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Gendering Cultures of Japanese Photography, 1931-1970

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

Kelly Midori McCormick

2019



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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Gendering Cultures of Japanese Photography, 1931-1970

by

Kelly Midori McCormick

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor William Marotti, Chair

This dissertation analyzes the cultural, economic, and gendered landscape in which the camera played a central role in making Japanese culture during and after World War II. Connecting the rise of women photographers and the domestically produced camera (two figures excluded from many traditional histories of Japan and photography) demonstrates the points of overlap where both have operated within and defined the same structures of power and visual economies which sought to construct cameras as powerful tools of war and nationalism, and women as subjects of its desire. By drawing on histories of technology, photography, design, and consumer culture, this dissertation revises the male-centered narratives of optical technologies and photographic practice and shows why the history of technology and consumer culture had radical effects on both the history of images and image making. Thus this study answers the following questions: What does a history of photographs taken during wartime and its aftermath look like seen from the perspective of its sites of mass production and consumption? And if the mass culture of photography was a defining element during this period, how does photographic culture bring into focus different angles on the history of Japan? In answering these questions I

historicize the construction of the categories of masculinity, femininity, weapon, and producer of art and protest.

The first chapter, “Weaponizing Vision in Wartime Japan, 1931-1945” examines depictions of the gendered Japanese photographer and optical technologies used at war. This chapter analyzes the state’s vision of appropriate uses of photography during wartime and its attempt to control and regulate it through the picture press. I show how even as the wartime Ministry of Information published treatises likening cameras to guns, photographs to bullets, and photographers to the *male* soldiers who wielded these weapons, the first female photojournalists in Japan began working in the war offices and women replaced their husbands off at war as home front photographers.

The second chapter, “Finding a Language for Early Postwar Japanese Photography” addresses how the transformation of wartime technologies into consumer goods created a postwar camera boom that opened new spaces for negotiating what photographic language was best suited to processing the themes of foreign occupation and the transition to the Cold War political system and economy. Investigating a moment of global connection between American and Japanese photographers and publishers, this chapter demonstrates how the interactions between professional photography organizations, camera corporations, international photojournalists, and the American Occupation set the parameters for who could be considered a photographer and the commercial market for photographic content.

The third chapter, “The Japanese Camera and the Aesthetics of Postwar National Design,” argues that designers such as Kamekura Yūsaku (1915-1997), national policies to promote Japanese design, and great support from corporations such as Nippon Kōgaku (Nikon) and the Canon Co. recast the Japanese camera as an object that promoted modernist discourse

and helped reshape Japan from the world's source of cheaply produced knock-offs to the center of modern design. In doing so, the camera industry also constructed an image of women as incapable of using optical technology; female photographers resisted this image and found ways to show their proficiency with the technology. Finally, this chapter shows how it was Kamekura's sustained work designing cameras that informed his total design concept for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.

Chapter Four, "The Photography Boom in Postwar Japan: Tokiwa Toyoko and the Nude Shooting Session," critically examines the nude shooting session craze, events wherein naked women were photographed in public parks by groups of amateur photographers, as symbolic of the tensions surrounding a changing postwar culture in Japan. I address the ways in which photographer Tokiwa Toyoko commented upon this dynamic through her own representations of the event which were published widely in magazines, newspapers, and displayed on gallery walls. This chapter introduces the ways in which women photographers such as Tokiwa sought to depict themselves and the male photography culture in which they worked.

Where Chapter Four addresses the rise of the female photographer in 1950s Japan, the fifth and final chapter, "Through Young Eyes: The Female Student Photography Revolution 1950s-1970s" investigates the work of members of photography clubs at women's colleges in Tokyo and Nagoya, to show how female students quickly seized upon new photographic technologies to use the camera as a weapon to participate in mass national protests. I analyze how the students produced a theoretically informed method of collective and anonymous photo-making to place the image, rather than a photographer's identity, at the center of meaning making. These student photographers used their new theory of photography as a powerful tool of dissent against gendered social norms and environmental pollution. Finally, this dissertation

concludes with an analysis of the key exhibition spaces for the history of photography and cameras in Japan to address institutional absences of the history of technology and gender in photography exhibitions.

The dissertation of Kelly Midori McCormick is approved.

Andrea Sue Goldman

Katsuya Hirano

Vanessa Schwartz

Bert Winther-Tamaki

William Marotti, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

For my grandmothers, Suzue and Lorraine, who taught me that there are many ways to fight  
And for Leona, who, grew within me as I wrote and then ran out into the world

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## A note to the reader

This dissertation follows the Japanese name ordering system wherein family name comes before the given name. All translations from Japanese to English are mine unless otherwise noted. In many instances books or works only have Japanese titles in which case I have translated them into English in the following parentheses.

## Introduction

On the cover of Tokiwa Toyoko's autobiographical book, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison Flowers, 1957), a portrait of the photographer depicts her focusing the lens of her 35mm camera on a scene of a man pulling a woman down the street by her hands. Both of the figure's backs are to Tokiwa as she raises the camera to her face and by the trick of photo collage the viewer sees the man and woman reflected in her Nippon Kōgaku (now Nikon) lens as though seeing what Tokiwa sees. Diverging from the majority of photobooks published at this time in Japan which seldom incorporated portraits of the photographer in action, this prominently placed portrait of the Tokiwa makes it clear that the draw of this book is as much about its titillating photographs of female wrestlers, pearl divers and prostitutes, as it is about generating curiosity around a woman's relationship with the latest camera technology. To underscore this point, when examined carefully, the photograph reveals that we don't see Tokiwa actually operating the camera. She is not even holding the viewfinder to her eye, rather, the camera is held in line with her face so that the viewfinder and lens form a parallel line with her eyes. This relationship of association, rather than real documentation of use repeats advertising tropes wherein women were visualized as camera backdrops rather than users. While we don't see an example of a woman taking a picture with a camera, what we do see is Tokiwa: for all the artifice of the photograph every freckle and the hairs in her eyebrows are in full detail, unmasked by any signs of makeup. The folds of the palms of her hands extend from the rumpled clothing of her subjects, her composure framing the forcefulness of the pictured struggle. A decade since the Japanese signing of surrender and a few years after the official end of the American Occupation of mainland Japan, this photograph is the starting point for this study, which asks: How was the

birth of Japanese cameras and the first major emergence of women as professional photographers inextricably intertwined in the middle of the twentieth century in Japan?

### **The Rise of Women Photographers and Japanese Cameras in Wartime and Postwar Japan**

Just a little over a decade before the publication of Tokiwa's book it was still uncommon to find mention in the mass press of women who made a living through photographs. Yamazawa Eiko (1899-1995), who studied in the United States under Consuelo Kanaga and operated her own portrait studio in Osaka staffed entirely with women until the war forced her to take shelter in the countryside, was a notable exception.<sup>1</sup> A generation after Yamazawa, Sasamoto Tsuneko (1918—) took photographs for various propaganda photography magazines produced by the wartime Cabinet of Information, perhaps making her the first female photojournalist in Japan. After the end of the war, she led the prominent women's Shirayuri Camera Club, which Tokiwa also took part in, and freelanced for Tokyo area newspapers. Tokiwa (1930—), who grew up amidst the American firebombing of the greater Tokyo area, took photographs of the "working women" of the mid 1950s that were often reproduced as snapshots of the gendered dynamics of a changing country. By the 1960s a new generation of women joined photography clubs at their universities and found that the gendered landscape of the public sphere and photography world had begun to shift. In opposition to Sasamoto's wartime work but also very much in her

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<sup>1</sup> For further information on the life of Yamazawa Eiko, see the impressively produced catalogue to the 2019 joint exhibition held by the Otani Memorial Art Museum and the Tokyo Photographic Art Museum, Tsukasa Ikegami and Suzuki Yoshiki, eds., *Watashi no gendai: Yamazawa Eiko / What I am Doing: Eiko Yamazawa* (My Modern Age: Eiko Yamazawa) (Kyoto: Akaaka, 2019); also, Yamazawa Eiko, *Watashi wa joryū shashinka: Yamazawa eiko no geijutsu to jiritsu* (I am a female photographer: The art and independence of Yamazawa Eiko) (Osaka: Brain Center, Inc.: 1983).

trailblazing spirit, they raised their cameras against the state to make political messages about the human costs of industrialization and environmental pollution.

The Japanese camera follows a similar trajectory of wartime use and postwar reinvention and the meanings embedded and invested in the camera are a controlling influence of photography culture and are central to understanding the history of photography. Domestically produced photographic technologies worked to get their foothold in Japan in the first part of the twentieth century but often found it hard to compete with imported products. Then, in the 1940s camera companies became part of the Japanese government's efforts to invest in optical technologies as part of the war effort. While before the war Japanese photographers clamored to purchase imported German Leicas and American Kodak cameras, after the war Japanese camera companies seized the opportunity to change this picture. With the start of the American Occupation, camera corporations were quick to restart production and become one of the most desirable items sold to Allied servicemen at Post Exchange Depots. The Japanese government and camera companies turned this insatiable desire for Japanese cameras into the opportunity for cameras to become the lynchpin in a national strategy to rebrand Japanese-made products as high quality modernist symbols of design. As part of this process cameras became cheaper and more accessible, and yet, as with every time in photography's history when a broader range of users can more easily take photographs, gatekeepers of the photography world doubled down on defining "good" photographers as male professionals. Though they were now a part of the new nationalism of the postwar, the embedded assumption in the design of many cameras was that special, easy to use cameras needed to be designed for women to use. Thus, the story of the camera as the symbol of design in service to the state is crucial to understanding the conflicting meanings behind the camera itself.

Connecting the rise of women photographers and the domestically produced camera (two figures excluded from many traditional histories of Japan and photography) demonstrates the points of overlap where both have operated within and defined the same structures of power and visual economies. This system has sought to construct cameras as powerful tools of war and nationalism, and women as subjects of its desire. It seeks to historicize the construction of the categories of masculinity, femininity, weapon, and producer of art and protest rather than merely make “experience visible” and reproduce the terms of this system.<sup>2</sup> In doing so, each chapter offers an analysis of the construction of the dominant narratives in the history of Japanese photography and offers alternate examples as a critique of these normative histories.

This approach also brings into focus the larger history of photography and its relationship to its mass production and consumption. Japan has for a long time been home to avid consumers of the picture press, from woodblock prints to photographs. Since the implementation of the halftone printing process at the turn of the twentieth century in mass produced Japanese publications, viewers have eagerly expected that photographs illustrate reporting and in many cases recognized that it was the photograph itself that was the event.<sup>3</sup> Mapping the cultural history of photography in this period thus reveals a heterogenous field of actors unlike what audiences familiar with an American context might expect. From tight state control during the wartime, photography in the postwar world experienced a great flowering that surpassed its pre-

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<sup>2</sup> Joan Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Summer, 1991), 779.

<sup>3</sup> On press images and photographs themselves generating as much interest as the event they depict, see Jason E. Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz, eds., *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); On images producing new forms of historical consciousness, see Daniela Bleichmar and Vanessa R. Schwartz, “Visual History: The Past in Pictures,” *Representations*, Vol. 145 No. 1 (Winter 2019): 1-31.

war status as a bourgeois past time. This was largely due to the efforts of newspapers and camera corporations. While newspapers such as the *Asahi Shimbun* and *Mainichi Shimbun* sponsored tremendously popular photography contests, magazines, and shooting sessions, dozens of camera companies competed for visibility by creating their own iterations of these events as well as sponsoring contests and how-to essays explaining the use of the latest equipment to hit the market within the pages of photography magazines.<sup>4</sup> In the 1950s camera companies also opened galleries that continue to this day to be hubs of photographic culture.<sup>5</sup>

Wildly popular photography magazines were often the first places where famous and up and coming photojournalists or avant-garde photographers published their work, meaning that there was little emphasis on the value or material qualities of a singular print. Instead, in the 1950s photographers were more likely to publish photography books through popular presses such as Domon Ken's *Chikuhō no kodomotachi* (Children of Chikuhō) released by Patoria Shoten for 100 yen a copy, or Tokiwa Toyoko's *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison Flowers) published with Mikasa Shobō, which were best sellers. Entirely new photographic presses such as Iwanami Shashin Bunko were established in the 1950s, which combined photographs by amateurs from around the country with photojournalism in its themed 286 volumes of

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<sup>4</sup> For a list of the many photography and camera periodicals that were established in the twentieth century and their postwar intensification, see Saeki Kakugorō, Yokota Hiroshi, Tanino Kei, and Shirayama Mari, *Shashin zasshi no kiseki* (The Trajectory of photography magazines) (Tokyo: JCII Library, 2001); Shirayama Mari, ed., *Shashin zasshi no kiseki Part II – Shashin kigyō shihen* (The Trajectory of photography magazines— Part II Photography Company Magazines) (Tokyo: JCII Library, 2013); Shirayama Mari, ed. *Arusu— 『Camera』 to sono shūhen—* (Ars Camera and related magazines) (Tokyo: JCII Library, 2015); on the history of Japanese photography through magazine publishing in the 1960s-80s see, Ivan Vartanian, “Magazine Work,” *Aperture*, no. 219 (2015), 28-35.

<sup>5</sup> Konishi roku's Ginza gallery reopened after the end of the war and was a popular place for up and coming photographers such as Tokiwa Toyoko and Hosoe Eikoh in the 1950s. The Fuji Photo Salon opened in 1957; The Nikon Salon opened in 1968 and continues to be the goal for many professional photographers as an exhibition space.

photographs on themes ranging from taxonomical views of small islands on the Japanese coast to bugs, photographs of American, the production of Japanese rice paper, photographs of Tokyo, Japanese cinema, and more. At 100 yen each, the slim volumes filled with photographs were devoured by readers eager to see unique selections of current life across Japan portrayed through short photo essays. In this way, we might think of photography exhibitions, publications, and contests as simultaneous promotions of both optical technologies as well as new forms of expression and image making. These new spaces for photographic publication and viewership created an educated consumer with an insatiable appetite for photographs who also wanted to produce them as well, expanding photography's scope beyond elite clubs and museum walls.

Continuing from the prewar era, department stores persisted as popular spaces to hold arts exhibitions. In the 1950s photography exhibitions were just as likely to be held at the Seibu, Mitsukoshi or Takashimaya department stores, among others, as they were to be held in a gallery, and even less likely to be held at the National Museum of Modern Art.<sup>6</sup> The 2.4 percent of Tokyo's population who visited the first exhibition of photographs of the Imperial Family saw them at Mitsukoshi department store and the *Family of Man* exhibition made its stops in Japan at Takashimaya department stores. These spaces mixed exhibiting photographs with displaying items for purchase on the floors below, and visitors might make their final stop at the top floor restaurants.

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<sup>6</sup> By the late 1950s, there is a shift from exhibitions held at department stores such as the Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi, Ginza Mitsukoshi, Nihonbashi Takashimaya, to galleries run by camera companies. Whereas in the immediate years following the war, the first photography exhibitions were held for the most part at Mitsukoshi's various locations around Tokyo, in 1956 Konishi Roku opened Tokiwa Toyoko's exhibition and began the trend of camera makers supporting photography exhibitions. For a detailed list of postwar photography exhibitions and their locations, see Hou Penghui, "Nihon ni okeru shashin tenrankai no shiteki kenkyū: sengo kara shashin bijutsukan no seiritsu made (1945-1995) wo chūshin ni" (Historical research on photographic exhibitions in Japan: from the postwar to the establishment of the photography museum (1945-1995)) Ph.D. diss., Nihon University College of Art, 2015, 138-158.

Not only did these venues create new audiences and photographers, but they also guaranteed that there was no single institution which served as the gatekeeper of photographic culture. In fact, postwar photographic culture in Japan was more characterized by a diversity of corporate and media interests in promulgating photography than by art museum support for it. This meant that rather than see institutions such as museums as powerful forces for encouraging photographic movements, photographers rarely thought of them as the end goal for displaying their images. This is one of the reasons why the first major photography museum was not established until 1990 after nearly twenty years of campaigning for its establishment. The great diversity of photographic sponsors and the fact that camera companies played such an influential role in sponsoring photographic culture brought up a second set of questions that this study pursues: What does a history of photographs taken during wartime and its aftermath look like seen from the perspective of its sites of mass production and consumption? And if the mass culture of photography was a defining element during this period, how does photographic culture bring into focus different angles on the history of Japan?

Answering these questions required looking beyond single images, past official corporate histories, and beyond archival silences to stitch together a history of photography and Japan from materials not often read in relation to one another. The photographic press, photography clubs, design conferences, student-produced photobooks, and the parameters of the profession itself provide the opportunity to consider together what are often thought of as disparate phenomena by illuminating their common institutions, actors, and languages. In so doing I examine how the photography world was an environment where mass culture, international exchange, corporate and state propaganda, gendered technologies and workforces, and political and environmental protest came together. Due to many of the same assumptions about who qualifies as a



photographer and what qualifies as the history of photography, this history has, until now, been hiding in plain sight. The experiences of these actors and their depiction in the mass press provides a unique opportunity to use photography culture as visual evidence to reconsider and refigure a visual history of Japan in this period.

The camera's role in contributing to photography's mass culture invites us to rethink the sustained exclusivity of consumer technologies and the art world. That is, this study shows how we cannot think about photography in this period without taking seriously what Joan Scott describes as the "relationship aspect of normative definitions of femininity."<sup>7</sup> A focus on the gendering of photographic and camera culture forces a critical reexamination of the very foundations upon which the history of photography has been written. For instance, the popular presses labeled the 1950s as the era of the "photography boom" in Japan as amateurs of an unprecedented number grew to make up photography's audience. When magazines such as *Asahi Camera* held photography contests they easily received tens of thousands of entries each month in the mid-1950s. While photo historian John Raeburn describes accessibility as the "keynote of this shared public culture," despite many proclamations in the Japanese press that photography had become a democratic art in the postwar period, the only thing democratic about it was that middle class men experienced the freedom to photograph new content.<sup>8</sup> Here I argue that evidence of mass or popular participation in photography is not, in fact, proof that it was a "democratic art." It continues to be the case that nothing about photography is egalitarian.

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<sup>7</sup> Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 5 (Dec. 1986), 1054.

<sup>8</sup> John Raeburn, *A Staggering Revolution: A Cultural History of Thirties Photography* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe, *Viewfinders: Black Women Photographers* (New York: Writers & Readers, 1993), 7.

Women and young adults expressing themselves through photography were highly contested and regulated in this period. Camera designers often proved the alleged universality of their technology by using them as examples of the broadest user possible: if a woman or child could use their camera design than anyone could use it.

Joan Solomon writes that in the “visual and verbal journey” of showing how women can “empower ourselves and each other” there “is little in amateur or popular photography magazines to help us map our course.”<sup>9</sup> For the majority of photography’s history, she argues, popular photography culture has been addressed to heterosexual while males, assuming interest in genres that invite the views to “gaze at women’s bodies” or only use women as decorative additions to advertisements. Because photography “generates images which are coercive to the extent that they are able to mobilize powerful models of social behavior and appearances according to which the major divisions of age, race, class and sex are made to appear both natural and desirable” it is imperative that historians address the institutions of production, circulation, and reception mentioned above.<sup>10</sup> It is only in this way that we may, in the words of Laura Wexler, understand “how things got to be the way that they appear” to “build photography’s multitudes of ephemeral traces into documents as solid as another.”<sup>11</sup>

This study builds on Laura Wexler’s studies of American women in photography to argue that photography has equal potential to construct and support ruling ideologies as it has to supply

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<sup>9</sup> Jo Spence and Joan Solomon, eds. *What can a woman do with a camera?: photography for women*. (London: Scarlet Press, 1995), 10.

<sup>10</sup> Patricia Holland, Jo Spence, and Simon Watney, “Introduction,” in *Photography/Politics: Two*, (London: Comedia, 1986), 2.

<sup>11</sup> Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in and Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 5.

images for alternative movements. Paying attention to the function of representations of gender and age in Japanese photography circles, this study contributes to a new understanding of the formation of a photographic culture defined by women and students in this period. And yet, like Laura Wexler's study of the first women photographers who shifted themselves from "object to operator" to have serious photography careers at the end of the nineteenth century and who used their gendered representation as having an "innocent eye" to create images that contributed to American imperialism, I also seek to show how women photographers Sasamoto Tsuneko and Tokiwa Toyoko often imposed their own reformist visions upon the very people they imaged.<sup>12</sup>

Work in the past decade in Japanese visual culture by historians such as Maki Fukuoka, Katsuya Hirano, Justin Jesty, William Marotti, Kerry Ross, and Bert Winther-Tamaki have helped to move historical inquiry out of the realm of elite practices and into the realm of popular and mass culture to make visible the pervasiveness of photographic discourses within the history of image making, design, gender, and political protest.<sup>13</sup> Building on work by these scholars I

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<sup>12</sup> For examinations of the gender politics in Japanese and American photography in relation to gender and the role of photographic practice see Kasahara Michiko, *Jendā shashinron, 1991-2017* (Photographic Theory of Gender, 1991-2017) (Kawasaki-shi: Satoyamasha, 2018); Gabriella Lukacs, "Unraveling Visions: Women's Photography in Recessionary Japan," *boundary 21* 42 (3) (August 2015): 171–184; Kokatsu Reiko and Yoshimoto Midori, eds., *Zenei no josei, 1950-1975 Japanese women artists in avant-garde movements, 1950-1975* (Utsunomiya-shi: Tochigi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, 2005); Kokatsu Reiko, "Nihon ni okeru josei ātisu toten — jendā no shiten kara," (Exhibitions of women artists in Japan – from a gender perspective) *NACT Review Kokuritsu shinbijutsukan kenkyū kiyō Bulletin of the National Art Center* No. 3 (2016), 317-324. On the Euro-American context, see Judith Fryer Davidov. *Women's Camera Work: Self/Body/Other in American Visual Culture* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1998); Jo Spence and Joan Solomon, eds. *What can a woman do with a camera?: photography for women* (London: Scarlet Press, 1995); Jo Spence, *Putting myself in the Picture: A Political, Personal and Photographic Autobiography* (Seattle: Real Comet Press, 1988); Maren Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America 1890-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>13</sup> Maki Fukuoka, *The Premise of Fidelity: Science, Visuality, and Representing the Real in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); Katsuya Hirano, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination: Power and Popular Culture in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Justin Jesty. *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2018); William Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan*

have explored a set of Japanese, American, and transnational corporate archives not as the source for photographs but as the repository for the discourses on photography, its technologies, and those who interacted with these technologies to understand the intertwined practices that constitute photography culture. Though historians of visual culture generally agree with Marvin Heiferman's proclamation that, "photography changes everything" at the very same time that it "resists being shaped by any single set of imperatives or standards," time with these archives has shown me that as historians if we do not intervene in the long-held narratives about the way people have interacted with photography then its artworld gatekeepers will continue to rehash the same narratives and reify familiar tropes.<sup>14</sup>

I have selected themes that temporally overlap across this period to throw off the tendency of thinking about the history of culture as marching forward in a determined and set timeframe. With this method, I take seriously Allan Sekula's argument that the "photograph, as it stands alone, presents merely the *possibility* of meaning. Only by its embeddedness in a concrete discourse situation can the photograph yield a clear semantic outcome."<sup>15</sup> Though this statement could be said to be true about all visual representations, what the history of Japanese photography reveals about its historical context are the close relationships between image and technology. The changing meanings of the camera itself have as much to say about photographic culture as the photographs produced. Reading these depictions found in newspapers, magazines,

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(Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013); Kerry Ross, *Photography For Everyone: The Cultural Lives of Cameras and Consumers in Early-Twentieth Century Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015); Bert Winther-Tamaki, *Maximum Embodiment: Yōga, the "Western Painting" of Japan, 1910-1955* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Marvin Heiferman, ed. *Photography Changes Everything* (New York: Aperture, 2012), 11.

<sup>15</sup> Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning" in *Thinking Photography* ed. by Victor Burgin (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982), 91.

corporate advertising, international conference proceedings, and photobooks I have sought to create a space where the images and objects that constituted photography culture are allowed to coexist with one another in the way that a contemporary viewer might have experienced them, rather than separating them out into familiar genres.<sup>16</sup> In so doing discourses around the human-camera relationship as the technology changes over time are a through-line of each chapter.<sup>17</sup>

This study begins with Sasamoto Tsuneko's first front page cover for *Shashin Shūhō*, taken during her time working for the Photography Association (Shashin Kyōkai) which handled all photographic information for the Cabinet of Information (Naikaku Jōhōbu). Her 1940 photograph of three teenage girls singing patriotic songs is a symbol of the way that women in photography were typecast as suited to creating images of other women (and more often, children) and at the same time used their gender to contribute to imperialist or nationalist policies. Sasamoto, and Tokiwa Toyoko after her, were the well-healed "young lady" photographers whose success relied on the fact that their sharp focus on the society around them was not a threat to dominance of male photographers. To understand the context in which Sasamoto, the self-proclaimed "first female photojournalist" in Japan began her work, I expand my focus outward to look at the arguments for the use of photography that were employed by the mass media in the 1930s and 1940s. Ultimately the Japanese state saw all forms of photographs – whether they were spectacular collages sent to represent Japan at World Fairs or embedded in

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<sup>16</sup> This is what Allan Sekula suggests photo historians do in *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works, 1975-1983* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984), ix.

<sup>17</sup> For recently published provocative historical studies showing how photographic history supersedes all disciplinary boundaries Catherine E. Clark, *Paris and the Cliché of History: The City and Photographs, 1860-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Franz Prichard, *Residual Futures: The Urban Ecologies of Literary and Visual Media of 1960s and 1970s Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019); Jason E. Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz, eds., *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

lavishly produced magazines or documentary style photographs printed in newspapers and the visual press – as useful and necessary tools in the war effort. From the state’s perspective, photographs were vital sources of information that could be used for the war effort but also might reveal strategic information if they fell into enemy hands. This meant that there was tight control over what could be published in the press and an official policy to constrain how amateurs took photographs. In lieu of actual action shots of the battlefield or the war dead, the pictorial press called upon photographers of the Sino-and Russo Japanese wars to recount their experiences and published color promotions of optical technologies. This imagery demonstrates the need for a cultural history of photography during times of state restrictions on image making itself. Doing so enables one to look at the broad range of sources that contain information about the way people continued to make and consume photographs in spite of it all.

Building on this argument, Chapter Two looks at the ways in which commercial photography became a point of connection for Japanese and American photographers and publishers in the first decade after the end of the war. Representations of Bourke-White popularizing Japanese cameras, I argue, encouraged a view of photography as a humanistic practice connecting the globe which resonated with the language of the *Family of Man* exhibition traveling the world at that time. It is precisely this language of photography’s promise of universalism that occludes its impotence to critique the emperor or the wartime role of photographers. Calling into question narratives about postwar Japanese photographers primarily searching for critical distance with their work after the wartime implementation of photographers as soldiers, I show how Japanese photographers were quick to seize upon opportunities provided by the Occupation’s new censorship policies to depict content previously off-limits. Focusing on the business of photography, this chapter illuminates how American photographers stationed

themselves in Japan while covering the Korean War; it was during this time that they became hooked on Japanese optical equipment. Photographer Margaret Bourke-White worked her reputation as an example of an internationally successful female photographer to make connections within the Japanese photography community.

I extend the premise that during the wartime period cameras were fashioned as weapons of the state to understand how they were transformed into a related, but reinvented symbol of the Japanese as leaders in modern design in the postwar period. Shifting emphasis away from the circulation of the photographic images and photographers, in Chapter Three I treat the image of the Japanese camera and its designers as they were carefully constructed to build new narrative about the relationship between objects, consumers, and that state. I argue that the camera is central to understanding not only how a technology became associated with a particular nation-state, but also how there were many parallels within the professional design, architecture, and photography spheres in their construction of an enduring essentialist belief in Japanese form. Japanese designers such as Kamekura Yūsaku, new national policies to support design, and camera corporations each contributed to the effort to show that as the inheritor of ancient concepts of form, Japan was primed to set standards in international industrial and graphic design. In the process, they also created a technology that was framed as either too complex and therefore off-limits to women, or so simple that even a woman could use it, a discourse I trace through advertisements and depictions of women using cameras on the job.

Chapter Four closely interrogates the media sensation around women as photographers and Tokiwa Toyoko's photographs of the nude shooting session. For the most part scholarship on postwar Japanese photography has focused on debates around photographic realism, meaning that few scholars have looked closely at the historical context in which women became

professional photographers in Japan in great numbers for the first time nor have they addressed the concurrent wildly popular practice of photographing women's naked bodies in public. For Tokiwa, whose reputation was built on the sensation caused by her photographs of male amateur photographers as they photographed naked models and the prostitutes of Yokohama's red light district, the fact that she was cast as a photographer of women meant that her scathing portraits of prostitutes did more to condemn them than the overall postwar social system and economy which they struggled to exist in.

Having described photography, cameras, and photographers in the service of the state, the study ends with a discussion of the first united mass movement to coherently propose an alternative relationship of photographer to mass media and the state. From the mid-late 1950s through the mid-1970s the All Japan Student Photography League employed a theoretically informed and systematic production of anonymous photographs to collectively curate exhibitions and publish photography books on the subject of environmental pollution, political protests of the security treaty between the U.S. and Japan and the continued American occupation of Okinawa, Hiroshima, and the fading customs of a mountain town. Their approach to collectively producing photographs which rendered their work anonymous and therefore unreadable on the commercial market is unique within photographic culture at the time. Much like women photographers, students found it hard to gain recognition as equal participants in the photography world due to their age. The historical documents left by these students, from maps they drew of onsite shooting locations, to their newsletters debating the role of the image in critiquing state policies supporting pollution and the continuing effects of Japanese colonialism are themselves their own alternative archive of photography's production. The students, many of whom like Sasamoto Tsuneko during the war had picked up the camera for the first time to learn something



new and connect with others in ways that until recently had been off-limits. Photographing in the mid-late 1960s, however, in the midst of an image-saturated mass press and the rise of television culture the students were poised to be critical of the power of the photographic image and use it as a commentary on the constructed nature of visual media. The new worldview that they contributed to redefined the photographer and viewer's relationship to the camera, photograph, and means for disseminating photographic images. Their means of organizing and the kinds of images they took immutably countered the dynamics that had put cameras, photographers, and photographs in service of the Japanese state.

The camera and photographer's rise from wartime tools of the state to international figures of success, women's bodies as documents of the gendered photography world, and students raising cameras in protest: each of these stories are about the spectrum that that camera occupies as a technology and producer of powerful images. Though Chapter Five draws to a close in the early 1970s with the end of the student photography movement, this study concludes with a consideration of the history of the movement to build permanent display spaces for the history of photography in Japan and how the history of photography and cameras has been sundered within these exhibitionary spaces. Through an examination of how current camera corporation galleries propose an alternative to the transformation of the mass culture of photography into elite art world culture, I acknowledge how the producers of photographic technologies continue to drive trends in the photography world and question the continued control over access to photography's history that they share with photography museums.

## Chapter 1 Weaponizing Vision in Wartime Japan, 1931-1945

In June 1940 Sasamoto Tsuneko (1914—) became the first female photojournalist in Japan to see her photograph on the cover of a major national magazine (Figure 1). *Shashin Shūhō* (Photographic Weekly) printed her black and white photograph of three young women holding a song book, whose title, “national songs,” can just barely be made out. Mouths open in song, they are framed by the dynamic lines of the light hitting the concrete building behind them. Sasamoto began her career in 1940 as a photojournalist working for the Shashin Kyōkai (Photography Association) which handled all photographic information for the Cabinet of Information (Naikaku Jōhōbu).<sup>18</sup> Sasamoto was a regular contributor to *Shashin Shūhō*, shooting photographs of scenes of women’s daily life such as working to inspect gas masks, visiting fields of blooming flowers, or making visits to Yasukuni Shrine, a nationalist state symbol where war dead were enshrined. She also contributed to other state-sponsored pictorial magazines such as *Images du Japon*, a magazine geared toward French and Vietnamese audiences, through photographs depicting the range of roles for working women in the Japanese empire.<sup>19</sup> She was often typecast in this way as a photographer of women and children, representing contented domestic scenes as symbols of imperial Japanese culture. At the time, despite her accounts of being involved in many stages of producing the publications she contributed to, her published photographs were

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<sup>18</sup> Sasamoto Tsuneko, *Raika de Shotto! Ojōsan kameraman no shōwa funsen-ki (Shot with a Leica! A Young Lady Cameraman’s Showa Diary of Doing Her Best)* (Tokyo: Seiryū Publishing, 2002), 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Images du Japon* was a joint effort of the Photography Association, the Railway Ministry, and the International Tourism Association. The issue in which Sasamoto published many of her photographs, *Images du Japon: La Vie de la Femme* appears to only exist in private collections. See Sasamoto Tsuneko, *Tsuneko no Shōwa: Nihon hatsu no josei hōdōshashinka ga satsueishita hito to dekgoto* (Tsuneko’s Showa: The people and events photographed by Japan’s first female photojournalist) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2012), 76-78.

not credited. Sasamoto's involvement in the state's wartime photographic campaigns begs the question: within the context of total war, how did the state seek to define every photograph taken as potentially useful or harmful and every photographer as having a specific role to play?

The period of 1931-1945 was pivotal in the development of Japanese photographic culture: national censorship and publishing policies, the governmental support for the research and development of optical technologies and the gendered perspectives on photographic practice each created a public approach to photography that had a lasting impact. During this period, photographs and the technologies used to make them were situated as an essential part of the war effort as every Japanese citizen was mandated to make sacrifices for and contribute to the nation. In this chapter I argue that an examination of depictions of the Japanese photographer and optical technologies used at war is critical to an analysis of the political subjectivity of the photographer and photography's national meanings during this time. First, the mass press made visual arguments for the legitimacy of photography as a wartime weapon by constructing an analogous relationship between what I call weaponized vision and wartime weapons via their technological interconnection. Second, as he reported back from land and sea battles, the male war photographer attached to a naval or military unit was seen as the corporeal embodiment of weaponized vision. As the Imperial troops were depicted as enacting the emperor's unmediated will, the strategic and combat implementations of optical technologies were the extension of the emperor's gaze. Photographer-soldiers shooting with camera-guns are the eye of the emperor, creating a weaponized photographic gaze that is necessarily male. Within this framing, there is no room for the woman as photographer and those who do pick up cameras were only depicted as functioning to support their male family members through photographs of the home sent to the

battlefront. This is one of the reasons why it was not until 1952 that Sasamoto's wartime work creating propaganda photographs was mentioned publicly.

