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EDITORS' PREFACE

 *Remco Breuker and Benjamin Penny*

The 37th issue in the run of an academic journal is not typically a time for official noting and celebration. For *East Asian History*, however, this is a momentous occasion as it marks the transformation of the print journal into its new electronic form. From the earliest discussions about the possibility of *East Asian History* taking this path, several desiderata were defined: it would be open access and free of charge; rather than simply being a translation of the print version to an online form it would engage with the new medium in creative ways; it would have a downloadable print version that would respect, as far as possible, the exemplary design of its predecessor; and finally, that all the principles and protocols of academic editing would be maintained in the new form.

This issue also marks the first time that an editorial introduction can be entitled an "Editors' Preface" since the journal is now the responsibility of two co-editors: Remco Breuker joined Benjamin Penny towards the end of 2010 and has been involved from the first in the reformation. This new partnership is paralleled in *East Asian History* becoming a collaborative project of Leiden University in the Netherlands and the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra. Although the two universities could barely be further away from each other on the globe, they share a longstanding commitment both to the study of East Asia and to scholarly rigour. The exigencies of geography aside, the process of transformation has proved to the co-editors, at least, that our collaboration will be close. Another aspect of these new arrangements is the structure of our editorial board that now has six members: Geremie R. Barmé, Katarzyna Cwiertka, Barend ter Haar, Roald Maliangkay, Tessa Morris-Suzuki and Ivo Smits. Three members come from ANU and three from Leiden University, and in each case are scholars of the histories of China, Japan and Korea.

This issue engages with some of the notions *East Asian History* has always found important. It begins with a thought-provoking meditation by Geremie R. Barmé (drafted at the invitation of the editors) on the condition of scholarly writing in the world of electronic publishing. Barmé, of course, transformed *Papers on Far Eastern History* into *East Asian History*, and it is particularly pleasing for the current editors that in this new phase for the journal, its pasts

are still clearly visible. Four research articles follow on diverse topics: trademark law in pre-war East Asia, the transnational history of a Harbin hotel, responses to a Chinese art exhibition in New Zealand and oriental Occidentalism in Korean pop music. The issue concludes with an online exhibition of colonial period Korean popular culture. Within the remit of *East Asian History*, the variety in topics could hardly have been greater. The articles and the exhibition are united, however, in their application of the possibilities *East Asian History's* layout has always offered and the added advantages of the new electronic format.

In its new form, *East Asian History* remains committed to the strengths its readers have come to expect, but seeks also to incorporate what has become possible through publishing digitally. This 37th issue breaks new ground in the creative use of a new medium and in our new editing arrangements, but remains on familiar ground with its interest in a broad interpretation of the proper material for historical investigation, and of the importance of research on East Asia. As always, we welcome any criticisms and suggestions, and encourage colleagues across the world to consider publishing their research in *East Asian History*.

SLOW READING AND FAST REFERENCE

 Geremie R. Barmé

The launch of the digital *East Asian History* offers an occasion for reflection on the nature of academic work, scholastic publications and writing in the online era.

Some years ago Lindsay Waters of Harvard University Press was one of a number of writers and publishers concerned to bring concepts originating with the “slow movement” into the realm of the written word with added immediacy. Many people have become familiar with the ramifications of this movement in its gustatory dimension: “slow food”. “Slow food” was a revivalist challenge to the world of “fast food”, a movement that emphasizes traditional foodstuffs and cuisines that relate to local ecosystems and sustainability. An extension of this ethos into the realm of book culture celebrates a different type of tradition, one that is concerned with a feast for the eyes. It is called “slow reading”. It is a movement whose disparate participants can find “time for reading”. This is a kind of reading that, once common fare, has in the age of cultural and intellectual instant gratification and information supersizing become an arcane and easily derided pursuit.

Slow reading is a conscious effort to return the reader, or the “consumer of the written”, to a more deliberate pace, allowing for a considered appreciation of what is being read, of authorial intent, with the structure and style of what is written, all with the express hope of increasing an understanding and the enjoyment of the text. In a time when many writing professionals approach the act of reading rather as one of data mining, “slow reading” is an anathema, risibly antediluvian, or at least eschewed in the “day job”.

In pursuing reading lives online, and not just in libraries and bookstores, we are faced with what Umberto Eco calls “overwhelm”. As Eco observes: “There’s a difference between the ‘moderate’ overwhelm of a great bookshop and the infinite overwhelm of the Internet.”¹ *East Asian History* is being re-launched at a time of just such information overwhelm.

In 1990, in concert with my colleagues Mark Elvin and Helen Lo, *Papers on Far Eastern History*, a publication founded in 1970, was re-conceptualized. As the newly appointed editor of an academic journal that had rightly been

This essay was commissioned by the editors to celebrate the relaunch of *East Asian History* as an e-journal.

1. Umberto Eco in Jean-Claude Carrière and Umberto Eco, *This is Not the End of the Book: A Conversation Curated by Jean-Philippe de Tonnac*, trans. Polly McLean) London: Harvill Secker, 2011), p.315.

2 See Simon Head, "The Grim Threat to British Universities," *The New York Review of Books*, 13 January 2011, <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2011/jan/13/grim-threat-british-universities/>>.

3 Richard Baggaley "How the RAE is Smothering 'Big Idea' Books," *Times Higher Education*, 25 May 2007.

4 Carrière and Eco, *This is Not the End of the Book*, p.16.

5 Now accessible at <www.tsquare.tv>.

6 <<http://www.tsquare.tv/tour/>>.

primarily concerned with the quality of its contents, I was interested in bringing some of the experiences gleaned from years spent straddling the worlds of academe and publishing to the task. Much of my earlier work was engaged with the visual aspects of history and culture; I hoped that the previously rather functional publication—*Papers*—could be recast so that while continuing to support scholastically worthy work, in its approach and style it would also challenge and expand the purview of historical writing in the broad area of East Asia.

We would continue to produce a peer-refereed academic journal to appear twice a year, but, along with Mark and Helen, I hoped that under a new name and through a more imaginative design and style we would create a publication that better reflected our own aesthetics. In content the renamed journal, *East Asian History*, would allow, indeed encourage, longer articles. Its pages would not be limited to the "one idea per article" approach that was even then, two decades ago, becoming the norm in all too many scholastic publications. But those were the early days of the "audit culture" that subsequently subsumed much academic "knowledge production". We now live with a bureaucratization of scholarship, a corporate takeover described by Simon Head as "a 'quality control' exercise imposed on academics by politicians".²

In 1990, our hope was to launch a journal that both in content and in appearance was more intellectually generous, sometimes more idiosyncratic and definitely more expansive in terms of the visual and the stylistic than its fellow publications. It would encourage new approaches to scholarship and its presentation; it would entice authors to essay new approaches in incorporating the visual with their texts, to considering the footnote (configured as side-notes in our new format) as being integral to the text and not something to be sequestered in dungeon-like endnotes. Our intent was in contrast to the "short-termism" and narrowness that have increasingly become the hallmarks of measurable and accountable intellectual work. As Richard Baggaley has commented on this phenomenon, there has been an increasing tendency

to not threaten the status quo in the discipline, to be risk-averse and less innovative, to concentrate on small incremental steps and to avoid big-picture interdisciplinary work.³

At a time when the CD-ROM was becoming a new form of digital production, in launching *East Asian History* in the early 1990s we also hoped that our format might eventually allow for the inclusion of moving images and sound. A veritable (or at least virtual) age has passed since then. The "long-term media format" of the CD-ROM, one that promised such excitement for publishers and authors alike, is now but a faint digital memory. As Jean-Claude Carrière wryly notes: "there is nothing more ephemeral than long-term media formats".⁴ Today it is uncertain whether this version of the online journal—the e-journal—is itself but an incunabulum, one that like the defunct technologies of the earlier post-codex world, may soon give way to another format or storage vehicle.

As *East Asian History* developed I was also working with an independent documentary film-making company in Boston, the Long Bow Group. When, in 1995, we released our film *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* we launched a related archival website.⁵ It was during the early days of online scholarship, but with little money and just a few ideas we included on our site such things as a virtual tour of Tiananmen Square,⁶ and a modest archive of related scholastic and media materials.⁷ Although still used by teachers and

students—the film often features in courses on modern China, its politics, society and culture—the site is now a “period piece”, something of a quaint historical artifact.

Long Bow’s next major work appeared in 2003. It was the two-hour film *Morning Sun*, an account of the Cultural Revolution era. Again, we launched an accompanying archival site for the use of scholars, teachers, students and interested viewers of the film.⁸ Reflecting many of the developments in online culture, this site included sequences from our lengthy filmed interviews (only precious seconds or minutes of multiple-hour interviews were used in the final film), excerpts from feature films and TV news reports, music, a gallery of art works, as well as bilingual materials related, for instance, to how zealots in the past would seek guidance from Mao Zedong Thought by consulting *The Little Red Book* as an oracle.⁹

Thereafter, while editor of *East Asian History*, a journal that was still bound to the expensive and painstaking traditions of print publication, I also had the opportunity to create, with my then colleague Dr Bruce Doar, an e-journal. Launched in March 2005 under the name *China Heritage Newsletter*, this modest publication was intended to be a continuation of *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, an ambitious print journal that Bruce had produced for some years in Beijing with his partner Susan Dewar before the Chinese authorities made it too difficult for them to continue publication. Our Canberra-based e-journal was soon renamed *China Heritage Quarterly* (www.chinaheritagequarterly.org) and when, in late 2007, I assumed sole editorship, I decided to incorporate some ideas related to the audio, the visual and textual (in particular translation) that had originally been envisaged for *East Asian History*.

It was at this juncture that my colleague Dr Benjamin Penny graciously assumed the editorship of *East Asian History*—I say graciously since anyone familiar with the demands of academic journal production (the correspondence, review processes, editorial decisions, deadlines, proofreading and so on) will know that grace is an essential, although not necessarily universal, virtue in an editor. While maintaining the standards as well as the guise and style of the journal, Ben joined in creative collaboration with Remco Breuker of the Leiden University Institute of Area Studies. They are scholars and editors who are mindful of the changes unfolding in the field of academic publications, as well as being pressingly aware of the budgetary realities of producing a specialist print journal. For his part, Ben has reminded me that long before Lindsay Waters championed “slow reading”, Roman Jakobson declared that “philology is the art of reading slowly”.

The online *East Asian History* realizes some of the original hopes for the print version of the journal as well as engaging with the expanded possibilities of online scholarship—including an ANU–Leiden partnership. The intercontinental potential of virtual journal production complements the hyper-textuality of the Internet—the blending of text with image and sound. In production and potential this new journal, its third *nirmānakāya/sprul sku*—to take a term from the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition—enables new annexes of scholarship, although like all overly enabled forms of media it can also deprive the reader of imaginative headspace. To many, the “craving for interactivity” made possible by the digital age offers a flat earth of information. For others, however, an electronic text can liberate the reader from the physical restrictions of the immutable, sequestered nature of the print. The balance between print text and interactivity envisaged for the new *East Asian History* thus seems particularly felicitous.

7 <<http://www.tsquare.tv/links/>>.

8 <www.morningsun.org>.

9 <<http://www.morningsun.org/multi-media/index.html#>>.

10 Alberto Manguel, "No Technology is Innocent", a review of Robert Darnton's *The Case for Books: Past, Present and Future*, in *The Australian Literary Review*, 5.5 (June 2010):24.

11 Clive James, *Cultural Amnesia, Necessary Memories from History and the Arts* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007, pp.xxi-xxii).

While the plethora of history becomes more readily accessible, however, the history of the printed may be elided. But, ironically, there is another potential for the screen: as a *tabula rasa*. As the writer and editor Alberto Manguel remarks,

... the electronic screen lends the text within its frame the eternally pristine appearance of a newly cut page, and this produces in me a distancing feeling that, like Brecht's dramatic techniques, allows me a freer reading, uncluttered by the sense of labouring under previous perusals by myself and others. The electronic book allows for a kind of satori impossible (for me at least) in traditional paper codices that flow endlessly in cultural and personal currents.¹⁰

Manguel goes on to observe that: "Belief in the greater value of one or another technology, in the old testament of print or the new testament of the web, elicits not only vehement flocks of faithful, both orthodox and heretical, but also prophets crying out in anything but the wilderness the ills of their perceived opponents ... Depending on the occasion, one technology is better suited than another, and not every text is best served by the latest device." Manguel, and indeed Robert Darnton, whose *The Case for Books* he was reviewing when writing these words, has in his imagination room for "a number of co-existent representations of reality, material and virtual". For those who have spent a reading and writing life involved with what is known in Chinese as "the fragrance of the book" (*shuxiang* 書香), the physical presence of a cloth-bound volume, and the styles of printed *hanzi/kanji* 漢字 also generate a longing different perhaps in temper from those limited to modern European traditions. Our reading imagination, and one that is envisaged for *East Asian History*, should generously allow for the co-existence of a number of realities, as well as of virtual realms.

As I made notes for this short essay, I was reading (be it at daybreak or in the gloaming, hard copy open, pen in hand, delighted scribbling in margins) Clive James's record of a reading life, *Cultural Amnesia, Necessary Memories from History and the Arts* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007). In the introduction to that monumental (both in size and in import) book, James writes,

Technology not only has given us a permanent present, but has given it the furniture of eternity. We can cocoon ourselves, if we wish, in a new provincialism more powerful than any of the past empires. English is this new world's lingua franca, not because it was once spoken in the British Empire but because it is spoken now in the American international cultural hegemony. Born to speak it, we can view the whole world as a dubbed movie, and not even have to bother with subtitles. Should we wish, we can even savour the tang of alien tongues: a translation will be provided on a separate page, to be dialled up at a touch. We can be world citizens without leaving home. If that seems too static, we can travel without leaving home. The world is prepared to receive us, with all its fruits laid out for our consumption and wrapped in clingfilm to meet our sanitary standards. Gresham's law, that the bad drives out the good, has acquired a counter-law, that the bad draws in the good: there are British football hooligans who can sing Puccini's "*Nessun dorma*". It would be a desirable and enviable existence just to earn a decent wage at a worthwhile job and spend all one's leisure hours improving one's aesthetic appreciation. There is so much to appreciate, and it is all available for peanuts ...

It is, then, here in the balance of "gains and losses" (*deshi* 得失) of online publication that we are reminded of a reflection made by one of the leading mentors in Sinology and Chinese Studies at The Australian National Univer-

sity, Pierre Ryckmans (Simon Leys). In his 1986 George E Morrison Lecture, “The Chinese Attitude Towards the Past”, Pierre remarked:

... we must lament the grievous losses that were inflicted upon the cultural heritage of China—and of mankind—and yet, we may wonder if there was perhaps not some relation between the inexhaustible creativity displayed by Chinese culture through the ages, and the periodic tabula rasa that prevented this culture from becoming clogged up, inhibited and crushed under the weight of the treasures accumulated by earlier ages. Like individuals, civilisations do need a certain amount of creative forgetfulness. Too many memories can hinder intellectual and spiritual activity, as it is suggested in a well-known tale by Jorge Luis Borges, describing the ordeal of a man who cannot forget anything. A total, perfect, infallible memory is a curse: the mind of Borges’ character is turned into a huge garbage heap from which nothing can be subtracted, and where, as a result, no imaginative or thinking process can take place any more—for to think is to discard.¹²

The creation of academic knowledge, a cumulative knowledge that many hope feeds a broader understanding and intellectual wealth of engaged minds—through the enterprise of pedagogy, the involvement of informed writers and thoughtful journalists—is a particular undertaking. Its preserve is often that of the rarified world of journal articles, learned monographs and research notes. The development of online culture, and the easy accessibility made possible by the Internet, as Clive James points out, offers academic writers a near-universal audience that in an earlier time of access to universities, costly library subscriptions and limited print runs was unimaginable. Of course, the plethora of information means too readily that the “furniture of eternity” jostles in a junkyard of information. We are all living in an age in which one has to learn how “to handle information whose authenticity we can no longer trust”.¹³

As the online world provides seemingly limitless and timeless access to all that is, it equally levels out all that has been; promising access it collapses hierarchies, be it for the weal or bane of all readers. The online world of academic journal production also makes “open review” (a process in which the identity of the reviewer is not privileged), a challenge for the practice of anonymous peer review. Will such a “democracy” of evaluation allow for greater selectivity for the reader? Or is such an outsourcing of assessment the harbinger of a mass democracy in which quality is sacrificed on the altar of participation?

Clive James also observes that, “It has always been part of the definition of humanism that true learning has no end in view except its own furtherance”. It is an endeavour that encourages a tireless appetite. In this context a favourite aphorism comes to mind. It is from the brush of the Qing-dynasty poet Xia Hongzuo 項鴻祚:

不為無益之事，何以遣有涯之生

How should we pass our limited days, if not in the pursuit of worthless things?

The value of the “worthless” (*wu yi zhi shi* 無益之事) is something that the writer, every reader and each scholar must discover during a lifetime of reading for him- or herself. Some favour the ideal as being that of a “curiosity-driven scholarship”, a somewhat slight and dismissive description of what amounts to a profound decades-long undertaking. It is an enterprise that creatively builds on itself but one that nonetheless is fundamentally threatened by a contemporary system in which the critical criterion is measure-

12 *China Heritage Quarterly* 14 (June 2008). Online at: <http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/articles.php?searchterm=014_chineseAttitude.inc&issue=014>.

13 Umberto Eco in Carrière and Eco, *This is Not the End of the Book*, p.66.

14 Simon Head, “The Grim Threat”.

15 Li Qingzhao, “Epilogue to *Records on Metal and Stone*”, translated by Stephen Owen in his *An Anthology of Chinese Literature, Beginnings to 1911*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1996, p.596.

16 Umberto Eco in Carrière and Eco, *This is Not the End of the Book*, p.307.

ment; it is an ephemeral institutional form of production that has “relegated the scholar to the lower echelons of a corporate hierarchy, surrounding him or her with hordes of managerial busybodies bristling with benchmarks, incentives, and penalties”.¹⁴

At the end of her “Epilogue to *Records on Metal and Stone*” (*Jinshi lu bouxu* 金石錄後序), composed in 1132, the Song-dynasty poet Li Qingzhao 李清照 offers a meditation on the fate of the unique collection of books, manuscripts and inscriptions that she and her husband had amassed. This precious hoard was lost bit by bit in the heartbreaking chaos of war:

然有有必有無，有聚必有散，乃理之常。人亡弓，人得之，又胡足道。所以區區記其終始者，亦欲為後世好古博雅者之戒云。

When there is possession, there must be loss of possession; when there is gathering together, there must be a scattering—this is the constant principle in things. Someone loses a bow; another person finds a bow; what’s so special in that? The reason why I have recorded this story from beginning to end in such detail is to let it serve as a warning for scholars and collectors in later generations.¹⁵

As possession is so fleeting, we all search for permanence in ideas and their transmission. The reader of these virtual pages will have to decide for themselves whether to read online—the evanescent traces of scholarship—or to print out material so that the paperless journal will become reified and clutter up one’s study or office, the home or the briefcase with the burdens of scholarship. Or to quote Umberto Eco one last time:

Either you print things out, and find yourself oppressed by piles of documents you’ll never read, or you read online, but as soon as you click onto the next page you forget what you’ve just read, the very thing that has brought you to the page now on your screen.¹⁶

This too may then be the uncertain fate of this essay.

Canberra, September 2011

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ANGLO-JAPANESE TRADEMARK CONFLICT IN CHINA AND THE BIRTH OF THE CHINESE TRADEMARK LAW (1923), 1906–26

史 Eiichi Motono 本野英一

Despite being enthusiastic about China's remarkable economic growth since 1979, many firms from developed countries and their governments are concerned that China still lacks an effective commercial code to deal with disputes between Chinese and foreign firms. Although the Chinese government joined the World Trade Organization and promised to respect universal commercial rules and customs, it has still not yet established its own legal system to deal with Sino-foreign civil and commercial disputes. Therefore, the process of how Chinese civil law and its commercial code are being realized remains of interest.

One of the most striking commercial issues that occurs between China and developed countries is how to protect the intellectual property of foreign firms in China. Since many foreign firms have had their trademarks and patents infringed by Chinese firms, they have requested that their governments negotiate with the Chinese authorities to establish an effective regulatory system to protect their intellectual property. As intellectual property rights became an increasingly hot issue, a number of specialists in Chinese law in English-speaking countries noticed that there was a precedent for such a system in the Republican period: the trademark law of 1923.¹ However, since they have mainly been interested in the current situation and in future developments, they have left aside historical questions regarding the stipulations of the earlier law and to what extent it was effective.

The promulgation of the Chinese trademark law in 1923 was the outcome of long negotiations between the Chinese government, the Japanese government and Western governments led by the British government, and was intended to settle trademark infringement disputes caused by Chinese merchants from the 1890s.² Only recently have a number of Chinese researchers started to look into this question.³ However, since they have only consulted Chinese documents, they have not fully revealed the historical context of the promulgation of the law and its far-reaching effects.⁴ In order to reveal the complete process behind the first trademark law of 1923, researchers also need to consult sources from Japan and Britain, the two major foreign governments whose commercial poli-

1 See William P. Alford, *To Steal a Book is an Elegant Offence: Intellectual Property Law in Chinese Civilization* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp.41–55; Leah Chan Grinvald, "Making Much Ado About Theory: The Chinese Trademark Law," *Michigan Telecommunications and Technology Law Review* 15.1(2008): 53–106, at p.73.

2 This article is a part of my research concerning "the development of the foreign trademark protection system in Republican China," for which research funds were provided from Waseda University in 2004, the Seimeikai (清明会) Fund in 2005 and the Japanese Ministry of Education and Science in 2006 (No.A06114600).

3 Foreign trademark infringement by Chinese merchants was raised as an item on the agenda for the first time during the negotiations between Great Britain and China for the revision of the treaty of Tianjin in 1902. This process was dealt with in Li Yongsheng, *Qingmo zhongwai xiuding shangye jiaoshe yanjiu* [Study of the Negotiation of Sino-foreign Commercial Treaty Revision in late Qing Period] (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2005), pp.272–77.

4 Zhao Yukun, "Minguo shiqi de shangbiao lifa yu shangbiao baohu" [Registration and Protection on Trademarks in the Period of Republic of China] *Lishi dang'an* [Historical Archives] August 2003.3: 119–24, 133, at pp.120–1; Zuo Xuchu, *Zhongguo shangbiao falishi: Jin xiandai bufen* [History of Chinese Trademark Law: The Modern Era] (Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe: 2005) Chapter 3.



Figure 1

"Crocodile" Brand of Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. Source: Manchester Guardian, July 3, 1908 re-quoted from FO228/2608 John N. Jordan to FO No. 378, Aug. 21, 1908.

cies most influenced the Chinese government at the time. In this article unpublished material such as Chinese government records in the Institute of Modern History (hereafter *IMH*), Academia Sinica, the records of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Nihon Gaimushō Kiroku* [hereafter *NGK*]), the British government's unpublished diplomatic records in the National Archive (FO228)⁵ and the *North-China Herald* (hereafter *NCH*) has been used. By doing so this article attempts to reveal the complete process of the promulgation of the 1923 trademark law in the context of Anglo-Japanese demands to establish a favorable trademark registration system for foreign firms, as well as to examine how the Chinese government responded to these demands and how foreign firms in China reacted to the 1923 trademark law.⁶

Anglo-Japanese Conflicts, 1902-06

Anglo-Japanese conflicts surrounding the establishment of the trademark registration system started when Japanese firms challenged Western (particularly British) firms, which had been taking the lion's share of the import market in China from the early twentieth century onwards. Due to the relatively primitive level of their technology compared to companies from Western countries, Japanese industrial firms could not compete with Western firms by selling better quality goods at cheaper prices in China. Instead, they engaged in manufacturing counterfeits of the goods of Western firms and thereby infringed on their trademarks, and in this they were supported by the Japanese government. Despite strong protests from the French government and frequent requests from Great Britain and Switzerland, the Japanese government refused to become party to the Madrid Arrangement for the Suppression of False and Misleading Indications of Origin. In a letter of October 1910 from the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Komura Jutarō 小村寿太郎, to the Japanese Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Ōura Kanetake 大浦兼武, this attitude is explained as follows:

Japanese industry is still at the stage of copying and imitation. Average domestic consumers prefer foreign products, for which reason a number of domestic producers label their goods misleadingly as foreign. Japanese industry is still in its infancy and has little experience with exporting, so confidence in its products is low and it is very difficult to find markets for goods labelled "made in Japan" therefore misleading indications of origin are not infrequent. For these reasons, to join the Agreement and to adopt the aforementioned Acts would be of very little practical use for promoting the Japanese economy, but would rather be an impediment.⁷

At the same time, however, due to China's own "stage of copying and imitation," Japanese industrial firms themselves suffered trademark infringement by Chinese manufacturers, who produced and sold counterfeits with forged trademarks. In order to justify their manufacturing counterfeits of Western products and yet prohibiting Chinese merchants from copying Japanese products, the most advantageous method for Japan would have been to transfer its own trademark law into China, based on the principle of first-to-file. Such an attempt came about when the Ministry of Commerce of the Qing 清 central government asked the Japanese government to help it to introduce a trademark law according to the treaties of commerce and navigation with Great Britain, the US and Japan from 1902 to 1903. The Japanese government sent two members of their Patent Bureau staff to design the

⁵ Permission for the reproduction and quotation of unpublished crown-copyright material in this article has been granted by the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

⁶ This article is an enlarged version of my Chinese paper, "Cong waiguo shili laikan de zhongguo shangbiao fa (1923) de yiyi [Significance of Chinese Trademark Law (1923) Seen From the Foreign Powers' Side – yiriben • yingguo weizhongxin,] [Especially with Japan and Great Britain] presented to Zhongguo shangye shi zhi luntan [Chinese Business History Forum], University of Hong Kong, 28 November 2008.

⁷ Tokkyo chō [Japanese Patent Bureau] ed, *Tokkyo seido 70 nen shi* [70 Years of the Patent System] (Tokyo: Tokkyo chō, 1955), pp.103–4.

Provisional Code of Trademark Registration (*Shangbiao zhuce shiban zhangzheng* 商標註冊試辦章程) in 1905. Just before their departure to China, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Kiyoura Keigo 清浦奎吾, instructed them to transfer the first-to-file principle into the Qing code.

Assuming that the Provisional Code of Trademark Registration would be quickly put into force, the Japanese government urged Japanese firms in China to carry out a provisional registration procedure at the Maritime Customs in Shanghai 上海 and Tianjin 天津, where trademark bureaus had been established according to the treaties of commerce and navigation with the above three countries. If the arrangement had played out as they had hoped, Japanese firms would have ensured the legitimacy of their provisionally registered trademarks (many of which included forgeries or counterfeits), prior to the registration of the genuine trademarks of Western firms, which had been used in China from before the 1890s.

Western ministries and firms, led by the British, fiercely opposed the plan. Due to their protests, the Qing government postponed putting the Provisional Code of Trademark Registration into force in 1906.⁸ What made the British government and firms aware of the intentions of their Japanese counterparts was the 1906 trademark infringement case *Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. v. Konishi Hanbei* 小西半兵衛. This had started when Alexander Ross & Co., an agent company of Armitages (a Manchester cotton firm) in Japan, discovered that a forgery of their “Crocodile” trademark (see Figure 1) had been registered with the Japanese Patent Bureau. The British firm had registered its “Crocodile” trademark in 1886 at the British Trademark Bureau (no. 49375), and used it on drilling products exported to China. Alexander Ross & Co. engaged Hutchison & Co., the agent of Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. in Yokohama 横浜, to investigate the case.⁹

Konishi Hanbei, who registered the forgery of the “Crocodile” trademark, was a prominent cotton goods manufacturer in Osaka 大阪. After registering his own “Wanijirushi” 鱈印 trademark (see Figure 2) with the Japanese Patent Bureau in 1903, he applied for provisional registration in China in the following year immediately after the Provisional Code of Trademark Registration was put into force. He put this trademark on low-class T-cloth cotton goods for export to Korea and northern China via a Chinese immigrant dealer in Kobe 神戸, earning approximately 300 to 400 thousand *yen* per year.¹⁰

Rejecting the demand to withdraw both the registration in Japan and the provisional registration of the Wanijirushi trademark in China, Konishi threatened to banish goods with the Crocodile trademark from the import goods market in China unless Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. bought the right to use his own trademark at a high price.¹¹ His defiant attitude was based upon Article 10 of the Japanese trademark law of 1899, which stipulated that any trademark which had been used for three years with no protest from any other party since registration became irrevocable and could not be rendered invalid. In response, the British side stiffened its attitude. Based on a request from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce through the British government, in May 1907 Henry Crofton Lowther, the British ambassador in Japan, demanded from the Japanese government that it would declare the registration of Konishi’s trademark invalid and prevent Japanese merchants from registering similar forgeries, even if that meant amending the trademark law.¹²



Figure 2

*Konishi Hanbei's
“Wanijirushi 鱈印” brand*

Source: Manchester Guardian,
July 3, 1908 in
FO228/2608 John N. Jordan to FO
No. 378, Aug. 21, 1908.

8 The full detail of the process was dealt with in my Japanese article, “Kōsho shinseiki shōhyō hogo seido no zasetu to nichiei tairitsu” [“Anglo-Japanese Conflict and the Failure of the Trademark Registration Law during the *Guangxu* New Policy Period”] *Shakai-Keizaisbigaku* [Socio-Economic History], 74.3 (Sept. 2008): 3–22.

9 NGK 3.5.6.2. Official No.52 Nagataki Hisakichi 永瀧久吉 to Hayashi Tadasu 林董, with Enclosures, 10 February 1906; FO228/2605 Enclosure in Mr. Hosie’s Despatch, Separate, of 2 November 1906.

10 NGK 3.5.6.2. Enclosure in No.212: Oda Hajime 織田一 to Ishii Kikujirō 石井菊次郎, 28 June 1907; *ibid.*, No.629 Nagataki Hisakichi to Katō Takaaki 加藤高明, 2 March 1906.

- 11 FO228/2605 Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. to the Secretary, Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 2 October 1906; *ibid.*, Alexander Hosie to John N. Jordan, 2 November 1906.
- 12 FO228/2605 D45/06 John N. Jordan to Sir E. Grey No.469, Nov. 13, 1906; *ibid.* F2768 T.W.P. Bloomfield (Board of Trade) to the Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 30 March 1907; *NGK* 3.5.6.2. Henry Crofton Lowther to Viscount Tadashi Hayasu No.54, 27 May 1907.
- 13 *NGK* 3.5.6.2. Official No.69 Nagasaki Hisakichi to Katō Takaaki, Mar. 1, 1906; *ibid.* Enclosure in Official No.212: Oda Hajime to Ishii Kikujirō, 28 June 1907; *ibid.* Hayashi Foreign Minister to the British Ambassador in Japan, 23 July 1907; FO228/2606 Sir Claude MacDonald to Sir E. Grey, No.167, 1 August 1907.
- 14 *NGK* 3.5.6.2. Claude M. MacDonald to Count Tadashi Hayashi, Mar. 24, 1908; FO228/2607 S. F. Crowe to Alexander Hosie, 2 April 1908.
- 15 *NGK* 3.5.6.2. Takasaki Chikaaki 高崎親章 to Nakamatsu Morio 中松盛雄, 22 April 1908; *ibid.* Matsuoka Yasutake 松岡康毅 to Hayashi Tadasu, June 22, 1908; *ibid.* Hayashi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the British Ambassador in Japan, Sept. 29, 1908; *ibid.* Konishi Hanbei to Ogiwara Morikazu 荻原守一, Sept. 29, 1908; *ibid.* Ōura Kanetake 大浦兼武 to Count Komura Jutarō 小村寿太郎, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 15 December 1908; FO228/2607 D. Claude MacDonald to John N. Jordan May 13, 1908; FO228/2608 Claude MacDonald to Edward Grey, No.274, 22 October 1908.
- 16 FO228/2606 Memorandum. Trademarks (Reference to Foreign Office Circular Commercial 18503 of 27 June 1907).
- 17 FO228/2606 Memorandum. Trademarks. (Reference to Foreign Office Circular Commercial 18503 of 27 June 1907).
- 18 FO228/2751 Encl. 1 in Tokyo No.256: Memorandum. Japanese Trademarks in Japan, written by E. F. Crowe, 23 April 1917.
- 19 "Stealing the Hong Names of Foreign Firms," *The Kobe Herald* cited in *NGK* 3.5.6.2. 3 June 1907; "Trademarks in China," *NCH* 21 June 1907, p.719; 23 August 1907, pp.417–18; "Trademarks," *ibid.*, 23 August 1907, pp.437–38; 13 December 1907, pp.629–30; "Trademark Frauds," *The Japan Times*, 30 November 1907, cited in FO228/2606; "Trademarks in China: Manchester Marks Pirated," *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 July 1908 cited in FO228/2608; "Trademarks: Piracy in the Far East," *ibid.*, 3 July 1908 cited in *NGK* 3.5.6.2. Enclosure in Official No.447, 18 November 1908.

The Japanese government responded in a rather complicated way. Although it officially turned down the request referring to Article 10 of the Japanese trademark law, it was clearly aware that Konishi's trademark was a forgery of the Crocodile. Two months later, the Japanese government suggested to the British ambassador that Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. request that Konishi's trademark be rendered invalid according to other articles of the Japanese trademark law.¹³ Through an unidentified member of staff named simply "Adachi," the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs clandestinely advised the British ambassador on how to render the registration of the Wanijirushi trademark invalid based on Article 2, Section 3 and Article 11, Section 1 of the same law. These two articles provided for the refusal of registration of any trademarks designed to deceive the public or which contained any misrepresentation as to the place of origin. Therefore, if Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. could produce evidence to prove that Konishi's Wanijirushi trademark was not appropriate and was in fact intended to deceive the public, and if the Japanese Trademark Bureau could confirm the claim on examination, the bureau would cancel the registered mark no matter how long it might have been registered.¹⁴ The British side followed this advice.

