Print advertising was a medium that epitomised the urban and consumerist modernity of 1930s colonial Korea. Advertisements for conspicuously modern commodities, such as cosmetics, fashion (department stores), films, and records, were not the majority in terms of quantity. For example, in 1933 the *TI* published a total of 452,292 lines (*gyŏ*) of advertisements that originated within Korea; of these, cosmetics (6,750), clothing (13,712), and entertainment (41,855) occupied a smaller proportion than pharmaceuticals (113,787) and publications (72,253), more conventional subjects of advertising and arguably less fashionable products in terms of representing the urban

⁷⁰⁶ Kim Chin-song, *Sŏul e ttansŭhol ūl hŏhara*.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷⁰⁸ Sŏ Chi-yŏng, 'Sobi hanŭn yŏsŏngdŭl: 1920-30-yŏndae Kyŏngsŏng kwa yongmang ūi kyŏngjehak'.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 137-138.

⁷¹⁰ Mok Su-hyŏn, "'Namch'on" munhwa: Singminji munhwa ūi hŭnjŏk' ['Namch'on' culture: Traces of colonial culture], in *Sŏul Namch'on: Sigan, changso, saram*, ed. Sŏul Sirip Taehakkyo Pusŏl Sŏurhak Yŏn'guso (Seoul: Sŏul Sirip Taehakkyo Pusŏl Sŏurhak Yŏn'guso, 2003).

consumerism of the 1930s.⁷¹¹ But despite the smaller scale, the advertisements for cosmetics, clothing, and entertainment attest to the fact that the advertised products and services were sold in colonial Korea in the 1930s. And more importantly, those advertisements also contributed to the visualisation of the particular consumerist modernity of 1930s Korea, by exemplifying and spreading styles of modernist design.



Figure 112. Newspaper advertisement for Tansöngsa. *TI*, 5 January 1930, 1.

As I have discussed in section 3.2., design letters were the typographical vocabulary that visualised and represented the cinema, one of the most conspicuous symbols of modern consumption culture in 1930s Korea.⁷¹² The Korean cinemas, after establishing a typical advertisement layout that incorporated design letters as a key component in the mid-1920s, further diversified the visual expression in their advertisements based on the malleable typographical vocabulary in the 1930s. For example, a 1930 newspaper advertisement by Tansöngsa featured various design letters for different texts (Figure 112). Letters with strong visual character were combined with pictorial elements such as decorative geometric patterns, musical notes, and an illustration of a beach. These visual components, on a background with ample blank space, contributed to the more image-focused layout of the advertisement.



Figure 113. Newspaper advertisement for Tansöngsa. *TI*, 15 June 1935, 1.

⁷¹¹ Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, *Shinbun sōran* [Newspaper survey] (Tokyo: Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, 1933), 172.

⁷¹² Kim Kyōng-il, 'Sōul ūi sobi munhwa wa sin yōsōng: 1920-1930-yōndae rŭl chungsim ūro', 237.

Throughout the 1930s, Tansöngsa repeated and developed this style of more pictorial advertising design. Compared to the cinema's advertisements from the 1920s, its 1935 advertisement was significantly more visual (Figure 113). It featured a wave of score lines and musical notes across the background, bold and irregularly proportioned texts of different sizes and weights, and illustrations of silhouetted figures dancing. Although the composition was more complex than the earlier programme-type ads, it arguably created a more impactful imagery, with distinctive letterforms and simple illustrations laid out organically. In sum, the design was image-centred, evocative, and simple; it arguably conformed to modernist design in the 1930s context, in that it resonated more with what many advertising professionals in Japan and Europe had theorised as modern and effective advertising design since the 1920s.

Alongside or following the Korean cinemas, many other Korean advertisers adopted this modernist approach to their advertising design, which included design letters and more pictorial compositions.⁷¹³ The advertisements for the Western-style shoe retailer Pak Tög-yu Yangwajöm provide a clear example. From 1915 until 1929, the retailer had used the same *kodik*-style woodblock letters in its advertisements as a logotype (Figure 114); but a May 1929 advertisement for its 'white oxford' (*paek tanhwa*) featured rectangular-framed design letters with diamond-shaped flourishes (Figure 115). The visual composition was also more concise, with a simple illustration at the top. Meanwhile, the Korean cosmetics company Samho showed a similar shift in its March and May 1932 ads, in that design letters were adopted for the first time (Figure 116, Figure 117). In accord with the change to a more visual typographical style, the May 1932 advertisement featured illustrations and geometric and abstract decorative motifs; as in the aforementioned 1930s advertisements by Tansöngsa, these decorative components contributed to a more pictorial, and possibly modern, layout of the advertisement.

⁷¹³ In her study of magazine covers in colonial Korea, visual culture historian Sö Yu-ri has shown that the best-selling women's magazine *Sin yösöng* (New woman) started to feature design letters for its covers from 1925. Sö has convincingly shown that this typographical change accorded with a shift in the magazine's editorial tone: around 1925 the magazine changed its focus of representation from the 'introspective female student' to the 'avant-garde', 'free', and 'decadent' urban woman. From 1931, the magazine further sought to represent a 'cosmopolitan modern girl'. It erased any trace of 'the Korean woman' from its covers, and featured women in Western-style dress and hairstyles drawn in an art-deco-inspired style. Sö has characterised this style as 'connected to the modern design of the Japanese urban'. Sö Yu-ri, 'Han'guk kündae üi chapchi p'yoji imiji yön'gu', 93-111.



Figure 114. Newspaper advertisements for Pak Tög-yu Yangwajörm from 1915 (left) and 1929 (right). *Maeil sinbo*, 6 February 1915, 2; *TJ*, 15 March 1929, 3.



Figure 115. Newspaper advertisements for Pak Tög-yu Yangwajörm from 1929. *TJ*, 15 May 1929, 2.

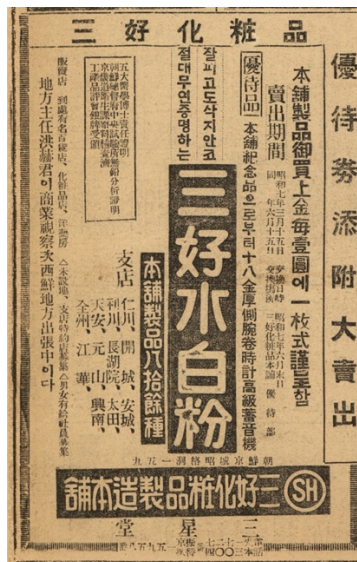


Figure 116. Newspaper advertisements for Samho Cosmetics. *TJ*, 25 March 1932, 7.



Figure 117. Newspaper advertisements for Samho Cosmetics. *TI*, 25 May 1932, 7.



Figure 118. Newspaper advertisements for Hwasin from 1929. *TI*, 19 April 1929, 3.

Another notable case that exemplifies the adoption of design letters and modernist advertising design in Korean print advertisements is the department store Hwasin. As I discussed in section 3.3.1., department stores, along with cinemas, were the epitome of the urban and modern lifestyle of 1930s colonial Korea. But before Hwasin became a department store, its advertisements looked much like the typical style of advertisements by small Korean retailers discussed in Chapter 1: a 1929 advertisement in the *TI* featured a descriptive photo of the storefront, packed with movable type texts that publicised the store's spring sale (Figure 118).

After Pak Hŭng-sik expanded Hwasin into a stock corporation and department store in 1931, its advertising design changed as well. An advertisement published in late 1931, although mostly in text, presented a sense of modern taste by using design letters for the headline text (Figure 119). By 1934, Hwasin's advertising design became more intricate and sophisticated. A March 1934 advertisement featured various design letters, a simple illustration of children that visualised a sale event ('back-to-school'), and illustrations that decorated the frame of the advertisement (Figure 120).

An April 1934 advertisement was moderate in terms of typographical diversity, but the style of illustration was notably modern: the faces of the figures were silhouetted, their garments were drawn with outlines, and the half-tone shades were nuanced, which kept the composition simple (Figure 121). The illustration was also evocative, in that it presented a scene of a modern gentleman rather than the specifics of the store's offerings. Hwasin's advertising, by the mid-1930s, celebrated its modern business establishment with a visual language of modernist advertising.

十一月二十五日
十一月三十日
深刻緊縮時代的

均一特價品大會

合理的打開策
全店商品一齊減價斷行!!

五錢均一品
十錢均一品
二十錢均一品

和信商會 株式會社

Figure 119. Newspaper advertisement for Hwasin. *TJ*, 25 November 1931, 7.

五層畫冊
和信
代換電話 二六八〇

新本畫籍三萬冊
新品優良書籍若干餘種...定價以下至期限中特賣...
京·城·鐵·路
文·學·繪·畫·工·藝·時·尚
書·寫·川·物·三·堂·堂·店

新學期用品
紀念品 展覽品 學生用品
一覽 贈品 贈品 贈品 贈品
學生用實用用品 電氣用品 各種
各種本立(學生) 運動用品
學生用水筒(學生) 學生用品
學生用品(學生) 學生用品
學生用品(學生) 學生用品

新春流行百貨大賣出!
新鮮味十足 最新製造品 全店
潤滑 引具 備有 工特價 提供
◇ 折 帳 子
◇ 中 折 帳 子
◇ 瓦 伊 伊
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Figure 120. Newspaper advertisement for Hwasin. *TJ*, 21 March 1934, 3.



Figure 121. Newspaper advertisement for Hwasin. *Ti*, 7 April 1934, 3.

In this section, I have shown that from the 1930s, Korean advertisers increasingly published newspaper advertisements that looked modern: they adopted more pictorial, simple, and evocative compositions. In this process, a technical shift towards image-based design and a typographical influence from Japanese design, observed in the late 1920s, contributed to later stylistic changes (discussed in section 3.1.). In relation to this, the Tong Ilbo Company's platemaking capacity expanded significantly between 1925 and 1929.⁷¹⁴ The newspaper company's improved platemaking facilities may reflect, and may have stimulated, a growth in demand among Korea-based (as well as Japan-based) advertisers for more pictorial advertising design, or what they thought of as modern advertising design.

Hyŏn Hi-un and An Sŏk-chu experimented with what they considered to be modern advertising design in *Sanggong segye* in 1923, which I discussed in Chapter 1. About a decade later, what the editors of the magazine may have thought of as modern Korean businesses, such as Kyŏngbang, Tansŏngsa, Chosŏn Kŭkchang, and Hwasin, presented designs such as these in their advertisements more widely. In other words, the deferred project of modern Korean advertising,

⁷¹⁴ In 1925, the Tong Ilbo Comapny had one type-casting machine, one stereotype casting machine, and one photoengraving machine; by 1929, it operated three type-casting machines, two stereotype casting machines, two stereotype finishing machines, one copy machine, and two photoengraving machines. Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, *Shinbun sōran*, 310; Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, *Shinbun sōran* [Newspaper survey] (Tokyo: Nihon Denpō Tsūshinsha, 1929), 503. The newspaper company's platemaking capacity was probably improved along with the construction of its new building in 1927. *Tonga ilbo*, 30 July 1927, 2-3.

envisioned by some Korean cultural nationalists in the early 1920s, was realised more vividly in colonial Korea by the 1930s.

But this trajectory of modern Korean advertising in the late 1920s and the 1930s was probably different from what cultural nationalists had imagined earlier, in that it was not necessarily achieved with the cultural and economic ‘self-strengthening’ of the Koreans. Instead, modern-looking Korean advertisements increased as the general social focus regarding modernity shifted from Korean nationalist development to urban consumerism, without the political burdens of the earlier development. Meanwhile, as discussed in Chapter 2, what I have described as Japanese imperial brands, along with their market expansion, were crucial agents in propagating simple, image-centred, evocative styles of advertising in the Korean press. The popularisation of design letters in Korean advertisements was one sign of modern advertising, but it was also (since design letters were a Japanese typographical vocabulary) a sign that the colonial relationship between Korea and Japan shaped the appearance of modern Korean advertising. In the next section, I will discuss further how the seemingly modern advertisements in Korea may have embedded economic and industrial colonial structures.

3.4. Displayed modernity

In this section, I argue that the sophisticated images and design letters, and the more pictorial layouts of 1930s Korean advertisements, constituted an imagery of a ‘displayed’ modernity. By ‘displayed’, I mean that modernity was certainly presented and visible, but may have been only superficially visible. The modernist poet and literary critic Kim Ki-rim (1908-?) wrote in 1940 on modernity in colonial Korea:

Korean society [...] after all, has not been able to develop a system of production (*saengsan chojik*) to a modern scale and mode. Highly advanced modern production technologies (*kodo ro paldal toen saengsan ūi kŭndaejŏk kisul*) have been known to us only as myths and anecdotes. In contrast, in terms of consumption, all modern stimulations, almost without exception, are spreading into everyday life. In other words, **for us, ‘modernity’ (*kŭndae*) is in fact only fragmentarily displayed (*tanp’yŏnjŏk ūro chinyŏl*)** as in a ‘show-window’, in terms of the consuming city and the consuming life.⁷¹⁵ [emphasis added]

⁷¹⁵ Kim Ki-rim, ‘Uri sinmunhak kwa kŭndae ūisik’ [Our new literature and modern consciousness], *Inmun p’yŏngnon*, October 1940, cited in Kim Ki-rim, *Kim Ki-rim chŏnjip* [Complete works of Kim Ki-rim] (Seoul: Simsŏltang, 1988), 47-48. In his study of the writer-artist Yi Sang, design historian and theorist Min-Soo Kim [Kim Min-su] has also cited part of this passage to explain that Korean modernists at the

Kim claimed that modernity was ‘fragmentarily displayed’ in colonial Korea because modern consumption existed, but sufficient means of modern production did not. But I argue that modernity was displayed superficially in aspects of both consumption and production; there was a dissonance between the material affluence depicted on the page in advertisements and the actual financial deficiencies of consumers, and also a gap between the stylistic refinement of design and the limited local social and industrial systems to sustain the creation of the images themselves.

3.4.1. Consumption and production

Already, by the 1930s, Kim Ki-rim’s contemporaries were critiquing the emerging urban and consumerist modernity in Seoul as illusive. In the 1930 *Pyölgöngon* article discussed above, the critic Imin Saeng condemned ‘the modern’ in general as ‘hedonist’, ‘wasteful’, ‘lazy’, ‘pretentious’, ‘purposeless’.⁷¹⁶ But he/she noted that ‘the modern’ in Korea had another fundamental pitfall. In the subsection entitled ‘Korean modernism’ (Chosön ūi modönnissüm), Imin Saeng wrote:

Is there modernism in Korea? There is. [...] There was [is] the talkie, there are taxis, modern girls, and modern boys. There are short skirts, flared trousers, revue girls, jazz, radios, naked vocal solos (this is an original creation of the Korean modern world), bars, dances [...]. Isn’t this enough? It is enough. However, if the modernism of foreign countries is a morbid (*pyöngjöck*) one, **Korea’s is a deformed (*kihyöngjöck*) one.** [...] Whatever the phenomenon, in Korea, where **the fundamental conditions (*kich’o chogöñ*) to move things by itself is weak (*pinyak’an*),** movements caused by foreign tides are bigger. [...] Look how Korean modern boys and modern girls, compared to their foreign counterparts, have **rumbling stomachs (*paessogesö kkorürük nanün kö*).**⁷¹⁷ [emphasis added]

Imin Saeng did not specify what he/she meant by the ‘weak’ ‘fundamental conditions’ (*kich’o chogöñ*) of colonial Korea. But cynically noting that ‘modern boys and modern girls’ had ‘rumbling stomachs’, he/she metaphorically pointed out that the Koreans who were supposedly enjoying the commodities of modernity did not actually possess sufficient financial means to acquire them.

Discussions of colonial Korea’s conditions by historians contextualise Imin Saeng’s argument. One interpretation relates to the ethnic and geographical exceptionality of consumerist modernity in Korea. Historian Hō Yöng-nan argues that the experience of modernity among the

time like Yi Sang and Kim Ki-rim perceived modernity in Korea as incomplete. Kim Min-su, *Yi Sang p’yöngjöñ* [A critical biography of Yi Sang] (Seoul: Kūrinbi, 2012), 18.

⁷¹⁶ Imin Saeng [pseud.], ‘Modönnissüm’, 140.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.

Korean population in the 1930s, ‘mediated by show-windows of Seoul’s department stores’, cannot be directly linked to an improved level of consumption during the colonial period.⁷¹⁸ Hō suggests that this is because statistical estimates presented by economic historians (such as Chu Ik-chong, mentioned earlier) that indicate an increase in income per capita during the period does not sufficiently reflect ethnic and class inequalities in everyday life in colonial Korea. Hō contends that urban popular culture and modern commodities were enjoyed by only a fraction of the population on the Korean Peninsula, and remained ‘alien matters’ for the majority of Koreans who lived in rural areas (over 70 per cent) and for the urban poor.⁷¹⁹ Social historian Kim Kyōng-il also suggests that fashion and extravagant consumption among Korean women was an ‘exceptional phenomenon’ in Seoul and other major cities.⁷²⁰ In a similar vein, but regarding modern cultural commodities in particular, cultural historian Yu Sōn-yōng estimates that less than 10 per cent and 17 per cent of the Korean population was able to enjoy the cinema and theatre in the 1920s and 1930s respectively.⁷²¹

The exceptionality of modern consumption in Korea during the colonial period articulated by these historians supports my argument that modernity in colonial Korea was only displayed superficially, in that modern commodities were merely an illusion to a large part of the population. But considering that, in a capitalist society, the level of consumption is generally unequal and varies across social classes, unless we can specify the level of the exceptionality of modern consumption in colonial Korean society compared to other societies, it is difficult to confirm to what extent this exceptionality was colonial.⁷²²

In this regard, feminist historian Kim Su-jin’s articulation of an ‘excess of modernity’ (*kūndae ūi kwaing*) in the ‘new woman’ (*sin yōsōng*) discourse of colonial Korea is telling.⁷²³

⁷¹⁸ Hō Yōng-nan, 'Saenghwal sujun hyangsangnon pip'an' [A critique of the theory of improved standard of life], in *Ilbon ūi singminji chibae wa singminjijōk kūndae*, ed. Tongbuga Yōksa Chaedan (Seoul: Tongbuga Yōksa Chaedan, 2009), 305-312.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁷²⁰ Kim Kyōng-il, 'Sōul ūi sobi munhwa wa sin yōsōng: 1920-1930-yōndae rŭl chungsim ūro', 248.

⁷²¹ Yu Sōn-yōng, 'Kūndaejōk taejung ūi hyōngsōng kwa munhwa ūi chōnhwan', 77.

⁷²² Historian Andrew Gordon suggests that a reality gap also existed also in Japan in the 1920s, between the image of urban middle-class consumption depicted in the media and the actual scale of those who could enjoy such consumption. Andrew Gordon, 'Consumption, Leisure and the Middle Class in Transwar Japan', *Social Science Japan Journal* 10, no. 1 (2007), 4-6.

⁷²³ Kim Su-jin, *Sin yōsōng, kūndae ūi kwaing: Singminji Chosōn ūi sin yōsōng tamnon kwa chendō chōngch'i, 1920-1934*. See also, Hyaewol Choi, *New Women in Colonial Korea: A Sourcebook* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013). For discussions of modern consumption and the ‘new woman’ and ‘modern girl’ more globally, see Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in*

Through a meticulous examination of contemporary writing and statistical data, Kim demonstrates that the Korean new woman, as an educated and professional individual (students, workers in the modern service industries, and white-collar workers), was a very ‘visible entity’ (*kasijök chonjae*) in 1920s and 1930s Korea, especially in Seoul.⁷²⁴ But by comparing the formation of the new woman in Korea with that in other countries, like Britain, Japan, India, and China, in terms of educational and professional opportunity Kim compellingly shows that the number of modern females and their economic assets was significantly limited in colonial Korea. She argues that although the new woman was posited as the ‘consuming subject’ in contemporary popular magazines, even that minority of the colonial population lacked sufficient financial means to sustain consumption at a level depicted in those publications. Moreover, Kim identifies how the new woman discourse in Korea was not produced by Korean women, because Japanese publications dominated the Korean publishing market, and the few Korean magazines that were published locally, such as *Sin yösöng* (New woman), were headed by male Korean literati. She convincingly illustrates how multiple layers of colonial conditions contributed to an image of a colonial Korean new woman that was ‘stereotypical’, and more importantly, ‘irrelevant to reality or exaggerated’.⁷²⁵ In short, Kim’s idea of the ‘excess of modernity’ in the new woman discourse in Korea explains the exceptionality of modern consumption, and the gaps between image and reality in Korea more generally, as more saliently colonial phenomena.

My articulation of displayed modernity shares Kim Su-jin’s view but concerns urban and consumerist culture in 1930s Korea more generally, as well as the aspect of production. Another way to explain the ‘weak’ ‘fundamental conditions’ of colonial Korea may be in terms of production, as Kim Ki-rim noted in the above quote. Kim did not further explain his claim that Koreans did not develop modern, advanced production technologies, but historians have shown that production in colonial Korea, particularly by Koreans, was limited in terms of capital, production facilities, and technology.

Interwar Japan (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group et al., eds., *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

⁷²⁴ Kim Su-jin, *Sin yösöng, kündae üi kwaing: Singminji Chosön üi sin yösöng tamnon kwa chendö chöngch'i, 1920-1934*, 451-458.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, 458.

Table 4. Change of industrial production in Korea between 1926 and 1939 (unit: yen)⁷²⁶

	1926		1939	
Private-owned factory production	317,314,017	56.5%	1,435,725,082	75.7%
Japan-based Japanese capital	18,650,338	3.3%	413,393,139	21.8%
Korea-based Japanese capital	210,628,505	37.5%	642,024,460	33.9%
Korea-based Korean capital	83,197,357	14.8%	380,307,483	20.1%
State-owned production	48,534,300	8.6%	77,936,425	4.1%
Manual labour production	195,503,045	34.8%	382,349,998	20.2%
Korean	190,090,482	33.9%	323,834,756	17.1%
Japanese	5,412,563	1.0%	57,687,303	3.0%
Total industrial production	561,351,362	100.0%	1,896,011,505	100.0%

Table 5. Estimation of total industrial capital in Korea in 1941 by Hō Su-yōl (unit: yen)⁷²⁷

	Japanese	Korean	Total
Industrial corporation	2,049,241	102,462	2,151,703
Private factory	97,311	97,311	194,622
Total	2,146,552	199,773	2,346,325
Proportion	91.5%	8.5%	100.0%

Economic historian Hō Su-yōl offers an extensive account of the limitations of Korean-owned production in colonial Korea.⁷²⁸ According to his estimate, through privately owned factory production, or what Kim Ki-rim may have thought as the modern ‘system of production’, Korean-owned capital generated only 14.8 and 20.1 per cent of the total production in Korea in 1926 and 1939 respectively, whereas Japanese-owned capital produced 40.8 and 55.7 per cent (Table 4). More significantly, while the proportion of Korean capital rose from 14.8 to 20.1 per cent during the period, that of Japan-based Japanese capital rose more than six-fold, from 3.3 to 21.8 per cent. These statistics suggest that modern industrial production in colonial Korea was largely led by Japanese capital, and its further development was particularly facilitated by investment from Japan. In terms of capital ownership, in 1941 91.5 per cent of total industrial capital in Korea was owned by Japanese, whereas only 8.5 per cent was owned by Koreans (Table 5). Hō acknowledges that ‘a significant level of [economic] development’ took place in Korea during the colonial period; but he argues that from the

⁷²⁶ Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Tōkei nenpō*; Keijō Shōkō Kaigijō, *Chōsen no Kōgyōgaku to shuyō kōjōhyō*, 1927; Chōsen Sōtokufu, *1939-nendo kanai kōgyō seisangaku*. Cited in Hō Su-yōl, *Kaebal ōmnūn kaebal: Ilche ha, Chosōn kyōngje kaebal ūi hyōnsang kwa ponjil* [Development without development: The phenomenon and nature of economic development in Korea under Japanese colonial rule] (Seoul: Ūnhaeng Namu, 2005), 167.

⁷²⁷ Source: Keijō Shōkō Kaigijō, *Chōsen ni okeru naichi shihon no tōka genjō*, 1944; Supreme Commander for Allied Powers, *Japanese External Assets as of August 1945*, 1948. Cited Hō Su-yōl, *Kaebal ōmnūn kaebal*, 171.

⁷²⁸ Hō Su-yōl, *Kaebal ōmnūn kaebal: Ilche ha, Chosōn kyōngje kaebal ūi hyōnsang kwa ponjil*.

above estimates, in addition to factors such as wages, promotion, education, and production technology, that it was ‘development without development’; ‘of the Japanese, by the Japanese, for the Japanese’.⁷²⁹

It is beyond the scope or capacity of this thesis to quantify the ethnic inequality of economic growth in colonial Korea as a whole. But economic historian Kim Nang-nyŏn, who criticises Hŏ’s argument that unequal industrial development led to the deterioration of Korean life in general, nevertheless acknowledges Hŏ’s estimates regarding ethnically differentiated industrialisation in Korea as valid.⁷³⁰ Hence it seems very possible that Korean agents of commerce and industry were generally in a vulnerable position in terms of capital and technology during the colonial period.

Historians have also conducted more specific case studies regarding the Korean business bodies discussed in this chapter (Kyŏngbang and the Korean cinemas) and their limited means of production compared to their Japanese counterparts.

As I have discussed in section 3.1., Kyŏngbang was one of the most successful Korean-owned businesses, and an active advertiser throughout the colonial period. In the mid-1920s, earlier than most Korean companies, it managed to hire a prominent external advertising expert to produce image-based advertising designs that featured design letters. The commission was probably related to the company’s improved profit at the time, as in 1925 Kyŏngbang made a profit for the first time since its establishment in 1919.⁷³¹

Economic historian Carter J. Eckert has tellingly shown that Kyŏngbang relied on Japanese capital and technology throughout the colonial period.⁷³² The company’s early growth in the 1920s was particularly colonial, in that Kyŏngbang was a major beneficiary of the Government-General’s policies to selectively promote Korean businesses that would contribute to stabilising Japanese rule, in the form of subsidies and special loans.⁷³³ Moreover, Kyŏngbang relied heavily on Japanese technology to make its products, in terms of both the actual machinery and the technological expertise to operate and maintain them. Until 1936, Kyŏngbang was unable to produce cotton yarn, and therefore imported Japanese yarn from the Dai Nippon Spinning Company (until 1936) to produce

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 333-334.

⁷³⁰ Kim Nang-nyŏn, '(Sŏpyŏng) Kaebal ōmnŭn kaebal, Hŏ Su-yŏl chŏ' [(Book review) *Kaebal ōmnŭn kaebal* by Hŏ Su-yŏl], *Kyŏngje sahak* 38 (2005), 218.

⁷³¹ Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876-1945*, 84.

⁷³² Ibid.

⁷³³ Ibid., 69-102.

cotton cloth.⁷³⁴ It also depended on Japanese suppliers such as Toyoda for its machinery and equipment, from power looms to parts as small as bobbins.⁷³⁵ Regarding this technological reliance on Japan, a Korean commentator wrote in *Pyŏlgŏn'gon* in 1930 that the fact that Kyŏngbang was unable to produce cotton yarn indicated that 'there is no industry in Korea that may be called modern industry'.⁷³⁶

Specific design decisions were probably made by commissioned advertising experts rather than Kyŏngbang itself, but there seems to be a pattern of overall reliance on Japanese capital and technology in Kyŏngbang's operation. As discussed earlier, Kyŏngbang's advertisements in the mid-1920s promoted a 'made in Korea' identity, but the typographical vocabulary (design letters) to deliver that message was often of Japanese origin, like the technologies used to produce its goods.

Chosŏn Kŭkchang and Tansŏngsa, key agents in the introduction and spread of design letters, had their own limitations as Korean-owned cinemas. In his comparative study of cinema cultures in Seoul and Tokyo in the 1920s and 1930s, cinema historian Chŏng Ch'ung-sil has compellingly argued that Korean cinemas were not sufficiently 'modern'.⁷³⁷ Chŏng suggests that what contemporary Koreans thought of as 'modern' cinemas were pioneering Japanese cinemas such as Hibiya Eiga Gekijō, Nihon Gekijō, and Teikoku Gekijō; these were established in the 1930s in the Marunouchi area of Tokyo. These cinemas were run by or affiliated with major Japanese film production and distribution companies like Tōhō and Shōchiku; their buildings were large-scale steel-frame structures with more than a thousand seats; they had advanced facilities such as individually divided seats, heating and cooling, and sophisticated customer service that improved the viewing experience. Chŏng demonstrates that in contrast, until the early 1930s cinemas in Seoul (both Japanese- and Korean-owned) were small-scale and had old structures (most notably open-floor tatami seating and toilets within the screening room), and unsophisticated service (for example, selling snacks during the screening). They were mocked in contemporary Korean newspapers and magazines as 'motion [picture] huts' (*hwaldong sook*).⁷³⁸

⁷³⁴ Ibid., 130-131.

⁷³⁵ Ibid., 146-147.

⁷³⁶ 'Chosŏn ūn ōde ro kana' [Where is Korea headed?], *Pyŏlgŏn'gon*, October 1930, 17.

⁷³⁷ Chŏng Ch'ung-sil, '1920-30-yŏndae Tok'yo wa Kyŏngsŏng ūi yŏnghwagwan kwa yŏnghwa munhwa' [Cinemas and the cinema culture of Tokyo and Seoul in the 1920s and 1930s], *Tonga yŏn'gu* 65 (2013), 350-365.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., 361.

‘Modern’ cinemas like Meijiza and Wakakusa Gekijō were built in Seoul in 1936, modelled on the Marunouchi cinemas; but they were located in the Japanese Honmachi area and run by the Japanese film enterprises Shōchiku and Tōhō respectively.⁷³⁹ The leading Korean-owned cinema, Tansōngsa, had been renovated in 1934 with an increased number of seats and new facilities, but it still failed to fully satisfy Seoul’s increasingly sophisticated Korean viewers of the 1930s.⁷⁴⁰ In 1937, although Tansōngsa advertised itself as a ‘high-class permanent theatre’ (*kogŭp yŏnghwa sangsŏlgwan*),⁷⁴¹ a commentator complained in the *TI* that it had unsophisticated facilities and service compared to its Japanese competitor Wakakusa Gekijō, and called for ‘an ambiance (*punwigi*) that can make us happy, sad, or contemplative’.⁷⁴² While the Korean cinemas’ ads, with the adoption of design letters, may have looked modern and stylistically equal to those of leading cinemas in Japan, the level of film-watching experience they were able to produce fell short of that of their Japanese counterparts.

To sum up, in the 1930s, advertisements by some Korean companies presented imagery showing modern commodities and consumption on the pages of newspapers, in styles that resonated with modernist design in Japan and more globally; but industrial production in Korea was largely operated and owned by Japanese, either in Korea or Japan. More importantly, despite adopting visual and stylistic languages comparable to those of Japanese imperial brands, Korean companies, some of which were the most advanced in their field, were often reliant on Japanese capital and technology, or were unable to provide products and services that were comparable with those of their Japanese counterparts. While advertising images may be illusive in general, the gap between image and reality was arguably broader and more multi-layered in 1930s colonial Korea.

3.4.2. Knowledge production in advertising

Another aspect of displayed modernity in colonial Korea concerns the production of knowledge and information about advertising. The seemingly sophisticated images of 1920s and 1930s Korean advertising not only outshone the limited consumption of Korean urbanites and the underdeveloped production technologies in colonial Korea, but its design changes, comparable to

⁷³⁹ Ibid., 363-364.

⁷⁴⁰ 'Tansōngsa kaech'uk' [Renovation of Tansōngsa], *Tonga ilbo*, 11 May 1934; Chŏng Ch'ung-sil, '1920-30-yŏndae Tok'yo wa Kyōngsŏng ūi yŏnghwagwan kwa yŏnghwa munhwa', 366.

⁷⁴¹ *TI*, 4 June 1937, p. 2.

⁷⁴² 'Pukch'on yŏnghwa kyŏngyŏngja ege irŏn' [A word for the manager of the Pukch'on cinema], *Tonga ilbo*, 11 July 1937.

those in Japan, obscured a lack of supporting structure for the images themselves. Despite an extensive examination of advertising-related writing in newspapers and magazines from the colonial period, I have been able to find little trace of an organised system of advertising design in terms of the production of knowledge and information, or of education and professionalisation within the field. I will discuss the former in this section, and the latter in the next chapter in detail.