In making the case for the national and gendered framing of the intertwined relationship between optical technologies and the war photographer, I respond to the call made by historians Tom Allbeson and Pippa Oldfield to address the creation of the "war photography complex" which can be defined as "a broad cultural phenomenon encompassing visual material and technologies which are created and deployed within the expansive field of wartime image production, circulation, and consumption."<sup>20</sup> I approach the wartime uses of photographic technologies for the conceptions of what weaponized vision meant to the many figures who were actively involved in producing, using, and advertising its uses. In historian James L. Hevia's telling, this network invested in the use of photography during crisis comprises, but is not limited to, "the camera and related equipment; optic theory, negatives and chemicals; the photographer and the subject that is photographed; transport, communications and distribution networks that deliver the image to the end-user; and finally, the system of storage and preservation that enables redistribution of, and subsequent encounters with, the image."<sup>21</sup>

Most importantly, this chapter addresses the specific character of the war photography complex as it was employed to support the rise of Japan's "imperial fascism."<sup>22</sup> This movement,

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<sup>20</sup> Tom Allbeson and Pippa Oldfield, "War, Photography, Business: New Critical Histories," *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, 9:2 (2016), 94-114.

<sup>21</sup> James L. Hevia, "The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China 1900-1901, Making Civilization" in Rosalind C. Morris, ed., *Photographic East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009): 81.

<sup>22</sup> Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 332-3. For an illuminating analysis of Japanese painting as a lens on modernity as a central problem of the Japanese state and Japanese fascism, see Asato Ikeda, *The Politics of Painting: Fascism and Japanese Art during the Second World War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018).

different in character from German and Italian fascism, took shape as it sought to make the wills of the people and officials mirror that of the emperor by “mobilizing the populace in an organized fashion to serve self-proclaimed ‘national’ goals under the aegis of the state.”<sup>23</sup> In the mid-1930s the rise of a bureaucratic-military state that saw itself as acting on the will of the emperor created a specific visual culture through its tight regulation of what could and could not be visualized. From within this “expressive vacuum” in place of a concrete unifying national aesthetic there was instead the constant censorship of newspapers, radio, magazines, books, songs, films, and photographs.<sup>24</sup> Weaponized vision in service of the state was carefully curated to remove references to the war dead or to not show specific bloody battles in progress and instead created the impression of a state that constantly fought to expand its cultural influence in colonies established in the South Pacific, Korea, China, Manchuria, and Taiwan.

In light of many of the limitations placed on optical technologies and photography in Japan in the name of total war this chapter asks, what can images of the use of optical technologies and depictions of photographers created in wartime Japan tell us? By examining the depictions of optical technologies and their uses during this time, I recreate the context within which these images circulated and had their greatest impact. This chapter uncovers the twentieth century construction of the image of the Japanese photojournalist as a heroic figure in service of the state. Through *his* connection to new photographic technologies the war photographer was depicted by the mass press from 1931-1945 as continuing the lineage of Japan’s first war photographers who seized upon optical technologies available to them to photograph the Sino-

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<sup>23</sup> Gordon, *Ibid.*, 317.

<sup>24</sup> On the attempts to build various forms of unifying fascist aesthetics see, Alan Tansman, ed., *The Culture of Japanese Fascism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009).

(1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904-1905). I address the process of the making of the war photographer through laudatory depictions in the Japanese mass press to understand how the photographer himself was constructed as an important weapon of the state. Against this depiction of the heroic male photojournalist and what might be cast as the masculinization of photographic practice during wartime, I reveal the paradox of how women's roles as home documentarians symbolized ideal gendered service to the nation, which overshadowed the public role of photographers such as Sasamoto.

The striking problem with the prevailing scholarly understanding of the utilization of photography during war across the globe in this period is that the focus primarily on modernist uses of photographic propaganda in the form of photo collage or the composition and form of photographs made by a handful of prominent male photojournalists has removed photography from the complex set of discourses within which it operated.<sup>25</sup> In their effort to evaluate the contributions of photographers during World War Two in Japan to the modernist project of advancing visual culture through new ways of seeing, recent art historical scholarship has

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<sup>25</sup> Recent scholarship in English on wartime photography in Japan that reflects the tendency to focus primarily on what have been called Japan's 'avant-garde' propaganda include but are not limited to: Shirayama Mari, "Photojournalism and Propaganda" in Kaneko Ryuichi and Manfred Heiting, *The Japanese Photobook 1912-1990* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2017), 137-141; Andrea Germer, "Visual Propaganda in Wartime East Asia: The Case of Natori Yōnosuke," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol 9, Issue 20 (2011) <http://japanfocus.org/~andrea-germer/3530/article.html>; Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Publicity and Propaganda in 1930s Japan: Modernism as Method," *Design Issues*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Autumn, 2009), 13-28; Kaneko Ryuichi "Realism and Propaganda: The Photographer's Eye Trained on Society" in Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, eds. *The History of Japanese Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in Association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003): 186-193. Recent Japanese scholarship has tended to focus slightly more on photojournalism's uses during the war. For instance, see Shirayama Mari, "*Hōdō shashin*" to *sensō 1930-1960* ("Photojournalism" and War 1930-1960) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2014); Yamamoto Sae, *Senjishita no banpaku to "nihon" no hyōgen* (Wartime International Expositions and Representations of "Japan") (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2012); Asahi Shimbun Data Collectors, eds. *Asahi shimbun no hizō shashin ga kataru sensō* (War narrated through the treasured photographs of the Asahi Shimbun) (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 2009).

produced what Judith Butler has called “not seeing in the midst of seeing.”<sup>26</sup> That is, in the Japanese case, scholarship has established the propaganda works of photographers such as Domon Ken and Kimura Ihei, and designers such as Horino Masao and Kamekura Yūsaku as important pieces of modern art production without considering the ethics of stripping these works from their historical context of imperialism and brutal warfare.<sup>27</sup> Particularly for the photography community, which in the postwar period had no major public self-criticism for the wartime work of its members, it is problematic to produce scholarship on the cutting-edge nature of wartime photographic propaganda without reflecting on the historical circumstances of warfare and the violent imperial ambitions in Asia that made it possible.<sup>28</sup> The focus on compelling composite photographic murals made for world’s fairs or published in magazines such as NIPPON also means that there is little discussion of the state’s demands on what could

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<sup>26</sup> Judith Butler, “Photography, War, Outrage,” *PMLA*, Vol. 120, No. 3 (May, 2005), 826.

<sup>27</sup> Scholarship on the magazines, photographers, and editors who were most closely involved in wartime propaganda, most often praises their work rather than contextualize its use. For instance, in the recently lavishly published *The Japanese Photobook 1912-1990*, curator, museum director, and collector Manfred Heiting describes the propaganda magazine *Front* as “arguably the best military propaganda magazine of all time. It superbly marries the best of Japanese photography with a limited but convincing text, and a powerful design,” (12). He fails to mention that it was this very magazine that justified brutal Japanese colonization of Asia. The photographers Domon Ken and Kimura Ihei who took photographs for many of the wartime propaganda organs and Natori Yōnosuke, editor of the major Japanese wartime propaganda magazines, each have major photography prizes established in their name that every year are awarded to promising new photographers.

<sup>28</sup> In the study of the history of photography and technology in modern Japan, scholars have given priority to the importance of technology transfers from Europe and the United States to Japan as one of the primary processes of development of knowledge and visual culture. Accounts of the eight German engineers who were employed at Nippon Kōgaku (renamed Nikon Co. in 1988) in 1919 or Seiki Kōgaku Kenkyūjo’s (renamed Canon in 1947) modeling of its first 35mm camera after the German Leica contribute to the narration of the development of optical technologies in Japan as a series of passive or chiefly opportunistic events. See *Nippon Kōgaku Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha: gojūnen no ayumi* (Fifty Year History of the Nikon Company) (Tokyo: Nippon Kōgaku, 1967); *Kiyanon shi: gijutsu to seihin no 50 nen* (A History of Canon: Fifty Years of Technology and Products) (Tokyo: Kiyanon, 1987).

not be imaged during the war.<sup>29</sup> Maps illustrating the official policies on restricted photography zones around the mainland and throughout the empire provide the opportunity to understand the state's desire to control the very weapon it also deployed. Every photograph was a bullet to be used by soldiers, but civilians too could do damage if they did not learn to carefully wield the power of photographic imagery.

### **The Camera and Wartime Science**

In April 1942, as Japanese troops advanced into Burma and prepared to enter Chinese territory from the south, an article by H.W. Twyman titled “The Brass Brain” was published in Japanese and English. Originally published in the British periodical *Armchair Science*, the short piece described the process of American funding of computer technology research at MIT. The massive machine's potential for multi-level analysis was so complex that it was dubbed “the brass brain.” As Twyman recounted:

The enormous value of such a mechanical brain in warfare was at once immediately recognized by both military and naval experts. So much so that the United States Army authorities intimated that, if war broke out, they would commandeer the brass brain...but meantime the three-ton brass brain may prove to be in the nature of America's secret weapon in winning the war for democracy.”<sup>30</sup>

This excerpt succinctly emphasizes the worldwide perception that new forms of technology were what might tip the scales in contributing to the war effort. The metaphor of the brass brain funded by research labs and the government includes the camera and its related optical

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<sup>29</sup> See Yamamoto Sae, “1940 nen nyū yōku banpaku ni shūppin saretā shashin hekiga ‘Nihon sangyō’” ni miru hōdō shashin no satsue” (The influence of photo-reportage on photo-mural ‘Japanese Industry’ at the 1940 New York World's Fair) *Japanese Society for the Science of Design Bulletin* Vol. 56. No. 2 (2009), 63-72.

<sup>30</sup> H.W. Twyman, “America's Secret Weapon, the Brass Brain – Amerika no himitsu heiki shinchū no nō,” *Eigo Kenkyū* 35 (1) (April 1942): 45-49.



technologies which were seized upon in the mass press for their promise of helping the user see more clearly and form the basis of military intelligence by capturing events photographically. Central to the process of weaponizing vision in these forms was the public message that optical technologies – from the photographic image itself to the machines, materials, and processes that produced the image – were an official approach to winning the war. In their depicted close relationship with the sciences, optical technologies such as the camera, or, brass eye, were framed not as part of superfluous pastime hobbies, but as war weapons. In this way they helped to form a key component of the wartime formation of “scientific nationalism” as a crucial component of the war effort.<sup>31</sup>

Echoing the common sentiment that optical technologies represented the most current stage in high-tech warfare, many authors such as Aoki Tamotsu discussed the main problem of modern warfare as one of ever increasing distances that needed to be crossed. “In the days when bow and arrow were the main weapon, we fought *eye to eye*,” Aoki wrote, however in current warfare the enemy must be observed from afar “by reconnaissance and observation by airplane” and through “various types of observation machines that do not exclude our eyes, but rather, assist them.”<sup>32</sup> Not for the first or last time, Aoki humanized optical technology, making it a necessary organ to the military’s working body when he wrote, “optical weapons are the eyes of the military and the eyes of its’ weapons and therefore their progress improves the entire military

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<sup>31</sup> I borrow this term from Hiromi Mizuno, who defines it as nationalism premised on the belief that “science and technology are the most urgent and important assets for the integrity, survival, and progress of the nation” in Hiromi Mizuno, *Scientific Nationalism in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 11.

<sup>32</sup> Tamotsu Aoki, *Heiki dokuhon* (A Weapons Primer) (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1937), 12. Emphasis mine.

and its' soldiers.”<sup>33</sup> The journalist Tada Reikichi echoed this powerfully vivid sentiment the year prior when he declared: “In the same way that the eye is the most important organ for human life...*optical weapons are the military eye* and are the most important weapon of combat operation.”<sup>34</sup> In stressing the corporeal connection of optical weaponry with the military, Tada would have signaled to the reader that as an extension of the will of the emperor, the military's eyes were essentially that of Emperor Hirohito himself.

Throughout the 1940s the press, which was heavily monitored by the Japanese government, ran countless examples of scientific arguments for the use of optical technologies that supported the intimate relationship between cameras and strategic warfare. One striking example was made in July of 1944, at the height of armed conflict throughout Asia and the Pacific after suffering great Navy losses at the Battle of the Philippine Sea. The magazine *Nihon Shashin* (*Japanese Photography*) ran a full-page graphically striking advertisement which argued for photography's place alongside other armaments as a crucial technological weapon that would help win the war (Figure 2).<sup>35</sup> In the top half of the page, the bold words “Use it in research and news coverage!” guide the viewer's eyes to the powerful central statement of the ad: the words “Photography is also war power” (*shashin mo senryoku*) in white graphic Chinese characters overlay two black bullet or bomb shells pointed toward the sky as if they are riding the munitions as they break through the advertisement itself. In the bottom half of the page, a black and white

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>34</sup> Reikichi Tada, “Kindai sensō no me kōgaku heiki” (Optical weapons, the eye of modern war) *Gunji to gijutsu* (Military and Technology) 12 (120) (December 1936), 2-10. Emphasis mine.

<sup>35</sup> Konishi Roku, *Nihon Shashin* (*Japanese Photography*) July 1944, back page. For a discussion of Konishi Roku's prewar history, see Chapter One of Kerry Ross, *Photography for Everyone: The Cultural Lives of Cameras and Consumers in Early Twentieth-Century Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).

photograph depicts two young men in kendo uniform, a Japanese martial art focused on swordsmanship, holding their *shinai*, sword-like bamboo slats, in a sparring stance. The phrase “Photography, too, is a new weapon of strategic warfare” (*Shashin mo sakusen mo shinheiki da*) in addition to the words “typewriting paper” (*insho kami*), “photographic dry plate” (*kanpan*), and “Eastern Photography” (*Tōyō shashin*) frame the photograph. In this full-page ad the juxtaposition between the bamboo sparring equipment and the above image of photography as a bullet speeding through the sky constructs photography as essential to strategic warfare with connections to forms of combat that might be considered more tactical than lethal. Paid for by Konishi Roku, its statement on the necessity of photography to modern warfare encourages the reader to interpret it as an argument for the legitimacy of pouring increasingly scarce resources into photographic endeavors. This suggests that the association of weaponized vision with the vision of the emperor himself was a byproduct of this strategy that had great staying power.

At this point in the war, restrictions on photographic materials outside of military use were incredibly strict, and companies such as Konishi Roku, though producing most of their film, lenses, camera bodies, and other optical technologies directly for the military, fought to keep their retail business from the precarious edge of full shutdown.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the advertisement’s call to “Make use of it in research and news coverage!” is an appeal for two key wartime uses of photography: research regarding the use of optical science during war and the mobilization of news photography for information and disinformation campaigns. Reading photography

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<sup>36</sup> For a discussion in English of Konishi Roku’s transition to direct production for the military and closure of their retail business in 1943, see Kerry Ross, *Photography for Everyone: The Cultural Lives of Cameras and Consumers in Early Twentieth-Century Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 168-170. In Japanese, see Konishi Roku Shashin Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensan-shitsu, ed. *Shashin to tomo ni hyakunen: Konishi roku shashin kōgyō kabushiki kaisha shyō* (A history of photography and one hundred years: Konishi roku corporation history) (Tokyo: Konishi Roku Shashin Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha, 1973).

magazines and newspapers from the late 1930s to the end of the war one gets a sense of how broad the field of “research” in optical technologies was: from new developments in aerial and infrared photography to advances in the technologies for submarine periscopes, binoculars, microscopes, reflector sights and gun sights, to cameras and film that could operate in a wider range of light and temperature environments, war provided the context for the expansion of the possibilities of photography’s uses in unprecedented ways.

The close relationship between photographs and the technology necessary for producing them can be found in the visual relationships between editorial articles, advertisements, and photo essays published in the picture press that defined the intertwined interests of private business and the state during this period. Despite the drastic reduction in number of magazines and newspapers printed in Japan as result of the consolidation of periodicals under the 1938 State Total Mobilization Law, the state continued to validate the importance of the pictorial press through the continuation of photographic periodicals such as *Asahi Camera* and the state-run *Shashin Shūhō* (Photographic Weekly Report).<sup>37</sup> *Shashin Shūhō*, which was published from 1938-1945 by the Cabinet Information Bureau and modeled after *Asahi Camera* and the American *Life* magazine’s photographic layout, played a significant role in the practice of using visual arguments to sell war to its readers.<sup>38</sup> As the magazine’s circulation steadily increased

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<sup>37</sup> As Gregory J. Kasza, describes, “As of August 1941, 528 general dailies had been merged with the papers or dissolved at state direction, leaving a national total of 202.” One general daily paper was left per prefecture to “curtail competition...conserve scarce materials and facilitate greater control over content.” On February 17, 1943, the State Total Mobilization Law against book and magazine publishers was enacted, launching the Japan Publishing Association and the further consolidation of periodicals. By 1944 only 88 magazines were classified for popular consumption. *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1988), 188.

<sup>38</sup> Though many Japanese picture periodicals such as *Asahi Camera* used similar pictorial layouts that *Life* later popularized and may have taken inspiration from it, the American magazine was outlawed in Japan in around 1937 for its anti-Japanese sentiment, spurning Japanese editors such as Natori Yōnosuke to call for resources to produce local variations of it. The Japanese publishing and editorial agency Nippon Kōbō

from ninety thousand in 1938 to five hundred thousand by 1943, the consumption of war was facilitated by the production of photographic images of it.<sup>39</sup> Photographers well known during and after the war such as Kimura Ihei (1901—1974) and Domon Ken (1909—1990) regularly contributed to and provided the first cover images for the magazine. In 1939 *Asahi Camera* began to take photographic submissions directly from the military and navy photography corps, which took up valuable real estate as the magazine's page count decreased from 135 pages to 66 pages in October of 1941 due to official restrictions on the amount of newsprint that could be used in periodicals.<sup>40</sup>

Though after the end of the war many bureaucrats and politicians jumped at the opportunity to blame the state's lack of investment in science and technology as the reason Japan lost the war, during the war the mass press made great efforts to construct an image of the state as utilizing cutting edge equipment and techniques to its great success. Thus, photographic periodicals such as *Shashin Shūhō* and *Asahi Camera* sought to build a scientific argument around optical technologies that framed them as a crucial to the war. To buy film, participate in nighttime air raid drills using infrared photography, and support the photo corps carrying new types of cameras was to participate in a scientific nationalism with a particularly visual turn based on the indexical value of the photographic image.

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maintained contact with *Life* and continued to send photo series to be printed in the magazine as a means to disseminate a Japanese perspective. See Shirayama Mari, "*Hōdō shashin" to sensō 1930-1960* ("News Photography" and War 1930-1960) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2014), 94-95.

<sup>39</sup> David C. Earhart, *Certain Victory: Images of World War II in the Japanese Media* (Armonk, New York and London, England: An East Gate Book, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2008), 7. For an extensively detailed list of imagery used in *Shashin Shūhō* covers see Kanō Mikio, "Shashin Shūhō ni miru jendā to esunishiti (Looking at *Shashin Shūhō*: gender and ethnicity) *Image & Gender* Vol. 5 (March 2005), 35-40.

<sup>40</sup> Shirayama, *Ibid.*, 253-264.

Popular magazines such as *Asahi Camera* could be approached as a continuous visual argument in favor of the multi-faceted dimensions of photography's wartime uses. A monthly photographic magazine which began publication by the *Asahi Newspaper* in 1926 and continues to this day, *Asahi Camera* has influenced the photography world through its combination of pictorial essays, photography contests judged by famous professionals, editorials on photographic technique, and its close relationship with Japanese camera companies. It has on many occasions launched the careers of young photographers. The advertisements and editorial features of the December 1941 issue demonstrate its specific focus on photography's contribution to drumming up enthusiasm for the war.<sup>41</sup> The cover photograph of a ship at sea pushing up a frothy wake seen through the rigging of the photographer's ship is testimony to the process of its making and the visual information that the magazine would like the reader to take from it (Figure 3). Unlike many *Asahi Camera* cover photographs from the decade and a half of its prior printing which were usually taken by a professional photographer, this photograph distinguished itself as one taken by Ishige Kozo, a member of the Imperial Japanese Navy during an official mission. The accompanying caption delivers an inspirational war message: "We shall push forward creating waves just as the navy does." It is clearly an image that seeks to convey information about the circumstances of its taking and the role of photography as a tool of documentation in the context of war: the photograph communicates to the viewer that it was taken by a photographer on the frontlines, who steams ahead as a part of the war. The blur that can be seen in the image is no doubt caused by the shake of the boat at high speed as the

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<sup>41</sup> *Asahi Camera* 32 (6) (189) December 1941. *Asahi Camera* resumed publication after the end of the war in 1949.

cameraman leans through the rigging, rather than his desire to create an art photograph out of the scene.<sup>42</sup>

When paired with an advertisement immediately preceding the table of contents for this issue, the argument for the informational capacity and multifaceted purposes of photography becomes clearer. These advertisements bear evidence of the mutually beneficial relationship between the optical industry and the Imperial Japanese Navy as each supported the other. The advertisement for Seiki Kōgaku Kenkyūjo (or Precision Optical Instruments Laboratory, now Canon Co.) in the top half of the page depicts a precisely rendered drawing of the most recent camera model from an angle that makes visible the dimension of the camera body and lens (Figure 4).<sup>43</sup> The lens, made by Nippon Kōgaku (now Nikon Co.), is advertised as having a range of focal points while the camera body offers a new slow shutter speed and small, hand-held build allowing for a greater flexibility of use in the field. The relationship between the two optical technologies companies is embodied in this image: both funded by the Imperial Japanese Navy to supply the war effort with periscope and lens coatings, night vision technologies, and lenses among other equipment, they produced research and development on optical technologies that they claimed was implemented in real time in battlefields around Asia. Because Canon did not specialize in the production of glass lenses, from 1937 to 1945 all Canon camera bodies were fitted and sold with Nikon lenses. Canon, founded in 1933 by the entrepreneurs Yoshida Goro and Uchida Saburō, sought to create a 35mm camera that surpassed the Leica, then the

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<sup>42</sup> My reading of this photograph diverges greatly with that of historian Julia Thomas' interpretation of this photograph as an example of what she calls Japan's "War without Pictures" due to the lack of immediate violence pictured. See her introduction to *Visualizing Fascism: The Twentieth-Century Rise of the Global Right* (Forthcoming, Duke University Press).

<sup>43</sup> For ease of name recognition, I will subsequently use the monikers Canon and Nikon to address these corporations' wartime work, despite the fact that these were not their widely used corporate names until after the war.

international standard for small camera body design, lens technology, and shutter speed. The Leica was one of the preferred tools of choice of photojournalists who needed to be able to take pictures on the move. Nikon's history differs in that from its founding in 1917 until the end of the war in 1945 it was an optical weapons development and production factory that catered to the needs of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Thus, the camera pictured here is representative of the wartime imbrication of private and public industry that made new technical development possible.<sup>44</sup> In its no-frills approach to presenting the advertised camera, the Canon-Nikon advertisement also speaks to the status of the two organizations as fledging companies completely beholden to the financial support of the state; until 1945, the majority of the cameras, lenses, and binoculars, made by both companies were state commissions and ended up in the hands of soldiers rather than home front photography enthusiasts.<sup>45</sup>

In comparison with the precisely rendered advertisement for the Nikon-Canon collaboration, popular imagery of cameras and roll film often utilized striking color graphics to parallel photographic equipment with weaponry. In an advertisement for Sakura Film, produced by Konishi Roku, (renamed Konica in 1987) an optical instruments company known before the war for its cameras and photographic materials, a graphic image of a box of roll film is placed in

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<sup>44</sup> For further information in English on the wartime history of the Nikon Corporation, see Jeff Alexander, "Nikon and the Sponsorship of Japan's Optical Industry by the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1917-1945," *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 22:1 (Winter 2002), 19-33. In Japanese, see *Nippon kōgaku kabushiki kashi: gojūnen no ayumi* (The Nikon Corporation: Fifty years of progress) (Tokyo: Nippon kōgaku, 1967). On the Canon Corporation see Hayato Ueyama, *Kiyanon Vol. 1 Seiki Kōgaku kiyanon no subete* (Canon Vol. 1 The Complete Precision Optical Instruments Canon) (Tokyo: Photo Forum Co., 1990).

<sup>45</sup> Japanese camera companies publish regular retellings of their corporate histories written by in house historians. For further information on Canon's early history, see Corporate History Editorial Office, *Kiyanon kabushiki gaisha kikaku honbu 70nenshi Canon historical sketch 1937-2007* (Tokyo, Canon Inc., 2008), also Ueyama Hayato, *Canon = Kiyanon Vol. 1 Seiki kōgaku kiyanon no subete* (Tokyo: Foto Fōramu-sha, 1990); on Nikon, see Nikon Editorial Committee, *Nippon kōgaku kabushiki gaisha 50nen no ayumi* (Fifty Years of Nippon Optical Industry Co. Ltd.) (Tokyo: Nippon kōgaku kabushiki gaisha, 1967).



front of a cartoon representation of a warhead, making visual equivalence of their possible power (Figure 5). Around the image the bold text reads, “Make the most of using it,” and “The bullet of total war.” Across the top of the advertisement, in smaller text but bearing no less evocative a message read the words, “For providing comfort • For communicating news • For making a record.” The advertisement could not be clearer that film, like the camera and photographer, was an integral part of the war effort. This motif was repeatedly used throughout the 1940s, as can be seen in another advertisement for Sakura film which ran in *Arusu Shashin Bunka* (Ars Photography Culture) in February of 1942 (Figure 6—7). In it, the phrase, ““Now is the time to make the best use of our technology – Sakura Printing Papers. Take Photographs! Photographs that are useful – Sakura Film” is written in a brush-like script over the same graphic image of a large red warhead, spread across two fold-out pages placed before the table of contents of the magazine. Next to this advertisement, the Oriental Photography Industry Company made its own statement about the role of photographic materials in the war effort by framing a photographic image of pilot in a cockpit with graphic renderings of airplanes that bear the name “Oriental” across their wings. The copy around these images proclaims: “Defeat America and Britain, our enemy” and, “One hundred million advancing, the jewel of the fire,” followed by, “Typewriting papers, dry plate (photography).”

As theorist Paul Virilio argues, in the context of war “images would become the equivalent of an ammunition supply.”<sup>46</sup> In arguing a case for optical technologies as war weapons, images of the *technologies* themselves become part of the logic of weaponized vision. These advertisements provide examples of the many ways that the mass press made visual

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<sup>46</sup> Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logics of Perception*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London and New York: Verso, 1984), 1.

arguments for the legitimacy of photography as a wartime weapon by depicting it as a form of imperial vision at the very moment when the state placed the greatest limits on the representational capacity of photographs.

### **“One photograph is a bullet”: The Making of the Wartime Japanese Photographer**

As depictions of optical technologies in the mass press transformed them into the eye of the military, the image of the photographer conducting official work for the military similarly was molded into its corporeal representative. Like the many moveable parts of optical technologies that worked together to make the taking of an image possible, the mass press began to represent the war photographer as a necessary part of military strategy. Various proponents of war photography made clear that what differentiated modern warfare from methods of the past was that the public should be able to see events from the battlefield through photographs, rather than merely receive written or hand-illustrated accounts of it. Thus, the need for photographers-as-soldiers and the demand for visual war information went hand-in-hand as the photographic eye of the military was embodied by both machine and man.<sup>47</sup>

Before the beginning of armed conflict in mainland Asia in 1931, for the Japanese the Russo-Japanese War (1904—1905) set precedent for the deployment of official war photographers embedded within the military.<sup>48</sup> Thirty years later, photographers and the mass

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<sup>47</sup> The photographer as soldier is also a category applied to perhaps the most heroized war photographer, Robert Capa, who in 1954 was posthumously awarded one of France’s highest combat awards, the Croix de Guerre with Palm, Order of the Army, and given a eulogy by General Cogny who stated that he “fell as a soldier amongst soldiers.” Cited in John Mecklin, “He Said: “this is Going to be a Beautiful Story,”” (*Life* June 7, 1954): 31-33.

<sup>48</sup> See Kelly McCormick, “Ogawa Kazumasa and the Halftone Photograph: Japanese War Albums in Turn of the Twentieth Century Japan,” *Trans-Asia Photography Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 2017. In Japanese, see Inoue Yuko, *Nisshin Nichiro sensō to shashin hōdō—senjō o kakeru shashinshitachi* (The

press sought to build on this model while they also attempted to use these historical examples as proof of advances made by photography employed by the military. Though the Russo-Japanese War was the first time that war photography albums, postcards, and exhibitions had been produced on mass scale in Japan, in the 1930s photographers sought to demonstrate just how different attitudes toward photography and photographic technology itself were. Photographers such as Matsuo Kinoaki who had participated in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) as a part of the Army Land Surveying Department recounted that at the time the military was slow to see the strategic importance of photography.<sup>49</sup> In his memory there were many within the army who argued against allowing photographers to accompany them, believing that photography “had no relevance to winning or losing.”<sup>50</sup> Not only were contemporary critics unsure if photographs could aid the war effort, they were also suspicious that photographers were merely on the battlefield to make money from their images. This misgiving was not without basis in the reality of the organization of the photo corps at the time. When the Army Photographic Unit was formed for the Russo-Japanese War it indeed had a distinctly commercial purpose: only two of the eleven members were part of the Army General Staff and nine others were employed by Ogawa Kazumasa, the owner of a prominent Tokyo publishing house and photographer himself,

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Sino-and Russo-Japanese Wars and New Photography—The photographers of the battlefield) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Bunkan, 2012.)

<sup>49</sup> On the history of war photographers at the Sino- and Russo-Japanese wars see, Inoue Yuko, *Nisshin Nichiro sensō to shashin hōdō—senba o kakeru shashinshitachi* (*The Sino- and Russ-Japanese Wars and Photojournalism—The Photographers Who Advanced Through the Battlefield*) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Bunkan, 2012); Ozawa Takeshi, ed. *Shashin nichiro sensō* (Photography and the Russo-Japanese War) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2010); In English, see Sebastian Dobson, “Reflections of Conflict: Japanese Photographers and the Russo-Japanese War,” in Frederic A. Sharf, Anne Nishimura Morse, and Sebastian Dobson, *A Much Recorded War* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2005), 52-83.

<sup>50</sup> Matsuo Kinoaki “Nissen Sensō no shashin han” (The photo corps of the Sino-Japanese War) *Asahi Camera* 24(6) (141) (December 1937), 939-942.

who published popular war photography albums that reproduced their images.<sup>51</sup> The pairing of commercial photographers with official military photographers, or, as in the case of the solely commercial efforts of the unit organized by photographer and entrepreneur Mitsumura Toshimo to accompany the Japanese navy, was not unusual during this period. Though the military censored and signed off on all images of the war before publication, likely the heavy emphasis on war photographs for the sake of commercial production convinced many that photographs were more a form of amusement than tactical information.

From 1935 to 1945 photography magazines often published round tables with veteran war photographers to drive home the point that the position of photographs and photographers had changed in the last thirty years. Ogura Kenji (1861-1946) made frequent appearances in the photographic press to testify to the importance of photographs used at war and also the great challenges that photographers in the battlefield face.<sup>52</sup> Ogura, who photographed the Sino-Japanese War with the Land Surveying Department and then studied photoengraving technology in Austria before heading a photographic team attached to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Army Headquarters during the Russo-Japanese War, was revered as one of the main teachers of photographers who accompanied the troops during this period. He weighed in that at the time, “in the same way that

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<sup>51</sup> Sebastian Dobson, *Ibid.*, 62. Ogawa Kazumasa in collaboration with the publishing house Hakubunkan published wildly popular photography albums such as the thirty-two volume *Nichiro seneki shashinjō* (Russo-Japanese War Album) using the new technologies of halftone in addition to collotype. Pictorial magazines such as the monthly *Nichiro sensō jikki* (Authentic Records of the Russo-Japanese War) were in such demand they went through multiple printings and content was recycled through 1908.

<sup>52</sup> See for instance, Ogura Kenji, Kōno Tsunekichi, Hoshino Tatsuo, “Nichiro sensō gekisen shashin satsue kushin dan wo tōji no shashin hanchō ni kiku (Asking the squad leaders of the photography corps about their labors to take photographs of the fierce battles of the Russo-Japanese War) *Asahi Camera* 19(4) (April 1935), 491-498; Ogura Kenji, “Nichiro sensō jūgun no omoide” (Memories of military service in the Russo-Japanese War) *Asahi Camera* 24(6)(141) (December 1937), 942-944; Ogura Kenji, “Rikugun jūgun shashinhan no senku nichiro senyaku no daihonei shashinhan ni oite” (Pioneer of the photo corps who went with the army to the battlefield: From the Imperial Headquarters Photo corps) *Hōdō Shashin* 4(2) (February 1944), 22-25.

weaponry was not very advanced, cameras also were not advanced.”<sup>53</sup> First there were the technological challenges: photographers worked against the difficulty of having to set up cameras on tripods when they wanted to photograph in difficult lighting conditions, and there were no “*hando kamera*” (literally hand-cameras) or long distance lenses. Other Sino-and Russo-Japanese War photographers added that the technology at the time meant that there were many conditions in which they couldn’t shoot at all. Cold temperatures and rainy or snowy days rendered their cameras useless and photographers recounted collecting water from lakes to develop negatives whose mineral content often had undesirable effects. More importantly, as Ogura described, society’s understanding of photography was completely different, meaning that not only was it incredibly difficult to form a photo corps within the general staff officers but the Land Surveying Department was unable or unwilling to come up with the funds to buy new optical equipment, so the photographers had to use whatever they had at hand.

The stories that veteran photographers shared filled in for the lack of descriptive information that the public got from war photographers sent to East Asia in the 1930s and 40s. Due to strict censorship of images of dead bodies, the Sino-and Russo-Japanese War veteran photographers could reference the carnage they had witnessed so that readers might imagine similar scenes going on in the current war being fought. That said, the actual photographs of war dead, which were censored in the turn of the century wars, were not published in the 1930s and 40s. Instead, these roundtables were most often published with *kinen shashin* (commemoration photographs), or staged group photographs such as one of photographers during the Russo-Japanese War with their cameras and those that juxtaposed the differing ranks of those connected to the military and those who were there commercially (Figure 8). Others depicted Ogawa and

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<sup>53</sup> Ogura Kenji, “Nichiro sensō jūgun no omoide” (Memories of military service in the Russo-Japanese War) *Asahi Camera* 24(6) (141) (December 1937), 942.

his fellows in action, examining plate negatives by lamplight in their camp, with their darkroom shed visible in the background. These group photographs were another way to supply audiences with imagery off-limits to viewers in the 1930s and 40s. Due to restrictions on photography location-specific battles it was nearly impossible at the time to publish photographs of the Photo Corps or newspaper photographers in the field, making photographs of the contemporary Photo Corps in action quite difficult to find today. In this way, the round tables provided the opportunity to fill in missing information about current war photographers by discussing the challenges that photographers faced, either technological or psychological, during earlier wars while never directly speaking about the brutality of the current ongoing war.