Seeing the British side preparing to take action as it had advised, the Japanese government approached Konishi through the Governor of Osaka. By pointing out the "bad effect on Japan's foreign trade as a whole," the government asked him to withdraw his trademark. Konishi eventually agreed on the condition that Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. would also withdraw their lawsuit. Both parties agreed, and the case was settled at the end of 1908.¹⁵

Anglo-Japanese Negotiations, 1907–09

Dealing with the Armitage case, in 1907 and 1908 British diplomats in China and Japan discovered that many other forgeries or counterfeits of the products of Western firms were manufactured in Japan and exported to China via Chinese dealers (see Table 1). These diplomats also revealed more details concerning Japanese trademark infringement. One memorandum pointed out that since so many Japanese trademarks were worded in foreign languages, especially English, even poor imitations might be able to deceive purchasers since a mere resemblance would make them think they were looking at the original product. However, since these imitations were so inaccurate, they might be considered remote enough from the original to evade the operation of the trademark law.¹⁶ Therefore, the author of this memorandum proposed that it should be obligatory to state the name of the country of origin on Japanese products that used a foreign language on their trademark, in order to prevent deception.¹⁷ Another memorandum, which was written ten years later, pointed out that the Japanese were "extraordinarily deficient both in artistic conception and in imagination," and that, "the well designed and well conceived marks are of foreign origin, while the Japanese ones are crude and ugly to a degree which is almost inconceivable."¹⁸

Apart from investigations by British diplomats, British newspapers in Japan and China harshly criticized the Japanese government. They claimed that the Japanese government allowed Japanese firms to manufacture counterfeits of Western firms' goods by avoiding the mutually concluded convention with the British and other Western governments to protect the trademarks of their nations in China and Korea.¹⁹ Facing such fierce criticism, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs instructed the consulates in Tianjin

Table 1

List of Japanese-made forgeries discovered by British consulate in China

<i>Place & commodity</i>	<i>Manufacturer</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Hankou		
Tape-measure	J.Chesterman	British
Cream & Glycerine	Breidenbach	British
Rose tooth-powder	Mouson & Co.	German
Savon à la Rose	Mouson & Co.	German
Angelica Violet Glycerine Soap	G. Taussig	Austrian
Jugendborn Scent	Ferd Mühlens	German
Lily of the Valley Scent	Ferd Mühlens	German
Scent	J. Firaud Fils	French
Luxtor Cream	Vibert Frères	French
Scent	Géléé Frères	French
<i>Source: FO228/2606 Hugh Fraser to John Jordan No.89, Nov. 11, 1907</i>		
Tianjin		
Underwear	Unknown	American
Air gun	Unknown	American
Lantern	Unknown	British
Russet Cream	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Source: FO228/2606 Enlosure in Consul-General Hopkins No.66 of November 14/1907</i>		
Shanghai		
Cheling, 3 Joss	Ilbert & Co.	
Stag	Reiss 6 Co.	
Crocodile	Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons	
Empress & Attendants, Chinese Wine Cup 2	Scott Harding Co.	
Crab	Jardine Matheson & Co. Ltd	
Tea carrier	James Greaves Cotton Co.	
Man & Fish, Woman & Frog, Stags, Man & Tiger, Kirin	Ward Probst & Co.	
<i>Source: FO228/2606 Encl. in Consul-General Sir P. Warren's No.141 of 16 Dec. 1907</i>		
Dalian		
The Transparent Black Soap	Samson & Co.	
Lime Juice & Glycerine	John Grosnell & Co.	
Worcester Sauce		
CAW'S INK, Black	No specific firm	
Stephen's Blue Black Ink		
H. C. Stephen's Strongset Mucilage		
Lime Cream & Glycerine		

- 20 NGK 3.5.6.2. Hayashi Tadasu to Consul-General Nagasaki, No.113; Hayashi Tadasu to Consul-General Katō, No.86, 3 July 1907.
- 21 NGK 3.5.6.2. Official No.269, Ozaki Nobumori to Hayashi Tadasu, 30 July 1907.
- 22 When the British government made the same proposal to Japan in 1905, the Japanese government refused it. See FO17/1727 The Marquiss of Lansdowne to Sir Ernest Satow No.254, 13 November 1905.
- 23 FO228/2606 Secretary of China Association to H. M. Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 25 July 1907; *ibid.*, E. Grey to Sir J. N. Jordan No.304, 30 July 1907; *ibid.*, E. Grey to Sir Claude MacDonald No.185, 10 September 1907.
- 24 "The New Orders in Council," *NCH* 6 September 1907: pp.542–43 "Order in Council," *NCH* 6 September 1907: pp.558–60.
- 25 FO228/2606 F.A. Campbell to Honorary Secretary to the China Association, 12 September 1907.
- 26 See my "Kōsho shinseiki shōhyō hogo seido no zassetsu to nichiei tairitsu," pp.17–18.
- 27 FO228/2606 D34/07 Sir Claude MacDonald to JNJ Telegram No.4, 29 October 1907; *ibid.*, Enclosure 2 in Sir C. MacDonald's No.241 of 29 October 1907.
- 28 FO228/2606 D20/07 Sir John N. Jordan to Mr. Lowther, June 1, 1907; *ibid.*, Claude M. MacDonald to Sir Edward Grey No.241, 29 October 1907.
- 29 FO228/2606 Enclosure 4 in Sir Claude MacDonald's No.241 of 28 & 29 October 1907.

and Shanghai to investigate the matter.²⁰ In response, the diplomat Ozaki Nobumori 尾崎洵盛 reported from Shanghai that the importation of forgeries or counterfeits started when "cunning Chinese merchants" found several Japanese goods whose trademarks were coincidentally similar to those of Western firms. They then commissioned Osaka manufacturers (who, Ozaki claimed were "poor and thoughtless") to produce the goods. The manufacturers in turn registered the trademarks of these counterfeits with the Japanese Patent Bureau under their names. As a result, according to Ozaki, even though this import trade was completely arranged and controlled by Chinese merchants, the Japanese manufacturers took the blame.²¹

Ozaki's analysis cannot have been entirely true. As had become clear in the Armitage case, the Japanese manufacturer Konishi Hanbei was neither poor nor thoughtless. If Konishi had simply been an agent of "a cunning Chinese merchant", as claimed by Ozaki, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs would have recorded the name of the Chinese merchant to prove his innocence. In fact, no relevant documents of the case recorded any detailed personal information about Konishi's Chinese business partners living in Kobe.

Worried about this situation, the British Foreign Office decided to resurrect their once-failed plan for an Anglo-Japanese mutual convention to protect the trademarks of their respective nations in China and Korea, as requested by the China Association and Board of Trade in September 1907.²² Thus, it directed the British ambassador in Japan to propose this course of action to the Japanese government.²³ In preparation, the British government revised the Order in Council of 1904, so that British consuls and consular courts in China and Korea could sue non-British subjects whose governments had signed mutual conventions with the British government to protect trademarks, patents and designs in China and Korea. If the British government succeeded in signing a mutual convention with the Japanese government, British consuls and consular courts in China and Korea could punish any Japanese firms that infringed on the intellectual property of the British, according to laws such as the Merchandise Marks Act of 1887, the Patents, Designs, and Trademarks Act, 1905 etc.²⁴ In addition, Sir Edward Grey directed Sir Claude MacDonald, the British ambassador in Japan, to inform all British merchants and firms in East Asia to register their trademarks with the Japanese Patent Bureau so that no Japanese or Chinese firm could infringe on their trademarks.²⁵

However, once again the Japanese government did not follow the course that the British government might have expected it to follow.²⁶ In Article I of the Japanese draft of the mutual convention, the Japanese government declared that it would not prohibit the use of trademarks that had been used in China for at least three years prior to its operation.²⁷ Moreover, in researching the Japanese trademark registration system, the British government concluded that it was bound to protect all Japanese trademarks in China even though they were unregistered in Britain, whereas the Japanese government need not protect British trademarks in China unless they were registered in Japan, due to the difference between the legal systems in both countries.²⁸ Consequently, under this scheme, even if a British firm like Sir Elkanah Armitage & Sons Ltd. protested against a Japanese merchant like Konishi Hanbei registering an imitation trademark in Japan, according to Article 2, Section 5 of the Japanese trademark law of 1899, the Japanese government would not hear the protest unless the original trademark had been registered at least three years before the law was put into operation.²⁹

The British government proposed a counter draft, which clearly stipulated that the Japanese authorities in China and Korea were bound to protect Brit-

ish trademarks registered in Japan from infringement or misuse by Japanese firms.³⁰ Besides British trademarks registered in Japan, the British government officially enquired of the Japanese government whether the Japanese authorities in China and Korea would protect British trademarks unregistered in Japan and only used in China and Korea. If not, did British trademark owners have to register their trademarks in Japan?³¹ Since there was no effective trademark registration system in China and Korea, the British government had no other choice but to make this enquiry. The Japanese government again sent back an unsatisfactory reply. It refused to accept the British draft of the mutual convention because it treated Korea (which by that point had become a Japanese protectorate) as equal to China where the extraterritorial rights of both countries were in force. However, considering the importance of a mutual convention for protecting trademarks in China, Komura Jutarō, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, guaranteed that the Japanese authorities in China would protect British trademarks even if they were not registered in Japan, on the condition that the British government abandoned its extraterritorial rights in Korea, just as the US, French, and German governments had done.³² In return, as evidence of their sincerity, the Japanese government revised its trademark law to accept several requests by the British government: they reduced the registration fee, partially adopted the principle of first-to-use and stopped requiring plaintiffs to prove that their trademarks had been registered in Japan prior to being infringed upon.³³

The Japanese government's efforts did not dispel the doubts of the British government. Although Komura officially replied that, "it goes without saying that Japan, having joined the International Commission for the Protection of Industrial Property [the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property], is bound by the obligation imposed under the provisions of Article 8 of that Convention", namely a provision for the protection of trade names without necessity of registration. He also stated that neither in Japan nor in Korea were there any special provisions of law relating to the protection of British trademarks unregistered in Japan, except in the case of trademarks in use prior to the operation of the old Commercial Law of 1893. This exception, however, did not appear to the eyes of the British diplomats to afford any protection to British unregistered trademarks in use before 1894. It merely stipulated that the owners of the unregistered British trademarks could not face legal proceedings from a user of a similar name, which had been registered.

British diplomats in Japan did not believe that the Japanese government would punish a Japanese citizen who had improperly used an unregistered trademark of a British firm in China, even if the British government did sign a mutual convention along these lines, or even restrain him from such improper use, in spite of Komura's reply.³⁴ Accordingly, the British government gave up on negotiations with the Japanese government for the mutual protection of the trademarks of both countries in China.

The Collapse of the Trademark Deposit System and its Aftermath, 1909–14

At about the same time as the negotiations between the British and Japanese governments were ending in failure, Japanese industrial firms in China suffered from trademark infringement by Chinese firms. An important trademark infringement case from this period was *Kanegafuchi Bōseki 鐘ヶ淵紡績 v. Youxin gongsi 又新公司* (1909). In dealing with an infringement on Kanegafuchi Bōseki's "Rangyo" 藍魚 brand (see Figure 3) by Youxin

30 FO228/2608 Claude MacDonald to John N. Jordan: Counter Draft of Convention for reciprocal protection of Trademarks in China and Korea [sic.], 4 September 1908.

31 FO228/2608 Claude M. MacDonald to Edward Grey No.233 with 2 Enclosures, 12 September 1908.

32 FO228/2609 Claude M. MacDonald to Edward Grey No.21, 3 February 1909.

33 FO228/2609 Claude M. MacDonald to Edward Grey No.78, 31 March 1909.

34 FO228/2609 D50 Horace Rumbold to Sir John Jordan, 25 September 1909.

35 For a full detailed outline of this case and its aftermath, see my “Shinmatsu Minsho ni okeru shōhyōken shingai funsō — Nicchū kankei wo chūshin ni” [“Conflict Over Sino-Foreign Trademark Violation in the Late Qing and Early Republican Periods: With Special Reference to Japanese and Chinese Companies”], *Shakai-Keizaisbigaku* [Socio-Economic History] 75.3 (September 2009): 5–13.

36 *NGK* 3.5.6.15. Official No.239 Ukita Gōji 浮田郷次 to Komura Jutarō, 17 August 1911. An English translation is available in FO228/2610 1, A Printed Circular No.1 of 1909, 26 January 1909.

37 *NGK* 3.5.6.15. Official No.221, Ariyoshi Akira 有吉明 to Uchida Kōsai 内田康哉, 19 July 1912; *ibid.*, Official No.28, Ariyoshi Akira to Katsura Tarō 桂太郎, 18 January 1913; *ibid.*, Official No.116 Ariyoshi Akira to Makino Nobuaki 牧野伸顯, 20 March 1913; *ibid.*, Official No.87 Makino Nobuaki to Ariyoshi Akira, 26 May 1913; *ibid.*, Official No.454 Ariyoshi Akira to Makino Nobuaki, 13 November 1913.

38 *IMH* 03-18-116-(01)-1-16 Nongshangbu guan yijian 農商部函一件, 24 April 1914; FO228/2610 D35 Wai-Chiao-Pu 外交部 to the Dean, 29 April 1914; *NGK* 3.5.6.15. Official Nos.148, 152, Yamaza Enjirō 山座圓次郎 to Katō Takaaki, 6 May 1914.

39 FO228/2610 D39 John N. Jordan to Sir E. Grey No.207, 22 May 1914.

40 FO228/2610 D84 Enclosure in J.V.A. MacMurray to Ker, 1 August 1914.

41 *IMH* 03-18-116-(01)-1-19, Fa kangshi zhaohui yijian 法康使照会一件, 24 May 1914; *NGK* 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.247 Hioki Eki 目置益 to Katō Takaaki, 4 August 1915.

42 *NGK* 3.5.6.15. Special Permission No.76, Ōura Kanetake to Katō Takaaki, 16 July 1914.

43 *NGK* 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.79, Hioki Eki to Katō Takaaki, Mar. 18, 1915.

44 See my “Shinmatsu Minsho ni okeru shōhyōken shingai funsō” pp.7–13.

gongsi, Mushanokōji Kintomo 武者小路公共, a Japanese diplomat, carelessly allowed Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷, the owner of the Chinese firm (and important official and modernizer in the late Qing period—at the time, minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce) to use the revised imitation brand (see Figures 4 and 5). This was in spite of prohibiting him from using any trademark with a similar design to the original Rangyo, or “blue fish”. Chinese government officials and merchants regarded this action as the Japanese government granting permission to Chinese firms to openly use *similar* designs to the trademarks of Japanese firms. From then on, quite a few Japanese firms had to struggle with Chinese firms to protect their right to use their own trademarks.³⁵

Even under such unfavorable conditions, the Japanese government could still rely on the trademark deposit (*Cun'an* 存案) system, at least in Shanghai, to redress their grievances. Under the *Cun'an* system, whenever a foreign firm noticed a Chinese firm or merchant infringing their trademark, they could inform the Shanghai Daotai 道台 via the consulate of their own country and ask that a notice be issued to prohibit the imitation trademark. Once such a notice was issued, foreign firms could sue Chinese firms or merchants at the Mixed Court or Shanghai Magistrate for compensation. Although this system was only valid within the Shanghai district, the economic center of China, it was effective for Japanese firms.³⁶ However, after the Xinhai revolution 辛亥革命 the new government decided to retire the *Cun'an* system, doing nothing to protect the trademarks of Japanese firms, no matter how many times the Japanese consul-general, Ariyoshi Akira 有吉明, requested it to do so. The government simply replied that he should wait until a new trademark law had been promulgated.³⁷

When the Beijing 北京 government finally showed the Draft of Rules and Regulations of Trademark Registration (*Zhongguo shangbiao tiaoli caoan* 中国商標条例草案) to diplomats in April 1914, the entire corps was disappointed.³⁸ The most unsatisfactory point for the British government was that there were no provisions for protecting old trademarks of British firms that had been used in China since 1842. This was because the draft was largely adapted from the Japanese trademark law of 1909: it did not adopt the first-to-use principle in China, as requested by the British government in 1905, instead of the first-to-file principle.³⁹ These grievances were shared by the US government.⁴⁰ In addition, the French and Russian governments opposed the draft because the Chinese government did not allow their consuls to take part in judging foreign trademarks with pending applications for registration.⁴¹ Even the Japanese government, whose trademark law of 1909 was substantively adopted, did not entirely approve of the draft because it did not explicitly mention trademarks such as those provisionally registered in Tianjin or Shanghai Maritime Customs, or deposited at Shanghai Daotai's office before the Xinhai revolution.⁴² As it turned out, negotiations for revising the Draft of Rules and Regulations of Trademark Registration were postponed due to the outbreak of the First World War.⁴³ Consequently, many Japanese firms had to endure trademark infringement by Chinese merchants and firms until the end of the Great War.⁴⁴

The Second Anglo-Japanese Negotiations on Trademark Regulation, 1913–23

Like many prominent Japanese industrial firms, British firms in China in this period frequently suffered from trademark infringement by Chinese firms and merchants. They requested that the Chinese government issue a



Figure 3

"Rangyo 藍魚 (Blue Fish)" brand of Kanegafuchi Bōseki

Source: NGK 3.5.6.8. Official No. 86, Mushanokōji Kintomo 武者小路公共 to Komura Jutarō 小村寿太郎, 1 March 1908



Figure 4

Imitation trademark of "Blue Fish" brand by Youxin Gongsi.

Source: NGK 3.5.6.8. Official No. 86, Mushanokōji Kintomo to Komura Jutarō, 1 March 1908

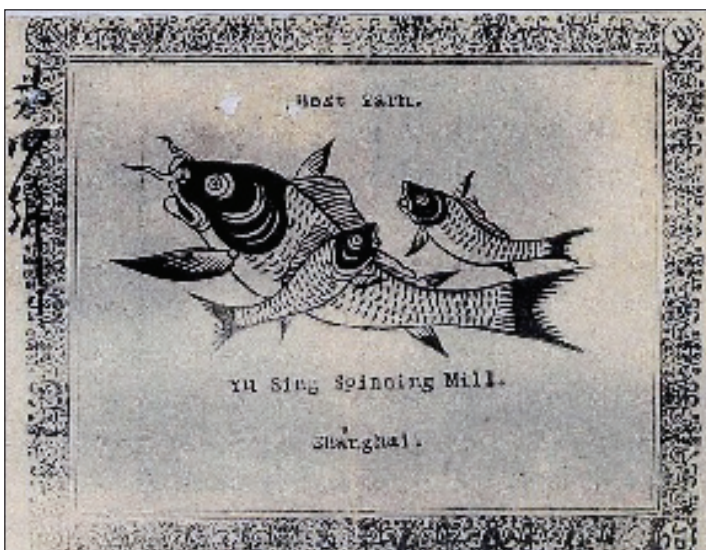


Figure 5

Revised imitation trademark of Youxin Gongsi.

Source: NGK 3.5.6.8. Official No. 86, Mushanokōji Kintomo to Komura Jutarō, 1 March 1908

- 45 FO228/2751 D33 E. Fraser to John N. Jordan No.227 with 1 Enclosure, 9 August 1916; *ibid.*, D37 John N. Jordan to F.O. No.273, 30 September 1916.
- 46 FO228/2751 D37 Memorandum: Trademarks in John N. Jordan to F.O. No.273, 30 September 1916.
- 47 Kikuchi Takaharu, *Chūgoku minzoku undō no kibon kōzō-taigai boikotto undō no kenkyū* [The Historical Background of the Chinese National Movement: A Study of Anti-foreign Boycotts in Modern China] (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin: 1974), pp.163–73; Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp.133–57.
- 48 See my “Shinmatsu Minsho ni okeru shōhyōken shingai funsō,” pp.13–21.
- 49 FO228/2610 Enclosures Nos. 1 and 2 in Mr. O’Brien-Butler No.4 of 19 January 1914, 28 & 29 October 1913.
- 50 NGK 3.5.6.2. Special No.254 Sakigawa Saishirō 崎川才四郎 to Sakata Jūjirō 坂田重次郎, 27 December 1913.
- 51 NGK 3.5.6.2. Confidential No.260 Ochiai Kentarō 落合謙太郎 to Makino Nobuaki, Nov. 19, 1913; *ibid.* Confidential No.175 Makino Nobuaki to Ochiai Kentarō, 29 December 1913; FO228/2610 Enclosure No.4 in Mr. O’Brien-Butler’s No.4 of 19 January 1914, 15 January 1914; *ibid.*, D29 John N. Jordan to Japanese Minister, 29 January 1914.
- 52 NGK 3.5.6.2. Confidential No.92 Yamaza Enjirō 山座圓次郎 to Makino Nobuaki, 2 March 1914; *ibid.* Confidential No.44 Ochiai Kentarō to Makino Nobuaki, 11 March 1914; *ibid.* Confidential No.29, Makino Nobuaki to Consul Ochiai, 16 March 1914; *ibid.*, Confidential No.57 Consul Ochiai to Foreign Minister Makino, 24 March 1914.

notice to prohibit trademark infringement or improper use of the names of British firms or cities after the Xinhai revolution, and the Chinese government readily acceded to their request.⁴⁵ In contrast to the Japanese government, the British government never yielded to the Chinese claim to admit imitation trademarks. In each of the trademark infringement cases between British and Chinese firms listed in Table 2, the British consulates succeeded in protecting the trademarks of British firms. Therefore, the writer of the memorandum could afford to claim that, under present conditions, cases of infringement of foreign marks and labels were perhaps more satisfactorily dealt with on broad grounds of equity than they would be if tested by the strict technicalities of a modern code of registration law.⁴⁶

With that being the case, why did the British government change its attitude and restart negotiations with the Japanese government on a trademark law in China at this time? It obviously considered that the activities of the Sino-Japanese groups who manufactured counterfeits and infringed upon the trademarks of British firms could no longer be neglected. In contrast to the time when Ozaki Nobumori had reported to the Japanese government in 1907, Japanese manufacturers were clearly no longer merely the thoughtless agents of “cunning Chinese merchants”, especially after 1915 when the first large anti-Japanese goods boycott took place in order to protest against the Twenty-One Demands of the Japanese government. The boycott caused Japan’s total exports to fall from 162,370,000 *taels* in 1914 to 141,120,000 *taels* in 1915.⁴⁷ Although this might seem a relatively small reduction, it must have felt like a serious threat to the Japanese manufacturers. In order to avoid being the target of the anti-Japanese goods boycott, they manufactured counterfeits of Western products and sold them through the commercial network of “cooperative” Chinese merchants in China.⁴⁸ However, as the following two cases, which took place in northern China during the First World War indicate, the relationship between Japanese manufacturers and “co-operative” Chinese merchants was not as simple as one might think.

1. *British-American Tobacco Co. Ltd. (China) v. Sanlin Gongsi* 三林公司 (1913–15)

This case started in October 1913 when British-American Tobacco Co. Ltd. (China) (hereafter BAT) demanded from the Japanese consulate in Fengtian 奉天 that the Japanese tobacco firm Sanlin Gongsi cease production of the Peafowl cigarette brand, which was similar to their own Peacock brand (see Figure 6, Peafowl on the right, Peacock on the left).⁴⁹ Since the Peafowl brand was an unregistered trademark in Japan, whereas the Peacock brand had been registered in Japan (no. 15681), and BAT had purchased it from the original owners *Murai kyōdai shōkai* (Murai Brothers Co.) 村井兄弟商会 in 1904, BAT demanded the Japanese consulate prohibit Sanlin Gongsi from using the Peafowl brand.⁵⁰ The Japanese consul in Fengtian did not yield to this demand easily. He pointed out that BAT had been putting pressure on Chinese dealers only to sell their own tobacco or cigarettes by providing them with various rewards. He felt that the purchase of the Peacock brand was a result of pressure on the Japanese tobacco manufacturing company. Therefore, claiming that there was no mutual convention for protecting trademarks in China, he refused their request.⁵¹ Even though his superiors in Beijing and Tokyo 東京 tried to persuade him to yield to the BAT’s request, he never succumbed to the pressure.⁵²

This case seemed to be an attempt by BAT to protect their products from Japanese counterfeits, BAT not hesitating to purchase the right to use

Table 2

List of trademark infringement cases between British and Chinese firms, 1913 to 1915

<i>Name of case</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap v. Hua Chang Co.</i>	1913–14	Beijing
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap v. Chemoo</i>	1914	Zhenjiang
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap, Gossage "Beehive" Soap v. He Mao 和茂</i>	1914–16	Nanjing
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap, Gossage "Beehive" Soap v. He Mao 和茂</i>	1914	Qinan
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap, Gossage "Beehive" Soap v. He Mao 和茂</i>	1915	Zhenjiang
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap, Gossage "Beehive" Soap v. Tonmoo Soap</i>	1915	Hankou
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap, Gossage "Beehive" Soap v. Han liyuan 威利元</i>	1915–16	Nanjing
Infringement against Gossage Soap by unknown Chinese	1914	Zhifu, Fuzhou
Infringement against Gossage Soap by unknown Chinese	1915	Xiamen
<i>Price's Candles v. Taiyuen Co.</i>	1915	Zhenjiang
Forgery of candle of Asiatic Petroleum Co.	1915	Ningbo
Forgery of "Pirate" cigarette of British American Tobacco Co.	1914–15	Xiamen, Hankou
Forgery against Hutley & Palmers' Biscuits	1914	Xiamen
Forgery against Anglo-Swiss Co.	1914	Xiamen
Infringement against Loxley & Co.'s trademark	1915	Xiamen
Forgery against Dr Williams's Pink Pills	1916	Ningbo
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap v. Ting Feng & Co.</i>	1914	Shanghai
<i>Lever Brothers "Sunlight" Soap v. Chung Hua Printing Company</i>	1915	Shanghai
<i>Caldbeck, Macgregor & Co. v. Li Yungchi</i>	1915	Shanghai
False packing of British American Tobacco Co. product	1915	Shanghai

Source: FO228/2751 D37 Memorandum and Appendix in John N. Jordan to F.O. No.273, Sept. 30, 1916.

Figure 6
 "Peacock" brand and "Peafowl"
 brand. Source: NGK 3.5.6.8.
 Confidential No.260, Ochiai Kentarō
 落合謙太郎 to Makino Nobuaki
 牧野伸顕, 19 November 1913



53 Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp.40-1.

54 NGK 3.5.6.2. Official No.189, Ochiai Kentarō to Katō Takaaki, 4 August 1915.

55 FO228/3375 G.A. Fox to J.N. Jordan No.6, 4 February 1920.

56 FO228/3375 6937/18/24 Walter J. Clennell to John N. Jordan No.66, 21 October 1918.

trademarks from Japanese rival companies in order to eliminate counterfeits or similarly designed packages in China.⁵³ However, it was the anti-Japanese goods boycott movement in China that resolved the case in favor of BAT. Taking advantage of the change, BAT could eliminate the Japanese Peafowl brand from the Chinese market simply by issuing an advertisement that their Peacock brand had nothing to do with Japanese Peafowl cigarettes.⁵⁴ However, even after the case, Japanese counterfeits continued to infringe on BAT's cigarette brands, as they still had to issue a large advertisement to warn consumers not to buy counterfeit goods seven years later (see Figure 7).⁵⁵

2. *J.P. Coats of Paisley v. Yongxiang hang* 永祥行

This case was a typical example of a Chinese firm, which employed a Japanese manager, Imamura Jisaku 今村治作 to disguise their factory as a Japanese firm so that they could conceal their trademark infringement. The Chinese firm "T'ung Fa Hsiang" (Chinese characters unknown), in Newchwang 牛庄 (now Yingkou 營口), manufactured cotton thread with an imitation trademark — the "Boy and Giraffe" brand — in its Yongxiang factory and sold it in Harbin and Newchwang. They produced 25 to 30 gross of the cotton thread per day, and could earn 7 *taels* of profit per gross.⁵⁶ Since the "Boy and Giraffe" brand was apparently similar to the famous "Bear" brand of the British company J.P. Coats of Paisley (although no samples of either exist in the sources), a complaint was made to the Chinese government, asking it to prohibit the Yongxiang factory from using the Boy and Giraffe brand. However, the Chinese government refused the request, claiming that the factory was a Japanese firm. However, the British consulate in Newchwang proved that the firm was genuinely Chinese. According to the consulate's investigation, it was not only founded with Chinese capital and



Figure 7

Warning advertisement against Imitation Packaging by BAT.

Source: FO228/3375 G.A. Fox to J.N. Jordan No. 6, Dec. 4, 1920

employed a Chinese general agent, but also emphasized to consumers that its goods were Chinese products. The employment of Imamura was merely camouflage.⁵⁷ As evidence, they quoted one of the firm's advertisements, which emphasized that its factory had been equipped at great expense with specially imported European machinery of all kinds, and had invited foreign experts to select and produce goods of the highest quality. This had been done with the object of producing first class thread, not with a view to profit, but because their ancestral land of China had long been flooded with daily increasing quantities of foreign goods whose influx could not be stayed without a determined effort to wrest back the advantage.⁵⁸

The British government was concerned that the Yongxiang factory would register its "Boy and Giraffe" brand with the Japanese Patent Bureau through Imamura before J.P. Coats of Paisley had the chance to register its "Bear" brand.⁵⁹ However, after confirming that J.P. Coats had already registered its "Bear" brand in 1897 with the Japanese Patent Bureau (no.88145), the British government asked the Japanese government to protect the "Bear" brand from being infringed upon by T'ung Fa Hsiang. The request was refused, the Japanese government claiming that there was no mutual convention with the British government to protect the trademarks of both countries' subjects in China. Upon receiving this reply, the British felt it necessary to restart negotiations with the Japanese to protect British trademarks in China.⁶⁰

Even at the heyday of the anti-Japanese goods boycott, there existed Chinese firms that used Japanese employees to conceal their trademark infringements under the cover of being Japanese firms, perhaps endorsing Ozaki Nobumori's report of 1907. Whether the Chinese or the Japanese took the initiative, when they cooperated with each other to manufacture and to sell counterfeits of Western products, their activities were a serious menace to British firms in China. Under these circumstances, and with cases like *J.P. Coats of Paisley v. Yongxiang hang* in mind, the British government might well have asked the Japanese government to cooperate with it to establish the trademark protection system in China.⁶¹

57 FO228/3375 4901/18/25 Peking to Newchwang No.28, 5 November 1918; *ibid.*, 8013/18/26 Walter J. Clennell to John N. Jordan No.76 and Enclosures 1 and 3 in Newchwang, General Series, No.76 of 13 December 1918.

58 FO228/3375 Enclosure 4 in Newchwang, General Series, No.76 of 13 December 1918.

59 FO228/3375 Enclosure 2 in Newchwang, General Series, No.76 of 13 December 1918.

60 FO228/3375 549/19/29 Walter Clennell to John N. Jordan, No.2, 10 January 1919; *ibid.*, Enclosures 2 and 3 in Newchwang, General Series No.2 of 10 January 1919; *ibid.*, H.B.M. Consulate-General, Shanghai to C.A.W. Rose, 22 January 1919; *ibid.*, Walter Clennell to John N. Jordan No.4, 23 January 1919.

61 FO228/3375 1547/19/35 Commercial, Cunyngham Greene to J.N. Jordan No.27, 27 January 1919.

The Third Anglo-Japanese Negotiations, 1919–23

62 FO228/3375 In Tokio [*sic.*] desp. to F.O. No.27 Commercial 30/1/19: Memorandum, 27 January 1919; NGK 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.67 the Foreign minister, Uchida to the Japanese ministry in China, Obata, 26 February 1919; *ibid.*, Confidential No.214 Obata Yūkichi 小幡酉吉 to Uchida Kōsai, 23 August 1919.

63 NGK 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.127, the Foreign Minister, Uchida to the minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Yamamoto, 16 June 1919.

64 NGK 3.5.6.22. Special Permission No.319, Yamamoto Tatsuo to Uchida Kōsai, 30 October 1919; *ibid.*, Confidential No.50 the Foreign Minister Uchida to the Japanese ministry in China, Obata, 7 May 1920.

65 NGK 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.477, Obata Yūkichi to Uchida Kōsai, Dec. 4, 1920; *ibid.*, No.112 the Foreign Minister, Uchida, to the Japanese Ambassador in Britain, Hayashi, 17 March 1922; *ibid.*, Ambassador Hayashi to the Foreign Minister, Uchida, 31 March 1922; *ibid.*, Confidential No.161 Yoshida Isaburō 吉田伊三郎 to Uchida Kōsai, 24 April 1922; FO228/3375 11809/20/11 Enclosure No.2 in Sir E. Fraser's Despatch No.261 of 29 November to Peking, 23 July 1920.

66 NGK 3.5.6.22. Deputy Chief of Commerce, Matsuda 松田, to Hugh Home, 21 October 1919; *ibid.* Nakamatsu Shinkyō 中松真卿, to the first chief of the commerce department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Saitō 齋藤, 24 March 1920; *ibid.*, Tel. No.299 the Japanese ambassador in Britain, Chinda 珍田, to the Foreign Minister, Uchida, 11 August 1920; *ibid.* Confidential No.112 the Foreign Minister, Uchida to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Yamamoto, 17 August 1920; *ibid.*, Special Permission No.259, Yamamoto Tatsuo to Uchida Kōsai, 1 October 1920.