Advertising historians have articulated that one of the instrumental factors in the design changes in Korean advertising in the 1930s was increased theoretical knowledge.⁷⁴³ I have also been able to find and examine a larger amount of Korean-language writing on advertising and commercial art published in daily newspapers and popular magazines from the 1930s than from the 1920s. Apart from these sporadic writings in periodicals, however, no example has been discovered of a dedicated book on advertising in Korean from the colonial period.⁷⁴⁴

It is impossible to discuss each text comprehensively here, but reflecting their sporadic appearance in general rather than on specialised periodicals, the scope and extent of Korean-language writing on advertising was generally limited in terms of scrutinising the production of advertisements. For example, in 1932 a lengthy treatise on commercial art, entitled 'Commerce-industry and art' (*Sanggongöp kwa misul*), was published as a fifteen-part series in the *TI*, written by the artist and critic Sim Yöng-söp (active 1920s-1930s).⁷⁴⁵ Sim asserted that what he called 'commercial-industrial art' (*sanggong misul*), an 'application of pure art' (*sunjöng misul üi üngyong*), would improve the 'commercial-industrial social lifestyle of the modern [time]' (*hyöndae üi sanggongöpchök sahoe saenghwal*).⁷⁴⁶ The series was published soon after the Korean department stores Hwasin and Tonga were established (in 1931), and Sim focused on critiquing the interiors and product display of these

⁷⁴³ See, for example, Sin In-söp and Sö Pöm-sök, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 157; Kwön Ch'ang-gyu, 'Kündae munhwa chabon üi t'aedong kwa sobi chuch'e üi hyöngsöng' [Appearance of modern cultural capital and its consumptive subjects in colonial Korea] (PhD thesis, Yonsei University, 2011), 60.

⁷⁴⁴ Advertising historians Sin In-söp and Sö Pöm-sök also contend that they have not been able to discover a Korean-language book on advertising from the colonial period. Sin In-söp and Sö Pöm-sök, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 169.

⁷⁴⁵ Sim Yöng-söp, 'Sanggongöp kwa misul' [Commerce-industry and art], *Tonga ilbo*, 9 August 1932, 7. The series was published on 27, 29 July, and 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24 August. Sim is best known in Korean art history for his theory of 'Asianism' (*Aseajuüi*) in art, which argued for anti-civilisation, anti-modern, and apolitical purity in art. Sim and a cohort of critics that emphasised subjective, aesthetic, and expressive art had heated debates with left-wing artists emphasising the social role of art, such as An Sök-chu and Kim Pok-chin, in the late 1920s. For Sim's idea of Asianism, see Kim Hyön-suk, 'Sim Yöng-söp üi "Aseajuüi misullon"' [A study on Sim Yeong-seop's fine arts theory of Asianism], *Misulsa nondan* 23 (2006).

⁷⁴⁶ Sim Yöng-söp, 'Sanggongöp kwa misul', *Tonga ilbo*, 9 August 1932, 7.

establishments.⁷⁴⁷ Sim suggested that owners of the Korean department stores should learn from Shirokiya, the Tokyo department store that had been renovated in 1931; he thought that it was ‘the most ideal model’ (*kajang isangjök chŏnhyŏng*) of ‘the modern department store’, in terms of ‘cutting edge management’ (*ch’oesinsik kyŏngyŏng pangbŏp*) and ‘creative design and decoration’ (*ch’angŭi toan changsik*).⁷⁴⁸ Sim’s article shows that Korean advertising experts continued to posit Japan as a model for commercial art practice in general in the 1930s, but does not offer specific guidelines or explanations for the production of advertisements.⁷⁴⁹

Han Sŭng-in (1903-1990), managing director at the Hwasin department store, also wrote a series of articles in the *TI* in 1933 entitled ‘Advertising and the purchasing motives of consumers’ (*Kwanggo wa sobija kumae tonggi*).⁷⁵⁰ Han was a businessman specialising in marketing, and the focus of the series was on analysing various motivations for consumption and explaining how to use them to improve sales. Accordingly, suggestions for advertising production remained vague; Han simply noted that ‘layout’ (*ch’eje*) and ‘copy’ (*mun’gu*) should ‘change from time to time’, and that ‘which form (*moyang*) of advertising brought best results’ should be ‘surveyed’ (*ch’osa*).⁷⁵¹ The lack of detailed discussion on advertising in the series was probably related to Han’s role as a manager of marketing rather than as a designer or copywriter, but it also may indicate that advertising design was not a topic that was scrutinised in depth in the Korean advertising industry more generally.

A more specific discussion of print advertisements was presented in a three-part article about advertising leaflets entitled ‘A study of advertising and publicity by industries and retailers, especially regarding leaflets’ (*Sanŏp, somae sangjŏm ŭi, kwanggo sŏnjŏn ŭi koch'al, t’ŭk’i ‘ppira’ e kwanhayŏ*),

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁹ I have not been able to find evidence to suggest that Sim participated in actual commercial art work, apart from studying it to write the article. Sim’s lack of experience as a practitioner may explain the lack of sufficient practical guides in the article.

⁷⁵⁰ Han Sŭng-in, 'Kwanggo wa sobija kumae tonggi' [Advertising and the purchasing motives of consumers], *Tonga ilbo*, 17 December 1933, 5. The series was published on 19, 22, 23 December. Han Sŭng-in was a businessman, a graduate of Meiji University in Japan and Columbia University in the United States, who wrote numerous articles on business and marketing in the *TI* and other popular magazines. 'Han Sŭng-in kun tomi,' [Mister Han Sŭng-in heads to the United States], *Tonga ilbo*, 19 September 1926, 2; 'Hagwi rŭl ŏdŭn miguk yuhaksaengdŭl' [Students in the United States receive their degrees], *Tonga ilbo*, 3 December 1931, 5.

⁷⁵¹ Han Sŭng-in, 'Kwanggo wa sobija kumae tonggi', *Tonga ilbo*, 17 December 1933, 5.

published in the *Chosŏn chungang ilbo* in 1936.⁷⁵² It was written by Kim Ha-bong (active 1930s), a designer who worked as ‘manager of decoration’ (*changshikpu chuim*) at the Minakai department store in Seoul around 1935.⁷⁵³ Although the article did not focus on newspaper ads, Kim articulated three ‘essential conditions’ for good leaflet (*ppira*, deriving from the Japanese term *bira*) design: drawing attention and inspiring curiosity (*hogisim*), presenting original taste (*ch'wihyang*) for memorability, and attaching practical information to ensure that people kept the leaflet.⁷⁵⁴ Kim’s article is significant in that it was written by a designer who produced actual commercial art work; but although it contained some direct instructions for design, the theorisation and exemplification of advertising production remained vague.

Among Korean-language writings on advertising from the colonial period, one that differs from the above examples in terms of specificity and depth is a series of fourteen articles published in the *Chosŏn ilbo* in 1932, entitled ‘A commentary on general knowledge about advertising’ (Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesŏl).⁷⁵⁵ Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk have commented on this series as ‘the most voluminous, comprehensive, practical, and at the same time specialised’ Korean-language writing on advertising before 1945.⁷⁵⁶ Others have evaluated the series similarly: cultural historian Kwŏn Ch'ang-gyu refers to it as ‘a striking discussion’ which demonstrates ‘an application of

⁷⁵² Kim Ha-bong, 'Sanŏp, somae sangjŏm ũi, kwanggo sŏnjŏn ũi koch'al, t'ŭk'i 'ppira' e kwanhayŏ (sang)' [A study of advertising and publicity by industries and retailers, especially regarding leaflets (1)], *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, 2 June 1936, 4; Kim Ha-bong, 'Sanŏp, somae sangjŏm ũi, kwanggo sŏnjŏn ũi koch'al, t'ŭk'i 'ppira' e kwanhayŏ (chung)' [A study of advertising and publicity by industries and retailers, especially regarding leaflets (2)], *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, 3 June 1936, 4; Kim Ha-bong, 'Sanŏp, somae sangjŏm ũi, kwanggo sŏnjŏn ũi koch'al, t'ŭk'i 'ppira' e kwanhayŏ (ha)' [A study of advertising and publicity by industries and retailers, especially regarding leaflets (3)], *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, 4 June 1936, 4.

⁷⁵³ According to a newspaper report, in 1935, Kim Ha-bong worked at Minakai, but was arrested by the police for stealing a fox fur muffler from his workplace. 'Ŭnho moktori humch'in pŏmin ũn changsik chuim' [The culprit who stole the silver fox fur muffler is a manager of decoration], *Tonga ilbo*, 27 November 1935, 2.

⁷⁵⁴ Kim Ha-bong, 'Sanŏp, somae sangjŏm ũi, kwanggo sŏnjŏn ũi koch'al, t'ŭk'i 'ppira' e kwanhayŏ (chung)', *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, 3 June 1936, 4.

⁷⁵⁵ WH Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesŏl (1)' [A commentary on general knowledge about advertising (1)], *Chosŏn ilbo*, 20 February 1932, 3.

⁷⁵⁶ Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 164. The first edition of Shin’s book contains the full text of the series as an appendix. Sin In-sŏp, *Han'guk kwanggosa* [The history of Korean advertising] (Seoul: Nanam, 1986), 403-417; Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 166-167.

advertising theory’;⁷⁵⁷ media historian Ma Chŏng-mi and others describe it as ‘explaining in detail, from advertising planning to catchphrase, expression technique, visual design’.⁷⁵⁸

Despite its evident significance, these scholars have not seriously analysed the content of the series or its broader implications. One of the factors that has made further examination difficult seems to be its unknown authorship,⁷⁵⁹ due to the pseudonyms ‘WH Saeng’ and ‘Hwarhae Saeng’ used in the series.⁷⁶⁰ But through a cross-examination with other contemporary records I have been able to identify the writer of the series as Kim Hyŏng-sik, a reporter at the *Chosŏn ilbo*, at least from 1931.⁷⁶¹

Although Kim Hyŏng-sik had been involved with Korean newspapers from the 1920s, around 1932, when the series was published, he was a city desk reporter (*sahoebu kija*).⁷⁶² Hence it is unlikely that he was a specialist or an authority on advertising theory or design.⁷⁶³ Thus it may seem odd that Kim wrote what Sin In-sŏp has praised as ‘the lengthiest and most substantial’ writing on

⁷⁵⁷ Kwŏn Ch'ang-gyu, 'Kŭndae munhwa chabon ūi t'aedong kwa sobi chuch'e ūi hyŏngsŏng', 60.

⁷⁵⁸ Ma Chŏng-mi et al., *Kwanggo ra hanŭn kŏt ūn: 1876-2008 sinmun kwanggo wa sahoe pyŏnhwa* [Advertising is: Newspaper advertising and social change 1876-2008] (Seoul: K'ŏmyunik'eisyŏn Puksŭ, 2009), 77.

⁷⁵⁹ Sin In-sŏp notes that he attempted to identify the author by asking Kim Kwang-sŏp, an employee at the advertising department of the *Chosŏn ilbo* between 1936 and 1937, without success. Sin In-sŏp, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 403.

⁷⁶⁰ Although the initials ‘WH’ do not match ‘Hwarhae’ within the McCune–Reischauer system used in this thesis or other current Romanisation systems, standardised transliteration of Korean to Roman characters was not commonly adopted at the time, and ‘hwa’ and ‘wha’ could be used interchangeably.

⁷⁶¹ In 1920, Kim Hyŏng-sik wrote an article in the *TI* about the ‘mission of the youth society’, under both his name and pseudonym (*ho*) ‘Hwarhae’. Kim Hyŏng-sik, 'Ch'ŏngnyŏn ūi samyŏng' [The mission of the youth], *Tonga ilbo*, 21 June 1920, 4. It seems that he worked as a local nationalist activist, for example participating in the inauguration of the Movement for the Promotion of Korean Production in his hometown of Pyongyang. 'Chosŏn mulsan changnyŏ' [Promotion of Korean Production], *Tonga ilbo*, 17 June 1922, 4. In 1931, he was listed in the popular magazine *Tonggwang* (Eastern light) as a city desk (*sahoebu*) reporter at the *Chosŏn ilbo*. 'Sam sinmun ūi chinyŏng' [Camps of the three newspapers], *Tonggwang*, December 1931, 84.

⁷⁶² Before joining the headquarters of the *Chosŏn ilbo* in Seoul as a reporter, at least by 1931, Kim worked at the Pyongyang branches of the *TI* and the *Chosŏn ilbo* throughout the 1920s; but it is unclear what his role was. 'Sago' [Notice], *Tonga ilbo*, 10 May 1924, 2; 'Kim Sŏn-hak sagŏn kwa kak sinmun hoejŏn' [The Kim Sŏn-hak case and extra-battles of newspapers], *Pyŏlgŏn'gon*, January 1931, 116.

⁷⁶³ In contrast, Kim Hyŏng-sik’s colleague or manager within the *Chosŏn ilbo*, director of sales Kim Ki-bŏm, might have had more authority to write about this topic. With over ten years of previous experience as manager of the Osaka branch of the *TI*, Kim Ki-bŏm was mentioned in *Kaebiyŏk* in 1935 as the ‘number one’ (*irinja*) within the *Chosŏn ilbo* in terms of advertising and newspaper management. Hwang T'ae-uk, 'Chosŏn min'gan sinmun'gye ch'ongp'yŏng', 19.

advertising in colonial Korea.⁷⁶⁴ But by closely examining Kim's series and comparing it with contemporary Japanese publications, I have gathered evidence to suggest that it was not his own writing, but a compilation of borrowed content from the *Complete collection of contemporary commercial art* (Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū, hereafter the *Zenshū*), the influential Japanese compendium of commercial art discussed in Chapter 2.⁷⁶⁵ Kwōn Ch'ang-gyu has described Kim Hyōng-sik's series in the *TI* as an 'original' (*tokchajōk*) theory of Korean advertising in the 1930s,⁷⁶⁶ but that was hardly the case.

Kim Hyōng-sik's own views were presented in the series. In the early parts he commented on Korean advertising, lamenting that 'our advertising is almost non-existent'.⁷⁶⁷ Like the Korean cultural nationalists who called for modern advertising in the 1920s, Kim asserted that the reality of the 'almost non-existent' Korean advertising was due to the 'incompetence (*pulchal*) of the press' and the 'lack of understanding (*ihae ūi pujok*) of advertising' among Korean business owners.⁷⁶⁸ He claimed that through his writings, he intended to 'raise the general understanding about advertising'.⁷⁶⁹ Some examples of advertising that Kim provided therefore reflected the Korean context. For instance, a sample advertisement text, 'Chosōn Theatre today, Ch'anggyōngwōn tomorrow' (*onūl ūn Chosōn Kūkchang, naeil ūn Ch'anggyōngwōn*) referred to local sites of entertainment to exemplify an effective catchphrase that Koreans could relate to.⁷⁷⁰ But the copy was essentially a subtle twist on 'The Imperial Theatre today, Mitsukoshi tomorrow' (*kyō wa Teigeki, ashita wa Mitsukoshi*), the famous catchphrase of the Mitsukoshi department store that symbolised the height of modern Japanese consumerism.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁴ Sin In-sōp, *Han'guk kwanggosā*, 403.

⁷⁶⁵ Kitahara Yoshio, *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū*. For a more detailed account of the series, see Weisenfeld, 'Japanese Modernism and Consumerism'; Tajima Natsuko, 'Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū fukkoku ni yosete'.

⁷⁶⁶ Kwōn Ch'ang-gyu, 'Kūndae munhwa chabon ūi t'aedong kwa sobi chuch'e ūi hyōngsōng', 60.

⁷⁶⁷ WH Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (1)', *Chosōn ilbo*, 20 February 1932, 3.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.; WH Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (2)' [A commentary on general knowledge about advertising (2)], *Chosōn ilbo*, 21 February 1932, 3.

⁷⁶⁹ WH Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (1)', *Chosōn ilbo*, 20 February 1932, 3; WH Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (2)', *Chosōn ilbo*, 21 February 1932, 3.

⁷⁷⁰ WH Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (8)' [A commentary on general knowledge about advertising (8)], *Chosōn ilbo*, 2 March 1932, 3.

⁷⁷¹ Ogawa Takao, 'Shinbun kōkoku no ritsuan to ishō' [The planning and design of newspaper advertising], in *Shinbun zasshi kōkoku sakurei shū*, ed. Kitahara Yoshio, *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Arusu, 1929), 33.

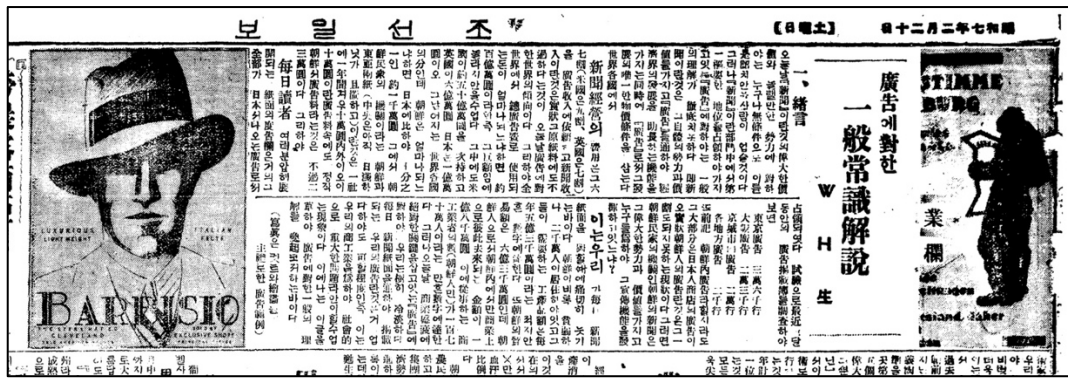


Figure 122. WH Saeng, 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesŏl', *Chosŏn ilbo*, 20 February 1932, 3.

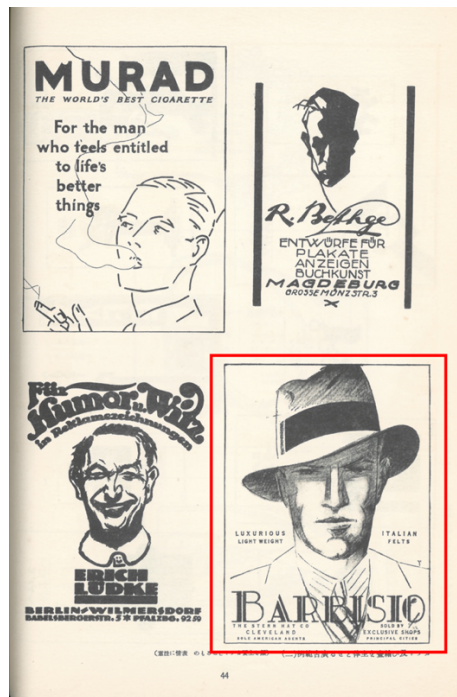


Figure 123. 'Examples of advertisements that have illustration and picture as their core', in *Shinbun zasshi kōkoku sakurei shū*, ed. by Kitahara Yoshio (Tokyo: Arusu, 1929), 44.

Kim Hyŏng-sik did not credit or refer to the *Zenshū*, but many aspects of his series indicate that he consulted the Japanese publication. An immediately recognisable feature, emblematic of Kim's borrowing from the Japanese publication throughout the series, is an image of a 'Barbisio' men's hat advertisement in the first part of the series (Figure 122). The image, although less clear due to the relatively low quality of newspaper printing, is identical to an example featured in Volume 13 of the *Zenshū* entitled *A collection of newspaper and magazine advertisement examples* (*Shinbun zasshi kōkoku sakurei shū*, 1929), published three years earlier (Figure 123). In Kim's series, the image had a Korean-language caption that read 'an example of an advertisement that has illustration

and a picture as its core' (*k'ōtt'ū wa hoehwa rŭl chuch'ero han kwanggo pōmnye*).⁷⁷² This was exactly the same as the way it was explained in Japanese in the *Zenshū* ('*katto oyobi kaiga o shutai to seru kōkoku hanrei*').⁷⁷³

More importantly, texts in Kim's series were mostly extracts and translations from Volume 13 of the *Zenshū*.⁷⁷⁴ Kim possibly took a hint for the title, 'A commentary on general knowledge about advertising' (Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik), from an essay in the *Zenshū* entitled 'General knowledge about creating newspaper advertising' (Shinbun kōkoku o nasu ni tsuite no ippan jōshiki), written by Nitta Uichirō (1896-1965, director of advertising at the *Tokyo asahi shinbun*).⁷⁷⁵

Kim Hyōng-sik's theory on advertising offered instructions about planning, copy, and design, and apart from the first two parts of the series which introduced the current state of Korean advertising, it mostly consisted of translations from three essays written by Nitta, Ogawa Takao (staff member of the Osaka-based advertising agency Mannensha), and Hamada Masuji in Volume 13 of the *Zenshū*.⁷⁷⁶ For example, Ogawa, in 'Planning and design of newspaper advertising' (Shinbun kōkoku no ritsuan to ishō), articulated the 'five phases of advertising effect' (*kōkoku sayō no go kaitei*)⁷⁷⁷ and provided specific instructions, such as a chart of ideal size formats for advertisements, or what he called the 'golden rectangle' (*ōgon kukei*).⁷⁷⁸ Kim repeated Ogawa's ideas ('five phases of advertising effect' and 'golden rectangle') in his writing, using the same terms translated into Korean ('*kwanggo chagyong ūi o kyeje*' and '*hwanggŭm kuhyōng*'), and also without much alteration to additional explanations.⁷⁷⁹ Hamada, in 'Planning and design seen from the perspective of pictorial

⁷⁷² WH Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (1)', *Chosōn ilbo*, 20 February 1932.

⁷⁷³ Kitahara Yoshio, ed. *Shinbun zasshi kōkoku sakurei shū* [Examples of newspaper and magazine advertisements], vol. 13, *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Arusu, 1929), 44.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁵ Nitta Uichirō, 'Shinbun kōkoku o nasu ni tsuite no ippan jōshiki' [General knowledge about doing newspaper advertising], in *Shinbun zasshi kōkoku sakurei shū*, ed. Kitahara Yoshio, *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Arusu, 1929).

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.; Ogawa Takao, 'Shinbun kōkoku no ritsuan to ishō'; Hamada Masuji, 'Shinbun kōkoku no kaigateki kōsei no hōmen yori mitaru ritsuan ishō' [Planning and design seen from the perspective of pictorial composition of the newspaper advertisement], in *Shinbun zasshi kōkoku sakurei shū*, ed. Kitahara Yoshio, *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Arusu, 1929).

⁷⁷⁷ That is, (1) attract attention, (2) induce interest, (3) inspire trust for the product, (4) create the desire to possess, (5) make the customer purchase. Ogawa Takao, 'Shinbun kōkoku no ritsuan to ishō', 29.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 30-31.

⁷⁷⁹ WH Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (6)' [A commentary on general knowledge about advertising (6)], *Chosōn ilbo*, 27 February 1932, 3.

composition of the newspaper advertisement' (Shinbun kōkoku no kaigateki kōsei no hōmen yori mitaru ritsuan ishō), argued that 'newspaper advertising must be a pictorial composition' (*shinbun kōkoku wa kaigateki kōsei de nakereba naranu koto o yōkyū suru*).⁷⁸⁰ Kim repeated Hamada's claim in Korean word for word, writing '*sinmun kwanggo ran kōt ūn hoehwajōk kusōng i animyōn an toel kōsūl yogu hanūn kōshida*'.⁷⁸¹ Furthermore, in his essay Hamada identified illustration as 'avant-garde' (*zen'ei*) and copy as 'rearguard' (*kōei*);⁷⁸² Kim echoed this with the same but translated terms 'chōnwi' and 'huwi'.⁷⁸³ Later parts of Kim's series were almost a direct translation of Hamada's essay.

That Kim Hyōng-sik's 'A commentary on general knowledge about advertising', one of the most in-depth writings on advertising in colonial Korea by Koreans, was actually an uncredited translation of the *Zenshu* has broader implications regarding knowledge about advertising and design produced in Korea and Japan.

Japanese publications on commercial art were available in Korea through channels such as direct orders, libraries, and bookstores. For example, the *Zenshū* was available in Korea through at least two of these channels. In her introductory remarks on the *Zenshū* for the reprinted edition, design historian Tajima Natsuko demonstrates the popularity of the series across the Japanese empire.⁷⁸⁴ Tajima does not identify the size of its circulation, but from an examination of catalogues of libraries in Japan and the *Commercial art monthly newsletter* (Shōgyō bijutsu geppō), a newsletter issued between 1928 and 1930 alongside the publication of the *Zenshū*, she shows that the *Zenshū* was widely read and used by shop owners, advertisers, printers, designers, and students, from Hokkaidō to Kyūshū, Manchuria, Taiwan, and Korea.⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁸⁰ Hamada Masuji, 'Shinbun kōkoku no kaigateki kōsei no hōmen yori mitaru ritsuan ishō', 36.

⁷⁸¹ Hwarhae Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (10)' [A commentary on general knowledge about advertising (10)], *Chosŏn ilbo*, 26 April 1932, 3.

⁷⁸² Hamada Masuji, 'Shinbun kōkoku no kaigateki kōsei no hōmen yori mitaru ritsuan ishō', 36.

⁷⁸³ Hwarhae Saeng [pseud.], 'Kwanggo e taehan ilban sangsik haesōl (10)', *Chosŏn ilbo*, 26 April 1932, 3.

⁷⁸⁴ Tajima Natsuko, 'Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū fukkoku ni yosete'.

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 25. According to Gennifer Weisenfeld, through direct subscription between 1,500 and 2,000 copies of the *Zenshū* were sold as reference materials, to small retailers, major manufacturers, advertising agencies, and newspaper companies. Weisenfeld, 'Japanese Modernism and Consumerism', 77. But because Weisenfeld does not provide the basis of this estimate, it is difficult to confirm to what extent this number reflects the actual circulation. Given the widespread popularity suggested by Tajima, and the relatively abundant availability of original copies in the Japanese second-hand book market today (almost a century after the publication), the circulation number was very possibly larger.

The *Zenshū* was sold on a subscription basis, and it was possible to place orders directly from ‘overseas’ (*kaigai*, which includes Korea), with an additional shipping fee.⁷⁸⁶ Records in the newsletter show that the *Zenshū* had subscribers from Korea, as well as from Japan’s other regions and colonies.⁷⁸⁷ For example, a Korean working at a fertilizer manufacturer in Kongju and a Japanese resident in Busan were listed as winners of a slogan contest held for the subscribers of the *Zenshū* in 1928.⁷⁸⁸ In another issue of the newsletter, a letter from a primary school teacher in Hamgyōng Province was included, addressing a concern with the delayed delivery of the series.⁷⁸⁹

In addition to records of personal subscription, catalogues of libraries in Korea from the 1930s show that volumes of the *Zenshū* were available in Korea soon after their publication. For example, the Seoul Prefectural Library (Keijō Furitsu Toshokan) and the Government-General of Korea Library (Chōsen Sōtokufu Toshokan) held copies of the *Zenshū* in 1934 and 1930 respectively.⁷⁹⁰ Both libraries were open to the public, and anyone with an interest in advertising or commercial art, such as Kim Hyōng-sik, in principle had access to the *Zenshū* in Korea.⁷⁹¹

Gennifer Weisenfeld has noted that the *Zenshū* was bought for reference by small retailers, major manufacturers, advertising agencies, and newspaper companies in Japan, which seems very possible considering its wide distribution.⁷⁹² Thus it is also possible that the series was bought and held for reference by Korean newspapers, such as the *Chosŏn ilbo*, for which Kim worked.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸⁶ 'Kaihi no shiharai ni tsuite' [Regarding the payment of the membership fee], *Shōgyō bijutsu geppō*, June 1928.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁸ The Korean was named Yi Yong-sil, and the Japanese Tachibana Eiji, and both won the third prize. In addition, a Nakazawa Kōzō and a Nishioka Sueko were listed as winners of the fourth prize. 'Kenshō hyōgo happyō' [Announcement for the slogan contest], *Shōgyō bijutsu geppō*, August 1928, 6.

⁷⁸⁹ 'Myōng Hwang-nam' was cited as a teacher at the Sangga Public Primary School in Hamgyōng Province. 'Kaiin tsūshin' [Member news], *Shōgyō bijutsu geppō*, December 1928, 4. But the name printed in the original newsletter seems to be a mistake, as in a Government-General record a 'Hwang Myōng-nam' was listed as a teacher at the school in 1928. Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu oyobi shozoku kansho shokuinroku* [Directory of employees of the Government-General of Korea and affiliated offices] (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1928).

⁷⁹⁰ Keijō Furitsu Toshokan, *Keijō Furitsu Toshokan tosho mokuroku*, 443; Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu tosho mokuroku*, 234.

⁷⁹¹ 'Ch'ongdokpu Tosōgwan sawōl samil kaegwan' [The Government-General Library opening on 3 April], *Tonga ilbo*, 1 April 1925; Yamamoto Yoshihisa, 'Keijō Furitsu Toshokan no kako genzai oyobi shōrai' [The past, present, and future of the Seoul Prefectural Library], *Keijō ihō*, June 1942.

⁷⁹² Weisenfeld, 'Japanese Modernism and Consumerism', 77.

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

While the *Zenshū* was one of the best-selling books on advertising and commercial art in inter-war Japan, and an example that was clearly utilised by a Korean writer, it was certainly not the only one available in Korea. As I mentioned in section 3.1., Japanese books on design letters, such as Yajiima Shūichi's *A survey of design letters* and Fujiwara Taichi's *Designed practical letters*, were held in the Seoul Prefectural Library and the Government-General of Korea Library. The catalogues of these libraries between 1930 and 1936 show that they held a much larger collection of Japanese books on advertising and commercial art.⁷⁹⁴ They included books by prominent Japanese advertising experts who wrote frequently in advertising magazines like *Kōkokukai* and also participated in the publication of the *Zenshū*, such as Shimizu Masami (business-advertising critic and theorist), Matsumiya Saburō (director of advertising at Mitsukoshi), Nakagawa Shizuka (creative director at Mannensha), Sugiura Hisui (commercial artist), Kuramoto Chōji (business-advertising critic and editor-in-chief at *Shōtenkai* magazine), and Murota Kurazō (commercial artist, advertising journalist and editor-in-chief at *Kōkokukai*) (see Appendix 1 for more comprehensive lists).

The above libraries were open to public, so their extensive collections of Japanese material on advertising and commercial art were accessible to Koreans, in this case in Seoul. The Seoul Prefectural Library is particularly significant, because not only did it hold a collection larger than that of the Government-General of Korea Library, but also, according to education historian Tsuzuki Tsuguo, it had the largest number of daily users among libraries in Korea from 1932 onwards.⁷⁹⁵ Tsuzuki identifies who the users of the Seoul Prefectural Library were.⁷⁹⁶ It was located in Namch'on, the Japanese area of Seoul, and generally there were more Japanese visitors than Korean. For example, in July 1927 the library had a total of 4,503 visitors, of which 2,582 were Japanese and 1,921 Korean. Meanwhile, in September 1926, around 60 per cent of the users were students, and around 10 per cent were in business ('agriculture/commerce/industry', 'journalist/teacher', and 'banker/corporate employee' combined). While these user statistics are from earlier periods, they still may indicate that Koreans who worked in advertising may have used the library in the 1930s. Average daily visitor numbers increased by about six times between 1927 and 1935 (from 176 to

⁷⁹⁴ Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu tosho mokuroku*; Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu tosho mokuroku* [Book catalogue of the Government-General of Korea Library] (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1936); Keijō Furitsu Toshokan, *Keijō Furitsu Toshokan tosho mokuroku*.

⁷⁹⁵ Tsuzuki Tsuguo, 'Ilje sidae tosōgwan yōllamja sanghwang: 1922-1941-yōn Kyōngsōng kwa Inch'on ūi tosōgwan ūl chungsim ūro' [Patrons of libraries in Kyongsong and Inchon under Japanese occupation, 1922-1941], *Han'guk kyoyuk sahak* 33, no. 1 (2011), 253.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 253-255.