When the current generation of military Photo Corps members spoke of working in the battlefields they echoed experiences of the challenges of making photographic technology work for them while at the same time differentiated themselves from their forebearers. Reflecting in a 1932 *Asahi Camera* roundtable on their experiences of being posted in Manchukuo and Shanghai after the Mukden Incident, a staged attack orchestrated by the Japanese military which was used as a pretext for the invasion of Manchuria, they put forth that the great difference between their work and the war photographers thirty years prior was that they reported the *actual scene* through photographs to the reader (*jissai no jōkei wo ippansha ni hōdō*).<sup>54</sup> This was made possible, in their opinion, by the fact that it was the first time in history that the Photo Corps had been included in front line operations. Of course, the “actual scene” printed in newspapers and magazines would have been a highly curated version approved by the state. Fifteen years after the war, *Mainichi Newspaper* photographer Futamura Jirō recounted that because press

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<sup>54</sup> “Shashin han no katsuyō honsha tokuha shashin buin kara kiku hōhata no naka de no kushindan” (Utilizing the photo corps: Hearing from the special correspondents of this magazine stories of their hard work from the artillery fields and the bitter cold) *Asahi Camera* 13 (5)(74) (May 1932), 470-474.

photographers wanted their photographs to be publishable, they sought out scenes that complied with censorship and content regulations. This meant omitting information when they chose to not photograph dead bodies or trying their best to include information to comply with the demand that a photograph never includes just one airplane but always depict many together.<sup>55</sup>

In their conversation on the experience of being on the battlefield the war photographers of the 1930s intentionally framed their work as analogous to that of a soldier: at the same time that there is mental preparation (*senchi no kokorogamae*) necessary in getting ready for the battle field, there is also the material preparation of gathering all the right materials and equipment, in the same way that a soldier cleans his gun and collects his bullets together. This important relationship between photographer and optical materials was playfully depicted in the series of cartoons accompanying the roundtable. Photographer's shiver as they use their coats to keep film from freezing, look on in dismay as precious film tears in the cold, and jump in surprise as bullets pierce the accordion bellows of their extendable lenses (Figures 9-11). Though they may have worked to prove that photographers were now respected members of the military or press, not profiteering entrepreneurs, these lively images instead show the photographers of the 1930s in a very similar light as their predecessors: the technology available to them continued to be an obstacle as they struggled through a range of weather conditions. What is more, they are rarely depicted actually using the new 35mm technology that Seiki Kōgaku Kenkyūjo (now Canon) was supposedly developing for them as pictured in the prior advertisement. In fact, rather than mention using Japanese-made cameras, as was the expectation since all imported cameras had been highly taxed since the late 1930s until new imports were banned in the early 1940s,

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<sup>55</sup> Nakashima Kenzō, Miyauchi Jūzō, Futamura Jirō, Kumazaki Tamaki, “Shashin shōbai no uraomote moto jūgun kameraman zadankai” (Both sides of the photography business: Roundtable with former war camera men) *Asahi Camera* 44(9) (316) (September 1959), 168.

photographers usually mentioned using German cameras. Miyauchi Jūzō, manager of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* during the war described how in Manila, press photographers attached to the military would visit stores selling German Leica cameras and look up the address of customers who had recently made purchases, go to their homes and demand that they turn them over to the military for security reasons.<sup>56</sup>

Despite the limitations on imaging photographers and their Japanese cameras at war in the 1930s and 40s, there was no lack of written rhetoric about their importance. In an article titled “Advancing Together with the Camera Gun,” Yokota Shōichi, Lieutenant Commander of the Imperial Navy Press Division, celebrated the use of the camera and photographs as weapons when he proclaimed: “When the Japanese soldier uses a gun, he is especially brave. We only ask that the news photographer have this same bravery when using the camera.”<sup>57</sup> He then outlined the great responsibility that the photographer, camera, and photograph bore in accurately representing the goals of the Japanese Empire. Moving between the agency of the photographer and the photographic materials used, Yokota constructed a relationship between human, technology, and image paralleling other types of weaponry with the added emphasis of the visual role that photography plays. In this scenario, the camera is as powerful a tool as the gun, and photographs are as valuable a resource as bullets. Yokota writes, “In wartime, especially in times like today when we must do everything in our power to win the war, one foolish photograph wastes valuable war materials. Just one spiritless photograph will sink the morale of the

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<sup>56</sup> According to Miyauchi, eventually it was required that they pay the local owners for the requisitioned Leicas. Nakashima Kenzō, Miyauchi Jūzō, Futamura Jirō, Kumazaki Tamaki, “Shashin shōbai no uraomote moto jūgun kameraman zadankai” (Both sides of the photography business: Roundtable with former war camera men) *Asahi Camera* 44(9) (316) (September 1959), 164-5.

<sup>57</sup> Yokota Shōichi, “Kamera jū to tomo ni susume” (Advancing Together with the Camera Gun) *Nihon Shashin (Japanese Photography)* (May 1944), 14-15.



people.”<sup>58</sup> Yet if used properly, it was through the camera (*kamera wo tsūji*) that the hearts of the people could be struck with the reality of the war. If used precisely, it was through “just one photograph” of the progress of the war that the “righteous cause and the unparalleled bravery of the Imperial Army” could be seen by all of the people of Japan. Not only then did the *camera* have the power of a gun to impress upon the Japanese people and their enemies the might of the Japanese war effort, but as Yokota argued, “One *photograph* is a bullet.”<sup>59</sup> Finally, Yokota makes analogous the self-sacrificing role of the war photographer and the soldier, in saying, “Until not a single news photographer carrying a camera remains, soldiers must continue to advance with guns in hand.” Photographers, then, just like soldiers, were meant to give their lives.

Though seldom discussed in current scholarship, state agencies such as the Cabinet Information Bureau and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs International Culture Promotion Organization actively looked to German examples of the employment of war photographers and the publication of their images in shaping domestic and international perspectives. When the influential editor and photographer Natori Yōnosuke was forced to leave the Berlin based pictorial magazine he worked for and return to Japan due to the 1933 German Propaganda Ministry’s “Editors Law,” which limited work in journalism to Aryans, he praised how effectively photographs were marshalled by the state in Germany. He proclaimed,

“The Nazis truly use photographs for propaganda extremely well—in magazines, newspapers, and of course, exhibitions, as well as in showrooms and window displays and for educational purposes. In relation to the government all political movements and political gatherings are photographed and unified under one goal. We also need to

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>59</sup> My emphasis.

implement this as quickly as possible in Japan, which the Cabinet of Information has wisely decided to do.<sup>60</sup>

In the early 1940s, reporting on the use of the photo corps' photographs for propaganda in Japan regularly used the abbreviation "P.K." for the photographers who worked for the Imperial Navy and Imperial Military as the Propaganda Kompanie. Comparisons to the Germans did not end there; leader of the Army Ministry News Staff Hirakushi Takashi (1908—1980) wrote that the Imperial Japanese Photo Corps bore many similarities with the German in their drive to produce propaganda for internal and external consumption. The Japanese, however, put more emphasis on anti-enemy propaganda for the colonies:<sup>61</sup>

As opposed to the P.K., which focuses on propaganda, the Japanese Imperial Photo Corps' goal is to create material in the places it is sent to (*genchi*) and is appointed to create culture (*bunka kōsaku ninzuru*).

His comparison took an openly dark turn as Hirakushi compared the Japanese photographic propaganda units to the German "T.V. (Toten kopfe-Verband)" (sic). The SS-Totenkopfverbände (SS-TV), referred to in English as the Death's Head Unit and translated by Hirakushi as the *shi no atama* (transliterated in katakana as *totenkopufu*), was in charge of Nazi concentration camps throughout Germany and occupied Europe and implementing the "Final Solution." Their combat units were likewise infamous for brutality and massacres. Framing the SS-TV as primarily an infrastructure and propaganda unit he reassured his readers that despite its frightening name

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<sup>60</sup> Natori Yōnosuke, "Ōbei no hōdō shashin" (News Photography of Western Europe and the United States) *Serupan* January 1938: cited in Shirayama Mari, 'Hōdō shashin' to sensō 1930-1960 (Photojournalism and War 1930-1960).

<sup>61</sup> Hirakushi Takashi "Rikugun hōdō hanin no shimei" (The mission of the army photo corps) (*Asahi Camera* 33(3) (192) (March 1942), 159-161. Interestingly, the Japanese media did not only look to Germany, but also to the United States, for examples of how military photographers supported the war effort. For instance, "Shigunaru cōpusu beikoku no rikugun hōdō han" (The signal corps – The United States army photo corps) *Hōdō Shashin* 2(9) (September 1942), 46.

since 1937 the Japanese Imperial Army had conducted important work in a similar vein in its own occupied territories to broadcast “culture, law, and spirituality” to the front lines of its occupied territory. As such, he argued that the *hōdō hei* (news soldier) was “none other than a singular technology in service of the military.” By way of conclusion, he left the reader with two slogans that he felt embodied the mission of the photo corps: “Overcoming death to confront the enemy through propaganda!” (*Shi wo koeta taiteki senden wo!*) and “Cultural work built on corpses!” (*Shikabane no ue ni kizuku bunka kōsaku wo!*).

It is rare to find such chilling slogans applied to the work of war photographers in the Japanese mass media, and yet it is therefore all the more important to acknowledge that photographers and their work were folded into the violent logic that visually constructed and justified Japanese fascism. In arguing for the importance of soldiers on the ground who both collected and disseminated photographic information that was framed as having a truth claim and was connected to rational science, representations of the Japanese photo corps created a fascist aesthetic based on crossing space and constructing knowledge.

Differing from a soldier trained for the military or navy, the war photographer’s ability to move from frontline back to the interior of mainland Japan endowed him with a communicative mission.<sup>62</sup> In the early 1940s various members of the Photo Corps joined together to urge photographers on the mainland to consider traveling to the outer colonies to express the peaceful atmosphere of the people there through photographs geared toward Japanese living on the main

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<sup>62</sup> For example itineraries of the many trips between Japan, Korea, China, and the Philippines that military photographers such as Koyanagi Tsuguichi took in addition to comprehensive retrospective reflections of many military photographers, see Koyanagi Tsuguichi and Ishikawa Yasumasa, *Jūgun kameraman no sensō* (The military camera man’s war) (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1993).

islands.<sup>63</sup> More than merely communicating a cheerful scene of colonial rule back to the metropole, the photographers agreed in their “hopes for the cameramen of the mainland” that travel to the exterior colonies had the potential to change you: “when shooting in a northern part of China in X district, I found it so different from central China and clearly understood that through new construction we are directing it is as though Japan is spreading blood through the body.”<sup>64</sup> Through their support of the imperial effort to create the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Dai Tōa Kyōeiken*) in which Japan envisioned itself as the new colonial ruler over Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Oceania, photographers played a crucial role in communicating the goals and purported success of this violent process as part of the construction of imperial vision.

According to the press, another unique aspect of the photographer as news soldier was his ability to not only enumerate the scenes of battle but also to construct a valuable record of strategic warfare that would form a “historical record of the continuous conditions of war.” As Tominaga Kengo, member of the Naval Photography Division, advocated, “...a record of our crusades will be a wonderful thing to preserve for the future. More than just a record of having won the war (these photographs) will contribute to the future. Because the efforts of the Photo Corps will remain for eternity, I will continue to strive toward this goal.”<sup>65</sup> Adding to this image of photographer, camera in hand, in an everlasting battle for the nation, in 1943 the largest photography associations (including the Japan Press Photographer’s Association, Japan

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<sup>63</sup> “Gun hōdō-bu shashin han no seikatsu wo kataru” (The Military press department talks about the life of the photography team) *Asahi Camera* 32 (6) (189) (December 1941), 690-695.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 695.

<sup>65</sup> Tominaga Kengo “Kaigun hōdō shashin han no katsuyō” (The utilization of the navy photo corps) *Asahi Camera* 33(3) (192) (March 1942), 170-173.

Photography Association, Japan Photographers Association, Japan Photographic Culture Federation, Japan Photographic Experts Union, Tokyo Photographic Society, Asia Photo Assembly, All Japan Photographic Association) were all unified into one organization, the Great National Assembly of Japanese Photography (Dai Nippon Shashin Kōkokukai). In its new iteration, the organization proclaimed itself as “30,000 photographers unified!” in contributing toward the war effort.<sup>66</sup>

### **Women Photograph the War: Sasamoto Tsuneko and Homefront Photographers**

The twenty-six-year-old Sasamoto Tsuneko was among the 30,000 photographers working toward the war effort. Sasamoto had first entered the working world out of art school, drawing sketches for the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* (Tokyo Daily News) when an acquaintance who worked from the Photography Association (*Shashin Kyōkai*) suggested that she join them as a photographer. In her memoir Sasamoto recounts how using Margaret Bourke-White’s cover photograph on *Life* magazine as a point of inspiration he urged, “Looking through a woman’s eyes to see the world, there must be photographs that only a woman can take.”<sup>67</sup> Gendered assumptions about “looking through a woman’s eyes” aside, the Photography Association was a fortuitous workplace to introduce Sasamoto to the photography world. It functioned as a producer and distributor of photographs along the lines of the American photo agencies Alliance Photo (founded in 1934) and Black Star (Founded in 1935) photographs for use within the

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<sup>66</sup> “Dai nippon shashin hō kokkai no pēji” (The Great National Assembly of Japanese Photography Page) (*Nippon Shashin* May 1944): cited in Shirayama Mari, “*Hōdō shashin*” to *sensō 1930-1960* (Photojournalism and War 1930-1960), 279.

<sup>67</sup> Sasamoto, Tsuneko, *Raika de shotto! Ojōsan kameraman no shōwa funsenki* (Shot with a Leica! A Young Lady’s Showa War Record). Tokyo: Seiryū, 2002: 13.

domestic and international mass press, the key difference being that its work was within the official purview of the Ministry of Information.<sup>68</sup> When its photographs were printed in the mass press abroad, they bore the credit line “J.P.L” for Japan Photographic Library. This was how Sasamoto’s first photographs were printed in a German newspaper in the early 1940s. Two of the Photography Association staff were the editors for *Shashin Shūhō* (Photographic Weekly), and spending time in its office gave her the chance to meet and learn from its collection of international magazines and the imminent photographers in and out of its offices.

In 1939 Sasamoto went on assignment to photograph the Prime Minister Hiranuma Kiichirō (1867—1952) and his cabinet. Hiranuma had a long history as a politician as the founder and president of the Kokuhonsha, a right-wing patriotic society, and served as a Privy Councilor and senior advisor to Emperor Hirohito. In his short term as Prime Minister from January 5<sup>th</sup> 1939 to August 30<sup>th</sup> 1939, Hiranuma fought to keep Japan from signing the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Act, seeking instead for an anti-communist pact.<sup>69</sup> Upon meeting with the Prime Minister, the photographer Katō Kyōhei who accompanied her on the assignment, jokingly told the group that she was a reporter for a housewives’ magazine. As she kneeled to take their picture she retorted, “I hope it’s not a problem that I’m not anyone’s wife,” which made the group chuckle. Katō captured the scene of Sasamoto kneeling in a skirt-suit before the Prime Minister and his cabinet as they amusedly look on (Figure 12). It is significant that this photograph, which might stand as the first record of a female photojournalist capturing the

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<sup>68</sup> Sasamoto, *Ibid.*, 17. For more information on the work of photo agencies, see Nadya Bair, “Never Alone: Photo Editing and Collaboration,” in Jason E. Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz, eds., *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015): 228-235.

<sup>69</sup> He was convicted by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East as a Class A War Criminal and controversially enshrined at Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo. See the Digital Collection of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East <http://imtfe.law.virginia.edu/contributors-174>

visage of a Japanese prime minister was never published in a wartime periodical. It seems to only have been printed in Sasamoto's autobiography in 2002.

Sasamoto's work reveals a tension in the concerted effort that advertising and editorials made to depict the photographer soldier as male. Indeed, the fantastical logic of total war demands that every photograph and every person with a camera become part of the war effort. In this articulation of the participatory nature of photography and war, Sasamoto's work producing images of scenes from the capital is just as important as an image of a battleship at sea. Despite this, it was not Sasamoto's work, but rather the photographic labor of women characterized as housewives or sisters of soldiers that drew the attention of the photographic press. A photo collaged advertisement offers another example of the argument that in the context of total war mobilization, women were envisioned as photographers only for their potential to console family members with photographs from home (See Figure 4).<sup>70</sup> As an eye-catching appeal to use Oriental Shashin Kōgyō's (Oriental Photo Industrial Co.) dry plates and printing papers, the image employs modernist visual techniques of scale manipulation and collage that would have been familiar to a photo-literate audience.<sup>71</sup> The right side of the image is filled with the smiling face of a young woman with a cloth lightly draped around her head for sun protection and the collar of her cotton *yukata* (a less formal version of a kimono) is just visible. To the bottom left, a photograph of a young boy in a school uniform in a different spatial scale holds what could be a lantern with the words "Comforting photographs for the soldiers" collaged onto it. In their disproportionate size to one another and the rough way they are collaged onto a black

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<sup>70</sup> *Asahi Camera* 32 (6) (189) December 1941. Advertisement for Oriental Shashin Kōgyō (Oriental Photo Industrial Co.), bottom half of page.

<sup>71</sup> For a history of Oriental Shashin Kōgyō see *Orientalu shashin kōgyō kabushiki kaisha sanjūnenshi* (A Thirty-Year History of the Oriental Photo Industrial Co.) (Tokyo: Oriental Photo Industrial Co., 1950)

background both figures have a surreal relationship to one another demanding the skilled eye of a modern spectator.<sup>72</sup> Utilizing these visual techniques, the advertisement makes the eye-catching case that even in times of great material scarcity, it was still important to print photographs to send to a family member or a sweetheart on the front lines.

Though the roles of women contributing to the war effort through involvement in neighborhood and women's patriotic associations, working as nurses and in factories or using their bodies to produce healthy new Japanese citizens has been discussed, the role of women as active documentarians of the home front through the lens of the camera has gone unnoticed.<sup>73</sup> Much in the same way that photographers on the battlefield were depicted in the mass press as playing an essential role in transmitting inspirational information about the advancements of Japan's colonial empire back to the Japanese archipelago, members of the Great National Assembly of Japanese Photography urged women left at home with what they assumed were their husband's cameras to become responsible for taking photographs of their families and hometowns to send to the battlefield on mainland Asia.<sup>74</sup> While the language used to describe

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<sup>72</sup> For a discussion of wartime uses of photcollage and montage, see Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Touring Japan-as-Museum: *NIPPON* and Other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues," *positions* Vol. 8 No. 3 (Winter 2000): 747-793.

<sup>73</sup> For captivating first-hand accounts of women's participation in the war effort, see Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, eds., *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York: The New Press, 1992). For a comparison of women's roles as "workers for the state" in wartime and in the postwar period, see Ryuichi Narita, "Women in the Motherland: Oku Mumeo through Wartime and Postwar," in Yasushi Yamanouchi, J. Victor Koschmann, and Ryuichi Narita, eds. *Total War and "Modernization"* (Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998), 137-158. On motherhood and sexual reproduction, see Sujin Lee, "Differing Conceptions of 'Voluntary Motherhood': Yamakawa Kikue's Birth Strike and Ishimoto Shizue's Eugenic Feminism," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, No. 52 (2017), 3-22. See also, Sandra Wilson, "Family or State?: Nation, war, and gender in Japan, 1937-45," *Critical Asian Studies*, 38:2, (2006), 209-238; Barbara Molony, "From 'Mothers of Humanity' to 'Assisting the Emperor': Gendered Belonging in the Wartime Rhetoric of Japanese Feminist Ichikawa Fusae," *Pacific Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (2011), 1-27.

<sup>74</sup> On visual depictions of women's contributions to the war effort in the mass press, see Terada Fuji "Senjishite ni motomerareta josei no imēji — 『Shufu no tomo』 『Fujin kurabu』 no kuchie wo chūshi to



photographers on the battlefield painted a picture of photographer-soldiers creating visual weaponry, women on the home front are depicted as responsible for affective labor through their camera work. No longer is each photograph a bullet, rather, each image unfolded and refolded, taken in and out of the soldier's pocket is a material reminder of the "peaceful hometown scene" (*nagoyakana jūgo fūkei*) that brings him back to the reason why he is fighting.<sup>75</sup>

Kin Toyoko, member of the Great National Assembly of Japanese Photography, explained to readers that it was a painful moment for her when she realized that after her husband was called away to war, she would need to be the one to take pictures of the children and send their "folded likeness" (*oriori no sugata*) away to him. Kin represents this as a novel situation for women across the country, who had likely become familiar with their husband's disparaging remarks that they always made the same mistakes when they took pictures and that they had no "scientific approach to using the camera" (*mo sukoshi kagakuteki ni shashinki wo tottara...*). Despite considerable obstacle, she writes, "I, who, who have children to care for and have just given birth and in this season cannot immediately go to work, think that the least that I can do is comfort the brave soldiers on the battlefield through photographs."<sup>76</sup>

Through the necessity of sending physical and visual reminders of home to her husband, Kin describes a transformation in the way husbands will recognize their wives as photographers: in her view, the wife who is busy taking pictures of life at home will develop a proficiency that will make him exclaim "What skill she has!" In this sense, though Kin frames the photograph of

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shite" (The image of woman sought in the wartime—with a central focus on frontispieces of *Shufu no tomo* and *Fujin kurabu*) *Image & Gender* Vol. 6 (March 2006), 86-104.

<sup>75</sup> Kin Toyoko, "Watashi no shashin hōkoku kiroku: dare ka kokyō wo omowazaru" (My photographic record of patriotism: How could someone not think of their hometown?) *Nihon Shashin* (Japanese Photography) (May 1944), 52-53.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

home as primarily providing encouragement to the soldier, it in fact supports both the female photographer and husband away from home. She continues,

When the photographs sent with care reach the front line, for that whole day he will be filled with the feeling of happiness, thinking “So far away on the front lines, the joy of being directly connected to the healthy image of my wife will make me draw this picture from my pocket countless times and smile with my friends on the battlefield.” Whether he is in southern or central China, he will be able to achieve great service to the public with your help.

With each unfolding and folding of the photograph, not only does the soldier have the courage to fight on, but the female photographer is validated in her efforts. Kin encouraged her readers to organize shooting sessions, take photographs of local associations, family gathered at shrines, and in front of their homes. Thus, as the title of Kin’s article asks, how could soldiers separated from their country not think of their hometown when sent such effective photographic reminders?

In the photograph accompanying the article, whose caption reads, “The writer takes a patriotic photograph visiting the residence of a soldier on the battlefield during his absence,” Kin demonstrates her vision of home front photography led by women (Figure 13). In loose pants and a tailored jacket, with ear-length curled hair, Kin cuts a strikingly different figure than that of the mother in the family she photographs, who, in a kimono or yukata, with longer hair simply gathered at the neck rests her hand on her youngest child. Standing in front of the family’s house, the young family of two girls and a boy, simply dressed and with closely-cropped hair somberly look back at Kin as she looks down into the viewfinder of the camera. In this example, Kin suggests that photographers might help other families take pictures of each other so that all members are included. With the click of the shutter button Kin becomes a provocative example of another way in which women were actively a part of the photographic labor of war.

## Regulating Homefront Photography: Forbidden Photography Zones

Not only did every photograph have a productive potential, but in turn, a destructive potential that various governmental bodies sought to communicate to the public. The Home Ministry's (Naimushō) handbook on thwarting possible espionage attempts from foreign agents, published in 1941, is an example of this effort: The *Lecture Materials on the Prevention of Espionage (Bōchō Kōen Shiryō)* identifies sensitive industries and defines a wide range means of espionage, and most importantly it outlines the official perspective on the role of photography in wartime.<sup>77</sup> If used properly, photographs could “contribute greatly on a national level,” but in careless or ill-intended hands photographs may easily be used for “harmful effects.”<sup>78</sup> Within its pages, the treatise provides more than merely a guide for officials to keep on the alert by establishing the relationship between the photograph and photographer and between photograph and depicted subject. The Home Ministry defined *every* photograph taken by a Japanese subject—enthusiast or professional—as part of the war effort. In this sense every photograph had a direct connection to its subject and was a reflection of the real. From a “national perspective,” enthusiasts who headed out on solo excursions to photograph scenes of everyday life were “squanderers” who used “photosensitive materials with no meaning” (*igi no nai kankō shiryō no rōhisha*). If used with purpose, however, photographs could be mobilized for their natural quality to make “quick, accurate, and easy” records that surpassed that of the naked eye and contributed to the war effort through their patriotic content or by the subjects that they did not show.

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<sup>77</sup> Naimushō (Home Ministry), *Bōchō Kōen Shiryō* (Lecture Materials on the Prevention of Espionage) (Tokyo: Naimushō, 1941).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

This is why, in its list of twelve “Examples of how our nation’s photographs are being used in a wasteful way,” the Home Ministry’s chief concern was with the kinds of reality that photographs could communicate. Innocent photographs of the Matsuya Department store in Ginza, Tokyo at closing time in which female clerks can be seen streaming home after clocking out became evidence of the fact that up to seventy-five percent of all occupations were filled by women due to the wartime shortage of male workers. Similarly, newspaper coverage of boys and girls labor service troops hunting for food or performing compulsory training could also be interpreted as confirmation of depleted human resources (*jinteki shigen kokatsu*). A photograph of the unfinished Osaka train station and news photographs of the government control of leather goods became proof of the shortage of raw materials that Japan faced, while news coverage of glider competitions might be used as proof that Japan was conducting compulsory training for the expansion of its air force. The Home Ministry also saw photographs taken within the decade and published in books or pasted into albums as having a potentially dangerous informative power. For instance, foreign photographers who had lived in Japan might use photographs exchanged with Japanese photographers to inform their home governments, and certain foreign governments were known to collect Japanese geography textbooks to mine them for photographs of important strategic sites. Thus, through the power of “just one snapshot” (*ichimai no sunappu ni mo*) photographs and their takers had the potential to endanger the Japanese national body.<sup>79</sup>

Due to the fear of the destructive potential of photographs in the wrong hands, the state actively sought to curb the activities of the roaming male amateur photographer who was at risk of imaging sensitive locations while on a family trip or an outing to take pictures. The Home Ministry issued restrictions on leisure photography after the beginning of aggressive armed

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 24.

conflict on mainland Asia and 1931 frequently reminded photographers what areas were off limits to photograph. In a series of treatises published in photography magazines and how-to guides from 1932—1941 a range of authors in the mass press confirmed these regulations by reminding readers what qualified as a restricted photography zone and outlining rules and regulations on photography in these areas.

Each guide to the restricted photography zones follows nearly the same format in introducing the context in which a photographer might find himself tempted to take a photograph of forbidden territory: because “going on a trip for the sake of taking pictures or taking pictures while on a trip is one of the greatest pleasures for photographers” it might be easy to forget that these days “one cannot freely take pictures just anywhere.”<sup>80</sup> Many guides to the restricted areas compared the Japanese landscape to that of a temple or shrine wherein though one may walk about freely on the precincts, the closer one gets to the center where the most sacred rituals are observed and objects are housed, the more limited one’s access to photographing these areas becomes.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, what these guides all shared in common was an emphasis on the fact that each photograph taken should be considered as having a harmful potential. As one stated, “no

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<sup>80</sup> “Chūi subeki satsuei kinshi kuiki” (Restricted Photography Zones to Be Careful of) in *Saishin shashin jutsu dai kōza dai 2 kan* (The latest photographic skill lecture course vol. 2) (Tokyo: Tokyo shashin tsūshin gakkō (Tokyo Photographic Communication School), 1934), 1-10.

<sup>81</sup> The following articles similarly parallel not being able to photograph sensitive parts of Japan and not being able to photograph sacred places such as the interiors of shrines: “Satsuei kuiki kaisetsu” (Explanation of restricted photography zones) in *Arusu saishin shashin dai kōza dai 1 kan* (Ars’s Great Course on the Latest Photography, Volume 1) (Tokyo: Ars, 1934), 251-272; and also “Satsuei kinshi kuiki shōkai” (Detailed explanation of restricted photography zones) in *Shashin jitsugi dai kōza dai 5 kan: fūkei satsuei no jissai* (The practical skills of photography, Volume 5: The practice of taking scenery photographs) (Tokyo: Genkōsha, 1938), 254-270.

matter how much you think a photograph is just for yourself, photographs of fortified areas taken without thinking are actually breaking the law.”<sup>82</sup>

To clarify the location of these restricted areas instructions were often accompanied by a set of maps that highlighted the major roads and cities that were inside of the restriction zones. In 1934, Ars, a major publisher active from 1887 to 1957 which produced the popular photography magazine *Camera*, published a series of maps along with a chapter on its “Explanation of restricted photography zones” which in addition to naming each restricted zone also classified them into areas that were fortified zones (*yōsai*), strategic naval ports (*gunkō yōkō*), and strategic military areas (*gun yōsai*) (Figure 14). Similar maps codifying the Japanese empire according to areas that one should not photograph display a varying range of detail: some, like the 1938 “*Yōsai chitai bunpu chizu*” (Map of the distribution of fortified zones) printed within a handbook on taking landscape photographs are functional only as an overview of Japanese territory and rely on subsequent pages of detail for clarification (Figures 15-16).<sup>83</sup> While the map depicting restricted zones in the Tokyo Bay reveals that only the Miura peninsula south of Yokohama to be off limits, in many cases, such as that of Chichijima, an island that is part of the Ogasawara island chain to the southeast of Tokyo by about a day and a half boat ride, the entire island is identified as off-limits.

What these maps do not show is that in addition to not being able to photograph areas within the fortified zones, it was forbidden to fly over them or publish geographic guidebooks

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<sup>82</sup> “Chūi subeki satsuei kinshi kuiki” (Restricted Photography Zones to Be Careful of) in *Saishin shashin jutsu dai kōza dai 2 kan* (The latest photographic skill lecture course vol. 2) (Tokyo: Tokyo shashin tsūshin gakko (Tokyo Photographic Communication School), 1934), 1.

<sup>83</sup> A selected list of the restricted photography zones listed in these manuals includes Tokyo Bay, Maizuru, Yura, Shimonoseki, Hōyō, Sasebo, Nagasaki, Iki Island, Tsushima, Hakodate, Aomori Prefecture Otomachi navy port area, the Ogasawara Islands, the Bay of Chen-hai (Taiwan), the Liadong peninsula, all of northern Taiwan, and the Pengu Islands (Taiwan).

that included them.<sup>84</sup> In addition, within the city of Tokyo it was also forbidden to photograph bird's eye views from tall buildings and to take pictures of or from double-decker bridges.<sup>85</sup> These somewhat broad restrictions made the bird's eye view only accessible to the state and also left many photographers wondering if photographs taken in urban landscapes or near ports were in violation of the law. As in Italy, where Mussolini constructed his spectacular fascism through aerials photographs of ceremonies and parades, the Japanese state sought to use their control of perspective to subordinate.<sup>86</sup> And yet, in the Japanese case it seems that rather than disseminate their own vision from the sky the state sought to control and limit access to it.

For those who wanted to photograph within restricted protected zones, the guidelines offered the option to submit a photography request, or *satsuei negai*, to local authorities. The applicant was instructed to fill out the following information and provided a self-addressed return envelope along with three-sen stamp:

Area of Purpose (Entertainment, Sales, Research)  
Region (Complete as much detail as possible)  
Time Limit (From what day, month, and year to what day month and year) (limited to a three-month time frame)  
Permission is permitted according to Article 4 of the Regulations on the Fortified Zone Act  
One's address (on family register)  
Address of current residence<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., "Chūi subeki satsuei kinshi kuiki" (Restricted Photography Zones to be careful of) in *Saishin shashin jutsu dai kōza dai 2 kan* (The latest photographic skill lecture course vol. 2) Tokyo: Tokyo shashin tsūshin gakkō (Tokyo Photographic Communication School), 1934: 2.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., "Satsuei kinshi kuiki shōkai" (Detailed explanation of restricted photography zones) in *Shashin jitsugi dai kōza da 5 kan: fūkei satsuei no jissai* (The practical skills of photography, Volume 5: The practice of taking scenery photographs) Tokyo: Genkōsha, 1938: 257.

<sup>86</sup> On the Italian case, see Karen Frome, "Aerial Photography and Fascist Propaganda," *Aperture* No. 132 (Summer 1993), 76-77.

<sup>87</sup> "Chūi subeki satsuei kinshi kuiki" (Restricted Photography Zones to be careful of) in *Saishin shashin jutsu dai kōza dai 2 kan* (The latest photographic skill lecture course vol. 2) Tokyo: Tokyo shashin tsūshin gakkō (Tokyo Photographic Communication School), 1934: 3.

Throughout the 1930s, examples of these forms and the order in which to provide this information were provided in a range of handbooks on photographing such as Shimizu Hayashi's *Subarashiku jōzu ni utsureru shoho no satsuei hon* (The elements of photographing wonderfully well) (Figure 17). It is likely that the Ministry of Information mandated that popular photography magazines such as *Asahi Kamera* periodically re-educate their readers on restricted areas, and *Asahi Kamera* in particular found strategies to mention the regulations and depict photographers upholding them in a lighthearted manner.

For instance, the June 1938 issue ran a special photo essay covering an *Asahi Kamera* sponsored shooting trip at sea which took place from April 25 and 26 of that year.<sup>88</sup> The sixteen-page spread illustrated the two-day boat trip from Kobe to Tokyo onboard the *Taiyō Maru*, a German transatlantic ocean liner that had been given to Japan in 1920 as war reparations and was sunk by an American submarine as it carried ammunitions in 1942. Presented as a playful scrapbook record of the trip, the series provides details of meals eaten and activities on board, which centered primarily around photographing hired female models, through a combination of hand-drawn caricatures and photocollages. Most significantly, embedded within the graphically striking collages are two mentions of the restrictions on photography in fortified zones. The first, is a small image pasted across a map of the coastline just below an illustrated copy of the excursion menu, in which one can just barely make out a warning of the photography restrictions that they will come across (Figure 18). The accompanying text explains that on the first day as they will be passing an area that is declared a fortified zone, it is therefore their duty as Japanese to observe this decree and not use their cameras. Almost as if to make up for the lack of coastline

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<sup>88</sup> *Asahi Kamera* 25(6)6 (147) June, 1938, unpaginated.



to photograph, the photo essay provides vivid illustrations of the shooting sessions held at various locations on board with the beautiful hired models.