While proposing to the British that the Chinese government should solve the trademark problem by issuing their own regulations, the Japanese government also felt that it was time to deal with the trademark protection system in China in cooperation with the British government.⁶² As evidence of its sincerity, they agreed to persuade the Chinese government to adopt the draft of the trademark regulations drawn up by the Japanese government, based on the first-to-use principle that the British government had proposed.⁶³ Nevertheless, this was far from being a satisfactory compromise for the British. The Japanese still intended to preserve the priority of the provisionally registered or deposited Japanese trademarks, many of which included similar marks or forgeries of Western firms' trademarks in China. If it succeeded in doing so, Japanese manufacturers could produce and export goods with forged or imitation trademarks or counterfeited products with the cooperation of their Chinese business partners. As evidence for this, the British could point out that the Japanese government still claimed that such Japanese trademarks should be treated as exceptions.⁶⁴ The British government was not to be deceived. It informed the Japanese that it would treat any Japanese trademarks as non-registered trademarks under the new Chinese trademark regulations, regardless of whether they were provisionally registered with the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs in Tianjin or Shanghai or deposited at the Shanghai district.⁶⁵ After that declaration, it never again consulted with the Japanese government on the draft of the trademark regulations, no matter how many times the Japanese government made official enquiries.⁶⁶

The focus of the dispute between them can be seen in Clause 7 and Clause 13 of the British draft of the trademark regulations. The full text of these clauses are quoted with the revisions or additions proposed by the Japanese government underlined and in square brackets:

Clause 7. No trademark shall be registered in respect of any goods or description of goods which is identical with one belonging to a different proprietor which is already on the Registrar, in respect of such goods or description of goods, or so nearly resembling such trademark as to be calculated to deceive, with the following exceptions, which shall apply only in respect of applications to register made within one year from the date on which this law comes into force:-

If the trademark proposed to be registered was used as a trademark in China before the 1st January, 1890 [1903 and has since been continuously so used up to the present], by the applicant or his predecessors in business; or

If the applicant for registration or his predecessors in business have honestly used the trademark in China during the period of not less than ten years [five years] before the date on which this law comes into force without protest or objection from anyone claiming a prior or paramount right to the said mark or to a mark so nearly resembling it as to give ground for objection, but the Registrar may subject to appeal impose such conditions, amendments, modifications or limitations, if any, as to mode or place of user or otherwise, as he may think right to impose.

[(c) If a trademark as to which an application in writing is made for registration is either one which has been deposited at the Ministry of Commerce or at the Daotai Yamen (i.e. *Cun'an*) or else one which has been registered at one of the Chinese Maritime Customs Stations for the last five years, except those trademarks regarding which the fact has been established that they have not continuously used after their deposit or provisional registration.]

Clause 13. Where each of several persons claims to be proprietor of the same trademark or of nearly identical trademarks in respect of the same goods or description of goods, and to be registered as such proprietor, otherwise than under Section 7, the Registrar shall determine the rights of the parties and in so doing shall have regard to the date of first-to-use the mark in China, and the state of knowledge in the particular trade as to the proprietorship of the trademark.

In the case of honest concurrent users, or of any special circumstances which, in the opinion of the Registrar, make it proper so to do, the Registrar may permit the registration by another applicant of such a trademark or of a nearly identical trademark for the same goods or description of goods subject to such conditions, and limitations, if any, as to mode or place of user or otherwise as the Registrar may think it right to impose.

[With regard to the application of this clause to those trademarks which have been deposited or provisionally registered in China before the coming into force of the present draft Law, it shall be presumed that these trademarks have continuously been used *bona fide* since the performance of the required formalities.]⁶⁷

The object of the British government in this draft was to ensure the priority of the trademarks of British or other Western firms in China, or at least those which had been used since the latter half of the nineteenth century, and to exclude those of Japanese firms from China, many of which included similar designs to those of Western firms and resembled them by using the English language. However, had they admitted the amendments of the Japanese government, such problematic Japanese trademarks, would doubtlessly have survived in China. Thus, there was no chance that the British government would agree with the Japanese proposals. Officially informing the Japanese government that it would not agree in early January 1923, its third attempt to establish the trademark protection system in China with the cooperation of the Japanese government ended in failure.⁶⁸

The Birth of the Chinese Trademark Law, 1923–26

While the British government was drawing up the draft of the trademark regulations and negotiating with the Japanese government, it underestimated the abilities of the Chinese government which had been preparing its own trademark registration system and trademark law. Since it regarded the Japanese government as its more important partner, it clandestinely leaked the draft of the trademark law to the Japanese government, even when it was still being examined by the Chinese congress in March 1923. The Chinese government unofficially informed its ally that it would establish a bureau of trademark registration in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, branches of which would be set up in Tianjin and Shanghai. Moreover, the bureau would take on board the complete records of foreign firms' patents and trademarks that had been provisionally registered with the Maritime Customs.⁶⁹

The most important articles of the Chinese trademark law and its detailed regulations were numbers 3 and 26. Taking the controversy between the British and the Japanese governments into consideration, the Chinese government steered a middle course. In Article 3 of the trademark law it was stipulated that when more than two persons applied for the same or a nearly identical trademark in respect of the same category good, the Registrar of the bureau would register the applicant according to the first-to-use principle.

67 NGK 3.5.6.22. Enclosure in Confidential No.161 Yoshida Isaburō to Uchida Kōsai, 24 April 1922; *ibid.*, Confidential No.24, the Foreign Minister, Uchida, to the Japanese Minister in China, Obata, 3 March 1923; FO228/3376 3133/23/43 British Draft of Chinese Trademark Law. Amendment proposed by the Imperial Japanese government.

68 NGK 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.211, Obata Yūkichi to Uchida Kōsai, 5 March 1923.

69 NGK 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.229, Obata Yūkichi to Uchida Kōsai, 9 March 1923.

- 70 NGK 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.244, Obata Yūkichi to Uchida Kōsai, 15 March 1923.
- 71 *IMH* 03-18-118-(01)-1-6 Zhaohui gaoshi you Zhujing geshi daiban 照会稿事由駐京各使代辦, 30 June 1923; FO228/3376 From Wai-chiao Pu 外交部 to H.M. Minister, 27 September 1923; *ibid.* Trademark Registration, 29 October 1923.
- 72 NGK 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.20 Yokotake Heitarō 横竹平太郎 to Yoshizawa Kenkichi 芳澤謙吉, 9 October 1923; *IMH* 03-18-118-(02)-1-23 Nongshangbu zi yijian 農商部咨一件, 13 November 1923.
- 73 FO228/3377 6039/24/65 H.P. Wilkinson to H. J. Brett No.3, 21 July 1924.
- 74 NGK 3.5.6.22. Official Correspondence No.216 Yada Shichitarō 矢田七太郎 to Matsui Keishirō 松井慶四郎, 15 March 1924.
- 75 NGK 3.5.6.22. Nakane Hitoshi 中根齊 “*Shina sbōhyōbō ni kansuru eibei no banntai wo nanzu* 支那商標法に関する英米の反対を難ず” (Criticism Against the Anglo-American opposition to the Chinese Trademark Law) March 1924; *IMH* 03-18-120-(01)-7 Shou zhuying Chen daiban yijian 收駐英陳代辦一件, 3 March 1926.
- 76 NGK 3.5.6.22. Confidential No.127 the Foreign Minister Uchida, to the Ministry in China, Yoshizawa, 28 August 1923; FO228/3376 W. J. Oudendijk to Ronald Macleay, 29 November 1923.
- 77 NGK 3.5.6.22. Official No.364 Yada Shichitarō to Yoshizawa Kenkichi, 18 October 1923; *IMH* 03-18-118-(02)-1-24, Nongshangbu zi yijian 農商部咨一件, 14 November 1923.
- 78 NGK 3.5.6.22. Official Correspondence No.601 Yoshida Shigeru 吉田茂 to Ijūyin Hikokichi 伊集院彦吉, 26 December 1923; *ibid.* Commerce No.38, Yokotake Heitarō to Shidehara Kijūrō 幣原喜重郎, 2 July 1924; *ibid.*, No.143 Consul-General in Shanghai, Yada, to the Foreign Minister, Shidehara, 16 June 1924; FO228/3376 H. J. Barrett to Ronald Macleay No.9, Dec. 17, 1923; *ibid.*, E. Teichman to Ronald Macleay, 4 January 1924; *ibid.*, 194/24/103 Ronald Macleay to Foreign Office No.8, 9 January 1924; Trademarks Bureau: “Satisfactory Progress for September” *Peking and Tientsin Times*, 3 October 1924 re-quoted from FO228/3377; “Trademark Bureau at Work,” *NCH* 5 July 1924, p.2.

However, if neither of the trademarks had been used before or if neither applicant could prove the origin of the usage of their trademarks, the Registrar of the bureau would register according to the first-to-file principle. In Article 26, it was stipulated that the Registrar of the trademark bureau would ask to examine the trademarks applied for and publish the successful trademarks in the *Monthly Trademark Gazette* (Shangbiao gongbao 商標公報) within a certain time period. If no one protested or raised an objection claiming a prior or paramount right to the said mark within six months, the mark would be registered.⁷⁰

Only after the Chinese congress passed the law and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce put it into force on May 9 did each member of the diplomatic corps receive two copies of the Chinese trademark law and its regulations.⁷¹ The corps as a whole, including Japan, refused to recognize it, claiming that it breached Article 7 of the Mackay treaty, Article 5 of the Supplementary Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and China and Article 9 of the treaty for the extension of the commercial relations between the US and China.⁷²

The real reason the British government opposed the Chinese trademark law and regulations was that the British were skeptical about whether or not they would be effective in preventing the activities of Chinese merchants and Japanese manufacturers from infringing on the trademarks of British firms in China.⁷³ Suspicious of the abilities of the Chinese Registrar in the trademark bureau and the Chinese language level of the British merchants in China, the British ministry requested that the Chinese government employ experienced Western specialists in the trademark bureau as their examiners, issue an English version of the *Monthly Trademark Gazette* and open a special court to deal with trademark infringement cases according to the Mixed Court System.⁷⁴ The Chinese government agreed to accept the first and second requests as a compromise, but they rejected the last request as a breach of their sovereignty.⁷⁵

While the British ministry was concentrating on negotiations with the Chinese government for revisions of the trademark registration system, they were left behind by the actions of other parties. First of all, the Japanese could no longer wait for the completion of negotiations between the diplomatic corps and the Chinese government for revising the trademark registration system and decided to recognize the Chinese trademark law even though other governments had not done so.⁷⁶ Furthermore, as an even bigger blow to the British, foreign firms stopped respecting instructions from their ministries not to register their trademarks with the Chinese trademark bureau, fearing that Chinese firms and merchants would register the foreign trademarks (or imitations) before them. Consequently, foreign firms in China preferred to register their trademarks with the Chinese trademark bureau rather than carry out provisional registration at the Maritime Customs in Tianjin and Shanghai.⁷⁷ Two key actors accelerated the process: BAT, which had most popular trademarks in China and major German firms, which had lost their extraterritorial privileges through defeat in the First World War. All of these companies decided to register their trademarks with the Chinese trademark bureau, after Japanese firms had registered theirs between October 1923 and June 1924.⁷⁸ Table 3 indicates the numbers of foreign trademarks registered with the Chinese trademark bureau from May 1925 to January 1926.

While the British ministry wished to ensure the protection of British firms' trademarks in China, whether they were registered with the Chinese trademark bureau or not, its measures had little effect. Recognizing the irrevers-

Table 3

The numbers of foreign trademarks registered in the Chinese Trademark Bureau from May 1923 to January 1926

	<i>Dec. 1925</i>	<i>Jan. 1926</i>	<i>May 1923–Jan. 1926</i>
Great Britain	227	59	4365
Japan	16	14	2674
China	31	40	2180
Germany	153	14	2058
USA	24	19	1670
France	77	2	207
Switzerland	3	0	203
Holland	10	1	102
Sweden	0	1	98
Russia	20	0	20
Canada	1	0	15
Italy	1	0	10
Norway	0	0	10
Miscellaneous	0	0	35
TOTAL	563	150	13647

Source: NGK 3.5.6.22. *Commerce No. 64 Katō Nichikichi to Tanabe Teruo*, 26 April 1926.

ible current, it became clear that the British would have to perform a U-turn and permit their firms to register trademarks with the Chinese trademark bureau at their own risk.⁷⁹ Other members of the diplomatic corps and the British Chambers of Commerce in Shanghai and Manchester regarded this silent change of attitude as a sign that the British government would recognize the Chinese trademark law and its trademark registration system in the near future. Consequently, they decided to recognize the Chinese trademark law and its trademark registration system.⁸⁰

The Japanese government had officially recognized the law in October 1925, turning a deaf ear to the British government's appeal not to do so,⁸¹ and it was followed by other Western governments, from May to September 1926.⁸² Realizing that there was no point in continuing to stand alone, the British government finally decided to recognize the Chinese trademark law and its trademark registration system at about the same time.⁸³ This was the end of its struggle to protect British trademarks against Japan and China.

Conclusion

The Chinese trademark law of 1923 did not come about because of the development of Chinese capitalism, as is assumed by Chinese historians. In fact, it was a response by the Chinese government to the struggle between the British and the Japanese governments for mastery of the Chinese import trade in the early twentieth century. The essence of the struggle between

79 FO228/3378 2079/25/31 Enclosures in Mr Pratt's dispatch No.47 of 7 March 1925 to Peking.

80 NGK 3.5.6.22. *Commerce No.189 Yokotake Heitarō to Shidehara Kijūrō*, 21 May 1925; FO228/3377 4369/24/14 S. Barton to Ronald Macleay No.58, 29 May 1924; *IMH* 03-18-119-(02)-1-25 Zhu Ying Zhu Daiban Miguan yijian 駐英朱代辦密函一件, 17 June 1925.

81 NGK 3.5.6.22. Telegram No.964 the Japanese minister in China, Yoshizawa, to the Foreign minister, Shidehara, 8 October 1925; *ibid.* Confidential Nos. 621 & 622, Yoshizawa Kenkichi to Shidehara Kijūrō, 28 October 1925.

82 *IMH* 03-18-120-(02)-39 Zhi Meiguan jielüe gao 致美館節略稿, 9 November 1926.

83 FO228/3379 4046/26/77 Circular to Consuls No.48, 5 June 1926; *ibid.*, 4362/26/80 Ronald Macleay to Foreign Office, 16 June 1926.

the two countries was how to manipulate the “co-operative” Chinese mercantile network or how to prevent its activities. In this struggle, it was the Japanese side that took the initiative. Seriously considering the infancy of Japanese industry, and the character of the Chinese who had infringed on foreign trademarks or commissioned Japanese manufacturers to produce imitations of Western firms’ products since the 1890s, the Japanese had gradually become aware of how to manipulate this network. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the process from the extant documents, the Japanese government and Japanese firms also gradually became aware of the effect of the first-to-file principle, at the latest from the end of the 1890s onwards. Since the Japanese trademark law of 1899, which had adopted the principle of first-to-file, ensured the legitimacy of trademarks if no one protested or raised an objection against their registration within three years, some Japanese and Chinese merchants regarded it as a device to protect their dubious trademarks, which were imitations of the trademarks of Western firms or were counterfeit versions.

Once the Japanese succeeded in having the Chinese government put a trademark law based on the Japanese model into force, and once Japanese firms were able to register their trademarks with the Chinese government before Western firms did, the Japanese forgeries or counterfeits were able to obtain legitimacy instead of the Western originals. This enabled some Chinese merchants and Japanese manufacturers to build a stable bridgehead to undermine the superiority of Western firms in China. Thus, the Japanese government attached great importance to the first-to-file principle.

By contrast, the British firms and government sought to protect the priority of their own trademarks, which had prevailed in China since the latter half of the nineteenth century. Contrary to the Japanese government, since they never permitted Chinese firms to use even a slightly revised trademark or a similar design to the original, they did not need the Chinese trademark law. Only by demanding Chinese authorities issue a prohibition against such dubious trademarks could they protect the originals. What the British were most worried about were Japanese imitation manufacturers who sold counterfeits through Chinese merchants. Concerned that the popularity of British brands would be irrevocably undermined, the British government had to consult with the Japanese government in order to establish a mutual convention, or to request the Chinese government to adopt a trademark law with the first-to-use principle, the draft of which the British and the Japanese were to draw up. However, because the final goals of both countries were opposed to each other, it was quite natural that these attempts ended in failure.

The Chinese trademark law of 1923 was a response from the Chinese government to this struggle; their attempt to satisfy both the British and the Japanese is reflected in Articles 3 and 26. Did this attempt succeed in putting an end to the Anglo-Japanese struggle? As the Chinese government in Beijing was defeated and ceased operation in 1927, the law was only in effect for a short period, so what happened to the foreign trademarks registered with the Chinese trademark bureau after the establishment of the Nationalist government? This is the topic of my next research project, based on unpublished documents in Tokyo, Taipei and London that provide evidence for developments in this area until the early 1930s.

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THE MANY FACES OF HOTEL MODERNE IN HARBIN

史 Mark Gamsa

“Modernity” is one of the most prevalent concerns of contemporary historians but in the case of the hotel that will be the subject of this article, it is no mere fashionable keyword—rather, it was an appellation affixed to the very building. Originally “Moderne”, now “Modern”, it received its name, in French-sounding Russian, in the 1910s, and it is up to us to decipher the meaning of this defining feature.

Before we can get to meaning, however, we should start with location and history. The Moderne was inseparable from the main avenue of Harbin: by its Russian name, Kitaiskaia ulitsa (Chinese Street), and by its Chinese name since the 1920s, Zhongyang dajie 中央大街 (Central Main Street). Today, as in the early twentieth century, Central Main Street in Daoli 道里 district (the district formerly known in Russian as Pristan’, literally The Wharf) is the glittering showcase of Harbin and attracts all visitors to the city.¹ Lined with expensive shops and fashionable eating places, it culminates at its northern end with the embankment and promenade of the Songhuajiang 松花江 (the Songhua, or in Russian usage, Sungari River).

A Russian History

When was the hotel built? Who designed and named it? The need to ascertain these details arises in view of the fact that the hotel’s current management, the state-owned enterprise Hotel Modern, celebrated its ninetieth anniversary in 1996 and its hundredth in 2006. Such anniversaries and centenaries were often staged by enterprises in China in the 1990s and 2000s, and the tourist industry in Harbin did not lag behind the national trend. In a promotional booklet on the hotel’s history, issued for the festivities of 1996, the construction of the Moderne was dated to 1906 and attributed to an otherwise unfamiliar architect, whose name was transcribed as A.L. Youjinluofu 尤金洛夫. He was supposedly a Russian who had studied architecture in Paris, and in 1901 came from Moscow to Harbin, where he “struck up a friendship at first sight with

I am grateful for comments I received from my audience at the XVIII Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies in Riga, Latvia, where an earlier version of this paper was presented on 15 July 2010. I am particularly indebted to Prof. Olga Bakich (Toronto) for the generous interest she has taken in this study. I thank the Upton Sino-Foreign Archive (Steve Upton, Curator), Concord, New Hampshire, for permission to use images from that archive. My research was supported by The Israel Science Foundation (grant no. 1258/09) and The Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation (grant RG002-P-08).

¹ A book about it is included in the Beijing-published series of “famous streets in China”: see Yang Rongqiu and Xie Zhongtian, *Tianjie yicai: Ha'erbin Zhongyang dajie* [A Heavenly Street of Exotic Splendour: Harbin’s Central Main Street] (Beijing: Jiefangjun wenyi chubanshe, 2000).

² Liu Liankun et al., eds, *Madie'er jiu-shi nian* [Ninety Years of the Moderne] (Harbin: Heilongjiang haomei caise zhiban gongsi, 1996), pp.3–4. Despite being egregiously wrong on the hotel’s early years, the team of local historians whom the hotel management had mobilized for this booklet unearthed much interesting material, especially on the later Republican and early Communist periods. Such material on the Moderne’s history is available nowhere else and this source, therefore, will be used extensively if critically below.

³ On the architect, see the well-documented studies by N.P. Kradin, *Kharbin — russkaia Atlantida* [Harbin: The Russian Atlantis] (Khabarovsk: Khvorov A. Iu., 2001), pp.183–

84 (Chinese translation: *Ha'erbin: Eluosi ren xinzhong de lixiang chengshi* [Harbin: The Ideal City in Russian Hearts], (Harbin: Ha'erbin chubanshe, 2007)) and S.S. Levoshko, *Russkaia arkhitektura v Man'chzhurii. Konets XIX — pervaiia polovina XX veka* [Russian Architecture in Manchuria: End of the 19th – Early 20th Century] (Khabarovsk: Chastnaia Kolleksiia, 2003), pp.88–90. The most authoritative survey in Chinese, Chang Huaiheng, ed., *Ha'erbin jianzhu yishu* [Harbin Architecture] (Harbin: Heilongjiang kexue jishu chubanshe, 1990), p.78, also dates the building to 1913.

4 *Khabrinskii vestnik*, 26 Oct. 1913, on the ongoing construction work; and “Otkrytie gostinitsy ‘Modern’ ” [“Opening of Hotel Moderne”], *Zheleznodorozhnaia zbizn' na Dal'nem Vostoke* (Harbin), no.36–37 (1914), p.14, which also mentions the joint ownership of Kaspe and V.I. Aleksandrov. Note that dates follow the Julian calendar, which lagged thirteen days behind the common (Gregorian) calendar in the twentieth century and was in use in Russia until February 1918.

5 The first performances at the Moderne took place on 25 September 1914, with the arrival of an ensemble from Vladivostok. “Teatr ‘Modern’,” *Zheleznodorozhnaia zbizn' na Dal'nem Vostoke*, no.36–37 (1914), p.15.

6 Later in the Communist period the former Yamato Hotel housed Soviet experts and PRC railway officials, until being opened to the public as Longmen dasha in 1997. The present-day successor, Lungmen Grand Hotel, thus inherited a history as rich as that of the Moderne, although the link it claims with the CER Hotel, by using the year 1903 in its logo and promotional publications, may be disputed. In 2003, the Lungmen celebrated its centenary: see Liang Bo, ed., *Bainian laodian: Longmen dasha guibinlou: 1903–2003* [A Hundred-year Olde Shoppe: The Honoured Building of Longmen Hotel] (Harbin: no publisher, 2003), and following the change in the hotel's Chinese and English names in 2006, Zhai Songqiao et al., eds., *Bainian laodian: gongyuan 1903 nian luocheng Longmen guibinlou juidian* [A Hundred-year Olde Shoppe: The AD 1903 Founded Lungmen Grand Hotel] (Harbin: no publisher, 2009 or later). For the building's history, cf. Kradin, *Kharbin — russkaia Atlantida*; Wang Tan, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jianzhu zonglan: Ha'erbin bian* [The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Harbin volume] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1992), pp. 84, 122.

7 G.V. Melikhov, *Man'chzhuriia dalekaia i blizkaia* [Manchuria Far and Near] (Moscow: Nauka, 1991), p.265;

old Kaspe”.² But the hotel's founder, Iosif Kaspe, was born in 1878 or 1879 and in 1901 he was not yet in China. Hotel Moderne was not built in 1906, but between 1913 and 1914. Its designer, the St Petersburg architect Sergei A. Vensan (1873–1937), had begun work in Manchuria in 1911 and would leave behind him more landmark buildings in Harbin by the 1920s.³ The local Russian press had expected the hotel to be completed by December 1913. The grand opening was delayed, however, and took place on 14 September 1914, after the First World War had broken out.⁴

When it finally opened its doors, the Moderne was described in the press as “a huge house of three floors, containing a hotel with a restaurant, a bakery café and a cinema (*illuzion*), all under the collective name ‘Modern’”. The stage of the cinema hall was also to serve for concerts and theatre performances,⁵ and the hall had a separate entrance from the corner of Chinese Street and Mongolian Street (now Xiqi daojie 西七道街, Seventh Western Street). Moderne was not the first hotel or even the first cinema in Harbin, but it became the largest and most luxurious hotel in the young city and remained so for a long time; the construction of Harbin, as headquarters of the Russian-managed Chinese Eastern Railway (CER), had only begun in 1898.

As early as 1902, work began on the construction of a CER Hotel, yet although the building opposite the Harbin railway station in New Town (today's Nangang 南崗 district) was completed by 1904, it may not have been used as a hotel before being converted to serve as a hospital during the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5. Becoming the seat of the Russian Consulate and an Officers' Club in 1907, it was renovated in 1920 and housed the headquarters of the CER Directorate from then on; only under the Japanese regime, who carried out another extensive renovation, was it returned to its originally designated use and opened, in February 1937, as Harbin's Yamato Hotel.⁶ In approximate chronological order, the predecessors of Hotel Moderne were Hotel Orient, with a cinema located in New Town,⁷ and the Grand Hotel across the road from the Harbin railway station, on Sungari Avenue, which too had a theatre stage and a cinema, and, evidently, must have opened by late 1903.⁸ Another early establishment was Hotel Bellevue in Old Harbin (the city's southern district, known as Xiangfang 香坊 in Chinese), which a memoirist described as having once been “the best in town” but having fallen into decline by 1912 due to the relocation of Harbin's administrative centre to New Town.⁹ The impressions that Western travellers to Harbin have left of its fledgling hotel industry were not all favourable.¹⁰

By the year 1925, the Harbin Yellow Pages no longer included the Bellevue. They did list, under the rubric “hotels”, a total of thirty-seven establishments of varying standard, most of them under Russian (and a few under Chinese) administration in Harbin, and another fourteen hotels expressly marked as “Chinese” and mainly located in Fujiadian 傅家甸 (today's Daowai 道外 district), the Chinese town to the east of Daoli district.¹¹ In addition, eight Japanese hotels were listed in the large section on “the Japanese colony in Harbin”, an indication that the Japanese presence in the city was already important at that time.¹²

The alleged foundation year of the Moderne, which the hotel website now proclaims with the unfortunate English formulation, “legend from 1906”, is a legend indeed, a reflection of the marketing appeal of Harbin's early years. A wall plaque designating the hotel as a “first-class preserved building”, put up by the city administration in 1997, attempted to square the circle by claiming the hotel was “originally founded” in 1906, while

1903 r. XXXV 1938 r.

HOTEL „MODERNE“
HARBIN

The Biggest Hotel Located in the Enterroot of Harbin City

Telegraph address
MODERN HARBIN
Code
BENTLEY'S

Telephones
40-18
57-48
58-58
55-59
30-58
38-04

Prices for room p'er day
Without baths from Gobi 2.00 to Gobi 5.00 With baths and toilets from Gobi 5.00 to Gobi 9.00
REDUCTION. For fortnight 10%, For one month 20%.
for prolonged stay by arrangement.

RESTAURANT AND CAFE
BREAKFAST - DINNER - SUPPER
Fare for meals and beverages considerably reduced.
Benquets from Gobi 2.50 Per Person

The Hotel Has
CINEMA THEATRE, BILLIARD ROOM, BAR, BARBER SHOP.

HARBIN CINEMA COMPANY
MODERNE-ORIENT PALACE-CATHAY

Show pictures of best American, European, and Oriental productions.
Performances of drama, operetta, ballet and various attractions.
The best technical equipment.

Figure 1

Advertisement for Hotel Moderne (1938). From Dan Ben-Canaan archives collection—The Sino-Israel Research and Study Center, Heilongjiang University, School of Western Studies, Harbin.

also saying its construction was completed by 1913. That “1906” has often been repeated without any such qualification in present-day Chinese sources attests to an uncritical acceptance of this promotional history. There is also some confusion between the opening of the hotel and the beginning of the business activities of the person who earned his place in Harbin history as the Moderne’s founding owner, Iosif A. Kaspe.

Curiously, an English-language advertisement for the hotel in 1938, after Kaspe’s departure from China, pushed its beginnings even further back in time by claiming that the Moderne was in existence since 1903 and was then marking its thirty-fifth year (see Figure 1). Perhaps, 1903 was when Kaspe first arrived in Harbin, although it was only after taking part in the Russo-Japanese war that he settled in the city.¹³ Having started out as a clothes dealer, Kaspe moved into the jewellery business and he incorporated a jewellery shop into his hotel. Initially, the Moderne was in the joint ownership of Kaspe and the Russian lawyer Vladimir I. Aleksandrov (1869?–1934).

and see a postcard view of the Orient in the (unpaginated) illustrations section in Melikhov, *Belyi Kharbin: seredina 20-ko* [White Harbin: Mid-1920s] (Moscow: Russkii Put’, 2003).

8 Shi Fang, Gao Ling, and Liu Shuang, *Ha'erbin Eqiao shi* [The History of Russian Émigrés in Harbin], 2nd ed. (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2003), p.280, give both 1899 and 1905 as the foundation year. Siberian businessman Ivan V. Kulaev (1857–1941), resident of Harbin from 1900 to 1925, owned the building, which he leased to the CER and later (until 1935) to the Japanese administration of the South Manchuria Railway. See Innokentii Charov, *Al'bom Kharbina. Gorod i ego okrestnosti* [A Harbin Album: The City and Its Environs] (Harbin: author’s unpaginated edition, 1930); and *Zaria* (Harbin) of 21 March 1935. Commentary to a photograph in Li Shuxiao, ed., *Ha'erbin juying* [Old Photos of Harbin] (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2000), p.57, says the hotel had a cinema hall; cf. postcard view of Grand Hôtel du Commerce, in Levoshko, *Russkaia arkhitektura v Man'chzhurii*, p.92. On theatre performances there in winter 1903, see Melikhov, *Man'chzhuriia dalekaia i blizkaia*, p.152.

9 M.A. Gintse, *Russkaia sem'ia doma i v Man'chzhurii* [A Russian Family at Home and in Manchuria] (Sydney: author’s edition, 1986), p.182.

10 The British writer Maurice Baring (1874–1945), who spent a week in Harbin in May 1904, included the following description in his report from the Russo-Japanese war, *With the Russians in Manchuria* (London: Methuen, 1905), p.34: “I eventually found rooms in the Hotel Orient, which I think must be the most expensive hotel in the world; it is kept by two ex-convicts, with squinting eyes and a criminal expression; and the prices of food and lodging were exalted beyond dreams of Ritz. The bedroom was damp and dirty, and cost 15S. a day, without the bed”. He went on to say that “the population of Kharbin consists almost entirely of ex-convicts and Chinamen. [...] The cab drivers were all ex-convicts, and fearful tales were told one of how, if dissatisfied with their fares, they merely killed you and threw your body into the street”. The Bellevue, originally a “café chantant”, was indeed owned by an ex-convict, the Georgian Gamarteli: see Melikhov, *Man'chzhuriia dalekaia i blizkaia*, p.79. The traumatic experience of lodging in an unidentified Harbin hotel was narrated in B.L. Putnam Weale, *Manchu and Muscovite, Being Letters from Manchuria Written during the Autumn of 1903* (London: Macmillan, 1904), p.142: “The name of my hotel (save the mark!) I

will not divulge, for my hosts were passing good people, and I am about to damn their beds and rooms more unutterably than anything has ever been damned before". It may have been the Oriant, or perhaps the Zolotoi iakor' (Ancre d'or), the only hotel listed under "Kharbin" in the guide by Claudius Madrolle, *Chine du Nord et de l'Ouest* (Paris: Comité de l'Asie française, 1904), p.68, while "the new railway hotel", which the China-born author of *Manchu and Muscovite* noticed being built near the central station, and the completion of which he advised future visitors to await (pp.140, 142), must have been the CER Hotel, which would have its function modified by the war. In May 1909, American travellers enjoyed the room and especially the supper offered them at the Grand Hotel: their only qualms were about "a moving-picture show" in the dining saloon, a form of "nocturnal [entertainment], accompanied with dancing and carousing" they chose not to explore, retiring early to their beds. Marcus Lorenzo Taft, *Strange Siberia along the Trans-Siberian Railway: A Journey from the Great Wall of China to the Sky-scrapers of Manhattan* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1911), pp.54–5.

11 Sergei T. Ternavskii, ed., *Ves' Kharbin na 1925 god: adresnaia i spravocnaia kniga* [A Harbin Phonebook and Yellow Pages for 1925] (Harbin: Tipografii KVZhD, 1925), pp.164–65.

12 Ibid., pp.135–36.

13 A caption below a photograph of him with his two sons, Semen and Vladimir, which the Harbin daily *Rupor* printed as part of a report on Semen's funeral in December 1933, drew readers' attention to the "Cross of St George (for the Russo-Japanese war) in the buttonhole of his jacket". According to S. Kurbatov, "Poslednii komendant" ["The Last Commandant"], *Zaria*, 17 April 1935, the Harbin resident, tsarist general Mikhail M. Ivanov (1881–1935), received financial support from Iosif Kaspe, his former "brave soldier". Kaspe's war service is also mentioned in Amleto Vespa, *Secret Agent of Japan: A Handbook to Japanese Imperialism* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938), p. 195.

14 Obituary of Aleksandrov by Petr Tishenko (former Harbin mayor) in *Zaria*, 2 March 1934. See also A.A. Khisamutdinov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Aziatsko-Tikhoookeanskoi regione i Iuzhnoi Amerike. Biobibliograficheskii slovar'* [A Bio-Bibliographical Dictionary of Russian Emigration in the Asian Pacific Region and South America] (Vladivostok: DVGU, 2000), p.27.

15 Report in *Rupor* (Harbin), 10 Oct. 1923.

16 Kradin, *Kharbin – russkaia Atlantida*, p.233 (quoting *Zaria* of 1 Jan. 1932); on the architect, see *ibid.*, pp.200–204.

Aleksandrov, however, sold his share to Kaspe when he left Harbin for Japan in 1924.¹⁴ From 1921 to 1923 the hotel underwent extensive renovation, the completion of which was marked by an opening ceremony on 10 October 1923.¹⁵ In late 1931, with the participation of architect Petr S. Sviridov (1889–1971) and the close involvement of Kaspe himself, the hotel's cinema and theatre hall was enlarged from a capacity of 700 spectators to 1200.¹⁶ In the meantime, Japan had invaded Manchuria in September 1931, establishing the puppet state of Manchukuo in the subsequent year.