1,093), which suggests that by the mid-1930s even more Koreans had access to Japanese publications on advertising and commercial art.⁷⁹⁷

In addition to public libraries, bookstores also provided a platform for the circulation of Japanese publications in Korea. A comprehensive survey of the distribution of Japanese- and Korean-language books in colonial Korea has yet to be conducted, but recent studies suggest that it was not unusual for Japanese books to be circulated in Korea.⁷⁹⁸ Literature scholar Hibi Yoshitaka demonstrates how Japanese publications were widely available in Korea through Japanese bookstores such as Ōsaka Yagoya Shoten or Nikkan Shobō in Seoul, where specific books could be ordered on demand.⁷⁹⁹

An example more directly related to advertising is the magazine *Kōkokukai*. I have found numerous examples of advertisements for *Kōkokukai* published in the *Keijō nippō* from the 1920s and 1930s (Figure 124). In addition, a list of distributors affiliated to Seibundō Shinkōsha, the publisher of *Kōkokukai*, was featured in the magazine's March 1937 issue; the list included distributors in Korea: Yoshida Hakubunkan (Busan), Kinseidō (Seoul), and Hakamata Shōkai (Ch'ōngju) (Figure 125).⁸⁰⁰



Figure 124. Example of a newspaper advertisement for *Kōkokukai* and *Shōtenkaigai*. *Keijō nippō*, 31 May 1930, 1.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., 254.

⁷⁹⁸ See, for example, Hibi Yoshitaka, 'Hanbando esō ūi Ilbonō sōjōm ūi chōn'gae' [The development of Japanese-language bookstores on the Korean Peninsula], in *Tongasia ūi Ilbonō chapchi yut'ong kwa singminji munhak*, ed. Chōng Pyōng-ho (Seoul: Yōngnak, 2014); Hō Chae-yōng, 'Ilche kangjōmgi sōjōk yut'ong kwa tosōgwan ūi kinūng ūl t'onghae pon toksō munhwa' [The diffusion of knowledge through the books distribution and reading culture during the Japanese colonial periods], *Toksō yōn'gu* 40 (2016); Tsuzuki Tsuguo, 'Ilje sidae tosōgwan yōllamja sanghwang: 1922-1941-yōn Kyōngsōng kwa Inch'on ūi tosōgwan ūl chungsim ūro'.

⁷⁹⁹ Hibi Yoshitaka, 'Hanbando esō ūi Ilbonō sōjōm ūi chōn'gae', 61-68.

⁸⁰⁰ 'Seibundō Shinkōsha tokuyaku rensaten ichiran' [A list of privileged agency chain stores of Seibundō Shinkōsha], *Kōkokukai*, March 1937, 91.

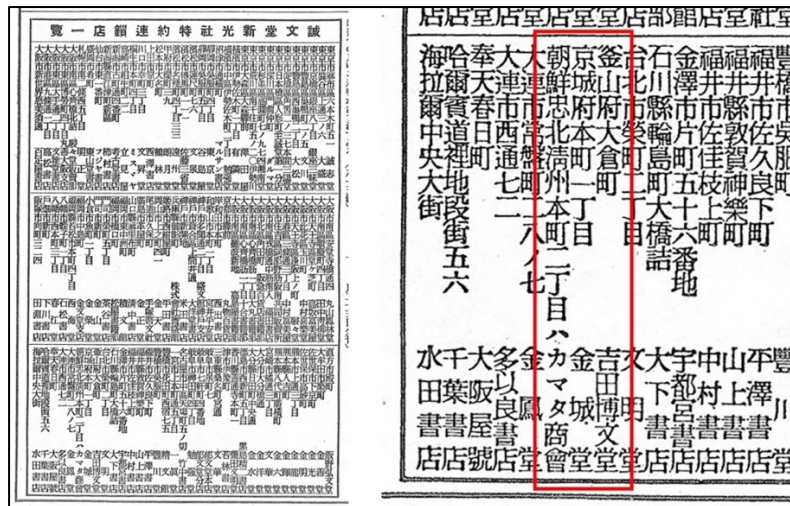


Figure 125. ‘List of privileged agency chain stores of Seibundō Shinkōsha’ (Seibundō Shinkōsha tokuyaku rensaten ichiran) (left) and the detail of three distributors in Korea (right). *Kōkokukai*, March 1937, 91.

The wide range of Japanese-language materials on advertising available in Korea in the 1930s implies that Koreans had access to knowledge about advertising and design produced in contemporary Japan. But it also implies that, considering the limited quantity and scope of Korean-language materials, books and magazines imported from Japan were the main source of information. In other words, Korean advertisers and designers, in their pursuit of, and visual approach to, modern advertising, were very possibly reliant on knowledge and expertise generated in Japan.

As I have discussed in Chapter 1 and this chapter, Korean advertisers and designers generally thought that following Japanese models was a valid or useful way of furthering their practices of modern advertising. But I have discovered some instances of Koreans who found the apparent Japanese influence on Korean advertising problematic. For example, in 1930 an anonymous commentator complained in *Pyōlgōn'gon* that Hwasin’s outdoor advertising towers in Chongno had ‘thoughtlessly written letters that Koreans can never understand’, that would only work in Chin'gogae; he/she condemned the Korean department store, calling it ‘Hwa [Hwasin] of Yamato [Japan]!’.⁸⁰¹ Meanwhile, although Sim Yōng-sōp, in his 1932 series mentioned above, presented Shirokiya and other Japanese department stores as model examples, he also argued that ‘blindly having the appearance of Japanese stores’ would mean that Korean stores would always be subordinate to their Japanese counterparts.⁸⁰² Sim therefore emphasised ‘internal awakening’

⁸⁰¹ Chongno Il T’onghaengin [pseud.], ‘Kwanggo nya kwanggo nya’ [Is it advertising or mad announcement?], *Pyōlgōn'gon*, October 1930, 49.

⁸⁰² Sim Yōng-sōp, ‘Sanggongōp kwa misul’, *Tonga ilbo*, 9 August 1932, 7.

(*naemyŏnjŏk chagak*) among Korean businesses to generate ‘creative skills’ (*tokch'angiŏk suwan*), beyond the superficial emulation of Japan.⁸⁰³

Despite this acknowledged need for more independent practices in modern Korean advertising, the reliance on Japanese knowledge and expertise may have made it more difficult, or even unnecessary, for Koreans to go beyond the superficial emulation of Japan in terms of advertising design. With an abundance of knowledge and information transferred from Japan, it was probably more feasible for Korean advertising producers to use what was most readily available than to build their own knowledge and expertise from scratch. More fundamentally, there is little evidence of educational institutions or professional foundations in Korea to support the fostering of experts in advertising design who could participate in such a pursuit, which I will discuss further in Chapter 4.

The reliance on knowledge generated in Japan was also related to the colonial industrial structure of advertising in Korea. I have shown in the previous section that the scale of Korean-owned industrial production was very small; Korean businesses, although some were significantly modernised during the 1930s, were generally limited in terms of capital and production technology compared to Japanese imperial brands with whom they competed in the same Korean market. Also, as discussed in Chapter 2, the advertising industry in Korea (media companies and advertising agencies) was highly dependent on Japan in terms of commissions throughout the colonial period. Compared to the overall volume of advertisements published in the press, commissions from Korean-owned companies were small: more than half of all the advertisements published in Korean newspapers and magazines were produced in Japan and then imported, as were the products they advertised.⁸⁰⁴ Demand for local advertising production was limited.

The marginality of local advertising production in Korea was arguably conditioned by Japan’s colonial rule: policies like the Company Law suppressed local industrial development during the 1910s (discussed in Chapter 1); Japan’s colonial project (i.e. the abolition of the Company Law and import tariffs, discussed in Chapter 2) certainly facilitated the relative expansion of Japanese imperial brands from the 1920s, although each company initiated and furthered such endeavours. The visible modernity in 1930s Korean advertising (in terms of both content and style) was based upon a vulnerable system of local advertising production in which the economic and industrial limitations in colonial Korea were embedded. The stylistic refinement of design on the pages of Korean newspapers

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 107-112.

was fundamentally illusive; in this regard it reflected the displayed modernity of colonial Korea. Chapter 4 will show another aspect of this displayed modernity that was based upon a vulnerable system of local advertising production: the education and professionalisation of the advertising producer.

Chapter 4. The education and the professionalisation of commercial art, 1934-1939



Figure 126. Newspaper advertisement for the Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition (TICAE) (right). TI, 19 July 1938, 6-7.



Figure 127. Newspaper advertisements for the TICAE. TI, 20 July 1938, 6; 21 July 1938, 6.

On 19 July 1938, the *Tonga ilbo* (*TI*) published a full-page advertisement for an event it planned to host, called *The First National Commercial Art Exhibition for Commercial School Students* (Che Il-hoe Chŏn Chosŏn Sangŏp Hakkyo Saengdo Sangŏp Misul Chŏllamhoe) (Figure 126). The advertisement explained the purpose of the event:

The development of commerce is deeply related to methods of publicity (*sŏnjŏn pangbŏp*). Recently, the utility of commercial art (*sangŏp misul*) has become more important, and research in the related field is expected. The advertising department of our company aims at the improvement and development (*hyangsang palchŏn*) of this area, and it seeks a broad range of commercial art works, calling out to secondary commercial school students (*chungdŭng sangŏp hakkyo saengdo*).⁸⁰⁵

As the advertisement noted, the exhibition held by the *TI*, which I will refer to as the *TICAE* (*Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition*), was a nationwide competition-exhibition of posters and newspaper advertisements open to students in secondary schools. Similar full-page advertisements appeared for two more days in the newspaper, with different sub-advertisements (Figure 127). The sub-advertisements were by Korea- and Japan-based companies that frequently advertised in the *TI*, such as Hwasin, Kyŏngbang, and Morinaga: they were sponsors of the *TICAE*, who provided the themes and awards.

That the best-selling Korean-language newspaper in Korea hosted and advertised the *TICAE* with support from major companies, and the fact that it explicitly expressed the importance of ‘commercial art’ (*sangŏp misul*), might imply that many contemporary Koreans were interested in promoting and developing the field. But a recollection of a former staff member of the Yuhan advertising department, Kang Han-in (1907-?) presents a different picture of the social perception of commercial art and advertising design at the time.⁸⁰⁶ In the interview, Kang Han-in acknowledged that in addition to the Yuhan pharmaceuticals company, large Korean companies such as Hwasin and Kyŏngbang put significant effort into their advertising in the late 1930s. But his statement also suggests that he and his colleagues did not fully recognise the significance of those who produced advertisements. He stated:

⁸⁰⁵ 'Sangŏp misul chakp'umjŏn chungdŭng sangŏpkyo saengdŭrŭn ũngmo hara', *Tonga ilbo*, July 19 1938, 6.

⁸⁰⁶ According to a 1979 interview by advertising historian Sin In-sŏp, from 1936 to until at least 1940 Kang Han-in worked at the advertising department of Yuhan, the Korean pharmaceuticals company and a pioneering advertiser. Sin In-sŏp and Sŏ Pŏm-sŏk, *Han'guk kwanggosa*, 194-198.

At the time, rather than [hiring] a design expert (*tijain chǒnmun'ga*), we had some people among the employees who were dexterous (*sonjaeju ka innŭn*) to do it. [...]

There were no designers (*tijainǒ*) at the time. The people who did the drawings were, generally, painters (*hwaga*), some sort of artisans (*musŭn chikkong dŭl*), or printing artisans (*inswae chikkong dŭl*). [...]

In the early days, they [presumably, managers] told us to bring ‘someone that seemed skilful’ [*chaeju issǒ poinŭn saram*] to do the design [*toan*], so we did that. [...] And later on, we brought people in and taught them.⁸⁰⁷

Although Kang Han-in’s experience may not fully represent that of the Korean advertising industry more widely, his comments suggest two important aspects of commercial art in Korea at the time: producers of design were not recognised, even by their peers in the advertising business, as professional experts (‘there were no designers’); and producers were trained not at formal institutions, but at the company, through their work (‘we brought people in and taught them’). In short, the interview with Kang suggests that advertising design was not an established professional practice in colonial Korea.

The advertisements for the *TICAE* and Kang’s recollections seem to present a contrasting view regarding the social and cultural significance of commercial art in 1930s colonial Korea: on the one hand, Koreans promoted the field of commercial art; on the other, they did not recognise those who produced works of commercial art as specialists or experts. This chapter asks what this contrast might connote more broadly, in relation to what I have articulated in the previous chapter as displayed modernity.

Chapter 3 has shown one side of displayed modernity in colonial Korea: the modern images visible in 1930s Korean advertising were based upon a vulnerable system of local advertising production, which was embedded in the economic and industrial limitations of colonial Korea. This chapter will continue to argue that modernity in colonial Korea was displayed, but will also reveal another aspect of displayed modernity in terms of the education and the professionalisation of the commercial artist.

To do so, I will examine the *TICAE* as a central case. The *TICAE* is useful because it was one of the most visible and publicly promoted events for commercial art in Korea during the colonial period. But in Korean design histories this contest has not been closely investigated, but mentioned

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid., 194.

merely in terms of its existence as a singular event.⁸⁰⁸ Advertising historian Sin In-söp's short essay (2014) is the most detailed writing about the *TICAE* to date.⁸⁰⁹ Based on details published in the *TI*, Sin characterises the 1938 exhibition as the 'first advertising creative contest in Korea'; but he largely overlooks the prize-winning works or social and cultural implications of the event in the colonial context.

The limited examination of the *TICAE* in existing studies seems to derive partly from the relatively small number of surviving records published in the *TI*: several advertisements, reports on the prizegiving ceremony and two series of the 'on-paper exhibition' (*chisangjŏn*). The advertisements for the *TICAE* stated that it was the first of its kind in Korea, which also seems to have affected historians' understanding of it as an unusual event.⁸¹⁰ But this chapter will show that from 1936, commercial schools in Korea and their students had been participating in a series of similar competition-exhibitions held in Japan, the *National Commercial Art Exhibitions* (Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai, hereafter *NCAE*).⁸¹¹ The *TICAE* may have been the first such event held in Korea, but it was an already established format if we consider this context across Korea and Japan.

To further understand this transnational context, the chapter will provide a comparative examination of commercial art education in Korea and Japan. I will first explain the broader context of commercial art education in 1930s Japan: I will examine local commercial art activities across secondary commercial schools and the *NCAE*, and relate them to the Japanese educational policy of 'practicalisation'. Then I will investigate how these activities of commercial art education in Japan, with education policies of the Japanese and colonial governments as a link, might have affected commercial art education in Korea. Through newspaper records and school histories, I will trace commercial art activities in secondary commercial schools in Korea and closely analyse evidence of the images and participants in the *TICAE*.

Through these comparative analyses I will show how the activities and images of commercial art education were parallel in the two countries, but their broader social implications differed

⁸⁰⁸ See, for example, Pak Am-jong, 'Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae tijainsa ūi chŏn'gae wa chŏngni' [Theorem for Korean modern design history], *Chohyŏng ak'aibŭ* 1 (2009).

⁸⁰⁹ Sin In-söp, '1938-yŏn, Han'guk ch'oech'o ūi kwanggo k'ŭrieit'ibŭ k'ŏnt'esŭt'ŭ' [The first advertising creative contest in Korea in 1938], *Kwanggogyŏ tonghyang*, October 2014.

⁸¹⁰ 'Sangŏp misul chakp'umjŏn chungdŭng sangŏpkyo saengdŭrŭn ũngmo hara', *Tonga ilbo*, July 19 1938, 6.

⁸¹¹ Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai San Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Third National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1936), 7-18.

significantly: in Korea, in contrast to Japan, commercial art education had little professional utility. Furthermore, by examining two professional organisations, I will argue that commercial art in colonial Korea was barely acknowledged as a profession at the time. Ultimately, I aim to reinforce my argument that modernity was displayed in Korea by demonstrating how the ostensibly modern posters and newspaper advertisements designed by young students co-existed with the limited professionalisation of the commercial artist, and how this co-existence reflected systemic and colonial limitations in education in colonial Korea.

Before advancing to these discussions, the political context of war in the mid- to late 1930s should be discussed. Although the *NCAE* and *TICAE* were similar exhibitions, 1936 and 1938, the years in which each was first held, were different in terms of the social and political atmosphere of East Asia. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, between 1937 and 1945, with the National Mobilisation Law and the Movement for Mobilising Popular Morale in effect, Korea and Japan were in a situation of ‘total war’ and ‘total mobilisation’.⁸¹² The closing of private-owned Korean-language newspapers like the *TI* and *Chosŏn ilbo* in 1940 was due to wartime control, and this closure is a reason why the period after that is beyond the scope of this thesis. But although the social circumstances changed, advertising did appear in the Korean press until 1940. Moreover, the *TICAE*, which aimed at the ‘improvement and development’ of advertising, was held between 1938 and 1939, in the midst of total mobilisation. Therefore, instead of dismissing the whole period as a decline or severance, this chapter will discuss how, despite the war, designers and advertising practitioners in Korea and Japan may have sought to continue their practice. Given the time scope, I do not attempt to offer a comprehensive account of wartime advertising; corresponding to the focus of this chapter, I will limit the discussion to the context of education.

4.1. Commercial art education in Japan, 1928-1940

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Japanese terminology for commercial art, ‘*shōgyō bijutsu*’, was suggested by the commercial artist and theorist Hamada Masuji in the mid-1920s, and by around 1930 artists, designers, and advertising practitioners in Japan generally recognised commercial art as a distinctive artistic and professional field. Hamada was one of the most avid proponents of the idea that the commercial artist was a specialist, distinct from, and not subordinate to, the fine artist. The *Complete collection of contemporary commercial art* (Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū, 1928-1930;

⁸¹² See Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*, 141-146; Palmer, *Fighting for the Enemy: Koreans in Japan's war, 1937-1945*.

hereafter the *Zenshū*) was part of his effort to claim professional independence for commercial art.⁸¹³ In addition, from the mid-1920s, professional commercial artists' groups like the Seven Men Group (Shichininsha, founded in 1926 and led by Sugiura Hisui), the Association of Commercial Artists (Shōgyō Bijutsuka Kyōkai, founded in 1926 and led by Hamada Masuji), and the Practical Printing Art Association (Jitsuyō Hanga Bijutsu Kyōkai, founded in 1929 and led by designer Tada Hokuu) were established by leading commercial artists; they held exhibitions and published magazines, contributing to commercial art's social establishment as an independent artistic and professional field.⁸¹⁴ Media historian Kashima Takashi aptly suggests that in Japan, what he calls the 'full-time status' (*sengyōsei*) of commercial art was established by the end of the 1920s.⁸¹⁵

This section demonstrates how commercial art, alongside its establishment as a professional field, emerged as an educational discipline in Japan from the early 1930s. Discussions and activities relating to commercial art were most prominent in the secondary commercial schools (*shōgyō gakkō*), which were part of Japan's vocational education.⁸¹⁶ I will examine contemporary records to illustrate the commercial art activities in those schools and articulate how and why educators, students, and the Japanese Ministry of Education may have conducted or promoted such activities. The Japanese context of commercial art education is essential in understanding its implementation in Korea, which I will discuss further in section 4.2.

4.1.1. Commercial schools, textbooks, and student activities

A 1928 library catalogue of the Okayama Prefecture Kurashiki Commercial School, edited by the school's students, is one of the earliest records I have discovered of the term '*shōgyō bijutsu*'

⁸¹³ In the last volume of the *Zenshu*, entitled *General theory on commercial art*, Hamada presented an extensive theory of the artistic and professional distinctiveness of commercial art. See Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu sōron* [General theory on commercial art], ed. Kitahara Yoshio, vol. 24, *Gendai shōgyō bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Arusu, 1930).

⁸¹⁴ Nakai Kōichi, *Nihon kōkoku hyōgen gijutsu shi*, 160.

⁸¹⁵ Kashima Takashi, "'Kōkoku seisakusha" no kigen: 1920 nen dai ni okeru "shōgyō bijutsuka" to keishiki shugi no gensetsu kūkan' [The origin of the 'advertising creator': Discourse network between 'shōgyō bijutsu ka' (commercial artist) and 'formalist' in 1920's Japan], *Masu komyunikēshon kenkyū* 71 (2007), 69.

⁸¹⁶ Commercial schools, along with agricultural (*nōgyō*), engineering (*kōgyō*), marine products (*suisan*), and merchant marine (*shōsen*) schools, were part of the secondary vocational education system in Japan. Toda Masashi, *Shōgyō kyōiku sōron* [General theory of commercial education] (Aichi: Shōgyō Kyōiku Kenkyūsha, 1937), 1.

appearing in relation to commercial schools in Japan.⁸¹⁷ The catalogue had a section entitled ‘Commercial art, advertising’ (*shōgyō bijutsu, kōkoku*): it listed a total of seventeen books, themes of which ranged from advertising theory to technical guides to typography and window display; it also included four volumes of the *Zenshū*.⁸¹⁸ The catalogue did not specify whether the school taught commercial art as a formal course at the time. But the fact that the school purchased cutting-edge publications on commercial art, and that students categorised those books using the term ‘*shōgyō bijutsu*’, may suggest that teachers and students thought of commercial art as relevant to the commercial school’s curriculum. In addition, Hamada Masuji recalled in 1937 that the Ōgaki Commercial School in Gifu Prefecture had adopted commercial art as a course as early as 1928.⁸¹⁹ Thus, by the late 1920s, while commercial artists sought to establish the concept of ‘*shōgyō bijutsu*’, some secondary commercial schools in Japan had started to teach the emerging discipline, formally or informally, as part of their curriculum.

From around 1930, commercial artists and educators started to discuss commercial art as an educational discipline more explicitly. In 1931, Hamada published a textbook entitled *The commercial art textbook* (*Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon*).⁸²⁰ In the book, he suggested that in commercial schools, commercial art should replace, or at least be added to, the pre-existing subject of ‘*zuga*’ (art).⁸²¹ In 1932, Hamada published another book, *The commercial art guide book* (*Shōgyō bijutsu seigi*), and furthered his argument for commercial art as a formal course.⁸²² He criticised commercial schools for having deployed ‘unproductive and unpractical’ art education that favoured aesthetic

⁸¹⁷ Okayama-ken Kurashiki Shōgyō Gakkō Seito Toshobu, ed. *Tosho mokuroku* [Catalogue of books] (Kurashiki: Okayama-ken Kurashiki Shōgyō Gakkō Gakuyūkai, 1928).

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 320-321.

⁸¹⁹ Hamada Masuji, ‘Shōgyō bijutsu kyōiku no genkyō ni tsuite’ [On the current state of commercial art education], in *Dai Ichi Kai Kenkyū Happyōkai kōen shū*, ed. Nagoya Kōkoku Kyōkai (Nagoya: Nagoya Kōkoku Kyōkai, 1937), 32. But Hamada did not further explain about this course, and I have not been able to find records that confirm or further explain Hamada’s claim.

⁸²⁰ Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon* [The commercial art textbook] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1931).

⁸²¹ The term *zuga* literally means ‘drawing and painting’, therefore can be translated as ‘art’. But it has two slightly different meanings, which are not always strictly distinguished within the literature on art education in Japan. Firstly, *zuga* indicates art within the educational context in general, often in the form of *zuga kyōiku* (art education). In this case, *shōgyō bijutsu* (commercial art) would be included in *zuga* as a subcategory, and the term *shōgyō zuga* (commercial art) is also valid. Secondly, *zuga* also specifies the conventionally established ‘art’ courses in primary and secondary schools. In this case, *shōgyō bijutsu*, as an alternative to the pre-existing courses, would be excluded from the notion of *zuga*.

⁸²² Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu seigi* [The commercial art guide book] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1932).

appreciation, when they were the very institutions that ought to prioritise ‘utility and practicality’ (*jitsuyō jissai*).⁸²³ Hamada claimed that if ‘real life’ (*jissai seikatsu*) and ‘practical business’ (*jitsumu*) were to be respected and valued, commercial art was ‘ideal’ (*saiteki no mono*) as an art course in commercial schools; he called for the implementation of commercial art education as the ‘most urgent task’.⁸²⁴

Educators sympathised with Hamada’s call for commercial art education. In 1932, the Association for Art Education Promotion (Biiku Shinkōkai), an association of art teachers, published *Essential commercial art* (*Shōgyō zuga yōgi*), which was also a commercial art textbook intended for commercial schools.⁸²⁵ The book identified that a policy relating specifically to art education in commercial schools had not existed to date; it explained that Article 14 of the Middle School Ordinance (Chūgakkō Rei) of 1931, which was a policy on art education in secondary schools in general, applied to commercial schools as well.⁸²⁶ Article 14 was as follows:

The essence of *zuga* is to enable [the student] to observe the object accurately and to draw it precisely and freely, and to foster a sense of beauty by cultivating the ability to contrive and create. *Zuga* consists of freehand drawing (*jizaiga*) and mechanical drawing (*yōkiga*). Emphasis should be put on freehand drawing, consisting of copying and designing; and mechanical drawing should mainly be taught through geometrical drawing.⁸²⁷

Because Article 14 suggested a comprehensive approach to art education, *Essential commercial art* acknowledged that its principles would apply generally to all art education. But the book also argued that commercial schools should have art courses that were more suitable for their specific educational needs:

⁸²³ Ibid., 1.

⁸²⁴ Ibid., 6-7. Although Hamada was a pivotal figure in establishing commercial art as a discipline, some of his contemporary designers and critics disagreed with his theory which presented an all-inclusive view of commercial art added to socialist ideology; those who emphasised a more business-oriented approach to advertising design, like *Kōkokukai* editor Murota Kurazō and advertising theorist Kuriya Yoshizumi, were often against Hamada. See Nakai Kōichi, *Nihon kōkoku hyōgen gijutsu shi*, 167-171. However, many designers and critics participated in or praised student commercial art activities, which I will discuss below.

⁸²⁵ Biiku Shinkōkai, *Shōgyō zuga yōgi* [Essential commercial art] (Tokyo: Banseisho, 1932).

⁸²⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

The intention of art education (*zuga kyōiku*) in commercial schools is very different from that of secondary liberal schools (*chūtō gakkō*) or girls' higher schools (*kōtō jogakkō*).⁸²⁸ In addition to creating and appreciating beauty, art education must also further extend its application to the storefront.⁸²⁹

The book suggested that art courses in commercial schools should teach skills that could be used in a real commercial context. From this perspective, and citing Hamada's definition of commercial art as 'all art that is related to commerce', the book argued that commercial art was the ideal course to enhance the business utility of art education.⁸³⁰ In 1933, art teachers Nakata Shunzō, Morita Takeshi, and Suzuki Toyojirō published another commercial art textbook entitled *Standard commercial art* (*Hyōjun shōgyō bijutsu*), with a similar perspective to *Essential commercial art*.⁸³¹ The publication and stated objectives of these textbooks suggest that designers and art teachers started to believe that the newly emerging professional field of commercial art, with its focus on practicality, was also a suitable educational discipline for commercial school students; they intended to propagate this idea more widely through the textbooks.

Other records suggest that Hamada and the art teachers' vision of commercial art education was eventually realised in commercial schools across Japan. A 1935 history of Wakayama Commercial School (in Wakayama in the Kansai region) provides a detailed account of how commercial art may have gained popularity among Japanese commercial schools at the time.⁸³² The book had a section on the school's 'commercial art club' (*shōgyō bijutsu bu*).⁸³³ The section began by stating that 'in April Shōwa 8 [1933], according to the demand of the time (*jisei no yōkyū ni shitagai*),

⁸²⁸ In the Japanese education system of the time, secondary liberal schools (*chūtō gakkō*), girls' high schools (*kōtō jogakkō*), and vocational schools were part of the same secondary level of education. Toda Masashi, *Shōgyō kyōiku sōron*, 1.

⁸²⁹ Biiku Shinkōkai, *Shōgyō zuga yōgi*, 1-2.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸³¹ Nakata Shunzō, Morita Takeshi, and Suzuki Toyojirō, eds., *Hyōjun shōgyō bijutsu* [Standard commercial art] (Tokyo: Teikoku Shoin, 1933). In the introduction, the authors asserted that the art courses of commercial schools needed to pursue 'the practical' (*jissai*). They stated that it was disappointing that commercial schools did not adopt commercial art, when a practical form of art had been introduced and widely acknowledged several years earlier. Repeating the claims in the above books, the authors thus argued that commercial schools should include commercial art in their curricula.

⁸³² Wakayama Kenritsu Wakayama Shōgyō Gakkō Kōyūkai, *Wakayama Kenritsu Wakayama Shōgyō Gakkō 30 nen shi* [30 Years of Wakayama Prefectural Wakayama Commercial School] (Wakayama: Wakayama Kenritsu Wakayama Shōgyō Gakkō Kōyūkai, 1935).

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

the painting club (*kaiga bu*), which had been temporarily suspended, was renamed as the commercial art club'.⁸³⁴ This statement implies that teachers and/or students had observed the trend towards commercial art emerging around 1933, and reforming the suspended painting club as a commercial art club was helpful in reviving it.

The section also explained the activities of the commercial art club.⁸³⁵ The members went on field trips to commercial art exhibitions, such as a 'European poster exhibition' (*Ōshū posutā ten*) held at the Wakayama Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and a 'national poster competition-exhibition hosted by the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*' (*Daimai shusai zenkoku posutā nyūshō tenrankai*) held at the Takashimaya department store in Osaka. The section recorded that after seeing eminent European and the latest Japanese works, the students were 'greatly stimulated' (*ōini shigeki o ukeru*) and their 'passion to create' (*seisakunetsu*) was intensified. The club therefore held a poster competition within the school in September 1933, which was part of a subsequent exhibition. Eventually the club's activities extended outside the school, as members were soon invited to submit works to exhibitions at commercial schools in other areas. For example, after their first exhibition, in November 1933, students of Wakayama were invited to submit works to an exhibition held by the commercial art club of the Nagano Commercial School. Eventually they received similar requests from numerous other schools in Japan. This record indicates that many commercial schools across Japan, beyond Tokyo and Osaka and in regional major cities like Wakayama and Nagano, were setting up commercial art clubs and holding exhibitions in the early to mid-1930s. In other words, commercial art was becoming widely popular among Japanese teachers and students of commercial schools at the time.

⁸³⁴ Ibid., 149.

⁸³⁵ Ibid.



Figure 128. Photo of the CAE held at Matsuzakaya in Ueno. *Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: 1934), n.p.

A representative example of the popularity of commercial art in Japanese commercial schools is the 1934 *Commercial Art Exhibition* (*Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai*, hereafter *CAE*), held by the Commercial School Federation (*Shōgyō Gakkō Rengōkai*) in Tokyo. In the preface to the catalogue for the 1934 *CAE*, Kobayashi Aiyū, head of the organising committee, explained that the exhibition was part of a larger initiative to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of vocational education (*jitsugyō kyōiku*) in Japan.⁸³⁶ Students from forty-two commercial schools in the Kantō area (around Tokyo) submitted 1,350 posters in total in the 1934 *CAE*; 215 were awarded prizes and were exhibited for a week at Matsuzakaya, a major department store in Ueno (Figure 128). The catalogue noted that submissions were judged by three specialists in commercial art, designer Sugiura Hisui, painter-designer Wada Sanzō (1883-1967), and designer and professor at the Tokyo Higher School of Crafts (*Tōkyō Kōtō Kōgei Gakkō*) Miyashita Takao (1890-1972).⁸³⁷ The composition of judges, scale of submissions, and exhibition location suggest that the *CAE* incorporated the growing popularity of commercial art and presented the practice as a significant discipline in commercial school education.

In 1936, the *CAE* expanded to a national scale. An organisation called the National Association for Commercial Art Education (*Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai*) started to organise the exhibition, and the title changed to the *National Commercial Art Exhibition* (*Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai*, hereafter *NCAE*). The catalogues for the *NCAE* from 1936 to 1940 show that the scale of the exhibition grew as it was repeated (Table 6). The number of submissions remained between around 1,300 and 1,500, but by 1938 the number of participating schools had

⁸³⁶ *Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: 1934), 1.

⁸³⁷ *ibid.*, 7.

increased to 112.⁸³⁸ Commercial schools all over Japan, including the colonies of Korea and Taiwan, were invited as members of the Association. The *NCAE* was similar to the *CAE* in that experts in commercial art participated as judges, and prize-winning works were exhibited at famous department stores like Matsuzakaya and Shirokiya. But the national event expanded in scale and content: for example, in 1937 the public exhibition toured around twenty cities across Japan,⁸³⁹ in 1935 and 1936 respectively, in addition to poster design, newspaper advertising design and window display divisions were added.⁸⁴⁰

Table 6. Participating schools, total submissions, and awards of the *CAE* and *NCAE* (1934-1940)⁸⁴¹

Year	Participating schools	Total submissions	Awards		
			Selected	First prize	Grand-prix
1934	42	1,350	215	48	5
1935	85	1,210	411	45	6
1936	95	1,482	437	60	5
1937	102	1,298	358	69	4
1938	112	1,517	605	42	9
1939		1,390	583	43	5
1940		1,543	509	72	8

⁸³⁸ Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Go Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Fifth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1938), 1. The number of submissions noted in the catalogue each year was 1,350 (1934), 1,482 (1936), 1,298 (1937), 1,517 (1938), 1,390 (1939), and 1,543 (1940) (numbers from the respective catalogues). The 1936 catalogue identified that the marginal increase in 1936 was due to the delay in the notification of themes; the 1937 catalogue explained that the decrease was due to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War.