A second announcement of a photography restricted zone is sandwiched in between three pictures of models posed by the ships' rigging or looking out to sea serenely as a group of men photographs them at close distance (Figures 19-20). While this announcement details the parts of Tokyo Bay which are off limits to photography the photographs it is paired with suggest that the female body is a fine substitute. In the top left corner of the collage, a man holds a 35mm camera to his eye, looking out over the sea, and in the distance another steamer passes by. The caption reads, "Once past the fortified zones, pointing cameras in high spirits." While both images are unusual in their inclusion of an English translation of the restriction, which does not exist in any of the other literature, what is most notable is that they succeed in following government orders on photography restricted zones at the same time that they depict the methods in which people found ways around these decrees. At least for the wealthy patrons of this photography excursion, who ate beef bourguignon and used the latest 35mm cameras, photography's wartime uses as a gendered leisure pastime are depicted as sexy and relatively unperturbed by government decrees.

There is strong evidence that the knowledge that vast areas of the Japanese coastline and parts of its major cities were off limits to photographers deeply shaped experiences of what it meant to take pictures during and after the war. In 1950 Satō Shinji, photographer for the wartime *Mainichi Newspaper*, found that he became self-conscious and nervous about photographing bridges and features across the river toward Queens on a boat trip around Manhattan. He later asked an American friend if it was allowed for him to take photographs of what might have been a strategically sensitive area. Satō, who remembered the strict control of photography in the Tokyo Bay in wartime Japan, was surprised when the friend responded that

photography was allowed as the American military would certainly cover anything they did not want to be seen.<sup>89</sup>

Together, maps of restricted zones and the elaboration of the official instructions about what could not be photographed formed an official perspective on the potential power of photographs to both create and harm the Japanese empire. The visual logics presented in these different formats made the argument that photographic perspectives were assigned to different individuals: photographic industries were allowed to continue to try to make money from photographs and optical instruments, the photographer as soldier made bullets of out photographs, the female photographer on the home front was an emerging documentarian, and the bird's eye view was strictly in the control of the state.

## Conclusion

Under the strict regulation of the state, photographs and optical technologies became part of what historian Satō Takumi's describes as the totalitarian discursive space which attempted to bring "a technological, rationalist, total warfare system...into being by force."<sup>90</sup> Optical technologies, photographs, and photographer soldiers may, however, have been utilized more to craft the *image* of this total system than actually successfully implementing one. Due to the loss of much of the documentation on how photographs were used during the war in Japan, it is difficult to gauge how effective state implementations were or how widely they were actually

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<sup>89</sup> Satō Shinji, "Fukyoka to natta shashintachi" (The Unauthorized photographs) in *Fukuoka shashinshi ichi oku nin no showashi* (A History of Unauthorized Photography: The Showa History of One Hundred Million) (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1977), 243-247.

<sup>90</sup> Satō Takumi, "The System of Total War and the Discursive Space of the Thought War" in *Total War and "Modernization"* ed. Yasushi Yamanouchi, J. Victor Koschmann, and Ryuichi Narita. (Ithaca, New York: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998): 308.

used.<sup>91</sup> In fact, when comparing the Allies' systematic development of photographic intelligence, described as "a new kind of photographic reconnaissance, strategic as well as tactical," with that of the Japanese, many immediate postwar specialists came to the conclusion that, in particular, the American and British Signal Corps had no counterparts in Japan.<sup>92</sup> Unlike the American Signal Corps, in Japan there were no training programs or specialists in photographic interpretation or central organization of imagery collected. There were also no flying units for the army or navy specifically dedicated to photo reconnaissance. Colonel Roy M. Stanley II goes as far to say that photo collection in the Japanese navy and army seems to for the most part have been carried out by independent units that were attached to them, and thus the Japanese approach to using photographs at war more resembled World War I practices than the new approaches to "a full-blown strategic intelligence collection capability" that the British and Americans implemented.<sup>93</sup> For all their depictions in the pictorial press, readers would not have known these real shortcomings; indeed the construction of this wartime myth of Japanese optical technology aiding the war held firm after the end of the war, making the promise of the optical industries coming to the aid of Japan's international reputation equally strong in the postwar period.

Analysis of the mythical depictions of optical technologies as weapons and the

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<sup>91</sup> Japanese military, naval, and government archives were systematically destroyed after the announcement of ceasefire on August 15, 1945. Japan's Military History Archives of the National Institute for Defense Studies estimates that as much as 70 percent of the army's wartime records were destroyed. Cited in Edward Drea, "Introduction," *Researching Japanese War Crimes Records: Introductory Essays* (Washington, D.C.: Nazi War Crime and Japanese Imperial Government Records Interagency Working Group, 2006), 9.

<sup>92</sup> Constance Babington Smith, *Air Spy: The Story of Photo Intelligence in World War II* (Falls Church, Virginia: American Society for Photogrammetry Foundation, 1957), 1.

<sup>93</sup> Colonel Roy M. Stanley II, *World War II Photo Intelligence* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 76.

photographer as soldier help to unpack the social values that were attributed to the work of photographers and photography magazines by the military and organs of the wartime government both during and after the war. As such, we might think of the history of postwar photography as beginning in the 1930s. The value placed on the photograph as index of the world and the troubling relationship between a photographer's interiority and that external world were solidified during this period as newspapers and magazines depicted photographers of all stripes as the eyes of the emperor, contributing to society and the nation through their realization of imperial will. In the postwar period, the use of similar language to describe socially engaged photography as the preferred mode of image making under the wartime regime and in postwar Japan is both the reason why the Japanese photography world was silent on issues of war responsibility as well as the reason why the very same photographers, such as Domon Ken, who shot staged propaganda during the war could claim to have authority on "social realism" through the end of the 1950s.<sup>94</sup> The tension between the camera as weapon and camera as valuable social tool sheds light on the similarity between photographic technologies' wartime and peacetime uses, which we will see examples of in the following two chapters.

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<sup>94</sup> Kaneko Ryuichi argues that photojournalism as epitomized by *Front* "underwent exceptional development as propaganda" at the same time that it "fostered among individual photographers an expression of the social reality of all things—in other words, the spirit of realism...Considering these photographs within the larger framework of photography led to a growing awareness that realism and propaganda, though at first glance mutually exclusive, are actually two sides of the same issues and point us toward one answer to the question of what modern photography represented." In "Realism and Propaganda: The Photographer's Eye Trained on Society" in Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, eds. *The History of Japanese Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in Association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003), 193.

## Chapter 2

### The Occupied Camera: Finding a Language for Early Postwar Japanese Photography

The photography book *Tokyo senkyūhyaku yonjūgonen aki = Tokyo, Fall of 1945* (1946) is a persuasive example of the ways Japanese photographers and publishers seized the opportunity to work together to test the new visual possibilities under occupation at the same time that they reinforced visual continuities with the wartime period. Published in April 1946 it is a manifestation of physical and visual uninterruptedness from the wartime period: it was printed using the leftover paper and ink from the wartime propaganda graphic photo magazine *NIPPON* and all of its photographs were shot by Kimura Ihei and Kikuchi Shunkichi who had produced wartime photographic propaganda.<sup>95</sup> However it departed from wartime propaganda periodicals in its liberal depiction of food shortages, black markets, homeless families, and the completely decimated streets of Tokyo, all themes that were forbidden under the wartime mandate to only depict happy, well-nourished citizens (Figure 1-2). *Tokyo, Fall of 1945* takes the physical and psychological ways that Tokyo had changed since the end of the war as its main theme: in the introduction Nakajima Kenzo, literary critic and scholar of the French language,

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<sup>95</sup> Satō Yōichi, *Zusetsu senryōshita no Tokyo Occupation Forces in Tokyo 1945-52* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha Publishers, 2006), 22-23.

characterizes wartime Tokyo as a diseased organism that had been “breaking down like a specimen of a malignant ulcer” due to a hidden disease.<sup>96</sup> Continuing the medical metaphor, Nakajima writes that in the summer of 1945 Tokyo went through “a surgical operation of great proportion” and as the city convalesces “English road signs, jeeps, street stalls, congested transport.. and shambling shacks” are the “gut” that was used to sew up the surgical operation. The following pages of photographs depict desolate scenes of barren city blocks leveled by air raids juxtaposed against boulevards lined with American jeeps (Figure 3-4). The Occupation troops are pictured in front of maps of the city written in English and General MacArthur’s headquarters in the requisitioned Daichi Building in Hibiya (Figure 5). Though English captions guide the viewer on each page they are paired with lengthier Japanese descriptions that address how Tokyo has not only visibly changed through destruction and foreign occupation, but that it is *language* itself that distinguishes the postwar from the wartime period. Whereas in the prewar period English and French may have been employed on storefronts or in the design of consumer goods they all but disappeared during the wartime prohibition of enemy languages only to reemerge and take over the city under occupation. In its pages the volume also makes the argument that there is a visual, photographic language working with the verbal that characterizes the end of the war and the beginning of occupation.

*Tokyo, Fall of 1945*’s explicit attempts to visualize the changes brought to the city by war and occupation make the majority of its photographs forbidden content under GHQ censorship rules that began to be strictly enforced around the time of its publication. Thus, this is one of the few artifacts of a window in time when it was possible to publish photographs of people waiting for trains to the country to forage for food or lines of people fishing for a meal in Tokyo’s rivers

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<sup>96</sup> Bunkasha, ed. *Tokyo, Fall of 1945 = Tokyo senkyūhyaku yonjūgonen aki* (Tokyo: Bunkasha), 1946.

and moats before Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) censors tightly restricted these images. What is more, the act of publishing aerial views of Ginza would have seemed like a form of liberation for Japanese photographers who, under wartime regulations restricting all non-military production of photographs of a bird's eye perspective, could not take photographs in buildings above two stories tall. In addition, collectively the photographs and accompanying captions represent the enterprising nature of the photographic publishing industry in the early postwar. Photographers and publishers recognized that the viewing public wanted to see what Tokyo in the process of recovering looked like and were quick to produce content that distanced themselves from wartime photography at the same time that it critiqued the Occupation.

The continuities with the wartime period in terms of continued restrictions on what could be photographed, the business of selling and publishing photographs, and the ways in which the market for photographs itself was a major force in pushing against censorship boundaries are the subject of this chapter. In the first decade of the postwar period Japanese and American photographers negotiated the parameters for what photographic language was best suited to processing the themes of foreign occupation and the transition to the Cold War political system and economy. This "language" encompassed both photographic style (documentary versus abstract) as well as the content of the images themselves. In the early postwar years the opening of new photographic subject matter in the mass press, ranging from the home life of the imperial family to strip shows, was paired with the simultaneous tight control of images such as that of wartime destruction, the effects of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Occupation soldiers patronizing brothels. Both the ability to represent new subject matter and the continued censorship of the photographic press supported the premise of photography's transparency and the public's faith in photographic realism.

Questions about the parameters of representability should always be considered in reference to profit and the flourishing market for the visual press and its relationship to political form. As cameras became more accessible to wider groups of users, many of the same critics and photographers who had actively made photographic propaganda during the war began to suggest that photography's representative visual rhetoric was best suited to stand for democratizing movements. The relationship between the fledgling democracy and camera culture was even remarked upon by the American Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson who after being surrounded by Japanese press photographers on a trip to Japan in 1954 remarked, "Indeed I had about come to the conclusion that Japan's new society was a 'photocracy' not a 'democracy.'"<sup>97</sup> The supposed democratizing potential of photography as a mass practice and photography's financial potential should not be treated as separate from one another: in the buying and selling of images and the equipment to make them, the language of photography is in fact always one of consumption.

Taking a more expansive view of the economic motivations for producing photographs, this chapter shows how the interactions between professional photography organizations, camera corporations, international photojournalists, and the American Occupation set the parameters for who could be considered a photographer and the commercial market for photographic content. At the moment when the camera market began to rapidly expand in Japan the image of the jet-setting war correspondent shooting special assignments for *Life* magazine served as both an aspirational as well as gatekeeping model. As millions of aspiring photographers bought cameras each year, many continued to have a stake in perpetuating photography as an exclusive practice.

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<sup>97</sup> "Democracy to Photocracy" (Democracy and Photocracy) *Nihon shashin kyōkai kaihō* (Photographic Society of Japan Bulletin) Vol. 1 No. 1 (October 1954), 10.



These conditions persisted so that by 1960 critic Kanamaru Shigene (1900-1977) revealingly wrote,

though the number of consumers is increasing, the number of true camera lovers is not necessarily increasing... The number of people in possession of cameras may have increased, but they want their cameras as merely mechanical gadgets for taking daily memoranda instead of using them as means of self-expression in the form of photographs. In other words, it may be said that these people desire cameras even as they desire tape recorders for taking records.<sup>98</sup>

The doubt that Kanamaru cast on the potential for a casual user to be able to make a meaningful image is not new in the history of photography and is an attitude that contributes to the continued exclusion of women and amateurs from consideration on an equal participatory level with the league of supposedly “good” photographers.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, during her half-year stay in Tokyo during which time she photographed Japanese riots and Korean guerilla fighters, the *Life* photographer Margaret Bourke-White became a symbol for ambitious female Japanese photographers as well as the object of speculation by male photographers. While many of the postwar female Japanese photographers cited Bourke-White as introducing them to the possibility that a woman could be a photographer, they faced great barriers to entering the photography community in postwar Japan, which is the subject of Chapter Four. Bourke-White advised Japanese amateur photographers and aspiring photojournalists to separate themselves from their daily lives by taking photographs that illustrated a particular context, describing the

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<sup>98</sup> Kanamaru Shigene, “Nihon shashinkai tenbō” (A Perspective on the Japanese Photography World) in *Nihon Shashin Nenpō Japan Photo Almanac 1961*, ed. Nihon shashin kyōkai (The Photographic Society of Japan) (Tokyo: Nihon shashin kyōkai, 1960), 41.

<sup>99</sup> On the establishment of exclusionary practices in the amateur photography market in the 1920s see Kerry Ross “Photography for Everyone: Women, Hobbyists, and Marketing Photography,” in *Photography for Everyone: The Cultural Lives of Cameras and Consumers in Early Twentieth-Century Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2015), 41-67.

mission of the photographer as “the sacred world of conveying information.”<sup>100</sup> With these words, Bourke-White reinforced the popular idea that proper social and political subjectivity could be cultivated through the language of documentary photography.

### **Photography and the Allied Occupation of Japan**

The use of photographs and the act of photographing took on new meanings in Occupied Japan as photographers working on official business with the American Occupation, international press photographers, and Japanese photographers navigated the ways they would use and produce photographs for a range of purposes. In the case of official Occupation uses of photography, photographs were a means for American soldiers and photojournalists to promote and report on the Occupation’s goals as well as to visually establish and reinforce the new power dynamics of the postwar. For anthropologist John W. Bennett who worked for the Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division (PO&SR) established within the Civil Information and Education Section of the General Headquarters (GHQ), photographs were a means to create a “taxonomic view” of social dynamics such as the sex trade to compliment data points that he had gathered on public attitudes toward prostitution.<sup>101</sup> In the case of the American cartographers who worked with the United States Strategic Bombing Survey and units such as the 64<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Margaret Bourke-White, Uramatsu Samitarō, Kimura Ihei, Domon Ken, Ina Nobuo, and Miki Jun, “Bāku hoito joshi ni mono wo kiku” (Asking Ms. Bourke-White about things) *Asahi Camera* August (1952), 92.

<sup>101</sup> Morris Low, “American Photography during the Allied Occupation of Japan: The Work of John W. Bennett,” *History of Photography*, 39:3 (2015), 263-278.

Engineer Base Topographic Battalion, photographs were used to assess the success of the American firebombing of major Japanese cities and to produce new strategic maps of the archipelago.<sup>102</sup> Finally, for many Allied Occupation soldiers, photography was a booming pastime that allowed them to infuse their time in Japan with the leisure of taking photographs from a tourist's perspective. As these different uses demonstrate, Occupation photographers privileged photographs for their evidentiary value: they were treated as visual records of foreign influence and authority.

One of the first series of photographs to set forth the relationship between occupier and occupied were taken on the morning of 2 September 1945 when representatives from nine Allied nations gathered on board the *U.S.S. Missouri* to bear witness to Japanese delegates signing the formal surrender documents that brought the Pacific War to its official end. Elaborate photographic documentation of the event was printed in the pages of *Life* two weeks later and are the first of many postwar images to visualize American power in relationship with Japanese weakness.<sup>103</sup> The 45,000 ton battleship served as the perfect staging ground for such an illustrated argument: every photograph shows the Japanese delegation, small and dark in their formal attire (top hats, even) dwarfed by ranks of servicemen in khaki standing neatly in formation or spilling off the edges of the many balconies of the ship towering triumphantly like figurines on an elaborate wedding cake (Figure 6). To get one of the most striking shots of the series, *Life* staff photographer John Florea must have climbed to the top rigging from where his

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<sup>102</sup> David Fedman and Cary Karacas, "The Optics of Urban Ruination: Toward an Archaeological Approach to the Photography of the Japan Air Raids," *Journal of Urban History* Vol. 40, No. 5 (2014), 959-984; David Fedman and Cary Karacas, "A Cartographic Fade to Black: Mapping the Destruction of Urban Japan During World War II," *Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 38, No. 3 (July 2012), 306-328.

<sup>103</sup> "Japan Signs the Surrender," *Life* Vol. 19. No. 12 (September 17, 1945), 27-39.

camera peers down over the layers of balconies, canons, and differently uniformed regiments to find the tiny grouping of the eleven-person Japanese delegation clustered on the open deck (Figure 7). There they wait tensely as hundreds of onlookers focus on their every move. Carl Mydans, also a *Life* staff photographer who enlisted as a military photographer took a different angle on the scene (Figure 8). His camera is close behind the table where General Yoshijiro Umezu, Chief of the Army General Staff, bends down to sign the documents as the representative for the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters looks on. Just behind him we see Minister of Foreign Affairs Mamoru Shigemitsu in a top hat with hands on hips. It is the top hats, gloves, and morning coats that stand out and stay with the viewer seen against the looser, rumpled clothes of the two- to four-star officers that stand in rows to their right. For all of *Life*'s deliberate sequencing of the formal moments of the signing of the surrender, the final photograph of the series is the comedic "America's biggest admiral," an image of the 280-pound Admiral John F. Shafrof who "symbolizes U.S. military might" viewing the proceedings standing under the framed flag that Commodore Matthew Perry flew when he arrived to Tokyo Bay in 1853 to force Japan to open trade with the United States (Figure 9). As such, these photographs depicted brawn and brass coupled with the reminder of the historical precedent of forced American diplomacy in those waters.

It was not only photographs that helped define the relationship between occupier and occupied, but also cameras themselves which became a point of connection between the two. The American Occupation's approach to supporting the Japanese camera industry was essential to turning what had been a wartime industry funded primarily by the Imperial Navy into an internationally-focused business that helped bring foreign capital into the country. From November 1944, to August of 1945, 4,230 planes American plans dropped 22,885 tons of bombs

on Tokyo, destroying nearly sixty five percent of its residences.<sup>104</sup> At the end of the war, estimated damage due to American air raids was set at around forty percent of all urban Japan.<sup>105</sup> Within Tokyo's land of "scorched earth" (*yakenohara*) optical instruments manufacturers were among the targeted factories that were destroyed: facilities run by the companies now known as Minolta, Olympus, Mamiya, experienced significant losses despite the fact that many had moved production in the early 1940s to neighboring prefectures to avoid being targeted by the air bombing.<sup>106</sup> Companies such as Nippon Kōgaku (now Nikon Co.), Seiki Kōgaku (now Canon) and Konishi roku among others played a significant role in the war effort in manufacturing optical weapons for the Army and Navy such as aerial cameras, binoculars for the military, range finders, periscopes, naval cameras, and long distance sightings. They had helped frame weaponized vision as a crucial tool of modern warfare and in doing so, contributed to the image of the photojournalist as soldier. In the years following Japanese defeat the national values embedded within photographic practice shifted from a weaponized gaze utilized in combat to the weapon of the humanist photographer who wielded the Japanese camera as his weapon in ongoing domestic and international conflict. The Japanese camera took on new national value as the source of economic gain and exchange on the international market at the same time that it

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<sup>104</sup> The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Urban Areas Division, United States War Department, *Effects of air attack on urban complex Tokyo-Kawasaki-Yokohama* (Washington D.C.: The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Urban Areas Division, June 1947), 8.

<sup>105</sup> For a discussion of the efforts to map the extent of the damage to Tokyo, see David Fedman, "Mapping Armageddon - The Cartography of Ruin in Occupied Japan," *The Portolan*, no. 92 (Spring 2015), 7-29.

<sup>106</sup> Nihon shashinki kōgyōkai (The Japan Camera Industry Association), eds. *Nihon camera kōgyōshi: Nihon shashinki kōgyōkai 30nen no ayumi* (The Industrial History of the Japanese Camera: A thirty-year history of the Japan Camera Industry Association) (Tokyo: Nihon shashinki kōgyōkai, 1987), 14-15.

promised to connect photographers united in the goal of making a living through depicting international conflict.

If during the war advertising depicted the Japanese camera user as a primarily male photographer contributing to the war effort, in the immediate postwar period the new consumer of the Japanese camera was the Allied Occupation serviceman and the most respected photographers of the first decade of the postwar period were those who transferred their wartime skills to photograph the Cold War from Japan. While many of the first photographs of the postwar period such as the Aerial Survey were taken for future strategic purposes, others such as those taken by photographers such Georges Dimitria Boria (1902-1990) mixed official business with pleasure as they photographed kimono-clad Japanese women next to blooming cherry trees alongside military officials. In a sense, the wave of Occupation soldiers repeated the experiences of the many international tourists, businessmen, and art collectors who first came to Japan in the early Meiji period and had delighted in scenes of an untouched Orient made in portside photography studios. Servicemen such as Boria and the Australian Harry Freeman used the camera as a neo-colonial tool to create pastoral scenes of rural Japan and Japanese products, architecture, and women. Historians Melissa Miles and Robin Gerster argue that it was the “presentation of an almost absurdly redundant view of an untouched, timeless Japan that deflected from the damage the pitiless Allied bombing had wrought on the country.”<sup>107</sup>

There were also many instances, however, where photography was a means for Allied Occupation soldiers to connect with local experts and learn from their expertise with the technology of photography. Boria’s photographs show that he made official surveys of the

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<sup>107</sup> Melissa Miles and Robin Gerster, *Pacific Exposures: Photography and the Australia-Japan Relationship* (Acton: Australia National University Press, 2018), 117.

Mamiya factory and Donald Albert (Tim) Meldrum of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) captured a darkroom scene of another fellow soldier leaning in to examine a negative before sliding it in to the enlarger (Figure 9). As he described, “There are many camera enthusiasts serving with the British Commonwealth forces in Japan, and for years they have been getting many good pointers from the Japanese experts.”<sup>108</sup>

The fact that photography was such a widespread official and leisure practice amongst Occupation soldiers is reflected in observations by novelist Lucy Herndon Crockett, who spent time in Occupied Japan with the Red Cross:

The Army of Occupation in Japan is extensively armed—with kodaks, Leicas, and Speed Graphics. At least one fancy camera (frequently purchased on the black market) in a leather case slung over the shoulder is part of the Occupationer’s ‘uniform.’<sup>109</sup>

Though soldiers often came with their own photographic weapons, many expected to be able to purchase Japanese cameras at a fraction of what they would pay once they were exported out of Japan. Meldrum reported that Tokyo was “liberally dotted with camera shops, stocked with everything from miniatures the shape and size of a cigarette lighter to the famous...Canon.” Contemporary news headlines reported that Japanese cameras were the most in-demand items sold to American soldiers at military Post Exchange (PX) depots.<sup>110</sup> Cameras and their accompanying accoutrements particularly lent themselves to what Patricia A. Nelson describes

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<sup>108</sup> Meldrum, Donald Albert (Tim). Australian War Memorial, MELJ1384.  
<https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1103154>

<sup>109</sup> Lucy Herndon Crockett, *Popcorn on the Ginza: An Informal Portrait of Postwar Japan*, London: Victor Gollancz, 99. Cited in Morris Low, “American Photography during the Allied Occupation of Japan: The Work of John W. Bennett,” *History of Photography*, 39:3 (2015), 265.

<sup>110</sup> “Kyandi ya kamera PX shina kyū oku en wo uridashi” (Candy and Cameras: PX goods sell over 9 hundred million yen) *Yomiuri Shimbun* (March 5, 1950), 2.

as the Allied Occupation's strategy for the limited recovery of the Japanese and Germany economies through the purchase and consumption of locally produced goods.<sup>111</sup> PX depots were essentially tax-free department stores where servicemen and their families could take advantage of the favorable yen to dollar exchange rate. The Chicago Tribune reported that in 1950 the Ginza PX sold over 4,000 items, making over \$4 million USD in annual sales.<sup>112</sup> Camera companies such as Canon took advantage of the sales boom and opened brick and mortar locations right around the corner from the Ginza PX to attract passers-by who paid in dollars (Figure 11). Meldrum depicts the interior of the Canon store as inviting and full of desire on display: a young, attractive Japanese saleswoman in a white dress flips through a sales brochure while Australian Army Corporal Ron Paxton, leans cavalierly against the counter to examine a Canon camera with a cigarette in hand (Figure 12).

Boria captured the financial flexibility and status that American servicemen had in the photographs he took during his time as supervisor of the color photographic laboratory of the Far East Command from 1947-1952. Among the over 30,000 photographs that Boria took he documented street scenes of American soldiers and Japanese women and children, Occupation officials, Japanese politicians, and the emperor. In photographs of the PX depot storefronts we see how many were embedded within the most fashionable streets of Tokyo, as in the Ginza PX, which was right around the corner from Mitsukoshi Department store. In one image, a khaki-clad American man rides in a jinrikisha pulled by a Japanese man in much dingier khaki (Figure 13). The shape of the rickshaw puller's hat and age suggest that he may have served in the war and fought against the young man that he now carries through the Ginza Yonchōme crossing. Yet

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<sup>111</sup> Patricia A. Nelson, "Competition and the Politics of War: The Global Photography Industry, c. 1910-1960," *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, 9:2 (June 2016), 115-132.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, Nelson, 126.



while the rickshaw puller's face is turned away, looking into oncoming traffic, the American rides proud and high holding a stack of at least fourteen brightly wrapped and ribboned packages that were likely to have just been purchased from the Ginza PX or Mitsukoshi department store. Boria may have used this photograph when he gave guest lectures on color photography to the Circle of Confusion Camera Club, whose ninety members included members of the Signal Corps.<sup>113</sup>

At the same time that these types of images and social organization reflected the ways in which Allied Occupation soldiers lived the occupation of Japan through the camera, the GHQ put strict regulations on what kinds of photographs could be published in the Japanese mass press. Though to begin, the mission of the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) was “an absolute minimum of restrictions on freedom of speech” and Article 21 of the new Japanese Constitution stated that “No censorship shall be maintained, nor shall the secrecy of any means of communication be violated,” until 1949 GHQ enforced a level of censorship policies that violated the Japanese freedoms of speech that they were simultaneously working to guarantee.<sup>114</sup> The CCD employed 8,763 Japanese and ethnic Koreans to censor mail, telephone, telegraph and other communications media and the Press, Pictorial and Broadcasting Division censored the information and entertainment media. They were on alert for anything that might be interpreted

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<sup>113</sup> John B. Mengel, President of the Circle of Confusion Camera Club reported that Boria made presentations of his photographs to the club and “aided many of our members individual and collectively with their problems in color photography and passed on many suggestions to us from his experience with camera organizations.” John B. Mengel “Letter of Commendation” to Brig Gen. G. I. Back Chief Signal Officer 28 Oct 1949 MacArthur Memorial Archive.

<sup>114</sup> On censorship practices as well as a detailed account of the culture of the Occupation of Japan see Takemae Eiji, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (London and New York: Continuum, 2002), 387-399. See also Kirsten Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012)

as “harmful to the efforts of Japan to emerge from defeat as a nation entitled to a place among the peace-loving nations of the world.”<sup>115</sup> The CCD broadly defined harmful content as “Allied troop movements which have not been officially released, false or destructive criticism of the Allied Powers, and rumors” in addition to anything that might “invite mistrust or resentment of those troops.”<sup>116</sup>

In what scholars have described as an exceptional context where “the Occupation of Japan used dictatorial means to create democratic civil liberties,” GHQ’s strategy was to censor criticism of its reforms until they had the opportunity to take root.<sup>117</sup> It also sought to loosen the strict government regulation of the media that had been in place in Japan for the last decades and thereby open the Japanese media to international news agencies such as the Associated Press News. The CCD sought to discourage the monopoly on news that the wartime government had created by mandating that international and national news agencies should have access to all government-led communications. It also mandated that any agency be allowed to receive foreign news wireless telegrams and did not censor newsreels and entertainment films made by non-Japanese.<sup>118</sup> The selective censorship and support of the foreign press in Japan represented in these mandates opened space for new relationships between American and Japanese

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<sup>115</sup> Civil Censorship Detachment AFPAC, *Manual of Press, Pictorial and Radio Broadcast Censorship in Japan* (Issued for internal distribution only) 30 September 1945. Declassified 20 August 1975. Record Group 77, Papers of Donald Hoover, Box 1, Folder 13; MacArthur Memorial Archives, Norfolk, VA, 2.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., Civil Censorship Detachment AFPAC, *Manual of Press, Pictorial and Radio Broadcast Censorship in Japan*: 2; 16; 30.

<sup>117</sup> Robert M. Spaulding, “CCD Censorship of Japan’s Daily Press,” in Thomas W. Burkman, ed., *The Occupation of Japan: Arts and Culture: The Proceedings of the Sixth Symposium Sponsored by the MacArthur Memorial, Old Dominion University, The General Douglas MacArthur Foundation. 18-19 October 1984*. (Norfolk, Virginia: General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1988), 2.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., Civil Censorship Detachment AFPAC, *Manual of Press, Pictorial and Radio Broadcast Censorship in Japan*: 4.

photographers and press organizations. In the late 1940s and early 1950s as they transitioned to self-regulatory censorship, the Japanese mass press experimented with producing a wide range of photographic publications. Japanese publishers looked for materials that drew readership and often depicted American photojournalists as the photographic stars of the postwar period.

### ***Life* Photographers and the Japanese Photography World: The “New” Weapons of the Postwar**

In 1964 the photographer Aono Yoshikazu (1938-2012), who had formerly focused his lens on urban drug addicts, published a photo essay entitled “‘Shinjin’: Gaijin kameraman” (“New stars”: The Foreign Cameraman) in the photography magazine *Asahi Camera*.<sup>119</sup> In the short series Aono’s camera follows a white male photographer, Japanese phrasebook in hand, through Tokyo as he photographs various street scenes on foot and from the roof of a press jeep that looks all too similar to the Occupation jeeps pictured in *Tokyo, Fall of 1945* (Figures 14-16). The photographer is immediately identifiable as one of the hundreds of press photographers who began to work in Japan following the end of World War Two and continued to use it as their base from which to photograph the Korean and Vietnam Wars.<sup>120</sup> These photographers had a real commercial and social impact on the photography community in Japan: they developed long lasting relationships with individual photographers, publishers, photography organizations, and camera companies in Japan and helped shaped the development of a wildly successful mass market for the photographic press and Japanese cameras. Long after American soldiers left the

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<sup>119</sup> Aono Yoshikazu, “‘Shinjin’: Gaijin kameraman” (New stars: The Foreign Cameramen) *Asahi Camera* 49(12) (379) (December 1964), unpaginated.

<sup>120</sup> The photographer is Roger Mitchel, *Life* staff photographer who Aono was assistant to during the 1964 Olympics.

streets of Tokyo, American photographers such as those depicted here were still visible and even romantically depicted.

Aono illustrates these intimate connections through scenes of the photographer and a sunglassesed Japanese woman in an *izakaya* (a Japanese pub) whose blasé facial expression and black top fit right in with the notices for upcoming jazz shows posted on the wall behind them. The photographer's grip on his slightly erect camera lens signals to the viewer that this portrait is a new variation on a familiar theme of the Japanese woman and American man as amorous couple. In a departure from the images of Japanese women hanging on the arms of burly Americans that filled the pages of newspapers and magazines and could be seen in films throughout the 1950s and 1960s in Japan, in this coupling the woman's indifferent gaze is in contrast with her companion's intent focus on his Nikon camera. In the following photograph, the photographer lays in post-coital exhaustion on his hotel room bed in the dimming light not beside the woman, but next to a mountain of camera equipment piled on the next bed. He shares his morning after breakfast with empty Coca-Cola bottles and a tray full of Japanese hi-lite cigarettes with the negatives and contact sheets he closely scrutinizes, the *Japan Times Directory* at the ready. In this version, American photographer and Japanese camera are the new it-couple on the streets of Cold War Tokyo.

Itō Tomomi (1927-1986), a photography critic and former assistant to the infamous photographer Domon Ken, criticized this series for its sentimental image of the American photographer on assignment in Japan. In his view, the true significance (*shini*) of the *Life* photographer is lost behind the layers of Aono's sympathizing and self-identification with his subject. Aono's creates "a rose-colored dream of America as the heavenly land of freedom" along the lines of Elia Kazan's recent book and film *America America* (1963) in which

immigration to the United States is seen as the starting point for generations of financial success. Seen against the ongoing struggles for Japanese sovereignty from American political influence and occupation of Okinawa, Itō's sense of unease at seeing an American so romantically depicted would have resonated with many readers. What is surprising is that Itō stands alone in his critique of Aono and the larger photography community for idealizing and celebrating the role of the American photographic influence. Few critics and photographers in this period and historians since have stopped to scrutinize the intertwined relationships between Japanese and American photographers in the early postwar period and the role that photography played in supporting the goals of the American-led Occupation of Japan and the rise of multi-national corporations.

In the early years of the postwar a group of international press photographers including Carl Mydans inspired a younger generation of Japanese photographers to strive for international recognition and to build a photographic mass press styled after *Life* magazine. In so doing, they also provided a means for Japanese photographers who had been active during the war to continue their use of photography in the service of national goals and profiteering. Japanese photographers who had worked for Nippon Kōbō and the Ministry of Information during the war and *Life* photojournalists seamlessly transitioned from turning their cameras to promote and cover the war to finding creative ways to depict the Occupation of Japan within the parameters of Occupation government censorship. Photojournalists, such as Mydans, had an immediate presence in Japan from the moment of Japanese surrender. Mydans and his wife Shelley were captured by Japanese troops while covering the war in Manila where they spent a year as prisoners of war before they were moved to another camp in Shanghai where they spent a second year of imprisonment until they were released in a prisoner exchange. The husband and wife

team lost little time in returning to the battlefield and Mydans rode in with MacArthur when he arrived on the shores of the Philippines in 1945 to photograph the general's fulfillment of his promise to return and defeat the Japanese. Mydans photographed the Japanese signing of surrender documents on board the *USS Missouri* mentioned previously and traveled to Yokosuka and Tokyo with the first waves of American troops.<sup>121</sup> The Mydans team headed the *Time-Life* Tokyo bureau and lived in Japan through the mid 1950s and like many other photographers who came to Japan, they positioned themselves to form long-lasting relationships with Japanese photographers, publishers and camera companies and gained financially from the arrangement as well.