On 24 August 1933, Iosif Kaspe's son was kidnapped. The twenty-four-year-old pianist Semen Kaspe, who had lived and studied in Paris since 1926 and had become a French citizen, returned to his native Harbin for what was planned as a series of concerts in China and Japan. Kaspe senior, by some accounts defiant in the face of adversity and by others badly affected by the strain, placed his hopes in the independent investigation launched by the young vice-consul of France in Harbin and did not pay the ransom money (which, it appears, he could not have raised) even after the bandits had cut off and sent him his son's earlobes. After three months of suffering, Semen was murdered on 24 November. The kidnapping scheme was part of attempts by the Japanese police to take over Jewish property in Manchukuo; the Russian criminals had connections with the anti-Semitic Russian Fascist Party, which in turn enjoyed close Japanese support. In having a political background, the Kaspe case was special; as an incident attesting to the lack of individual security in occupied Manchuria, it was just one event in a series that had marked the preceding two years. The numerous kidnappings that both Russian and Chinese gangs carried out in Harbin in 1932 had targeted foreigners as well as wealthy Chinese residents.¹⁷

After burying Semen in Harbin, Iosif Kaspe left for Paris, to join his wife Maria and their younger son Vladimir. He died in Paris in October 1938. In June 1940 the German army marched in. By 1942 Vladimir found refuge in Mexico, where he was to remain as a distinguished architect and academic to the end of his long life. A private person, he did not speak of his past, but did tell a historian of architecture in Mexico that seeing his father pore over detailed construction plans had been his first encounter with architecture (he did not say that the building in question was a hotel). He described his father as a jeweller and only mentioned that his pianist brother had died in an "accident".¹⁸ In histories of Harbin, the abduction and brutal end of Semen went down as the "Kaspe affair".¹⁹

The gist of this gruesome tale is known to many residents of Harbin today: tourists could hear it from their taxi driver while en route to the Moderne (today's four-star Modern Hotel) from the airport or railway station. Reaching their destination, until a few years ago they would be able to see life-size oil portraits of Iosif and Maria Kaspe and of their martyred son (shown standing by his piano), which were commissioned from surviving photographs and hung in hotel corridors in 2001. An "urban legend" in local Chinese memory,²⁰ the affair had also been something of the kind for Russians who stayed on in Harbin through the Manchukuo period to the end of the Second World War and would only leave China in the 1950s. Olga Bakich, born in Harbin in 1938, remembers being told in her youth that the Moderne was still haunted by its inconsolable founder.²¹

The hotel remained one of Harbin's most recognizable symbols after the departure of its first owner. In May 1932, it made headlines in the international press by hosting the Lytton Committee, which the League of Nations had delegated to the Far East to investigate the legitimacy of Japanese claims to

Manchuria. No longer under the supervision of Iosif Kaspe, another round of refurbishment was undertaken in the Moderne in 1934.²² In spring 1936, the ageing Russian opera star Feodor Chaliapin (1873–1938) lodged there as he performed in Harbin during his Far Eastern tour, which also included Japan and Shanghai.²³ In 1937 more renovation work was carried out in the hall and the entrance area by architect Mikhail A. Bakich (1909–2002).²⁴

In July of the same year, strong competition for the title of Harbin's best hotel arose for the first time since the opening of the Moderne, when a Japanese businessman launched Hotel New Harbin in New Town. Designed by a team of Russian engineers in a mixture of modern European and Japanese styles, with both the latest technical innovations and a Buddhist temple, the New Harbin had five floors to Moderne's three and 120 rooms to its hundred, and was considered the largest construction in the city.²⁵ Still in operation today as the four-star International Hotel Harbin, its particular history as a relic of the Japanese occupation period is harder to promote domestically than that of the Moderne.

Once Iosif Kaspe left the scene, the Japanese authorities initially put the management of Hotel Moderne in the hands of an émigré by the name of Khorosh. The hotel had been important for Harbin's Jews. "Here the representatives of Jewish business met with their Chinese and Russian partners. Up until the middle of the 1930s it is here that all events, balls and celebrations of the Jewish community of Harbin were held". After some tense negotiations between the Japanese and the local Jewish leadership, management was transferred to the community's honorary secretary, Moisei G. Zimin. Community balls then continued to be hosted by the Moderne (lesser Jewish festivities, staged elsewhere until 1943, returned to the Moderne in the last two years of Japanese rule).²⁶ In August 1945, when the victorious Red Army entered Harbin, hotel manager Zimin was arrested along with many other notable Russian and Jewish figures, eventually to perish in a Soviet camp.²⁷

Since 1946, when the Soviet forces moved out of Harbin, the hotel has been under continuous Chinese management. It is at this point that we turn from the Russian-Jewish history of the Moderne to its subsequent phase as a former luxury hotel in Communist China.²⁸

A Chinese History

In early 1948 the Chinese Communist Party gathered over three hundred Party cadres in the Moderne with the aim of expounding to them the strategy of managing "large cities".²⁹ Harbin had been the first such city to come under Communist control in the course of the Chinese Civil War in April 1946. From September to November 1948 the CCP convened in the Moderne political personages associated with the Democratic Party, non-affiliated figures and representatives of overseas Chinese, to begin preparations for the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In the hotel, they were visited and kept in check by high-ranking Communist officials.³⁰ In August 1949, the hotel's name and function were radically modified with its designation as The Harbin City Government Guesthouse. Across the country, Western-style hotels that had opened in China since the late nineteenth century were nationalized and redefined as guesthouses (*zhaodaisuo* 招待所). Their guests in the 1950s were also no longer Russian or Western tourists or businessmen, but CCP officials, arriving in Harbin on inspection tours or passing through on their way to the Soviet Union.

17 A British woman was murdered in Harbin in 1932 as she attempted to prevent the kidnapping of her children; two other British nationals were taken captive for ransom in Newchwang (Niuzhuang 牛莊, now Yingkou 營口 in Liaoning province). Peter Fleming, *One's Company: A Journey to China in 1933* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956; originally published 1934), pp.59, 75, 110. See also colourful reports in *Time Magazine*: "Manchukuo: Don't Bust Yourselves" (3 Oct. 1932); "Manchukuo: Tomahawk, Rope & Bomb" (24 Oct. 1932); "Manchukuo: Opium to the Rescue" (31 Oct. 1932); an account by the vice-consul of France, Albert Chambon (1909–2002), reproduced in Sabine Breuillard, "L'affaire Kaspé revisitée," *Revue des Études Slaves*, Vol.73, nos. 2–3 (2001), pp.354, 357–58, and O.G. Goncharenko, *Russkii Kharbin* [Russian Harbin] (Moscow: Veche, 2009), pp.76–8.

18 On Iosif Kaspe's death, see *Poslednie novosti* (Paris), no.6413, 17 Oct. 1938; also Kradin, *Kharbin – russkaia Atlantida*, p.235. On Vladimir Kaspé (Harbin, 1910 – Mexico City, 1996), see entry by Alberto González Pozo in the *Grove Art Online* (Oxford Art Online). I thank Alberto González Pozo and Louise Noelle, author of a monograph on Kaspé's architectural work, for sharing with me some of their reminiscences of Vladimir Kaspé in personal communications.

19 See John J. Stephan, *The Russian Fascists: Tragedy and Farce in Exile, 1925–1945* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), pp.81–9; the French and Russian documents compiled and commented on in Breuillard, "L'affaire Kaspé revisitée"; the analysis of Japanese policy in Heinz Eberhard Maul, *Warum Japan keine Juden verfolgte. Die Judenpolitik des Kaiserreiches Japan während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus (1933–1945)* [Why Japan Did Not Persecute Jews: The Jewish Policy of Imperial Japan during the Nazi Period (1933–1945)] (Munich: Iudicium Verlag, 2007), pp.52–8; Dan Ben-Canaan, *The Kaspe File: A Case Study of Harbin as an Intersection of Cultural and Ethnic Communities in Conflict 1932–1945* (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2009), and Grigorii Belyi, "Delo Kaspe: Obzor literatury" ["The Kaspe Affair: A Review of the Literature"], in *Cherez Dal'nii Vostok na Blizhnii* [From the Middle East to the Far East], eds Rena Parkhomovskaia and Isaak Reznik (Jerusalem: no publisher, 2009), pp.153–73. See also a memoir by the son of Lydia Shapiro, the woman in whose company Kaspe was when kidnapped: Isaac Shapiro, *Edokko: Growing Up a Foreigner in Wartime Japan* (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2009), pp.11–12, and photo of his mother with Semen Kaspe in Harbin, on p.16.

20 A “true legend”, in this case, contrary to the urban legend of treaty port Shanghai examined in Robert A. Bickers and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, “Shanghai’s ‘Dogs and Chinese Not Admitted’ Sign: Legend, History and Contemporary Symbol,” *China Quarterly*, no.142 (June 1995), pp.444–66.

21 “When I was growing up, I heard about the tragic death of young Kaspe. Someone told me, when I was still young, that the spirit of the old Kaspe was still wandering in the ‘Moderne’, waiting for his son to return. It chilled my heart. Whenever I was walking past, I would not look at the windows, imagining that I would see his tragic eyes peering into the street. I recalled this vividly when we were on a tour of Huangshan cemetery [during a conference in Heilongjiang University in June 2009; the occasion of Olga Bakich’s first return to Harbin since leaving it with her parents for Australia in 1958], and I found Semen Kaspe’s grave.” Letter to the author, 14 March 2010.

22 Reported in *Rupor*, 23 Sept. 1934.

23 Evgenii Kirillov, *Ocherki vremeni russkogo Kharbina* [Sketches of the Times of Russian Harbin] (Khabarovsk: OOP Khabarovstata, 2008), pp.96–109.

24 From the recollections of Olga Bakich, the architect’s daughter cited above. As her parents lived poorly in those years, the lunch to which they were invited at the Moderne once the project was completed was a memorable experience. Cf. report on the renovation in *Zaria*, 10 June 1937.

25 Kradin, *Kharbin – russkaia Atlantida*, pp.247–50. The amenities included telephones, electricity and bathtubs (with the supply of hot and cold water) in each hotel room; apartments especially designed for newlyweds on their honeymoon; rooms in Japanese and in European style, and three elevators. The gushing praise in “Otel’ ‘N’iu Kharbin’ gostepriimno otkryvaet svoi dveri” [“Hotel New Harbin Hospitably Opens Its Doors”], *Gun-bao* (Harbin), no.3434 (30 June 1937), pp.2–4, included the words: “Here [on the fifth floor of Hotel New Harbin] Harbinites will for the first time see a truly luxurious restaurant”. Looking around, this reporter continued, “you cannot believe that you are in Harbin. It feels as if only on the cinema screen have we seen restaurants such as this”.

26 Summary and quotation from Teddy Kaufman, “The ‘Moderne’ Hotel as One of the Important Centers in the Life of Harbin”, *Bulletin Igud Yotzei Sin* (hereafter: *IYS*) (Tel Aviv), 53.389 (Sept.–Oct. 2006), English section, p.21. This was an address at the celebration of “100 years of Hotel Moderne”, which the

In 1953, the Guesthouse became known as Harbin Hotel (Ha’erbin lüshe 哈爾濱旅社); in 1966, this name was changed again, this time to The Harbin City Revolutionary Committee Second Guesthouse.³¹ Soon thereafter, a photograph of the former Moderne in mid-August 1966 shows the building bearing the poster “Fanxiu fandan” 返修飯店 (Anti-revisionist hotel).³² Another city landmark, the Churin (Tschurin) department store in Harbin’s Nangang district, was also renamed in the Cultural Revolution, as were a number of Harbin streets, to become “The East is Red” (Dongfang hong 東方紅) department store in September. Throughout the PRC, institutions associated with Russia in the past or the Soviet Union in the present came under attack as the closest ally of Communist China during the 1950s was denounced as “revisionist” after the Sino–Soviet rift of 1960.³³

In 1983, the quondam Hotel Moderne was renamed once again, becoming Harbin Hotel (the translation of Ha’erbin binguan 哈爾濱賓館).³⁴ It had remained a city-administered guesthouse throughout, but it had by then fallen into disrepair. In the new economy of the 1980s, things began to change quickly, however, and the Chinese hotel industry was reborn in these years. In January 1987, the name Madie’er 馬迭爾 was restored to the hotel after a new management team had completed an extensive programme of renovation works, launched in June of the preceding year.³⁵ There was still more growth in the early 1990s, when the three floors of the original building were expanded to four.³⁶ The old-new Chinese name Madie’er was officially registered in August 1993, along with the English appellation Modern Hotel.³⁷ Further work in 2000 once more altered the building, whose original concert hall, dancing hall and “white hall” cannot be seen any more.

In the mid-1990s the Harbin municipal government first began to promote tourism to the city by renovating selected relics of its Russian-period architecture.³⁸ “Old brand names” were “revived”: the former Dongfang hong, known as the Songhuajiang department store since 1972, had already regained its time-honoured name Qiulin 秋林 (Autumn Forest), a transcription of Churin, in October 1984. The Modern Hotel too strove to emphasize its connection with history. History was, in fact, its main asset, as despite its prime location and continuous redevelopment, its claim to being the best hotel in Harbin could not be sustained once new luxury hotels were built in the 1990s. After staging its anniversaries in 1996 and 2006, the Modern Hotel collaborated with Heilongjiang 黑龍江 University to invite the Jewish Harbinites, Esther and Paul Agran (Agranovsky) from Chicago, to celebrate their sixtieth wedding anniversary at the hotel in September 2008.³⁹ In 2009, the hotel organized a spring ball, to which elderly Harbinites from all over the world (some of whom had attended the original “spring balls” as young people in the 1940s) were invited.⁴⁰

Separate Histories?

Is it possible to bring together the Russian and the Chinese histories of the Moderne for the period before the 1950s, when most émigrés left Harbin and China? The memories that Russian and other European former residents of Harbin associate with the Moderne mostly derive from its multipurpose cinema, theatre and concert hall.⁴¹ In the “white hall” (*belyi zal*) of the hotel’s restaurant, student parties took place and wedding receptions were given, and when important city personages departed Harbin they were seen off there in farewell banquets.⁴² Charity events were not only staged in the Moderne by the Jewish community, but also by the Russian, as well as by the Georgian,

the Armenian and other communities.⁴³ The hotel was a more immediate presence in the lives of the Russian-speaking residents of Harbin than in the daily existence of the Chinese city. Being Russian owned and relatively expensive, it formed part of the self-contained space in which the Harbin Russians moved. It offered them a temporary extra layer of isolation from the surrounding Asian world—an enclave within an enclave.⁴⁴ As Russian space in the city irrevocably shrunk, the Moderne—despite its bouts of renovation and the kidnapping crisis of 1933—remained reassuringly unchanging.

If the Moderne excluded the great majority of local Chinese, it was on the basis of social standing rather than race. Chinese as well as Japanese guests had lodged and been feted there in the Kasper period: the Japanese writer Hasegawa Nyozeikan 長谷川如是閑 (1875–1969) stayed at the Moderne in 1928, and later criticized it on many counts.⁴⁵ Song Qingling 宋慶齡 (1892–1981), the widow of President Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (1866–1925), was welcomed with a banquet in the hotel by mayor He Yufang 何玉芳 on 16 May 1929, as she changed trains in Harbin on her return from a visit to Soviet Russia and Belgium.⁴⁶ The Harbin municipal government had passed from Russian into Chinese hands as recently as 1926; the next city mayor, Song Wenyu 宋文郁, marked his appointment with a banquet in the Moderne, which he offered to the foreign consuls in Harbin in November 1930.⁴⁷ We may conclude that the Moderne was a privileged city institution, frequented by both the Western and Chinese elites. In a city that functioned as a railway junction between Russia, China and Japan, the rich and powerful could use the hotel to display their wealth and position to outsiders as well as to each other.

The rules by which they had to play were Western, however. The Moderne maintained a European atmosphere and, until passing into Chinese management in 1946, specialized in Western food.⁴⁸ Although the cinema in Hotel Moderne does not seem to have shown Chinese films before the 1940s, by the 1910s advertisements for the American and European films that the Moderne cinema scheduled were placed in Harbin's Chinese newspapers, as well as in the Russian press. The hotel's concert programme in the 1930s included performances by local Chinese, Japanese and Korean music students, while a number of Peking-opera stars also came to perform in the Moderne during the Manchukuo period.⁴⁹ These were some of the different "faces" the Moderne was able to show to each of Harbin's ethnic communities. While managers Kasper and Zimin must have known what services they provided simultaneously to their varied clientele, the many-sidedness of the hotel can only be revealed now by a cross-reading of Russian and Chinese sources.

The Memory of Russian "Style Moderne" in Manchuria

The reason why the original name of the hotel is spelled "Moderne" rather than "Modern" in this article is that this is how the word was pronounced in Russian, with the accent placed on the second syllable. After the Japanese army entered Harbin in February 1932, Iosif Kasper devised a scheme he hoped would guarantee his establishment against expropriation by the new regime. As both his sons had become naturalized in France (where they spelled their surname as Kaspé), the Russian émigré Kasper (the accent of the Jewish surname is placed on the first syllable) transferred ownership of the hotel to them and hoisted the French flag on the build-

speaker attended in the hotel in June 2006 as president of the Association of Former Jewish Residents of China in Israel. Judging by names listed in Harbin phone books available for 1925 and 1926, manager Khorosh must have been Jewish, too.

27 Teddy Kaufman, *Yabadut Harbin asher be-libi* [The Jews of Harbin Live On in My Heart] (Tel Aviv: Profil, 2004), pp.141–42. Chinese translation: *Wo xin zhong de Ha'erbin youtairen* (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2007). David Gutman, in a conversation with the author in Tel Aviv on 24 Nov. 2003, recalled how in Harbin in 1945 he caught a last glimpse of Zimin, on a truck with other prisoners of the Soviet army.

28 See the list of hotel directors in Liu Liankun et al., *Madie'er jiusbi nian*, pp.15–16.

29 *Ibid.*, pp.6, 32–3. On the random arrests in Harbin during the early period of Communist control, cf. Michael Dutton and Li Shaorong, "Seizing the City: Policing in the Era of the City Takeover (1945–1949)," *Berliner China-Hefte*, no.22 (May 2002), pp.48–67.

30 Liu Liankun et al., *Madie'er jiusbi nian*, pp.22–4. The Democratic Party, founded during the Sino-Japanese war, was banned by the Nationalist government in 1947. Its leaders would be incorporated into the new Communist government in 1949.

31 *Ibid.*, p.6.

32 See Li Zhensheng, *Red-color News Soldier* (London: Phaidon Press, 2003), pp.86–7.

33 See the draft history, Qiulin gongsi shizhi ban, *Qiulingongsi dashiji* [Chronicle of Main Events in the History of the Qiulin Company], typescript (Harbin: no publisher, 1990), p.53. In August 1966 the street of the Soviet embassy in Beijing was renamed "Anti-revisionist Street". The atmosphere of the time is described in A. Zhelokhovtsev, "Kul'turnaia revoliutsiia's blizkogo rass-toianiiia" ["The 'Cultural Revolution' at Close Quarters"], part 3, *Novyi mir*, no.3 (1968), pp.200–2.

34 See photograph with the bilingual sign Ha'erbin binguan / Harbin Hotel in Liu Liankun et al., *Madie'er jiusbi nian*, illustrations, p.46.

35 *Ibid.*, pp.60–1.

36 *Ibid.*, pp.14–15.

37 *Ibid.*, p.60. Cf. Zhang Tong, "I lei baohu jianzhu Madie'er" [A First-class Preserved Building, The Moderne], in ed. Dong Yueqin, *Lisbi de jianzhen* [The Testimony of History] (Harbin: Zhengxie Ha'erbinshi weiyuanhui, 2000), pp.212–19.

38 Sören Urbansky, “Ausradiert und aufpoliert. Das architektonische Erbe des russischen Harbin” [“Obliterated and Refurbished: The Architectural Heritage of Russian Harbin”], *Osteuropa*, 58.3 (2008): 65–83, at p.73.

39 Photos and a report on the reception and elaborate programme are in *Bulletin IYS*, 56.398 (April – May 2009), English section, pp.79, 84–5. In October 2008, the president of the Moderne Hotel travelled to Israel as part of a delegation of the Harbin tourist company, which was also received at the Association of Former Residents of China. *Ibid.*, Russian section, p.34.

40 Anna Vigovskaia, “Mesto vstrechi – russkaia Atlantida” [Meeting Place is Russian Atlantis], *Bulletin IYS*, 56.399 (Aug.–Sept. 2009), Russian section, pp.33–4.

41 See, for example, the memoirs of a musician who performed in the Moderne: Hellmut Stern, *Saitensprünge: Erinnerungen eines Kosmopoliten wider Willen* (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002), p.61 (on the Moderne cinema), p.74 (the concert hall), p.119 (decline of the Moderne in the 1940s). Note that, as the hall had a separate entrance from that used by the hotel guests, going to watch a film or hear a concert in the Moderne normally did not imply a visit in the hotel itself.

42 *Bulletin IYS*, 53.391 (March – April 2007), English section, p.69, on a wedding in the Moderne in 1920. See undated photo of the banquet, held in the White Hall on the occasion of the departure from Harbin of the Jewish banker Isaak Soskin, in *Bulletin IYS*, 56.400 (Nov. – Dec. 2009), Russian section, p.24; Olga Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints: Bibliography as History, 1898–1961: Materials for a Definitive Bibliography* (New York: Norman Ross, 2002), p.493, entry 4164, on a jubilee ball in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Harbin Law Faculty in 1935.

43 Kaufman, “The ‘Moderne’ Hotel”.

44 A reporter for the newspaper *Zaria* wrote, on 1 January 1932: “After the ‘Moderne’, it even seems strange to step out once again into the familiar Harbin street. It feels as if you had just been to another city, richer and neater than our Harbin”. Cited in Kradin, *Kharbin – russkaia Atlantida*, p.234.

45 Joshua A. Fogel, “Japanese Literary Travelers in Prewar China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 49.2 (Dec. 1989): 575–602, at pp.597–98.

46 A suite in the hotel bears Song’s name. Liu Liankun et al., *Madie’er jiusi nian*, pp.26–7.



Figure 2

Hotel Moderne, flying the French flag, 1930s. The Cyrillic letters running down the corner frontage read “Kaspe” on the right-hand side and “Modern” on the left. Image courtesy Professor Dan Ben-Canaan archives collection—The Sino-Israel Research and Study Center, Heilongjiang University, School of Western Studies, Harbin

ing (Figure 2).⁵⁰ He did not need to add the final “e” to “Modern” at that time, for he would have used the French spelling since the early days of the hotel—as an undated label also attests (Figure 3). French rather than English was, after all, the language of elegant tourism.

One may well wonder whether, before the Japanese occupation made him turn to Paris for protection, he had ever wished to endow the hotel with French characteristics. The supposedly “French character” of the old hotel has been stressed most strongly by its management since the 1990s. Not only has this been a promotional feature but it was also implemented in practice as, from March to June 1996, major redecoration work aimed at emphasizing the hotel’s “French style” was carried out.⁵¹ In line with this policy, the booklet issued for the alleged ninetieth anniversary in 1996, as well as subsequent publicity materials, have argued that the original hotel had been constructed or designed “in the French Renaissance style of Louis XIV” (a contradiction in terms, in its own right) and that the Moderne was therefore known as “the little Versailles”.⁵²

No mention of French inspiration, or comparisons with Versailles, appear in Russian sources and what hints we do have seem to point in another direction. Describing the work of B.I. Gordon—a Jewish interior designer, born in Lithuania and trained in Vilnius, Berlin and Munich—in the decoration of the walls and ceiling in the Moderne dining hall, the specialist Harbin journal *Architecture and Life* (*Arkhitektura i zhizn'*) admirably called it an expression of “the German school”.⁵³ But it would be wrong to regard the hotel as “German” in style or design: it is better described as “eclectically European”. Notably, there were no Chinese elements.⁵⁴ The hotel’s main stylistic orientation was expressed by its very name, *moderne* being the Russian term for what we know as Art Nouveau in French and English, and as *Jugendstil* in German. Art Nouveau certainly considered itself “new” as well as “modern”;

a major gallery, opened in Paris in 1898, was called La Maison Moderne.⁵⁵ In Moscow and St Petersburg, Art Nouveau developed rapidly after 1900, losing ground mainly to Neo-Classicism after 1910.⁵⁶

Iosif Kaspe would probably have been aware of the existence of a Hotel Moderne in pre-revolutionary Irkutsk, the Siberian city with which Harbin had closer connections than with Paris. While the sources presently at our disposal do not allow us to find out what, precisely, “moderne” meant for Kaspe and his hotel guests in the 1910s, a recent study of Art Nouveau architecture in the Russian Far East has dated its vogue in the region between the early 1900s and 1915, highlighting both the particular importance of this building style in Manchuria and the conceptual link that contemporaries drew between “moderne” and “modernity”.⁵⁷ A historian of Russian architecture in Manchuria has described Harbin’s Hotel Moderne as a composition of late (“rational”) Art Nouveau and the retrospective Neo-Renaissance style.⁵⁸ Independent of architectural definitions, however, modernity as a condition and a promise was a message that Western luxury hotels carried with them ever since their emergence in China in the late Qing 清 dynasty.⁵⁹

Before the now standard term, *xiandai* 現代, had been adopted into Chinese from Japanese, the word “modern” in China of the early Republican period was transcribed as *modeng* 摩登.⁶⁰ As to *Madie’er*, it was one of several ways that Chinese speakers in Harbin in the 1910s and 1920s had found to transcribe the hotel’s foreign name phonetically without attempting to translate its meaning.⁶¹ There must not have been a signboard in Chinese as late as 1929 (cf. Figure 4, a luggage label in which only English is used), otherwise it would be hard to explain why the journalist Zhao Junhao 趙君豪, who spent three days in Harbin as part of a tour of the northeast with some Shanghai colleagues in spring of that year, introduced the hotel as “the Modie’er’en 莫迭兒恩, i.e. *Modern*, which means ‘modern’ (*xiandai*), but sounds Modie’er’en when Russians read it”. Zhao was much impressed by his stay in “the modern hotel” (*xiandai lüguan* 現代旅館), as he was by Harbin prosperity in general, although he complained about the hotel’s prices being higher than in Shanghai.⁶²

By the Japanese period, *Madie’er* (馬迭爾) was the accepted form of the hotel’s name (see Figure 5). Photographs of the time show these three Chinese characters in the left-hand corner of the signboard put up at the entrance to the Moderne cinema, while the Japanese transcription of “modern”, モダン *Modan*, appeared in the right-hand corner. The Russian form Модерн, set in large letters, still occupied the centre.⁶³ On the hotel’s signboard today, the order of “Hôtel Moderne” (the French words Iosif Kaspe and his Russian clientele instinctively had in mind, when placing or reading an advertisement in Russian for ОТЕЛЬ Модерн, “Otel’ Modern”) has been reversed, to produce “Modern Hotel”.⁶⁴ In the passage to what was now intended as English, the final “e” of “Moderne” had been dropped (the case of Moderne Hotel in New York City suggests that keeping it might have been the better solution), while both Russian and Japanese scripts have definitely disappeared.

The Chinese name of the hotel, *Madie’er*, preserves to this day a peculiar Harbin transcription that no Chinese speaker from outside the city would identify with “modern” (*xiandai*). More than just a hotel, since 1994 *Madie’er* has been a limited liability company with wide-ranging investments reaching well beyond the local tourist industry. The “secret” Harbin word has the allure of a brand name (the hotel’s corner store sells popular “*Madie’er*



Figure 3
Hotel label, with Russian and Roman scripts; probably used in postal communications

47 Ibid., p.28.

48 Ibid., pp.38, 40, claims that only Western food was served. This is contradicted, however, by the reference to “European and Chinese cuisine” in an advertisement for the Moderne placed in *Evreiskaia zhizn'* [Jewish Life, Harbin] in 1940; reproduced in *Bulletin IYS*, 57.403 (Nov. – Dec. 2010), Russian section, p.79. In addition to the hotel’s “cinema, bar, billiard room and barber shop” (cf. Figure 1), this advertisement also mentioned performances by a “concert trio and jazz orchestra” every evening.

49 Liu Liankun et al., *Madie'er jiusi nian*, pp.51–2. The Chinese film industry first developed in Shanghai in the late 1910s.

50 On the tricolor flag, see Stephan, *The Russian Fascists*, p.82 (Stephan uses the spelling Kaspé throughout). The sign above the hotel restaurant on the first floor read “Restaurant Moderne”, as photographs show.

51 Liu Liankun et al., *Madie'er jiusi nian*, pp.64–5.

52 Ibid., pp.3–4, 25 and *passim*. Historians and advertisers in Harbin have been similarly ready to adopt alleged descriptions of old Harbin as “little Paris”, or “Paris of the East”, which had not been nearly as frequent in the Russian period as retrospectively claimed. In flyers that can be picked up in the hotel lobby, the following sentence is repeated in Chinese and in garbled English: “Modern Hotel was built in 1906 in the style of King Louis XIV of the French Renaissance”. The year 1906 features prominently in all publicity materials, including now a red-and-black crest (not yet created when the booklet of 1996 was issued), into which “1906” and the Chinese characters for “*Madie'er*” have been inserted.

53 L. Nikitin, “O rospisi sten” [“On Wall Decoration”], *Arkhitektura i zhizn'*, no.2 (Feb. 1921): 67–72, at p.70.

54 Cf. on this point the analysis of German building styles in Qingdao, northern China, from 1898 to 1922, in George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp.473–78.

55 The gallery's founder was Julius Meier-Graefe (1867–1935). On him and his gallery, see Paul Greenhalgh, ed., *Art Nouveau 1890–1914* (London: V&A Publications, 2000).

56 See Wendy Salmond, "Moscow Modern," *ibid.*, pp.388–97, which opens with an image of Hotel Metropol (built 1899–1905), and John E. Bowlt, *Moscow & St Petersburg 1900–1920: Art, Life & Culture of the Russian Silver Age* (New York: The Vendome Press, 2008), p.158.

57 Anastasia A. Artem'eva, *Modern v arkhitekture dal'nevostochnykh gorodov* (Art Nouveau in the Architecture of Russian Far Eastern Cities), PhD dissertation at the Research Institute of the Theory and History of Architecture and Town Planning of the Russian Academy of Architecture and Construction Sciences (Khabarovsk branch), 2007, esp. chap. 1 and Conclusion.

58 Levoshko, *Russkaia arkhitektura v Man'chzhurii*, pp.88–9.

59 Thierry Sanjuan, "Le grand hôtel. Le temps des 'ouvertures' chinoises" in *Les grands hôtels en Asie. Modernité, dynamiques urbaines et sociabilité*, ed. Thierry Sanjuan (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003), pp.78, 96.

60 See Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp.292, 366, and Frank Dikötter, *Things Modern: Material Culture and Everyday Life in China* (London: Hurst and Company, 2007), p.191. The book by Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), was translated into Chinese under the title *Shanghai modeng* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2001). For transcriptions of the names of "deluxe cinema houses" in Shanghai, see Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, p.91. On p.340, Lee also mentions the construction of a new Paramount Hotel in Shanghai as part of the search for the old, cosmopolitan identity of the city in the 1990s.

61 For alternative transcriptions, see Liu Liankun et al., *Madie'er jiusbi nian*, p.3.



Figure 4

Hotel luggage label which guests would often stick on their trunks. Courtesy of Upton Sino-Foreign Archive, Concord, New Hampshire

ice cream", "Madie'er yoghurt" and "Madie'er bread") that adds the glamour of new China to the flair of tradition and the titillation of an old kidnapping story, which hotel flyers retell. At this writing, the face of Modern Hotel is turned more towards its Chinese present than its Russian past, and although photographs (instead of life-size oils) of Kaspe family members are still prominently on display, most of the history showcased through photographic exhibitions and commemorative plaques put up since 2009, focuses on the hotel as birthplace of the Political Consultative Conference in 1948. Merged with a cultivated nostalgia for an imagined cosmopolitan Harbin between the twilight days of tsarist Russia and the dark age of Japanese rule, its name and many-faceted history help to keep the former Hotel Moderne a landmark of its city and—to conclude, despite all the manipulation of memory, on a "French note"—a *lieu de mémoire*.

Afterword: Hotels in Colonial Cities

Far better studied than Harbin, the history of Shanghai offers comparative insights into the functions that hotels were called upon to perform in the mixed European-Asian society of the Chinese treaty port. Traditional China had a network of guesthouses for travelling officials and inns for private travellers.⁶⁵ Towns had their public meeting places—for men only—in such locations as the teahouse, the theatre and the opera. The creation of Western-style theatres and concert halls as places one entered by paying a fee, and the emergence of amateur clubs, were a nineteenth-century innovation.⁶⁶ In late-Qing Shanghai, partly because private lodgings were cramped, men often preferred to meet at courtesan houses.⁶⁷ Finding the right space for meetings between foreigners and Chinese posed a more delicate problem. Jerome Ch'en noticed that dinner parties in Shanghai, in which company was mixed, were not held in Western or Chinese private homes, but in restaurants or hotels.⁶⁸ With the purpose of strengthening social contacts, employees of British firms in the second half of the 1920s were given instructions to meet



Figure 5

Hotel luggage label. Courtesy of Upton Sino-Foreign Archive, Concord, New Hampshire

“important Chinese ... in your own houses ... a much better compliment than entertaining in a hotel”.⁶⁹ Outside the treaty ports, where few foreigners ventured, Western-style hotels were less required and a traveller passing through Nanchang 南昌 in 1933 could observe that the local Grand Hotel de Kiangsi, “the chief hotel in a provincial capital”, bore “no other trace of foreign influence” than its grand foreign name.⁷⁰

The landmarks of Republican-period Shanghai included the Hotel Cathay (now merged into the Peace Hotel, Heping fandan 和平飯店). Opened in 1929, it was associated with a Sephardic Jewish businessman far more affluent than Iosif Kaspe, Sir Victor Sassoon (1881–1961).⁷¹ When the Peace Hotel celebrated its “hundredth anniversary” on 8 March 2006 (the same year, it will be recalled, as the Modern Hotel in Harbin), it did so by appropriating the memory of Cathay’s predecessor, the Palace Hotel, which originally occupied the southern flank of today’s hotel complex. The luxurious Park Hotel in Shanghai, designed in 1934 by the émigré Hungarian architect Laszlo E. Hudec (1893–1958), was, with its twenty-four floors, the tallest skyscraper in the Far East until the 1960s.⁷² Renamed the International Hotel (Guoji fandan 國際飯店) in the PRC period, it still preserves the name Park Hotel in English. Buildings such as this spread the new “modern” style, the Art Deco, which became more prominent in Shanghai than anywhere else.