⁸³⁹ Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Yon Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Fourth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1937), 2.

⁸⁴⁰ Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, *Dai San Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku*, 1.

⁸⁴¹ Source: the catalogues for the exhibitions from 1934 to 1940 (the 1938 catalogue summarises the results between 1934 and 1938): Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai ed., *Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: 1934); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai ed., *Dai San Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Third National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: 1936); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Yon Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Fourth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1937); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Go Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Fifth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1938); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Roku Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Sixth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1939); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Nana Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Seventh National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1940).

I will discuss the participants and work in the *NCAE* in detail in following sections. Here, it is significant that the publication of textbooks, club activities at commercial schools, and the organisation and expansion of the *CAE* and the *NCAE* collectively contributed to the propagation of commercial art education in Japanese commercial schools in the 1930s.

In relation to the popularity of commercial art, Miyashita Takao wrote a review of the 1934 *CAE* in the craft and design magazine *Teikoku kōgei* (Imperial craft) and discussed its significance.⁸⁴² He noted that student contests of poster design and window display (*sōshoku*) had become ‘a sort of trend’ (*issū no ryūkō*) among commercial schools across Japan, and stated that it was laudable. He also claimed that the ‘*zuga*’ course was not ‘practical’ (*jitsumuteki*) and too ‘abstract’ (*chūshōteki*) and that commercial forms of art such as display and poster design were more appropriate for the curriculum of commercial school education. Furthermore, he acknowledged that he did not know how students were trained in commercial art, but claimed that the *CAE* ‘confirmed’ (*kakunin*) that they had developed their skills substantially.

In a 1937 lecture for the Japan Advertising Federation (Nihon Kōkoku Renmei), Hamada Masuji explained the pivotal role of the *CAE* and the *NCAE* in the development of commercial art as an educational discipline:

In Shōwa 7 [1932], a commercial art textbook was published, but only thirty-five [commercial] schools in the whole country taught it as a course. It was in Shōwa 9 [1934] that there was a leap, after the *National Commercial Art Exhibition*⁸⁴³ was held to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of vocational education. Since that year, the number [of commercial schools teaching commercial art] increased rapidly, reaching 150 last year [1936]; and we see an increase to 278 schools this year [1937].⁸⁴⁴

In short, the propagation of commercial art in Japan in the 1930s was probably a result of the mutual interaction between commercial art professionals and teachers and students at commercial schools. The practicality of commercial art was a key factor that brought the various actors together in the development of the discipline. It was also a factor that invited another actor, the Japanese Ministry of Education, into this collective development.

⁸⁴² Miyashita Takao, 'Jitsugyō Kyōiku Gojū Shūnen Kinen Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai no shinsa ni atarite' [Screening for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Vocational Education Commemorative Commercial Art Exhibition], *Teikoku Kōgei*, November 1934, 16-18.

⁸⁴³ This is probably mistaken for the *Commercial Art Exhibition*, its name before it became a nationwide event.

⁸⁴⁴ Hamada Masuji, 'Shōgyō bijutsu kyōiku no genkyō ni tsuite', 31.

4.1.2. State policy: ‘Practicalisation of education’

The mutually stimulating progress of the *NCAE* and commercial art as an educational discipline in Japan was sustained by the direct involvement of agents such as educators, students, and commercial artists, but state policy also played a fundamental role in supporting this trend. More specifically, the *NCAE* and the idea of commercial art as an adequate discipline for commercial schools corresponded to the policies of the Japanese Ministry of Education in the 1930s, which aimed at the promotion and enhancement of vocational education.

Fifty years of vocational education (*Jitsugyō kyōiku gojūnenshi*), a 1936 publication edited by the Ministry of Education and published by the Organisation for the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Vocational Education (*Jitsugyō Kyōiku Gojūshūnen Kinen Kai*),⁸⁴⁵ explained in detail why and how the Japanese government sought to promote vocational education in the 1930s.⁸⁴⁶ At the time, formal education in Japan followed a binary system, consisting of two types of education according to purpose: liberal (*futsū*) and vocational (*jitsugyō*). The book noted that Japanese generally respected and favoured the former as ‘elite’ (*shidōsha*) education, and, due to the latter’s relatively easy entry, short academic years, and focus on practical skills, they often looked down on it as ‘subordinate’ (*bōkeiteki*).⁸⁴⁷

Fifty years explained that it was important for the Japanese government to promote vocational education to supply a workforce to sustain Japan’s industrial growth after World War I.⁸⁴⁸ In the 1920s, the government tried to promote vocational schools by increasing their number and making their curricula similar to those of the liberal schools.⁸⁴⁹ But from the 1930s, the focus changed. Between 1929 and 1930 the Ministry of Education changed the regulations regarding vocational schools and in 1931 implemented the Middle School Ordinance (*Chūgakkō Rei*); in these policy

⁸⁴⁵ As the name indicates, the Organisation for the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Vocational Education was the larger organisation behind the 1934 *CAE*.

⁸⁴⁶ Monbushō Jitsugyō Gakumukyoku, *Jitsugyō kyōiku gojūnenshi: zokuhen* [Fifty years of vocational education: the sequel] (Tokyo: Jitsugyō Kyōiku Gojūshūnen Kinen Kai, 1936).

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 114-115. Similarly, business scholar Toda Masashi wrote in his 1937 book on commercial education that the Japanese generally regarded vocational education as ‘subordinate’ (*fukujiteki*). Toda Masashi, *Shōgyō kyōiku sōron*, 67.

⁸⁴⁸ Monbushō Jitsugyō Gakumukyoku, *Jitsugyō kyōiku gojūnenshi: zokuhen*, 23.

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

reforms, the Ministry emphasised what it called the ‘practicalisation of education’ (*kyōiku jissaika*).⁸⁵⁰ The policies suggested that the social utility of vocational schools, or vocational training (*jitsugyō teki tōya*) itself, should be ‘valued’ (*sonchō*). In other words, instead of expanding in scale or trying to reconcile the gap between them and liberal schools, the reforms around 1930 required vocational schools to focus on their practical nature. Minister of Education Matsuda Genji (1875-1936; in office 1934-1936) wrote in 1934 that the ‘rationalisation of business’ (*keiei no gōrika*) was essential to sustain Japan’s industrial development; he argued that, therefore, vocational education, ‘without adhering to the tail of theory’ (*gakuri no sue ni nazumu koto naku*), should pursue ‘the practical’ (*jissai*) and ‘the effective’ (*jikkō*).⁸⁵¹ Possibly to further these aims, in 1935 the Ministry of Education established the Committee for the Promotion of Vocational Education (Jitsugyo Kyōiku Shinkō Inkaï).⁸⁵²

As mentioned above, *Essential commercial art* argued that commercial art was an art ‘applicable to the storefront’; many proponents of commercial art education thought that its practicality made it suitable for commercial schools. Although the Ministry’s policies around 1930 did not specify that commercial schools should teach commercial art, records suggest that officials in the Ministry considered the discipline to be highly suitable for commercial education. For example, *Fifty years* explained that the Ministry revised the law on government subsidies for vocational education (Jitsugyō Kyōiku Kokko Hojo Hō) in 1933 towards the ‘practicalisation of vocational education’; the revision boosted subsidies for ‘training and experiment’ (*jisshū jikken*) in vocational schools.⁸⁵³ For commercial schools, in addition to ‘merchandise experimentation’ and ‘market research’, support for commercial art training, such as ‘storefront decoration facility and others’ (*tentō*

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., 124.

⁸⁵¹ Matsuda Genji, ‘Sangyō no hatten to jitsugyō kyōiku’ [Industrial development and vocational education], in *Jitsugyō kyōiku 50-shūnen o mukaete*, ed. Okayama-ken Tsuyama Shōgyō Gakkō Jikyōkai (Tsuyama: Okayama-ken Tsuyama Shōgyō Gakkō Jikyōkai, 1934), 3.

⁸⁵² According to the official gazette of the Japanese government, the committee was established ‘under the supervision of the Minister of Education’ (then Matsuda Genji). Parliamentary Vice-Minister Soeda Keiichirō and Vice-Minister Minabe Chōji, among other higher-ranking officials in the Ministry of Education, were appointed as secretaries (*kanji*) of the committee. Their subordinates in the Ministry, Director of the Bureau of Vocational Education Kikuchi Toyosaburō and Inspector (*tokugaku-kan*) Tanaka Yasuhei, were appointed as members (*in*), probably to handle the operation of committee. Later in 1937, Tanaka was very possibly involved in the Ministry’s promotion of commercial art education, which I will discuss below. ‘Jitsugyo Kyōiku Shinkō Inkaï’ [The Committee for the Promotion of Vocational Education], *Kanpō*, 20 June 1935, 540-541.

⁸⁵³ Monbushō Jitsugyō Gakumukyoku, *Jitsugyō kyōiku gojūnenshi: zokuhen*, 142.

sōshoku nado) started to be included in this government funding.⁸⁵⁴ In accordance with this record, in a 1935 article in *Kōkokukai* on commercial art education, Miyashita Takao noted that commercial schools in Kagoshima, Sasebo, Fukuoka, and Ōgaki had received ‘substantial subsidies’ from the Ministry of Education to install ‘special facilities’ and experiment with decorative lighting for display design.⁸⁵⁵

The Ministry of Education also supported activities that were more specifically related to graphic forms of commercial art. The May 1936 *Kōkokukai* reported that the Ministry had granted ‘commercial art research funds’ (*shōgyō bijutsu kenkyūhi*) to Tokyo Keihoku Vocational School, which had hosted the second *CAE* in 1935.⁸⁵⁶ Miyayama Shun, editor-in-chief of *Kōkokukai* at the time, wrote in the editor’s postscript that the grant was proof that ‘the Ministry of Education had been presenting (*teiji*) the necessity of advertising and commercial art in secondary vocational education’.⁸⁵⁷ Miyayama even wrote that the grant was a sign that the government would further promote commercial art in general in the near future.⁸⁵⁸

In 1936 and thereafter, the Ministry of Education extended the support for commercial art education. When the *CAE* expanded as the *NCAE*, the Ministry became the official sponsor of the exhibition itself.⁸⁵⁹ Previously the exhibition had been sponsored only by affiliated private companies and the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nihon Shōkō Kaigisho). The organisers of the *NCAE* seem to have considered the Ministry’s sponsorship as a significant sign of state approval. The 1936 catalogue expressed the organising committee’s appreciation of the government sponsorship as a ‘great honour’.⁸⁶⁰

In addition to direct financial support, the Ministry of Education also promoted commercial art education in a way that may be described as more institutional. In the June 1937 issue of the art education magazine *Biiku* (Art education), Kaitō Totsuken, a teacher at Tokyo Kyōbashi Commercial School, wrote about a survey conducted by the Ministry:

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., 142-143.

⁸⁵⁵ Miyashita Takao, 'Shōgyō bijutsu kyōiku ron' [On commercial art education], *Kōkokukai*, May 1935, 60.

⁸⁵⁶ T.M. Sei [pseud.], 'Ado maiku' [Ad microphone], *Kōkokukai*, May 1936, 73.

⁸⁵⁷ Miyayama Shun, 'Henshū kōki' [Editor's notes], *Kōkokukai*, May 1936, 88.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁹ Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, *Dai Yon Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku*, 1.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid.

These days, commercial art is regarded quite important in commercial schools, and it is showing a lively trend of improvement. Recently, the Department of Commercial and Industrial Education (Shōkō Kyōikuka) within the Ministry of Education sent out letters to commercial schools around the country and conducted a survey.⁸⁶¹

The results of this survey were presented in the article. The survey provided a statistical overview of commercial art education in Japanese commercial schools, such as the total number of schools teaching commercial art, the format and status of the discipline, and the weekly teaching hours.

Although the way these results were utilised by the Ministry is unclear in the article, the implementation of the survey itself might suggest that the Ministry was interested in further institutionalising commercial art education. In 1937, when the Department of Commercial and Industrial Education conducted the survey, Tanaka Yasuhei was head of the department.⁸⁶² Previously Tanaka had been an educator at commercial schools, and possibly an expert on commercial education.⁸⁶³ In 1924, after visiting Europe, he wrote an article in the business magazine *Jitsugyō no Nihon* (Enterprising Japan) about the management of the Grands Magasins du Louvre department store in Paris.⁸⁶⁴ Tanaka praised the store's advertising department, where 'artists and designers' created 'ingenious advertising methods' (*kōmyō naru kōkokujutsu*) like catalogues, leaflets, and newspaper ads.⁸⁶⁵ He had recognised the significance of advertising and commercial art. By 1935 he was a civil servant at the Ministry of Education, and a member of the aforementioned Committee for the Promotion of Vocational Education.⁸⁶⁶ It is very possible that Tanaka, as head of the Department of Commercial and Industrial Education, sought to promote commercial art education because he

⁸⁶¹ Kaii Totsuken, 'Sekai Kyōiku Kaigi ni chūmoku no waga kuni dokuji no shōgyō bijutsu' [Commercial art of our country gets attention at the World Education Committee], *Biiku*, June 1937, 44. Hamada also referred to the results of the same survey in his aforementioned lecture on the propagation of commercial art education. Hamada Masuji, 'Shōgyō bijutsu kyōiku no genkyō ni tsuite'.

⁸⁶² Kōgyō Chōsai Kyōkai, *Saishin zusetsu Nihon kōgyō sōran* [A survey of Japanese industry, with most recent illustrations] (Tokyo: Kōgyō Tosho, 1937), 35.

⁸⁶³ In 1914 he was appointed as a teacher at Ibaraki Prefectural Commercial School. 'Jyonin oyobi jirei' [Appointments and dismissals], *Kanpō*, 9 May 1914, 216. By 1919, he was a professor at the Yamaguchi Higher School of Commerce. Tanaka Yasuhei, 'Nisshi sokaku no shin'in o jokyo seyo' [Remove the true cause of the estrangement between Japan and China], *Jitsugyō no Nihon* 22, no. 13 (1919), 170.

⁸⁶⁴ Tanaka Yasuhei, 'Pari dai ichi no hyakkaten no keieiburi' [The management of the number one department store in Paris], *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, March 1924.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸⁶⁶ 'Jitsugyō Kyōiku Shinkō Inkai', *Kanpō*, 20 June 1935, 540-541.

thought that it was a practical discipline for commercial schools, as did the other proponents of commercial art education discussed above.

The survey by the Department of Commercial and Industrial Education showed that of the total 471 commercial schools in Japan, 278, slightly more than half, taught commercial art. Kaii Totsuken considered this to be a ‘surprising boom’, given the relatively recent introduction of the commercial art discipline.⁸⁶⁷ But from a different perspective, the numbers might have suggested that there was potential for the discipline to expand and improve. The survey revealed that there was a substantial deviation in terms of how commercial art was taught across the 278 schools. While the majority of them had commercial art within their regular courses (*seika*), some employed it as part of their optional courses (*senka*). In addition, only 89 schools taught it as an independent subject; the remaining 198 set it within other subjects: mostly *zuga* (art), but in some cases ‘practice’ (*jissen*), business management, or even typewriting or physics. Weekly hours also differed from half an hour to seven hours a week.⁸⁶⁸ Regarding this deviation across schools, Kaii concluded that commercial art could develop towards a more consistent discipline. In this respect, the survey may have been part of the Ministry of Education’s groundwork to systematise the commercial art discipline more widely and formally. To sum up, in addition to the mutual fostering of local commercial art training and the *NCAE*, the Japanese government’s education policies approved and further supported the development of commercial art as an educational discipline within commercial schools. Put differently, within the Japanese government’s pursuit of the ‘practicalisation of education’, commercial art was adopted as a means to practicalise art education.

4.2. Commercial art education in Korea, 1934-1939

The correspondence between commercial art and the educational policy of ‘practicalisation’ in Japan is significant in the colonial context as well, as it also contributed to commercial art education in Korea. It is difficult to provide a comprehensive account of commercial art education in Korea, due to the scarcity of remaining records; but I have discovered a few recollections in histories and alumni bulletins of commercial schools, newspaper records, and government documents that show how students in Korea participated in commercial art activities. By examining these records, this section will show that local commercial art activities in schools in Korea had emerged by 1934; it will also demonstrate that the subsequent development of the field was linked with commercial art

⁸⁶⁷ Kaii Totsuken, 'Sekai Kyōiku Kaigi ni chūmoku no waga kuni dokuji no shōgyō bijutsu', 45.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid.

education in Japan through textbooks and exhibitions and the educational policies of the Ministry of Education in Tokyo and the colonial government in Seoul.

4.2.1. Local activities

The 1973 school history of Kyōnggi Commercial School reveals how an interest in commercial art might have grown within 1930s commercial school education in Korea.⁸⁶⁹ In an essay in the book, Ch'a Myōng-gi, an alumnus (attended 1930-1935), mentions that there was an 'art club' (*misulbu*) as part of the school's extracurricular activities (*t'ūkpyōl hwaltong*).⁸⁷⁰ Ch'a does not state that it was a 'commercial art club' (*sangōp misulbu*), but his descriptions suggest that the club conducted activities that can be categorised as commercial art. Ch'a writes that the club:

A. Held an art exhibition (*misul chōnsihoe*) at the gallery on the sixth floor of the Minakai department Store.

B. Decorated display windows of stores in Ch'ungmuro: three or four students formed a group, gained consent from the store owners, and exhibited the products they sold in display windows: it is a practice of commercial art (*sangōp misul ūi silssūp ida*).⁸⁷¹

From Ch'a's writing it is unclear whether the club members called decorating window displays 'commercial art' (*sangōp misul*) at the time, or he remembered this as such later on. But his recollection nevertheless suggests that students conducted practices of commercial display similar to those in Japan mentioned above.

Meanwhile, because Ch'a refers to the exhibition at Minakai only as an 'art exhibition', it is unclear what type of work the students presented. But I have discovered an article in the *Chosōn chungang ilbo* that might explain more about the exhibition. The article, dated 14 October 1934, noted:

The first *Commercial School Art Exhibition* (Sangōp Hakkyo Misul Chōllamhoe), organised by the Kyōnggi Province Education Committee (Kyōnggi-do Kyoyuk'oe), is being held from the 13th at the Minakai Gallery; as it is an exhibition that started this year, participating schools have shown great enthusiasm, submitting sixty-four posters, six storefront decorations, and fifty-two models [of storefront decoration], a total of one hundred twenty-two. [...] The participating

⁸⁶⁹ Kyōnggi Sangōp Kodūnghakkyo Tongch'anghoe, ed. *Kyōnggi Sanggo 50-yōn* [50 years of Kyōnggi Commercial High School] (Kyōnggi Sangōp Kodūnghakkyo Tongch'anghoe, 1973).

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 33-37.

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

schools are as follows: Kyōnggi Commercial, Kyōngsōng Commercial, Inch'ōn Commercial, Kaesōng Commercial, Tongsōng Commercial, Sōllin Commercial, and others.⁸⁷²

This article is the only record that I have found so far of a commercial school student art exhibition held at Minakai between 1930 and 1935. The exhibition mentioned by Ch'a is most likely the one described in the article, given that 'Kyōnggi Commercial' was listed as a participating school. The two records therefore suggest that commercial art was taught in commercial schools in Korea as early as 1934, in the form of posters and storefront designs. Furthermore, they might suggest that such commercial art training was becoming popular among commercial schools in the mid-1930s, considering that several commercial schools in Kyōnggi Province around Seoul participated in the exhibition and that a dedicated exhibition could be held in a well-respected gallery in a department store.

Another essay in the history of Kyōnggi Commercial School, by a graduate named Sim Yōng-gu (class of 1942, attended 1937-1941 due to early graduation during the war) offers an account of later commercial art activities at the school.⁸⁷³ Sim briefly writes about the school's extracurricular activities of '*sangmi*' (abbreviation for '*sangōp misul*', or 'commercial art'):

[We] almost monopolised (*tokchōm*) awards in the field of commercial art (*sangōp misul pumun*). Class of 1940 student Pyōn Yōng-wōn was particularly outstanding, class of 1942 student Fujii Shunji swept up awards, and Cho Ki-jang, from the same class [1942], also studied a lot in this field. This tradition continued thereafter and [the school] fostered many talented students. [I] think that the supervisor at the time, the late Mr. Takahashi Hideo, established the basis for this.⁸⁷⁴

According to the school history, Takahashi Hideo was the art teacher at the school.⁸⁷⁵ Sim's article suggests that in the late 1930s, under the instruction of the school's art teacher, students studied commercial art and participated in various exhibitions, with good results.

⁸⁷² 'Sangōp Hakkyo Misulchōn kaemak' [Commercial school art exhibition opens], *Chosōn chungang ilbo*, 14 October 1934, 2.

⁸⁷³ Kyōnggi Sangōp Kodūnghakkyo Tongch'anghoe, *Kyōnggi Sanggo 50-yōn* 41.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., 34. According to annual employee records published by the Government-General, Takahashi taught at the school from 1926 to 1943. Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu oyobi shozoku kansho shokuinroku* [Directory of employees of the Government-General of Korea and affiliated offices] (Seoul: Chōsen Sotokufu, 1926-1937). Apart from a later comment by an alumnus of the school about him as 'fashionable (*osharena*) Takahashi', I have not been able to discover records that may further explain his interest in commercial art. Ono Masayoshi, 'Mainichi ga tanoshii' [Everyday was delightful], *Dōshō dayori tokowaka: Keiki Shōgyō Dōsōkai kaishi*, no. 5 (1994), 39.

A 1993 essay in the bulletin of alumni of Kyōnggi Commercial School in Japan, written by Sim's classmate Tomita Toyotsugu, also notes the commercial art activity at the school.⁸⁷⁶ Tomita writes:

There was an all-Korea secondary school poster contest. Fujii from the art club submitted one work which he liked, of the two or three he made, and submitted a left-out piece under my name. That piece was selected as a winner, and I was awarded a government bond worth ten yen.⁸⁷⁷

Because Tomita does not specify the year, and neither Fujii's nor his name appears on the lists of winners of the *TICAE* of 1938 and 1939, it is difficult to identify to what 'an all-Korea secondary school poster contest' refers. But Tomita's essay nevertheless supports Sim's description that the students of Kyōnggi Commercial School were active in the field of commercial art.

Other records show how commercial art activities took place in other schools in Korea. For example, the 2011 school history of Tongsōng Commercial School in Seoul explains:

Activities in the field of commercial school [art]⁸⁷⁸ were also remarkable. In particular, there was a poster club from early times. It was not very active around 1935 and 1936, but after that, it gradually became lively and won prizes in various poster exhibitions.⁸⁷⁹

As noted in the *Chosŏn chungang ilbo* report quoted above, Tongsōng Commercial School was one of the schools in Seoul that participated in the 1934 commercial school art exhibition at Minakai. Meanwhile, a short report published in the *Maeil sinbo* stated that Sōngjin Commercial School, in North Hamgyōng Province, held a 'poster exhibition' (*p'osūt'ōjŏn*) in September 1936.⁸⁸⁰ Thus, some commercial schools beyond Seoul may have conducted commercial art activities, although the most visible ones were concentrated in the capital.

⁸⁷⁶ Tomita Toyotsugu, 'Gakusei seikatsu' [Student life], *Dōshō dayori tokowaka: Keiki Shōgyō Dōsōkai kaishi*, no. 4 (1993), 47.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁸ Given the context of the passage, this is very possibly a misprint for 'commercial art' (*sangōp misul*).

⁸⁷⁹ Tongsōng Chunggodūng Hakkyo, ed. *Tongsōng paengnyōnsa* [The hundred-year history of Tongsōng] (Seoul: Tongsōng Chunggodūng Hakkyo, 2011), 162.

⁸⁸⁰ The exhibition was held to celebrate the school's fourth anniversary, and presented posters designed by the students. 'Sōngjin Sangōp Hakkyo sa-chunyōn kinyōm p'osūt'ōjŏn kaech'oe' [Sōngjin Commercial School holds a poster exhibition to celebrate its fourth anniversary], *Maeil sinbo*, 19 September 1936, 4.

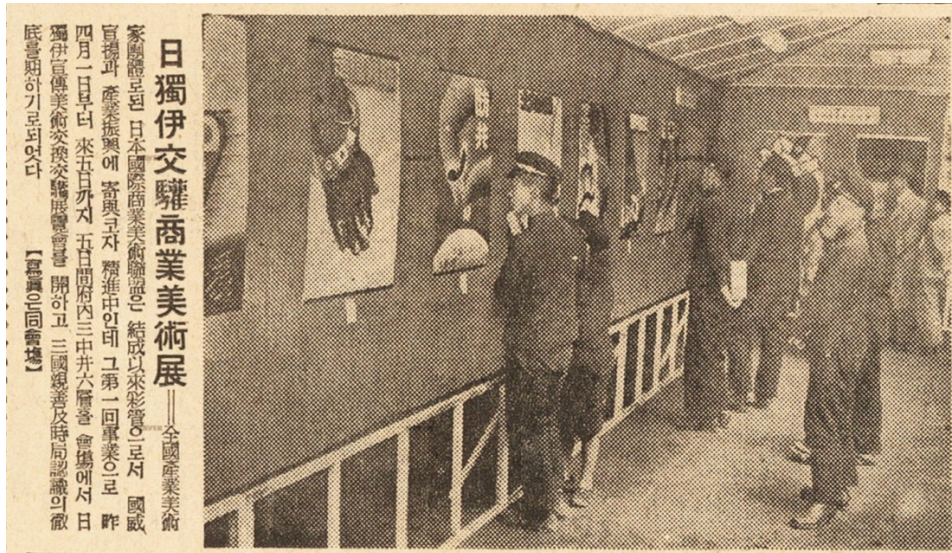


Figure 129. Photo of the *Japan-Germany-Italy Exchange Commercial Art Exhibition*. *TI*, 3 April 1938, 7.

A photo published in the *TI* shows another aspect of students' interest in commercial art (Figure 129). The photo, published on 3 April 1938, reported on the *Japan-Germany-Italy Exchange Commercial Art Exhibition* (Il-Tok-I Kyohwan Sangöp Misuljön) held at Minakai in Seoul. It was an exhibition of posters designed by Japanese, German, and Italian designers, which was originally organised in Japan.⁸⁸¹ The theme, promoting the fascist Axis alliance, reflects commercial art's link with wartime propaganda at the time, but here it is significant that the viewers in the photo were in school uniforms common at the time: black stand-collar suits and brimmed hats (Figure 130). Considering that the black uniform was worn by male students of various types of schools in Korea at the time, the students in the photo were not necessarily from commercial schools. But the large number of students in the photo nevertheless suggests that students were a key audience for a commercial art exhibition.⁸⁸²

⁸⁸¹ The *TI* stated that the exhibition was organised by the 'Japanese International Commercial Art Federation' (Ilbon Kukche Sangöp Misul Yönmaeng), but this might have been a mistake. According to the 1939 *Almanac of advertising* (*Kōkoku nenkan*) published in Japan by Mannensha, an exhibition of the same title was held in Osaka on February 1938 by the 'Japanese International Propaganda Art Federation' (Nihon Kokusai Senden Bijutsu Renmei). The group was established in December 1937, 'to contribute to international friendship through the exchange of posters'. Mannensha, *Kōkoku nenkan* [Almanac of advertising] (Osaka: Mannensha, 1939), 28-29.

⁸⁸² A notable aspect of the photo is that all the students within it were male. This gender bias may reflect a more general tendency of commercial art in colonial Korea (and Japan) to be a discipline occupied by male practitioners and students.

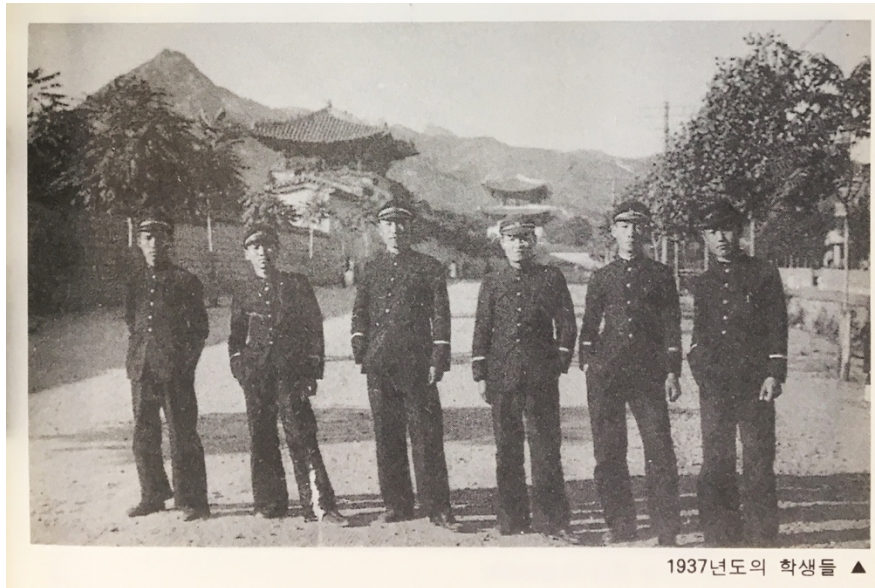


Figure 130. Photo of students of Taedong Commercial School in Seoul in 1937. Taedong Chung Sangöp Kodŭng Hakkyo Tongmunhoe, *Taedong ch'ilship-yŏn-sa* [The seventy-year history of Taedong] (Seoul: Taedong Chung Sangöp Kodŭng Hakkyo Tongmunhoe, 1995), n.p.

Although fragmented, these recollections of graduates and newspaper records reveal that, from the mid-1930s, teachers and students of some of the commercial schools in Korea gradually engaged in commercial art activities; the term '*sangöp misul*' (commercial art) also gained currency among them. Students created commercial art works and presented them in the form of exhibitions, and also went to exhibitions to see professional work. These activities of students in Korea were similar to those in contemporary Japan, which might suggest that a parallel development of commercial art education took place across the two countries.

4.2.2. Transnational links

As discussed in the previous chapters, advertising and commercial art in Korea was linked with that in Japan through business relations and shared knowledge and expertise. Commercial art education in Korea was also linked with that in Japan. A key factor in the transnational link was the educational policies of the Tokyo and Seoul governments.

In his study of vocational education in colonial Korea, education historian An Hong-sŏn has shown how successive governors-general of Korea and their cabinets promoted vocational education while relatively limiting liberal education.⁸⁸³ For example, An explains that the first governor-general

⁸⁸³ An Hong-sŏn, 'Singminji sigi chungdŭng siröp kyoyuk yŏn'gu' [A study on Korean secondary vocational education in the colonial era] (PhD thesis, Seoul National University, 2015).

of Korea, Terauchi Masatake (1852-1919; in office 1910-1916), emphasised practical knowledge and vocational training, while publicly claiming that Korea was too immature for the development of academic knowledge.⁸⁸⁴ Terauchi's perspective was reflected in the Korean Education Act (Chōsen Kyōiku Rei) of 1911. The colonial government's focus on vocational education continued in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1928, Vice Governor-General Ikegami Sirō criticised the tendency among students in Korea to advance to higher-level schools as the 'harmful effect of reading education (*dokushō kyōiku*)'; instead he called for 'labour-centred education'.⁸⁸⁵ Governor-General Ugaki Kazushige (1868-1956; in office 1927, 1931-1936) also maintained an educational philosophy that emphasised vocational rather than liberal education. In a 1934 speech to headmasters of secondary schools across Korea, Ugaki advocated that education in Korea should follow a principle of 'education is life, life is labour' (*kyōiku soku seikatsu, seikatsu soku kinrō*); he also declared that under his governorship, new liberal schools 'will not be approved at all'.⁸⁸⁶ From the statements of these Government-General executives, An Hong-sŏn summarises Japan's colonial education policy in Korea as the 'practicalisation of education' (K: *kyoyuk shilchehwa*, J: *kyōiku jissaika*) and 'labour-oriented education' (K: *kŭllojuūi kyoyuk*, J: *kinrōshugi kyōiku*).⁸⁸⁷

The policy of 'practicalisation' was not unique to Korea: as discussed above, it was a key aim of educational policy in contemporary Japan.⁸⁸⁸ Furthermore, it was a pivotal factor that accelerated the propagation of commercial art education in commercial schools in Japan. The parallel adoption of 'practicalisation' in Korea and Japan might then suggest that such a state policy influenced the commercial art activities of schools in Korea.