From 1950-1953 many photographers such as Margaret Bourke-White used Tokyo as their staging ground for making trips on American army freight planes back and forth to cover the war on the Korean peninsula. Bourke-White's lifelong friendship with Japanese photographer Miki Jun and the image she cultivated of herself as an internationally famous woman photographer positioned to weigh in on Japanese photography culture are a strong example of the new relationships that Japanese and American photographers and camera companies developed and continued for years due to the Korean War. As the Japanese press printed photographs of Bourke-White in the hull of B-36 bombers which no doubt bore a likeness to the B-29 bombers that were seen dropping incendiary bombs in the skies over Tokyo in 1945, the photographer had no trouble making a reputation for herself as a fearless war photographer (Figure 17).<sup>122</sup> In guest

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<sup>121</sup> Carl Mydans, *Carl Mydans, Photojournalist* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publisher, 1985). For brief descriptions of Life photojournalist's arrivals to Japan after the end of the war see Miki Jun, "Wasurerarenu kao raifu-shi kameraman no purofairu" (Faces that can't be forgotten: Profiles of *Life* Cameramen) *Nihon Kamera* No. 7 (March 1951), 94-95.

<sup>122</sup> Bourke-White was targeted for taking these photographs of American airplanes as part of the McCarthy Red scare that led to the FBI accumulating a 209-page file on her. See Robert E. Snyder,

appearances on Radio Tokyo and round table conversations with the most established photographers in Japan, Bourke-White was hailed as having changed the stakes of photojournalism from the moment her photograph of the Fort Peck Dam was published on the cover of the first issue of *Life* magazine in 1936 (Figure 18).<sup>123</sup> In Kimura Ihei's telling, it was at that moment that Japanese photographers began to pay as much attention to what Americans were doing with their cameras as they had to German photographers.<sup>124</sup> Sasamoto Tsuneko, the self-proclaimed first female photojournalist in Japan, was one of the many women who cited Bourke-White's *Life* cover as communicating the idea that women could be photojournalists.

When international press photographers began spending time in Japan after its defeat, Japanese photographers paid attention to the ways they chose to depict and document Japan. For so many foreign photojournalists the cherry blossoms, kimono, and thatched roofs of rural homes of *furui nihon* (old Japan) were irresistible. However, according to Miki Jun, Bourke-White was seldom drawn to these themes, and instead sought to capture the essence of the social dynamics she saw in Japan. This distinguished her not only from the Orientalizing gaze of many of the photographers who came to Japan, but in their eyes it also proved that her visual politics were in line with the photo reportage movement rather than the pictorialist art photography movement which many Japanese professional photographers critiqued as outdated and lacking political engagement.

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"Margaret Bourke-White and the Communist Witch Hunt," *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (April 1985): 5-25.

<sup>123</sup> Reference to her Radio Tokyo interview is made in Bourke-White's Japan Notebooks, Margaret Bourke-White Papers, Syracuse University.

<sup>124</sup> Margaret Bourke-White, Uramatsu Samitarō, Kimura Ihei, Domon Ken, Ina Nobuo, and Miki Jun, "Bāku hoito joshi ni mono wo kiku" (Asking Ms. Bourke-White about things) *Asahi Camera* (August 1952), 88-93.

Bourke-White was conscious of the ways in which crafting her image as woman photographer who chased down a fresh angle on scenes of international conflict led to financial gains and built a reputation that connected her to photography circles in Japan. She leaned on these connections to sell her photographs for publication in *Asahi Camera* magazine and then used these funds to buy Nikon and Canon products that she imported back to the United States for work with *Life* magazine.<sup>125</sup> As her archive reveals, she valued praise from the Japanese photography community and considered dedicating her auto-biography in part to Miki Jun who she noted, as her assistant in Tokyo, had first taught her to use a 35mm camera. Hand drawn diagrams of potential seating charts for meetings with the most influential Japanese photographers and editors reveal that she was aware of the social rules of hierarchy in play in Japan and sought to position herself at the head of the table both literally and figuratively (Figure 19). After remarking on the Japanese press photographers' practice of carrying short, light-weight ladders so that they could photograph over the shoulders of those in front of them, she was gifted with one bearing a small plaque that read:

“With the Best Wishes to our beloved and respected Miss Margaret Bourke-White Who Goes Ahead of Others Presented as Memory of Japan by Asahi, Mainichi, Tokyo Shinbun, Yomuri [sic]. The Circle to Shoulder the Japanese Press. Cameramanship”<sup>126</sup>

While the Korean War provided the opportunity for the perpetuation of the popular image of the photographer as soldier who used the camera as his weapon, in this iteration many of the American photographers' weapons were made in Japan. As photographer Miki Jun (1919-1992)

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<sup>125</sup> Like many Americans who traveled to Japan in the early 1950s, she also took advantage of the favorable exchange rate to bring a number of carved Noh masks and painted screens back to New York with her: “Dip in to the camera and picture fund Miki piled up for me bringing my photographs to the Japanese so it's a nice exchange for me to take some of their art back.” Margaret Bourke-White telegram to John Dille, November 18, 1952. Margaret Bourke-White Papers, Syracuse University.

<sup>126</sup> Margaret Bourke-White Papers, Syracuse University.



proudly announced, David Douglas Duncan and Carl Mydan's new weapons (*karera no heiki*, literally, "their weapons") of choice when they spent time in Korea were Nippon Kōgaku (now Nikon Co.) lenses.<sup>127</sup> Miki Jun, a young photographer who upon graduation from university joined Nippon Kōbō to work with Natori Yōnosuke, Domon Ken, and Kamekura Yūsaku producing propaganda during the war, transitioned in the postwar to work for Sun News agency and set his sights on publishing photographs with *Life* magazine.<sup>128</sup> He first published photographs of the around 10,000 repatriated Japanese soldiers who had been prisoners of war in Siberia for *Life*'s article "Japan's 'Red Army' Gets Back Home."<sup>129</sup> It was through his connections to *Life* that he met Duncan and made a name for himself by introducing the Japanese camera to the world.

In Miki's telling, Duncan had not thought much of his attempts to share recent Japanese-made versions of photographic equipment, but supposedly when he took a portrait of Duncan using a Nippon Kōgaku (Nikon) lens and showed him the prints, Duncan immediately said "Let's go straight away to that company!" (Figure 20)<sup>130</sup> After their visit to the Nippon Kōgaku factory, Duncan began to use their lenses with a Leica camera body for his assignments in Korea. Japanese and American photographers have rehashed many mythical stories about Duncan's love

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<sup>127</sup> Miki Jun, "Chōsen dōran to "raifu" shashinka no katsudō" (The Korean conflict and activities of *Life* photographers) *Asahi Camera* (October 1950), 98-99.

<sup>128</sup> For more on Miki Jun's role in wartime and postwar photography circles see *Dokyumentarī no jidai: Natori Yōnosuke, Kimura Ihei, Domon Ken, Miki Jun no shashin kara / The Documentary Age: Photographs by Natori Yōnosuke, Kimura Ihei, Domon Ken, and Miki Jun* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2001).

<sup>129</sup> "Japan's 'Red Army' Gets Back Home," *Life* Vol. 27, No. 3 (July 18, 1949), 21-25.

<sup>130</sup> Miki Jun, "Wasurerarenu kao raifu-shi kameraman no purofairu" (Faces that cannot be forgotten: Profiles of *Life* Cameramen) *Nihon Kamera* No. 7 (March 1951), 95.

of his Nikon lenses and cameras over the years – from accounts of it as the only camera that functioned in the minus 20 degree cold on the northern Korean peninsula to the enthusiasm that lab technicians had in *Life* darkrooms back in the U.S. for the clarity of image it produced – and Nippon Kōgaku could not have asked for better publicity. Nikon made sure that visiting war correspondents had access to its products which paid off when the *New York Times* reported in 1950 that “the Japanese camera...has created a sensation among magazine and press photographers following the report by *Life* photographers in Korea that a Japanese 35mm camera and its lenses had proved superior to the German cameras they had been using.”<sup>131</sup> Enticed by the effective advertising that they provided, companies such as Canon followed suit in pursuing American photojournalist-customers and offered free camera cleaning services to photojournalists returned from shooting the Korean War.<sup>132</sup> Margaret Bourke-White, too, began to use Japanese cameras after she was introduced to them during the time she spent in Japan photographing Japanese May Day riots in 1951 and as she covered the Korean War. Bourke-White frequently testified to the fact that it was learning to use the Japanese 35mm camera that “was of great importance in Korea, where I dealt with human situations which could be scored in no other way.”<sup>133</sup> Pictured with a Nikon around her neck on assignment for a story on guerilla

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<sup>131</sup> Jacob Deschin, “Japanese Camera: 35mm Nikon and Lenses Tested by Experts,” *The New York Times* (December 10, 1950), 21.

<sup>132</sup> Ishii Akira and Kimura Ihei, “Shashinkai wo shigekishita chōsen dōran” (The Korean upheaval/uprising that stimulated the photography world) in *Kimura Ihei taipan shashin kono gojūnen* (Fifty Years of Photography: A Conversation with Kimura Ihei) ed. *Asahi Camera* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1975), 237. By the 1960s Canon advertised factory tours not only to photojournalists but visiting foreign dignitaries and celebrities such as Frank Sinatra. For photographs of these visitors, see Fukumoto Kunio, ed. *Sekai no me Kiyanon kamera* (Canon camera eye of the world) (Tokyo: Fuji International Consulting, 1962).

<sup>133</sup> Margaret Bourke-White, *Portrait of Myself* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 329.

warfare for *Life's* in-house newsletter, the Japanese camera was seen stepping in as the American photographer's preferred tool to image the Cold War (Figure 21-22).<sup>134</sup>

The appearances that international photojournalists made with Japanese cameras in the early 1950s were not short-lived tests of the equipment, but rather the beginning of long-term financial relationships that Japanese camera companies and American photographers cultivated for the next forty years that became part of the face of Japanese consumer technologies. In connecting themselves financially and visually with American photojournalists, Japanese camera companies were able to recreate an image for themselves that occluded their wartime role as manufacturers of wartime optical weapons. Bourke-White, Duncan, and others were so-called humanist photographers who sought to end world suffering through their coverage of war and famine across the globe.<sup>135</sup> While Bourke-White's records show that she continued to use Canon and Nikon products for the next decade, Duncan became something of a figurehead for Nikon's postwar publicity. Duncan was listed as an honorary member of the Nikkor Club, a widely popular amateur photography club and in 1966 Nikon held a celebratory ceremony and gifted him with a plaque that read, "In grateful acknowledgement of the confidence he inspired through his counsel and encouragement, in the days when we needed counsel and encouragement most, we are proud to present him with the 200,000<sup>th</sup> Nikon F (Figure 23)."<sup>136</sup> The image of these superstar photographers using Canon and Nikon products along with the graphic and industrial design retool that the companies launched in the late 1950s transformed Japanese optical

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<sup>134</sup> Stanley Rayfield, "The Story Behind the Stories in *Life*: Issue of December 1, 1952 The Savage Secret War in Korea," Margaret Bourke-White Papers, Syracuse University.

<sup>135</sup> Peter Hamilton, "Representing the Social: France and Frenchness in Post-war Humanist Photography," in Stuart Hall, ed. *Representations: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), 75-150.

<sup>136</sup> *Nikkoru Kurabu* No. 37 (Summer 1966), unpaginated.

technologies from tools paid for and used by the Japanese Imperial Navy during the Fifteen Year War into emblems of international consumption and photojournalism.

As camera companies redirected the attention of users away from their connection to the war, Japanese photographers, too, seized on the opportunity to suggest that there was something different about the cameras produced in the postwar that distanced them from their wartime work. Shifting toward using 35mm cameras that could be used to take pictures as the photographer was mid-stride without stopping to set up a tripod, some photographers argued that it was the camera's format that dictated what kind of photograph could be taken. In other words, photographers like Kimura Ihei wondered if in fact the clunkier medium format cameras that required a photographer to hold still looking down into the view-finder while framing a picture encouraged the photographer to make staged photographs, while a 35mm camera lent itself to shooting in the "candid" style that French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908-2004) popularized through his characterization of good photographs as being those that were taken when the photographer recognized the "decisive moment" to click the shutter. The mythology of Cartier-Bresson's shooting style ignored the teams of people at magazines such as *Life* that were involved in selecting the right image to publish out of the dozens a photographer might take of a particular scene in favor of depicting the photographer's camera as extension of his body, which he had gained an intuitive mastery over.<sup>137</sup>

In a round-table discussion with Mydans, Ihei sought to credit the camera over the photographer with the agency for taking photographs. It was, in his view "through the camera that expression is formed" (*kamera ni yotte hyōgen no keishiki*) and thus he detected a

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<sup>137</sup> On the mythology around Cartier-Bresson's "decisive moment" see Nadya Bair, "The Decisive Network: Producing Henri-Cartier Bresson at Mid-Century," *History of Photography* 40:2 (April 2016), 146-166.

sentimentality in Mydans' photographs of the Fukui earthquake and Eugene Smith's World War Two photographs because they were not shot with a 35mm camera.<sup>138</sup> Even as Mydans explained that every *Life* photographer usually carried multiple types of cameras with him in the field, Ihei showed a great resistance to Mydans' emphasis that it was the photographer rather than the camera who dictated the tone of the content he shot. In naming the camera as responsible for dictating the composition and tone of an image Kimura could make the argument that by shifting to 35mm in the postwar photographers could make a break from wartime work shot using a different apparatus. For Kimura it was a complete set change that allowed the actors to take on new roles: whether photographers had worked in the service of fascism or the goals of the Allied Powers during the war, the new cameras of the postwar signaled that they were working for a new purpose. Bourke-White later agreed with Kimura's viewpoint when she commented that it was through changing machines that human expression and knowledge changed, and thus man's thought could be made anew through a camera.<sup>139</sup>

Though Kimura tried to suggest that the new camera format and enthusiasm for the documentary image might allow photographers to make photographs that were direct representations of a scene rather than idealized images, he ignored the role the photographers played in furthering the political agenda of publishers and national politics through the printing of their photographs in mass magazines. Despite Bourke-White's testimony that it was the "miniature" Japanese camera with its 36-shots per roll of film that had allowed her to keep

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<sup>138</sup> "Kaaru maidansu shi ni kiku: Carl Mydans, Miki Jun, Kimura Ihei, Ina Nobuo, Yoshioka Senzō" (Asking Carl Mydans: Carl Mydans, Miki Jun, Kimura Ihei, Ina Nobuo, Yoshioka Senzō) *Asahi Camera*, (April 1951), 84-89.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, Margaret Bourke-White, Uramatsu Samitarō, Kimura Ihei, Domon Ken, Ina Nobuo, and Miki Jun, "Bāku hoito joshi ni mono wo kiku" (Asking Ms. Bourke-White about things) *Asahi Camera* (August 1952), 90.

shooting amidst flying rocks and frenzied mobs when her view cameras on tripods made her a target during the May Day protests, the photographs that she and Miki Jun took were published not to depict a constitutionally protected form of political demonstration or explain Japanese resistance to the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty which locked Japan into a continued military and economic alliance with the United States.<sup>140</sup> Rather, Miki Jun's photographs of the May Day protests in 1952 were described by *Life* as "a shocking lesson of Communism in action" as "10,000 rioters, their leader remarkably well trained in classic Red street-fighting tactics outnumbered Tokyo police..."<sup>141</sup> Photographs of the rioters were similarly published in the Japanese press to support the right-leaning Prime Minister Yoshida's Subversive Activities Prevention Law which sought to outlaw strikes, put strict controls on public gatherings, and reinstitute a press code.<sup>142</sup>

In place of discussing the problem of the ways that a photograph could be used in support of a range of political perspectives, or the connection between photographing the Korean War and photographing the recent Fifteen Years War, Japanese photographers shifted focus to the promise of the utopian immediacy with which the world could be connected through the photographic mass press. As notions of speed replaced concerns of wartime responsibility, photographers became collaborators in getting reader-consumers "the latest news from further and further away." For photographers such as Miki no other magazine as *Life* had so successfully

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., Margaret Bourke-White, *Portrait of Myself*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963: 328-9.

<sup>141</sup> "Rioting Japanese Reds Tee Off," *Life* Vol. 32, No. 19 (May 12, 1952), 24-25.

<sup>142</sup> For examination of depictions of protest in Japan, especially the ANPO protests of the 1960s, see Justin Jesty, "Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage and Grief Hamaya Hiroshi's Photos of Anti-Security Treaty Protests," *MIT Visualizing Cultures* (MIT, 2012), [https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/tokyo\\_1960/anp2\\_essay01.html](https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/tokyo_1960/anp2_essay01.html) (accessed April 5, 2019)

created an international empire premised on the speed of its transmission of images. He spelled out his awe for readers as he explained the means by which photographs traveled across the globe and into the hand of the viewer:

To give just one example, on a Friday Mydans returns to Tokyo from Korea with nine rolls of Duncan's film on the 12:30 flight into Tokyo. On Saturday at 9:20pm they take off... passing censorship from Washington in 8 minutes and are sent off to Minneapolis. They reach Minneapolis on Sunday at six thirty in the morning and then are sent to the branch office in Chicago where they arrive at 9:55. They are put on a motor bike and sped off to the *Life* branch office where the film is developed and then an editor makes a story from what is in the film. The editor chooses 81 photos from Mydans' film, 64 from Duncan's and prints them in 8x10 prints. Then they check that each photograph is labeled with the name of the weapon (camera). Because the 8 pages they planned aren't enough they add five pages to it. At 8pm at night the art layout editor okays it. On Wednesday 5.2 million copies of *Life* are printed.<sup>143</sup>

Reveling in the increasing speed of production and consumption of photographs as detailed here, the photographic industry turned its sights to using what was once strictly monitored content to sell newspapers and magazines. As photographs of the imperial family sold by the hundreds of thousands the mass market for photographs established its impotence in picturing a critique of the emperor system and photographers seemingly displayed no public reservations about their role in turning the emperor from a war criminal into a friendly patriarch.

### **The New Old Face of Japanese Photography / Picturing the Human Emperor**

Immediately following the end of the war, photographers, industrialists, and Japanese and American government representatives looked to transition the Japanese photography industry from its wartime uses toward a profitable postwar market for consuming images. While the Occupation government made sure that optical industries would not continue producing optical

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., Miki Jun, "Chōsen dōran to "raifu" shashinka no katsudō" (The Korean conflict and activities of *Life* photographers) *Asahi Camera* (October 1950), 99.

weaponry it was less clear how the Japanese photographers and publishing community that had worked in service of the wartime government should transition their work. Yet photographers and publishers who had made a living during the restrictive wartime environment found that new possibilities for depicting content were opened at the same time that others were closed. To address this new publishing context Japanese and American photographers and publishers often worked in cooperation with one another to produce content, such as the first series of photographs of the imperial family at home, which was published in *Life* in February 1946.

During the war there had been tight restrictions on photographic materials, subject matter, and locations from which photographers could make images: as Kimura Ihei reminisced, he only had access to film because he worked for the government making propaganda images and he had to get special permission to photograph politician Ozaki Gakudō in his home because if the *shoji* (sliding paper doors) were opened behind his subject you would see the port of Yokosuka, which was a strategic military site.<sup>144</sup> Photographer Fujimoto Shihachi recounted that due to these tight restrictions on photography, if a photographer took a photograph out of the window of a second story building he might have his film confiscated by the police.<sup>145</sup> Thus Japanese photographers were eager to exercise the new freedoms allowed under American occupation.

Photographer's accounts of the early years of the postwar paint a picture of the dogged determination it took to make a living through photography when resources for making and publishing photographs were scarce. Many photographers such as Fujimoto Shihachi who had been sent to the battlefield to take pictures for photo organizations like Nippon Kōbō witnessed

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<sup>144</sup> Fujimoto Shihachi and Kimura Ihei, "Gunki hogohō no jidai" (The era of the Military Aircraft Protection Act) in *Kimura Ihei taipan shashin kono gojūnen* (Fifty Years of Photography: A Conversation with Kimura Ihei) ed. *Asahi Camera* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1975), 186-211.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.



the deaths of their fellow wartime photojournalists. Upon returning to Tokyo, they took jobs shooting for movie and literary magazines, which were the earliest to begin publishing in the first year after the end of the war. To make a living in the early postwar Kimura took what he described as “horrible deals” (*hidoi taigū*) to make promotional photographs for Mitsui Engineering and Shipbuilding and the chemicals and plastics manufacturer Ube Industries.

Photographic materials remained scarce for the first five years after the war as the Occupation put strict controls on production and consumption of consumer goods. All camera companies were given permission to resume production as early as October of 1945, however they did so to produce cameras that would be given in payment for food supplies that the Occupation imported to Japan. In October of 1948, GHQ ordered that only cameras with a prior record of successful overseas sales could be produced and that cameras meant for the domestic market were only allowed through special procurements agreements.<sup>146</sup> Though Fuji Shashin Film Co. had permission to begin reproduction of photographic film in the early years of the war they were only permitted to make x-ray film for medical purposes and movie film for the entertainment industry. Enterprising black market materials dealers would go to Fuji with a bag full of rice, one of the most valuable commodities in postwar Tokyo, and trade it for as much film as possible, which they then cut down and repurposed to sell on the black market for use in still cameras.<sup>147</sup> Photographer Ishii Akira, who worked for Fuji, described how newspapers

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid., Nihon shashinki kōgyōkai (The Japan Camera Industry Association), eds. *Nihon camera kōgyōshi: Nihon shashinki kōgyōkai 30nen no ayumi* (The Industrial History of the Japanese Camera: A thirty-year history of the Japan Camera Industry Association) (Tokyo: Fuji Bijutsu Insatsu, 1987), 15.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., Ishii Akira and Kimura Ihei, “Shashinkai wo shigekishita chōsen dōran” (The Korean upheaval/uprising that stimulated the photography world) in *Kimura Ihei taipan shashin kono gojūnen* (Fifty Years of Photography: A Conversation with Kimura Ihei) ed. *Asahi Camera* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1975), 214-238.

negotiated directly with Fuji to receive film for their staff reporters but free-lancers like Domon and Kimura were left to fend for themselves.<sup>148</sup>

It was out of these circumstances that the idea arose to create an official group that would collectively negotiate with film and camera companies on the behalf of professional photographers as well as become the center of social organizing. Though Fujimoto launched the Rearizumu Kenkyūkai (Realism Research Group), it never took off and instead the Japan Professional Photographers Society (JPS) and the Photographic Society of Japan (PSJ) were founded in 1950 and 1952 and rose to dominance as the key photographic associations of the latter half of the twentieth century. The two organizations shared members and sponsored many of the major photography exhibitions of the next half century, however the JPS's main mission was advocacy for copyright law to protect photographers' intellectual property while the PSJ was the major organizer of cultural events such as Photography Day, which they established in 1951.<sup>149</sup> In the 1960s the two worked together to organize the first major historical exhibition of Japanese photography, *Shashin 100 nen – Nihonjin ni yoru shashin hyōgen no rekishiten* (A Century of Japanese Photography – A historical exhibition of photographic Expression by the Japanese) (1968), and led the movement to construct the first national archive of vintage prints and negatives which were gathered from regional collections for the exhibition. Together they

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<sup>148</sup> Ishii and Kimura recounted how Fuji made list of professional photographers to whom they would directly deal film. Ibid., *Kimura Ihei taipan shashin kono gojūnen* (Fifty Years of Photography: A Conversation with Kimura Ihei), 282.

<sup>149</sup> “*Shashin no hi*” (Photography Day) is still held every year on June 1, which was mistakenly attributed as the date the first photograph was taken by a Japanese person in 1941. It was actually taken on September 17 1857 by Ichiko Shirō of his lord Nariaki Shimizu. Photography Day itself continues to be celebrated with exhibitions and other photography related events.

organized the eventual construction of the Museum of Photographic Arts in Ebisu, Tokyo in the late 1980s which housed this collection.<sup>150</sup>

Though also challenged by the shortage of materials, photographic publishing was equally crucial to the regeneration of the Japanese photography world in the immediate postwar. The publisher Bunkasha used photographs to illustrate pictorial magazines written in English and Japanese such as *Pictorial Alphabet* 一児童 ABC 絵本 (1946), *Tokyo, Fall of 1945* (1946), and マッセズ (The Masses) (1946). *Shūkan Sun News* was of the more successful immediate postwar publication organizations. Spearheaded by Natori Yōnosuke it became a training ground for the young photographers such as Miki Jun, Nagano Shigeichi, and Inamura Takamasa as well as young female photographers who Natori supposedly enthusiastically sought to train himself.<sup>151</sup> From 1950-58 Natori served as the chief editor of the widely popular *Iwanami Photobooks* (Iwanami shashin bunko), a series of 286 small photo booklets which each focused on specific themes such as children, pottery villages, photography, trains, cars, and so forth. Cultural historian Hayashi Michio describes the series as “Borgesian” in its breadth and also

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<sup>150</sup> Kelly Midori McCormick, “A Century of Japanese Photography: Historical Reckoning and the Birth of a New Movement” *Japanese Photography* (SF MoMA Digital Publications, June 2019); On the movement to construct Japan’s first national photography museum see, Nihon shashin bijutsukan setsuritsu inkai (The Committee for Establishing the Japanese Photography Museum)/Watanabe Yoshio, *Nihon shashin bijutsukan setsuritsu shui 1* (The meaning of establishing a Japanese Photography Museum) (Tokyo: Nihon shashin kyōkai, 1979); Nihon shashin bijutsukan setsuritsu inkai (The Committee for Establishing the Japanese Photography Museum)/Watanabe Yoshio, *Nihon shashin bijutsukan kaigai no shashin bijutsukan 2* (The Japanese Photography Museum and photography museums abroad 2) (Tokyo: Nihon shashin kyōkai, 1980); Nihon shashin bijutsukan setsuritsu inkai (The Committee for Establishing the Japanese Photography Museum)/Watanabe Yoshio, *Nihon shashin bijutsukan setsuritsu undō no sōkatsu 3* (A summary of the movement to establish the Japanese Photography Museum 3) (Tokyo: Nihon shashin kyōkai, 1994).

<sup>151</sup> Kohara Masahi “‘Hōdō shashin’ no keizoku to reisen” (The continuation of “Documentary Photography” and the Cold war”) in Shirayama Mari and Kohara Masashi, *Sensō to heiwa "hōdō shashin" ga tsutaetakatta nihon* (War and Peace: The Japan that "documentary photography" sought to transmit) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2015), 164-165.

highlights its intent to revisit the *fudoki* tradition through photographs.<sup>152</sup> While *fudoki* were illustrated guides to regional cultures dating back to the early eighth and ninth centuries, this postwar variation solicited photographs from professional and amateur photographers across the archipelago to help readers “‘visualize’ local realities as mosaic units that, once assembled, formed a unified mental map of Japan as a modern nation.” In this series Natori applied many of the same editorial skills he had used to make visual arguments about the connectivity of diverse populations in the Japanese colonial empire to urge viewers to think of themselves as primarily connected through the customs found within the four main islands of the Japanese archipelago.

These are important instances of the way the Japanese photographic community searched for a means to depict the immediate postwar within Japanese publications despite restrictions on materials and content. Another significant aspect to the first decade of the postwar period were the ways in which Japanese and American photographers and publishers worked together to print photographs in periodicals in *both* countries. Emperor Hirohito was one of the favored subjects of both nationalities, who, like the changed visage of postwar Tokyo embodied both forbidden and liberated themes that both Japanese photographers and American publishers sought to use to their advantage.

Though the so-called “wedding photograph” of Hirohito and General MacArthur is the image historians often reference to narrate the start of the postwar period and the loss of the emperor’s holy aura, it took more than a single photograph to complete Hirohito’s transformation from fearsome god to die for to marine biologist (Figure 24).<sup>153</sup> The image of Hirohito and

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<sup>152</sup> Hayashi Michio, “The Imagined Map of the Nation: Postwar Japan from 1945 to 1970,” *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, Vol 26 (December 2014), 288.

<sup>153</sup> Harry Harootunian named the image a “bourgeois wedding” photo in Harootunian, “Hirohito Redux: Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan by Herbert P. Bix,” *Critical Asian Studies* 33, no. 4 (2001), 621. Karen Fraser names it the definitive photograph in shaping public perception of Japan’s place in the postwar world. Karen M. Fraser, *Photography and Japan* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), 68.

General MacArthur is photo documentation of the carefully orchestrated first meeting between the two that took place on September 27, 1945. It shocked Japanese viewers when it was published in Japanese newspapers just days after the event and the Occupation demanded that publishers run it after the Japanese government sought to withdraw the photograph from newspapers on charges of *lèse-majesté*. In the now famous image, the slight figure and formal stiffness of the emperor is dominated by MacArthur's size, casual dress, and stance. The unguarded awkwardness of the frontal photograph taken indoors is emphasized by unflattering flash that calls also attention to their difference in age.

This photograph illustrates historian Yoshikuni Igarashi's characterization of the way in which the United States "recast their relationship in terms of a melodrama of rescue and conversion" as Japan was transformed "into a representative of U.S. values."<sup>154</sup> At the same time it illustrates the goals that the American Occupation and Japanese elites had to repress criticism of him while they sought, as historian William Marotti argues, to enshrine him as a "sign and guarantee of the abstract presence of national unity."<sup>155</sup> Indeed, it was through the mass publications of photographs of the new image of the emperor that Americans were able to give him an alibi for his wartime role. How could a family man, even more American than the American reader have perpetuated fifteen years of violent warfare? As *Life* magazine attested:

...What happens in the future to Hirohito's status will not be particularly influenced by the facts that he is a model family man, aged 44, neat and nervous, methodical, thrifty, decent, with a strong voice and handshake and fond of his wife (a love choice), children and his mother, who was strongly opposed to the war. He admires

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<sup>154</sup> Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 29.

<sup>155</sup> William Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 62.

Abraham Lincoln, as do many Japanese, who are taught more American history than many Americans...<sup>156</sup>

This process of conversion called for much more than the publication of a single photograph re-imagining the emperor. Despite its groundbreaking depiction of the emperor in its frontal formality, the photograph of MacArthur and Hirohito repeated what film scholar Hikari Hori characterizes as a “twisted viewership” that prohibited a true citizen’s gaze through continued ritualized veneration of the emperor in a frontal representation that bore similarity to formal portraits of Japanese emperors made since the late nineteenth century.<sup>157</sup> In contrast, once this photograph was published, the American Occupation, *Life* magazine, Japanese publishers, and Japanese photographers joined forces to produce photographs of the emperor and his family depicting him less as an icon for veneration and more as a symbol of middle class family life. Together they formed an international team determined to expunge the markers of fascism from the imperial family and the photography community, who had both been deeply involved in supporting the wartime fascist state.<sup>158</sup>

After *Life* magazine’s request to photograph the royal family was rebutted by the Imperial Household Agency, the magazine appealed to the Occupation government for help with access, which suggested to the Imperial Household Agency that they select approved

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<sup>156</sup> “Sunday at Hirohito’s: Emperor poses for first information pictures,” *Life* (February 4, 1946), 75.

<sup>157</sup> Hikari Hori, *Promiscuous Media: Film and Visual Culture in Imperial Japan, 1926-1945* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2017), 212-215.

<sup>158</sup> On Hirohito’s wartime role and the American efforts to conceal it see Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and The Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Perennial Harper Collins, 2001). For an illuminating review of this book, see Harootunian, “Hirohito Redux: Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan by Herbert P. Bix,” *Critical Asian Studies* 33, no. 4 (2001), 609-636.

photographers to take a series of photographs which would then be released for use in *Life*.<sup>159</sup> The father and son team Yamahata Shogyoku (1887-1963) and Yamahata Yōsuke (1917-1966) are not renowned for their roles in being the first to photograph the imperial family and popularize their image in the postwar period. Instead, the father, Yamahata Shogyoku, is known as the entrepreneur who founded the illustrated periodical *G.T. Sun* (Graphic Times Sun) and the publishing company G.T. Sun Co. which operated from around 1927 through the postwar period under the name Sun News. His son Yamahata Yōsuke is noted as the military photographer who photographed the effects of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki. His photographs of the destroyed city and human suffering were censored by the Occupation government after brief publication in the *Mainichi Shimbun* on August 21, 1945 but were featured in *Life* magazine on September 29, 1952 after censorship had been lifted.<sup>160</sup> His photograph of a young Japanese child, whose lacerated face is offset by the whiteness of an *onigiri* (rice ball) held in a tiny hand was used in Edward Steichen's blockbuster 1955 exhibition *The Family of Man*, set with photographs of other children from around the world collectively contemplating the perils of nuclear power (Figure 25).<sup>161</sup>

Twenty years later, Yamahata's photographs of Nagasaki were cited by the collective *Provoke* as the only true documentary photographs of the twentieth century to connect directly with their subjects.<sup>162</sup> Yet while Yamahata the younger is remembered for his brutally aware

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<sup>159</sup> For discussion of the photographic mass press in wartime and postwar Japan see Shirayama Mari and Kohara Masashi, *Sensō to heiwa "hōdō shashin" ga tsutaetakatta nihon* (War and Peace: The Japan that "documentary photography" sought to transmit) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2015).

<sup>160</sup> See "When Atom Bomb Struck—Uncensored," *Life* (September 29, 1952), 19-25.

<sup>161</sup> For more on the exhibition see John O'Brian, "The Nuclear Family of Man," *Japan Focus: Asia Pacific Journal* (July 2008) [http://japanfocus.org/-John-O\\_Brian/2816](http://japanfocus.org/-John-O_Brian/2816)

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, Kelly McCormick "A Century of Japanese Photography: Historical Reckoning and the Birth of a New Movement" *Japanese Photography* (SF MoMA Digital Publications, June 2019).

documentation of the destruction and suffering brought by the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, within months of making those images he took photographs of the imperial family that would help American and Japanese viewers release Hirohito from responsibility for Japan's role in the Pacific War. What is more, as *Life* aptly phrased it, published for the first time in the Japanese and American mass press Yamahata's photographs of Nagasaki had "the immediacy of today's news pictures for any people who live in the not illogical fear of being caught themselves in an atomic blast or in the terrible work of tending those who are."<sup>163</sup> That is, at the same time that his portrayal of the aftermath of the bombing of Nagasaki could be framed as a deterrent to nuclear war they also spoke the visual language of fear mongering that fueled Cold War tensions and encouraged nuclear armament.