Various facets of luxury hotels in Asia of the late colonial period have been addressed in a valuable recent volume by a team of French historians.⁷³ Their work on Korea, China and Japan highlights some of the themes that have also been raised in this study, the most important being the idea of the “grand hôtel” as a *lieu de sociabilité*. The function of serving as meeting places for foreigners, expatriates and indigenous inhabitants of the city still distinguishes hotels of this category in Asia from their parallels in the West.⁷⁴ The new Western-style hotels that emerged in Chinese cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou in the early 1980s were also, in the words of one attentive observer, “space capsules seeded throughout dreary urban landscapes”; “chandeliered palaces of modernity”.⁷⁵ Entering them in those

62 Zhao Junhao, “Ha’erbin jianwen lu” (“Things Seen and Heard in Harbin”), in his *Youchen suoji* [Trifles from a Voyage in the Mortal World] (Shanghai: Hanwen zhengkai yinshuju, 1934), pp.158–60. Earlier in this chapter on Harbin, Zhao called the hotel Modie’er 莫迭兒 (p.125).

63 Liu Liankun et al., *Madie’er jiusi nian*, illustrations, p.35. Cf. the photograph in Meng Lie et al., *Huashuo Ha’erbin* [Pictures Tell About Harbin] (Beijing: Hualing chubanshe, 2002), p.103.

64 Advertisement in Ternavskii, ed., *Ves’ Kharbin na 1925 god*, p.164.

65 Adam Yuet Chau, “Hotels,” in *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture*, ed. Edward L. Davis, (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p.258.

66 See, for example, Anping Chin, *Four Sisters of Hofei* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), pp.133–38.

67 Catherine Vance Yeh, “The Life-Style of Four Wenren in Late Qing Shanghai,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 57.1 (1997):419–70, at p.449.

68 Jerome Ch’en, *China and the West: Society and Culture 1815–1937* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), p.233.

69 Robert Bickers, *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism 1900–1949* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp.181–82; cf. further remarks on the importance of this change in behaviour patterns, *ibid.*, pp.206, 212, 229. Bickers comments that British company employees interacted far more closely with Chinese by the end of the 1930s, than they had in the 1920s.

70 Fleming, *One’s Company*, pp.196–97; cf. pp.232–33.

71 The construction of Sassoon House on the corner of The Bund and Nanking Road began in 1926. It was the first skyscraper in Shanghai; eight more were realized by Sassoon from the mid-1920s to the early 1930s. Cathay Mansions, which Sassoon built in the French concession in 1929, has been known since 1951 as the Jin Jiang Hotel, the name under which it has lodged heads of states such as President Nixon in 1972. On the Shanghai hotels mentioned here, see also Françoise Ged, “Urbanité, modernité et permanence du grand hôtel shanghaien”, in *Les grands hôtels en Asie*, ed. Thierry Sanjuan, pp.123–26.

72 There were 22 floors above ground, the last of them a nightclub, and two more underground. Hudec had arrived in Shanghai via Harbin in 1918, having fought in the Austro-Hungarian army

Figure 6

Postal cover on Hotel Moderne stationery, bearing a stamp of the Manchukuo Empire; mailed from Harbin to Paris in 1935. Courtesy of Upton Sino-Foreign Archive, Concord, New Hampshire



and escaped from Russian captivity in Khabarovsk. He worked in Shanghai until leaving China in 1947. See Liu Bingkun, "Laszlo E. Hudec and Modern Architecture in Shanghai, 1918–1937" (MPhil thesis: University of Hong Kong, 2005), pp.42–3, and Matthias Messmer, "Sehnsucht nach dem Unvergänglichen. Die Bauten des ungarischen Architekten Laszlo Hudec in Schanghai" ["A Longing for the Imperishable: The Constructions of Hungarian Architect Laszlo Hudec in Shanghai"], *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 8 Dec. 2008. See also <www.hudec.sh>.

73 Sanjuan, ed., *Les grands hôtels en Asie*.

74 *Ibid.*, pp.5, 8–9.

75 Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Chinese Modernity," in *Reflections on Multiple Modernities: European, Chinese, and Other Approaches*, eds Dominic Sachsenmaier et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp.153–54.

76 See notes 25 and 44.

77 In addition, some of the hotel's luxury suites were designed in Indian, Chinese and Japanese styles. See Peter Hibbard, "Cathay Hotel," in *Shanghai: Electric and Lurid City*, ed. Barbara Baker (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.124–27, and more on the hotels of Old Shanghai in Peter Hibbard, *The Bund Shanghai: China Faces West* (Hong Kong: Odyssey, 2007).

years, before "Western" metropolitan modernity had been domesticated, was like stepping into a foreign country.

Similarly, two of the contemporary reports cited here on the Hotel New Harbin and the Hotel Moderne in the 1930s described them as places where, as if by magic, a visitor could feel lifted away from surrounding reality.⁷⁶ This rings true for luxury hotels in general, but is all the more so with hotels deliberately projecting the image of radical distance (whether geographically specified, or merely imagined) from their physical environment. Hotel New Harbin did combine European grandeur with Japanese modernity and even with elements of Buddhist tradition. The Art Deco Hotel Cathay in Shanghai made an elaborate display of a Chinese dragon design, said to be modelled after the Forbidden City in Beijing.⁷⁷ Signalling detachment from its Asian location, Hotel Moderne, by contrast, may have offered its patrons the one space in Harbin where they could feel transported "elsewhere"—the feeling for which the French *ailleurs* might yet be the best word even if transportation to Paris (cf. Figure 6), or Versailles, was not necessarily intended. It probably gave this sweet sensation to Asians as well as to former and would-be Europeans. At the same time, through facilities such as the banquet halls that were used by both Chinese and Russian-speaking elites, or the cinema that could be frequented by members of all ethnic communities in the city, the Moderne also created space in which the inhabitants of Harbin could encounter each other.

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MAPPING THE SOCIAL LIVES OF OBJECTS:
POPULAR AND ARTISTIC RESPONSES TO THE 1937
EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART IN NEW ZEALAND

卅 James Beattie & Lauren Murray

*I see on the mantelshef the pale wood
Chinese tea-caddy my friend gave me; ...
... Only smoothness
is broken by the incised beautiful
characters, red and black I cannot read,
and on two sides the mountain and the water
and the pine-tree, on a third the scholar
fiercely bearded, fiercely ecstatic, consumed
with a holy flame inveterate, wringing
joy from his classic. I stroke the cool bamboo,
I am lifted away, to the steep slope
of the mountain, under the pine, I see
myself curious, meditative, composed,
mirrored in water, standing on pine-needles;
unseen beside the scholar, I too read ...*

J.C. Beaglehole¹

*Chinese art is quite a recent invention,
not much more than a hundred years old.*

Craig Clunas²

How is one to understand and respond to objects taken out of their original cultural and historical contexts? The quotations above hint at the complex epistemological problems which lie at the heart of cultural engagement across societies.

For J.C. Beaglehole (1901–71), a part-time poet better known today as the biographer of James Cook, cultural engagement demanded imaginative

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¹ J.C. Beaglehole, "Three Poems of Escape," *Art in New Zealand* 8.2 (1935): 91–3, at p.92.

² Craig Clunas, *Art in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.9.

3 Craig Clunas, "Oriental Antiquities/Far Eastern Art," in *Foundations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), p.418.

4 Amiria Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.2.

5 Arjun Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1994), p.83.

6 Susan M. Pearce, "Museum Objects," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Pearce, p.9.

7 Pearce, "Museum Objects," p.9.

8 Christopher Tilley, "Interpreting Material Culture," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Pearce, p.72.

and creative interaction with the "Chinese" object itself, a process literally transporting the viewer into its "art world". Writing over sixty years after Beaglehole, for art historian Craig Clunas, the artistic re-categorisation required to engage with an object from another culture, as Beaglehole did, can reveal much more about the individual from the society interpreting the object than it can about the creative endeavours which went into the object's manufacture. Indeed, at first reading, Clunas's statement appears curious. After all, does China not possess a rich material culture of over 3000 years? Its meaning, however, becomes clear when one considers Clunas's assertion elsewhere that "Art" is less "a category in the sense of a pre-existent container" so much as "a way of categorising, a manner of making knowledge".³

This article develops Clunas's standpoint, specifically through an examination of the reception and circulation of Chinese objects in New Zealand. Based on the case study of a major exhibition of "Chinese Art" held in New Zealand in 1937, we argue that the study of objects and their inscribed meanings as they travel between cultures and through time can reveal significant patterns of cultural exchange and influence. An understanding of how objects "*constitute and instantiate* social relations"⁴ can illuminate their role in shaping perceptions of the different cultures within host societies. As Arjun Appadurai has argued, a "biographical" approach to the study of objects and their physical circulation can expose processes of reception and re-contextualisation which determine both the meaning attributed to an object within a host culture and constructions of the society which produced it.⁵ Where linguistic, geographical or cultural differences hinder other forms of cross-cultural communication, the varied meanings of objects—their polysemantic capacity—thus allows forms of cultural translation to occur which are otherwise impossible in other media. This article first examines objects and the historiographical issues they raise through human interaction with them. Next, it presents a short overview of Western attitudes towards Chinese objects, before analysing in detail the reception and polysemantic capacity of Chinese objects brought to New Zealand through the 1937 Exhibition.

Objective Knowledge of China

Susan M. Pearce sees "object" as analogous to "thing", "specimen" or "artefact". "[A]ll of these terms", she notes, "share common ground ... all refer to selected lumps of the physical world to which cultural value has been ascribed".⁶ This not only refers to individual objects capable of being transported by humans, "but also the larger physical world of landscape with all the social structure that it carries".⁷ Pearce's expansive definition raises several questions. Not least of those is the process of how societies "ascribe cultural value" to objects, and how they define and measure them. An object's valuation corresponds closely to its meaning to individuals who engage with it, both visually and in a more tactile sense. Meaning, then, is not static; not an immanent characteristic of an object. An object can simultaneously carry a number of potentially contradictory meanings, with "no ultimate or unitary meaning that can be held to exhaust it".⁸ It is this perspective that we use as a starting point for our analysis of Chinese art in 1930s New Zealand.

But before examining our case study, it is important to consider both how value is assigned to an object and, more specifically, how Chinese objects reached New Zealand. With movement and the passing of time, an object's

status grows more complicated, especially when it travels across social or cultural boundaries. In “Commodities and the Politics of Value”,⁹ Appadurai follows Igor Kopytoff’s notion that objects possess life histories and move through a number of interpretive “phases”.¹⁰ An important aspect of the lives of objects is “their capacity to act as goods to be exchanged and hence to carry values”.¹¹ For Appadurai, exchanges can involve parties which hold different “regimes of value”¹² and can result in the re-contextualisation of the object as it completes the process of exchange and enters a new cultural and social milieu. Chinese objects which have travelled to the West often fall into this special category. Pearce, for instance, remarks that “the acquisition and interpretation of material from” beyond the West “has its own world of politics”.¹³ It is a world of politics predicated upon the long, complex and—not least—tumultuous history of cultural encounter between China and Western societies in which geographical distance across Eurasia has often proved as vast as the cultural differences between West and East.

For most people, encounters took place as exchanges of material culture resultant of wider trade networks. Over time, perceptions of Chinese culture in the West drew from interpretations of the diaspora of Chinese objects, a dynamic process of re-contextualisation in which objects at once came to “stand for the culture whence they came”—as exemplars of the “race” which produced them—and stimulate new aesthetic responses to a category deemed to be “Chinese art”.¹⁴ As a colony of Britain, New Zealand’s white culture drew much from contemporary debates in that country, so it is therefore instructive to examine British attitudes towards Chinese objects and how they influenced collecting practices and opinions in New Zealand.

The Social Lives of Chinese Objects in Europe

The history of European engagement with China and Chinese objects belies the notion of a relatively recent dating of Western fascination with Chinese culture. Trade between the two regions began as early as the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, with the Scythians sourcing gold from the Tian Shan 天山 mountains. Continuing intermittently, that trade gained momentum through the high value placed by the Roman Empire on silk, spices and other Chinese products. Trade links provided the impetus for continued cultural contact over the ensuing centuries. The advanced material and technical cultures of Chinese societies during this time all but ensured the one-sided flow of manufactured goods across the Eurasian landmass from China to Europe. Over time, thanks to the strengthening of European maritime contacts in the vigorous local Indian Oceanic trade networks, what had been a percolation of Chinese textiles, porcelain and furniture, reached a stream in the seventeenth century and something of a flood by the eighteenth century as a craze for things Chinese swept up polite European and North American society.¹⁵

Elements of Chinese design, architecture and aesthetic styles began to be imitated by many European manufacturers as they produced cheap import substitutes in an attempt to cash in on the mania for Chinese objects.¹⁶ Indeed, for world historian Robert Finlay, the development of a vigorous exchange of styles and designs by the eighteenth century constituted the world’s first global style, “a collective visual language” in ceramic art as Finlay puts it.¹⁷ That visual style, *chinoiserie*, came to denote “the European manifestation of ... various styles with which are mixed rococo, baroque, gothic or any other European style it was felt was suitable.”¹⁸ Objects

9 Appadurai, “Commodities and the Politics of Value,” pp.76–91.

10 Ibid., p.85.

11 Ibid., p.76.

12 Ibid., p.83.

13 Pearce, “Introduction,” p.4.

14 Steven Conn, “Where is the East? Asian Objects in American Museums, from Nathan Dunn to Charles Freer,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 35.2 (2000): 157–73, at p.160.

15 S.A.M. Adshead, *Material Culture in Europe and China, 1400–1800: The Rise of Consumerism* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997); Robert Finlay, “The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History,” *Journal of World History* 9.2 (1998): 141–87; Touraj Daryaee, “The Persian Gulf in Late Antiquity,” *Journal of World History* 14.1 (2003): 1–16, at p.7.

16 Note, Hilary Young, “Manufacturing Outside the Capital: The British Porcelain Factories, Their Sales Networks and Their Artists, 1745–1795,” *Journal of Design History* 12.3 (1999): 257–69. An entertaining discussion of the accidental discovery of porcelain manufacturing in Europe is provided by Janet Gleeson, *The Arcanum: The Extraordinary True Story of European Porcelain* (London: Bantam, 1998).

17 Finlay, “Pilgrim Art,” p.187.

18 Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.10.

19 Impey, *Chinoiserie*, p.9.

20 Ibid., p.14.

21 David Porter, *Ideographia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p.135.

22 Porter, *Ideographia*, p.135.

23 Jonathan D. Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisers in China, 1620–1960* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980); Richard E. Strassberg, “War and Peace: Four Intercultural Landscapes,” in *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marcia Reed and Paola Demattè (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), pp.104–37.

24 Beth Kowaleski-Wallace, “Women, China, and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century England,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29.2 (1995/1996): 153–67.

25 Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan’s Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (London: W.W. Norton, 1998).

displaying *chinoiserie* design elements represented, as Oliver Impey writes, “the European idea of what oriental things were like, or ought to be like,” an interpretation based on a “conception of the Orient gathered from imported objects and travellers’ tales”.¹⁹ Impey classifies that fashion into three rough phases, dating from the sixteenth century. From its origins as a style of decorating objects such as furniture and ceramics, to the architectural layout of gardens and even buildings which were otherwise essentially European in composition, *chinoiserie* decoration “took over the European shape and altered it more drastically”.²⁰ Melded with the rococo style which was gaining popularity in the 1730s–1740s, it glamorised, as David Porter notes, “the unknown and unknowable for its own sake”.²¹

Scholars of literature such as Porter view *chinoiserie* as an innately Western response to the problem of conceptualizing other races and cultures. For him, “to luxuriate in a flow of unmeaning Eastern signs, to bask in the glow of one’s own projected fantasies” explains *chinoiserie*’s chief appeal, an appeal which counteracted ideas of China promulgated by earlier cultural authorities like Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), as well as by other Jesuits and later Enlightenment *philosophes*, who envisaged China as a rational civilised alternative to a Europe stultified by superstition and dulled by decadence. Indeed, as Porter writes, “China became in chinoiserie a flimsy fantasy of doll-like lovers, children, monkeys, and fishermen lolling about in gardens embraced by eternal spring” lacking in substance.²² Yet, to parse the two views is perhaps not wholly accurate. The same enquiring impulse which upheld China as a viable intellectual and social alternative to Europe originated in many ways in the same wellspring of ideas about *chinoiserie* that espoused Chinese objects’ whimsical and feminine aspects.²³ (Taste for *chinoiserie*, indeed, became highly gendered, a reflection of the broader depiction of Eastern societies as highly feminised.²⁴) By the late-eighteenth century, interpretations of China were also changing. Interaction and increasing knowledge, coupled with European trade rivalry, forced a re-evaluation of China and its material products.

By the nineteenth century as Western and, later Japanese, forces first nibbled away, then greedily gouged out parts of China’s coastal territory, the European Enlightenment image of China as an exemplar of a rational, ordered and highly sophisticated civilisation gave way to one of a spent, worn-out culture, ruled by despotic leaders, desperately mired in the past. It was an image of a people as much as anything symbolised by the oppressed Chinese coolie, a living anachronism burdened in a rapidly moving present by the accumulated problems of China’s stultifying backwardness.²⁵ Somewhat paradoxically, the more violent encounters between European powers and China, manifested in the Opium Wars (1839–42; 1856–60) and the ransacking of the old Summer Palace (Yuanmingyuan 圓明園) in Peking in 1860 forcefully exposed Europeans to objects far different from those encountered through *chinoiserie* and produced by Chinese factories for the European export market. Violence stimulated Western interest in art objects also produced for, and appreciated by, Chinese elite, in other words of objects of a much higher quality than those previously encountered. Notwithstanding the perceived degraded culture which currently was in evidence, an ingenious intellectual sleight of hand enabled the valuing of certain Chinese objects in European circles. As Clunas shows, Europeans could value objects produced in earlier periods of China’s history perceived as representative of higher “civilisational” achievement. That meant everything up to the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (r. 1736–95) could be collected, but, generally speaking, nothing beyond as, to Europeans, the later Qing 清

dynasty (1644–1911) and its cultural productions symbolised the degraded and impure modern nation into which China had fallen.

In this sense, the sacking of the Summer Palace in 1860 by Anglo-French forces violently brought Europeans face-to-face for the first time with exquisite and delicate objects of elite Chinese and imperial provenance.²⁶ While piled up in the still-smouldering ruins of the emperor's pleasure grounds, the newly looted objects took the first step of their newly re-inscribed cultural life. Participating in a "tournament of value," objects were auctioned off among the soldiers and officers who had helped to destroy the palace complex.²⁷ Each soldier received a cut of the auctioned booty, commensurate to his military rank. As James L. Hevia argues, "these processes of collection, auction and redistribution of proceeds organised Chinese imperial objects within a moral order of law and private property, implicating them in a schema of values and concerns that neutralized the dangers they posed to order".²⁸ In Europe, ex-imperial objects were imbued with the significance of the narrative of their acquisition,

inscribed for a time with signs indicating the triumph of order over disorder, of officers over men and of the Anglo-French expeditionary force over the "arrogant" and "treacherous" Qing government whose torture of prisoners had provoked this symbolic response. In the last case, the objects came to bear another meaning as well; imperial humiliation.²⁹

This event served as one paradigm of the nineteenth-century wave of diasporic Chinese objects, which played a major role in shaping new understandings of Chinese material culture within European societies.

The next phase of the "social lives" of some of the objects from the Summer Palace occurred with their removal to England and consequent re-contextualisation as objects within a discourse of colonial power. Clunas, Impey, Hevia and Nick Pearce all view the influx of elite and imperial Chinese objects as a catalyst for a tectonic shift in classification and valuation of Chinese material culture in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.³⁰ For Clunas, "the creation of "Chinese art" in the late-nineteenth century allowed statements to be made about, and values to be ascribed to, a range of types of objects." Statements about "art" were, he notes, "all to a greater or lesser extent ... about 'China' itself".³¹ Chinese objects "owned" by those in the West were re-imagined as symbols of a faded Chinese imperial glory and set in motion within a network of cultural projections and interpretations which reproduced the dynamics of contemporary political discourses and created powerful tropes of a once glorious Chinese civilisation subjugated and patronized by a technologically and morally superior West. The seductive appeal of such discourses was evident in the systems of representation and display which were used to ascribe value to imperial objects within the public realm.

Most imperial objects were held by private collectors, but from 1861–65 objects from the Summer Palace were publicly displayed on at least three occasions in Paris and London.³² At those times, at least, the narratives of humiliation and defeat surrounding China resulted in the aesthetic denigration of the objects on display. In particular, the objects elicited unfavourable comparisons "with the recently revealed artistic achievements of its neighbour," Japan.³³ However, with the growth in new forms of production and dissemination of knowledge structured by "global natural historical or cultural taxonomies which were inseparably bound up with the Victorian passion for classification," interpretations of Chinese material culture again began to change.³⁴

26 On which, see: GerEmie R. Barmé, "The Garden of Perfect Brightness, A Life in Ruins," *East Asian History* 2 (1996): 111–58; Wong Young-Tsu, *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Yuanming Yuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001). On the neighbouring gardens, see: Vera Schwarcz, *Place and Memory in the Singing Crane Garden* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

27 A phrase used by Arjun Appadurai to describe "complex periodical events that are removed in some culturally well-defined way from the routines of economic life. Participation in them is likely to be both a privilege of those in power and an instrument of status contests between them". Appadurai specifically mentions art auctions as a sub-category of such events. Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," p.87.

28 James L. Hevia, "Loot's Fate: The Economy of Plunder and the Moral Life of Objects From the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China," *History and Anthropology* 6 (1994): 319–45, at p.324.

29 Hevia, "Loot's Fate," p.324.

30 Craig Clunas, "China in Britain: The Imperial Collections," in *Grasping the World*, ed. Claire Farago and Donald Preziosi (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); Impey, *Chinoiserie*; Hevia, "Loot's Fate"; Nick Pearce, "Soldiers, Doctors, Engineers: Chinese Art and British Collecting, 1860–1935," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 6 (2001): 45–52.

31 Clunas, *Art in China*, p.9.

32 Hevia, "Loot's Fate," p.326.

33 Anna Jackson, "Art and Design: East Asia," in *The Victorian Vision*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (London: V&A Publications, 2001), p.310.

34 John M. MacKenzie, "Empire and the Global Gaze," in *The Victorian Vision*, ed. MacKenzie, p.259.

35 A useful summary of these debates is provided in: Qin Shao, "Exhibiting the Modern: The Creation of the First Chinese Museum, 1905–1930," *China Quarterly* 179 (2004): 684–702, at pp.686–90.

36 Anna Laura Jones, "Exploding Canons: The Anthropology of Museums," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 201–20; Conn, "Where is the East?"

37 Clunas, "China in Britain," pp.463–71. As a contrast, note the fascinating article by Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Between 'Crockery-dom' and Barnum: Boston's Chinese Museum, 1845–47," *American Quarterly* 56.2 (2004): 271–306.

38 Sarah Cheang, "Selling China: Class, Gender and Orientalism at the Department Store," *Journal of Design History* 20.1 (2007): 1–16.

This re-contextualisation was facilitated, as much in the West as, in certain contexts, in late imperial and republican China, by the rise of museums and "international exhibitions" and their usefulness in both controlling public debate and shaping a "national consciousness".³⁵ In the case of Chinese objects, in the West the growth of archaeological and anthropological discourse led to the valuation of Chinese objects and material culture as repositories of cultural and racial information which could be uncovered through application of scientific methodologies, and ideally arranged taxonomically in a museum exhibition space. The rise of the exhibition and of the institution of the museum during this period exemplified these new forms of cultural knowledge. Although Chinese "civilisation" was initially situated within a continuum of racial evolution at the head of which—perhaps unsurprisingly—were situated objects produced in Europe, long-standing European admiration for Chinese material culture (though not necessarily Chinese people), and the consequent high value placed on many Chinese objects, meant that they attracted competing interpretations and values: indeed, the ownership of beautifully-wrought objects once held in imperial or élite collections came, in certain hands, to confer prestige on the new object's owner.

Great debates raged in nineteenth and early-twentieth-century North America and Europe as to whether Chinese items constituted art or ethnography.³⁶ The rise of ethnography lent classificatory weight to viewing objects as comprising inherently ethnographical information about the culture which produced it. Even when the objects became viewed as art towards the latter nineteenth century, the taxonomic impulse, according to Clunas, remained prevalent in British institutions (and, as we show, also in New Zealand's 1937 Exhibition). He cites the example of the British Museum, which received its first Chinese objects from a bequest by Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753) in the year of his death. Initial classification placed the objects under the rubric "Ethnography", although by the mid-nineteenth century this had shifted to reflect changing European notions of art. European hierarchies of art, enshrining painting (especially in oil of the human form) as the highest form of aesthetic achievement, accorded Chinese painting a place as "art", albeit under the slightly lesser category of "prints". By 1913, the Museum established a sub-department of Oriental Prints and Drawings, thus demonstrating the taxonomic re-classification of images produced in China. Meanwhile, the South Kensington Museum (from 1889, the Victoria and Albert Museum), established in 1851 to display ornamental art as models to improve British manufacturing, struggled by the new century to classify its collection of Chinese ceramics, a position resolved in the inter-war years as its Department of Ceramics folded together the categories of porcelain and art.³⁷

These and other museums catered to the leisured demands of increasing numbers of the British middle classes. Many aspired to possess the trappings of their social betters. From the late nineteenth century, British department stores, historian of design Sarah Cheang shows, fed a taste for Chinese furniture, porcelain and clothes among women of the middle classes. At once a celebration of Britain's greatness (based on nostalgia for a similarly once great, but now corrupt Chinese empire) and an assertion of class intentions, the possession of Chinese objects by wealthy white women rested on ownership of high quality objects whose craftsmen were associated, through time and geography, with the greatness of China's past.³⁸

At the same time, the writing of art historians such as Laurence Binyon (1869–1943), Stephen Wootton Bushell (1844–1908) and others, was helping

to define Chinese objects as “art”, momentum which was maintained into that century by the likes of the translator and Sinophile Arthur Waley (1889–1968) and by scholars of its material culture at the Victoria and Albert Museum such as Bernard Rackham (1877–1964) and William Bowyer Honey (1891–1956), to name only a few.³⁹ At the same time in the 1910s, institutions such as the Burlington Fine Arts Club held exhibitions of Chinese “art” which included indigenous Chinese examples of jade, bronze, porcelain, furniture and other types of objects which were not popularly known within Western culture.⁴⁰ Similar trends were also evident in the United States. Declining anthropological interest in more recent objects produced in China, owing to growing interest in so-called “Primitive Cultures” coupled with anthropology’s linguistic turn, further drew the discipline away from the more recently produced Chinese objects.⁴¹

In this period, the quality of Chinese objects available in the West also increased. On-going railway building in the early-twentieth century unearthed some very early funerary objects, such as tomb figures and early oracle bones. Formal archaeological digs—first promulgated by adherents such as Edouard Chavannes (1865–1918) and later taken up by Western-trained Chinese such as Li Chi (1896–1979)—also helped to release a flood of objects.⁴² Not only did the digs aid European experts in re-evaluating Chinese art. They also helped Chinese “art historians” themselves who, grappling with the place of China and Chinese objects in the world, came increasingly to value such early tomb art as “art”.⁴³ To European interpreters, the “discoveries” revealed Japan’s debt to China and, in turn, contributed to their re-evaluation of Chinese objects as art in many senses superior to Japanese productions (now seen as derivative of China). Indeed, to some Western art critics, the “unchanging” traditions of the East offered creative counterpoint to the now-hackneyed art forms of the West which had in their view become irrevocably corrupted by modernity and the machine. By the twentieth century, more and more Chinese objects were becoming available in the West thanks to China’s internal instability. Imperial China’s collapse in 1911 released yet more objects into the European and North American art worlds. The country plunged into chaos, a situation eagerly taken advantage of by competing warlord factions, the Communist Party Nationalists and, of course, the invading Japanese. In these tumultuous decades, Chinese intellectuals and officials attempted to present new national narratives of Chinese art (*meishu* 美術) through government-sponsored exhibitions of the newly nationalised imperial art collection and through its writing, again with important impacts on Western connoisseurship.⁴⁴

China on Display, the 1937 Exhibition of Chinese Art

War and official exhibitions, recontextualisation of Chinese objects and their greater availability outside China, laid the intellectual and material basis for the Exhibition of Chinese Art, held in New Zealand in 1937. In Europe and North America, the period from the early twentieth century to the 1930s had witnessed something of a shift in the objects admired by collectors. In the early twentieth century, British collectors principally valued Chinese paintings. From the 1920s, attention increasingly turned to Chinese objects (porcelain from the 1920s and ritual bronzes and jades by the 1930s), a trend strongly reflected in the 1935–36 International Exhibition of Chinese Art.⁴⁵

This unprecedented exhibition involved the loaning of over 850 objects by the Chinese Government for a landmark display of Chinese art in Britain.

39 See S.W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, 2 Vols (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1914); Laurence Binyon, *The Flight of the Dragon: An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Art in China and Japan* (London: John Murray, 1953 [1911 original edition]). Also, Clunas, “China in Britain,” p.467.

40 Note, for example: “The Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club-II. Notes on Jade,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 27.148 (1915): 158–68.

41 Conn, “Where is the East?” To this day, early dynastic productions, such as from the Shang 商 [1600–1046 BCE] and Qin 秦 [221 BCE–206 CE] remain in many museum collections as anthropological exhibits.

42 For an introduction to archaeology in China, see Corinne Debaine-Francfort, *The Search for Ancient China* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999).

43 Guo Hui, “Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2010).

44 Guo, “Writing Chinese Art History”; Jeanette Shambaugh Elliott with David Shambaugh, *The Odyssey of China’s Imperial Art Treasures* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), pp.56 passim.

45 Basil Gray, “The Development of Taste in Chinese Art in the West, 1872 to 1972,” *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 39 (1974): 19–50.

46 Guo, "Writing Chinese Art History," pp.173–213 (quote, 180).

47 Captain George Humphreys-Davies, ed., *An Exhibition of Chinese Art, Including Many Examples from Famous Collections, Exhibited in New Zealand* (Auckland: N.Z. Newspapers Ltd, 1937), p.i.

48 Gilbert Archey, *Guide to the Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Art, July 4 to August 6 1932* (Auckland: Star Office, 1932); Humphreys-Davies, *Guide to the Exhibition of Chinese Art, 1935–1936* (Auckland: no publisher, 1936).

49 Humphreys-Davies was heavily involved with the organisation of exhibitions of Chinese objects at the Auckland War Memorial Museum in 1932, 1933 and 1935, each time lending many objects from his personal collection, giving lectures, and editing the exhibition catalogues.

50 Humphreys-Davies, for instance, also lent material for a more limited display of Asian art in Dunedin. R.N. Field and Marion Field, "Otago Art Society's Annual Exhibition," *Art in New Zealand* 8.2 (1935): 93–96, at pp.94–5. Three previous displays of Chinese art took place in New Zealand, the first, in 1932, principally of Ming and Qing Chinese porcelain exhibited alongside Japanese art; second, in 1933, early Chinese ceramics; third, in 1935–36, of exclusively Chinese objects, mostly ceramics and bronzes. See Humphreys-Davies, *Guide to the Exhibition of Chinese Art, 1935–1936* (Auckland: Auckland War Memorial Museum, 1935).

51 James Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, 4 Vols. (Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books, 1993–1997); Julia Bradshaw, *Golden Prospects: Chinese on the West Coast of New Zealand* (Auckland: Shantytown Press, 2009); Lynette Shum, "Remembering Chinatown: Haining Street of Wellington," in *Unfolding History, Evolving Identity: The Chinese in New Zealand*, ed. Manying Ip (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), pp.73–93.

52 On New Zealanders' relationships with China in this period, note: Matthew Dalzell, *New Zealanders in Republican China, 1912–1949* (Auckland: The University of Auckland New Zealand Asia Institute Resource Paper, 1995); James Bertram, *The Shadow of a War: A New Zealander in the Far East, 1939–1946* (Australia: Whitcombe & Tombs; London: Gollancz, 1947); Bertram, *Return to China* (London: Heinemann, 1957).

Its importance lies in demonstrating how Chinese objects were coming to hold different values not only in China but also in Europe, processes reinforcing, moreover, the recontextualisation of the different social lives of objects. Before and after the London exhibition, the Chinese Government displayed the ex-imperial artefacts in China. It did so in part to assuage doubts about the sagacity of sending such valuable "national treasures" (*guobao* 國寶) overseas. But more importantly, as exemplars of "national treasures", the Preliminary Exhibition of Chinese Art (1935) literally provided an object lesson to its people, of China's new place in the world. Transported to Europe, the objects symbolically represented the nation, serving also "as a diplomatic tool with which to gain support for its war against" the Japanese invaders. The arrangement of both the Preliminary Exhibition of Chinese Art (1935) in Shanghai and its later European display demonstrates the very different approaches to the valuation of art in China and Europe. At the Shanghai exhibition, the chronological arrangement of objects by category (bronze; porcelain; calligraphy/painting and miscellaneous, including jades, ancient books, and furniture) emphasised the progression of Chinese art for visitors already familiar with Chinese history and culture. By contrast, at the later International Exhibition of Chinese Art, the British laid great stress on the importance of ceramics and dynastic progression, moving visitors from familiar items to unfamiliar and including even a hall space of objects exemplifying "European tastes".⁴⁶ A similar focus on ceramics and of narrative development about the objects accompanied the 1937 New Zealand exhibition.