I have not been able to discover comprehensive records of the Government-General's promotion of commercial art education in Korea. But the 1932 and 1933 versions of *The list of authorised textbooks* (Ninka kyōkayō tosho ichiran), official documents published by the Department of Education (Gakumukyoku), suggest that the Government-General recognised commercial art as a

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., 30-31.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid., 40.

⁸⁸⁶ Ugaki Kazushige, 'Zenkoku Chūgaku Kōchō Kai dō ni okeru kōen' [A lecture to the National Society of Middle School Headmasters], *Bunkyo no Chōsen*, October 1934, 28.

⁸⁸⁷ An Hong-sŏn, 'Singminji sigi chungdŭng sirōp kyoyuk yŏn'gu', 21-22.

⁸⁸⁸ The policy of 'labour-oriented education' shaped an educational environment in Korea that was different from that in Japan; I will discuss how such policy might have affected different social implications of commercial art education in Korea and Japan further in section 4.4.

subject appropriate for commercial schools in Korea.⁸⁸⁹ *The list* presented textbooks that the government authorised regarding each subject and type of secondary school. It had the ‘art course’ (*zugaka*) section in which it listed books authorised specifically for secondary commercial schools (Table 7). Apart from *Modern new drawing*, which was commonly authorised for liberal, agricultural, and commercial schools, all the art textbooks authorised for commercial schools in Korea between October 1931 and September 1933 were related to commercial art. This included the books written by Japanese authors mentioned above: Hamada, the Association for Art Education, and Nakata and others. These authors asserted that commercial art was practical, and hence an appropriate discipline for commercial schools. The official authorisation of these books may suggest that the colonial government acknowledged the authors’ approaches as valid.⁸⁹⁰ In this sense, the colonial government, as the Japanese government did, very possibly promoted commercial art as a way of furthering its policy of ‘practicalising’ vocational education.

Table 7. List of art textbooks authorised for commercial schools in Korea by the government-general⁸⁹¹

Authorisation	Title	Author	Publisher	Year
Oct 1931-Sept 1932	現代新図法 (Modern new drawing)	図画教育研究会 (Art Education Research Group)	三省堂	1931
	商業美育新梯 (New steps of commercial art education)	美育振興会 (Association for Art education)	晩成處	1931
	商業図画新撰 (New selection of commercial art)	田邊至 (Tanabe Itaru)	開成館	1930
	商業美術教本 (The textbook of commercial art)	濱田増治 (Hamada Masuji)	富山房	1931
	商業図画[要義]	美育振興会	晩成處	1932

⁸⁸⁹ Chōsen Sōtokufu Gakumuyoku, *Ninka kyōkayō tosho ichiran: Shōwa 6-nen 10-gatsu-Shōwa 7-nen 9-gatsu* [The list of authorised textbooks: October 1931-September 1932] (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1932); Chōsen Sōtokufu Gakumuyoku, *Ninka kyōkayō tosho ichiran: Shōwa 7-nen 10-gatsu-Shōwa 8-nen 9-gatsu* [The list of authorised textbooks: October 1932-September 1933] (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1933). The 1932 and 1933 versions are the only ones I have been able to discover so far.

⁸⁹⁰ Education historian Hō Chae-yōng has shown that throughout the colonial period the Government-General has strict control over textbooks: it only allowed schools in Korea to use ones developed and published, approved (*kentei*), or authorised (*ninka*) by the Government-General. Hō Chae-yōng, 'Ilje kangjōmgi Chosōn Ch'ongdokpu ūi kyogwasō chōngch'aek kwa kyogwasō p'yōnch'an silt'ae' [The realities of textbook policy and textbook compilation of Joseon Government-general in the period of Japanese occupation by force], *Tongyanghak* 46 (2009).

⁸⁹¹ Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu Gakumuyoku, *Ninka kyōkayō tosho ichiran: Shōwa 6-nen 10-gatsu-Shōwa 7-nen 9-gatsu* [The list of authorised textbooks: October 1931-September 1932] (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1932), 39-40; Chōsen Sōtokufu Gakumuyoku, *Ninka kyōkayō tosho ichiran: Shōwa 7-nen 10-gatsu-Shōwa 8-nen 9-gatsu* [The list of authorised textbooks: October 1932-September 1933] (Seoul: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1933), 35-37.

Oct 1932-Sept 1933	(Essential commercial art)	(Association for Art education)		
	商業図法[要義] (Essential commercial drawing)	美育振興会 (Association for Art education)	晩成處	1932
	標準商業美術 (Standard commercial art)	中田俊造, 森田武, 鈴木豊次郎 (Nakata Shunzō, Morita Takeshi, and Suzuki Toyojirō)	帝国書院	1932-1933

Another link between commercial art education in Korea and Japan is the *NCAE*. The catalogues for the *NCAE* show that students of commercial schools in Korea, both Korean and Japanese, participated in and won prizes in the exhibitions, from its expansion in 1936 until its final iteration in 1940 (for a full list of winners from Korea, see Appendix 2).⁸⁹²

The list of winners reveals two aspects of participation from Korea in the Japan-based event. Firstly, the number of participating schools in Korea was limited. Only four commercial schools (Kyōngsōng, Inch'ōn, Kaesōng, and Pyongyang) won prizes; according to the 1940 catalogue, the four, with the addition of Kyōngsōng Girls' Vocational School,⁸⁹³ were the only members of the

⁸⁹² Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai ed., *Dai San Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Third National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: 1936); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Yon Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Fourth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1937); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Go Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Fifth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1938); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Roku Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Sixth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1939); Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Nana Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Seventh National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1940).

⁸⁹³ Related to the aforementioned photo of the *Japan-Germany-Italy Exchange Commercial Art Exhibition* with only male students (Figure 129), I have not been able to find a record of the commercial art activities of the students of Kyōngsōng Girls' Vocational School. Although the *TICAE* was open to both male and female students, there was no instance of a female winner, as we will see in the next section. Among the already scarce records regarding commercial art in Korea, I have found no documentation that may explain the absence of a female presence in the field; but this was possibly related to the male-dominated structure of commerce and industry. As mentioned in Chapter 3, feminist historian Kim Su-jin has shown that educated and professional women in colonial Korea were visible but certainly marginal. For those few who received secondary or higher education, becoming a schoolteacher was the most feasible, if not the only, professional option. Businesses and industries (including advertising and publishing, within which commercial artists worked) remained largely dominated by men. See Kim Su-jin, *Sin yōsōng, kŭndae ūi kwaing: Singminji Chosōn ūi sin yōsōng tamnon kwa chendō chōngch'i, 1920-1934*, 58-102. Meanwhile, the field of art in colonial Korea was also dominated mostly by men. Although some female artists, like the Western-style painter Na Hye-sōk, successfully established themselves in the academic painting scene, they were usually from wealthy families and were able to study abroad in Japan. They were from the privileged class, and possibly had little incentive to pursue commercial art, which was at the time

Association for Commercial Art Education, the organisation behind the *NCAE*.⁸⁹⁴ Considering that the teaching of commercial art was highly uneven across schools, as the aforementioned 1937 survey by the Japanese Ministry of Education indicated, it may be that the four schools were particularly active in teaching commercial art. In fact, all of them except Pyongyang had also participated in the earlier 1934 exhibition at the Minakai Gallery discussed above. Given that all four were public (*kōritsu*), or state funded (as opposed to privately owned), it may also be that they were more integrated into the network of commercial schools across Japan, and their teachers or administrators were more informed about events in Japan.⁸⁹⁵

Secondly, Korean students (four out of nineteen)⁸⁹⁶ were significantly outnumbered by their Japanese peers. On this point, Kyōngsōng Commercial School, which won the most awards at the *NCAE*, was a Japanese-only school.⁸⁹⁷ Although the sample is not large enough to draw a

considered subordinate to fine art (I will discuss the social status of commercial art vis-à-vis fine art in section 4.4). For female artists in colonial Korea, see Kim So-yŏn, 'Han'guk kŭndae yŏsŏng ūi sŏhwa kyoyuk kwa chakka hwaldong yŏn'gu' [A study on education of calligraphy and paintings, and artistic activities of Korean women in modern times], *Misulssahak*, no. 20 (2006); Yun Pŏm-mo, 'Kŭndaegi yŏsŏng misul ūi hyŏngsŏng, Na Hye-sŏk kwa Paek Nam-sun ūi kyŏngu' [The formation of women's art in modern times, the cases of Rha Hye-seok and Baek Namsoon], *Na Hye-sŏk yŏn'gu* 2 (2013); Kim Chi-hye, 'Misulga esŏ sŏn'gakcha ro, kŭndaegi cheguk ūl kyŏnghŏmhan yŏsŏng misulgadŭl' [From an artist to a pioneer, female artists who experienced modern Japanese empire], *Na Hye-sŏk yŏn'gu* 8 (2016).

⁸⁹⁴ Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Nana Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Seventh National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1940), 8. The list of member schools in Korea included one that is printed with an unidentifiable name. But considering that Inch'ŏn Commercial School participated in 1936 and 1937 but was not included in the list, it is likely that the unidentifiable name is a misprint of Inch'ŏn.

⁸⁹⁵ This might be particularly valid considering that the private schools Tongsōng and Söllin participated in the 1934 Minakai exhibition but were not part of the Association for Commercial Art Education.

⁸⁹⁶ Ham T'ae-jin, Ko Ūn-myŏng, Pak Ch'ang-man, Ko Sŏn-myŏng, and Yu Hwang were Korean, judging from their names. But regarding after 1940, judging the nationality of a student by name may be inaccurate. In February 1940, Governor-General Ugaki Kazushige initiated the policy of 'sōshi kaimei' (literally, 'create a surname, change the given name'; 'ch'angssi kaemyŏng' in Korean). This policy forced many Koreans to change their names to Japanese-style ones. By August 1940, around 80 per cent of Koreans in Korea had registered Japanese-style surnames. Hence, among the list of winners of the 1940 *NCAE*, there may have been students who were Korean but officially had Japanese-style names. For *sōshi-kaimei*, see Mizuno Naoki, *Sōshi-kaimei: Nihon no Chōsen shihai no naka de* [Sōshi-kaimei: Amid Japan's rule over Korea] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008).

⁸⁹⁷ An Hong-sŏn, 'Singminji sigi chungdŭng sirŏp kyoyuk yŏn'gu', 162-163. An Hong-sŏn explains that, from the 1920s, vocational schools in Korea generally adopted a mixed-nationality policy; but in cities with a large Japanese population like Seoul, Busan, and Inch'ŏn, Japanese-only schools were also run in addition to mixed-nationality ones.

generalisation, this ethnic difference in participation in the *NCAE* may be related to the different social significance that vocational education had for Koreans and Japanese in Korea, which I will discuss further in section 4.4.

To summarise, the educational policy of ‘practicalisation’ in Korea and Japan probably contributed to similar commercial art activities in the two countries. The *NCAE* shows the link between commercial art education in Korea and Japan on institutional and personal levels. But not all commercial schools in Korea were included in the Japanese network of commercial art education represented by the *NCAE*. The *TICAE*, on the other hand, incorporated commercial art activities in other schools in Korea.

4.3. The *Tonga Ilbo* Commercial Art Exhibition

The *TICAE* was held in 1938 and 1939. A 1940 iteration was also planned and advertised in the *TI* until July that year;⁸⁹⁸ but the newspaper itself was discontinued in August 1940 due to wartime control, which most likely meant that the exhibition was cancelled. In this section, I will outline the format of, and participation in, the *TICAE*, analyse the prize-winning works and compare them with those at the *NCAE* in terms of style and technique. Through this I will show that there were parallels between Korea and Japan in terms of visual imagery and broader commonalities across commercial art education.

4.3.1. Format and participation

According to the regulations published in the *TI*, the *TICAE* maintained the same format in its two iterations.⁸⁹⁹ It had two divisions: ‘poster design’ (*p'osŭt'a toan*) and ‘newspaper advertising design’ (*sinmun kwanggo toan*). Each division had grand-prix (*t'ŭksŏn*), first, second, and third prizes and honourable mentions (*kajak*). The topics of design were given by twelve sponsors each year, who were major clients of the newspaper as advertisers, and were a combination of Korean and Japanese companies.

⁸⁹⁸ 'Che Sam-hoe Chungdŭng Sangŏp Hakkyo Saengdo Sangŏp Misul Chakp'um Chŏllamhoe ' [The Third Commercial Art Exhibition for Secondary Commercial School Students], *Tonga ilbo*, 16 July 1940.

⁸⁹⁹ 'Ch'ulpum kyujŏng' [Submission guidelines], *Tonga ilbo*, 19 July 1938, 7; 'Ch'ulpum kyujŏng' [Submission guidelines], *Tonga ilbo*, 20 July 1939, 3.



Figure 131. Photos of the 1938 (top) and 1939 (bottom) *TICA E* held at Hwasin. *TI*, 29 September 1938, 2; 21 September 1939, 2.

Reports in the *TI* show that the Tonga Ilbo Company publicly exhibited prize-winning works from the *TICA E* for a week at the gallery in Hwasin (Figure 131).⁹⁰⁰ The photos in the reports suggest that many students and adults (probably judges or employees of the newspaper and/or sponsors) in Seoul were able to view the works at close range. That the photos were published in the best-selling Korean-language newspaper suggests that commercial art as an educational discipline in commercial schools was more widely presented to Korean readers. After the public exhibitions, the prize-winning works were also published in the *TI*, as a series of what was called the ‘on-paper exhibition’ (*chisangjŏn*) (Figure 132).⁹⁰¹ Two works were normally published each day, totalling seventeen in 1938 and twenty-one in 1939 (for a full list of prize-winning works, see Appendix 3).

⁹⁰⁰ ‘Ch’ulpum kyujŏng’, *Tonga ilbo*, 19 July 1938, 7; ‘Ch’ulpum kyujŏng’, *Tonga ilbo*, 20 July 1939, 3.

⁹⁰¹ ‘On-paper exhibition’ published in the *TI*. 30 September 1938; 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 October 1938; 23, 24, 27, 30 September 1939; 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11 October 1939.

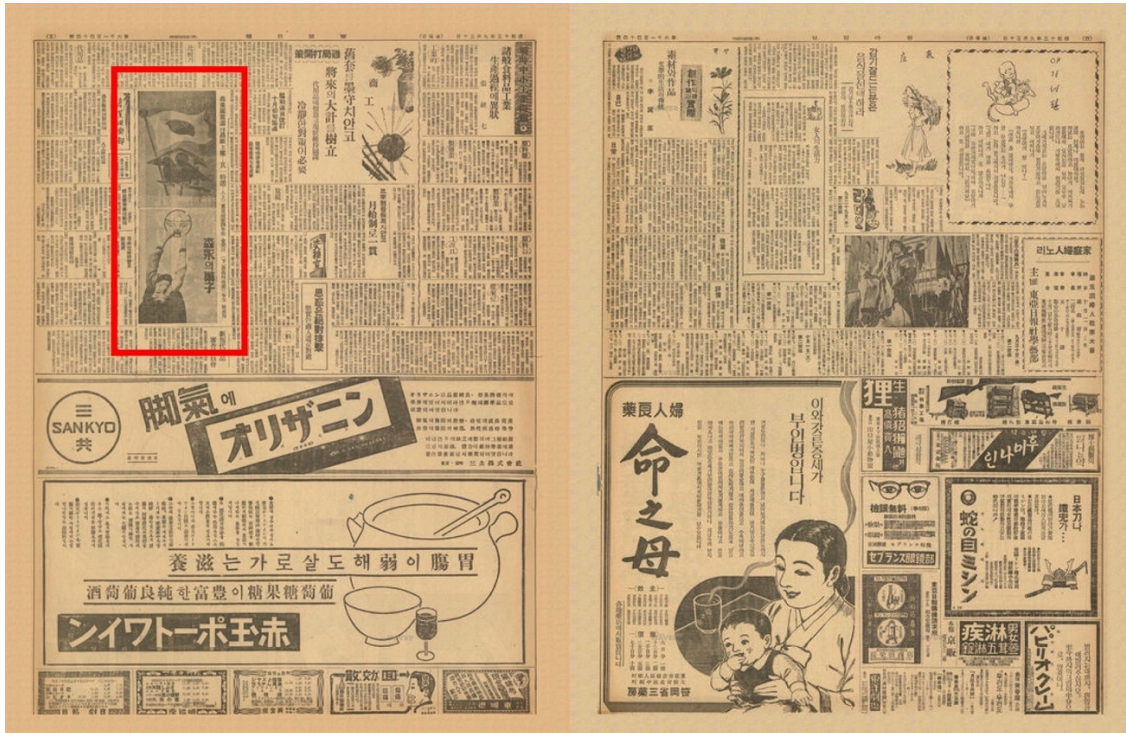


Figure 132. Example of an 'on-paper exhibition'. *TJ*, 30 September 1938, 5.

Despite being a national event, widely publicised through both physical and printed exhibitions, the list of winners indicates that participation in the *TICAE* was limited, both in scale and geographically. The thirty-eight awards were won by twenty-two students, who were from five schools: three in Seoul (Tongsŏng, Taedong, and Kyŏnggi Public) and two outside of Seoul (Hamhŭng and Sinŭiju). This limited participation may have been related to insufficient promotion of the event, or it may have been that the five, in addition to the four schools that won prizes in the *NCAE*, were the only commercial schools that were particularly active in commercial art education.

The limited and geographically concentrated (in Seoul) participation may also be related to broader conditions of consumption in colonial Korea. As discussed in Chapter 3, Seoul was the epicentre of 1930s consumer culture in Korea, where modern commodities and spaces were available to a small number of upper- or upper middle-class urbanites.⁹⁰² Most of the sponsors of the *TICAE* (who provided the design themes) were companies that sold and advertised such commodities (Hwasin and Morinaga, for example). It is possible that many of the students who participated in

⁹⁰² For social class in colonial Korea, see Dong-no Kim, 'National Identity and Class Interest in the Peasant Movements of the Colonial Period', in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, ed. Hong Yung Lee, Yong-Chool Ha, and Clark W. Sorensen (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013); Gi-Wook Shin, *Peasant Protest and Social Change in Colonial Korea* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2014).

commercial art and the *TICAE* were among the urban population with cultural and economic capital, familiar with and interested in these commodities and their advertising.⁹⁰³

4.3.2. Styles and techniques of design

Regardless of the limited participation in the exhibition, prize-winning works published in the on-paper exhibitions of the *TICAE* reveal what students in Korea were creating through their commercial art activities in the late 1930s, in terms of style and technique.⁹⁰⁴ The poster and newspaper advertising divisions each showed salient stylistic or technical tendencies.



Figure 133. Poster design for the Chosŏn Life Insurance Company by Kim Yŏng-gak (1938 *TICAE*, grand-prix). *TI*, 30 September 1938, 5.

In poster design, simple illustration, with an airbrush effect and bold geometric forms as key features, was the predominant style. For example, the 1938 grand-prix poster, for the Chosŏn Life Insurance Company, was designed by a student named Kim Yŏng-gak (Tongsŏng Commercial

⁹⁰³ I will further discuss in section 4.4. how class and social status may have affected students' involvement in commercial art and the professionalisation of commercial art in general.

⁹⁰⁴ The remaining reproductions in the *TI* are small, low-resolution, and greyscale, hence it is difficult to fully examine the image of the originals. Meanwhile, a lack of written critiques or comments makes it difficult to articulate how individual works were evaluated by the judges. Moreover, only the prize-winning pieces were published, which limits the scope in terms of what the participating students might have created more generally.

School) (Figure 133). Through the main motifs (birds, birdhouse, and overarching Japanese flag), it seems that Kim sought to convey the sense of security that the company would provide.⁹⁰⁵ Overall, the poster had a simple composition. Kim presented the motifs as simplified geometric blocks. At the same time, he created a contrast between the flat surface of the birds and the three-dimensional texture of the birdhouse. Kim realised the texture of the latter by applying an airbrush effect.

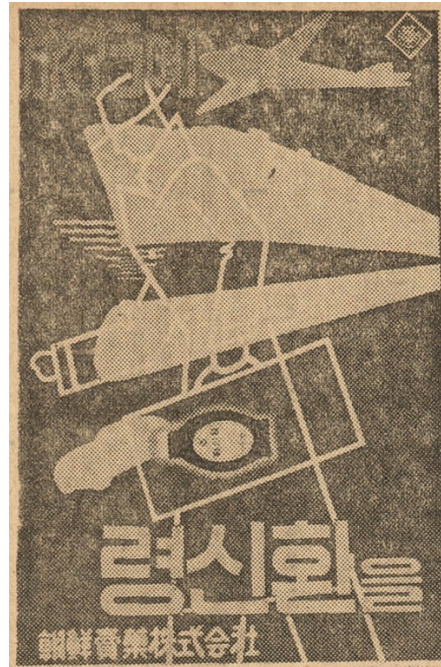


Figure 134. Poster design for Ryōngshinhwan by Kim Yong-gak (1939 *TICAÉ*, grand-prix). *TI*, 23 September 1939, 6.

The 1939 grand-prix poster was designed by Kim Yong-gak (Tongsōng Commercial School) (Figure 134).⁹⁰⁶ It was for the Ryōngshinhwan digestive medicine. The slogan read: ‘Ryōngshinhwan for travelling’ (*yōhaeng e Ryōngsinhwan ŭl*), which was represented by the visual motifs of a plane, an ocean liner, and a man walking forward with a suitcase in his hand. The multiple motifs overlapped, which contributed to a more complex layout than that of the 1938 grand-prix poster. But Kim Yong-gak adopted a similar visual expression and technique to that of his predecessor, in that he

⁹⁰⁵ The Japanese flag was very possibly related to the heightened wartime atmosphere of militarism at the time.

⁹⁰⁶ Both Kim Yōng-gak (grand-prix 1938) and Kim Yong-gak attended Tongsōng, and the former was one year above the latter. Given that their names share the same Chinese characters, it is possible that the two were brothers or cousins. If so, they might have worked closely together, which would have contributed to their similar technique and style. However, the stylistic tendency was shared more generally in other posters in the *TICAÉ*.

simplified the motifs with silhouettes and line drawings, and used the airbrush gradation effect to highlight the bottle of the product in the lower centre.



Figure 135. Newspaper advertising design for Morinaga by Im Sŭng-nam (1938 *TICAÉ*, grand-prix). *TI*, 30 September 1938, 5.

In newspaper advertising design, many of the works featured photomontage as a key technique. For example, the newspaper advertising grand-prix for the 1938 *TICAÉ* was designed by Im Sŭng-nam (Sinŭiju Commercial School) for Morinaga (Figure 135). The main motif of the advertisement was a girl holding the Morinaga logo in her hands. To present the motif, Im Sŭng-nam adopted the photomontage technique: he combined photographic (the girl) and non-photographic (the logo) elements, creating an integrated composition. The use of photomontage contributed to a design that had a simple visual structure with a concise message.



Figure 136. Newspaper advertisement design for Samsŏng Chohyŏljŏng by Yi Chae-gu (1939 *TICAE*, grand-prix), *Ti*, 23 September 1939, 6.

The grand-prix for the 1939 *TICAE* was designed by Yi Chae-gu (Sohwa Engineering School) for Samsŏng Chohyŏljŏng, a blood-enhancing medicine for women (Figure 136). Featuring a slogan that read ‘To give birth to babies!’, the advertisement appealed to viewers by suggesting that the product was good for female fertility. Yi also presented this message using photomontage: he superimposed an illustration of a baby on a cut-out photo of a female figure, and highlighted these elements with a bright background.

The thirty-eight prize-winning and exhibited works in the two iterations of the *TICAE* were certainly not uniform, but the key features of the grand-prix pieces discussed above (simplified silhouettes and line drawings, airbrush effects, and photomontage) were shared by many of the other works (Figure 137, Figure 138).

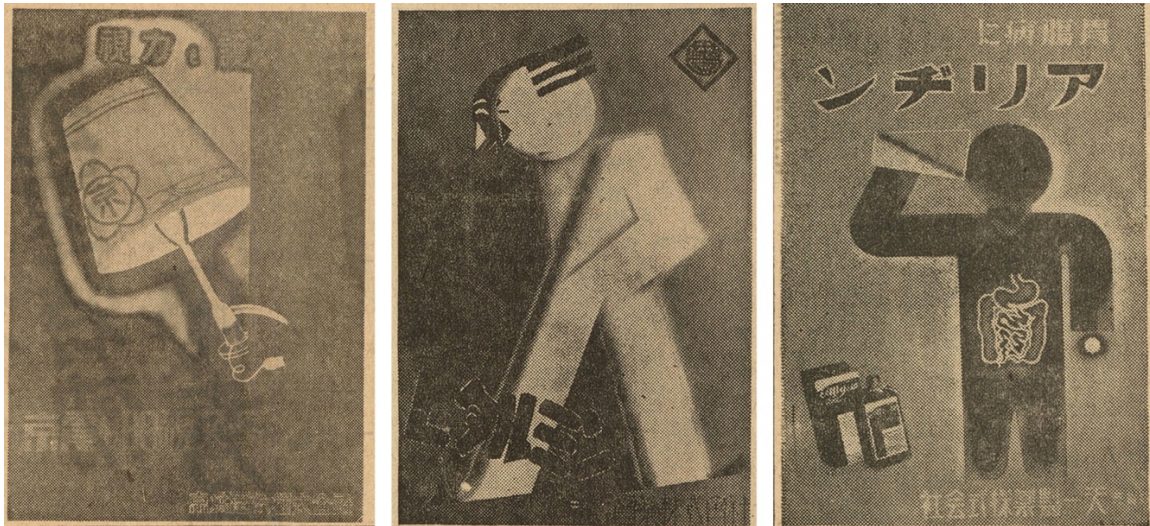


Figure 137. Examples of posters in the TICA E. TI, 13 October 1938; 4, 10 October 1939.



Figure 138. Examples of newspaper advertisements in the TICA E. TI, 11 October 1938; 27, 29 September 1939.

4.3.3. Visual parallels between Korea and Japan



Figure 139. First prize winners in the poster division of the 1939 *NCAE*. Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Roku Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Sixth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1939), n.p.

A comparison of the works in the *TICAE* and *NCAE* reveals that students in Korea and Japan adopted similar styles and techniques. Particularly in poster design, many works in the *NCAE* featured simplified forms and silhouettes and an airbrush effect.⁹⁰⁷ A spread featuring two first-prize winners in the 1939 *NCAE* catalogue provides a clear example (Figure 139): the poster on the left-hand page presented a skiing figure in a dark silhouette with subtle tonal gradations; the one on the right featured figures drawn as flat and simplified forms. Both utilised an airbrush effect to form the background and distinguish it from the main motifs.

⁹⁰⁷ Unlike those in the *TICAE*, few works in the newspaper advertising division of the *NCAE* featured the photomontage technique. I have not been able to find records documenting why this was the case, but the lack of photographs might have been related to the *NCAE*'s general focus on the poster medium. The *NCAE* started as a poster exhibition, and even after the newspaper advertising division was added in 1936, the prize-winning works in the division were marginalised in the catalogues: they were printed after the posters and in substantially smaller sizes. In relation to this, the judges often found newspaper advertising submissions unimpressive. For example, in 1938, Sugiura Hisui commented that many newspaper advertising submissions were 'not thorough' (*futettei*), in that they were 'like posters drawn with black ink'. In short, the relatively limited attention to the newspaper advertising division may have contributed to a lack of medium-specific approach (and the adoption of photography) among the students.

A more telling example regarding the stylistic similarities between works by students in Korea and Japan is the catalogue for the 1937 *NCAE*. Four of the first-prize posters were presented on one page, and all adopted the visual expression discussed above (Figure 140). They featured geometric forms and gradations, and the one on the lower left also adopted the line-drawing technique that was used in the grand-prix of the 1939 *TICAE* (Figure 134).

In addition to showing the general visual similarities between the *NCAE* and the *TICAE*, the page is significant in that it featured a piece from Korea. The design in the upper-left corner was by a student in Korea named Ko Sŏn-myŏng (Kaesŏng Commercial School). As discussed above, students in Korea regularly participated in, and won prizes at, the *NCAE*. The inclusion of Ko Sŏn-myŏng's work in the catalogue arguably represents a more general parallel between student performances in Korea and Japan: stylistically, students in the two countries created commercial art of similar visual expression; when they competed, they presented works of a comparable standard.



Figure 140. First-prize winners in the poster division of the 1937 *NCAE*. Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Yon Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku* [The Fourth National Commercial Art Exhibition catalogue] (Tokyo: Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, 1937), n.p.

To further understand the parallel styles and techniques seen in work at the *TICAE* and the *NCAE*, an examination of commercial art teaching and textbooks is useful. In his study of art teachers in secondary liberal schools in colonial Korea, education historian Chŏng U-sŏk suggests that most of the teachers in public schools were Japanese, while those in private ones were sometimes Korean; but in both cases, the art teachers were usually trained in Japan, predominantly at the Tokyo Fine Arts School.⁹⁰⁸ I have been able to find fewer records regarding commercial schools, but they generally correspond with Chŏng U-sŏk's observation. For example, the history of Tongsŏng Commercial School indicates that from 1926 until 1943, which includes the period when Kim Yŏng-gak and Kim Yong-gak attended, the Western-style painter Chang Pal (Louis Pal Chang, 1901-2001) was an art teacher at the school.⁹⁰⁹ Before working at the school, Chang had studied art at the Tokyo Fine Arts School (1919-1922), the National Academy of Design in New York (1922-1923), and the School of Practical Arts of Columbia University (1923-1925).⁹¹⁰ Meanwhile, according to the Government-General's employee directory and a catalogue of his work, Yi Ma-dong (1906-1981), another Western-style painter, was an art teacher at Sinŭiju Public Commercial School in 1936.⁹¹¹ Yi also studied Western-style painting at the Tokyo Fine Arts School, and upon graduation in 1932 acquired a licence to teach art from the Japanese Ministry of Education. This licence would have enabled him to work at the school, which was a public institution. Finally, as mentioned earlier, Takahashi Hideo was the art teacher at Kyŏnggi Public Commercial School (from 1926 to 1943); he guided the commercial

⁹⁰⁸ Chŏng U-sŏk, 'Ilche kangjŏmgi immun chungdŭng hakkyo tohwa kyoyu yŏn'gu' [A study of fine art teachers in academic secondary school during the period of Japanese occupation], *Misul kyoyuk nonch'ong* 19, no. 2 (2005).

⁹⁰⁹ Tongsŏng Chunggodŭng Hakkyo, *Tongsŏng paengnyŏnsa*, 154, 165.

⁹¹⁰ Chang Pal's extensive education abroad was very unusual at the time, and was possible probably due to his family background. He was from a Catholic and 'modernised' (*sinsik*), probably wealthy, family in Inch'ŏn. His father was a high-ranking civil servant (fluent in English) at the Inch'ŏn Customhouse during the 1890s and 1900s; during the colonial period he worked for the Korean branch of Standard Oil. Pal's older brother Chang Myŏn (1899-1966) also studied in the United States, and was headmaster at Tongsŏng Commercial School during the colonial period; he later became a diplomat and politician, eventually becoming vice-president of South Korea (1956-1960). Chang Pal later became professor and founding director at the Department of Fine Arts at Seoul National University in 1946. For Chang Pal's life and work, see Chŏng Yŏng-mok, 'Chang Pal p'yŏngjŏn, 1946-1953' [A critical biography of Chang Pal, 1946-1953], *Chohyŏng ak'aibŭ*, no. 2 (2013). For his family, see Hŏ Tong-hyŏn, *Kŏn'guk oegyo minju ūi sŏn'guja Chang Myŏn* [Chang Myŏn, pioneer of the foundation, diplomacy, and democracy] (Seoul: Pundo Ch'ulp'ansa, 1999), 13-33.

⁹¹¹ Chōsen Sotokufu, *Chōsen Sotokufu oyobi shozoku kansho shokuinroku* [Directory of employees of the Government-General of Korea and affiliated offices] (Seoul: Chōsen Sotokufu, 1936); Yi Ma-dong, *Ch'ŏnggu Yi Ma-dong hwajip* [Catalogue of Ch'ŏnggu Yi Ma-dong] (Seoul: Tonga Ilbosa, 1986), 131-132.

art activities there.⁹¹² Although records of Takahashi's education have not been found, given that he worked at a public commercial school he probably studied at an art school in Japan and acquired a teaching licence before coming to Korea. It can thus be seen that many commercial school art teachers in Korea were possibly Japanese or Koreans with training in Japan.