The *Life* picture story "Sunday at Hirohito's" is a testament to the new postwar context wherein the Japanese photographer, American and Japanese press, and the Occupation worked in conjunction to produce photographs that were impossible to make and publish prior to and during the war. *Life* wasted no time explaining the value of these unprecedented photographs to its viewers:

The pictures on these pages are the first information photographs ever released of the Japanese imperial family. They include the first pictures showing a smile on the emperor's face, the first of the empress with her chickens, the first of the family at a meal, the first of the emperor reading American comics.<sup>164</sup>

Photographs of the emperor with his "cherished" busts of Lincoln and Darwin and the marine specimens he supposedly discovered created a new memory of the emperor's last twenty years for the public (Figure 26-27). Moving from what photo historian Kohara Masashi calls the

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., "When Atom Bomb Struck—Uncensored," *Life* September 29, 1952:19.

<sup>164</sup> "Sunday at Hirohito's: Emperor poses for first information pictures," *Life* February 4, 1946: 75-80.



"emperor dressed in an aura of defeat" (*matotteita aura wa shōhai*) to "Hirohito as a democrat, father, grandfather, citizen, and botanist" benefited both American and Japanese interests.<sup>165</sup>

Yamahata Shogyoku's Sun News published the series as a photobook by title *Tennō* (The Emperor) which it advertised as historic depiction of the mortal imperial family and included essays by the emperor and his children.<sup>166</sup>

*Tennō* (Emperor) set a precedent for an aspect of photography in service of the state. Photographs certainly played a role in communicating dissent against the Japanese government and American influence, as I address in Chapter Five. It is also important to recognize the ways that the reliance on the evidentiary quality of photographs was used to craft an image of the imperial family that supported American goals for Japanese democracy while simultaneously supporting the very same emperor system that had been used as justification for imperialism and a classist society since 1868. In January 1954, the newly formed Japan Photographic Society organized an exhibition of photographs entitled *Kōshitsu gonichijō* (The honorable daily life of the Imperial Family) taken by Kumagai Tatsuo, official photographer to the imperial family held at Mitsukoshi department store (Figure 28). While the photographs in this series mimic the idea of the photographs first printed in *Life*, they reclaim a posed formality for the emperor and his family. Formal full portraits are intermixed with staged scenes of the family at leisure in their home. As the title of the series, with its use of honorifics meant only for the imperial family points out, they can't be "just like us" and also have a *gonichijō* (honorable/venerable daily life). The exhibition, like the emperor in the early years of the postwar, made a tour around Japan and

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<sup>165</sup> Kohara Masashi "Tennō to shashin atarashii shinwa" (The Emperor and Photography: A New Myth) in Shirayama Mari and Kohara Masashi, eds. *Sensō to heiwa "hōdō shashin" ga tsutaetakatta nihon* (War and Peace: The Japan that "documentary photography" sought to transmit) Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2015: 140-141; *Life* February 4, 1946: 78.

<sup>166</sup> *Tennō* (The Emperor), edited by Sun News. Tokyo: Sun News, 1946.

was hosted in department stores in at least sixteen cities. The Japan Photographic Society estimated that about 2.4 percent of Tokyo's population saw it, while in smaller cities such as Takamatsu over half of the population went to see the exhibition.<sup>167</sup> They also published a white glove box edition of photographs from the exhibition which were labeled in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, a nod to international discourse reminiscent of the wartime photo magazine *NIPPON* which was also published in multiple European languages.

## Conclusion

As the photographs of the imperial family traveled through Japan, Yamahata Yōsuke's photograph of the young Japanese child holding a rice ball amidst the ruins of bombed Nagasaki made their world tour in the *Family of Man* exhibition. Recently included in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register, the seminal exhibition of 503 photographs taken by 273 photographers from 68 countries was on display from 1955 to 1962 and was seen by more than nine million people in 61 countries around the world.<sup>168</sup> The exhibition was hosted in Tokyo by the Takashimaya Department Store in 1956 and by the end of the year roughly a million Japanese viewers had been to see it.<sup>169</sup> The exhibition's photographs, chosen by Edward Steichen, aligned smoothly with the rhetoric of the Eisenhower administration's "Atoms for Peace" campaign that reshaped atomic power from its destructive past to a potential future of

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<sup>167</sup> "Kōshitsu shashin tenrankai" (Photographic Exhibition of the Imperial Family) *Nihon shashin kyōkai kaihō* (Photographic Society of Japan Bulletin) vol. 1 no. 1 (October 1954): 22.

<sup>168</sup> For further information on the exhibition see, Eric J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., John O'Brian "The Nuclear Family of Man," *Japan Focus: Asia Pacific Journal*, July 2008. [http://japanfocus.org/-John-O\\_Brian/2816](http://japanfocus.org/-John-O_Brian/2816)

peaceful energy through collective messages of universality and the promise of peace offered by democracy.<sup>170</sup>

Photographic documentation of the exhibition at Takashimaya reveals that Yamahata's photographs of Nagasaki were made into a large photographic panel where three portraits of atomic blast survivors, including the child with a rice ball, in addition to a group of suffering survivors on a blanket were mounted over a large photo mural of the burnt rubble of the city full of charred corpses (Figure 29). The photographer Kanemaru Shigene (1900-1977) was quoted in the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (Japanese Economic Newspaper) to say that the exhibition was "a symphony of photographs," wherein each picture formed "a fragment of language."<sup>171</sup> In his view, it was "the first and greatest attempt to arrive at what is called a 'language of photography.'" Kanemaru echoes the idea of photography as a universal language cutting across all cultures and best used to promote democratic forms of organization pushed by curators, politicians, and camera companies alike. And yet, when Hirohito made a visit to the exhibition at Takashimaya, fearing that they would be interpreted as a direct admission of or even critique of the emperor's wartime responsibility Yamahata's depictions of nuclear suffering wrought upon the Japanese were curtained off as was the famous image of atomic bomb test explosions. What message could the language of photography convey if it would continue to be censored? For all

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<sup>170</sup> This rhetoric was a coverup for the build-up of nuclear weapons in the U.S. and also ushered in an era of support for nuclear power in places such as Iran, Pakistan, Israel, and Japan. See Ran Zwigenberg, "The Coming of a Second Sun': The 1956 Atoms for Peace Exhibit in Hiroshima and Japan's Embrace of Nuclear Power," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Volume 10 Issue 6 Number 1 (February 4, 2012). Accessed April 19, 2019. <https://apjif.org/2012/10/6/Ran-Zwigenberg/3685/article.html>

<sup>171</sup> Kanemaru Shigene, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, March 22, 1956. Cited in Kohara Masashi "'Za famirii obu man' ten reisen to 'ningen kazoku'" ("The Family of Man" Exhibition: The Cold War and the Family of Man Exhibition) in Shirayama Mari and Kohara Masashi, eds. *Sensō to heiwa "hōdō shashin" ga tsutaetakatta nihon* (War and Peace: The Japan that "documentary photography" sought to transmit) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2015), 183.

of photography's promise to reveal the emperor as a human, he was shielded from seeing the evidence the exhibition put forth about his involvement in the war and its devastating effect on Japanese citizens. If the emperor could not see the evidence presented in these photographs, what power could photographers have to reveal any truths about his relationship to the war and the Japanese? The language of postwar photography was connective and expansive, multi-lingual across the boundaries of occupier and occupied and yet within the public realm it also proved itself to be severely limited in its critical capacity.

### **Chapter 3**

#### **The Japanese Camera and the Aesthetics of Postwar National Design**

Within the decade following Japanese defeat and American Occupation, the Japanese government, private corporations, and designers such as Kamekura Yūsaku (1915-1997) turned the camera from the symbol of the imperial eye into an image of dynamic and popular technology.<sup>172</sup> Launching a major component of this campaign, in 1957 the Japanese government established the “Good Design” or “G-Mark” awards, a national policy to support the production of consumer products with an eye toward promotion of their export. The award system was a planned effort to transform Japan's international reputation from the source of the world's cheaply made goods to the initiators of modern design and technology. More than this, the award

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<sup>172</sup> For histories of the postwar consumption boom and the meanings of “made in Japan” see Penelope Francks, *The Japanese Consumer: An Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). On the electronics industry, Simon Partner, *Assembled in Japan, Electrical Good and the Making of the Japanese Consumer* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999). On marketing woodblock prints as symbolic Japanese exports, see: *Made in Japan: The Postwar Creative Print Movement*. Edited by Alicia Volk with Contribution by Helen M. Nagata (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee Art Museum, 2005).

system signaled a new relationship between people and things: the look of consumer products took on national meanings that surpassed past linking of design with the state and signaled the materialization of the politics of postwar economic and cultural recovery for Japan.<sup>173</sup> Among the first products awarded were two Canon Co. cameras: a 35 mm still and an 8mm movie camera (Figure 1). The same year an article in the American magazine *Popular Photography* credited the camera with building American consumer confidence in Japanese products “as word of their quality and precision spreads.” *Industrial Design Magazine* proclaimed, “Although for years an incredible cheapness and willingness to imitate have injured the reputation and substance of Japanese products, a few like the Canon V are finally arriving to give evidence that Japan’s rich design aesthetic can indeed be fruitfully applied to her mass production.”<sup>174</sup> Although these accolades might serve no other purpose than placing the Canon camera within a wide range of objects from rice cookers and lamps to motorcycles and keyboard that would receive state recognition over the next five decades. Indeed, to the average customer, the award-winning Japanese cameras might have been visually quite similar to the hundreds of other models of cameras produced worldwide at this time. What is striking about the selection of the camera is that it points out the explicit role that it had in turning Japan’s image from that of a

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<sup>173</sup> The institutionalized linking of national identity with consumer products might be traced back to the 1851 Great Exhibition. On the role of exhibitions in constructing national identity in nineteenth century Japan, see Alice Tseng, *The Imperial Museums of Meiji Japan: Architecture and the Art of the Nation*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). On the potential for things to become part of a socialist revolution rather than merely characterizing bourgeois society and relationships with the state, see Boris Arvatov and Christina Kiaer, “Everyday Life and the Culture of the Thing (Toward the Formulation of the Question),” *October* 81 (1997): 119-28.

<sup>174</sup> “Canon Camera: Japan Designs for the world market,” *Industrial Design Magazine* (April 1957), unpaginated. An article in *Popular Photography* similarly credited the camera with building American consumer confidence in Japanese products “as word of their quality and precision spreads” with the 650-fold increase in sale from 1947 to 1954: “The Japanese Photo Industry” *Popular Photography* vol. 41 (April 1957): 136-137.

violent aggressor to the source for modern design. Each internal and external design detail on the camera's body and its representation in countless photographs, articles, and graphic posters are evidence of this new form of aesthetic nationalism that was created in postwar Japan.<sup>175</sup> What is more, the choice of the camera provokes the important questions of how postwar Japanese design was a major tool of Japanese cultural policy and how the camera became so central to “the imagined connections among commodity styling, cultural progress, and national identity.”<sup>176</sup>

The postwar fields of industrial and graphic design were crucial to building a new narrative about the relationship between objects, consumers, and that state. As I discussed in Chapter One, the Japanese camera had not always been the benign and fashionable consumer product that it appeared to be. During the height of Japanese fascism, the state poured funds into research and development of domestically produced cameras and optical technologies for the war effort and tightly controlled its consumer uses. The idea of the Japanese camera as an object that promoted modernist discourse was promoted by testimony from influential designers such as Kamekura Yūsaku, national policies to promote Japanese design and technological development, and also backed by corporations such as Nippon Kōgaku (Nikon) and the Canon corporations. This was achieved through the suturing of design and nationalism in a language that echoed

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<sup>175</sup> For an insightful analysis of the late nineteenth century developments in aesthetic nationalism see John Clark, “Okakura Tenshin and Aesthetic Nationalism” in *Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts, 1868-2000* ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 212-256.

<sup>176</sup> Paul Betts, *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2004): 1.

wartime policy but was strikingly resonant with the postwar rhetoric of nationalist design movements in West Germany, Great Britain, and Sweden.<sup>177</sup>

The camera stands out among the many objects, from soy sauce receptacles to the Walkman, that have been awarded the cultural symbolism of “good” Japanese design since the award system was initiated. Yet as a technology that was invented almost simultaneously in Great Britain and France in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the development of the camera has from the start been embraced by nationalist rhetoric at the same time that it has defied it. Despite the pervasiveness of the camera and optical technologies across the globe by the twentieth century and what some might describe as the technology’s lending itself to *universality*, the 1950s marked the starting point for the camera to become Japanese.

With its wartime origins and marketing as a new symbol of Japanese design success, unlike other objects, the camera unites the diverse goals of economic, cultural, and ethical recovery. Though cast as a consumer product dependent on cutting edge technology and efficient factory production, the camera sits at the nexus of strategies to base “contemporary artistic practices in prehistoric Japanese prototypes” paired with modernist visual values, a move that resounded across visual culture fields including architecture, industrial design, and the political justification for national design programs.<sup>178</sup> Doing so, designers, corporations, and government

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<sup>177</sup> For insightful histories of postwar nationalist design movements see Kjetil Fallan, ed. *Scandinavian Design: Alternative Histories* (London & New York: Berg, 2012); Margaret Hodges, “Nationalism and Modernism: Rethinking Scandinavian Design in Canada, 1950-1970,” *Canadian Art Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2 Design Studies in Canada (and beyond) (2015), 57-71. On the supposed lack of consistent national design policy in the United States, see: Jonathan M. Woodham “Formulating National Design Policies in the United States: Recycling the ‘Emperor's New Clothes’?” *Design Issues* 26, no. 2 (2010), 27-46.

<sup>178</sup> Jonathan Reynolds, *Allegories of Time and Space: Japanese Identity in Photography and Architecture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2015: 86; and “Bunriha and the Problem of ‘Tradition’ for Modernist Architecture in Japan, 1920-1928,” in *Japan’s Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900-1930*, Sharon Minichiello, ed., Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1998. See also, Berth Winther-Tamaki, “Modernist Passions for ‘Old Japan’: Hasegawa Saburo and Isamu Noguchi in 1950,” *Changing and Unchanging Things: Noguchi and Hasegawa in Postwar Japan*, Dakin Hart, Mark

agencies were able to reinvigorate a nativist logic that had been widely promoted during Japan's peak fascist years: during the 1930s and 1940s various forms of proclaimed ancient Japanese tradition and culture, from the make of local handicraft objects (*mingei*) to identifying the sun goddess Amaterasu as the progenitor of the imperial line, were touted to support theories of Japanese racial superiority.<sup>179</sup> The postwar discourse created in the design world, as in architecture, sought to prove that Japanese form (*katachi*) had historical precedent and to make them a "prototype" for modernist expression.<sup>180</sup> In this way, with little over a century of history it was the camera that embodied the past and future of Japanese visual and material culture.

In the same way that there was an aesthetic dimension to Japanese fascism that sought to construct a "timeliness uniformity" by resolving the conflicts of modernity in the 1930s and 1940s, there was an aesthetics of government and corporate supported economic growth in the postwar period.<sup>181</sup> A new mythic space emerged wherein the private and public sectors saw economic growth as the solution to recovery from defeat and as a means to construct a new Japanese empire based on international economic success. The concept of economic growth can be seen as "an artifact of the twentieth-century rise of growth as an object of social scientific

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Johnson, and Matt Kirsch eds., (Oakland, CA: Published in Association with University of California Press, 2019).

<sup>179</sup> See Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), 2007.

<sup>180</sup> The book *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture* is a strong example of this shared rhetoric in the design, architecture, and even photography communities. With text by renowned architect Tange Kenzo, photographs by Watanabe Yoshio and book design and layout by Kamekura Yūsaku, these major figures came together to promote Japanese culture, history, and form as an inspiration for modernists around the world. See, Tange Kenzo et al., *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965).

<sup>181</sup> For an incisive discussion of the aesthetics of Japanese fascism see, Alan Tansman, ed., *The Culture of Japanese Fascism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009).



knowledge and as an analytical paradigm that came to govern political-economic practices in nations around the world.”<sup>182</sup> In Japan, support for the idea of a national “growth miracle” was expressed, embodied, and measured by objects such as the camera in addition to the rise of professional practices such as graphic and industrial design. Charts mapping the expansion of camera sales in the 1950s and 1960s illustrate Japanese economic growth through the camera itself as well as Japanese emergence back into the international commodities market after wartime isolation and defeat (Figure 2).<sup>183</sup> In a break from wartime policies that cautioned conservative spending and promoted thriftiness as a means to winning the war with the slogan “luxury is the enemy” (*zeitaku wa teki da*), within a decade of the war’s end, increased consumption was the commonly imagined goal for all of these figures.<sup>184</sup> As a consequence, images of the camera’s sales expansion as representation of Japanese growth contributed to the popular image of recovery and development through consumption.

In the prior chapter, I addressed Japanese and American photographers’ and publishers’ connection through their dedication to *photography* as a commercial practice and the contradictions inherent in their trade. This chapter builds on that argument to show how while many looked for a new language for photography after the war, designers and bureaucrats formulated their own vocabulary to articulate the importance of the design of the camera itself. I explore how the interpretation of the postwar Japanese camera as a symbol of modern design

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<sup>182</sup> Scott O’Bryan, *The Growth Idea: Purpose and Prosperity in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: Hawai’i University Press, 2009), 4.

<sup>183</sup> For a detailed list of Japanese exports to the U.S. with notations on the value of each export and the countries Japan competed with for the U.S. market, see “Amerika he wa nani ga yushutsu saretiru ka” (What is being exported to the United States) in *Kōgei Nyūsu* Vol. 21 (August 1953), 36-37.

<sup>184</sup> On state policies aimed at reducing consumption see Sheldon Garon, “Luxury Is the Enemy: Mobilizing Savings and Popularizing Thrift in Wartime Japan,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 26, no. 1 (2000), 41-78.

was constructed, publicized, and consumed by designers, camera companies, and government agencies in Japan and the United States beginning in the early 1950s. The invention of a government sponsored product rating system to categorize and canonize “good design,” design exhibitions, and countless design conferences and publications sought to cultivate the idea of the camera as a cutting-edge tool essential to everyday life as well as one carrying national value. Moreover, it was through the camera that designers such as Kamekura Yūsaku were able to put forth that “Japaneseness” in the industrial design and export sphere signified not only a nod to ancient forms, but also meant the ability to create effective corporate and governmental structures to support industrial design, continuing a level of state and private industry sponsored design and production that had peaked during the wartime years.

Furthermore, the camera as an object of design culture and ambassador of photographic culture must be reconsidered as a part of the history of photography and the history of photography must be more closely taken into consideration with the history of design. In the *annual of advertising art in japan* published by the Art Directors Club of Tokyo in 1959, the influential photography critic Ina Nobuo identified how many people saw the photography and design industries as working toward the same goals:

Paradoxical as it may sound, if the art director, the photographer, and the designer come into perfect cooperation, all photographs of whatever kind...become links in the chain of sales strategy, and thus...become commercial photographs. Closely associated with economic activities as well as with information, photography today finds an endless field for its services.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Ina Nobuo, “*Keizai katsudō ni okeru shashin no ichi*” (The Position of Photography in Economic Activities), *Nenkan Kōkoku bijutsu annual of advertising art in Japan* (Tokyo: Bujutsu Shuppan-sha, 1959), 18.

Until now historians have treated camera design and photographic practice as two separate spheres. To understand the canonization of Japan's national image as a "design nation," I unravel the history of how, together, cameras and photography were constructed to stand for national, cultural, and economic value.

### **Making a "Japanese Camera": Design and the State**

Historians have described how the Japanese word for fine art, "*bijutsu*," was coined in direct connection to the emerging exhibitionary practices of expositions, World's Fairs, and museums of the mid-late nineteenth century when, similar to heavy industry, art was often seen as something that could be displayed and sold to make a name for a country. The term "*dezain*" (design) has a parallel mid-twentieth century history.<sup>186</sup> In the 1950s, popular usage of the foreign loan word *dezain* began to replace the Japanese terms *sekkei* (design, or plan) and *ishō* (design).<sup>187</sup> With the establishment of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry's (MITI) *Dezain-ka* (Design Division) in 1958 the term took on significance in relation to international trade and also a new legal meaning. *Dezain* became the umbrella category under which other terms for design such as *ishō* were included: while *dezain* could comprise a whole range of objects from architecture to cartoon drawings, the 1959 design law (*ishōhō*) defined *ishō* as the combination of shape (*keijō*), pattern (*moyō*), and color of an object "which creates aesthetics

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<sup>186</sup> Michael F. Marra, "The Creation of the Vocabulary of Aesthetics in Meiji Japan," in *Since Meiji: Perspectives on the Japanese Visual Arts, 1868-2000*, edited by J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 193-211.

<sup>187</sup> For an overview of modern Japanese design history see, Nagata Kenichi, Hida Toyojirō, Mori Hitoshi, eds., *Kindai Nihon dezainshi* (Modern Japanese Design History) (Tokyo: Bigaku Shuppan, 2006); For a comprehensive design history focusing on the postwar period, see Uchida Shigeru, *Sengo Nihon dezainshi* (Japanese postwar design history) (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 2011).

through vision” (*shikaku wo tsūjite bikan wo okosaseru mono*) and which can be put to use industrially.<sup>188</sup> By specifying a limited legal definition for the Japanese term for design (*ishō*) linked to production for trade, and determining the loan word *dezain* as the catch all for describing all of its processes, the postwar Japanese government performed a very similar terminological manipulation as the adoption of the term *bijutsu* for fine art. Like the word *bijutsu*, the complex intention behind the coinage of *dezain* and *ishō* is not as much in its semantic makeup as it is in its relationship with what Alice Tseng describes as the Japanese government’s “immediate plan of action to enter the world economic market through artistic, manufactured objects.”<sup>189</sup>

Thus, a late nineteenth century ideology was reinvigorated in the 1950s. To be clear, the goal of its later iteration was to define the special symbolic importance of Japanese participation in creating modern design. Following the announcement in 1957 that the Canon cameras had won the G-mark award, a flurry of media coverage on the awards dissected their significance for Japanese design. What was so special about the Canon L1, the first product to be given G-Mark seal of approval? The discussions around it reveal the shifting attitudes toward design nationalism and why it was the camera, whose technology relied on international exchange, which posed such an interesting dilemma for those determined to establish the unique originality of modern Japanese design. In May of 1958, *Kōgei Nyūsu (Industrial Art News)* published an abbreviated version of MITI’s requirements for a product to be given G-Mark status:

- Basis for which the G-Mark products were chosen; the product must:
- 1 Aim for synthesis of function and form, but most of all originality
  - 2 Be suitable for mass production

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<sup>188</sup> See section three of *Ishōhō hōritsu dai 125 (Design Law No. 125)*, April 13, 1959.

<sup>189</sup> Alice Yu-Ting Tseng. *The Imperial Museums of Meiji Japan: Architecture and the Art of the Nation*. (Seattle: University of Washington, 2008), 18.

- 3 Succeed at honest and effective use of material properties
- 4 Be based on the latest developments in science and technology
- 5 Be economical
- 6 Be based in human nature (easily usable due to its modern sensibility)<sup>190</sup>

This list bore resemblance to many of the good design award criteria put into place by nationalist design awards around the world in the 1950s and also resonated with the Museum of Modern Art's "Twelve Precepts of Modern Design" which it used to curate a *Good Design* exhibition series from 1950-1955.<sup>191</sup> MoMA and the governmental organizations of countries around the world agreed that modern design should be practical, "express the spirit of our times," make a statement about the use of new materials and techniques, "master the machine for the service of man," and have mass appeal. MoMA was also very explicit in its vision of modern design's contribution to a capitalist democracy. For the museum, modern design played a crucial role in democratic life because it is "intended to implement the lives of free individuals." Speaking against "total standardization in the furnishing of a home" while ignoring the fact that by definition all mass produced products are standardized, MoMA recommended that modern design "for the home is more appropriately used to create an atmosphere of 'the good life' than of a 'brave new world.'"<sup>192</sup> In this way, MoMA was able to resolve the contradiction of the relationship between mass produced products and ideals of individualist democracy by

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<sup>190</sup> "G-māku wo eta seihin" (Products that received the G-Mark), *Kōgei Nyūsu (Industrial Art News)* (May 1958), 54. For a look at contemporary discussions on trends in industrial design, see GK Indasutoriaru dezain kenkyūjo (GK Industrial Design Research Institute), *Indasutoriaru dezain: Masupuro jidai no guddo dezain* (Industrial design: Good design and the era of mass production) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1965).

<sup>191</sup> Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. *Introductions to Modern Design: What is Modern Design? What is Modern Interior Design?* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art and Arno Press, 1950), 7.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, Edgar Kaufmann, Jr. *Introductions to Modern Design: What is Modern Design? What is Modern Interior Design?*: 8.

identifying modern designs as “original.” Originality of design became the difference between socialist products and democratic products, the “east” and the “west.”

The same year that the G-Mark awards were launched, Mamiya Seiichi (1899-1989), the founder and chief designer for Mamiya Kōki Seisakusho (now Mamiya Digital Imaging Co.) questioned if it were even possible to design a truly “original” camera or a “Japanese” camera.<sup>193</sup> After all, wasn’t the entire history of photographic technology premised on innovators from around the world freely building upon and modifying each other’s designs? In his telling, once photography was invented in France it moved to the United States, Germany, and England through a process of entrepreneurs and designers borrowing each other’s ideas and making changes to them. In the case of France, the government itself facilitated this spread by making the daguerreotype patent available for free use.<sup>194</sup> Though he admitted that there was an early period when Japanese companies had taken foreign-made cameras apart and indiscriminately reproduced them, in Mamiya’s perspective those times had passed. And yet he postulated that it would always be difficult for camera designers to differentiate themselves because the size of the film and mechanism of the lens determined the size and shape of the camera regardless of its exterior design. So it was that Japanese industrial designers found themselves in a bind: while they were hard pressed to prove that they could make a “Japanese” camera that was not a copy, at the same time they were also restricted by the technology itself from designing a camera that was outside of the box.

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<sup>193</sup> “Nippon kamera no dezain zadankai” (A round table on Japanese Camera Design Y. Kamekura, S. Kuratsuji (Nippon Kōgaku), S. Mamiya (Mamiya Research Lab), H. Suzukawa (Canon), K. Kitano (Editorial Staff)), *Shashin Kōgyō* (Photographic Industries) (January 1958), 22-28.

<sup>194</sup> Though Mamiya credits France as the place of origin of the birth of photography, there are complex debates around this that go beyond Henry Fox-Talbot and Daguerre-Niepce. On controversy around the invention of the daguerreotype and the technology’s spread see, Steve Edwards, “‘Beard Patentee’: Daguerreotype Property and Authorship,” *Oxford Art Journal* 36, no. 3 (2013), 369-94.

Mamiya's deliberations over the meaning of original design in the context of photographic technology are representative of conversations happening across Japan as various industries grappled with the challenges of tying their products to national identity on the international market. As corporations and government agencies looked to make Japan into a "*denshi rikkoku*" (electronics nation) or even a "*shashin ōkoku*" (kingdom of photography) the question of how to make high quality products that were visually identifiable as Japanese was at the forefront of everyone's minds. Focus on the debates around the possibility of creating unique Japanese designs reveals how long held assumptions that Japan's postwar identity was tied to technological gains were in the process of being formed in the first decades after the end of the war. Small consumer products produced in Japan, such as the camera and the transistor radio, drove the spread of consumer technologies into the home on a scale that surpassed cars and energy technology.<sup>195</sup> What is more, because Japan received information and patent transfers from the U.S. during and after occupation, its success in the precision instruments industry was not accidental; so much so that scholars have argued that Japanese technological triumphs were the mirror image of the American narrative of postwar technological prowess.<sup>196</sup>

Unlike in the United States, Japanese government design policies and the advertising campaigns of firms crafted an international reputation for it as having a unique design culture. Media scholar Yoshimi Shunya argues that for the first decade of the postwar period, the majority of electronics advertisements focused on creating an image of their use in the hands of housewives, but beginning in the 1960s advertising copy shifted to representing Japanese

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<sup>195</sup> See Simon Partner, *Assembled in Japan, Electrical Good and the Making of the Japanese Consumer*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>196</sup> Shimada Atsushi, Kashiwagi Hiroshi, and Yoshimi Shunya, eds. *Dezain tekunorojī ichiba Design Technology and Global Capitalism* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1998), 169.

electronics as world leaders in the industry.<sup>197</sup> Yoshimi argues that initially Japanese companies like Sony did not seek to connect their products with some notion of “traditional” Japan but sought to make items that specifically targeted international values so the product would succeed on the world market. It was only after their international success that the idea of these items as selling because of an inherent “Japaneseness” was attached to them. I complicate this picture by showing that though some companies may have sought to produce equivalents of the architecture world’s “international style” to make their products fit in within any cosmopolitan setting, at the same time they found it lucrative to create images that connected the product to forms of “Japaneseness” when it suited them.<sup>198</sup> This logic argued that on the one hand although Japanese technology had come from the outside world to Japan, on the other hand, it was the application of unique Japanese originality in the area of technological and stylistic development that pushed Sony, Matsushita, and Yamaha, Nikon, and Canon products to become international best-sellers.

The camera is an important object through which to see this process precisely because of the precarity that Mamiya identified. While its travel across the world made the technology belong to all those who used and modified, at the same time companies jostled to lay claim to their innovations to it. Mamiya would likely have been intrigued by attempts to identify historical precedent for unique Japanese camera design in the surviving handful of “red lacquer”

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<sup>197</sup> See Yoshimi Shunya, “‘Meido in Japan’ Sengo Nihon ni okeru ‘denshi rikkoku’ shinwa no kigen,” (“Made in Japan”: The origin of the myth of postwar Japan as ‘electric nation’) in Shimada Atsushi, Kashiwagi Hiroshi, and Yoshimi Shunya, eds. *Dezain tekunorojī ichiba Design Technology and Global Capitalism* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1998), 133-172.

<sup>198</sup> By the 1980s there were many Japanese firms that sought, like Sony, to transform from multinational to global corporations. In 1988 Sony prescribed the three “pills” for making this shift: “Offer standardized products worldwide; close communication network worldwide; world cultural integration.” Cited in Hugh Aldersey-Williams, *World Design: Nationalism and Globalism in Design* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1992), 180.



cameras made in the mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 3). Made in lacquer, one of the most valuable Japanese export products that “helped define the aesthetic of Japan” in the European world for over three hundred years, it is easy to understand why these ornate cameras have been described by historians as examples of the meeting of highly skilled Japanese craft with new camera technology.<sup>199</sup> The red lacquer vines that decorate the faceted sides of the box camera and intricate flower detailing on the metal lens casing transform what at this time period often was a plain wooden box into an object suited for holding precious jewels.<sup>200</sup> Though the 1863 “Tsuishu” camera may be the oldest surviving Japanese-produced camera, what Mamiya would have pointed out is that aside from its ornate exterior, its shape and lens technology operated on principles that did not differ from cameras around the world. Mamiya would likely have been wary of accusations that Japanese designers were in the habit of decorating or masking an imported technology with local designs to pass it off as Japanese.

In the postwar period when designers and corporate heads such as Mamiya began to discuss the problem of making an original Japanese camera, they were entering into a conversation that had been ongoing perhaps since the making of the Tsuishu camera or the “Cherry” camera made by Konishi roku in 1903, which the company also declared was the first

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<sup>199</sup> Monika Bincsik, “Japanese Exported Lacquer: Reassessments and Summary of Sources,” *Impressions*, no. 31 (2010): 158-70.

<sup>200</sup> See Inoue Mitsuo, “Tsuishu shashinki monogatari” (The story of the red lacquer camera) in *Kokusan kamera no rekishi shōwa 10-40 nen hōkoku ni miru* (Seeing the history of domestically produced cameras through advertisements 1935-1965) (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1994): 28-32. See also Miyabe Hajimu, “Kamera sekkei to sono hensen” (Camera design and its change) *Kamera gijutsu handobukku* (Camera technology handbook special edition) *Shashin Kōgyō* 37(358) (July 1979): 47-51; Miyagawa Toshio, Shirai Yasuo, Tsuda Motohisa, Ishiki Masaki, Nishimura Hideyuki, Endō Seiji, and Nagashima Masaharu, “Fukui no tsuishu kamera nit suite: hihakai shaken kōzō shiken ni yoru kōzō kaimei to seisakuchi ni kansuru kōsatsu” (On Fukui’s vermilion camera: An examination of structural clarification and production site through nondestructive tests) *Journal of the Society of Photographic Science and Technology of Japan* 56(3) (1993), 205-213.

entirely Japanese-made camera. Since the introduction of the very first cameras to the Japanese port cities of Nagasaki, Yokohama, and Hakodate in the late 1840s, Japanese entrepreneurs, had constantly looked for ways to innovate upon existing technologies and designs to make new products for the developing market. For those like Mamiya who sought to make their optical equipment popular around the world, the history of Japanese industrial design was mixed: if they were to be successful with local and international photographers they needed to distance the camera from a history of imitation and the recent “Made in Occupied Japan” label that the American Occupation mandated all products carry and which marked goods as “*yasukarō warukarō*” (cheap and shoddy) in the minds of consumers.<sup>201</sup>

Around the world consumer products in the postwar period were significantly defined by the problem of defining, locating, and promoting originality in representing their countries of origin: from 1944 onward Great Britain, West Germany, the United States, Holland, and Japan in turn each established their own version of a “Design Council” with accompanying “good design” awards systems.<sup>202</sup> For previous members of the Allied forces, government support of industrial design was a means to sanction continuity with the prewar and wartime national design efforts as well as protect their products from imitation by firms in countries where labor and manufacturing

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<sup>201</sup> For a contemporary discussion of the shifting image of “Made in Japan” see Maki Shōhei, *Kokusan hin meido in japan no jitsuryoku* (Domestically produced products: The Strength of “Made in Japan”) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1965).