The New Zealand Exhibition displayed over 360 objects and travelled to the four major centres of the country in the first six months of 1937.⁴⁷ It represented the culmination of a series of New Zealand exhibitions of Chinese and Japanese art objects organised and curated during the uneasy 1930s by Captain George A. Humphreys-Davies (1880–1948).⁴⁸ Humphreys-Davies, honorary curator of the Oriental Collections at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, was one of the foremost New Zealand collectors of East Asian decorative arts for his time and place.⁴⁹ The 1937 exhibition was particularly significant not only for its unprecedented and ambitious scope, but also for the attention it received from both the wider public and members of the art cognoscenti. Firstly, Exhibition organisers portrayed the objects on display as representative of "Chinese art", a category of material culture probably relatively unfamiliar to most contemporary New Zealanders.⁵⁰ Much discussion of the Exhibition in newspapers, public talks and in the catalogue itself drew conclusions about Chinese culture and society from the material displayed in the Exhibition. In their analysis, writers positioned objects as metonymic ciphers for an abstract "China", rather than as exemplars of a particular "school" or art movement as would be apparent in any exhibition of Western art. Secondly, the Exhibition included many pieces loaned by renowned European institutions and affluent private collectors. Their participation lent the display an air of prestigious authenticity, ensuring that both the event and the objects on show received close attention from a broad spectrum of New Zealand society. Thirdly, although in some respects the Exhibition confirmed existing stereotypes of "China", in others it effected significant changes in the understanding of Chinese "art" in the Dominion. Interpretation and valuation of the objects occurred within a framework of Western cultural and aesthetic discourses, but these discourses were in turn shaped by the appearance of objects which had hitherto had only a relatively brief history of public display in Western societies. This instance of encounter with heretofore unknown elements of elite Chinese material

culture reflected a broader trend in Western societies initiated through the processes described above and through the gradual re-evaluation of the taxonomic categories used to describe Chinese material culture. Indeed, the 1937 Exhibition reveals in microcosm much about the wider discourses about China circulating in New Zealand at this time. Significantly none provoked debate about the remnant Chinese population living in New Zealand.⁵¹ Instead, it fed into a growing awareness of, and sympathy for, the plight of China under imperial Japanese aggression. In the 1930s a series of New Zealand writers travelled to China, reporting back favourably on the progress of, in particular, communism.

The interviews of Mao Zedong by journalist James Bertram (1910–93) later formed the corpus of the Great Helmsman's political sayings, and led to a lifelong interest in China's welfare. Robin Hyde (1906–39), writer and poet, composed arguably her greatest works as a result of travel through war-torn China. Rewi Alley (1897–1987) went on to found the Association of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and become a prominent support of communist China.⁵² Cast in this light, the collection of Chinese objects in the twentieth century represents a hitherto unacknowledged aspect of New Zealand's engagement with Chinese material culture.⁵³ It also fills a historiographical gap in writing on the history of New Zealand art and exhibitions. Both areas of scholarship have primarily been concerned with the development of European art traditions in a New Zealand context as well as, in particular, the relationship between Māori and European art and display.⁵⁴ While several authors have explored the collection and exhibition of Japanese artworks, the field of Chinese art remains undeveloped.⁵⁵ The present article therefore helps to answer a question posed by Duncan Campbell, who asks what the "mute but eloquent surfaces of" Chinese objects can tell later historians of the experience of Sinophilia and Sinophobia in early-to-mid twentieth-century New Zealand.⁵⁶

At an artistic level, the 1937 Exhibition represented a fascinating rejection of, but also an implicit enthronement of, European ideals of art and connoisseurship; a somewhat contradictory statement about New Zealand art and nationhood certainly, but a testimony to the multivalency of objects and the narratives woven around them. Many New Zealand artists and writers of the 1930s, art historian Francis Pound states, were straining "to cut free at once from the colonial past and from a maternal England". Yet they also, as Pound notes, drew selectively from British and international movements, without necessarily acknowledging so.⁵⁷ The use of Chinese art objects fulfilled the desire of many artists, Beaglehole included, to sever New Zealand's links with the colonial past and its traditions of British imported art. The holding of such an important international exhibition, able to rival those of Britain or North America, reinforced to some the growing national independence of New Zealand. But at the same time, the concept of an exhibition of this nature borrowed from British precedents; the appreciation of the objects followed European and North American conventions; indeed, the authority of the objects on display derived from their possession by eminent members of European royalty and wealthy. Humphreys-Davies's intention was undoubtedly to organise an exhibition to rival those of Europe and serve as a statement of the Dominion's cultural sophistication. Another interpretation was represented by the artist T.A. McCormack (1883–1973). For him, engagement with Chinese objects represented an alternative non-European artistic inspiration. Still another reading—evinced at a more popular level—was the collapsing of the 1937 Exhibition into existing discourses about *chinoiserie*.⁵⁸ The next sections examine the Exhibition's presentation and reception.

53 It serves as a temporal continuation of the analysis presented by Brian Moloughney and Tony Ballantyne of the importance of Asia and its material connections in nineteenth-century southern New Zealand. Brian Moloughney and Tony Ballantyne, "Asia in Murihiku: Towards a Transnational History of Colonial Culture," in *Disputed Facts: Histories for the New Century*, ed. Brian Moloughney and Tony Ballantyne (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2006), pp.65–92.

54 The most sophisticated recent historiographical treatment of trends in New Zealand art is: Francis Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand Art and National Identity, 1930–1970* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2009). On collecting, see Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2007; Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007).

55 David Bell, "Framing the Land in Japan and New Zealand," *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 15 (2008): 60–73; Bell, "Ukiyo-e in New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 10.1 (2008): 28–53. Richard Bullen, with David Bell, Geraldine Lummis and Rachel Payne, *Pleasure and Play in Edo Japan* (Christchurch: Canterbury Museum; University of Canterbury, 2009); James Beattie, "Japan–New Zealand Cultural Contacts, 1880s–1920," in *63 Chapters to Know New Zealand*, ed. Machiko Aoyagi (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2008), pp.271–74. On the lack of scholarship on Chinese art in New Zealand, see Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand Art*, p.xiv.

56 Duncan Campbell, "What lies beneath those strange rich surfaces?: Chinoiserie in Thorndon," in *East by South: China in the Australasian Imagination*, ed. Charles Ferrall, Paul Millar and Keren Smith (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005), p.173.

57 Pound, *Invention of New Zealand Art*, quote 9. An exception is: Anne Kirker's thoughtful article, "T.A. McCormack: A New Talent to Emerge in the Nineteen-Thirties," *Art in New Zealand*, 27 (Winter, 1983): 34–9.

58 While Japanese goods were more popular, Chinese objects also circulated in New Zealand. Campbell, "What lies beneath," pp.173–89, for an account of the influence of Chinoiserie on New Zealand domestic interiors. On Chinese silks, note: WB Montgomery, Secretary of Customs, Wellington, BBAO, 5544, Box 1341, record 1912/412, National Archives (NA), Auckland; Alexander Rose, Collector and Registrar, Auckland—Chinese Silk, forwarding samples—opinion of GV Shannon, 1902, BBAO, 5544, Box 212a, record 1902/1118, NA.

59 “Chinese Art- Exhibition in New Zealand- Loans from British Collectors,” *The Times*, 5 August 1936.

60 “Humphreys-Davies”, AV2.6.136H 1937, Auckland Museum; “Humphreys-Davies Collector File”, 0434 H01, Auckland Museum; “Ethnology: Chinese Art Exhibition 1937”, 1936-1939, MU000002/063/0007, alternate number 19/0/2, Te Papa Tongarewa – The National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington; ‘Ethnology: Chinese Art Exhibition 1937’, 1938-1960, MU000002/063/0006, alternate number 19/0/1, Te Papa Tongarewa – The National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington; “Chinese Art Exhibition and Collection”, 1937–1938, MU000216/001/0012, alternate number 19/0/1, Te Papa Tongarewa – The National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington”.

61 On the relationship between Humphreys-Davies and collecting, see Lauren Murray and James Beattie, “‘Museum-Mindedness’: Captain George Humphreys-Davies and the Consumption of ‘Chinese Art’ in 1930s New Zealand,” (unpublished MS).

62 Basil Gray, “Eumorfopoulos, George (1863–1939),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, rev. ed. M. Tregear (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33030>>, viewed 16 April 2010; George Eumorfopoulos to Humphreys-Davies, 7 Chelsea Embankment, London, 21 July 1936, uncatalogued, collection of Auckland Museum.

63 “Auckland Museum”, MA/1/A1104, Victoria and Albert Museum Archive.

Networks of Collecting and the 1937 Exhibition

Meticulous organisation was required to mount an exhibition which *The Times* anticipated “should prove to be the most important display of Oriental art ever held in the Antipodes”.⁵⁹ Humphreys-Davies, the wealthy New Zealand sheep farmer responsible for curating it, had spent considerable time laying the groundwork for it over the preceding years, most notably during a trip to Britain he undertook in 1936. The delicate issues of securing objects for loan had to be negotiated; then, insurance secured; packing overseen; a shipper agreed upon, not to mention a catalogue written, talks given and reports drafted to satisfy the ever-present demands of mindless bureaucratic minutiae (replete with the usual quibble about a few pounds, pence and shillings not accounted for).⁶⁰ Surviving letters, and the exhibition catalogue itself, demonstrate Humphreys-Davies’s familiarity with many of the main collectors and curators of Chinese art in North America and Europe. As in Humphreys-Davies’s case, access to this network demonstrates the power of Chinese objects—and knowledge of them—to effect the upwards social trajectory of their owners.

From surviving evidence, it seems Humphreys-Davies’s collection and his expertise in Oriental art facilitated social mobility. The son of a surveyor/auctioneer, Humphreys-Davies served as a lower-ranking officer in the British Army and, later, Royal Air Force. His developing interest in Chinese art most probably owed itself to the interests of his father in art and exposure to many of the exhibitions mentioned above. Collecting was also a passion he shared with his wife, Ethel, the daughter of a wealthy mining engineer from San Francisco. Ethel’s wealth and social connections would inevitably have helped their shared passion for collection. Certainly, Humphreys-Davies’s growing expertise appears to have given him entrée, or at least eased his passage, into the cultured life of the very rich and famous.⁶¹

By the 1930s, in negotiating the loan of items for the exhibition, Humphreys-Davies was rubbing shoulders with royalty and the seriously wealthy. There are warm letters exchanged with George Eumorfopoulos (1863–1939), whose outstanding collection of Chinese objects, paintings and sculpture formed the basis of the holdings on that region’s art at the Victoria and Albert and British museums. The two took tea when Humphreys-Davies visited England in 1936 to organise the collection and continued to correspond on progress of the exhibition.⁶² In London, Humphreys-Davies also met with the Directors of the Victoria and Albert Museum, which had recently acquired many of Eumorfopoulos’s Chinese collection.⁶³ Both the institution and the individual loaned objects. Eumorfopoulos loaned four objects to the 1937 exhibition: two Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279) porcelains (a bowl and a water-pot) and two vases, one a remarkably rare Tibetan piece with Sanskrit inscriptions dating from the fifteenth century. The Victoria and Albert Museum, its Chinese holdings recently swollen by acquisition of large parts of Eumorfopoulos’s collection, lent eight items (ranging from jars to blue and white ware).

Many of the objects lent by European collectors for the 1935–36 International Exhibition of Chinese Art also made their way to New Zealand. Over forty pieces exhibited in New Zealand came from the collection of the late Charles Rutherston (1866–1927) through a loan by his widow and Mrs Powell, Rutherston’s daughter. This material ranged from pendants to porcelain and celadon. Several other significant collectors, such as the pre-eminent dealer and collector C.T. Loo (1880–1957), who lent 82 objects



Figure 1

Bronze vessels displayed with seventeenth-century calligraphy. From: Captain George Humphreys-Davies, ed., An Exhibition of Chinese Art, Including Many Examples from Famous Collections, Exhibited in New Zealand (Auckland: Newspapers Ltd, 1937), no page.

(principally bronzes and jades), also contributed.⁶⁴ Some three dozen objects from the collection of Humphreys-Davies and his wife, principally porcelain and celadon, along with several jades, were shown, while other New Zealand-based collectors lent single items or, in the case of Mrs M.G. Moore, jades and lacquer-ware. By far the greatest proportion of art were objects, a reflection of Humphreys-Davies's overriding passion and the then overwhelming popularity for such forms of art.⁶⁵ Only nine Chinese paintings were exhibited. Six (one Yuan 元, 1271–1368 and five Ming 明, 1368–1644, landscapes) came from the collection of A.W. Bahr (1877–1959), the son of a Scottish father and Chinese mother who was raised in Peking. Three other paintings came from Hans Richter of Hong Kong.⁶⁶ Only two “stand alone” examples of calligraphy (that is, excluding seals or inscriptions on objects) were exhibited (Figure 1).

The Display of the 1937 Exhibition

The exhibition attracted “large audiences” when it opened at the Auckland War Memorial Museum on 15 January 1937.⁶⁷ The *New Zealand Herald* ran several articles on the exhibition at Auckland. “[T]his collection”, it declared, “... bewildering in its variety and astonishing in its richness and rarity ... is not an exhibition that will disclose itself to a casual glance, but it is one that will abundantly repay careful and thoughtful study”.⁶⁸ The description at once hinted at the need to seriously engage with Chinese art, but also conveyed a sense of its unknowable nature, a sense of mystery traditionally associated with European representations of China.

To help visitors interpret the exhibition, lecturers and the guidebook stressed its unique didactic opportunities for both aficionados and amateur lovers of art to extend their knowledge beyond the Western tradition. Humphreys-Davies, for one, lectured “to the groups of students and school children who visited the gallery in large numbers, and also was occupied most of the day giving information to any visitor who asked for it”.⁶⁹ Attending “for many hours at the museum”, he opened cases and gave “visitors the privilege of turning over pieces of jade and metalwork in their own hands,⁷⁰ while he related that this bronze plaque had adorned a Tartar warrior's horse and that golden bird the head of an empress. Modestly and simply,”

⁶⁴ On C.T. Loo's regular art exhibition, see Horace H.F. Jayne and Helen E. Fernald, “The Chinese Art Exhibition of C.T. Loo,” *Parnassus* 3.8 (1931): 25–6.

⁶⁵ Gray, “Development of Taste”.

⁶⁶ Humphreys-Davies, *Exhibition of Chinese Art*; on Bahr, note, Gray, “Development of Taste,” p.23.

⁶⁷ *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum for 1936–37*, p.7.

⁶⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 15 January 1937.

⁶⁹ “Art Notes,” *Art in New Zealand* 9.4 (1937): p.222.

⁷⁰ In traditional China, art objects were handled.

- 71 NZH, 20 3/1937- "Oriental Art," p.17.
- 72 Excerpt from letter, G.A. Humphreys-Davies to Allan L. Spence, 11 November 1938, no place, in "Chinese Art Exhibition and Collection," Te Papa, MU000003/003/0009.
- 73 "Art Notes," p.222.
- 74 Humphreys-Davies, "Protest," *Art in New Zealand* 9.4 (1937): p.203, pp.203-4.
- 75 25 March 1937, no page.
- 76 "Rich and Rare Treasures of Art-Chinese Exhibition Opens-Display at Museum," *The Auckland Star*, 15 January 1937.
- 77 Thring, in Humphreys-Davies, ed., *Chinese Art*, pp.21-3; Hansford, in Humphreys-Davies, ed., *Chinese Art*, pp.24-6.
- 78 Several Japanese and Chinese scholars, such as Naito Konan, Liang Qichao (Liang Ch'i Chao) and Yu Ying-shih have located the Chinese experience of 'modernity' prior to its nineteenth and twentieth century encounters with the West. See Harriet T. Zumdorfer, "China and 'Modernity': The Uses of Chinese History in the Past and the Present," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40 (1997): 461-85.
- 79 W. Perceval Yetts, "The Foundations of Chinese Civilization," in *Chinese Art*, ed. Humphreys-Davies, p.15.

the writer to the editor concluded, "Captain Humphrey-Davies has opened a new world of thought and knowledge to many people" and "deserves the community's gratitude".⁷¹ Humphreys-Davies prided himself on the many working class men attending the exhibition, giving away, as he noted on another occasion, "large numbers" of the catalogue "to those who looked as if they could not afford" its 2/- price.⁷² This facet of the exhibition merited mention by several other authors. "One noticeable feature", noted the anonymous reviewer of its Christchurch leg, "... was the number of workers who came many times; it certainly was not an uncommon sight to see men in dungarees side by side with students, many of whom came frequently to make drawings of the pottery and bronzes".⁷³

Emphasis on the social purpose of art, in particular its relevance to the working classes, reflected a convergence of several historical trends. First, with the Great Depression's effects biting hard in the colony, the lavishing of money on such an event could easily have been viewed as frivolous. Stressing its appeal to the working class made sound political sense and attempted to deflect any potential criticism. Second, the conscious attempt at "educating" the public in different art traditions chimed with contemporary lamentations about the quality of public art then shown. Humphreys-Davies himself generated considerable sparks when he claimed, somewhat unwisely perhaps, that much of New Zealand's art galleries exhibited second-rate British artists largely shunned by those of taste in Britain.⁷⁴ The socially useful aspects of art, in particular, drew comment from several authors. An editorial of the *Dominion Post* echoed the curator's hopes, noting that the display of 3000 years of art will cause "Mr. John Citizen" to lose "a large part of his conceit" about Western civilization.⁷⁵ Dr C.E. Hercus, Chairman of the Carnegie Foundation Committee responsible for granting funds towards the exhibition, claimed that in New Zealand "the artistic side of the life of its people was relatively undeveloped. Some idea of the essential character of art would be given to this exhibition, which would encourage young people to express themselves in some form of material, and so solve the problem of leisure".⁷⁶ In other words, to these writers, art fulfilled a distinct social function by harnessing the otherwise errant energies of youth and the working classes towards consideration of higher things. It also sowed the seeds of national art appreciation among the New Zealand public.

Ironically, that attempt at creating a visually literate national public appreciative of fine art, relied strongly upon the British context of the objects' owners (explored in the next section) and British expertise. The exhibition catalogue, along with the requisite descriptions and pictures of the exhibited objects, featured three essays, all from leading British academics. They expounded upon various topics deemed to constitute Chinese "art": Marion Thring, Lecturer, Victoria and Albert Museum, on "Line Form and Colour in Chinese Art"; S. Howard Hansford on "Ceramics under the Han, T'ang and Sung Dynasties".⁷⁷ The lengthiest, by W. Perceval Yetts (1878-1957), Professor of Chinese Art and Archaeology at the University of London, placed objects from the exhibition into an overarching teleological narrative. Yetts's article traces the evolution of ancient "Chinese civilisation" from its prehistoric ancestor, *Sinanthropos pekinensis*, through to the Song dynasty. Significantly, his narrative leaps from the Song, often regarded as a period of great technological acceleration in Chinese history,⁷⁸ to the onset of "scientific excavation in China" in Anyang in 1920 by Western archaeologists. Yetts summarily dismisses the intervening time as insignificant: "during the five hundred years which followed the Sung, no very notable advance was made in Chinese archaeology".⁷⁹

Here, Yetts presents Western archaeological and anthropological knowledge as the founding narrative from which he speaks as an authority on Chinese “civilisation”, enabling him to imbue the sequence of material progression with a racialised subtext that correlates the perceived level of material culture with hierarchical notion of race. This is evident in his evaluation of bronzes taken from the Zhou 周 dynasty (1045–256 BCE) tombs in Henan 河南 province. For Yetts, “while they show a continuance of the Shang-Yin tradition [1600–1046 BCE], there is a perceptible coarsening of the finer qualities that distinguish their prototypes. This accords with the belief that the Chou were less cultured than the people they conquered”.⁸⁰ For Vishakha Desai, the use of a narrative grounded within Western epistemological traditions to explain Chinese material culture indicates that Asian objects in a Western context “carry with them not only assumptions about the culture for which they were produced, but also ... the values accorded to them by the culture in which they are now located.”⁸¹

An analysis of the exhibition space and the photographic techniques used to represent objects reinforces the hierarchical narrative influencing their visual display. Photographs of artefacts from the catalogue attempted to impose a “rational taxonomy of rule-governed possession”.⁸² Categorised according to their physical appearance and material composition, they are photographed together with like pieces, a system used to group the objects textually in the catalogue and which was also evident in the 1935–36 International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London. In the 1937 exhibition catalogue, objects appear with brief explanatory statements about their cultural production. Such a taxonomic approach lends the exhibition catalogue an ethnographical air. Humphreys-Davies sought to value and present objects according to “objective” scientific and archaeological criteria, meanings in part derived from their use-value and period of manufacture (but, it must also be noted, according to the beauty of their design).⁸³ Jack Clifford has argued that such an approach to the understanding of exotic objects demonstrates

how collections, most notably in museums, create the illusion of adequate representation of a world by first cutting objects out of specific contexts (whether cultural, historical, or intersubjective) and making them “stand” for abstract wholes Next a scheme of classification is elaborated for storing or displaying the object so that the reality of the collection itself, its coherent order, overrides specific histories of the object’s production and appropriation.⁸⁴

The influence of this taxonomic approach is further evident in the exhibition’s spatial layout. Photographs of its display at the National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum (now Te Papa Tongarewa/The National Museum of New Zealand), Wellington, show items arranged in glass cases separated into categories by medium, a presentation which throws them into sharp relief against the unadorned walls of the museum space (see Figure 2). No labels appear to be provided. The only markers are red tags which indicate their previous appearance at the landmark 1935–36 exhibition and which proffer further evidence of the newly reconfigured social lives of the objects. Instead, a number below the object refers the viewer to the catalogue, which, as noted, provides no history of the individual items save for basic details of type, medium, and approximate period of manufacture—also a reflection of the technically based taxonomical approach to the collection. Such a spatial arrangement encourages viewers to see the objects as representative, yet exclusive, examples of a class of “Chinese art”. By

80 Yetts, “The Foundations of Chinese Civilization,” p.20.

81 Vishakha N. Desai, “Re-Visioning Asian Arts in the 90s- Reflections of a Museum Professional,” in Richard R. Brettell et al, “The Problematics of Collecting and Display, Part 2,” *The Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 166–85.

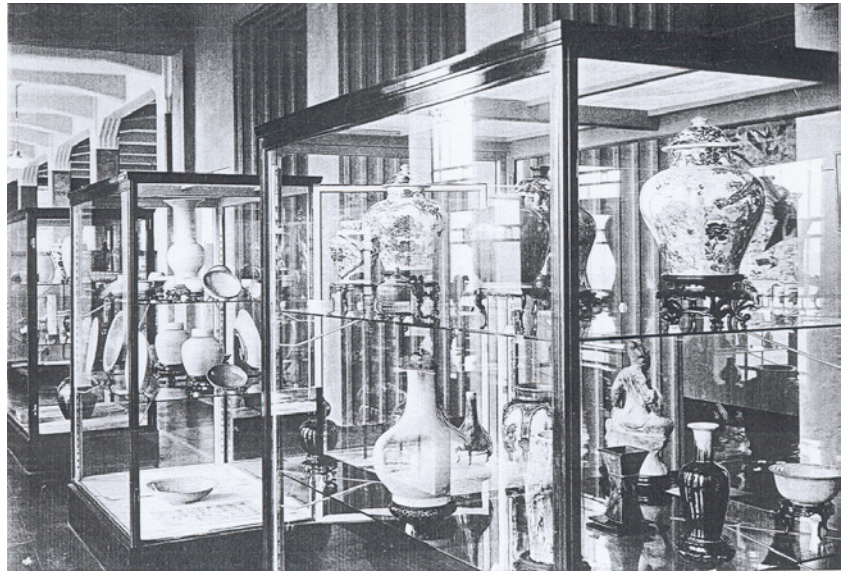
82 J. Clifford has discussed the process of collecting as emblematic of wider cultural rules that seek to control human possessive desires by transforming them into “rule-governed, meaningful desire”. See Jack Clifford, “Collecting Ourselves,” in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Pearce, p.260.

83 These two categories are usually accompanied by a third, ‘symbolic meaning’, in a well-known schema suggested by Ian Hodder for the deconstruction of meaning in physical objects. See Ian Hodder, “The Contextual Analysis of Symbolic Meanings,” in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Pearce, pp.12–13.

84 Clifford, “Collecting Ourselves,” p.260. Here he is paraphrasing Susan Stewart in *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

Figure 2

Categorisation of objects by their material properties and uses was commonplace in the Exhibition. From: "Chinese Art Exhibition," photographer, J.T. Salmon, 19 April 1937, Reproduction from a black and white negative. Reproduced with permission from Te Papa Tongarewa/The National Museum of New Zealand, Wellington, MA_B.005633



setting objects with like objects, viewers can evaluate their relative aesthetic merit, but divorced largely from the social and cultural processes of their production.

The Popular Reception of the 1937 Exhibition

The 1937 exhibition appealed to a broad audience. Its display, guidebook and lectures certainly aimed to direct interpretations of the objects, and to extol the lofty ideal of improving national aesthetic tastes. Another important manner in which the objects were presented was in relation to their owners. As well as the Guidebook, local newspapers, in particular, carefully enumerated the many European aristocratic collectors, as well as wealthy North Americans, who had loaned their valuable pieces for the display. This enumeration was important because it gave a cultural context in which otherwise unfamiliar objects could be assessed and valued. The value of such an exhibition, the message went, derived from the displayed objects' ownership by wealthy and prominent Europeans and North Americans, and from the prior exhibition of certain objects in Britain.

Newspapers made much of the background of the private collectors associated with the exhibition, many of whom were titled members of the English gentry. As a case in point, every newspaper which covered the exhibition mentioned a "delightful" jade casket loaned by Queen Mary (1867–1953, r. 1910–36) (Figure 3). Indisputably it was the most popular item in the exhibition. Its photograph appeared in all of the major metropolitan newspapers.⁸⁵ Dunedin's *Otago Daily Times*, for example, praised Queen Mary for setting "a good example to other enthusiasts by lending an elaborately carved casket of dark green jade."⁸⁶ Other writers devoted columns to the well-known names in London art circles, such as Eumorfopoulos, Oscar Raphael and Victor Rienacker, and members of the aristocracy such as Lady Patricia Ramsay (1886–1974), a granddaughter of Queen Victoria. They pointed out that New Zealanders were able to see objects seldom, if ever, displayed beyond such bastions of "Britishness" as the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁸⁷ Of the individuals mentioned, Eumorfopoulos's loan of "a bulb bowl of the Sung dynasty" attracted comment because, as the *Otago Daily*

85 The research undertaken for this article focused on the four cities in which the exhibition was held, thus surveying the contemporary coverage provided by *The New Zealand Herald*, *The Weekly News*, *The Observer and Free Lancet*, *Dominion Post* and the *Wellington Post*, *The Otago Daily Times*, *The Press* of Christchurch, and also *The Times* of London, where the initial organisation work for the Exhibition was undertaken.

86 "Chinese Art-Treasures from the East—A Comprehensive Exhibition," *The Otago Daily Times*, 8 June 1937.

87 "Captain Humphreys-Davies has enlisted the support of Queen Mary, the Lady Patricia Ramsay, Mrs C.L. Rutherford, Mrs Christopher Powell, Lord Bledisloe, Messrs. C.J. Aron, Dennis Howarth, Oswald Hughes-Jones and the Victoria and Albert Museum in his enterprise," *Dominion Post*, 25 March 1937, "Chinese Art—Remarkable Collection at Dominion Museum".

**Figure 3**

The most popular and most commented-upon object in the exhibition, Queen Mary's "Jade Casket".

**Figure 4**

A jade buffalo, possibly obtained during the sacking of Yuanmingyuan in 1860. Figures 3 and 4 from: Captain George Humphreys-Davies, ed., An Exhibition of Chinese Art, Including Many Examples from Famous Collections, Exhibited in New Zealand (Auckland: N.Z. Newspapers Ltd., 1937), no page.

Times informed its readers, the object was well-known in European art circles and, what was more, "is one of his favourites".⁸⁸ Likewise, display of objects from the collection of well-known and respected Europeans with connections to New Zealand further helped to orientate visitors towards the value and quality of the objects on display. Lord Bledisloe (1867–1958), New Zealand's popular Governor-General from 1930 to 1935, loaned two Wanli-era 萬曆 porcelain pieces. A jade buffalo, possibly obtained during the sacking of Yuanmingyuan in 1860—from the collection of Sir George Grey (1812–98), another former Governor (1845–53; 1861–68)—also received considerable attention due to its association with such a well-known political figure (Figure 4).⁸⁹

Further helping to translate the value of these objects were red tabs attached to particular objects. These alerted visitors to those artworks which had previously appeared in "special exhibitions in European museums and galleries", including "the great Chinese Exhibition held by the Royal Academy at Burlington House" in 1935–36.⁹⁰ Significantly, the narrative of most of the objects discussed omitted or only very briefly mentioned an object's "social life" in China. Instead, in New Zealand, who had owned what objects, and where they were displayed, provided sufficient foundation for an evaluation of the objects themselves. Élite practices of collecting might still help

⁸⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, 8 June 1937.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 15 January 1937.

- 91 "Woman's World," *The New Zealand Herald*, 16 January 1937.
- 92 "Evening Shoes-Elaboration In-Out-The Chinese Influence," *The New Zealand Herald*, 25 January 1937.
- 93 "Woman's World," *The New Zealand Herald*, 16 January 1937.
- 94 Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999); Pound, *Invention of New Zealand*.
- 95 E.H. McCormick, *The Inland Eye: A Sketch in Visual Autobiography* (Auckland: Auckland Gallery Associates, 1959), p.26.

in appraising an object's value, but in New Zealand, it was now the British, not the Chinese elite, who effected this process.

Other interpretations of the exhibition harked back to older, feminised depictions of Chinese art associated with early periods of *chinoiserie*. Several articles on the exhibition appealed to the perceived special interests of women. Featuring strongly in these articles were the subjects of marriage customs, "domestic life", handicrafts and the genteel aesthetic pursuits of Chinese people, coupled with fashion articles on *chinoiserie*. The last focused on the social aspects of the exhibition, such as the assertion in the "Every Woman's Pages" of *The Weekly News* of 3 February 1937 that "it is in the porcelain section that most women will delight, for the old glazes and beautiful designs are a joy to behold".⁹¹ Another article breathlessly declaimed that the 1935–36 International Exhibition of Chinese Art held in London had stimulated new shoe fashions in Auckland to reflect "the Chinese influence".⁹² The "Woman's World" section of the *New Zealand Herald* listed the wives and ladies entertained to tea, whilst remarking dubiously of the exhibition itself that in it "is collected the quaintness, the grotesqueness, and the simple beauty of Chinese art".⁹³ The *Herald's* description echoes the late eighteenth century European reassessment of *chinoiserie* and Chinese customs as something somehow monstrous, uncouth and totally unlike anything in the West. Accordingly, the objects here become reducible not to the creativity of an individual artist, but to the perception of a grotesque simplicity.

Reception Among New Zealand Artistic Circles: Poetry and Painting

Elsewhere, the 1937 exhibition generated vigorous debate and gave creative momentum to the New Zealand art community. New Zealand's self-proclaimed art cognoscenti responded in generally positive yet complex ways, with many approaching the exhibition from the perspective of *chinoiserie* and *japonisme* as popular styles of aesthetic expression already prevalent in inter-war New Zealand. In other ways, attempts at aesthetic appreciation of Chinese objects hinted at a different debate underpinning the practice of art in New Zealand: the question of "tradition" and its application in a colonial society in which several art-leaders were seeking to find a distinctly unique and "national" voice, one drawn also from non-Western traditions including Māori and Asian art.⁹⁴

If the subtitle of the journal *Art in New Zealand*, founded in 1928 and running until 1947, chronicles the nationalist desire of artists in the Dominion to establish *A Quarterly Magazine Devoted to Art in its Various Phases in Our Own Country*, its pages express the fascination with Chinese and Japanese culture which informed some artistic practice in inter-war New Zealand towards that nationalist goal. Interest in alternatives to European traditions was mentioned by literary biographer E.H. McCormick (1906–95). Recalling his student days at Victoria College (University of New Zealand), McCormick noted the "cult of eclectic orientalism" which held sway in that period. Salvaged Japanese prints, he recalled, would be "mounted on strips of fabric and hung over black divans in dimly illuminated studio-bedsitters" while: "Respectable virgins ransacked the Chinese shops in Wellington's red-light district for rice bowls and fish plates of approved design."⁹⁵ Placed in this context it is unsurprising that the 1937 exhibition appears in *Art in New Zealand* as an important, but by no means singular, instance of appreciation

for Eastern aesthetics that stretched to the search for new ways of enjoying and engaging with non-European objects.