It is also likely that commercial schools in Korea used Japanese textbooks. Education historian Sim Yŏng-ok has shown that in 1921 and 1926 the Government-General developed and published a series of art textbooks for primary schools; but apart from these, art textbooks approved or authorised for all levels of schools in colonial Korea were published primarily by the Japanese Ministry of Education, and some by private publishers in Japan.⁹¹³ Accordingly, no instance of a Korean commercial art textbook has been discovered so far by myself or other researchers. As discussed above, in 1932 and 1933 the Government-General officially authorised commercial art textbooks published in Japan for use in commercial schools in Korea. Considering these factors and the fact that many art teachers in Korea were trained in Japan, it is most likely that they used Japanese textbooks to teach commercial art.

⁹¹² Kyŏnggi Sangŏp Kodŭnghakkyo Tongch'anghoe, *Kyŏnggi Sanggo 50-yŏn* 34.

⁹¹³ Sim Yŏng-ok, 'Ilje sidae hakkyo kyoyuk esŏ misul kyogwayong tosŏ ūi p'yŏnch'an kwajŏng e kwanhan yŏn'gu' [A study on the process of development of art course textbooks in school education during the colonial period], *Kyŏnghŭi taehakkyo kyoyuk munje yŏn'guso nonmunjip* 20, no. 2 (2004). In terms of engineering schools, education historian Pak So-yŏng has also suggested that schools in Korea used Japanese textbooks to teach 'mechanical drawing' (*yŏkiga*). Pak So-yŏng, 'Han'guk kŭndae chungdŭng misul kyogwasŏ yŏn'gu' [A study of Korean art textbook at the secondary school in modern period], *Misul kyoyuk nonch'ong* 25, no. 1 (2011), 291.

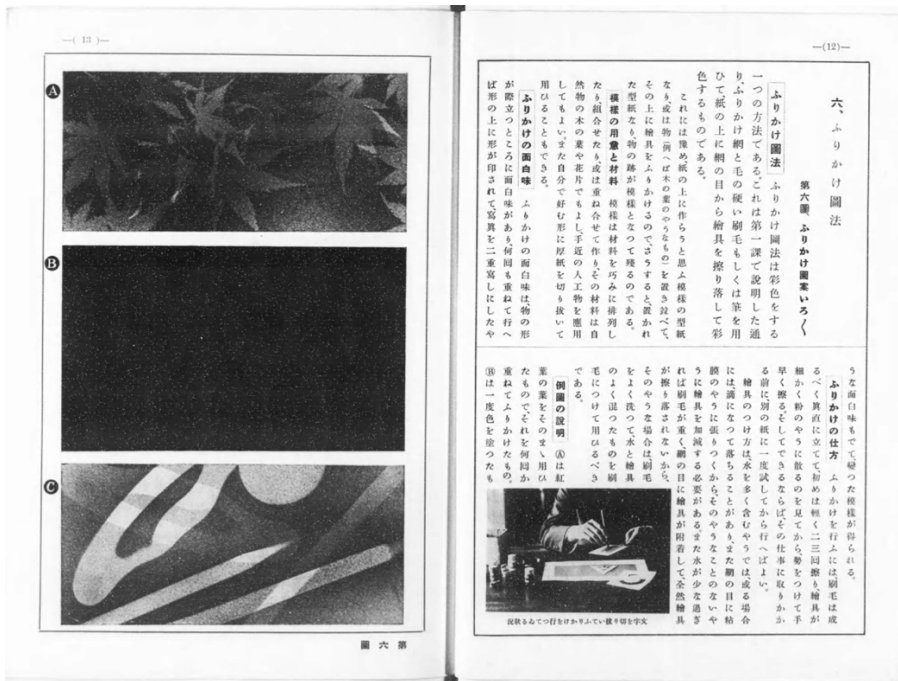


Figure 141. Spread explaining the 'sprinkling technique'. Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon (nyūmon'yō)* [The commercial art textbook (elementary)] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1936), 12-13.

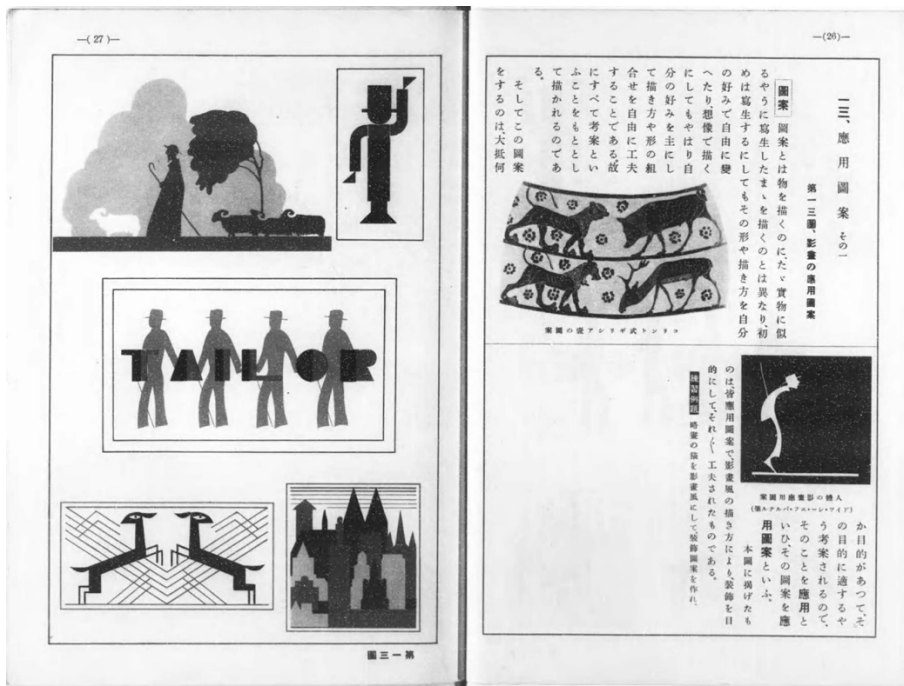


Figure 142. Spread explaining 'shadow drawing' (*kagee*) technique. Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon (nyūmon'yō)* [The commercial art textbook (elementary)] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1936), 26-27.



Figure 143. Spread explaining the 'photomontage technique'. Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon (jōkyūyō)* [The commercial art textbook (advanced)] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1936), 52-53.

Another clue to the textbooks used in Korea lies in the visual language of student works. The predominant visual expression found at the *TICAE* was explained in Japanese commercial art textbooks published in the late 1930s. The two volumes ('elementary' and 'advanced') of the third edition of Hamada Masuji's *The commercial art textbook* (*Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon*, 1936) are notable examples.⁹¹⁴ Hamada's textbooks provided detailed explanations and visual examples of commercial art techniques, which included the ones used in many posters and newspaper advertisements at the *TICAE*. First was what Hamada called the 'sprinkling technique' (*furikake zuhō*): to rub a hard brush against a fine screen to spray the paint, resulting in a gradated, airbrush effect (Figure 141).⁹¹⁵ In the lower-right corner of the spread that explained the technique, he added a photo that described how this technique was actually performed. Second was what Hamada called 'shadow drawing' (*kage-e*): drawing the silhouette of an object (Figure 142).⁹¹⁶ He explained that it was a form of 'applied design' (*ōyō zuan*), in that it was to simplify the form of an object (*ryakuga*, or 'simplified drawing') to suit

⁹¹⁴ Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon (nyūmon'yō)* [The commercial art textbook (elementary)] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1936); Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon (jōkyūyō)* [The commercial art textbook (advanced)] (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1936).

⁹¹⁵ Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon (nyūmon'yō)*, 12-13.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

the designer's purpose.⁹¹⁷ Third was photomontage: Hamada explained photomontage as 'a craft of cutting photos and variously pasting [them]' (*shashin o kirinuki, samazama ni hariawaseru saiku*) (Figure 143).⁹¹⁸

As discussed above, the 'sprinkling technique' (airbrush effect) and 'shadow drawing' (simplified silhouettes) were key techniques used in many posters at the *TICAE*, and photomontage was used in many newspaper advertisements. *The commercial art textbook* was first published in 1931 and revised in 1934 and 1936.⁹¹⁹ Although I have not been able to find any record of commercial art textbooks authorised by the Government-General after 1933, given that the first edition had been authorised and Hamada was an established author, it is very possible that the 1936 version of *The commercial art textbook* was also authorised and used in Korea. More generally, textbooks commonly used in Korea and Japan, like Hamada's, would have contributed to the parallel styles and techniques seen at the *TICAE* and *NCAE*.

In addition to textbooks, professional work and materials that were available in both countries may have contributed to the similar styles of design by students in Korea and Japan. As discussed in Chapter 3, Japanese books and magazines on commercial art in general were available in Korea through various channels. Students in Korea could have consulted those publications as well, in libraries or through bookshops. Meanwhile, exhibitions that were held in both countries, like the *Japan-Germany-Italy Exchange Commercial Art Exhibition* (1938) mentioned above, were also a form of shared visual reference across Korea and Japan.

In sum, many visible aspects of commercial art education in Korea and Japan from the mid-to late 1930s were similar: club activities, textbooks, teachers' training, and professional reference material. Japan's educational policy of 'practicalisation' was a link between Korea and Japan, and the commonalities further contributed to the parallel tendencies of style and technique seen at the *TICAE* and the *NCAE*.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid.

⁹¹⁸ Hamada Masuji, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōhon (jōkyūyō)*, 52-53.

⁹¹⁹ Considering the multiple reprints and the relatively wide availability of the later editions in the Japanese second-hand book market today, *The commercial art textbook* was possibly used in many commercial schools in Japan.

4.4. The professionalisation of commercial art

Despite similarities in commercial art education discussed earlier, there were significant differences between Korea and Japan in terms of what it meant for the students to learn commercial art. In this section, I will discuss how professional opportunities as a commercial artist were different in Korea and Japan on multiple levels. I will show how proceeding to the field of commercial art was an unlikely option for commercial school students in Korea. I will also examine the commercial artists' associations founded in Korea in 1936 and 1937 to show how the professionalisation of the commercial artist was undeveloped. Through this I will argue that displayed modernity in colonial Korea was shaped, in addition to the vulnerable economic and industrial foundations, by the educational system deployed by the colonial government.

4.4.1. From commercial school student to commercial artist

In both Korea and Japan, commercial school students (and their teachers and families) did not generally expect that they would become dedicated commercial artists. In *A general theory of commercial education (Shōgyō kyōiku sōron, 1937)*, Toda Masashi, headmaster of Handa Commercial School in Aichi Prefecture, offered a comprehensive account of commercial education in the Japanese education system.⁹²⁰ According to the Japanese Ministry of Education's Vocational School Act of 1930 cited in Toda's book, commercial education aimed at producing 'mainstream figures engaging in commerce' (*shōgyō ni jūji suru chūken jinbutsu*).⁹²¹ Students were normally expected to work in 'business' (*jitsugyō*); a survey conducted by the Ministry in 1934 indicated that approximately 75 per cent of male and 63 per cent of female graduates worked in businesses such as commercial companies and banks, and the remainder proceeded to teaching, public offices, and higher education.⁹²²

At the same time, in Japan it was possible to pursue a career in commercial art from a commercial school. This possibility was suggested by Nakajima Susumu, an art teacher at Matsuzaka Commercial School in Mie Prefecture. In *A study of commercial art education (Shōgyō bijutsu kyōiku no kenkyū, 1936)*, Nakajima presented his perspective on commercial art education:

Commercial art education within the commercial school is not to foster a commercial art expert (*shōgyō bijutsu no senmonka*) but to make the student realise the importance of commercial art in

⁹²⁰ Toda Masashi, *Shōgyō kyōiku sōron*.

⁹²¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁹²² *Ibid.*, 92.

store management (*shōten keiei*). It is preferable, if [the student] works in the practical business of store management in the future, that [he/she] looks at things such as sales, advertising, display, and lighting with substantial understanding [...]. Moreover, [commercial art education is] to foster the abilities to observe, express, and appreciate, which are the aims of art education, to enrich the substance of human life, and to contribute to the whole-person education (*zenjin kyōiku*).⁹²³

In this quote Nakajima acknowledged that, in accord with the general aims of commercial education discussed above, commercial art training was part of nurturing a more versatile businessman.

Despite acknowledging the auxiliary role of commercial art within business management education, Nakajima did not dismiss, but welcomed, the possibility of a student becoming a professional commercial artist:

However, it is also to be celebrated (*keiga*), that receiving commercial art education serves as a momentum, and sometimes [a student] realises that his/her genius (*tensai*) is in this direction, and goes forward to become a commercial artist (*shōgyō bijutsuka*).⁹²⁴

Nakajima also participated in the 1940 *NCAE* as a judge.⁹²⁵ His idea of being a commercial artist as a viable option for a commercial school student may have been a personal expectation, or may have derived from witnessing actual examples through the exhibition.

My examination of contemporary and post-war records suggests that Nakajima's view was valid: in Japan, there were some cases of commercial school students becoming professional commercial artists. Nakamura Makoto (1926-2013), the post-war graphic designer, is a telling case of such a career path.⁹²⁶ Nakamura was born in Morioka in Iwate Prefecture. From 1939 to 1943 he studied at Morioka Commercial School, where he participated in the art club. In his first year (1939), he won a prize in a 'National Commercial School Poster Exhibition' (Zenkoku Shōgyō Gakkō Posutā Ten). After graduating from Morioka, Nakajima studied design (*zuan*) at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. As a student he did some work for the advertising department of Shiseido, the cosmetics company.

⁹²³ Nakajima Susumu, *Shōgyō bijutsu kyōiku no kenkyū* [A study on commercial art education] (Matsuzaka: Nakajima Susumu, 1936), 7.

⁹²⁴ Ibid.

⁹²⁵ Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Kyōiku Kyōkai, *Dai Nana Kai Zenkoku Shōgyō Bijutsu Tenrankai zuroku*.

⁹²⁶ Tōkyō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Nihon bijutsu nenkan heisei 26 nen ban* [Almanac of Japanese art 1953 edition] (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsu Kyoku, 1953), 455-456. The biography notes the year of entry as 1933, but it seems to be a mistake, given that he was born in 1926. The year 1939 is a speculation based on the record that he graduated in December 1943, earlier than scheduled.

After graduating in 1949 he joined Shiseido as a full-time employee, and worked there for almost forty years, leading the company's post-war advertising and design.⁹²⁷

Two aspects of Nakamura's career are significant in articulating its broader implications in terms of the professionalisation of commercial art in Japan: the poster exhibition and education at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. It is not clear in what commercial art exhibition Nakamura won a prize in 1939; but judging from the name ('*National Commercial School Poster Exhibition*'), it was very possibly the *National Commercial School Student Original Poster Competition* (Zenkoku Shōgyō Gakkō Seito Sōsaku Posutā Boshū), organised by *Kōkokukai* and sponsored by the National Association of Commercial Art Education, the organisation behind the *NCAE*.⁹²⁸ Winning a prize in a national commercial art exhibition while attending a commercial school, as I have discussed above, was the experience of many students in Korea and Japan. But in Nakamura's case it is significant that this led to further study of design at the most prestigious art school in Japan. While further studying design in higher education, Nakamura had the opportunity to work for a leading Japanese company in the field of advertising and design, which contributed to his successful career as a designer thereafter.

Another case is of Kaku Shunka, a graduate of Wakayama Commercial School. Kaku's name appeared in *Kōkokukai* in 1932 in the announcement of an advertising training programme run by the magazine.⁹²⁹ Kaku was listed as a 'research student' (*kenkyūsei*) selected for the programme. According to the announcement, eight were selected from 269 applicants, and two of them, including Kaku, were graduates of commercial schools.⁹³⁰ Since no follow-up article was published in

⁹²⁷ Nakamura participated in international and Japanese designer organisations such as the Alliance Graphique Internationale (AGI), the Tokyo Art Directors Club (Tokyo ADC), and the Japan Graphic Designers Association (JAGDA). See Shiseido Gallery, 'Nakamura Makoto no Shiseidō: Bijin o tsukuru' [Makoto Nakamura, Shiseido Ad Artworks], (2014).

⁹²⁸ Henshūbu, 'Zenkoku Shōgyō Gakkō Seito Sōsaku Posutā Boshū' [National Commercial School Student Original Poster Competition], *Kōkokukai*, July 1936. *Kōkokukai* advertised the exhibition in 1936 but did not mention later iterations. Hence we cannot be certain that the exhibition existed until 1939. Alternatively, Nakamura might have won in the *NCAE*. But I was unable to confirm this possibility because the 1938 and 1939 catalogues omitted the list of the winners of 'selection'.

⁹²⁹ 'Dai san kai kōkoku kenkyūsei nyūshō sha happyō ' [Announcement of the third advertising research students admitted to the centre], *Kōkokukai*, May 1932, 82.

⁹³⁰ Fujishima Hideo was listed as a graduate of Shimonoseki Commercial School. Other selectees included students and graduates of secondary liberal schools (*chūgakkō*), a girls' high school (*kōtō jogakkō*), Tokyo School of Photography (Tōkyō Shashin Gakkō), Nihon School of Art (*Nihon Bijutsu Gakkō*), and a Japanese student from Taegu, Korea. The student was a graduate of Kūmhwa Night School of Commerce and Industry (Kūmhwa Sanggong Yahak). Ibid.

Kōkokukai, it is difficult to identify what training and professional opportunities he might have had through the programme.

The aforementioned history of Wakayama Commercial School (1935) offers a clue about Kaku Shunka's career. The history notes that in June 1934, the school's commercial art club invited Kaku to lead a workshop; he was invited as an alumnus who was 'highly reputed as fresh blood in the advertising design world in Tokyo' (*Tōto kōkoku zuan kai ni shinshin kiei no shi toshite meisei sakusaku taru*).⁹³¹ To what extent Kaku was actually 'reputed' is unclear, but the statement suggests that he was able to settle in Tokyo as a professional commercial artist between 1932 and 1934. Meanwhile, considering that Kaku was born in 1910,⁹³² he probably attended the school before the vogue for commercial art education had spread in the early 1930s. But it is significant that an opportunity for commercial art training offered by a leading magazine helped a commercial school graduate pursue his career further. In turn, the workshop at Kaku's alma mater might have shown the students that commercial art was a valid career for them as well.

As discussed above, commercial art was not a common career path for commercial school graduates. The cases of Nakamura Makoto and Kaku Shunka were most likely unusual. But they show that, in Japan, some students found an interest in commercial art as a profession; and when they did, becoming a professional commercial artist was a valid option. As each case suggests, higher education and training and support from the industry were instrumental in extending and connecting commercial art education in commercial schools to a professional level.

The professional trajectories of commercial school students in Korea indicate that the situation was different in Korea. None of the participants of the *NAE* or the *TICAE* seem to have pursued commercial art as a professional career in Korea. For example, Kim Yōng-gak, the grand-prix winner of the 1938 *TICAE* discussed above, was a student at Tongsōng Commercial School. As the aforementioned history of the school states, Tongsōng was particularly active in the field of commercial art, and many winners of the *TICAE* were its students. In addition to this, Kim also won three more prizes in the 1939 *TICAE*. But the school history and newspaper records suggest that, despite his notable achievements at the *TICAE*, he pursued a career as a banker at the Commercial Bank of Korea until the 1970s.⁹³³

⁹³¹ Wakayama Kenritsu Wakayama Shōgyō Gakkō Kōyūkai, *Wakayama Kenritsu Wakayama Shōgyō Gakkō 30 nen shi*, 150.

⁹³² 'Dai san kai kōkoku kenkyūsei nyūshō sha happyō', 82.

⁹³³ Tongsōng Chunggodūng Hakkyo, *Tongsōng paengnyōnsa*, 150; 'Sangöp Ŭnhaeng insa' [Personnel changes at the Commercial Bank of Korea], *Kyōnghyang sinmun*, 23 November 1972, 2.

Another participant in the 1938 *TICAE*, Im Sŭng-nam, had a similar career path. According to a 1960 directory of government officials of Korea, after graduating from Sinŭiju Public Commercial School, Im advanced to the Kyŏngsŏng Higher School of Commerce (Kyŏngsŏng Kodŭng Sangŏp Hakkyo).⁹³⁴ He then worked for the Industrial Bank of Manchuria until 1945, and then the Department of Monopoly (Chŏnmaeguk) of the South Korean government until 1960. In 1985, Im wrote a short essay in the alumni bulletin of Sinŭiju Commercial School.⁹³⁵ He wrote about many small details from his school years, such as the thick glasses of his English teacher, but did not mention learning commercial art or winning a prize at the *TICAE*, which may suggest that commercial art did not have much impact on him.⁹³⁶

Kim Yŏng-gak and Im Sŭng-nam are the only cases of participants in the *TICAE* or the *NCAE* whose post-graduation careers I have been able to trace so far. They certainly would not represent the experience of all the commercial school students in Korea involved in commercial art in the 1930s. Given the small pool of these individuals and the little personal and professional information available about them, it is possible that there were commercial school students who became commercial artists in Korea, but their careers were not documented. Nevertheless, the two cases hint at the improbability of commercial art education in commercial schools in Korea leading to a professional career. An advertisement for the 1939 *TICAE* stated that the exhibition would become a ‘gateway to the commercial art world’ (*sangŏp misulgye ũi han tŭngyongmun*) for students, but that seems to have been an unrealistic goal.⁹³⁷

The cases of Kim Yŏng-gak and Im Sŭng-nam, and the improbability of commercial art as a viable career, reflect more general educational circumstances in colonial Korea. I have argued in section 4.2.2. that the ‘practicalisation of education’ and ‘labour-centred education’ summarise the colonial government’s educational policy in Korea. In particular, with the idea of ‘labour-centred education’, government-general officials did not want Koreans to advance to post-primary liberal

⁹³⁴ U In-gi, ed. *Taehan Min'guk haengjŏng kanbu chŏnmo* [The full account of administrative executives of the Republic of Korea] (Seoul: Kuk'ogongnosa, 1960), 99.

⁹³⁵ Im Sŭng-nam, 'Zuisŏ' [Miscellaneous thoughts], *Ōsui : Shingishū Kōritsu Shōgyō Gakkō dōsō kaishi*, August 1985, 19-20.

⁹³⁶ Im Sŭng-nam may have not mentioned his commercial art activities because they were irrelevant or did not fit his public profile as a high-ranking civil servant in 1985 when he wrote the essay. This may also indicate a discrepancy between commercial art and the more common professional careers of commercial school graduates in Korea.

⁹³⁷ 'Ponsa kwanggobu chuch'oe ũi sangŏp mijŏn kaemak' [Commercial art exhibition held by our newspaper opens], *Tonga ilbo*, 21 September 1939, 3.

education, which was a reason why they promoted secondary vocational schools. Although the colonial government promoted vocational education relatively strongly, it limited secondary education in general. Education historian O Sŏng-ch'ŏl has shown that throughout the colonial period, Koreans' demand for education greatly expanded, but the supply of formal education was substantially limited.⁹³⁸ For example, O's analysis of Government-General records show that in 1935, around the time that many of the commercial school students discussed above entered their schools, approximately 339.2 (primary), 18.5 (secondary), and 1.4 (higher) Koreans per ten thousand received school education: the limitations of formal education amplified as the level escalated.⁹³⁹ Meanwhile, An Hong-sŏn has shown that educational laws mandated mixed-nationality schools in Korea to allow the same entry quotas for Koreans and Japanese, which made it markedly difficult for Koreans, who constituted a much larger population than Japanese residents, to pass entry examinations.⁹⁴⁰

As discussed above, in Japan vocational education was considered inferior to liberal education.⁹⁴¹ While Koreans generally shared this idea of educational hierarchy, because of the limited educational opportunities the social status and value of vocational education was different from that in Japan. The gap between secondary liberal and vocational education was smaller for Koreans, because for them the latter was still a rare and prestigious opportunity, or 'elite' education.⁹⁴² Sometimes the competition to enter vocational schools was stronger than that for liberal ones, and students even chose the former over the latter when they were accepted for both; Koreans valued vocational education more than the Japanese did, because it was rare, and they often thought that it guaranteed a more certain and stable professional future than a liberal education.⁹⁴³

Vocational education was also expensive. An Hong-sŏn has suggested convincingly that for a student to graduate successfully from a secondary vocational school, his/her family had to be 'higher

⁹³⁸ O Sŏng-ch'ŏl, 'Chungdŭng chigŏp kyoyuk e taehan sahoejŏk sŏnho kip'i hyŏnsang ũi yŏksajŏk pyŏnch'ŏn' [A historical approach to the social attitudes toward secondary vocational education], *Ch'odŭnggyoyuk yŏn'gu* 14 (2004), 75-91.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁹⁴⁰ An Hong-sŏn, 'Singminji sigi chungdŭng sirŏp kyoyuk yŏn'gu', 78-82.

⁹⁴¹ Toda Masashi, *Shōgyō kyōiku sōron*, 71-74.

⁹⁴² O Sŏng-ch'ŏl, 'Chungdŭng chigŏp kyoyuk e taehan sahoejŏk sŏnho kip'i hyŏnsang ũi yŏksajŏk pyŏnch'ŏn', 90.

⁹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 78; Taedong Chung Sangŏp Kodŭng Hakkyo Tongmunhoe, *Taedong ch'ilship-yŏn-sa* [The seventy-year history of Taedong] (Seoul: Taedong Chung Sangŏp Kodŭng Hakkyo Tongmunhoe, 1995), 126.

than middle class', wealthy enough to afford the high tuition fees and additional expenses for books and stationery.⁹⁴⁴

Commercial school students in colonial Korea were generally from wealthy families and underwent tough competition to receive their education. Hence they showed a strong tendency to work for banks, large corporations, and government offices, which assured their social status and wealth.⁹⁴⁵ Careers in those areas were certainly what the schools were intended for, and in that sense it was natural that students like Kim Yŏng-gak and Im Sŭng-nam became a banker and a government official, respectively. For commercial school students in Korea, there was not much incentive to proceed to commercial art, which in Korea was barely acknowledged as a profession at the time, let alone a socially desirable one.

4.4.2. Commercial art associations in Korea

Commercial art was not a good professional match for commercial school students in colonial Korea. This mismatch was partly due to the higher social status of vocational education, but also fundamentally related to the social and professional standing of commercial art in Korea. Sociologists generally agree that professional associations have played a crucial role in the social recognition of various professions.⁹⁴⁶ In relation to this, contemporary records suggest there were at least two professional organisations in Korea in the late 1930s that were explicitly related to commercial art. But as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, advertising practitioners in colonial Korea like Kang Han-in did not recognise the commercial artist as a dedicated professional. This section will closely examine the two commercial art organisations to explain this seemingly contradictory standing of the commercial artist in colonial Korea.

One association related to commercial art was the Korean Association of Commercial Artists (Chosŏn Sangŏp Misulga Hyŏp'oe). On 25 August 1936, the *TI*, the *Maeil sinbo*, and the *Chosŏn*

⁹⁴⁴ An Hong-sŏn, 'Singminji sigi chungdŭng sirŏp kyoyuk ūi sŏnggyŏk yŏn'gu: Sirŏp hakkyo haksaeŋ t'ŭksŏng kwa iphak tonggi punsŏk ūl chungsim ūro' [A study on the dual system of secondary schools in Korea under the Japanese imperialism 1910-1945], *Asia kyoyuk yŏn'gu* 16, no. 2 (2015), 148-154. An explains that it cost about 30 yen per month to send one student to a secondary vocational school in the 1930s. The average monthly income of schoolteachers, who were upper middle- or middle-class workers, was around 55 yen at the time.

⁹⁴⁵ An Hong-sŏn, 'Singminji sigi chungdŭng sirŏp kyoyuk yŏn'gu', 78-82.

⁹⁴⁶ See, for example Geoffrey Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalization* (London: Routledge, 1998[1964]). I will discuss how sociologists and historians have articulated more general conditions of professionalisation in the next section.

chungang ilbo reported on the foundation of this association.⁹⁴⁷ The most detailed report, in the *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, stated:

Authoritative commercial artists (*kwŏnwi innŭn sangŏp misulga tŭl*) in the commercial world or the newspaper world in Korea have long desired an organisation of their own; at last, [...] [they] held an inaugural meeting at Sangmisa in Namdaemun and established the Korean Association of Commercial Artists, aiming at ‘studying and promoting commercial art’ (*sangŏp misul ūi yŏn'gu wa changnyŏ*). Names of the members: Kim Ha-bong, Kwŏn Myŏng-dŏk, Kang Ho, Yi Mu-sŏng, Yi Kang-wŏn, Yi Sang-ch'un, Sin Yŏng-gyun, Ŏm Tae-sŏp, Chŏng Kyŏk, Ch'oe Yŏn-gŏn.⁹⁴⁸

Contemporary records offer hints about who the members were. As discussed in section 3.4.2., Kim Ha-bong was ‘manager of decoration’ (*changshikpu chuim*) at the Minakai department store around 1935.⁹⁴⁹ Sangmisa (most likely an abbreviation of ‘*sangŏp misul sa*’, or ‘commercial art company’), where the inaugural meeting of the Korean Association of Commercial Artists was held, was the company for which Kim worked in 1936;⁹⁵⁰ in a 1935 *TI* report on a fire incident, Sangmisa was mentioned as a ‘signboard shop’ (*kanpanjŏm*).⁹⁵¹ Kim Ha-bong was very possibly a commercial artist who designed various forms of advertising material. Sin Yŏng-gyun, as discussed in section 2.3.5., was a trained Western-style painter who designed Ajinomoto’s advertisements in Korea and worked at the advertising department of the *TI* from 1932; while at the *TI*, he also participated in the

⁹⁴⁷ 'Sangŏp Misulga Hyŏphoe', *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, 25 August 1936, 2; 'Sangŏp Hyŏphoe chojik' [Organisation of the Commercial [Artist] Association], *Tonga ilbo*, 25 August 1936, 3; 'Chosŏn Sangŏp Misulga Hyŏphoe ch'angnip' [Founding of the Korean Association of Commercial Artists], *Maeil sinbo*, 1936, 4.

⁹⁴⁸ 'Sangŏp Misulga Hyŏphoe', *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, 25 August 1936.

⁹⁴⁹ According to a newspaper report, in 1935, Kim Ha-bong worked as a ‘manager of decoration’ (*changshikpu chuim*) at the Minakai department store in Seoul, but was arrested by the police for stealing a fox fur muffler from his workplace. 'Ŭnho moktori humch'in pŏmin ūn changsik chuim', *Tonga ilbo*, 27 November 1935, 2.

⁹⁵⁰ A 1936 report in the *TI* stated that Kim visited the Tonga Ilbo Company for a ‘greeting’ (*insa*), together with his boss and president of Sangmisa, Pak Tong-hwan. 'Sosik' [News], *Tonga ilbo*, 19 August 1936, 1.

⁹⁵¹ 'Kyŏngun-chŏng e tto hwajae' [Another fire at Kyŏngun-chŏng], *Tonga ilbo*, 9 February 1939, 2. I have been able to find little documentation of signboard shops in colonial Korea. A 1934 article in the *TI* about store management explained that signboard shops could produce, in addition to storefront signboards, small batches of hand-drawn posters. In this respect, Kim Ha-bong may have designed posters as well. 'Kajang hyogwajŏgin somae sangjŏm kaeŏppŏp (chung)' [The most effective ways to open a retail shop (2)], *Tonga ilbo*, 3 June 1934, 4.