<sup>202</sup> In 1944 the British Design Council was established followed by the Dutch Stichting Goed Wonen (Good Living Foundation) in 1948 and the German Rat für Formgebung (Design Council) was founded in 1953. The Italian department store La Rinascente launched the Compasso d’Oro design awards in 1954 and in 1957 France established its Beauté France label for good design. In 1960 the Industrial Design Council of Australia was founded and established its Good Design Label. See Jonathan M. Woodham, *A Dictionary of Modern Design* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Also, Paul Reilly, “Design and the Government,” in *Design Since 1945* (New York: Philadelphia Museum of Art and Rizzoli International Publications, 1983), 37-42.

was much cheaper, such as Japan. For countries such as West Germany and Japan, establishing postwar design institutions signaled to the world that they had entered and supported a post-fascist era and sought to construct a “redemptive tale of modernism triumphant.”<sup>203</sup> Despite the international desire to use new design movements to differentiate the postwar from wartime work, design historians such as Paul Betts have shown that the postwar emergence of government sponsored design institutions demonstrates a level of continuity with the wartime period when design served a “crucial site for mass-producing German ‘fascist modernism.’”<sup>204</sup>

In wartime Japan, like Germany, government sponsored design organizations and charismatic designers contributed to the aestheticization of politics and in the postwar they continued this work. These designers, both Japanese and Euro-American, played a crucial and overlooked role in developing and reinforcing notions of Japanese aesthetics as defined by its history, connection to nature, and identifying it as a foundation for modernism. In brief, in 1933 the Japanese government opened the Tokyo office of the Industrial Arts Institute, which published *Kōgei Nyūsu* (Industrial Art News).<sup>205</sup> Many of the institute’s recruits continued in the postwar period to be the most well-known designers in Japan.<sup>206</sup> It was this same year that architect Bruno Taut came to Japan and received Ministry of Education support for the

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<sup>203</sup> For a compelling history of the transition of West German design from wartime fascist aesthetics to postwar reinvention, Paul Betts, *The Authority of Objects: A Cultural History of West German Design*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2004.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., Betts, 24.

<sup>205</sup> For a concise history of Japanese design from the late nineteenth century through the 1960s see, Felice Fischer, “Japanese Design: From Meiji to Modern, in Kathryn B. Hiesinger and Felice Fischer, eds. *Japanese Design: A Survey Since 1950* (New York: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1995), 8-13.

<sup>206</sup> This list includes but is not limited to Isamu Kenmochi, Katsuei Toyoguchi, Mosuke Yoshitake, Iwataro Koike, Jiro Kosugi, Iwao Yamawaki, and Masaru Katsumie.

translation and publication of his writings on Japanese architecture's relationship to modernism.<sup>207</sup> Echoing Taut's glowing interpretation of the Katsura palace as the ancient origin of architectural modernism, the French industrial designer Charlotte Perriand utilized her invitation to advise the Japanese Ministry of Commerce and Industry to reinterpret the famous tubular steel chaise-longue she designed with Le Corbusier into bamboo.<sup>208</sup> In advising Japanese industrialists to use local materials and folk craft approaches to building modern furniture, Perriand contributed to the argument that "Japanese" materials such as bamboo could be applied to modern design to create unique products. Perriand's 1941 exhibition, "Tradition, Selection, Creation" held at the Tokyo and Osaka Takashimaya department store promoted and popularized these ideas.

The graphic design studio and publisher Nippon Kobō may have been one of the most visually influential government sponsored agencies of the wartime period.<sup>209</sup> *NIPPON*, the quarterly magazine combined stunning photographic and graphic montage to introduce "Japan to the cultural and industrial world" by depicting the growing Japanese empire during the process of its colonization of East Asia and narrated these images in French, English, German, and Spanish.<sup>210</sup> Eventually publishing variations of the magazine targeting new colonial populations, the studio used official government sponsorship to, in art historian Gennifer Weisenfeld's

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<sup>207</sup> See *Nippon: Yoroppanjin no me de mita* (Japan as seen through European eyes) 1934; *Nihon bunka shikan* (A personal view of Japanese culture) 1936; and *Nihon bi no sai hakken* (A rediscovery of Japanese aesthetics) 1939.

<sup>208</sup> Charlotte Benton, "From Tubular Steel to Bamboo: Charlotte Perriand, the Migrating "Chaise-longue" and Japan," *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 1 (1998), 31-58.

<sup>209</sup> See Mari Shirayama and Yoshio Hori, *Natori yōnosuke to nippon kobo [1931-1945]* (Natori Yōnosuke and Nippon Kōbo, 1931-1945) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2006).

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, Mari Shirayama and Yoshio Hori, *Natori yōnosuke to nippon kobo [1931-1945]*: 16.

words, blur “the line between avant-garde art, reportage, advertising practice, and national propaganda.”<sup>211</sup> What is more, the magazine also vibrantly advertised Japanese products (many produced in its colonial empire) from canned tangerines and silk to binoculars, effectively depicting wartime Japan as the locus of natural resources and technological innovation. Nippon Kobō also produced the magazine *COMMERCE JAPAN*, which took a similar approach to advertising products such as Japanese textiles, pearls, beer, paper crafts, automobile tires, glass, and more. In the postwar, unlike West Germany where many cultural spheres were contaminated by their connection with the Nazis, those involved with Nippon Kobō’s project to advertise the Japanese colonial empire such as Natori Yōnosuke, Domon Ken, and Watanabe Yoshio, went on to be leading photographers and publishers because there was no public reckoning with their wartime work, or more generally, the role that photography had played in supporting the war.

Following the end of the war, Japanese designers and government agencies were more concerned with promoting the integrity of their designs to an international community of consumers than worried about their associations with the wartime regime. They were right in step with the postwar international movement to set up government agencies to monitor domestic products when in 1951 the Japan External Trade Organization (originally Japan Export Trade Research Organization) was established as division of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI). The organization sent students abroad to study design and invited foreign experts as well as participated in trade fairs and international exhibitions.<sup>212</sup> In the early to mid 1950s a wave of specialist professional design organizations were established, demonstrating the

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<sup>211</sup> These publications include *SHANGHAI, CANTON*, South China Graphic, *MANCHOUKUO, EASTERN ASIA*. On NIPPON, See Gennifer Weisenfeld, “Touring Japan-as-Museum: NIPPON and other Japanese Imperialist Travelogues,” *positions east asia critique* 8:3 (winter 2000), 747-790.

<sup>212</sup> The Industrial Arts Institute participated in travel fair held at Halsingborg, Sweden (1955), the Triennale in Milan 1957 and 1960; Brussels in 1958.

promise that design offered as a professional practice and the state of the flourishing industrial arts workforces.<sup>213</sup> In 1959, MITI amended the 1921 design law (*ishōhō*) to state that all copyright applications must specify the “originality” of the work.<sup>214</sup> This legislation was mirrored the following year by the Export Commodities Design Law, which required all designs for export products to be officially registered with the government.

In support of the government initiative to promote “originality” in 1954 the Nihon Camera Zaidan (Japan Camera Foundation, JCII) was founded to run the Nihon shashin kikai kensakai (Japan Camera Inspection Association, JCIA) which was a clearing house for all cameras headed for sale abroad.<sup>215</sup> Though the 1948 Export Control Law (*Yushutsu-hin torishimari-hō*) had outlined criteria for export products, it held individual companies responsible for inspecting and displaying the grades for each of their products.<sup>216</sup> Thus, the JCII established the first system of quality control applied to cameras regulated by an outside agency. It tested everything from the focal point of lenses, workings of electronic flashes, 8 and 16mm movie cameras, and made sure that the ISO, or light sensitivity of the camera, met international

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<sup>213</sup> 1951 Japan Advertising Artists Club (JAAC); 1952 Japan Industrial Designers Association (JIDA); 1952 Tokyo Art Directors Club (Tokyo ADC); 1956 Japan Craft Design Association (JCDA); 1958 Japan Interior Designers Association (JID).

<sup>214</sup> Takada Takashi, “Ishuhō no kaisei ni tsuite” (Amendments of Design Laws of Japan), *Kōgei Nyūsu* (Industrial Art News), vol. 26 (Jan. 1958), 13-18.

<sup>215</sup> For a history of the JCII and the Japanese camera export industry, see *Nihon shashinki kōgaku kiki kensa kyōkai* (Japan Photographic Equipment Inspection Association), *Sekai no Nihon kamera* (The world’s Japanese camera) (Tokyo: 1984); On the rise of the postwar camera industry, Yabe Yōzō and Kogure Masao, *Nihon kamera sangyō no henpō to dainamizumu* (The transformation and dynamism of the Japanese camera industry) (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 2006); Kanō Takashi and Tezuka Yutakai, *Kamera shashin gyōkai* (The camera and photography industry) (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1979).

<sup>216</sup> For a detailed history of postwar organizations and laws related to the camera industry, see *Nihon shashinki kōgyō kai*, eds., *Nihon kamera kōgyōshi Nihon shashinki kōgyō kai 30nen no ayumi* (A History of the Japanese Camera Industry: A History of 30 Years) (Tokyo: Fuji Printing, 1987).

standards. By systematically and rigorously checking cameras and their equipment before sending them out for sale the JCII contributed to raising the overall quality of optical technologies. What is more, in the process of inspecting each camera the Institute made it their policy to keep one copy of the camera in question, effectively amassing the country's largest archive of domestically produced cameras. When there was no longer a need for it to serve as an inspections agency and it closed in 1989, the JCII founded the Japan Camera Museum to showcase and continue collecting Japanese-made cameras.<sup>217</sup>

In tandem with the new government and JCII protections put in place for cameras destined for the export market, the Japan Camera Industry Association, with funds from the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, established a center in New York City in 1955 to handle publicity and outreach related to Japanese cameras.<sup>218</sup> Key members of Nikon and Olympus among other firms managed the "Japan Camera Information and Service Center" with the stated public relations goal of continuing the enthusiasm that American servicemen had cultivated for Japanese cameras through the "Japan Camera Show" they held each year as well as providing repairs for American users of Japanese cameras.<sup>219</sup> With the opening of a second center in Okinawa in 1956, Japanese camera companies solidified their strategy of profiting from American occupation and targeting servicemen to cultivate the image of the camera as the popular object of consumer delight.

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<sup>217</sup>The building it is housed in is currently occupied by the Professional Photographers Society and the Photographic Society of Japan, two of the most influential photography organizations for their roles in establishing the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography in 1990 (now called the Tokyo Photographic Art Museum), awarding up and coming photographers, and holding the copyrights to many photographer's works.

<sup>218</sup> For historical overviews of the Japanese camera industry, see;

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., *Nihon shashinki kōgyō kai*, eds., *Nihon kamera kōgyōshi Nihon shashinki kōgyō kai 30nen no ayumi* (A History of the Japanese Camera Industry: A History of 30 Years) (Tokyo: Fuji Printing, 1987), 19-20.

Conversations around tighter international regulation of export products and design as a diplomatic issue eventually led to the establishment of the Design Encouragement Council as a section of the Patent Office, within the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) in the early 1950s. The Design Encouragement Council called upon specialists from the Japan Industrial Design Organization, the Industrial Craftwork Test Design Department, along with other private designers to elect items for promotion into the good design hall to bear the “G-mark.” The G-mark itself was a logo designed by Kamekura Yūsaku in 1957 (Figure 4) and its ubiquity lent it to be lampooned by the cartoonist and writer Shitō Kineo (1936-2005) known for his satirical political comics. In a satirical cartoon printed in the critical magazine *KEN*, published by Tōmatsu Shōmei from 1970-1971, Shitō rendered the G-mark as a symbol on par with the chrysanthemum Imperial Seal of Japan, a portrait of Hitler, an image of lynching, and ancient statuary, all as part of the same logics distilled into such symbols (Figure 5). Shitō’s critique of the G-mark symbol in the pages of *KEN* would have resonated with the Sinologist Tōdō Akiyasu’s article on his analysis of the Chinese characters for “revolution” and “economy” and a report on a Women’s Liberation Movement protest, the two articles that it was sandwiched between.

In 1958, critics writing in *Kōgei Nyūsu* (*Industrial Art News*) explained the significance of MITI’s selection process for G-mark products:

“The general level of the design of cameras, gas appliances, and sewing machines as industrial equipment has increased considerably, however there are still few products with unique international character. In a word, a small number of untapped farming tools have been selected as exceptional products to support a large harvest for the design movement.”<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> “G-māku wo eta seihin” (Products that received the G-Mark), *Kōgei Nyūsu* (*Industrial Art News*) (May 1958), 54.



The G-Mark award criteria recognized objects from rice cookers and vacuums to Yanagi Sori's butterfly stool as symbols of good design in its first years: awarded items met the stipulations that the products must be an original synthesis of function and form, mass producible, make honest and effective use of materials, and embody modern sensibilities, among other criteria. As previously mentioned, these criteria mirrored curatorial moves that MoMA had made to define modern design in the 1950s in addition to reaching back to its 1934 *Machine Art* exhibition, in which it declared that the "beauty of machine art" was defined by the static and "kinetic rhythm" of its geometry, "technical and material beauty", "visual complexity", and "function."<sup>221</sup> In the case of the G-Mark identifying originality in function and material makeup ascribed industrial objects with an aesthetic that resonated with the international design community and placed Japanese products within a lineage of the politics of the aesthetics of functionality and originality.<sup>222</sup>

A month after receiving the award, an article in the American *Industrial Design Magazine* introduced the camera, positioning Canon's initial work as derivative, and argued that it surpassed its copy-cat phase and entered into a new era of industrial progress by leaning on essential Japanese qualities:<sup>223</sup>

In 1953 the company started to develop a thoroughly new design, one that was ultimately to appear in 1956 as the Canon V (bottom photo). As development got under way, an Industrial Design Department was formed, with three members. This team went to work using a two-dimensional approach that has little similarity to the sculptural approach so familiar to American designers. As the drawings on the next spread suggest, the graphic method of the Canon V designs grows out of an *Oriental aesthetic rooted in calligraphy*

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<sup>221</sup> "Machine Art March 6 to April 30, 1934" Exh. catalogue, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

<sup>222</sup> For discussions of MoMA's display of industrial design objects, see "Midcentury Contemporary, 1948" in Richard Meyer, *What Was Contemporary Art?* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2013).

<sup>223</sup> "Canon Camera: Japan Designs for the world market," *Industrial Design Magazine* (April 1957), Unpaginated.

*and flat architectural relationships.* Starting with a basic body rectangle, they approached the camera as a series of facades and developed details through geometrical study of every relationship [sic] of circle, square, rectangle, straight line and curve. Thus emerged the first Canon camera to benefit from a coordinated approach to design—and from a conscious attempt to create an original, mass-produced, Japanese product for world markets. (emphasis mine)

The pages of graphic representations of the Canon camera are titled, “Drawings in Japanese Tradition determine Canon details” (Figure 6-7). These black and white pop-geometric simplifications of the cameras’ form by Kawada Ryūsuke would have resonated within the visual language of midcentury modern graphic design popular around the world.<sup>224</sup> The description can be read as the conflation of “modernism” with conceptions of “Japanese tradition” made visible in the body of the camera. The article, construing asymmetricality and geometric shapes as part of a “Japanese tradition,” contributed to the familiar trend to label Japanese design as defined by a minimalist fusion of function and form. This was Canon’s innovation: “The Canon V, breaking away from the designs of other countries and other companies, emerges to prove that Japan can be successful *and* original, that she need not hesitate to rely on her own design resources.”

Seen next to Ishimoto Yasuhiro’s famous portraits of Katsura palace taken from 1953-4, or Watanabe Yoshio’s renderings of Ise Shrine (1953) which both frame their examples of Japanese architecture in the language of shapes and the off-balance equivalence between the parts of a whole structure, one can understand how the design diagrams and image of the camera itself fit right in with these reinterpretations of “Japanese” form (Figure 8). Seen in this way, the recently invented and reformed technology of the camera bolstered what art historian Jonathan Reynolds has identified as “the claim made by Japanese modernists that they were the legitimate

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<sup>224</sup> Kawada’s diagrams of the Canon IVSb camera he designed were first published in Kawada Ryūsuke “Kiyanon VT wo dezain shite” (Designing the Canon VT) *Kōgei Nyūsu* Vol. 24 (October 1956), 35-39.

heirs to Japan's long cultural heritage..."<sup>225</sup> While photographers Ishimoto and Watanabe used the composition of the photograph's rectangular framing to recast sites associated with the imperial line and mythical nationalism as architectural and photographic modernism, the body of the camera, itself made up of the relationships between shape and line, was also made into a modernist structure.

The "rich design aesthetic" inherent to Japanese works is hinted at in the cover of *Industrial Design Magazine*, designed by Kawada Ryūsuke, the same designer of the Canon camera under discussion (Figure 9). The cover displays a more abstract version of the previous camera diagrams with added red and yellow accents. The lines of the camera overlay the Chinese characters for "human," "eye," and "bird" written in blue brush strokes which express a sense of movement and form a relationship with the diagram's clean lines. Shinohara Hiroshi, who began to work for Canon in the late 1950s straight out of college, recently described how Kawada explained to the design team that these characters were meant to symbolize two meanings of a "bird's-eye view": first, that looking through the lens of a Canon gave the photographer the added visual capacity to see, like a bird; second, that thinking about camera design from a bird's eye view, meaning looking at it from above as the diagram encourages, gave one access to its design concept.<sup>226</sup> These meanings would have been lost on the average American reader of the magazine, who likely would have been inclined to see the visual equivalent of an "Asian tradition" in the brush strokes.<sup>227</sup> That might have been just fine with Kawada, who, as described

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<sup>225</sup> Reynolds, *Ibid.*, *Allegories of Time and Space: Japanese Identity in Photography and Architecture*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 86.

<sup>226</sup> Interview with the author, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017, Tokyo, Japan.

<sup>227</sup> For an insightful discussion of the association of Asian aesthetics with ink, see Bert Winther-Tamaki, "Remediated Ink: The Debt of Modern and Contemporary Asian Ink Aesthetics to Non-Ink Media," *Getty Research Journal*, no.10 (January 2018): 121-148.

by Shinohara, was so adamant about finding a way to make the dimensions of a camera resonate with a sense of “Japaneseness” that he sought for a means to equate its dimensions with a tatami-mat room.

Following the introduction of the G-Mark Awards system, the Japanese mass press eagerly took up the subject of design as a tool of national promotion. Weeklies ran reoccurring segments on the “World’s Good Design,” connecting the recovering economies in their home countries to the success of Scandinavian and British designers.<sup>228</sup> However, skeptics in the midst of this nationalist design fervor were quick to voice their concerns. In December of 1958, the *Shukan Shinchō* wondered, “Who is the G-Mark For?” critiquing what it identified as a nepotistic system wherein the head of the household was being called upon to judge his own house (*ikkoku ichijō no aruji*).<sup>229</sup> The accompanying photograph of the two award-winning Canon cameras displays them with the G-Mark logo, harshly lit from the side (Figure 10). It was one of many sources that took issue with the fact that the selection committee was largely comprised of camera corporation representatives who had much to gain from the G-Mark system. The article accused jurors of choosing products made by their own companies and of carrying out vendettas against companies with competing products.

The image of a rigged ranking system benefitting the judges themselves rather than encouraging support for new ideas in various fields exposed anxieties that Japanese design would not be taken seriously in the international design community as it already had the challenge of surpassing its image as the source of poor quality imitations. The designer

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<sup>228</sup> See “Sekai no gūdo dezain” (The World’s Good Design) May 16,17, 19, 20, 21 of the *Asahi Shimbun*, 1960.

<sup>229</sup> “Dare ga tame G-māku—seifu sentei no yūryōhin” (Who is the G-Mark For?), *Shukan Shinchō* (December 1958), 21.

Yoshitake Mosuke reported with great embarrassment that he was denied permission to visit Swedish factories after being shown about thirty Swedish-made products along with their Japanese copies.<sup>230</sup> Cameras were a particularly tender spot for the design community as even the most recent Canon and Nikon models were labeled within and without Japan as copies of the German Leica and Contax cameras. In 1955, the critic and industry insider Kitano Kunio wrote, “All cameras produced [in Japan] can be divided into two groups: those that have imitated German cameras and those with their own unique style.”<sup>231</sup> He scolded Canon and Nikon for their derivative designs and called for a “camera to represent the country through its unique design,” asserting passionately that “camera design is the future of modern industrial exploration.”

The Canon and Nikon corporations responded to this criticism by attempting to brand themselves as the leader of a movement to cast Japanese-made electronics as part of a local design tradition. In a series of humorous cartoons by Yanase Takashi, who later created the wildly popular Anpan man series, “Japanese soil” is depicted as the “most suitable place” to grow cameras (Figure 11).<sup>232</sup> In Yanase’s line drawing, a range of camera models grow from the “camera corporation” tree. The Canon Co. is personified by a satisfied farmer, who, hoe in hand, has hardly had to do much to get cameras to spring forth from the fertile ground.

### **From designing an “Original” to a “Women’s” Camera**

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<sup>230</sup> Yoshitake Mosuke, “Sutokkuhorumu no soshun dezain tōyō koso sensō ni tsunagaru” (Spring in Stockholm: Dezain plagiarism leads to war) *Kōgei Nyūsu* Vol. 26 (August 1958), 19-21.

<sup>231</sup> Kitano Kunio, “*Kokusan kamera no henshen -- Development of the Japanese Camera Centering Around its Design*,” *Kōgei Nyūsu* (February 1955), 6.

<sup>232</sup> Fukumoto Kunio, ed. *Sekai no me Kiyanon kamera* (Canon camera eye of the world) (Tokyo: Fuji International Consulting, 1962), 235.

Within Kamekura's argument that modern Japanese design was defined by the "deliberate trimming of movement" or the simplification of visual communication through bold graphics is the implicit assumption that his designs strove to create a postwar universality built on the foundations of Japanese particularity. By transitioning away from imaging the user of the camera in his advertisements, the camera is meant to be envisioned as a universal symbol and tool detached from the specificity of user. This logic of universality resonated well with ideas of design as a common language that spoke across national boundaries and also the postwar ideals of democracy as the natural form that modern states should take on. The postwar enthusiasm for design as a universal language should, however, bring up questions about the sex of the so-called universal user of consumer products. Was Kamekura's original Nikon camera meant to be used by male *and* female photographers? Or was the trope of universality a means to mask the reluctance that many had in allowing women to join the field? As I will examine in the next chapter, the first two decades of the postwar period were an important time for women to challenge the long-held assumptions that photography was a male profession. If the Japanese camera as symbol of modern design by definition saw the male photographer as the standard user, excluding women from its use, it was Japanese female photographers who insisted upon being included. Where male designers saw only handicapped users whose capabilities to wield a camera were likely on par with their children, in the postwar period a new generation of women demanded to be considered not only as sophisticated at home users but also as professionals within the field in the face of doubts that women could use cameras which formed the basis of the rejection of women as professional photographers.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Here I build on the work of Ruth Oldenziel and Ruth Schwartz Cowan who approach women as technological actors wherever they interact with technologies. Ruth Oldenziel, *Making Technology Masculine* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999); Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic

When *Fujin Kurabu* (Ladies Club) ran an advertisement for a Fujika Single 8 movie camera featuring a mother loading a film cartridge into the camera while her son covered her eyes in 1965, Japanese camera companies had only begun to consider women as potential photographers and home movie makers within the last decade (Figure 12).<sup>234</sup> Repeating the assumption that women and children were alike in their ability to use optical technologies, the copy for the ad read, “If you are a mama who is good at doing the laundry, if you are a little boy good at blocks then this 8 millimeter is even easier.” The Fuji Film designer Mizukawa Shigeo was of the first to promote the idea that mothers, and even children, could become a significant market for 35mm film and 8mm movie cameras: he claims to have pioneered the idea to make the handle of the camera in proportion to the dimension of a woman’s hand in his design for the Fuji Single 8 advertised above (Figure 13).<sup>235</sup> As noted in the copy, for companies such as Fuji Film capturing the world market in addition to a gendered and age specific market were equal considerations.

Beginning in the 1950s critics and corporations suggested that the democratization of camera use (at least in thriving Tokyo) across the sexes might be seen as part of the effects of American-style democracy that the Occupation attempted to put in place.<sup>236</sup> For instance, in a

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Books, 1983; See also the following seminal texts in the history of gendering technology: Nina E. Lerman, Arwen Palmer Mohun and Ruth Oldenziel, “Versatile Tools: Gender Analysis and the History of Technology,” *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Special issue: Gender Analysis and the History of Technology (January 1997): 1-8; Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun, eds., *Hist and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998).

<sup>234</sup> “Sekai ga chūmoku shita atarashī 8 miri” (The new single 8 that is attracting the world’s attention) *Fujin Kurabu* (Ladies Club) (August 1965), unpaginated.

<sup>235</sup> Interview with the author, November 15, 2016.

<sup>236</sup> In 1954 the photography magazine *Asahi Camera* published their own white paper on the status of camera consumption in Japan. It reported that based on a survey of 1,640 people living in each of the twenty-three wards of Tokyo that half of all men and women owned cameras. “‘Kamera hakusho’ toki no wadai: kamera shōhisha chōsa (‘Camera White Paper’ Topics of the Moment: Camera Consumer Survey), *Asahi Kamera*, November 1954.

1951 article published by the photography magazine *Nihon Kamera (Japanese Camera)* titled “Come Out, Female Cameramen!” the author vividly described the following scene:

In the Marunouchi district of Tokyo...male and female office workers are enjoying the light of spring. The small staircase at the entrance of a certain building is filled with four or five office girls taking pictures of each other with a spring camera...Finally many women can be seen with cameras around their necks. It is a very democratic tendency, that now even women have hobbies and tastes just like men.<sup>237</sup>

From the time of the Constitution’s enactment in 1947, the Japanese media was full of speculation on what the significance of democracy was to different realms of everyday life, and in particular how democracy might change gender roles or loosen relations between men and women.<sup>238</sup> From 1945-1952 the American Occupation Government closely supervised the rewriting of the Japanese constitution to encourage what it identified as democratic tendencies within political, economic, and social sectors.<sup>239</sup> The new constitution specifically addressed the previous civil code’s disparity in rights for men and women and made steps to enfranchise

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<sup>237</sup> Kuwabara Kineo, “Josei kameraman deyo!” (Come out female cameramen!) *Nihon Kamera* (March 1951).

<sup>238</sup> See Chelsea Szendi Schieder, “Coed Revolution: The Female Student in the Japanese New Left, 1957-1972,” (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 2014). The speculation over the meanings of democracy especially grew once the Occupation began to purge Japanese leftists. For a discussion of the “reverse course” see, Yong Wook Lee, “The Origin of One Party Domination: America’s Reverse Course and the Emergence of the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan,” *The Journal of East Asian Affairs* 18, no. 2 (2004), 371-413.

<sup>239</sup> Historian Mire Koikari points out the problems in the transnational feminist reform efforts that the new constitution put in place, showing how despite the role that American women in the Occupation played in challenging components of gender relations they were still part of the process of American imperialism in the region. See Mire Koikari, “Exporting Democracy?: American Women, ‘Feminist Reforms,’ and Politics of Imperialism in the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 1 (2002): 23-45. Also, Mire Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in the United States Occupation of Japan, 1945 – 1952* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).



women, grant suffrage, and encourage coeducation.<sup>240</sup> These reforms, such as Article 14 of the 1947 Constitution banned discrimination on the basis of “race, creed, sex, social status or family origin.”<sup>241</sup>

While the media speculated over what democracy might mean in new areas of everyday life product design and its accompanying advertisements leaned on familiar tropes of dividing consumer products into gendered categories.<sup>242</sup> Objects assumed to be in the domain of men, like the camera, posed a challenge for the camera industry which saw the so-called democratization of the camera as the chance to expand buyers. While in 1954 copy for a Primo camera advertisement proclaimed that women need no longer worry about being able to focus the lenses of their cameras by declaring, “Now the camera is no longer a thing for only men!” there continued to be lingering doubt in the minds of many designers if women could in fact learn to use camera technology (Figure 14).<sup>243</sup> In 1970, camera designer Otagi Michifusa, who had worked during the war designing gun and bomb sights for the army, claimed that in the practice

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<sup>240</sup> For more on postwar reforms to sexual norms see Mark Mclelland, “‘Kissing is a Symbol of Democracy!’ Dating, Democracy, and Romance in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19, no. 3 (2010), 508-35.

<sup>241</sup> See Fig. 2. For an English language translation of the 1947 constitution, see: <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/1947con.html> For further perspectives on the effect of these reforms, see Lisa Yoneyama, “Liberation Under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women’s Enfranchisement,” *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005), 885-910.

<sup>242</sup> On the topic, see: Uemura Yoko, “Chugoku kaden kōkoku ni okeru jendaa hyōgen no 「seisan」 katei — kaikaku kaihō ikō no Nihonsei kaden kōkoku no 「ryutsū」 wo megute,” (The Production of Gendered Imagery in Home Electronics Advertisements in China: On the Distribution of Advertisements for Japanese Home Electronics after the Economic Reform) *Image & Gender* 10 (March 2010), 60–73.

<sup>243</sup> Tokyo Kōgaku (Tokyo Optical Instruments) advertisement for the Primoflex camera: “Are you okay? You are not able to find focus, are you? Settle down, settle down...If it's a Primo, anyone can smoothly find focus and take a picture. It is a wonderful camera. The camera is no long a thing for only men. Please, why don't you also enjoy taking pictures with a Primo.” *Fujin Kurabu* (Women’s Club) (November 1954).

of photography, masculinity was defined through technical knowledge: having it was deemed exclusively the purview of men, and not having it was the natural state for women. In an article for *Photographic Industry* Otagi wrote:

I have thought about the conditions for a camera for the average everyday busy woman. The first is that its operation should be easily done without any special knowledge and anyone should be able to take a fantastic picture with it. Putting more thought to it, not only should you be able to photograph out of doors during the day, but inside at night. Therefore, because the term “whoever” should be able to take photographs leaves us incomplete, we cannot be satisfied with a camera for adults until we have added “whenever” and “wherever” to the criteria. So, it becomes the “whoever, whenever, & wherever” camera.<sup>244</sup>

Otagi’s concept of the “whoever, whenever, and wherever” camera shares some similarities in intent with Kodak’s “You press the button, we do the rest” 1888 advertising slogan. One might argue that it was only once Japanese camera companies began to consider including female users as one of the universal users that the problem of designing a foolproof point and shoot became the central problem for designers. The friction between the belief system that supported the idea of women as fundamentally incapable of understanding camera technology and the desire to expand the market for cameras led to public declarations that it was the camera, not women, that had agency for taking photographs. As one author for *Women’s Club* put it, “it is not that...women have become better at using them, but rather that cameras have become more advanced.”<sup>245</sup>

### **Kamekura Yūsaku’s New Nationalism of the Postwar Period**

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<sup>244</sup>Otagi Michifusa, “Suggestions for a Women’s Camera,” *Shashin Kōgyō* (Photographic Industry) 28(7) (220), (July 1970).

<sup>245</sup> *Fujin Kurabu* (Women’s Club), (August 1965): 161.

It was in this context of fervent debate over originality and the gendering of the camera that the already famous graphic and industrial designer Kamekura Yūsaku began to work for Nippon Kōgaku (now Nikon Co.).<sup>246</sup> Seeking to distance itself from its role within the Japanese Navy during the war and accusations that it had copied Leica and Contax camera bodies, the firm hired Kamekura in 1950 to come up with a total design concept to revolutionize the visual presence of the company. Nikon had no graphic design team, but instead hired Kamekura to reconceptualize everything from the new body shape for the Nikon F 35mm camera to film boxes, posters, and neon signs set high in the skies over Kyoto (Figure 15). An amateur photographer himself, Kamekura even volunteered his services to design the *Nikkor kurabu* (Nikon Club) periodical.<sup>247</sup> As seen in these examples, Kamekura’s bold but simple geometric designs set off by a sparse but eye-catching color palette were easily adaptable into many types of formats, surfaces, and materials. His designs were so popular and eye catching that in addition to winning awards from design organizations Kamekura reflected that for the public his identity as a designer became inseparable from Nikon, as the “designer becomes their image.”<sup>248</sup> In his view, “corporate illustration highly values the construction of individual character. But the challenge is making sure that this character always stays in line with what the masses want.”

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<sup>246</sup> Kamekura Yūsaku’s archive of product design is held at the Niigata Prefectural Museum of Art. For a list of recently catalogued items in relation to Nikon, see Imai Yu, “Kamekura Yūsaku no Nikon kanren sakuhin shiryō ni tsuite (chōsa hōkoku)” (On the historical materials of Kamakura Yūsaku’s work in relation to Nikon (Study report)) *Bulletin of the Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art* No. 13 (2014): 26-57.

<sup>247</sup> As close friend to influential photographer Domon Ken, Kamekura also designed the lettering for the Domon Ken Museum, the first museum dedicated to a single photographer, which was designed by Taniguchi Yoshio, who also designed one wing of MoMA.

<sup>248</sup> For his work with Nikon Kamekura won the following awards: Dentsu Advertising Award (1955), Toyo Advertising Directors Club Award (1957 and 1959). Kamekura Yūsaku, “Kigyōtai no irasutorētā 1966” (Illustrator for Corporations) in *Dezain zuisō ririku* (Occasional Thoughts on Design Taking Off and Landing) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 2012; 1966), 53-55.

As the self-described designer for the masses, it was through Kamekura's total design overhaul for Nikon that he began to formulate his own theory of Japanese design. Throughout the 1950s Kamekura experimented with ways to render meaning into simplified geometric shapes that effectively communicated to the viewer that Nikon was a hip, cutting edge company revolutionizing mass access to vision through its cameras, binoculars, and microscopes. Diverging from the rectangular camera body shape that the *Industrial Design* magazine so admired in the Canon, in 1959 Kamekura attached a pentaprism to the top of the Nikon F camera body just over the lens, like the triangular roof over a portico (Figure 16).<sup>249</sup> The accompanying silkscreened poster he designed to advertise the new camera singled out this feature, its house-like shape rendered in a continuous line hovering over the bull's eye of the lens (Figure 17). The circle that he used to represent the lens is a symbol that he experimented with throughout the 1950s and it came to represent the essence of his argument that Japanese form was simple and easily understood by all. In one of the earliest Kamekura advertisements for Nikon from 1950, a photograph depicts a chic gloved woman holding a pair of binoculars to her eyes, lips parted with pleasure. Five years later Kamekura converted this image entirely into pop art-inspired graphics: the woman's face is represented by two circles held daintily by a yellow swoosh of a graphic hand, red lips hovering against a bright pink background (Figure 18). Throughout the 1950s, Kamekura incorporated these circles into a range of Nikon promotional materials including Nikon Club photography contest posters and Nikon lens advertisements. Through his repetition of circles and eye motifs Kamekura's designs for Nikon wordlessly asserted what other companies laboriously wrote out in their headlines: Nikon cameras were the new eye of

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<sup>249</sup> In an attempt to compete with Nikon's share of the professional camera market, Canon Co., which had mostly targeted amateur photographers, quickly copied Kamekura's Nikon F design for the Canonflex, also released in 1959 which was never a great success.

Japan and seeing through their lenses a photographer had the power to see shape and color more vibrantly and with a fresh perspective (Figure 19).