The journal carried three poems by J.C. Beaglehole. The first part of “Chinese Plate”⁹⁶ (an excerpt from its second section appears at the beginning of this article), records Beaglehole’s emotive, affective engagement with a painting of a fish which decorates the plate. In the poem, Beaglehole deftly leaps from contemplation of the artistic creation of the fish to the broad sweep of a Chinese landscape. The landscape, containing both himself and the fish, embodies the poet’s yearning for emotional release.⁹⁷ Longing for “... the great land, the wide plain and the mountains,/ the wild geese and the cranes, the cypresses/ shadowing leaf-strewn path and watched by moon”, the poet dreams himself into communion with the heroic figures of Chinese literature.⁹⁸ In the second part of the poem, its compression of time, places and objects and in its overwhelming sense of anxiety somehow perhaps foreshadows W.H. Auden’s (1907–73) dark sonnet-sequence drawn from his and Christopher Isherwood’s (1904–86) visit to war-torn China in 1938 and published as “In Time of War” (1939) in *Journey to a War*.⁹⁹ In the second part of the poem, Beaglehole imagines himself into the life-world of the tea-caddy he is handling, into the role of a Chinese literary scholar, as a means of escaping from the modern world where “the newspaper is full of the talk of war, stupidity, brutality, men’s unconscionable bitterness to men, politics and economic confusion”.¹⁰⁰

Utilising natural phenomena as a metaphor for his inner feelings, Beaglehole employs a key figurative device in Chinese literature to express his wish to enter into the aesthetic world of Chinese material culture. Significantly, he selects an object, rather than a text, as the muse for his fantasy of aesthetic sublimation within a Chinese universe. As he turns the tea-caddy over and over in his hands, at one level, the exact meaning of “... the incised beautiful/characters, red and black I cannot read” is, of course, inaccessible. Yet, at another, the characters are multivalent, possessing a power not immediately apparent by their direct, linguistically translatable meaning. In her study of monumentality in medieval Cairo, Irene Bierman has shown that, even to the illiterate, the form, colour and materiality of writing possessed a power to communicate. Similarly, in Ming China, “[t]he importance of foreign scripts ... was out of all proportion to the number of people who could read them.”¹⁰¹ Even if scripts could not be read in the conventional sense, the importance of the role of text in governance, taxation, and communication was as apparent to Beaglehole as it was to Cairo’s illiterate.

Likewise, the allure of a foreign text to Ming scholars, as to a New Zealand scholar removed from that period temporally, geographically and culturally, lay in its exoticism. Indeed, the very linguistic inaccessibility and foreignness of the text forced Beaglehole to consider its form, “... the incised beautiful/characters, red and black I cannot read.” Such a process may have inadvertently drawn Beaglehole closer than he ever realised to the cultural practices of traditional Chinese calligraphic appreciation; to Confucian surety in the power of dot and stroke formation to harness the vital energy (*qi* 氣) that form characters not just evocative of the qualities of the artist but also which itself effect social and political change.¹⁰² Reinforcing this interpretive avenue is the manner in which Beaglehole engaged with the object. By engaging with it as an entity capable of reflecting the emotional and creative projections of the self, Beaglehole seems to promulgate an aesthetic interpretation of Chinese objects centred on the psychological processes they can create in the individual, rather than any interpretation of them as an expression

96 Beaglehole, “Three Poems of Escape,” p.91.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 W.H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, *Journey to a War*, rev. ed., (London; Boston: Faber & Faber, 1973).

100 Beaglehole, “Three Poems of Escape,” p.92.

101 Irene Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1998); Craig Clunas, *Empire of Great Brightness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368–1644* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), pp.84–111, 103 (quotation).

102 From a vast literature, note Eugene Y. Wang, “The Taming of the Shrew: Wang Xizhi (303–61) and Calligraphic Gentrification in the Seventh Century,” in *Asian Art*, ed. Rebecca M. Brown and Deborah S. Hutton (London: Blackwell, 2006), pp.247–60; Clunas, *Empire of Great Brightness*, pp.84–111; John Makeham, “The Confucian Role of Names in Traditional Chinese Gardens,” *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes: An International Quarterly* 18.3 (1998): 187–210.

103 Yanfang Tang, "Cognition or Affective Experience: Theory and Practice of Reading in Chinese and Western Literary Traditions," *Comparative Literature* 49 (1997): 151–75, at p.153.

104 Edward C. Simpson, "Chinese Art and Modern Painters," *Art in New Zealand* 10.3 (1938): 146–48, at p.146.

105 Simpson, "Chinese Art," p.147.

106 On a more sophisticated discussion of western classical music and Chinese art, see, for instance: Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Pelican History of Art* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1971), pp.227–28.

107 'Kotare', "Chinese Art: Its Glory-Way of Life," *The New Zealand Herald Supplement*, 30 January 1937.

108 Clunas, "China in Britain".

109 Yetts, "Foreword," in *Chinese Art*, ed. Humphreys-Davies, p.iii.

110 "Chinese Art in Wellington," *The Dominion Post*, 25 March 1937.

111 For a stimulating discussion of the recent ramifications of China's archaeological search for its origins, note: Geramie Barmé, "To Screw Foreigners is Patriotic: China's Avant-Garde Nationalists," *China Journal* 34 (1995): 209–34.

112 Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*.

of discoverable realities about a foreign culture. This is significant if we consider Yanfang Tang's analysis—however problematic and orientalist—of the differences between reading in Western and Eastern literature. For *effere*nt reading in the Western tradition, notes Tang, "the reader's primary concern is with what he will "carry away" from the reading—information, solution to a problem, perhaps an imperative for action". In contrast, the elevation of *aesthetic* reading in Eastern literature prioritises "only what is experienced during the reading event".¹⁰³ Thus, Beaglehole's engagement contrasts the more common experience of Chinese objects in societies such as New Zealand, where aesthetic and scientific discourses competed to define the experience of exotic objects for the individual.

By no means did Beaglehole exhaust the Dominion's artistic interpretation of Chinese objects. To New Zealand art writer, Edward C. Simpson, writing in 1938, "a painting has, in fact, a distinct racial character ... its virtues are those of a particular people".¹⁰⁴ Although placing Chinese painting on an evolutionary scale, Simpson nevertheless inverted traditional typologies by ranking it above the West. It warranted this place thanks both to the length of its art history, and because, he pointed out, "Chinese painting is more fully developed as an aesthetic language than any other kind of painting the world has known."¹⁰⁵ Simpson also draws an analogy with Western music, said to function as the chief outlet for the "artistic genius" in the European context.¹⁰⁶ Musing in an opinion piece on the exhibition, "Kotare" (meaning Kingfisher in Māori) began by upholding all the very worst Anglo stereotypes of China, writing "somehow, it is not easy for the Briton to take China very seriously. It seems inextricably associated with vegetables and laundries and fantan and opium. The British mind instinctively finds something ridiculous in any way of life that differs from its own." However, the author goes on to acknowledge that "China beat out of her long and chequered experience a scale of values and a conception of life and the universe that rank among the supreme achievements of the human mind".¹⁰⁷ Significantly, however glorious they might be, these achievements lie in the past, a common trope in writing on China by Westerners in this period.¹⁰⁸ Although inverting the commonly drawn relationship between Western and Eastern art, both Simpson and Kotare nonetheless situated Chinese art along a timeline of development which is culturally and chronologically determined and, in this sense, evince the same concerns with race and "civilisation" informing the exhibition catalogue itself and, especially, those of Professor Yetts.

As already noted, Yetts considered the objects to hold the essence of Chinese civilisation—the "means for understanding a great and ancient race".¹⁰⁹ Extending this notion, the *Dominion Post* editorial picked up Yetts's statement that "for New Zealanders, Chinese art may be said to offer a special interest, because of certain similarities with Maori ornament" and that "these considerations should quicken the interest of the lay citizen in the unique exhibition now in Wellington".¹¹⁰ The intent of these statements is unclear, as both authors failed to take up the comparison further. Several possibilities, however, suggest themselves. The comments could refer to the quest for origins which so obsessed European—as well as many Māori—writers and archaeologists.¹¹¹ In a related fashion, it could equally refer to the practice of arranging the cultural products of different societies within a distinctive archaeological taxonomy. In this case, it may have invited comparison between "Stone Age" jade pieces from China's distant past and pre-contact Māori productions in *pounamu* (jade), which many European observers viewed as representative of "Stone Age" development.¹¹² Possibly, too, the appeal to comparison may well refer to the developing interest of artists in

New Zealand in Māori motifs and subject matter. Such an appeal could easily be incorporated under the expansive definition of the Western art movement known as primitivism. This movement, growing beyond its early parameters to incorporate anything beyond the west, as Francis Pound notes, “opened up the very possibility of non-Western arts being admired in the West”.¹¹³

For the English-born artist and critic Christopher Perkins (1891–1968), who resided at various times in New Zealand, engagement with China was particularly opportune. “Just at the moment when we are losing our poise under the impact of the mechanism and vulgarity of this age”, he declared, “come sages from the East to teach us a new technique of the spirit”. However problematic his opinion might be, Perkins at least engaged with aspects of the aesthetics of China, emphasising the desire in Chinese painting to depict the “inner nature of things”, of a tradition concerned less with visual representation of reality as in the West than with conveying “the feel of their surfaces and the spirit of their movement”.¹¹⁴

Moving now from word to image, the artwork of T.A. McCormack may reveal something of the influence of the 1937 exhibition on the aesthetic understanding of some New Zealand visual artists at that time. For art historian Anne Kirker, McCormack’s paintings, with their detailed brushwork and feel for the visual rhythm of landscapes, acknowledge “an influence which had hitherto been largely dormant amongst New Zealand painters this century, that of the Far East”.¹¹⁵ McCormack himself viewed the 1937 exhibition as a major artistic influence, paying it several visits at its Wellington stage. For him, notes Kirker,

the four hundred pieces of jade, porcelain and painting confirmed the direction McCormack’s own work was taking. The Chinese-produced objects were vehicles of contemplation, poetic but not in the least rhetorical or romantic. The emphasis was on aestheticism and spiritual insight. In formal terms, McCormack came to appreciate more fully the power of the brush in Oriental expression and the concentration on essentials.¹¹⁶

McCormack also sought inspiration from Japanese traditions, to add to the impressionism he was already familiar with. McCormack’s contemporary, David Martineau, for example, compared the artist’s work, “Seascape”,¹¹⁷ to the renowned wood-cut, “The Hollow of the Deep-Sea Wave off Kanagawa, Japan”, by the Japanese artist Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾 北齋 (1760–1849).¹¹⁸ For Kirker, however, aspects of McCormack’s work directly responded to the Chinese art exhibition, not simply his use of watercolour but more particularly his deft knowledge and control of brushwork. If so, it reflects the creative impact of display of Chinese material culture on the development of artistic expression of a major New Zealand artist.

Conclusion

The 1937 exhibition of Chinese art, held throughout New Zealand in the first half of that year, presented to the Dominion’s public a fascinating window into another culture’s artistic traditions. Taxonomically displayed, objects stood as a cipher for the culture which produced them. Yet official narratives about “Chineseness” were sometimes supported, sometimes sublimated by the active cultural and aesthetic engagement of the general public and art community. To some, the display appealed to existing gendered notions of feminine interest established by the entrenched vogue for *chinoiserie*; to many, the objects acquired value through their association with wealthy

113 Pound, *Invention of New Zealand*, p.274. On the use of Māori art and the idea of primitivism in New Zealand, see Pound, *Invention of New Zealand*, pp.271–327.

114 Christopher Perkins, “Modern Chinese Painting,” *Art in New Zealand* 7.4 (1935): 184–88, at pp.184, 187.

115 Kirker, “T.A. McCormack: A New Talent,” p.5.

116 Kirker, “T.A. McCormack,” p.6. Kirker’s article incorrectly states the number of items displayed.

117 *Seascape*, c.1937, watercolour, 500 x 636 mm., Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa, New Zealand.

118 David Martineau, “The T.A. McCormack Exhibition,” *Art in New Zealand* 9.4 (1937): 201–03, at p.201.

European collectors and their participation in previous exhibitions held in the cultural capital of Europe. To others of perhaps a more artistic bent, the Chinese objects promised to breath life into the near-moribund form of twentieth-century Western artistic life. They provided an aesthetic and technical inspiration for art practice, encouraging an emotional and imaginative engagement with the self and a didactic opportunity designed to raise the artistic education of New Zealand's artistic and lay public alike. Whatever its objects' polysemantic meaning, the exhibition evinces the dynamic social lives of objects removed from their cultural contexts and set in motion in wholly new regimes of value. The exhibition also strongly suggests to scholars the need to reassess our understanding of the fictional chasm that yawns between Eastern and Western cultures, perhaps even to move towards scholarly accommodation of the many hybrid cultural movements that have flourished within the history of global trade. In the case of New Zealand, this requires a drastic rethink of the simplistic binary of bi-culturalism (Māori and European) which reigns as the orthodoxy in the writing of New Zealand's past, if not at least in its art historical traditions.

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KOREANS PERFORMING FOR FOREIGN TROOPS: THE OCCIDENTALISM OF THE C.M.C. AND K.P.K.

史 *Roald Maliangkay*

The Chosen Music Club (C.M.C.) and the K.P.K., which derives its name from the initials of the family names of its three main members (Kim Haesong 金海松, Paek Ŭnsŏn 白恩善, Kim Chŏnghwan 金貞桓), were two variety show collectives whose activities from the late 1930s to the 1950s shed light on the complexity of the notion of Occidentalism.¹ The entertainers employed by the collectives were among Korea's most talented and highly trained professionals; they played traditional music, modern folksongs and swing jazz, and performed both traditional and modern (including tap) dance and various stand-up comedy acts. Apart from an increase in the number of foreign songs the repertoire of the C.M.C. and the K.P.K. did not change much over the period, however the conditions in which they operated changed dramatically. When Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial rule to become, over a fairly short period of time, a different kind of protectorate with a major US military presence, the collectives found themselves confronted with different audiences and performing venues. Although fourteen countries formed part of the United Nations Command that supported the Republic of Korea during and after the Korean War (1950–53) with troops, US troops made up almost ninety per cent of the foreign military power and several tens of thousands of them remained on the peninsula after the war. From the late 1930s to the 1950s, both the C.M.C. and its successor, the K.P.K., went on tour performing to Japanese and US troops (the term “to pay ‘sympathy visits’ [*wimun bada* 慰問하다]” is often used) in Japan and Korea. Many of the stars in these collectives were successful recording artists in their own right, but the recognition they earned with foreign audiences through their work with the collectives had a major impact on their own aspirations and those of their peers.

The story of the two collectives is part of the legacy of one family. Kim Haesong, his wife Yi Nanyŏng 李蘭影 and their seven children played crucial roles in the development of Korean popular music in the twentieth century. Their work spans five decades, and across national borders, but the K.P.K., which was established at the end of the Pacific War and disbanded at the

I owe much gratitude to Benjamin Penny and Lindy Allen for their excellent comments during writing.

¹ Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa* [A History of Korean Popular So (Seoul: Mizi books, 2009), pp.23–4; Hwang Munp'yŏng, *Norae paengnyŏnsa* [A 100-year History of Songs] (Seoul: Sungil munhwasa, 1981), p.80.

2 For examples of those traits, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp.40, 324-25; James G. Carrier, ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p.27.

3 James G. Carrier, ed., *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, pp.1-3, 29.

4 Jonathan Spencer, "Occidentalism in the East: The Uses of the West in the Politics and Anthropology of South Asia," in *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, ed. James Carrier, pp.237-38.

start of the Korean War, was the only collective in which the Kims and at least three of their children worked together. Over the years, the family faced enormous challenges in the form of colonial oppression, censorship, violence, racism, sexism and poverty. However, through their talent, stubborn persistence, courage and hard work they were able to overcome most of the hurdles placed in their way and enjoyed success for decades, but not without making great sacrifices. For example, for many years they had to give up the dream of performing for paying audiences who admired them and had chosen to see them rather than some other group. While Japanese and American audiences often praised the shows, these were times of colonial oppression and war, and open professional competition was limited. What is more, whereas the Kims and their peers played key roles in the development of Korean popular music and its recognition abroad, their performances in some cases served only to emphasize their foreign audiences' cultural superiority. This study therefore considers the activities of the collectives from the viewpoint of both the entertainers and their audiences.

The members of the two collectives were very ambitious and believed that Korea could catch up with Japan and the modern West. In the eyes of the foreign audiences, however, this aspiration would not have been evident in the content or style of the shows. While Japanese audiences will have genuinely admired the quality of the performances and the skill of the entertainers, their attitude appears to have been rather patronizing. To many Japanese, Korean traditional music would have represented an authentic "Oriental" culture, albeit one that would typically serve to highlight the superiority of modernized Japanese culture compared with the provincial efforts of Korea. This may also explain why some Koreans who performed modern songs in Japan adopted Japanese stage names even before they were forced to do so by law; record producers felt that Japanese audiences were more likely to embrace a Japanese-style "modernity", rather than its Korean counterpart. To the majority of Americans, on the other hand, the shows would have offered basic entertainment, comforting in their endorsement of American cultural dominance and the Koreans' eagerness to emulate it. Few, however, would have considered Korean indigenous culture as offering anything of equal value. The choice to include both Occidental and Oriental elements in the performances (the use of Western names and the performance of American "standards", and the inclusion of well-known songs from other Asian countries) as well as the theatrical adoption of pre-conceived notions about East Asia, was therefore informed not by a desire to highlight the value of indigenous Korean culture, but to strike a balance between the emulation of Western culture and the retention of an Oriental character.

The term Occidentalism posits a generalising notion of the West as a single, sociocultural entity that serves to positively endorse the culture it is considered against.² Although a generalisation like many other paradigms,³ it has utility in the field of humanities. With careful examination, studies of Occidentalism can yield crucial insights into the sociopolitical structure and value system of a given local culture, whether in relation to its past or its future. A romantic view of that culture would hold that the imagined binary is ever-present, underpinned by an unbridgeable difference in values and belief systems, often validated by drawing on historical examples. A positivist view, on the other hand, would predict a narrowing of the cultural gap.⁴ It is common, therefore, to regard "Occidentalism" as the opposite of "Orientalism", but Xiaomei Chen points out that while the two may serve

similar purposes of highlighting difference, they are based on very different relationships of power. She warns that one should not regard them as representing one manifestation of an East/West binary, but adds that, like Orientalism, Occidentalism ultimately and perhaps paradoxically serves to highlight a misrepresented image of the self as unique and superior. Thus, even though Occidentalism may be inspired in some sense by Western Orientalism, and uses the West as a reference point, it may be manifested in entirely Asian contexts without any involvement of actual western countries or cultures.⁵

Catering to the Colonizer and its Subjects: The C.M.C.

From the 1920s onwards, Western-style entertainment swept across East Asia, and became a major source of inspiration for both Koreans and their Japanese colonizers (1910–45). It introduced new fashion, dance and musical styles, and allowed consumers to dream of romantic encounters with beautiful people. During this period Japanese colonial oppression could never be forgotten, but in what Gramscians would describe as a typical measure towards the consolidation of power, they used the growing consumer economy to keep Koreans preoccupied and allowed them to buy into a modern, fashionable lifestyle, which granted a sense of independence and connectedness with other consumers abroad.⁶ Towards the end of the 1930s, however, neither commerce nor entertainment could hide the fact that the country was becoming deeply involved in Japan's war effort. As the fighting in the Pacific intensified, the Japanese increased the oppression of their colonial subjects. Those working in the entertainment industry in Korea saw censorship become stricter, resources dwindle, and opportunities decrease. By the time of liberation, the production of records, radio programs and films for the sole purpose of entertainment had come to a stop.

The disruption of live performance was also caused by the arrival of new technologies. With the emergence of talkies in the mid-1930s, and the subsequent increase of diegetic sound and music, opportunities for film narrators (*pyōnsa* 辯士) and theatre orchestras dwindled. Many people continued to enjoy watching narrators perform, so the change was gradual, especially since in the first few years of talkies the quality of the sound was often poor, and the voices of some popular foreign actors proved to be disappointing. Indeed, there were many occasions when the sound was turned off in favour of live music or a noted off-screen film narrator (whose services were now affordable), often at smaller theatres which had less advanced sound systems. However, the rise of diegetic sound was irreversible, and to make ends meet, some narrators, such as Kim Yōnghwan 金永煥 and Kim Chosōng 金肇聲, formed entertainment groups that provided music and comedy as well as film narration—Kim Yōnghwan was probably the first narrator to make the transition to comedy as his main occupation. Having been a member of the Arirang Song and Dance Company (Arirang kamu kūktan 아리랑歌舞劇團), a collective that included composer-guitarist Pak Shich'un 朴是春 (1913–96) and offered music, dance and comedy, around the mid-1930s he reportedly formed his own troupe, named Sōngjwa 星座. Because comic sketches and short plays made up a considerable part, the troupe's repertoire was among the first to be labelled Narrator's Play (*pyōnsagük* 辯士劇). A similar collective was established in early 1935 by Kim Chosōng. His Yewōnjwa 藝苑座 group offered, besides sketches and short plays, jazz music, and folk and popular songs.⁷

5 Xiaomei Chen, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.xi, 4–5.

6 See Roald Maliangkay, "New Symbolism and Retail Therapy: Advertising Novelities in Korea's Colonial Period," *East Asian History* 36 (2008): 29–54, at pp.32–3.

7 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa* 2, p.335; Yō Sōnjōng, "Musōng yōnghwa shidae shingmin toshi Sōur-ūi yōnghwa kwallamsōng yōn'gu" [*Study of the Film Spectatorship in Colonial Seoul in the Silent Film Era*] (MA thesis, Chungang University, 1999), p.36; *Chosōn chungang ilbo* [The Korea Central Daily News] 21/2/1935, p.2; see also Chōng Chonghwa, *Han'guk yōnghwa sa* [A History of Korean Film] 1 (Seoul: Yōllhwadang misul mun'gu, 1997), p.24. The groups sought not only to professionalize the intermission entertainment and in doing so persuade theatre managers to continue to employ them despite the near disappearance of silent films, but they also hoped to compete with other forms of theatrical entertainment, such as new-school plays (*shinp'agük* 新派劇), Kino Dramas (k'inodūrama 키노드라마), and the increasingly popular stand-up comedians (*chaedamkkun* 재담꾼). Andrew Killick notes that in new-school plays too, the interludes evolved into a musical variety show with sketches and dance. Andrew P. Killick, "The Invention of Traditional Korean Opera and the Problem of the Traditionesque: Ch'anggük and its Relation to P'ansori Narratives" (PhD thesis, University of Washington, 1998), pp.144–45.

8 The Venus Opera Troupe is said to have been a copy of the Japanese Asakusa Opera, which offered a wide range of light entertainment. Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.540. According to Hwang Munp'yōng, the Three Streams Operetta Group was established by Kim Sorang 金小浪. Hwang Munp'yōng, *Norae paengnyōnsa*, p.154.

9 See Han'guk chōngshin munhwa yōn'guwōn [Academy of Korean Studies], *Han'guk yusōnggi ūmban ch'ongmongnok* [Complete List of Korean Recordings from the Colonial Period] (Seoul: Minsogwōn, 1998), p.727; Ch'oe Ch'angho, *Minjok sunan'gi-ūi taejung kayosa* [A History of Popular Songs from the People's Trial Period] (Seoul: Irwōl sōgak, 2000), pp.95–6; Pan Chaeshik, *Chaedam chōnnyōn sa* [A Thousand-year History of Comic Storytelling] (Seoul: Paekchungdang, 2000), p.309; Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.543; Yi Tongsun, *Pōnji ōmnūn chumak* [The Tavern Without a Number] (Seoul: Sōn, 2007), pp.293–95. Ross Laird and Brian Rust, *Discography of Okeh Records, 1918–1934* (Westport: Praeger Publisher, 2004), pp.2, 5; Roald Maliangkay, "Their Masters' Voice: Korean Traditional Music SPs (Standard Play Records) under Japanese Colonial Rule," *The World of Music* 49.3 (2007): 53–74, at pp.56–7.

10 The band stayed three days in Tokyo, three days in Osaka, and one day in Kobe, Kyoto and Nagoya respectively. Kim Chip'yōng argues that this is the earliest record of an overseas troop visit by a Korean act. Kim Chip'yōng, *Han'guk kayo chōngsbinsa* [A Spiritual History of Korean Songs] (Seoul: Arūm ch'ulp'ansa, 2000), p.370. I believe that Kim's characterization of "unedited" is useful, since it suggests a disregard for the camera setting and the inclusion of people and actions unrelated to the performance, but I believe all movies, including documentaries, involve some form of editing.

11 Chōng Taeyōng, *Pak Hwasōng-gwa Yi Nanyōng: Kūdūr-ūi sarang-gwa ijūm* [Pak Hwasōng and Yi Nanyōng: Their Lives and Beliefs] (Seoul: News Today, 2009), p.29.

12 Kim Hūngsan was a guitar player in the band, and along with Son Yōngjun he set up one of the first record companies after the war (Star Records, in Pusan). Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa* [A History of Korean Popular Songs] 2 (Seoul: Mizi books, 2009), pp.22, 223; see also Kim Chip'yōng, *Han'guk kayo chōngsbinsa*, p.370; Yi Tongsun, *Pōnji ōmnūn chumak*, p.263.

13 Yi Tongsun, *Pōnji ōmnūn chumak*, pp.301–2.

14 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.255.

15 Kim Chip'yōng, *Han'guk kayo chōngsbinsa*, pp.374–75; Yi Tongsun, *Pōnji ōmnūn chumak*, p.307; Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, pp.545–46.

After a career as a musician playing the saxophone and trumpet for, among others, the Venus Opera Troupe (*Kūmsōng op'era kūktan* 금성오페라劇團), in 1930 Yi Ch'ōl 李哲 (1903–44) established the Three Streams Operetta Group (*Samch'ōn kagūktan* 三川歌劇團), which offered a Korean version of Japan's all-female Takarazuka-style (宝塚) musical theatre.⁸ In 1932 Yi established a Korean subsidiary of the Japanese Imperial Record Co. Ltd. (*Teikoku chikuonki kabushiki kaisha* 帝國蓄音器株式會社, or "Teichiku") called Okeh 오케. Okeh Records was started in the US in 1918 and became a subsidiary of Columbia Phonograph Co. in 1926. Two years later, the latter entered a joint venture with the Japan Record Co. Ltd. (*Kabushiki kaisha Nihon chikuonki shōkai* 株式会社日本蓄音器商會), which would allow the Korean Okeh subsidiary to use its recording facilities.⁹ Although he was an ambitious manager, Yi continued to be active as a musician, and sometimes performed on stage alongside the talent he signed. In April 1936, approximately six months after the first Korean-made sound film *Story of Ch'unhyang* (Ch'unhyangjōn 春香傳) came out, he produced the movie *A Korea of Songs* (Norae Chosōn 노래조선). The movie has been lost, but a significant part of it is said to have comprised footage of Okeh's talent carrying out sympathy visits as part of the so-called Okeh Band (*Ok'e yōnjudan* 오케연주단) in Japan from February to March 1936.¹⁰ The documentary-like movie featured many of the stars under contract with Okeh, including singer Ko Poksu 高福壽, and epic song (*p'ansori*) singer Im Pangul 林芳蔚, singer-composer-lyricist Kim Haesong, drummer Yi Pongnyong 李鳳用 (1914–87), and his sister, singer Yi Nanyōng — as part of an act called The Jacket Sisters (*Chōgori sisūt'ōsū* 저고리 시스터스).¹¹ The band had been established by Son Mogin 孫牧人, also known by his stage name Son Andre (Andüre 안드레), after he returned from studying in Japan, and included a long list of some sixty of Korea's biggest stars, including those mentioned, as well as the singers Chang Sejōng (張世貞, 1921–2003) and Yi Hwaja 李花子 and comedian Shin Pulch'ul 申不出. The group was very successful and also went on tour in China and Manchuria.¹²

Despite the band's many accomplishments, at the end of 1936 the head company Teichiku decided to take over management of its Korean subsidiary.¹³ This did not, however, mean the end of Yi's employment with the company, nor of his activities as a band manager. In 1938, as the new head of the editing department, Yi set up the Okeh Grand Shows, which were similar in content to the shows he had arranged previously, but even larger in scale. He named the collective the Korea Musical Club (Chosōn akkūktan 朝鮮樂劇團) and added the acronym C.M.C., which apart from the stars Son Mogin, Ko Poksu, Yi Nanyōng and Yi Pongnyong, included saxophonist Song Hūisōn 宋熙善 and composer-guitarist Pak Shich'un.¹⁴

In March 1939, Yi sent 28 of its members on another two-month tour to Japan. The second Japan tour involved a total of 204 performances in 63 days, which meant that the group performed an average of more than three times per day. Most of the people in the audience were Korean immigrant workers, but it is said that noted Japanese critics were greatly impressed and this caused them to argue that the Japanese entertainment scene needed to reconsider what it was doing.¹⁵ Saitō Torajirō's 1939 movie *The Insightful Wife* (Omoitsuki fujin 思ひつき夫人) includes a sequence in which the group can be seen performing at a theatre in Japan. The otherwise fictional comedy begins with a stationary shot of the banner outside that carries the name of the company in large characters ("Chosōn akkūktan, C.M.C. jazz band") with several stills highlighting various aspects of the show underneath it. During the first half of the scene included here, a performance by Kim

**Figure 1**

A still from the film *The Insightful Wife* (*Omoitsuki fujin* 思ひつき夫人) showing a performance by Chŏnggu 金貞九. An extract from the film can be viewed in the online version of this paper.

Chŏnggu 金貞九 (1916–98), the name and logo of the Okeh Recording company are clearly visible on the percussion set-up on stage (see Figure 1). The sequence suggests that the show consisted mostly of traditional forms of music, but the horn section in the background would have supported modern styles of music as well, including swing jazz, which had been very popular in Korea and Japan for more than a decade.¹⁶ After performing at the capital's Asakusa Kagetsu 浅草花月 theatre for ten days, the tour took the group south, towards Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto and Kobe.¹⁷ Although the movie suggests that the shows were very popular, tour manager Kim Sangjin had various difficulties preparing the tour, and was forced to spend his first day in Tokyo visiting imperial shrines before agreeing to a series of performances at the First Army Hospital. It is rumoured that at the first show in Osaka, some people took offence at the large yin-yang symbols that were drawn on four large gates used as props on stage as well as on the musicians' drums, presumably because the symbol was associated with Korean nationalism. Kim Sangjin was subsequently jailed for approximately eleven days and it is said that when Yi Ch'ŏl heard of this he rushed to Japan, where he, too, was arrested and thrown in the same cell.¹⁸ Colonial oppression would overshadow the performances until the last day of the tour, when the band's main singers, including Yi Nanyŏng, Nam Insu 南仁樹 (1918–62), Chang Sejŏng and Yi In'gwŏn 李寅權, are said to have been forced to sing the Japanese military song *Father, You Were Strong* (Chichiyo anata wa tsuyokatta 父よあなたは強かった).¹⁹

Following the success of the first tour, a second was organized, and on 26 December 1939, the troupe returned to Tokyo for another two months but the problems continued. The tour manager was unable to book the Japan Theatre for the shows, eventually managing to secure the Tougeki 東劇 Theatre. According to Pak Ch'anho, the performers were treated like peasants, and as a consequence they translated all the lyrics into Japanese and swapped their costumes for Western clothing as soon as they arrived in Osaka.²⁰ A report on this tour in the Japanese-language *Seoul Daily* (Keijō nippō 京城日報), does not, of course, speak of these conditions. It provides details on the various aspect of the show by “the stars of the Korea Musical Club” (朝鮮樂劇團のスター) and points out that apart from traditional

16 Chang Yujŏng, *Oppa-nŭn p'unggak-chaengi-ya* [My Brother is a Street Singer] (Seoul: Hwanggŭmgaji, 2006), pp.96–7. In Japan, many people considered swing jazz a marker of true civilization. E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), pp.106–7.

17 Yi Tongsun, *Pŏnji ōmnŭn chumak*, p.307.

18 Kim Chip'yŏng, *Han'guk kayo chŏngshinsa*, p.375; Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.546.

19 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.546.

20 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.547.

21 *Keijō nippō* 20/2/1940: 4.

22 Yi Tongsun, *Pōnjiōmmūn chumak*, p.297.

23 E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*, pp.158–60.

24 Park Sang Mi's study of the use of Korean dancer Choe Seung-hui by the Japanese authorities provides excellent examples of self-Orientalism imposed by the colonial power. Park Sang Mi, "The Making of a Cultural Icon for the Japanese Empire: Choe Seung-hui's U.S. Dance Tours and 'New Asian Culture' in the 1930s and 1940s," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 14.3 (Winter 2006): 597–632.

25 Ch'oe Ch'angho, *Minjok sunan'gi-ūi taejung kayosa*, p.183; Hwang Munp'yōng, *Inmul-lo pon jōnyesa: salm-ūi paljaguk* [A History of Entertainment as Viewed through People: The Footsteps of Their Lives] 1 (Seoul: Sōn, 2000), p.167.

26 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, p.645; Hwang Munp'yōng argues that the song was popular in 1953. Hwang Munp'yōng, *Norae paengnyōnsa*, pp.77–8; Han'guk chōngshin munhwa yōn'guwōn, *Han'guk yusōnggi ūmban ch'ongmongnok*, pp.827, 835.

27 Chang Yujōng, *Oppa-nūn p'unggakchaengi-ya*, pp.71, 194; Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.234. Ch'oe Ch'angho says he worked as a music teacher for Ehwa Women's Junior College. Ch'oe Ch'angho, *Minjok sunan'gi-ūi taejung kayosa*, p.192.

28 Han'guk chōngshin munhwa yōn'guwōn, *Han'guk yusōnggi ūmban ch'ongmongnok*, pp.788, 790, 794, 798, 803; Chang Yujōng, *Oppa-nūn p'unggakchaengi-ya*, p.202. Pak Ch'anho suggests Samuyōl was derived from the English name Samuel. Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.253.

29 Yi married Kim in November 1937, but the marriage did not bring her happiness. Kim was a musical genius, but he was tough and stubborn, and had numerous affairs. Chōng T'aeyōng, *Pak Hwasōng-gwa Yi Nanyōng: Kūdūr-ūi sarang-gwa ijim*, pp.18–28, 45; Kim Sook-ja, personal communication, Las Vegas, Nov. 2009.

30 Ch'oe Ch'angho, *Minjok sunan'gi-ūi taejung kayosa*, p.183.

31 Hwang Munp'yōng, *Inmul-lo pon jōnyesa: salm-ūi paljaguk 1*, p.166.

32 Yi Sōgu, "Yuhaeng kasu kūmsōk hoasang" [Review of Pop Singers of the Past and Present], *Samch'ōlli* [Three Thousand Li] 10:8 (1939): 152.