1938 *TICAE* as a judge.⁹⁵² Kwŏn Myŏng-dŏk was a Western-style painter who in 1926 had won a prize in the *Chosŏn Art Exhibition*.⁹⁵³ Ŏm Tae-sŏp was an art teacher at Sinŭiju Commercial School in 1937.⁹⁵⁴

A handbook of historic artists in Korea (Chosŏn ryŏktae misulga p'yŏllam), published in North Korea in 1994, offers brief biographies of Kang Ho (1908-1984) and Yi Sang-ch'un (1910-1937).⁹⁵⁵ Kang and Yi studied art in Japan.⁹⁵⁶ After returning to Korea, in the early half of the 1930s, they were key members of the socialist art and literature group KAPF; they designed theatrical sets and mass-produced political prints such as posters, magazines, cartoons, and illustrations. Kang Ho, in 1935 after being imprisoned due to socialist activities, briefly worked in Busan as a sign-painter ('*kanp'anjŏm hwagong*'). He then worked for the advertising department of the *Chosŏn ilbo* until 1938, before being imprisoned again. He was released in 1942, and thereafter acted mainly as a stage designer and film director in North Korea. Meanwhile, Yi Sang-ch'un was also imprisoned in 1934 for his political activities and died in 1937. His participation in the Korean Association of Commercial Artists in 1936 would have been between his release and death. The obituary of Yi in the *Chosŏn ilbo* explained that he had been 'a promising stage designer with a unique technique'.⁹⁵⁷

The professional paths of the members of the Korean Association of Commercial Artists suggest that they were related to commercial art, but in different ways and possibly with different ideas about the practice. For example, Kim Ha-bong and Sin Yŏng-gyun seem to have had relatively consistent commercial art careers, as a decorator-designer and a print advertising designer respectively. Ŏm Tae-sŏp might have created commercial art work, but he was primarily a schoolteacher, and it is probable that teaching commercial art to his students was the extent of his

⁹⁵² 'Ponsa saryŏng', *Tonga ilbo*, 14 September 1932, 1; 'Sangŏp misul chakp'umjŏn chungdŭng sangŏpkyo saengdŭrŭn ũngmo hara', *Tonga ilbo*, July 19 1938.

⁹⁵³ Kim Pok-chin, 'Mijŏn Che O-hoe tanp'yŏng' [A brief review of the Fifth Korean Art Exhibition], *Kaebŏk*, June 1926, 110.

⁹⁵⁴ Chŏsen Sotokufu, *Chŏsen Sotokufu oyobi shozoku kansho shokuinroku* [Directory of employees of the Government-General of Korea and affiliated offices] (Seoul: Chŏsen Sotokufu, 1937).

⁹⁵⁵ Ri Chae-hyŏn, *Chosŏn ryŏktae misulga p'yŏllam* [A handbook of historic artists in Korea] (Pyongyang: Munhak yesul chonghap ch'ulp'ansa, 1994), 193, 202-203.

⁹⁵⁶ *A handbook of historic artists in Korea* does not specify where they studied. According to the biographies, Kang Ho went to Japan around 1921; but he had extreme financial difficulties and barely managed to finish his study at an art school. Yi Sang-ch'un went to Japan in 1929 to study stage art, but returned in 1930 because he thought that the Japanese stage art scene was too 'petit-bourgeois'.

⁹⁵⁷ 'Mudae changch'iga Yi Sang-ch'un ssi sŏgŏ' [Stage designer Yi Sang-ch'un passes away], *Chosŏn ilbo*, 16 November 1937.

involvement in the practice.⁹⁵⁸ Meanwhile, art historians generally agree that socialist artists in colonial Korea, such as Kang Ho and Yi Sang-ch'un, engaged in commercial forms of art because they thought that non-academic, public-facing, and mass-produced art was democratic and hence suitable for their political purposes.⁹⁵⁹ In relation to this, although Kang Ho had a secure job at a newspaper for a period between 1935 and 1938, he probably prioritised his political work as a socialist artist, which eventually led to his imprisonment; Yi Sang-ch'un's engagement in commercial art would have been similar in this respect. In short, within the already small scale of the Korean Association of Commercial Artists, the number of members who had a stable commercial art practice was probably small.

Although the Korean Association of Commercial Artists aimed at 'promoting commercial art', I have found no evidence to suggest that it actually conducted such activities as exhibitions, lectures, or publications, at least in a publicly recognisable form. As we have seen, the *TICAE*, a student event, was substantially more visible in that it was held at Hwasin and publicised in the newspaper.

Another organisation related to commercial art was the Korean Association for Commercial Art (Chosŏn Sangŏp Misul Hyŏp'oe). The *Chosŏn ilbo* reported on its establishment in 1937:

The Government-General, which keenly realised that commercial art in Korea lags significantly behind that of mainland Japan, held a meeting at the Seoul Chamber of Commerce and Industry [...] and had a preparatory discussion to establish the Korean Association for Commercial Art, with the agents of the Department of Documents (Munsŏgwa), the Department of Commerce and Industry (Sanggonggwa), Mitsukoshi, Minakai, Hwasin, and the Railway Bureau; [...] it is a permanent organisation (*sangsŏl kigwan*) that promotes the aestheticisation of commercial

⁹⁵⁸ In the post-war years, Ŏm Tae-sŏp was headmaster of several schools and also ran a brewing business in Kongju; in 1960 he was elected as member of the South Korean National Assembly. Ŭisaguk charyo P'yŏnch'an'gwa, ed. *Yŏktae kukhoe ũiwŏn ch'ongnam* [A general survey of past members of the National Assembly] (Seoul: Taehanmin'guk kukhoe samuch'ŏ, 1977), 189.

⁹⁵⁹ See, for example, Pak Yŏng-t'aek, 'Singminji sidae sahoejuŭi misul undong ũi sŏnggwa wa han'gye' [The achievements and limitations of socialist art movements of the colonial period], in *Kŭndae Han'guk misul nonch'ong*, ed. Ch'ŏngyŏ Yi Ku-yŏl Sŏnsaeng Hoegap Kinyŏm Nonmunjip Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Hakkojae, 1992); Ki Hye-kyŏng, '1920-yŏndae ũi misul hwa munhak ũi kyoryu yŏn'gu'; Hong Chi-sŏk, 'K'ap'ŭ ch'ogi p'ŭrollet'aria misul tamnon'. The link between leftist artists and the commercial art media was a more global phenomenon in the 1920s; but normally they were not the key group leading the professionalisation of the field, which I will discuss below.

publicity and the aestheticisation of product display, or the total aestheticisation of commerce (*sangŏp ūi chŏnmyŏnjŏk misurhwa*).⁹⁶⁰

I have not been able to find official documents regarding the foundation and activities of this association, but the report suggests that the Government-General took the initiative and department stores in Seoul (Mitsukoshi, Minakai, and Hwasin) participated.

An examination of the operation of the Government-General and its civil servants at the time suggests that the role of the Department of Commerce and Industry was pivotal in the establishment of the Korean Association for Commercial Art and the promotion of commercial art. Although contesting the actual effects, historians generally agree that in the 1930s, particularly under the governorship of Ugaki Kazushige (in office 1927, 1931-1936), the Government-General set the 'industrialisation of Korea' (*Chōsen no kōgyōka*), rather than agricultural development, as the main goal of colonial rule.⁹⁶¹ Historian Yi Sang-ŭi suggests that the Department of Commerce and Industry, which oversaw commercial and industrial policies, was one of the most powerful institutions behind the government's pursuit of the industrialisation of Korea; elite civil servants with extensive experiences in Korea were appointed directors of the Department to contribute to this aim.⁹⁶² Considering that the Department was also involved in the establishment of the Korean Association for Commercial Art, the association's aim to promote commercial art was very possibly linked to the Government-General's policy to industrialise Korea. As the above report suggested, the Government-General promoted commercial art as a means to develop commercial practices in Korea to the level of

⁹⁶⁰ 'Chosŏn Sangŏp Misul Hyŏphoe kwanmin hyŏptong ūro ch'angnip' [The Korean Association for Commercial Art established by the united efforts of the government and private [companies]], *Chosŏn ilbo*, 21 April 1937, 2.

⁹⁶¹ For a historiographical overview of industrialisation in colonial Korea, see Pae Sŏng-man, 'Ilche kangjŏmgi kongŏpsa yŏn'gu ūi chaengjŏm kwa kwaje' [Controversies and issues in studies Korea industrial history during the Japanese colonial era], *Yŏksa wa segye* 48 (2015).

⁹⁶² Yi Sang-ŭi, '1930-yŏndae Chosŏn Ch'ongdokpu Siksan'guk ūi kusŏng kwa kongŏphwa chŏngch'aek: Sanggonggwa rŭl chungsim ūro' [The Production Increase Bureau in the Japanese Government General in Korea and its industrialization policies in the 1930's: About the Department of Commerce and Industry], *Han'guk kŭnhyŏndaesa yŏn'gu* 4 (2007), 105-113. In 1937, when the Korean Association for Commercial Art was established, Kakui Tadahira (1896-?) was director of the Department of Commerce and Industry. He graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1923; that year he was appointed as civil servant and sent to work at the Government-General of Korea. By 1937, he had worked in various departments of the government-general for about fifteen years. Yi Sang-ŭi shows that all six directors of the Department of Commerce and Industry in the 1930s were elite civil servants (mostly Tokyo Imperial University graduates), with more than ten years of experience in Korea before being appointed. After leaving the office they became higher executives at local companies or business organisations and played powerful roles in the industrial development of Korea until the end of colonial rule.

those in Japan. Meanwhile, as discussed in Chapter 3, department stores epitomised modern commercialism and the advertising culture of 1930s Seoul, and would have been suitable institutions to collaborate with the government for the ‘aestheticisation of commerce’. The title of the *Chosŏn ilbo* report aptly summarised this joint effort: ‘The Korean Association for Commercial Art established by the united efforts of the government and private [companies] (*kwanmin hyŏptong*)’.⁹⁶³

The institution that symbolises the state-private collaboration in relation to the Korean Association for Commercial Art is the Seoul Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which hosted the preparatory meeting. The Seoul Chamber was a society of local Korean and Japanese merchants and businessmen. Historian Jun Uchida has convincingly shown that in the early 1930s it established a role as an intermediary between Government-General officials and local businessmen; it sought the Government-General’s support for private businesses in Seoul, and at the same time offered advice to the Government-General using the local expertise of its members.⁹⁶⁴

The Seoul Chamber implemented many activities to promote commerce in Seoul. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, improving effectiveness was an important aim for Japanese commerce in the 1920s, which affected advertising in Korea in the 1920s and 1930s. Historian Kimura Kenji shows that the Seoul Chamber sought to further extend the movement in Japan towards the ‘improvement of effectiveness’ (*nōritsu zōshin*) and the ‘rationalisation of industry’ (*san'gyō gōrika*) in Korea in the 1930s by introducing the ideas and techniques of ‘scientific management’ (*kagakuteki keiei*).⁹⁶⁵ For example, the Seoul Chamber published a series of books from 1936 to 1937 entitled *Series for the promotion of Seoul commerce and industry* (*Keijō shōkō shinkō sōsho*). The publication included lectures by Japanese experts invited by the Chamber, such as Ueno Yōichi (scholar of management science and industrial psychology); it consisted of general theories and examples of how to improve commercial practices in Korea. The Seoul Chamber thus sought to assist the Government-General’s pursuit of the industrialisation of Korea; one way to do this was providing knowledge about commercial management, mostly from Japan, to local businessmen.

Another crucial link between the Seoul Chamber and the Korean Association for Commercial Art is a figure named Akao Masao. In an advertisement for the 1938 *TICAE*, Akao was listed as a judge (very possibly chairman of the committee, since his name appeared at the top); he had two

⁹⁶³ 'Chosŏn Sangŏp Misul Hyŏphoe kwanmin hyŏptong ūro ch'angnip', *Chosŏn ilbo*, 21 April 1937, 2.

⁹⁶⁴ Uchida, "'Brokers of Empire": Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1910-1937', 393. See also, Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945*, 229-232, 266-267.

⁹⁶⁵ Kimura Kenji, 'Shokuminchika Chōsen ni okeru “kagakuteki keiei” no dōnyū' [The introduction of ‘scientific management’ in colonial Korea], *Keieigaku ronshū* 43, no. 1 (2003).

titles: ‘President of the Seoul Association of Commercial Artists’ (Kyöngsöng Sangöpp Misulga Hyöphoejang) and ‘Head of Operation, the Seoul Chamber of Commerce and Industry’ (Kyöngsöng Sanggong Hoeüiso Ömmu Kwajang).⁹⁶⁶ Considering that the Korean Association of Commercial Artists was a group of Korean artists, and Akao was not listed as a member, it is less likely that he was involved in that group. It is more likely that the ‘Seoul Association of Commercial Artists’ was the name of the association that eventually developed from the 1937 preparatory meeting of the Korean Association for Commercial Art; Akao, as a staff member of the Seoul Chamber, may have been involved in that meeting. This speculation is supported by the fact that staff members of Hwasin and Mitsukoshi, companies involved in the preparatory meeting of the association, also participated in the *TICAE* judging committee, together with Akao.⁹⁶⁷

Although he was head of a commercial artists’ association, Akao was not a commercial artist. According to newspaper reports, Akao worked for the Seoul Chamber from 1931 at the latest.⁹⁶⁸ Historian O Chin-sök offers further accounts of Akao’s work at the Seoul Chamber.⁹⁶⁹ Akao managed the Department Store Committee of the Seoul Chamber from 1938 and worked closely with department stores in Seoul who were members of the Chamber. In 1940 he left the Chamber and became executive director at the Korea Department Store Co-operative, a collective institution of department stores which controlled distribution under wartime mobilisation. O Chin-sök aptly summarises Akao’s role in colonial Korean commerce as ‘a bridge that connected the government-general and the department store industry’.⁹⁷⁰ As Uchida has suggested, the Seoul Chamber was a state-private intermediary, and it very possibly carried out the operation of the Seoul Association of Commercial Artists; Akao was a semi-governmental official, a ‘bridge’, who probably assumed the role of managing that operation. In sum, the Seoul Association of Commercial Artists was very possibly part of the Government-General’s top-down policy to industrialise Korea; it rendered visible results by participating in the *TICAE*, one of the most publicly promoted events of commercial art in colonial Korea.

⁹⁶⁶ 'Sangöpp misul chakp'umjön chungdüng sangöppkyo saengdürün üngmo hara', *Tonga ilbo*, July 19 1938, 2.

⁹⁶⁷ Kwön Yöng-jung was ‘Head of Planning’ (*kyehoek kwajang*) at Hwasin, and Tanaka Takashi was ‘Head of Publicity’ (*sönjönjang*) at Mitsukoshi Seoul Branch. *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁸ 'Sangüi chigwön idong' [Personnel changes at the Chamber of Commerce], *Maeil sinbo*, 29 January 1931, 8.

⁹⁶⁹ O Chin-sök, 'Chönsi t'ongje kyöngje ha paek'wajöm öpkye üi tonghyang' [The trends of the department store industry under the wartime control economy], *Söurhak yön'gu* 66 (2017), 159-195.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 162.

The Korean Association of Commercial Artists and the Seoul Association of Commercial Artists were professional organisations of commercial art in name. But the Korean Association of Commercial Artists did not demonstrate visible efforts to improve the social recognition of the commercial artist. The Seoul Association of Commercial Artists was essentially a part of the colonial project to industrialise Korea; it contributed to the *TICAE*, but, as I have shown above, the exhibition itself did not necessarily further the professionalisation of commercial art. Considering their composition and activities, it is questionable whether these organisations contributed to the professionalisation of commercial art in Korea, as professional associations were doing in other countries at the time.

4.4.3. Conditions of professionalisation

To further understand the state of professionalisation of the commercial artist in 1930s colonial Korea, a comparison with Japan is useful. As mentioned in section 4.1., by the end of the 1920s commercial artists in Japan had established their professional and social role as distinct from fine artists. Kashima Takashi has shown that until the 1910s, what he calls the ‘advertising creator’ (*kōkoku seisakusha*) was not a specialist practitioner in Japan; artists distinguished between advertising drawings and easel paintings, but the former was largely a ‘side job’ (*fukugyō*) for fine artists.⁹⁷¹ From around the 1920s, this situation gradually changed. In addition to Hamada Masuji’s theory of commercial art, promulgated through the *Zenshū*, the more general social circumstances of Japanese advertising shaped the professional standing of the Japanese commercial artist. As discussed in section 2.1., in Japan the economic boom during World War I and the development of domestic production led to a rapid increase in the volume of advertising; this elevated demand for the work of advertising producers.⁹⁷² Meanwhile, economic depression from the late 1910s affected the Japanese advertising industry, prompting it to focus more on rationalisation and effectiveness. This accompanied the expansion of events and publications to promote and improve the practice of advertising. The publication of specialist magazines on advertising and design, such as *Kōkokukai* (published from 1926), provided a forum for advertising staff and commercial artists to communicate,

⁹⁷¹ Kashima Takashi, "'Kōkoku seisakusha" no kigen: 1920 nen dai ni okeru "shōgyō bijutsuka" to keishiki shugi no gensetsu kūkan', 68-69.

⁹⁷² According to Uchikawa Yoshimi, the total volume of advertisements in the top four newspapers in Japan increased by 3.3 times between 1914 and 1922. Uchikawa Yoshimi, *Nihon kōkoku hattatsu shi*, 203.

and contributed to the formation of a stronger professional community.⁹⁷³ Leading commercial artists founded groups like the Seven Men Group, the Association of Commercial Artists, and the Practical Printing Art Association.⁹⁷⁴ These multiple layers of industrial and professional development amounted to what Kashima calls the ‘full-time status’, or the solid professionalisation, of commercial art.⁹⁷⁵

The professionalisation of the commercial artist in Japan shows a parallel with other parts of the world. For example, in terms of the United States, historian Michele H. Bogart discusses how, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, illustrators eventually became commercial artists.⁹⁷⁶ Bogart explains that American illustrators, although they created images for commercial enterprises such as mass-market publishing and advertising, initially refused to accept that their work was commercial. Instead, due to their training as artists and the social and cultural respect given to the fine artist, they envisioned themselves as autonomous fine artists who sometimes created mass-produced work to educate public taste. But as the scale of advertising grew significantly after World War I, by the 1920s illustrators were eventually changing their attitudes and redefining their identities as commercial artists.

Graphic design historian Ellen Mazur Thomson highlights the crucial conditions that accelerated the professionalisation of commercial art in the United States.⁹⁷⁷ Thomson articulates that the demand for commercial artists grew because ‘there was simply so much work to be done’ in the 1920s; the American advertising industry recognised the power of effective visual messages and therefore rewarded those who could create them.⁹⁷⁸ Art schools, although those dedicated to design were small, played an important part in producing and supplying commercial artists to the industry.⁹⁷⁹

⁹⁷³ Takeuchi Yukie, *Kindai kōkōku no tanjō*, 108.

⁹⁷⁴ Nakai Kōichi, *Nihon kōkoku hyōgen gijutsu shi*, 160.

⁹⁷⁵ Kashima Takashi, "'Kōkoku seisakusha" no kigen: 1920 nen dai ni okeru "shōgyō bijutsuka" to keishiki shugi no gensetsu kūkan', 69.

⁹⁷⁶ Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 15-78.

⁹⁷⁷ Ellen Mazur Thomson, *The Origins of Graphic Design in America, 1870-1920* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997). Thomson's study generally examines the professionalisation of ‘graphic design’ in the United States. But she defines graphic design broadly as ‘all arts and crafts intended to make ideas visible’, which may include activities represented by the term ‘commercial art’, before ‘graphic design’ was used more commonly. *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 110-114.

Thomson also suggests that trade journals and associations were important factors in professionalisation: journals conveyed specialist information and news about others in the same professions, and on another level, inspired professional identity and pride. By joining various associations, commercial artists found the means to convince advertising and publishing companies and the public that their practice made a significant contribution to commerce and society at large.

Although their foci vary, design historians of other regions generally agree about the processes and conditions that contributed to the professional division and legitimisation of the commercial artist, inside and outside of the community: the growth in industrial demand for commercial images, institutional education, specialist publications, and professional associations.⁹⁸⁰ Sociologists have also generally posited institutional features such as skill based on theoretical knowledge, training and education, testing of skills, a code of conduct, and an organisation as conditions of professionalisation.⁹⁸¹ Sociologist Andrew Abbott emphasises the relational character of professions, in that neighbouring practices interact and compete in the process of forming a profession.⁹⁸² This relativity is particularly significant in the commercial art and graphic design professions: as seen in the cases of Japan and the United States above, the professionalisation of commercial art was also a process of designers overcoming their subordination to fine artists and claiming independence.

In colonial Korea, the conditions for the professionalisation of commercial art were not fully present. As discussed above, commercial artists' associations existed but were neither strong nor active networks of working professionals. Meanwhile, as I have shown in Chapter 2, despite the growth in the volume of advertisements published in the Korean media, demand for local advertising production was limited, as more than half of advertisements came from Japan. Also, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, the Korean advertising industry broadly relied on professional knowledge and information produced in Japan.

⁹⁸⁰ See, for example, Jeremy Aynsley, *Graphic Design in Germany 1890-1945* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000); Alan S. Young, 'Commercial Art to Graphic Design: The Rise and Decline of Commercial Art in Australia', *Journal of Design History* 28, no. 3 (2015); Chiara Barbieri, 'Graphic Design and Graphic Designers in Milan, 1930s-1960s: The Layout of a Profession' (PhD thesis, Royal College of Art, 2017).

⁹⁸¹ For a historiographical overview of professionalisation, see Mike Dent, ed. *The Routledge Companion to the Professions and Professionalism* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016). Geoffrey Millerson has articulated these features generally agreed by sociologists. Millerson, *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalization*, 4.

⁹⁸² Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions : An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Another significant limitation in colonial Korea in terms of producing commercial artists was the lack of higher education. In the case of Nakamura Makoto in Japan, proceeding to a higher education institution of art and design (the Tokyo School of Fine Arts) offered an opportunity for junior employment at a leading department store, which then led to a career as a commercial artist. Like Nakamura, many Japanese commercial artists in the 1920s and 1930s attended the top art and design schools in Tokyo (and Kyoto). For example, in *A short history of Japanese design* (Nihon dezain shōshi, 1970), a collection of essays by designers and critics who were active from the inter-war period, many authors write about the significance of their education at schools like the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, the Imperial Art School (Teikoku Bijutsu Gakkō), the Tama Imperial Art School (Tama Teikoku Bijutsu Gakkō), the Tokyo Higher School of Crafts (Tōkyō Kōtō Kōkei Gakkō), and the Kyoto Higher School of Crafts (Kyōtō Kōtō Kōkei Gakkō).⁹⁸³ In the volume, graphic designer Yamana Ayao (1897-1980), who did not attend one of these schools himself, writes that the schools ‘sent off elite designers every year’ and contributed to the establishment of commercial art.⁹⁸⁴

In colonial Korea, as mentioned above, opportunities for higher education were extremely scarce in general.⁹⁸⁵ Art historian Kim Yōng-na has shown that higher education in art (including design) was completely absent in colonial Korea; to study art institutionally and professionally, Koreans had to go abroad, usually to Japan.⁹⁸⁶

The absence of local art institutions made it less likely for Koreans to study design: the majority of Koreans in art schools in Japan studied Western-style painting.⁹⁸⁷ While there may have been many reasons for this, the hierarchy of artistic practices, and the resulting social rewards, would have been crucial to this bias. Anthropologist Kim Hyōn-gyōng has suggested that studying abroad

⁹⁸³ Nihon Dezain Shōshi Henshū Dōjin, ed. *Nihon dezain shōshi* (Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1970).

⁹⁸⁴ Yamana Ayao, 'Shōgyō zuan kara shōgyō bijutsu e' [From commercial design to commercial art], in *Nihon dezain shōshi*, ed. Nihon Dezain Shōshi Henshū Dōjin (Tokyo: Daviddosha, 1970), 101.

⁹⁸⁵ O Sōng-ch'ōl, 'Shingminjigi ūi kyoyukchōk yusan' [Educational legacies from the colonial period], *Kyoyuk sahak yōn'gu* 8 (1998), 228. In 1935 only 1.4 Koreans per ten thousand received higher education. O Sōng-ch'ōl, 'Chungdŭng chigōp kyoyuk e taehan sahoejōk sōnho kip'i hyōnsang ūi yōksajōk pyōnch'ōn', 77.

⁹⁸⁶ Kim Yōng-na, '1930-yōndae Tonggyōng yuhaksaengdūl' [Students in Tokyo in the 1930s], in *Kūndae Han'guk misul nonch'ong*, ed. Ch'ōngyō Yi Ku-yōl Sōnsaeng Hoegap Kinyōm Nonmunjip Kanhaeng Wiwōnhoe (Seoul: Hakkojae, 1992), 273-285.

⁹⁸⁷ For instance, among the 152 Korean students who enrolled at the Imperial Art School between 1929 and 1945, 106 were in ‘Western-style painting’ (*sei'yōga*), and only 13 were in ‘design’ (*zuan*). Chōn Hye-suk, 'Cheguk Misul Hakkyo ūi Chosōnin yuhaksaengdūl (1929-1945)' [Korean students in Teikoku Art School (1929-1945)], *Han'guk kūnhyōndae misulsa hak* 11 (2003), 41-42.

(*yuhak*), predominantly in Japan, was how many members of the Korean social and cultural elites received their final level of education during the colonial period.⁹⁸⁸ As discussed above, completing one's education at secondary schools in Korea was already a rare and expensive practice. Kim shows convincingly that additional higher education in Japan required a substantial fortune. She estimates that the majority of Korean students who studied abroad from 1881 to 1945 were from what she categorises as 'rich' or 'very rich' families;⁹⁸⁹ during the 1920s and 1930s, around 85 per cent of students studying abroad relied on family support.⁹⁹⁰ In this respect, art education in Japan was markedly more rare and valuable for Koreans than for Japanese in Japan.

In such circumstances it may be natural that, when going to Japan to study art, Korean students chose to study a discipline that would better reward their investment and ensure social status. Art historians have shown that in colonial Korea, Western-style painting was a discipline such as this, in which elite artists could enjoy social status and fame through activity focused on an academic exhibition, the *Chosŏn Art Exhibition*.⁹⁹¹ Meanwhile, even Koreans who had studied design in Japan rarely became practising commercial artists or advertising designers. In her study of Koreans who studied design at the Imperial Art School in Tokyo, design historian Sin Hi-gyŏng suggests that design students were less active than their peers who had studied Western-style painting; when they returned to Korea, they often became educators or practitioners in the fine art disciplines.⁹⁹²

To summarise, commercial art was not fully professionalised in colonial Korea. This does not mean that artwork created for the purpose of advertising did not exist. Koreans and Japanese in colonial Korea conducted commercial art activities, and many of them used the term *sangŏp misul* (commercial art). But despite the presence of the commercial art phenomenon, Kang Han-in's claim

⁹⁸⁸ Kim Hyŏn-gyŏng, 'Kŭndae kyoyuk ūi hwaksan kwa yuhak ūi chedohwa: 1881-1945' [Diffusion of modern education in Korea and the practice of studying abroad: 1881-1945], *Sahoe wa yŏksa* 70 (2006).

⁹⁸⁹ Kim categorises her samples as 'very rich' (12.7%), 'rich' (23.0%), 'middle' (15.5%), 'poor' (12.3%), and 'unknown' (36.5%). She acknowledges that this categorisation is based on verbal descriptions (for example, 'millionaire' (*puho*)) that exist in records and may not be precise. Nonetheless, it shows a general tendency for students from rich families to be able to study abroad. *Ibid.*, 11-12.

⁹⁹⁰ Others were often sponsored by the state, religious or private organisations, or individuals outside their family. *Ibid.*, 18-19.

⁹⁹¹ Kim Yong-ch'ŏl, 'Tok'yo Misul Hakkyo ūi ip'ak chedo wa Chosŏnin yuhaksaeng' [A study on entrance system of Tokyo School of Fine Arts and Korean students], *Tongak misulsahak* 6 (2005), 63; Mok Su-hyŏn, 'Chosŏn Misul Chŏllamhoe wa munmyŏnghwa ūi sŏnjŏn' [Propaganda of 'civilizing mission' in the *Chosŏn Art Exhibition*], *Sahoe wa yŏksa* 89 (2011), 86.

⁹⁹² Sin Hi-gyŏng, 'Han'guk e issŏsŏ ūi kŭndae tijain suyong e kwanhan koch'al: Cheguk Misul Hakkyo ūi toan kongye kyoyuk kwa Chosŏnin yuhaksaeng (1920-1945) ūl t'onghayŏ', 55.

that ‘there were no designers’ in colonial Korea may be valid. Producers of commercial art existed, but I argue that attempts to establish their work as a specialist profession were limited or unsuccessful.

Returning to the earlier discussion of displayed modernity in Chapter 3, the stylistic refinement of advertising design in 1930s colonial Korea was fundamentally illusive; advertisements on the pages of Korean newspapers were based upon a vulnerable system of local advertising production that was embedded in the more general economic and industrial limitations of colonial Korea. In this chapter, I have added another dimension to my articulation of displayed modernity: the education and professionalisation of commercial art. Through a comparative examination of these in Korea and Japan, I have shown that parallel developments, in commercial art education, both systemic and visual, took place in secondary commercial schools in the two countries in the mid- to late 1930s. The educational policy of ‘practicalisation’, adopted by both the Japanese Ministry of Education in Tokyo and the Government-General in Seoul, was one of the driving forces behind this parallel development. But in Korea, commercial art education in commercial schools had little professional potential: commercial art was not an attractive option for Korean students at vocational schools, who generally aimed at a higher social status than that offered by commercial art. Meanwhile, there was an absence of higher art education in Korea, which made it far less likely for Koreans who studied art (usually in Japan) to pursue a commercial art career. A crucial factor that contributed to this situation was the Government-General’s limitation of school education, or the policy of ‘labour-centred education’. On another level, contemporary Koreans barely acknowledged commercial art as a field of expertise. I have shown through the examples of the Korean Association of Commercial Artists and the Seoul Association of Commercial Artists that the professionalisation of commercial art in Korea was marginal. Commercial art and advertising produced by students and designers in colonial Korea was a reflection of displayed modernity, in that the practice was based on a weak professional grounding.

Conclusion

This thesis began by asking how images and practices of advertising and commercial art in Korea changed from 1920 to 1940, within the newly expanded print media environment under ‘cultural rule’, implemented by the Japanese colonial government. I asked what visual changes in design can tell us about the social, cultural, technological, political, and economic conditions of colonial Korea. The thesis aimed to present a more nuanced and critical history, not only *of* Korean design, but also *through* it. To do so, drawing on the frameworks of global and transnational design history and colonial modernity theory, I have posited the ideas of ‘modern’ and ‘modernity’ as indications of what people at the time aspired to and pursued as new society, culture, economy, technology, art, or design; I have also postulated that modernity and coloniality were intertwined and interdependent in the context of inter-war East Asia. This conclusion briefly summarises the key arguments of each chapter before providing the original contributions to knowledge, first in terms of information and arguments, then in terms of methodology. I conclude by identifying the limitations of this thesis and suggesting further research.

The four chapters of this thesis focused on different, broadly chronological, time periods; they investigated specific cases that provide a lens for larger, significant issues of the time: nationalism, colonial expansion, urban consumerism, and education. The chapters collectively illustrated the complexity of advertising and commercial art in colonial Korea. Chapters 1 and 2 showed that both Koreans and Japanese participated in shaping the practice and industry of advertising in Korea, with different motives and aims. Through these two chapters I argued that the contrast between the initial failure or relative delay of the project of modern Korean advertising and the increasingly visible expansion of what I call ‘imperial brands’ may reflect colonial modernity in the Korean context. Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrated how what some Korean nationalists pursued as the project of modern Korean advertising, left incomplete in the early 1920s, was more fully visible in the 1930s. Various Korean advertisers, alongside the general shift in Koreans’ perceptions of modernity (from nationalist development towards urban consumerism) and the continuing influence of Japanese practices and institutions, gradually and increasingly produced advertisements that were more visibly ‘modern’. The two chapters argued that these developments in advertising incorporated what I call ‘displayed modernity’, in that social and economic structures supporting those visible changes were significantly lacking in colonial Korea.

Original contribution to knowledge

Together, the chapters make a number of original contributions to knowledge, including adding new information, narratives, and explanations to the historical record. Firstly, I added new information about some cultural figures in colonial Korea. I showed that Hyŏn Hi-un, who has been known in literary studies primarily as a theatre expert, also sought Korean cultural and economic development by advocating and promoting modern advertising design. I also revealed that An Sŏk-chu possibly ran the advertising agency Paegyŏngsa. I demonstrated that An's commercial art activities were not only part of his pursuit of socialist art, as art historian Ki Hye-kyŏng has suggested,⁹⁹³ but also part of an actual commercial enterprise that provided services for Korean advertisers.

Secondly, I provided new findings about Japanese companies' operation and advertising in Korea. I discovered new archival records about Morinaga and Lion, and demonstrated that their expansion in the Korean market through advertising was a gradual process that involved trial and error. I added new information to existing studies of Ajinomoto, such as Cho Hi-jin's,⁹⁹⁴ in terms of why the company expanded its advertising in Korea around 1926 and how it collaborated with Korean advertising producers like Sin Yŏng-gyun to localise the design of its advertisements. These case studies collectively indicated that many Japanese major brands followed a similar trajectory in their expansion in the Korean market; they also provided concrete evidence that Korean and Japanese agents interacted along their pursuit of modern advertising, enhancing the argument that colonial modernity was intertwined across Korea and Japan, which has been suggested by historians like Yun Hae-dong and Itagaki Ryūta.⁹⁹⁵

Thirdly, I presented new findings about commercial art publishing in Korea and Japan. By comparing the content of commercial art publications in Korea (i.e. *Sanggong segye* and Kim Hyŏng-sik's 'A commentary on general knowledge about advertising' in the *TI*) and in Japan (i.e. *How to make leaflets* by Shimizu Masami and the *Complete collection of contemporary commercial art* edited by Hamada Masuji and others) I showed that Korean advertising practitioners consulted Japanese sources. I also revealed that a wide range of Japanese commercial art books and periodicals (such as

⁹⁹³ Ki Hye-kyŏng, '1920-yŏndae ūi misul hwa munhak ūi kyoryu yŏn'gu'.

⁹⁹⁴ Cho Hi-jin, 'Ajinomodo ūi hyŏnjihwa chŏllyak kwa sinmun kwanggo'.

⁹⁹⁵ Yun Hae-dong, *Singminji ūi hoesaek chidae* ; Itagaki Ryūta, "'Shokuminchi kindai" o megutte: Chōsen-shi kenkyū ni okeru genjō to kadai'.

Kōkokukai) was available to Koreans through channels of public libraries, bookstores, and direct subscription.

Fourthly, I added new knowledge about design education in Korea and Japan. I examined new sources such as school histories and alumni bulletins and revealed that a similar design education was adopted in the two countries. I suggested that the *Tonga Ilbo Commercial Art Exhibition (TICAE)* was possibly influenced by the Japanese *National Commercial Art Exhibition*. I also demonstrated that colonial government officials and semi-governmental agents like Akao Masao may have contributed to the establishment of the exhibition, as well as the promotion of commercial art education more generally, as part of the colonial policy to industrialise Korea.

These new findings collectively showed that advertising and commercial art in colonial Korea was a complex field. As an attempt to disentangle this complexity, this thesis also contributes methodologically to diverse fields of study in different ways. Firstly, by excavating designed objects and images from the colonial past and examining them in their own context, it rethinks Korean design history as part of a more global approach to design history. Secondly, it proposes a critical analytical framework based on empirical evidence that may bridge some methodological gaps in the historiography of colonial Korea. Thirdly, by engaging in the historiographical discourse of colonial modernity in Korea, the thesis presents a model of design history that may be useful to the writing of more nuanced histories, regardless of geography and time frame.

Rethinking Korean design history towards global design history

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, many design historians have challenged industrialisation-centric, Eurocentric, and modernist perspectives on design and design history and have called for more global design histories. This thesis contributes to such scholarly endeavours towards global design history, in terms of both research topic and methodology. Firstly, it puts new topics under the scholarly lens, for both English- and Korean-language scholarship. It presented a close historical examination of design in Korea, an area that in particular has been little studied in the English-language scholarship of design history; and it explored the colonial period, which has been overlooked in Korean-language design history.

Secondly, the framework adopted in this thesis to explore the little-studied topic of design in colonial Korea suggests a model for writing more global design histories. As argued in the introduction, modernist frameworks of design, for example those presented by Chōng Si-hwa and Kim Chin-gyun, have contributed to the teleological and nationalist narrative of Korean design as a

post-liberation achievement;⁹⁹⁶ many Korean design historians, including O Ch'ang-söp and Kang Hyön-ju, have marginalised the colonial period as a period of 'potential' before the establishment of 'truly' 'modern' or 'Korean' design, due to the lack of political independence.⁹⁹⁷ In this thesis, I showed that such a narrow framing of Korean design history may be expanded by acknowledging the fluidity of the ideas of 'modern' and 'Korean'.

I postulated modernity not as a standard of industrial progress drawn from the 'West', but as processes towards what people at the time thought and aspired to as new society, culture, economy, technology, art, or design. I showed how ideas of modernity varied among Koreans, particularly around the urban or literate, in other words privileged groups. For example, for Korean cultural nationalists in the early 1920s, modernity may have meant industrial and cultural progress; for 'modern girls and boys' in 1930s Seoul, it may have meant the consumption of Western-style commodities. In the context of 1920s and 1930s Korea these ideas around 'the modern' were strongly affected by ideas and institutions in what Koreans thought as 'advanced' 'Western' countries, as well as in Japan, the closest model of Western-style development; but ideas of modernity in Korea were nevertheless fluid and fragmented, and specific to individual and collective identities, placed in the context of that time and space. This thesis interrogated how these ideas of 'the modern', in their own context, contributed to the formation of, and changes in, advertising and commercial art in colonial Korea. It introduced a more sited approach that recognises the significance of design phenomena in their specific context, in this instance within colonial Korea, East Asia, and global networks. By doing so, although the thesis discusses until 1940, I have laid groundwork for a more continuous and comprehensive narrative of Korean design history that incorporates the pre- and post-1945 periods, as an alternative to the teleological narrative of 'modern' Korean design as a post-liberation achievement in South Korea.

At the same time, the thesis presented a transnational methodology that captures the interconnectedness of design phenomena beyond national borders. It showed that a rich body of visual images were produced and consumed *in* Korea during the colonial period, by both Koreans and non-Koreans. To better understand the designed images, I followed connections beyond geographical and ethnic boundaries; I closely examined objects (advertisements, magazines, books, and catalogues) and subjects (designers, writers, advertising agencies, retailers, and manufacturers) in Korea, Japan, and beyond. For example, in Chapter 2 I showed that Japan-based companies Morinaga and Lion and their

⁹⁹⁶ Chöng Si-hwa, *Han'guk üi hyöndaetijain*; Kim Chong-gyun, *Han'guk tijainsa*.

⁹⁹⁷ O Ch'ang-söp, 'Han'guk esö üi kündaejök tijain saengsan chuch'e üi ch'urhyön'; Kang Hyön-ju, 'Han Hong-t'aek tijain üi t'ükching kwa üimi: Han'guk küraep'ik tijain üi chönsa'.

employees physically participated in advertising in Korea, through business trips and advertising tours. In Chapters 3 and 4 I demonstrated how visual styles such as design letters and events like the *TICAE* in Korea were linked with those in Japan, through border-crossing individuals and publications. By consulting the British magazine *Commercial Art* and examining the professionalisation of commercial art in the United States, I located advertising and commercial art in Korea within an expanded yet interconnected network of design practices around the world. In this regard, I have presented a more inclusive narrative that possibly accounts for design of the past in Korea more accurately compared to nationalist and partial views of ‘Korean’ design history.⁹⁹⁸

In summary, for design history Korean and otherwise, this thesis offers a model that articulates both the specificities and the connections of design phenomena through transnational tracings of objects and subjects; this model may be useful to understand other regions, time periods, or relationships in the wider network of global design history.

Understanding colonial modernity in Korea through the lens of design history

As discussed in the introduction, historians and sociologists advocating colonial modernity theory, like Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, Chŏng Kŭn-sik, and Kim Chin-song, have reframed the discussion of modernity in Korea; they have critiqued narratives based on nationalist and/or Eurocentric-modernist frames and have focused on the specificities or particularities of modernity experienced in Korea. But one pitfall of the colonial modernity approach noted by scholars like Cho Kyŏng-dal and Hong Yung Lee was that the examination of individual experiences of modernity in Korea has sometimes resulted in overlooking larger structures of colonisation.⁹⁹⁹ In this respect, scholars of colonial modernity including Kim Tong-no and Cho Hyŏng-gŭn have sought analytical links between ‘things’ and ‘structures’.¹⁰⁰⁰ For example, historian Todd A. Henry has analysed colonial Seoul’s infrastructure and public spaces, and individual actors around them, to demonstrate how Japan’s assimilation policy operated on the grounds of colonial Korean society.¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁸ For example, Kim Chong-gyun’s view that regards only design created ‘with our hands’ as part of ‘Korean’ design history. Kim Chong-gyun, *Han'guk tijainsa*, 11.

⁹⁹⁹ Cho Kyŏng-dal, *Shokuminchi Chōsen: Sono genjō to kaihō eno michi*; Lee, 'Introduction: A Critique of “Colonial Modernity”’.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Kim Tong-no, 'Singminji sigi ilsang saenghwal ūi kŭndaesŏng kwa singminjisŏng'; Cho Hyŏng-gŭn, 'Pip'an kwa kulchŏl, chŏnhwa sok ūi han'guk singminji kŭndaesŏngnon'.

¹⁰⁰¹ See Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*.

In this thesis, I have shown that design history may provide a methodology that bridges the gap between ‘things’ and ‘structures’, by tracing the ‘subject’, by which I mean individual agents such as people and groups of people around designed objects. My design-historical approach has incorporated the smallest details of everyday visual culture and has integrated them with larger structures of colonisation, by closely examining designed images and objects and tracing various subjects that surround them (people, institutions, and systems). For example, in Chapter 1, I analysed the covers of, and advertisements in, *Sanggong segye* and scrutinised how they engage with the life and work of Hyön Hi-in and An Sök-chu. By locating Hyön and An in the network of Korean intellectual and business elites at the time, I articulated the magazine’s significance as an embodiment of ‘cultural nationalism’. I also demonstrated how the failed attempts made by *Sanggong segye*’s producers and cultural nationalism’s advocates more widely reflected the larger political and economic circumstances of ‘cultural rule’ in Korea.

By adopting this artefact-led design-historical methodology, I have presented an original interpretation of colonial modernity in Korea. The examination of technique/technology/style and production context, beyond what is depicted in images of advertising and commercial art, has been useful to avoid the potential bias towards the more positive aspects of colonial experience and the danger of neglecting realities unrepresented by those images. I further scrutinised what art and visual culture historians Mok Su-hyön, Kim Chi-hye, and Pak Ŭn-yöng have described as the gap between commercial imagery and reality in colonial Korea.¹⁰⁰² For example, in Chapter 3 I illustrated how Korean advertisements featured decorative design letters and visual representations of urban consumerism. I closely followed companies (Chosön Kükchang, Tansöngsa, and Kyöngbang) and individuals (Yi Ku-yöng of Tansöngsa and Kim Hyöng-sik of the *Chosön ilbo*) that contributed to those images, and tracked specific sources from which these subjects may have gained information. I then connected these findings with the social and economic circumstances of Korea articulated in the existing literature. In Chapter 4, I connected the posters in the *TICAE* with the wider social and economic conditions of colonial Korea, using painstaking archival work to trace a long chain of subjects such as commercial school students, teachers, government officials, and members of commercial artists’ associations. Through this I showed that commercial art education was parallel in Korea and Japan, but the professional significance of commercial art differed significantly between

¹⁰⁰² Mok Su-hyön, 'Yongmang ürosöüi kündae: 1910-1930-yöndae Han'guk sinmun kwanggo üi sinch'e imiji'; Kim Chi-hye, 'Kwanggo ro mannanün Kyöngsöng üi miin, modön köl modön poi'; Pak Ŭn-yöng, '1920-1930-yöndae Kyöngsöng üi syowindo'.

the two countries. I also demonstrated that such a difference was shaped by the general aims of Japan's colonial rule to limit education in Korea.¹⁰⁰³

Through these multifaceted analyses in Chapters 3 and 4, I interpreted modernity in colonial Korea as 'displayed': modernity was certainly presented and visible, but may have been only superficially visible. By the idea of displayed modernity I certainly do not suggest that modernity was somehow real in Japan (and the 'West') and not in Korea. What I argue through the comparative analyses is that although images of commercial art may have looked similarly 'modern', the broader social conditions under which they were produced were significantly different in Korea and Japan. In this sense, although modernity in advertising may be superficial in any context, the gap between image and reality was broader in the colonial context. I showed such a gap in Korea from different angles, in terms of consumption and production in general, information and knowledge about advertising, and the education and professionalisation of commercial art.

In summary, the thesis contributes to the history of colonial Korea in terms of both methodology and original interpretation. The analytical framework of this thesis, which incorporates objects and their surrounding subjects, enables the historian to critically engage with colonialism based on sound empirical evidence, while at the same time moving away from nationalist or Eurocentric-modernist preconceptions of modernity. For example, by adopting such framework and incorporating authors, editors, distributors, and readers, literary historians may expand the interpretational potential of works of literature in colonial Korea. More broadly, the design-historical methodology may also be useful to understand colonialism, or cultural transmission within asymmetrical power relationships, in other parts of East Asia and around the world. For example, the methodology may bring new insight into the study of cultural interactions and influences between the United States and East Asian countries in the post-war years. The dialogue between global design history and colonial modernity theory presented in this thesis, which derives from the particular context of writing colonial Korean history, may offer ways to write more nuanced histories, regardless of geography and time frame.

Limitations and further research

This thesis has covered a period from 1920 to 1940. While this choice of periodisation within the history of Korea was useful to capture the dynamic changes in commercial design as a reflection

¹⁰⁰³ In tracing these subjects through extensive archival research, I have also added new knowledge about the social history of advertising and business and commercial art production in colonial period Seoul.

of colonial modernity, other periods, before, during, and after colonial rule, also deserve further study. A design-historical approach to commercial images after the opening of Korea's ports in 1876 and during the Korean Empire (1897-1910) may reveal how Korea and Koreans gradually participated in the global network of the production, dissemination, and consumption of things.¹⁰⁰⁴ Studying visual artefacts from the period of 'total mobilisation' (1937-1945) may bring new insight into what Koreans today often consider as the 'dark period', and offer a more nuanced understanding of colonial Korea.¹⁰⁰⁵ Indeed, I have researched the period between 1940 and 1945 and identified that many advertisers, Korean and Japanese alike, continued to advertise. Advertisements from this period showed a shift in terms of message, motif, and style, and suggest that as the war intensified, Koreans resisted against, tolerated, or collaborated with Japan's assimilation and control policies; the war complicated Korean national identity, and advertisements of the period reflected such complexity.¹⁰⁰⁶ Further exploration of wartime assimilation and national identity through visual imagery may enrich the discussion of modernity in late colonial Korea, such as historian Janet Poole's study on literary modernism during the war.¹⁰⁰⁷

Findings in this thesis may be further connected to an understanding of contemporary Korea by scrutinising how individuals, institutions, and systems associated with design in colonial Korea contributed to the shaping of design in the 1940s after liberation, in the 1950s after the Korean War, and in the 1960s and beyond, with economic, social, cultural, and political changes in South Korea. One of the intents of this thesis, to overcome the historiographical rupture between the pre- and post-

¹⁰⁰⁴ Such design histories may add fresh narratives and complement existing social histories of the period, such as Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995); Schmid, *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919*; Kirk W. Larsen, *Tradition, Treaties, and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Chosŏn Korea, 1850-1910*, vol. 295 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Council on East Asian, 2008).

¹⁰⁰⁵ Regarding Japan, historian Andrew Gordon suggests that the spread of modern consumer life continued from the 1930s to the 1950s, even as the Japan went through the supposed 'dark valley' of war. He hence suggests the framework of 'transwar' to incorporate the continuity of consumption between the pre- and post-war periods. See Gordon, 'Consumption, Leisure and the Middle Class in Transwar Japan'. While the 1940s in Korea may have been more turbulent as the period involved both the war and political independence, Gordon's approach may be useful to capture the social and cultural continuity in Korea before, during, and after the war.

¹⁰⁰⁶ I have decided not to include this discussion in the final version of this thesis, because I cannot fully discuss the social and political implications of advertisements of the period within the word limit of this PhD thesis.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Janet Poole, *When the Future Disappears: The Modernist Imagination in Late Colonial Korea* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2015).

liberation periods and rethink the continuity of Korean design, would be furthered by an expanded academic monograph that compresses methodological discussions to allow discussion of a longer time span, or as a subsequent project.

Social histories of colonial modernity in Korea through the lens of design history may be expanded and complicated by tracing designed objects and surrounding subjects in other contexts. For example, a closer examination of the Japanese settler community in Korea may render more nuanced or heterogeneous narratives. I showed in Chapter 2 that settler businesses, like Nakajima Shōten and the Pyongyang Cosmetics Company, played a significant role as intermediaries between Japan-based companies and the Korean market and industry.¹⁰⁰⁸ Studies of objects and images associated with settler companies, as well as the semi-governmental institutions in which they participated (such as local chambers of commerce and industry), may offer more multifaceted accounts of transnational exchanges between Korea and Japan and provide a more comprehensive understanding of colonial modernity across Korea and Japan.¹⁰⁰⁹

Studies of colonial modernity through objects and surrounding subjects may also be expanded geographically. This thesis focused primarily on exchanges and interactions between Korea and Japan; this has been partly due to my limited knowledge of other languages and cultures in East Asia. But the premise that experiences and ideas of colonial modernity were interrelated and dependent in East Asia may be useful to the study of modernities in other parts of East Asia and beyond. In particular, comparative or inter-colonial approaches to Japan and/or its other colonies such as Taiwan and Manchuria may reveal a more comprehensive picture of how objects and subjects travelled across the area, and how they contributed to experiences of colonial modernity in East Asia more widely.¹⁰¹⁰

To conclude, considering the vastness of research topics that the frameworks of global design history and colonial modernity theory may represent, this thesis can only be a partial story of much

¹⁰⁰⁸ Were access to become possible to archives of other Japanese companies that operated in colonial Korea, in addition to Morinaga and Lion discussed in this thesis, historians would be able to present a more comprehensive picture of how Koreans and Japanese, whether Korea- and Japan- based, contributed to the collective formation of advertising in Korea.

¹⁰⁰⁹ For example, such studies may add other dimensions of object-based cases and interpretations to Jun Uchida's study of the Japanese settler community's interactions with Koreans and Japanese government officials. Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945*.

¹⁰¹⁰ Such approach may render a productive collaboration project among specialists of different countries and cultures in the region. A forthcoming publication, *East Asian Design History Reader: Modernities and Formation of the Inter-East Asian Design, 1900-1945* (forthcoming, Brill), edited by design historians Yunah Lee, Yuko Kikuchi, Wendy Wong, and Inhye Kang, will be a pioneering example of such approach, and has inspired this idea for further research.

larger and more complex narratives. Yet the way in which I rethink Korean design history through multifaceted analyses of advertising culture and commercial art in colonial Korea may contribute to the writing of more empirical and critical histories of East Asia and beyond.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Selected lists of books on advertising and commercial art in libraries in Seoul.

1.1. The Government-General of Korea Library (1930). Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu tosho mokuroku* [Book catalogue of the Government-General of Korea Library] (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1930).

Category	Title	Author	Year
商業-総記及雑書	現代商業美術全集(全 21 卷) (<i>Zenshū</i>)	北原義雄 Kitahara Yoshio	1929
商業-総記及雑書	広告と宣伝 (Advertising and publicity)	中川静 Nakagawa Shizuka	1924
美術-総記及雑書	図案文字大観 (3 copies) (A survey of design letters)	矢島周一 Yajima Shūichi	1926
美術-写真、印刷及図案	対戦ポスター集	朝日新聞社	1921
美術-写真、印刷及図案	広告と宣伝 (Advertising and publicity)	中川静 Nakagawa Shizuka	1924
美術-写真、印刷及図案	欧米ポスター図案集 (A collection of Euro-American poster designs)	田邊泰 Tanabe Yasushi	1928
美術-写真、印刷及図案	ポスターと広告の研究 (A study on posters and advertisements)	大阪市役所産業部 Osaka City Office	1921
美術-写真、印刷及図案	図案文字大観 (2 copies) (A survey of design letters)	武田五一 Takeda Goichi	1927

1.2. in the Government-General of Korea Library (1936). Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen Sōtokufu tosho mokuroku* [Book catalogue of the Government-General of Korea Library] (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1936).

Category	Title	Author	Year
商業-総記及雑書	現代商業美術全集(全 24 卷) (<i>Zenshū</i>)	北原義雄 Kitahara Yoshio	1929
商業-総記及雑書	広告生活二十年 (20 years in advertising)	松宮三郎 Matsumiya Saburō	1935
商業-総記及雑書	広告と宣伝 (2 copies) (Advertising and publicity)	中川静 Nakagawa Shizuka	1924
商業-総記及雑書	宣伝術、販売術 (Tactics of publicity, tactics of sales)	清水正巳 Shimizu Masami	1934
商業-総記及雑書	商品陣列法 (Methods of product display)	松倉順一 Matsukura Junichi	1914
商業-総記及雑書	商店管理と経営 (Store management)	伊藤重治郎 Itō Jūjirō	1932
商業-総記及雑書	店舗の設計と装飾 (Planning and decorating the store)	室田久良三 Murota Kurazō	1930
美術-総記及雑書	広告文化 (Culture of advertising)	黒崎雅雄 Kuraosaki Masao	1925
美術-写真、印刷及図案	呉服モスリン店広告図案集	多田北鳥	1930

	(A collection of advertising designs for clothing and muslin stores)	Tada Hokuu	
美術-写真、印刷及図案	広告印刷物の知識 (Knowledge on advertising printing)	郡山幸男 Kooriyama Yukio	1930
美術-写真、印刷及図案	広告図案文案集 (A collection of advertising design and copy)	商店界社 The Shōtenkai Company	1932
美術-写真、印刷及図案	洋服子供服店広告図案集 (A collection of advertising designs for Western-style and children's clothing stores)	澤令花 Sawa Reika	1930
美術-写真、印刷及図案	図案文字の解剖 (Anatomy of design letters)	矢島周一 Yajima Shūichi	1928
美術-写真、印刷及図案	図案文字大観 (A survey of design letters)	武田五一 Takeda Goichi	1927
美術-写真、印刷及図案	図案文字大観 (3 copies) (A survey of design letters)	矢島周一 Yajima Shūichi	1926

1.3. The Seoul Prefectural Library (1934). Source: Keijō Furitsu Toshokan, *Keijō Furitsu Toshokan tosho mukuroku* [Book catalogue of the Seoul Prefectural Library] (Keijō: Keijō Furitsu Toshokan, 1934).

Category	Title	Author	Year
商業学	販売学講話 (A lecture on the theory of sales)	松宮三郎 Matsumiya Saburō	1923
商業学	商売の知識 (Knowledge on business)	清水正巳 Shimizu Masami	1922
広告、経営	スグ間に合う広告カットと広告文句 (Advertising cut and advertising copy at hand)	清水正巳 Shimizu Masami	1922
広告、経営	陣列窓背景図案 (Window display background design)	清水正巳 Shimizu Masami	1923
広告、経営	現代式経営 (Modern management)	井関十二郎 Iseki Junirō	1915
広告、経営	ポスターと広告の研究 (A study on posters and advertisements)	大阪市役所産業部 Osaka City Office	1925
広告、経営	商業装飾(全 10 編) (Commercial decoration)	清水正巳 Shimizu Masami	1924
広告、経営	広告文化 (Culture of advertising)	黒崎雅雄 Kurosaki Masao	1925
広告、経営	広告学研究 (A study of the theory of advertising)	松宮三郎 Matsumiya Saburō	1927
広告、経営	広告概論 (An introduction to advertising)	小沼昇 Konuma Noboru	1932
広告、経営	あらゆる商売への広告文案集 (A collection of advertising copy for all businesses)	清水正巳 Shimizu Masami	1927
広告、経営	現代商業美術全集(全 23 巻) (Zenshū)	北原義雄 Kitahara Yoshio	1929
広告、経営	勤人向商売案内 (A guide of business for businessmen)	倉本長治 Kuramoto Chōji	1928
広告、経営	必ず利くチラシの拵へ方 (How to make leaflets that definitely work)	清水正巳 Shimizu Masami	1927

広告、経営	広告論 (A theory of advertising)	中川静 Nakagawa Shizuka	1930
広告、経営	広告印刷物の知識 (Knowledge on advertising printing)	郡山幸男 Kooriyama Yukio	1930
広告、経営	広告戦線を往く (To the battlefronts of advertising)	飯守勘一 Iimori Kan'ichi	1930
広告、経営	広告図案写真選集 (A collection of advertising design and photography)	成田穰 Narita Minoru	1930
広告、経営	洋服子供服店広告図案集 (A collection of advertising designs for Western-style and children's clothing stores)	澤花[令]花 Sawa Reika	1930
広告、経営	薬品化粧品小物店広告図案集 (A collection of advertising designs for drugs, cosmetics, and small articles stores)	藤沢龍雄 Fujisawa Ryūo	1930
広告、経営	洋品帽子店広告図案集 (A collection of advertising designs for haberdashers and millineries)	室田久良三 Murota Kurazō	1930
広告、経営	カフェー、バア喫茶店広告図案集 (A collection of advertising designs for cafés and bars)	山名文夫 Yamana Ayao	1930
広告、経営	商業美術精義 (A lecture on commercial art)	濱田増治 Hamada Masuji	1932
広告、経営	広告実務便覧 (A handbook for advertising practice)	室田庫造 Murota Kurazō	1933
装飾的図案	装飾文字 (Decoration letters)	和田斐太 Wada Ayata	1926
図案集	実用図案資料大成(全4巻) (A collection of material on practical design)	杉浦非水、渡邊素舟 Sugiura Hisui Watanabe Soshū	1932
図案集	現代商業図案大観 (A survey of modern commercial design)	上地天逸 Uechi Ten'itsu	1924
図案集	資生堂図案集 (A collection of Shiseido design)	矢部季 Yabe Sue	1925
図案集	創作図案集 (A collection of creative design)	和田三造 Wada Sanzō	1925
図案集	現代の一般商業図案 (General commercial design of the modern)	櫛田利雄 Kushida Toshio	1925
図案集	店頭広告図案 (Storefront advertising design)	森本古亭 Morimoto Kotei	1925
図案集	図案化せる実用文字 (Designed practical letters)	藤原太一 Fujiwara Taichi	1929
図案集	図案文字の解剖 (Anatomy of design letters)	矢島周一 Yajima Shūichi	1928

Appendix 2. Winners of the NCAE from commercial schools in Korea (1936-1940). Source: The catalogues of the NCAE from 1936 to 1940.

Year	Division	Prize	School [Public Commercial School]	School Year	Name (presumable reading)
1936	Poster	first prize	Inch'ŏn	5	澁谷正朝 (Shibutani Masatomo)
		selection	Pyongyang	3	天野龍二 (Amano Ryūji)
			Pyongyang	3	咸泰鎮 (Ham T'ae-jin)
			Kaesŏng	5	高 殷明 (Ko Ŭn-myŏng)
			Kyŏngsŏng	5	河野通明 (Kōno Michiaki)
			Inch'ŏn	5	白石統一郎 (Shiraishi Tōichirō)
			Pyongyang	5	朴 昌滿 (Pak Ch'ang-man)
Pyongyang	3	宮本守久 (Miyamoto Morihisa)			
1937	Poster	first prize	Kaesŏng	4	高 先明 (Ko Sŏn-myŏng)
			Pyongyang	4	咸泰鎮 (Ham T'ae-jin)
		selection	Kyŏngsŏng	4	大久保茂嘉 (Ōkubo Shikeyoshi)
			Inch'ŏn	3	川邊誠二 (Kawabe Seiji)
			Kyŏngsŏng	5	澁谷成弘 (Shibutani Shigehiro)
			Kyŏngsŏng	5	關根將 (Sekine Masaru)
			Kyŏngsŏng	4	田中康夫 (Tanaka Yasuo)
			Kyŏngsŏng	4	山添高行 (Yamazoe Takayuki)
	Kaesŏng	4	柳璜 (Yu Hwang)		
Newspaper	selection	Kyŏngsŏng	5	澁谷成弘 (Shibutani Shigehiro)	
1938 ¹⁰¹¹	Poster	first prize	Kyŏngsŏng	5	三好良一 (Miyoshi Ryōichi)
	Newspaper	grand-prix	Kyŏngsŏng	5	和島定蔵 (Wajima Sadazō)
		first prize	Pyongyang	5	天野龍二 (Amano Ryūji)
1939	Poster	first prize	Kyŏngsŏng	4	三澤博 (Misawa Hiroshi)
			Kyŏngsŏng	5	山本政壽 (Yamamoto Masatoshi)
			Kyŏngsŏng	3	右田憲三 (Uda Kenzō)
1940	Poster	first prize	Pyongyang	5	木村雪人 (Kimura Yukito)
		selection	Kyŏngsŏng	5	三澤博 (Misawa Hiroshi)
			Kyŏngsŏng	3	[name unidentifiable]
			Kyŏngsŏng	4	佐藤勇 (Satō Isamu)
	'Group labour' [wartime propaganda]		Pyongyang	4	森川元一 (Morikawa Gen'ichi)

¹⁰¹¹ In 1938 and 1939, the winner lists of 'selection' were omitted from the main catalogues due to shortage of paper during the war (it was attached as an appendix in 1940).

Appendix 3. Winners of the *TICAE* introduced in the on-paper exhibitions. Source: 'On-paper exhibition' published in the *TI*. 30 September; 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 October (1938); 23, 24, 27, 30 September; 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11 October (1939).

Year	Division	Prize	School [Commercial School]	School Year	Name
1938	Poster	grand-prix	Tongsŏng	4	金榮珪 (Kim Yŏng-gak)
		first	Kyŏnggi Public	5	朴明燮 (Pak Myŏng-sŏp)
		second	Tongsŏng	5	趙斗永 (Cho Tu-yŏng)
		third	Kyŏnggi Public	5	岩本辰之助 (Iwamoto Tatsunosuke)
		h.m.	Tongsŏng	3	金鏞珪 (Kim Yong-gak)
		h.m.	Tongsŏng	5	趙斗永 (Cho Tu-yŏng)
		h.m.	Hamhŭng Public	5	沼澤三男 (Numasawa Mitsuo)
		h.m.	Taedong	5	尹龍基 (Yun Yong-gi)
	h.m.	Tongsŏng	3	金鏞珪 (Kim Yong-gak)	
	Newspaper	grand-prix	Sinŭiju Public	3	林承男 (Im Sŭng-nam)
		first	Sinŭiju Public	2	張璟祚 (Chang Kyŏng-jo)
		second	Taedong	5	林錫圭 (Im Sŏk-kyu)
		third	Taedong	5	林錫圭 (Im Sŏk-kyu)
		h.m.	Sinŭiju Public	4	榎木新一 (Enoki Shin'ichi)
		h.m.	Inch'ŏn Public	3	梅本博 (Umemoto Hiroshi)
h.m.		Sinŭiju Public	4	鄭錫爻 (Chŏng Sŏk-hyo)	
h.m.	Kyŏnggi Public	5	朴明燮 (Pak Myŏng-sŏp)		
1939	Poster	grand-prix	Tongsŏng	4	金鏞珪 (Kim Yong-gak)
		first	Taedong	3	朱道明 (Chu To-myŏng)
		second	Taedong	4	宋興澤 (Song Hŭng-t'aek)
		third	Tongsŏng	4	金榮珪 (Kim Yŏng-gak)
		h.m.	Tongsŏng	4	金榮珪 (Kim Yŏng-gak)
		h.m.	Kyŏnggi Public		金鉉基 (Kim Hyŏn-gi)
		h.m.	Tongsŏng	4	金榮珪 (Kim Yŏng-gak)
		h.m.	Sohwa Engineering School	2	李在九 (Yi Chae-gu)
		h.m.	Sinŭiju Public		張盛八 (Chang Sŏng-p'al)
	h.m.	Taedong	5	尹馨模 (Yun Hyŏng-mo)	
	Newspaper	grand-prix	Sohwa Engineering School	2	李在九 (Yi Chae-gu)
		first	Taedong	5	尹馨模 (Yun Hyŏng-mo)
		second	Kyŏnggi Public	5	米山敏光 (Yoneyama Toshimitsu)
		third	Sohwa Engineering School	2	李在九 (Yi Chae-gu)
		h.m.	Sinŭiju Public	[3]	張璟祚 (Chang Kyŏng-jo)
h.m.		Taedong	5	尹馨模 (Yun Hyŏng-mo)	

		h.m.	Kyönggi Public	5	米山敏光 (Yoneyama Toshimitsu)
		h.m.	Taedong	5	尹馨模 (Yun Hyöng-mo)
		h.m.	Taedong		許基豐 (Hö Kip'ung)
		h.m.	Sohwa Engineering School	2	李在九 (Yi Chae-gu)
		h.m.	Taedong	5	尹馨模 (Yun Hyöng-mo)