33 At least 183 popular songs are accredited to Kim. Chang Yujōng, *Oppa-nūn p'unggakchaengi-ya*, p.66.

34 Hwang Munp'yōng, *Inmul-lo pon jōnyesa*, p.169; Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.330.

35 The song sings of the Japanese Emperor and the British and American foes. Chōng T'aeyōng, *Pak Hwasōng-gwa Yi Nanyōng*, p.46.

music and Japanese military songs, the "C.M.C. Band" would play swing jazz, and provide the accompaniment to jazz songs and tap dance.²¹

Apart from these shows, a number of other Korean singers were able to make money in Japan from the mid-1930s onwards. Even though they were still treated as colonial subjects and endured the threat of police violence, many of those in the industry had studied in Japan and knew how to interact with Japanese. An important reason for Korean artists to go to Japan was that the record companies in Korea lacked proper recording facilities.²² The invitation to work at a studio in Japan was a rare opportunity for them to travel abroad and compare themselves to their peers overseas. The Japanese audiences by and large genuinely appreciated the artists, who were not always easily identified as Korean because they sang in Japanese and often used a Japanese pseudonym. Other reasons for the availability of work in Japan may have included the dwindling of Japan's live music scene, but the nation's increasing involvement in war did not affect entertainment activities much.²³ The Japanese government, on the other hand, may have been quite happy to see the Korean collectives perform for its troops, especially if their program supported a romantic Orientalist view.²⁴

Kim Haesong was born Kim Songgyu 金松奎 in Kaech'ōn 价川 in South P'yōngan 平安 province in 1911. It is said that he displayed a great talent for music from the time he entered the Sungshil Vocational School 崇實專門學校 in Pyongyang. He was very skilled at playing the ukulele and soon became active as a professional singer-guitarist.²⁵ Among the songs he composed and sang were: *Is Youth Unsettled?* (Ch'ōngch'un-ūn mulgyōrin'ga ch'uchun-e mulgyōrin'ga), *The Emptiness of Sorrow* (Sōrum-ūi pōlp'an sel'um-e byōn'pan), *The Autumn Festival* (Tanp'ungje 丹楓祭), and *My Hometown Where the Windmills Turn* (P'ungch'a tonūn kohyang 풍차 도는 고향). Some time in the early 1930s he moved to Seoul, where he was soon employed by record companies. Among Kim's biggest hits were *The Ferry Leaves* (Yōllaksōn-ūn ttōnanda 連絡船은 떠난다) on Okeh 1959 (1937) (see Figure 2), and *Goodbye [Topknot Decree]* (Chal ikkōra [tanballyōng] jal'itgera danbal'lyōng) on Okeh 12038 (1943), which ironically became a hit in Japan in 1951.²⁶ In August 1936 Kim Haesong brought out an adaptation of the Japanese hit song *Tokyo Rhapsody* (Tokyo rapusodi 東京ラプソディ) as *Seoul of Flowers* (Kkot Sōul 꽃서울).

Kim was not the first Korean to bring out a cover version of a Japanese hit song. In 1932, the singer Ch'ae Kyuyōp (蔡奎燁, 1906?–1949) recorded *Will Drinking Lead to Tears or Relief?* (Sur-ūn nunmurilkka hansumiralkka 술은 눈물일까 한숨이랄까), a Korean version of *Sake wa namida ka tameiki ka* 酒は涙か溜息か, which had been a major hit in Japan for Fujiyama Ichirō 藤山 一郎 in the previous year. Ch'ae had been born in Hamhūng 咸興, in Hamgyōng 咸鏡 province, and had worked briefly as a music teacher at Kūnhwa Girls' College 權花女學校 in Seoul's central Ankuk 安國 area following his graduation from the Central Conservatorium in Tokyo. Because of his fine voice, various Japanese record companies asked him to perform for them, which he did under the pseudonym Hasegawa Ichiro 長谷川 一郎.²⁷ The cross-national production and marketing of music continued in January 1936 and March 1937, when Okeh brought out a total of five jazz songs (*tchaesū ssong* 찼스송) sung in Korean by the Japanese singer Dick Mine (Mine Tokuichi 三根徳一, 1908–1991) under the name Samuyōl 三又悦: *Dinab* (Taina 다이나), *Gypsy Moon* (Chipshi-ūi tal 집시의 달), *Ukelele Baby* (Uk'urere ppebi 우쿠레레빼비), *St. Louis Blues* (Sent'ū ruisū purusū 셉트루이스부루스) and *Sweet January* (Sūwit ch'eniri 스위트니리). *Dinab*

became a hit, and it is said that Mine received many fan letters from Koreans.²⁸

Around 1935, not long before he would first meet his later wife singer-actress Yi Nanyōng,²⁹ Yi Ch'ol hired Kim to compose songs exclusively for Okeh.³⁰ In 1937 Kim wrote *Separation Blues* (Ibyōr-ūi pūllusū 이별의 블루스) for Japan's leading female vocalist at the time, Awaya Noriko 淡谷のり子, but it was banned because it criticised Japanese fascism.³¹ In 1939, having briefly worked exclusively for Victor Records in the previous year, Kim moved to Columbia Records, before finally returning to Okeh.³² Having already used the stage name Kim Haesong as a performer, in 1939 Kim began to also use it for his musical scores.³³ Although he also performed with the C.M.C., he was not asked to tour Japan with the group in the beginning of 1939. Kim continued to compose songs instead, including *The Gypsies' Motherland* (Chipshi-ūi kohyang 집시의 고향), with which he and Yi Nanyōng would have a hit upon her return from Japan.³⁴ In 1943, around the time he began to work as a big band conductor, Kim composed the music for the pro-Japanese song *25 Million Emotions* (Ich'on obaengman kamgyōk 二千五百萬 感格), written by Cho Myōngam 趙鳴岩 and performed by Nam Insu and Yi Nanyōng.³⁵

Yi Nanyōng was born Yi Ongnye 李玉禮 in Yangdong 陽洞 in downtown Mokp'o 木浦, South Chōlla 全羅 province, on 6 June 1916. Her family was poor and her father, Yi Namsun 李南順 was always ill, so Ongnye's mother Pak Soa 朴小兒 had to go as far as Cheju 濟州 province to find work as a kitchen maid.³⁶ Thus from an early age Ongnye had to help out around the house. In 1923 she entered the Mokp'o National Elementary School, but because of her family's financial problems left in her fourth year. It is reported that she began making a name for herself from the age of twelve when she found a job singing at a cinema during intermissions. In 1929 she went to join her brother Pongnyong at a cotton factory where she worked for two years until she had enough money to travel to her mother. At the age of fifteen she began singing for Yi Ch'ol's Three Streams Operetta Group. In the same year she joined the Sun Show Band (*T'aeyang kagūktan* 太陽歌劇團), but when the group went to perform in Osaka, it was unable to sell tickets because of the recession and it eventually disbanded.³⁷ On 26 August 1933, Pacific Records brought out two recordings of her as a member of the group—*Fading Youth* (Shidūrūn ch'ōngch'un 시들은 青春) and *A Foregone Dream* (Chinagan yet kkum 지나간 옛꿈)—but she was never paid.³⁸ Having no money even to return home, the young teenager ended up roaming the streets of Osaka in search for a job and a way home. She managed to survive by singing at a low-class bar.

After some time, Yi Ch'ol located her and had her sign a contract to sing exclusively for his label. In 1932, she recorded the popular song *Fragrance* (Hyangsu 鄉愁) and, at the end of September 1933, the theme song of the movie *Chongno* (중로, dir. Yang Ch'ol, 1933).³⁹ Recordings of the songs *Phoenix* (Pulsajo 不死鳥) and *Solitude* (Kojōk 孤寂), by composer Mun Howōl 文湖月, followed in the next month.⁴⁰ In 1935 she recorded *Tears of Mokp'o* (Mokp'o-ūi nunmul 木浦의 눈물), composed by Mun Ilsōk and

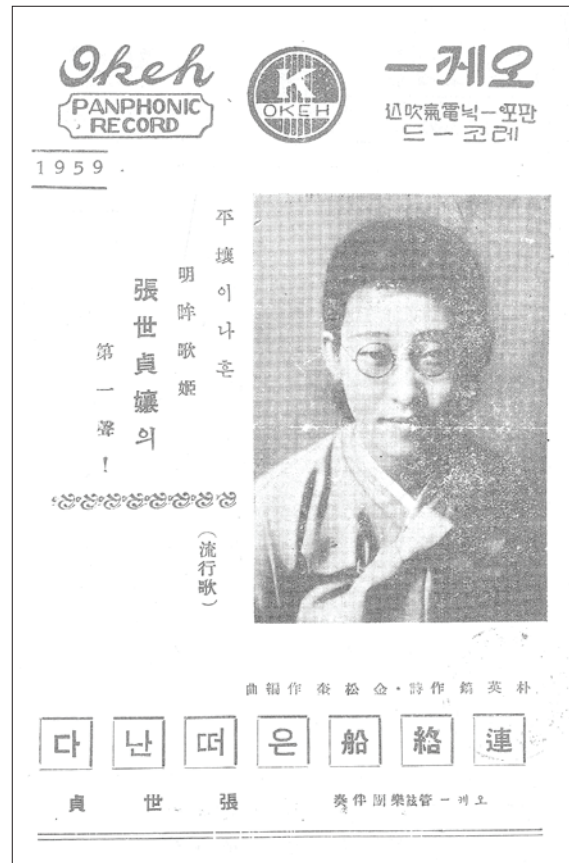


Figure 2

The Ferry Leaves (Yöllaksōn-ūn ttōnanda 連絡船은 떠난다) on Okeh 1959 (1937) lyrics sheet

36 Chōng T'aeyōng claims that drinking was the cause of her father's condition (Chōng T'aeyōng, *Pak Hwasōng-gwa Yi Nanyōng*, p. 44), but in an interview conducted in 1935 she said that even when she went to perform in Japan, her mother asked her to send medicine. See *Three Thousand Li* (Samch'ōlli 三千里) 8:7 (August 1935), p.125; see also Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.346.

37 According to Hwang Munp'yōng it was the Three Streams Operetta Group with which Yi went to perform in Japan. Hwang Munp'yōng, *Norae paengnyōnsa*, pp.104–5; Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.345; Chōng T'aeyōng, *Pak Hwasōng-gwa Yi Nanyōng*, p.44.

38 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.346; see also Taihei 8065 (in the source given here transcribed as 시드는 青春) and 8068: Han'guk chōngshin munhwa yōn'guwōn, *Han'guk yusōnggi ūmban ch'ongmongnok*, pp.901–2.

39 See Okeh 1580-B: Han'guk chōngshin munhwa yōn'guwōn, *Han'guk yusōnggi ūmban ch'ongmongnok*, pp.747, 902; Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.346.

40 Okeh 1587: Han'guk chōngshin

munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'guk yusŏnggi ūmban ch'ongmongnok*, p.749. Chŏng T'aeyŏng gives 1934 as the release date for *Phoenix*. Chŏng T'aeyŏng, *Pak Hwasŏng-gwa Yi Nanyŏng*, p.28.

41 Okeh 1795: Han'guk chŏngshin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'guk yusŏnggi ūmban ch'ongmongnok*, p.795; Yi Tongsun, *Pŏnji ōmnŭn chumak*, p.303.

42 Chŏng T'aeyŏng, *Pak Hwasŏng-gwa Yi Nanyŏng*, p.63.

43 Teichiku 50344.

44 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, p.328.

45 Kim Chip'yŏng, *Han'guk kayo chŏng-shinsa*, p.375; Yi Tongsun, *Pŏnji ōmnŭn chumak*, p.307.

46 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, pp.19–20.

47 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, pp.38, 214.

48 The Im Brothers Band was managed by Im Kŭnshik and Im Wŏnshik. The O.M.C. was originally set up by Cho Ch'unyŏng and Yi Chaech'un. Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, pp.21–2, 269; see also Kim Hoyŏn, "Han'guk kŭndae akkŭk yŏn'gu" [A Study of Korean Musicals from the Modern Age] (PhD thesis, Dankook University, 2003), pp.124–26. Another group was The Roses Band 장미악단. When the group performed at the Sudo Theatre in Seoul from 25 to 28 February 1947, it included later K.P.K. members Paek Ūnsŏn, and dancer Kang Yunbok. Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, p.256.

49 Pak Sŏngsŏ, *Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa taejung kayo, kirok-kwa chŭngŏn* [The Korean War and Popular Songs: Records and Images] (Seoul: Ch'aegi innŭn p'unggyŏng, 2010), p.349.

50 Roald Maliangkay, "Supporting Our Boys: American Military Entertainment and Korean Pop Music in the 1950s and early 1960s," in *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Korean Wave*, ed. Keith Howard (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental: 2006), p.23.

51 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, p.168. A picture of Son Mogin performing for the troops on Paengnyŏng Island in 1952 can be found in Pak Sŏngsŏ, *Han'guk chŏnjaeng-gwa taejung kayo, kirok-kwa chŭngŏn*, p.52.

written by Son Mogin. The song, which expressed sorrow over the loss of Korea's autonomy, was one of Okeh's biggest hits, selling over 50 thousand copies.⁴¹ A poll in the magazine *Three Thousand Li* (Samch'ŏlli 三千里) from October 1935 put her in third place as Korea's most popular female singer with 873 votes, behind Wang Subok 王壽福 with 1903 votes and Sŏnuilsŏn 鮮于一扇 with 1166.⁴² In 1936, two years after she represented Korea at a national contest in Tokyo, she toured Japan as Oka Ranko 岡蘭子 and while overseas recorded *Farewell Boat Song* (Ibyŏr-ŭi paennorae 이별의 뱃노래) and *Arirang* (Ariran no uta 아리랑의唄) for Teichiku.⁴³ Soon after she returned to Korea, she performed the song *The Passage of Youth* (Ch'ŏngch'un haehyŏp 青春海峽) alongside Kim Haesong whom she married in 1937.⁴⁴

The C.M.C. performed four homecoming shows at the Pumin'gwan 府民館 in Seoul from 20 June 1939. It is reported that on one night Yi Ch'ŏl caused a stir by appearing on stage saying, "Japs (literally "kedatchak" 계다작) and the like are no match for our Korean Show Band" and was locked in a cell inside the Chongno police station for twenty days.⁴⁵ He died five years later in 1944 and it appears the collective then began to disband. Following Yi's death, Kim Haesong employed some of the group's core members, including his wife Yi Nanyŏng, Pak Shich'un and Nam Insu, to form a separate musical troupe (*akkŭktan*) for the Yakch'o cinema.⁴⁶ In 1946, however, Son Mogin, who for some time had been working in Tianjin, in China, as part of the New Sun Musical Troupe (Shin t'aeyang akkŭktan 新太陽樂劇團),⁴⁷ returned to Korea and reassembled the C.M.C., but by then it had to compete with other show bands. It continued to perform until February 1950 but without any original members as they had all moved on to form their own bands. Among the show bands active around this time were the Im Brothers Band 임형제악단, the Swan Musical Troupe 白鳥樂劇團, the Peninsula Musical Troupe 半島樂劇團 and Cho Ch'unyŏng and Yi Chaech'un's O.M.C.⁴⁸

Catering to Korean and American Nostalgia: The K.P.K.

AFKN (American Forces in Korea Network) began broadcasting on 4 October 1950 inside the Bando Hotel opposite City Hall in central Seoul, where the Lotte Hotel is located today.⁴⁹ Immediately after the war and until 1961, the service would have a significant impact on the attitudes and aspirations of young Koreans. Many of the young students tuning into the station in the early 1950s loved the music, and were keen to learn English and understand the lyrics of the songs. They were an important source of both information and inspiration, and often concerned social issues. Although there was no escaping the harsh reality of everyday life, which saw many people suffer from famine and disease living amongst the rubble of former buildings, the lyrics and the sometimes very expressive forms of music instilled a sense of promise and hope.⁵⁰ In 1961 the Park Chung Hee (Pak Chŏnghŭi 朴正熙) administration (1961–79) established a system of strict censorship that ruled out the possibility of open public debate on sociopolitical issues. Arguably, however, this system eventually led to more indigenous and more politicized forms of pop music.

After the C.M.C. disbanded many of its performers continued to be active in all kinds of ensembles, some of which performed for foreign, largely American, troops.⁵¹ These forces formed an important new audience, but were still made up of relatively young, male soldiers like the Japanese troops had been. The expectations of this audience were, of course, very different. To the

Americans, Korean acts were a compromise at best. Sherrie Tucker argues that when American women came to perform for them, they were “reminders of and even substitutes for their girls back home, as a reward for fighting the war, as embodiments of what they were fighting for”, but even though South Korea had become a US ally in political terms, the Korean performers lacked the common ground to truly solicit such feelings.⁵² What is more, many musicians among the American troops are likely to have felt superior to the Korean professionals, perhaps even more so than they did in Japan.⁵³

In the 1950s the performances venues were vastly different from those organized in Japan. Although they were now on home soil and included a small number of chic clubs, the shows now regularly occurred inside seedy bars and barracks. Here, the artists rarely performed on a proper stage in front of nicely dressed men and women of various ages who had purchased a ticket for the show themselves. Instead, they now often had to appear in front of (and sometimes among) a predominantly young, male audience that would turn up merely hoping to be pleasantly surprised—and who, like the Japanese troops before them, would not have bought their own ticket. The American servicemen were friendly and welcoming, but they had a strong preference for acts with at least one attractive girl. Few would have expected a Korean act to offer much more than “eye candy”, and a couple of songs they knew. This was not simply because many of the acts were mediocre, but also because most of the Americans sent to serve in Korea lacked an understanding of the country’s language and culture, and they would have unthinkingly shared the notion that it lagged behind in overall development.⁵⁴

As the movie *A Flower in Hell* (Chiokhwa 地獄花, dir. Shin Sangok, 1958) shows, performing for the American military sometimes meant lowering one’s standards and developing an aptitude for working with young, often working-class foreign soldiers. Although the movie is fictional, the foreign extras used are undoubtedly US troops, and the setting very much reflects those shown in photographs of the time. The soldiers generally did not care much about lyrics or the quality of a traditionally trained voice, but rather, about the attractiveness and expressiveness of the performance. Although American soldiers may have been unable to discern the different educational levels of the women they met on and around their camps, it must have been unsettling, and perhaps, degrading for the performers that uneducated sex workers were often present during their shows.⁵⁵ (See Figure 3) Many of those performing would have been uncomfortable with the seedy and sexualized conditions of the venues, especially since some of them were university educated and, only a decade earlier, had regularly worked at venues frequented by the elite.

Although they also often performed for Korean audiences, in 1945 Kim Haesong and his wife, along with a number of peers including Chang Sejöng, began entertaining US soldiers. Shin K’anaria 申카나라리아⁵⁶ reminisces,

I recall it was the 18th of October 1945. There was me, Yi Nanyöng, and Chang Sejöng and we sang together but also solo. At that time Yi Nanyöng was already singing an American song in English, though I cannot remember the title.⁵⁷

Some time that year Kim established the K.P.K., an entertainment collective that offered stand-up comedy, dance, operettas, and Western songs as well as rearranged Korean folksongs in a swing-jazz style. The troupe’s first performance was on 2 December 1945. It was called a Grand Show, and included among many others Yi Pongnyong, Kang Yunbok 康

52 Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: ‘All-Girl’ Bands of the 1940s* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), p.229.

53 Taylor Atkins, E, *Blue Nippon*, p.183.

54 Roald Maliangkay, “Supporting Our Boys: American Military Entertainment and Korean Pop Music in the 1950s and early 1960s,” p.22.

55 See Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.–Korea Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp.3, 23–24.

56 Born Shin Kyöngnyö 申景女, she was allegedly given the nickname K’anaria (*canaria* = Latin for canary) because of her cute voice. Yi Tongsun, *Pönji ömmün chumak*, p.375. Pak Ch’anho, *Han’guk kayosa 1*, pp.247–48; Yi Tongsun, *Pönji ömmün chumak*, p.375.

57 Pak Ch’anho, *Han’guk kayosa 2*, p.24.

Figure 3

A still from the 1958 film
A Flower in Hell (*Chiokhwa*
地獄花). An extract from the film
can be viewed in the online
version of this paper



58 The latter two formations were not new and had also formed part of the C.M.C. when, for example, it performed in Japan in 1940. *Keijō nippō* 16/2/1940: 4; 20/2/1940: 4.

59 Shim was 22 years old at the time. Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa* 2, pp.25, 58.

60 Kim Sook-ja, personal communication, Las Vegas, Nov. 2009.

61 Ch'oe Ch'angho, *Minjok sunan'gi-ŭi taejung kayosa*, p.183.

允福, Chang Sejöng, Hansŭ Hawaiian Group, Shin K'anaria, the Arirang Boys and the Chögori Sisters (with Yi Nanyöng).⁵⁸ Although these were essentially variety shows, Kim also arranged musicals and operettas. The K.P.K. recorded songs on vinyl, too, and it appears that its recording of the song *The Brother and Sister Who Appeared out of Nothing* (Hüllöon nammae 홀러온 남매) was the first record brought out after Liberation. On 9 April 1950 its operetta *Romeo and Juliet* opened at the Shigongwan 市公館 in central Seoul (today's MyeongDong Theatre 명동예술극장). Appearing in the operetta were, among others, Son Ilp'yöng 孫一平 in the role of Capulet, Yi Nanyöng in the role of Romeo, Chang Sejöng and Shim Yönok 沈蓮玉 as Juliet, and Kim Sönyöng 金善英 as Count Paris.⁵⁹ Kim Haesong's daughter Sook-ja (Sue), told me,

My father was producing *Romeo and Juliet*, and my father was looking for Romeo. He could not find any decent Romeo. So you know what my mother did? She had beautiful long hair; she cut it like a man, like me. She dressed up like Romeo and walked into my father's office, "You just found Romeo". I remember, her practicing dance, day and night. Then she played Don José in *Carmen*. She played it, as a man. They were so dedicated to the stage.⁶⁰

Some two months after the opening of *Romeo and Juliet*, North Korea invaded, and although it is reported that Kim told his wife and children to seek shelter while he initially stayed behind in Seoul, Sook-ja told me the whole family struggled to survive in Seoul at least for some time, with her mother even performing for the North Koreans on a few occasions. She remembered that her father was once taken away by North Korean soldiers, but, it is reported, that on the recommendation of someone who had worked for the culture office of the North Korean Military Front Command (Chönsön chigu saryöngbu 전선지구사령부) in Seoul in 1950 Kim joined the Social Stability Military Band (Sahoe anjönsöng kunaktae 사회안전성군악대), along with Yi Kyunam 李圭南, and that, eventually, he died of tuberculosis after crossing over to the North.⁶¹ Another rumour has it that villagers demolished the Kims' house out of anger over Kim's defection, but Sook-ja told me that this, too, was not true. She explained that the family remained in Seoul in 1951 and that

**Figure 4**

The Kim sisters performing at an army base in Taegu

on one occasion the North Koreans locked up her mother in a cave at the bottom of Namsan for four or five days, along with some seventeen others.

Before the loss of her husband, Yi had already begun training and managing her children, wanting them to turn professional, but she recognized that the girls had more commercial potential than the boys. Although they did not speak English and, according to Sook-ja, “didn’t even know where America was”, they were taught mostly English songs, the first being *Ole Buttermilk Sky*, a country and western song. (*The online version of this paper includes audio of Sook-ja Kim talking about the repertoire.*) Their uncle Yi Pongnyong was asked to write songs for them, and these added to a rich repertoire that included several “Oriental” songs, American songs such as *Charlie Brown* and *When the Saints Go Marching In*, as well as Korean folksongs including *Arirang*, *Fallen Blossoms on a Stream* (Nakhwa yusu 落花流水), *Bellflower Song* (Toraji t’aryŏng 도라지타령), and *Song of Spring* (Pom norae 봄노래, credited to Kim Haesong).

The Kim Sisters act, which began around the start of the Korean War, first involved the girls Sook-ja 淑子, Ai-ja 愛子 and Young-ja 英子, but the latter was replaced with their uncle’s daughter Min-ja 敏子 (Mia) when the girls signed a contract with a nightclub in Las Vegas around 1958. Yi brought the girls along when she went to the American clubs to sing, and the girls’ act soon became the highlight of the show (see Figure 4). At some point in 1951, Yi Nanyŏng moved her family to Pusan 釜山, where she began managing the K.P.K., which was then renamed the Yi Nanyŏng Band. Among the members were Chang Sejøng, Kang Yunbok and her husband, tapdancer Chŏn Haenam 田海男, and Yi’s daughters Sook-ja, Ai-ja and Young-ja.⁶² Sook-ja told me:

[It was] a left-over band from my father. All the GIs hungered for all the songs. They were a long way from America and I could see how lonely they were. And my mother tried to make them feel at home. She even helped them. These guys came all the way from America. We needed to entertain them. So it was a perfect idea of her, but without my father, she had to do it by herself. Thirty, forty people, and then we’d go to, you know, a GI Club and perform, and the USO Show. Then we started singing for them.

62 Kang Yunbok and Chŏn Haenam also performed for the Oasis Grand Show on 26 August 1956. Pak Ch’anho, *Han’guk kayosa 2*, pp.25, 249; Pak Sŏngsŏ, *Han’guk chŏnjaeng-gwa taejung kayo*, p.295.

63 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, p.26.

64 Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, p.28.

65 Roald Maliangkay, "Supporting Our Boys," pp.25–26.

66 Pak Söngsö, *Han'guk cbönjaeng-gwa taejung kayo*, p.44; Roald Maliangkay, "Pop for Progress: South Korea's Propaganda Songs," in *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Korean Wave*, ed. Keith Howard (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental: 2006), p.51.

Together we did it. It was a tent; there were a lot of tents. We would ride for two-and-a-half, sometimes many hours; there was no road. It was all rocks [...]. Sometimes the driver, the GI was drunk, and he'd go like 60, 70 miles an hour. And we were so little. We wore parkas, with fur, but all the dust came in, so when you got off the truck nobody recognised you. And one time we fell off and we almost died. And I remember that one time it was so cold that we were frozen in the truck and we couldn't get up, so the GI literally carried us out and took us to the fireplace. We had to melt. And we cried, it was so cold. And yet, we had to perform; we wanted to perform. So we'd sit in front of the fireplace and warmed up, and then we went to perform. But we just had to do that, to survive, you know. If we didn't do that, we wouldn't eat. So we had no choice.

Soon after returning to Seoul, on 26 October 1953, Yi arranged a show called *Rhapsody of Paebaengi* (Paebaengi kwangsanggok 배뱅이광상곡) at the Peace Theatre (P'yöngghwa kükchang 평화극장), with folksong specialist Yi Ŭn'gwan, well-known for his rendition of the one-man folk opera *Ritual for Paebaengi* (Paebaengi kut 배뱅이굿), in the leading role.⁶³ Since the war left most family networks either disrupted or destroyed, for the majority of people regular employment was the only way to secure a livelihood. Similar show bands and variety collectives continued to form,⁶⁴ but it appears that the demand far exceeded the supply. It is likely that in the 1950s many Koreans sought employment as entertainers out of desperation rather than any artistic ambition, so the quality of many acts would have been low.⁶⁵

Because of their great musical talent and unbridled optimism, the Kim Sisters managed to win the hearts of many a young GI. Apart from the musical and performing talent of the girls, their Korean accents and traditional costume proved endearing. By 1958, around the time it appears the Yi Nanyöng Band discontinued its activities, the Americans had begun to give them the nickname "the Korean Andrews Sisters". Other all-girl acts quickly followed suit, but whereas the Kim Sisters were able to play many instruments very well, competing acts relied on their physical appeal only. It is reported that around this time, Tom Ball, manager of the China Doll Review in the Thunderbird Hotel in Las Vegas, travelled to Korea to meet the girls and having watched them perform, drew up a \$400 contract for them to perform in his club. Following their migration to the US, the girls performed on major stages in cities across the country, and recorded several albums and singles. At the summit of their success, they regularly appeared on TV, including the popular Dinah Shore, Dean Martin and Hollywood shows. Their audience often included a considerable number of Korean Americans, for whom the girls' cute and energetic medley of positive all-American and Korean songs had nostalgic value, and it was for them in particular that the girls continued to wear traditional dress (*hanbok* 韓服) and sing Korean folksongs.

On 16 May 1961, the South Korean government banned songs written by defectors,⁶⁶ which meant that the part of Yi Nanyöng's repertoire composed by her husband could no longer be performed without it representing an act of political defiance, despite the fact that Yi blamed North Korea for taking her husband and supported the migration of many of her relatives to the US. It is said that she had fallen in love with singer Nam Insu around 1957 and had eventually moved in with him, but he died in 1962. Not wanting to be alone, she went to visit her daughters in the US, but returned to Korea in 1963. Soon after, she sent three of her sons to join their sisters in the US with a separate act called The Kim Brothers. There are no reports of her band being active again, but she continued to perform as a solo vocalist.

Her children eventually all migrated to the US, with no plans to return. Both The Kim Sisters and The Kim Brothers returned to Seoul on a few occasions to perform alongside their mother, but visa issues sometimes frustrated their return. Possibly also because of the social stigma that her husband's captors had indirectly bestowed on her, Yi herself continued to spend a considerable amount of time visiting her children in the US. She died on 17 April 1965 at the age of 49, at Sook-ja's house in Seoul under suspicious circumstances.⁶⁷ Sook-ja told me she was unable to attain a visa to attend her mother's funeral because her father was still considered a defector.

Conclusion

The emphasis in this article has been on the conditions under which the C.M.C. and the K.P.K. gave their performances, including the aspirations of both the performers and their audiences, with a view to revealing how the complex phenomenon of Occidentalism may have been manifested before and after the Korean War. It would, however, be wrong to ignore the genuine appreciation the artists and audiences had for the music itself, or to treat the performances as mere avenues for the expression of ideas, for they would have no persuasive power without the music and the peripheral aspects of the music that added to its appeal, such as fashion and the association with a popular movie or form of dance. Although everyday living and working conditions were undoubtedly a major source of inspiration for the songs, perhaps as much as social status and sociopolitical ideologies, ultimately it would have been the music that inspired the Kims and the other performers they worked with.

When comparing the activities of the C.M.C. and K.P.K., some similarities in their work for foreign troops can be found. The two collectives operated in a subservient role, culturally and politically, catering to the likes (and dislikes) of their employers. However, performing for foreign military forces also constituted a measure of accomplishment, if a small one, considering that in order to earn a living and secure future work, declining "invitations" was no option. The shows the collectives performed had elements of nostalgia both for the foreign servicemen who sometimes knew the original versions of songs, and for those who dreamed of a life beyond the violence and oppression of colonial rule and war. Traditional Korean elements served to remind the audiences of the performers' cultural roots, and they could underpin nationalist sentiments with Korean and foreign audiences, based on a feeling of pride and an either romantic or positivist Orientalist view respectively. Modern music, on the other hand, was an equally significant sign of accomplishment because it was associated with contemporary West-



Figure 5

A record shop in the US advertising the girls' first album

⁶⁷ Kim Sook-ja, personal communication, Las Vegas, Nov. 2009. Pak Ch'anho gives 11 April as the date of her death. See Pak Ch'anho, *Han'guk kayosa 1*, pp.360–61. Yi Pongnyong migrated to America in 1973, but he died in Seoul on 9 January 1987 during a visit. Chōng T'aeyōng, *Pak Hwasōng-gwa Yi Nanyōng*, p.44.

68 Pak Sang Mi, "The Making of a Cultural Icon for the Japanese Empire: Choe Seung-hui's U.S. Dance Tours and "New Asian Culture" in the 1930s and 1940s," p.606.

69 Shunya Yoshimi, "'America' as Desire and Violence: Americanization in Post-war Japan and Asia during the Cold War," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4.3 (2003): 433–50, at pp.441, 443.

ern culture, which, due to the fact that it was considered a yardstick at least in modern entertainment, acted as another possible stimulus of nationalist sentiment.

There were, however, also some notable differences between the C.M.C. and K.P.K. performances. When it performed in Japan the C.M.C. made use of Japan's association with its Korean colony as a culturally related, but plausibly less advanced neighbour.⁶⁸ Many Japanese apparently enjoyed the performances, but there seems to have been an emphasis on traditional forms of music. While the C.M.C. also performed modern songs, the Japanese authorities would likely have wanted to ensure that Korean performers did not appear to represent the latest developments in popular music, and the collective may not have wanted to compete with Japanese acts. Unfortunately, many details about these performances are missing, but we can safely assume that while a Japanese audience might have recognised the Koreans' talent and the quality of their music, they may also have regarded the show as a sign of Japan's effective colonization of Korea. In addition, the C.M.C. performances may have been viewed as a Korean attempt to emulate Japan's successful adoption and redefinition of specific aspects of Western culture. Korean audiences, on the other hand, would have regarded the modern elements in the shows as a successful and more direct emulation of Western culture.

The K.P.K.'s shows for the American military, as well as those by The Kim Sisters, provide a stronger case for the study of the phenomenon of Occidentalism. They included a much greater proportion of Western songs and demonstrated a fondness for Western music, dance and fashion. Shunya Yoshimi notes the US was not associated with violence in South Korea (unlike in Japan),⁶⁹ and indeed, many young South Koreans avidly and unquestioningly followed all kinds of American trends throughout the 1950s. In their predominantly modern shows, the K.P.K. sometimes highlighted their Korean origins, allowing Korean audiences to experience a degree of pride over their compatriots' talent for Western music, and Americans (who would have commonly regarded the shows as second rate) pride in their cultural superiority. Although the American forces were generally keen to employ them, the venues where the Korean singers, musicians and dancers were expected to perform were often of low quality, and rather seedy and undignified. The larger camp shows and the cities' more prestigious clubs, on the other hand, constituted venues where performers could truly emulate the talent, showmanship, and splendour of the shows they had initially come to know about mostly through movies. They may have reminded some of them of the chic, sophisticated settings of many clubs during the colonial period. Opportunities to perform on stages like these continued to inspire many Korean performers, whose love for the new various forms of music went unabated despite the many hardships faced.

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