In May of 1960 Kamekura stood before the over 300 attendees from 30 countries around the world at the World Design Conference (WeDeCo) in Tokyo and detailed his theory of design which placed Japan at the center of modern design by connecting its premodern history to the present day.<sup>250</sup> In his words, premodern Japanese social structure, religions, music, and dance all had in common the production of pure “*katachi*” (form) which he variously describes as “a rational space with no sentimental connotations,” and the “deliberate trimming of movement” or decoration.<sup>251</sup> Kamekura developed these ideas in the prior decade he spent designing for the Nikon Co. (then Nippon Kōgaku) and would apply them to his total design concept for the 1964 Olympics in the following years. His description of *katachi* as the Japanese inclination toward austerity and the privileging of natural materials and colors resonated with assertions made by eighteenth century nativist scholar Motoori Norinaga and the colorful turn of the nineteenth century aesthete Okakura Tenshin, who both sought to situate Japan’s role in East Asian visual and linguistic culture as uniquely building on an ancient past in ways that differentiated it from the rest of Asia.<sup>252</sup> That is to say, though presented at a conference whose goals were to

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<sup>250</sup> On the changing function of international design conferences in Japan, see Toshino Iguchi, “Reconsideration of the World Design Conference 1960 in Tokyo and the World Industrial Design Conference in 1973 in Kyoto,” *The Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of International Association of Societies of Design Research*, 2013, C-108 A-5, 1-10.

<sup>251</sup> Kamekura Yūsaku, “KATACHI,” World Design Conference Organization, ed. *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* World Design Conference 1960s in Tokyo (Proceedings from the World Design Conference), (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1961), 31.

<sup>252</sup> Emi Foulk, “The Jeweled Broom and the Dust of the World: Keichū, Motoori Norinaga, and Kokugaku in Early Modern Japan,” PhD. diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 2016; On Okakura Tenshin’s role in the establishment of modern art history in Japan see Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, trans. Nara Hiroshi (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011).

understand the modern social role of the designer, Kamekura called upon a language familiar to those who had for centuries sought to define “Japaneseness” as something particular to the archipelago where they lived, which came from its weather patterns, geography, food, and natural resources.<sup>253</sup> He went on to say, “One of the problems which have been imposed upon us Japanese designers is the problem of tradition. Tradition is a burden for the designers, but one which he cannot reject. We have the duty to take our tradition apart, and then put it together again in a new way.”<sup>254</sup>

Situated at the beginning of the period of high economic growth, Japanese designers and architects in attendance at the WeDeCo had begun the process of building on its reputation of what Herbert Bayer (1900-1985), former director of printing and advertising at the Bauhaus and art director at *Vogue Magazine* Berlin, called “a country where handicrafts, the precursors of design, have been and still are an integral part of a culture, perhaps to a higher degree than anywhere else.”<sup>255</sup> At the conference, the “impressive U.N. feeling” communicated by the large horse-shoe table that delegates sat around while listening to the simultaneous translation of presentations by leading figures in visual and industrial design was paired with the sleek graphic design plan for the conference materials itself (Figure 20-22).<sup>256</sup> According to American graphic

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<sup>253</sup> This rhetoric dovetailed with the postwar emergence of “Nihonjinron” (theories/discourses of the Japanese people) which advocates a cultural relativist view of Japanese nationality, ethnicity, and culture. See, Rotem Kowner and Harumi Befu, “Ethnic Nationalism in Postwar Japan: Nihonjinron and Its Racial Facets,” in *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015).

<sup>254</sup> Ibid., *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* World Design Conference 1960s in Tokyo: 33.

<sup>255</sup> Herbert Bayer, “Design reviewed,” World Design Conference Organization, ed. *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* World Design Conference 1960s in Tokyo (Proceedings from the World Design Conference), (Tokyo: Bijustu Shuppan-sha, 1961), 20. Bayer was also the designer of major MoMA exhibitions such as the 1942 wartime propaganda piece *Road to Victory* and the 1955 *The Family of Man*.

<sup>256</sup> Susan Karstrom Keig, “World Design Conference in Japan,” *Journal of Commercial Art* Vol. 2 No. 6 (June 1960), 34-36.

designer Susan Karstrom Krieg, “The city of Tokyo was keenly aware of the Conference...Opening ceremonies were both telecast and broadcast. Press coverage was heavy and continual...The Conference symbol was omnipresent...Cab drivers immediately recognized the delegate’s badge...Seventeen exhibitions related to the Conference were held in department stores.”<sup>257</sup>

The WeDeCo called upon graphic and industrial designers, architects, and art directors to engage with the idea of “Individuality,” “Regionality,” and “Universality” in design in relationship not only to the specific medium they worked in but also the relationship between that medium and their national identity. What emerged from their conversations was the proposition that visual communication was the common goal and language that each member of the international group strove to produce. Though many used the term “visual communication” in their presentations, it was Tomás Maldonado, design theorist from the German Ulm School of Design, who proposed that designers overcome “the gap between theory and practice of visual communication” by understanding the “science of communication.”<sup>258</sup> In his view, this called for a new understanding of the main function of designers not as artistic, but as “communicative.” Whereas Maldonado sought to contextualize visual communication as a problem shared equally across the globe, Kamekura instead turned away from these notions of design’s universalist and humanist potential to propose a theory of visual communication rooted in historical Japanese cultural and social practice. This essentialist view of design conveyed continuity with

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<sup>257</sup> Keig, *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>258</sup> Tomás Maldonado, “Visual Communication,” in *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* World Design Conference 1960s in Tokyo (Proceedings from the World Design Conference), World Design Conference Organization, ed. (Tokyo: Bijustu Shuppan-sha, 1961), 145-7.

Kamekura's wartime work and connected the work he continued to do for Nikon as well as the first Olympic Games held in Asia.

When in 1961 the Tokyo Olympics Organizing Committee held a competition for Japanese designers to create the official image for the Olympic Games, it was Kamekura's strikingly simple red circle representing the Japanese flag or *hinomaru* (circle of the sun) hovering over the five gold interlocking Olympic rings which won the contest (Figure 23).<sup>259</sup> With that, Kamekura's iconography seamlessly transitioned from work for Nikon depicting the eye of the viewer and camera lens as a bold circle to using this same shape as the national symbol for Japan. As the designer of the logo designating "good" Japanese design, of products bearing this label, and the designer of the visual culture of the largest nationalist sporting event on the globe, Kamekura fittingly announced, "Design is the new nationalism."<sup>260</sup> It was through Kamekura's designs that Japanese viewers were to be united in support of their representatives at the Olympic games or in support of their favorite products.

After all, it was in the name of modern design that various companies seized upon the crimson red circle of the *hinomaru* that Kamekura used in his official image for the games and incorporated it into the packaging design of products from cigarettes to beer and sports teams. At the very moment when the government was met with leftist opposition to strengthening recommendations for flying the Japanese flag and singing the national anthem at schools and

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<sup>259</sup> Kamekura's poster won the Tokyo Art Directors Club gold medal (1961), the Mainichi Industrial design prize (1963), and the International Poster Biennale, Warsaw artistic graphic edition medal (1966). For more on Kamekura's work for the Olympics total design concept see, Tokyo Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, eds. *Tōkyō orinpikku 1964 dezain purojekuto = Design project for the Tokyo 1964 Olympic Games* (Tokyo: Tokyo Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 2013).

<sup>260</sup> Kamekura's posters for the athletic competitions were the to incorporate photographs. Kamekura Yūsaku, "Atarashī aikoku" (New Nationalism), in *Dezain zuisō ririku* (Occasional Thoughts on Design Taking Off and Landing) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 2012), 51-2.



public events, it was the Olympics and commercial products that normalized the appearance of the Japanese flag in everyday life scenarios. Banned by the American Occupation until 1952 and only slowly making its public return, Kamekura mused that some were dissatisfied with what they called the distortion of the flag in his design. He had, however, received comments from many on the right that he was responsible for bringing a new nationalism into the country through the placement of the large red circle on a myriad of products, for which, he grumbled, he did not see a dime.

In the same decade that saw the rise of the New Left movement against continued American hegemony in Japan and southeast Asia, when Japanese painters turned to reportage painting to criticize harshly the social realities of the countryside and American policy and avant-garde artists pushed the boundaries of the art object itself, designers and corporations turned to the sleek new aesthetic of postwar modernism to communicate that commercial fantasies were as seductive as what the counterculture was offering.<sup>261</sup> We might think of the designs by Kamekura as the counter to the social realism of painters such as Nakamura Hiroshi who developed critical positions against the state through their documentary practice.<sup>262</sup> The design world's embrace of and elaboration upon nationalist tropes as exemplified by Kamekura's work for Nikon put forth the idea that it was cool to consume and cool to take photographs, in a way that brought nationalism back into the conversation.

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<sup>261</sup> On corporate culture's co-option of the counterculture in postwar United States, see Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

<sup>262</sup> On the visual politics of art and leftist social movements see Justin Jesty, *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2018); Namiko Kunimoto, *The Stakes of Exposure: Anxious Bodies in Postwar Japan* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

In addition to Kamekura's nationalist design efforts, the 1964 Tokyo Olympics was also a major turning point for professional female photographers in Japan. A large number of female photographers were required to enter the women's section of the Olympic Village, which was off-limits to male photographers, threatening the monopoly that male photographers had held over sports reporting. In response to their presence, the press described women carrying cameras as "masculine," the image of their determination not to lose out to the male photographers used as proof of their gender failure (Figure 24).<sup>263</sup> Learning from feminist theory on women who have worked to make a place for themselves in male-dominated spheres, we should not frame these women as exceptions to the rule or as anomalies, but rather analyze their work for the role it played in challenging the process of male professionalization. Particularly in postwar Japan where meaning of making a living through photography had to be strongly reworked after the photographers who had made propaganda for the Japanese Empire continued working once the war ended, the emergence of women in the profession changed the stakes of the field. As the profession of photography expanded in the postwar with new jobs at newspapers and magazines and the rise of professional organizations and agencies, male photographers dealt with the increasing presence of female competitors by strictly defining the qualities that made a photographer along gendered lines, a strategy art historian Patricia Vettel-Becker would attribute to "status anxiety."<sup>264</sup> It was precisely because of their appearance on the sporting field or in running their own photography studio that the press painted pictures of them as over-eager and unskilled.

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<sup>263</sup> "Orinpikku tokushū," (Olympics Special Feature) *Shūkan Sankei* (October 1964).

<sup>264</sup> Patricia Vettel-Becker, *Shooting from the Hip: Photography, Masculinity, and Postwar America*. (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 6.

## Conclusion

As the predecessor to other successful Japanese products which began to flood the domestic and international market in the 1960s such as televisions, cars, motorcycles, and radios the camera was one of the first products to benefit from the Occupation's favorable policies in supporting industries retooled from the wartime. The idea of Japanese design supremacy paired with American photojournalists' testimony on behalf of the workings of the camera as described in the prior chapter quickly transformed the camera into a coveted object. In what historian Simon Partner calls the "Myth of the Electronics Samurai," Japanese businessmen have narrated the rise of Japanese consumer technologies as beginning with the end of the war when the Japanese were ten years behind the world's leaders in technology. From this low point, as the story goes, they were able to utilize their unique sense of technical knowledge combined with hard work to catch up with these countries within nearly two decades. This myth ignores the influence of the wartime as a period of great trial and error and what Partner believes were the postwar period's three "keys to prosperity": the mass media, technology, and cheap female labor.<sup>265</sup> In the design world this myth was co-opted with a slight alteration: new award systems such as the G-mark gave companies the opportunity to present their design successes as a recent innovation upon a long-standing tradition of Japanese design superiority. Thus in the postwar period the camera was made to fill the role of the modern object built on ancient foundations, leading conversations that modern design was both universal and particular to a place. It was a contradiction in the sense that it contributed toward the formation of "Japaneseness" while it was also shaped into a technology whose international users would eventually forget that it was Japanese at all. If the camera lost its national nuance to some extent, however, was it ever able

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<sup>265</sup> Simon Partner, *Ibid.*, *Assembled in Japan*, 110.

to shed its gendering as tool best suited to men? Or as one camera company designer told me, was it destined to always have models that were specifically designed for a woman's hand? As we shall see in the next chapter, one of the Japanese postwar photography culture's legacies was the great effort to render camera culture male and depict women as intruders in its sphere of influence.

#### **Chapter 4** **The Cameraman in a Skirt:** **The Nude Shooting Session and the Rise of Female Photographers in Postwar Japan**

In 1957 the photographer Tokiwa Toyoko's volume of photographic and written essays *Kikenna adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers), instantly became a best seller. On its cover, Tokiwa holds the most recent Canon rangefinder to her eye while the image of her subjects, a prostitute and her client in the dirt streets of the red light district around the American military base is collaged into the lens to appear as if we can see them exactly as they are photographed (Figure 1). The relationship between Tokiwa's eye, the camera's viewfinder, and the lens communicate to the viewer that this woman is unflinchingly capturing the scene before her. The accompanying cover text reads, "Though just a young woman, standing alone, she holds the camera like a weapon and resolutely documents and makes notes on women of the street." Born in 1930, Tokiwa was a teenager at the height of World War Two and the experience of

witnessing her father burn to death in the American fire-bombing of Tokyo and its surrounding cities haunted her. Upon the American occupation of Japan following its defeat, she wrote that she felt the “deep pain of being together in the same place as *them*.”<sup>266</sup> Tokiwa was twenty-one when she first began to take photographs and just five years later she became the first female Japanese photographer to publish an account of her initiation into the world of professional photography and her relationship with the people that she photographed. Within its pages, Tokiwa characterized her growth as a young photographer as parallel to that of the development of the Japanese photography industry, recounting that: “Along with the progression of camera technology, I became a cameraman.”<sup>267</sup> Within this sentence and the cover image are multiple meanings: they are the declaration of a woman’s mastery over the technology of photography and a pointed underscoring of the gendered term for a photographer.

For the first fifteen years following the end of World War Two, the female photographer illuminated the imagination of the mass press. The female photographer was called by many names in this period – the *joryū sakka* (female artist), *joryū kameraman* (or *jokameraman* for short, female cameraman), *kamera ūman* (camera woman) – all terms that point to her sex as defining her occupation and highlight how the language around certain professions disqualifies women from recognition on equal footing. Not only was she written about, but she was imaged widely in the press during this period in women’s and photography magazines and as both a “woman of the new workplace,” a daring photojournalist, and an incompetent amateur (Figure 2). In her representations we can see the merging of the image of both the New Woman and the

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<sup>266</sup> Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobo, 1957), 131.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna adabana*: 146.

Modern Girl.<sup>268</sup> Since the turn of the century, around the world the New Woman was evoked as a symbol of national quests for modernity whereas the Modern Girl trope was used to represent public fears around the dangers of modernity. Much like the “modern girl” (or “*moga*”) seen on the streets of fashionable Ginza in the 1920s and 1930s as described by historian Miriam Silverberg, the female photographer was “a highly commoditized cultural construct crafted by journalists who debated her identity during the tumultuous decade of cultural and social change” following the end of the American occupation and leading into the beginning of the period of high economic growth.<sup>269</sup> The physical terms by which Japanese audiences would come to connect the body of the emperor with loss and that of MacArthur with power which I addressed in Chapter Two help us understand how the sexualized Japanese female body came to represent the instability of a new postwar order. As I will show, the New Women of postwar Japan performed the dual role of being both a reminder of male defeat and humiliation at the hands of American occupation and a challenge to it.

Tokiwa became a figurehead for these new women photographers of the postwar and was the subject of countless articles and participated in many roundtables published in photography and women’s magazines.<sup>270</sup> She was the only female participant in the seminal 1957 *Jūnin no me*

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<sup>268</sup> For a discussion of the global representations of the modern girl, see The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group eds., *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

<sup>269</sup> Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*. (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2006), 51.

<sup>270</sup> Depictions of Tokiwa range from the woman “who surprised her friends” by becoming a photographer in “Joryū shashinka Tokiwa Toyoko san hōmonki,” (Record of a visit to visit female photographer Tokiwa Toyoko) *Josei Kyōyō* (June 1960), 16-20; to the woman who takes advantage of her sex to take photographs of scenes that if “you weren’t a woman you wouldn’t be able to take pictures of” in “Kiotta taido ni gimon: Akasen chitai wo hishatai ni Tokiwa Toyoko sha ‘Kikenna adabana’” (Calling into question enthusiastic attitudes: Tokiwa Toyoko’s *Dangerous Poison Flowers* takes the areas around the red light district as its subject) *Asahi Shimbun* (November 8, 1957), 6.

(*Eyes of Ten*) exhibition which launched the careers of many male photographers such as Eikoh Hosoe, Kikuji Kawada, and Tōmatsu Shōmei who are now considered to be the foundational figures of postwar Japanese photography. Despite her postwar visibility, however, scholars and critics who have written about the history of Japanese photography and technology have largely ignored the contributions of the female photographers like her who worked prior to 1970.<sup>271</sup>

In this chapter I focus on representations of Tokiwa and her work to understand two major trends in photographic culture in the first fifteen years after the war. First, from the late 1940s to the late 1950s the widespread (though currently ignored) media attention around the so-called birth of the female photographer called into question her ability to work alongside men at the same time that it naturalized the idea that women were suited to photographing certain types of content. I re-read these representations within their historical context of anxiety over the new roles for professional women. Second, the mass press framed the popular pastime of photographing naked women in public and private spaces, known as the nude shooting session (*nūdo satsueikai*), as one of the best ways to cut one's teeth in photography for amateurs and professionals alike. The nude shooting session thereby instructed photographers that it was through women's bodies, not their minds (composing a photograph) that photographs were produced by the assumed male photographer. I argue that the depiction of women's bodies as the subject of photographs served to counteract the threat that women in photography posed to the

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<sup>271</sup> *Jūnin no me* was organized by the photography critic Fukushima Tatsuo and held at the Konishiroku Photo Gallery in Tokyo. The participants were Ishimoto Yasuhiro, Narahara Ikkō, Tokiwa Toyoko, Nakamura Masaya, and Kawara Shun. The exhibition continued once a year until 1959 when that year's participants Narahara Ikkō, Tōmatsu Shōmei, Hosoe Eikoh, Kawada Kikuji, Sato Akira, and Tanno Akira formed the group Vivo. For discussion on the Eyes of Ten Exhibition, see Iizawa Kōtarō, "The Evolution of Postwar Photography" in *The History of Japanese Photography*, ed. Anne Wilkes Tucker (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts Houston, 2003): 210-225; Fukushima Tatsuo, *Fukushima Tatsuo shashin hyōronshū* <dai 2 maki> "*Jūnin no me*" *VIVO no jidai* (The collected works of Fukushima Tatsuo's photography criticism <Vol. 2> "The Eyes of Ten" The era of VIVO) (Tokyo: Madosha, 2011).

long-held dominance of male amateurs and professionals. Bringing to light the women who photographed and evaluating their distinct contributions in relation to constructions of otherness, this chapter looks beyond the canon to consider how materials from this alternative archive, in Linda Nochlin's words, "lay bare" the "unacknowledged value system" that constructed a narrative about why women were in front of or behind the lens of a camera.<sup>272</sup>

### **The Birth of the Female Photographer**

In December 1951 the weekly paper *Shūkan Asahi* reported on the Japan Professional Photographer's Society, which since its establishment the year prior had grown to over one hundred members. The short article, "Today's Dynamic Bunch," detailed the groups' goal to give representation to the burgeoning profession of photography in addition to providing social connections for its members (Figure 3). Though claiming to create an au courant collegial space for up and coming photographers, the photograph of the more well-known members of the group shot at a studio in Nihonbashi and printed across two pages of the paper revealed that many—including Kimura Ihei (1901—74), Hayashi Tadahiko (1918—1990), Matsushima Susumu (1913—2009), and Sugiyama Kira (1910—1988)—were of an older generation who had establishing themselves by making a living and name for themselves through their wartime photographic work. In the boisterous group photo each photographer is energetically posed with a different camera model and one woman is posed in the center: Sasamoto Tsuneko (1918—).<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Linda Nochlin, "Why Are There No Great Women Artists?" *ARTnews* (January 1971). Printed in *Women Artists: The Linda Nochlin Reader*, ed. Maura Reilly (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2015), 42-68.

<sup>273</sup> This photograph bears resemblance to the group portrait taken of the eighteen American abstract artists known as "The Irascibles", which was printed in *Life* magazine on November 24, 1950. In it, Hedda Stern is similarly depicted as the only female at the center back of the group of artists including Mark Rothko, Ad Reinhardt, William de Kooning, and Jackson Pollock, among others. For elaboration on Sasamoto's life story see Sasamoto Tsuneko, *Tsuneko no shōwa: nihonhatsu no josei hōdō shashinka ga satsueshita*



The association's first female member, she proudly beams as she holds up a Graflex press camera. Like Kimura, who looms over her on a stool, Sasamoto got her start during the war contributing in the late 1930s and early 1940s to *Shashin Shūhō* (*Photographic Weekly*), a photographic magazine published by the wartime Cabinet of Information which oversaw the production of propaganda. After the end of the war, she gained recognition photographing General MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and his wife and worked as a photographer for the *Fujin Minshu Shimbun* (Women's Democratic Newspaper).<sup>274</sup>

This photograph is perhaps the first in the postwar period to depict a professional Japanese female photographer. It was also the first of many that could be read to show how the image of the Japanese woman photographer was the storehouse for the desires of many as Japan hobbled to recuperate after the war. Consequently, the female photographer emerges, similar to the “modern Japanese housewife” in historian Jan Bardsley's words, “as a metaphor for debating the moral climate of postwar Japan.”<sup>275</sup> Though the female photographer of the early postwar years makes only a brief appearance in current histories of photography, at the time she was one of the favored subjects of the photographic press over whom to deliberate and speculate. She occupied the public imagination in depictions of her as either mannish and awkward or feminine

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*hito to deki goto* (Tsuneko's showa: The people and event photographed by Japan's first female photojournalist) (Tokyo: Shogakukan: 2012); Sasamoto Tsuneko, *Raika de shotto! Wo jōsan kameraman no shōwa fusen-ki* (Shot with a Leica! A young lady cameraman's showa battle record) (Tokyo: Seiryu Publishing, 2002).

<sup>274</sup> Gaetano Faillace (1904-1001) was General MacArthur's official photographer during World War II and the American Occupation of Japan. He took the infamous photograph of MacArthur and Emperor Hirohito on September 27, 1945.

<sup>275</sup> Jan Bardsley, “Discourse on Women in Postwar Japan: The Housewife Debate of 1955,” *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal English Supplement*, No. 16 (1999), 36. On viewing the changing roles of women in post-war Japan through the lens of cinema, see Jennifer Coates, *Making Icons: Repetition and the Female Image in Japanese Cinema, 1945-1964* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016)

and guileless, approaching photography as one of the newest pastimes that might introduce her to a husband. She was portrayed in the mass press at times as incompetent at using photographic technology and at others perfectly suited to photography for her ability to slip into contexts where she could not go. The range of identities attributed to the female photographer shows that in the moment of her flourishing, she was not easily defined: she was unanimously interesting, but no one could agree if her arrival was the canary in the coal mine or dove bearing an olive branch.

Who was the female photographer?<sup>276</sup> Indeed the image that the mass press constructed of the professional woman with camera in hand resonated with that of her “modern girl” counterpart of thirty years prior as both “predominant cultural heroine” and scorned indicator of society gone off the rails. The female photographer was first identified in the 1920s as an upper-class equivalent to the “modern girl” in newspaper articles that drew attention to the society women who began to meet in public spaces to take pictures. In August 1926, the press made much of women such as actresses Fujima Fusako (1882—1954) and Mori Ritsuko (1890-1961) who, elegantly clad in kimono with cameras in hand, participated in events such as the Zen kantō shashin renmei (The All Kantō Photography Association) shooting session in Hibiya Garden, Tokyo (Figure 4).<sup>277</sup>

Despite their high social standing, the women who photographed together in public were often reported on as if they had subversive intent similar to the “modern girl.” In the 1930s, reporting on the founding of the first female photography club in Tokyo stated that despite the

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<sup>276</sup> Ibid., Silverberg, 53. As Miriam Silverberg asked of the “modern girl,” I too want to know of the female photographer:

<sup>277</sup> “Zen kantō shashin renmei dai ikkai taikai jikkyō (Coverage of the first meeting of the All Kantō Photography Association) *Asahi Camera* (August 1926), 218.

current craze for photography, “the only people pointing their cameras at women are men” which was a “humiliation for the Japanese women in science.”<sup>278</sup> The female organizers of the photography club felt it was particularly important that they be able to supply photographs to represent themselves: there was no meaning in having a male member of the photo corps document their activities at the very moment when they were trying to show themselves capable of wielding a camera. The subtext of the article asserted that women might not only represent themselves, they might even come to dominate the profession. As the article exclaimed, “Men in Ginza will be destroyed by the female photographer.”

While this prediction may have rung like a battle cry to some, for others, the ambiguity between interest in the new development of women participating in photography and the fear that they formed a real threat to the male-dominated sphere commanded the tone of mass media coverage of female photographers for the next thirty to forty years. Female photographers were only embraced by the media during World War Two as temporary replacements for their husbands away at war. The family photographs they took were to be sent to male family members on the battlefield but references to their lack of skill in handling photographic equipment in their husband’s absence implied that as soon as they returned they would take over again. Particularly in the postwar period, these tensions drove the sales of magazines as male critics and photographers sought to understand, and often add to, the descriptive outline of who the female photographer was. Like the modern girl of the prewar era, the female photographer of the postwar period was a sensational figure used to boost sales of magazines and newspapers. As literature scholar Seiko Yoshinaga shows, writers such as Takeda Taijun, Oe Kenzaburo, and

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<sup>278</sup> “Onna kamera • gyangu eiga sutā ya fujin kishatachi ga otoko ni chōsen nanori agu” (Lady camera gang: Film stars and lady reporters call out a challenge to men) *Asahi Shimbun* (October 23, 1936), 3.

others constructed a “literary and national subjectivity through symbolic identification with ‘Woman,’ whether as victim or as source of sexual vitality” in the immediate postwar.<sup>279</sup> Yet this exploitation of symbolic woman meant that in the literary world as in photography circles, male critics represented women in their debates rather than let them represent themselves.

These tensions are clearly illustrated in the pictorial paper *Asahi Graph*’s “The Female Photographer Notification Board,” published in August of 1952, introducing women who were making a living through their camerawork to its audiences (Figure 5-6):<sup>280</sup>

Aside from women who helped their husbands in the studio, before the war there were no women photographers. There was the Ladies Camera Club (LCC) that counted Muraoka Hanako and Kuroda Hatsuko among its important names and was quite spectacular, though it was in a word, a hobby group for women of leisure. During the war women sporadically made an appearance but have disappeared. In the postwar, around 1947, the *San Nyūsu* (Sun News) company realized this and began training. From women who have just left high school through those aged twenty-five they came bearing stepladders to take pictures for the country, creating the enthusiasm of hundreds. Though there are no more than fifty of them they have been marrying men in the same profession one after the other and four of them are living peaceful lives as housewives. Even hearing this the company wonders “Is this work really suited to women...?” Though this isn’t talked about a lot, one might guess that they were nothing more than pets. There is yet to be someone like Bourke-White. All photographs, compositions, and trimming have been entrusted to each photographer.

The introduction to the seven photographic portraits of the featured photographers painted a picture of women only engaged with photography in relationship to men: before the war their main connection to it was as assistants to their husbands in the studio, and after the war photography is represented as another profession that women are interested in as a means to meet men and marry. And yet, by allowing the photographers to represent themselves through their own self-selected photographs and descriptions of their lives, the featured women contradicted

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<sup>279</sup> Seiko Yoshinaga, “Masculinist Identification with ‘Woman’: Gender Politics in Postwar Japanese Literary Debaters,” *U.S.-Japan Women’s Journal. English Supplement* No. 22 (2002), 56.

<sup>280</sup> “Joryū shashinka kokuchi-ban” (“The Female Photographer Notification Board) *Asahi Guraphu* (August 1952), 24-25.

this description. There is Yamazawa Eiko (at that time 52 years-old), who traveled to California in 1926 to study with American photographer Conseulo Kanaga and upon her return in 1929 set up her own studio which she staffed only with women. In the postwar, she ran the Yamazawa Photographic Research Society in Osaka where she trained female photographers.<sup>281</sup> Watanabe Fujie (at that time 33 years-old), got her start working during the war for the Photo Correspondence Agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There she circulated articles and photographs to diplomatic representatives from different countries, which were often reproduced in magazines such as *Time*. She also worked for the *Mainichi Newspaper* until the end of the war when she began freelancing. At the time of publication she was shooting weddings and parties with a staff of four male assistants. There was also Sasamoto Tsuneko (at the time also 33 years-old) who, as discussed in Chapter One was active making propaganda photographs during the war beginning in April 1940 when joined the Photography Society, an external organization of the Intelligence Bureau and photographed Prime Minister Hiranuma Kiichirō and his cabinet.

Read between the lines, the profiles of each photographer includes each woman's story of sex-based discrimination: Takabashi Chiyo, who dressed in a gender ambiguous style, joked that she was surprised when she was ejected from a men's only sumo ring where she was photographing the sumo champion because usually people didn't immediately identify her as female; Torii Kyoko recounted how after being accepted to a shooting session she was told that it was fine if she participated as long she was the only woman to do so; Sasamoto described how because there were so few female photographers it was necessary to form something like a small

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<sup>281</sup> For further information on the life of Yamazawa Eiko, see the beautifully produced catalogue to the 2019 joint exhibition held by the Otani Memorial Art Museum and the Tokyo Photographic Art Museum, Tsukasa Ikegami and Suzuki Yoshiki, eds., *Watashi no gendai: Yamazawa Eiko / What I am Doing: Eiko Yamazawa* (My Modern Age: Eiko Yamazawa) (Kyoto: Akaaka, 2019); also, Yamazawa Eiko, *Watashi wa joryū shashinka: Yamazawa eiko no geijutsu to jiritsu* (I am a female photographer: The art and independence of Yamazawa Eiko) (Osaka: Brain Center, Inc.: 1983).

village together for support which had the reverse effect of inclining her to be critical of the female members who did not take the profession seriously and treated it like a wealthy woman's hobby.

The photographic portraits that each woman chose for herself, too, are telling for the way they depict many of the women as serious about their work and in command of the camera. Some of the photographs depict the photographer at work—Watanabe Fujie is shown high on a ladder leaning against a ginko tree, camera raised to her eye—while others have chosen to include only references to the way they make a living through photography in the photograph itself. Yamazawa Eiko might be in her studio as she leans against a large format camera on a tripod, studio lighting framing her face, and Saito Atsuko sits against a studio wall as the shadow of her large camera on tripod looms over her on the wall behind.

A series of round tables hosted by photography magazines a few years later characterizes the cross purposes of the female photographer who sought to represent herself in the press and the members of the press who attempted to represent her. Read collectively as a history of the discourses around working women and the female artist they reveal much about the assumptions about women's relationships to working in the field of photography and the camera as a gendered technology. In September of 1956 the magazine *Foto Āto* (Photo Art) published a roundtable featuring the three emerging female photographers Tokiwa Toyoko (1930—), Akahori Masuku (1932—?), and Migishi Yoshiko (1934—?) interviewed by the much older and established male photographers and critics Watanabe Tsutomu (1908—1978) and Itō Ippei (1912—1992) (Figure 7).<sup>282</sup> In their conversation, they follow a pattern of asking questions about

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<sup>282</sup> “Natsu no yoi • Joryū shashinka • endai no banashi” (A summer's eve • female Photographer • bench talk) *Foto āto* (September 1956), 132-136.

women in photography that likely were familiar to many in professional fields that women had recently joined: Could women be considered professionals, or were they merely enthusiastic amateurs? (Only one out of the three women on the panel lived by herself and made enough money to support herself, so no, the majority could not be considered professionals) Was it difficult, or even possible to continue with the work once they were married? (The assumption was that it was unusual that women continued after marriage) Was there something inherently different about a woman's gaze? (Yes) In each of these questions there is a deep investment in reinforcing notions of femininity as a means to maintain masculine conceptions of work and who a professional photographer could be. "Femininity is invoked as the deficient," as art historian Griselda Pollock argues, which is what "then allows art to be understood as inherently what men make, without having to spell out that blatantly false narcissism."<sup>283</sup>

The two interviewers are quite interested in the dynamics of the Shirayuri (White Lily) Camera club, headed by Sasamoto Tsuneko and was the first major female photography group of the postwar which was often depicted as a place for women to learn to take better pictures of their children (Figure 8).<sup>284</sup> The conversation is marked by their assumption that it was a leisure club with few "serious" participants and that women's inability to work or continue with a pastime after starting a family severely limits a woman's ability to carry on with photography:

Watanabe: How many members are there?

Tokiwa: About 200. But there are about 25 people who come regularly.

Watanabe: What kind of people are they?

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<sup>283</sup> Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003), xx.

<sup>284</sup> As in the following article cites the Shirayuri Camera Club as established in 1952. The article states that "Even though for a long time women have been disgracefully labeled as not having heads for science, the club began when about fifty women got together and said that they wanted to be able to at least take a photograph of their children if their husbands weren't around." In, "Aiji no shashin wa haha no te de tōkyō · shirayuri kamera · kurabu" (Photographs of the beloved child are in the hands of the mother: Tokyo's Shirayuri camera club) *Shufu to seikatsu* 8 (7) (June 1953), 256.

Tokiwa: There are those who photograph society and also many housewives.  
 Watanabe: Though it seems that a high proportion must be actively enjoying photography, do they do their own negatives, or are they only taking the pictures?  
 Tokiwa: There are a lot of people who only take pictures. Because we have a mix of those who thoroughly are producing photographs and those who come for light enjoyment, it is often difficult for the guest instructors to know how to make suggestions and the conversation can become a little difficult.  
 Itō: You have a mix of people who want to be pros and those who are just enthusiasts.  
 Tokiwa: I have only met about 35 of the 200 people so I am not sure, but I think there are only about four or five truly ambitious people.  
 Itō: Even if you did photography during school years, I think there are many cases of how once you get married household chores often keep you from having time to press the shutter, however you are all married and continued to bravely produce fantastic photographs. However, realistically, if you have children won't time management become more difficult? What I want to ask in relation to our conversation is whether or not people in the Shirayuri club have children.  
 Tokiwa: There are many people blessed with very full lives.  
 Akahori: There are a lot of family photos and photos of children.

Itō, focusing on housework and childcare as the key barrier that women faced in entering the professional workplace, identified a major challenge that would have resonated across many professional spheres in 1956. What is more, that their femininity was consistently “proposed as unquestionably a disability in making art” came up in Watanabe and Itō’s reading of the work of female photographers in general, which they did without asking for the input of the female photographers present:<sup>285</sup>

Itō: As Watanabe just said, the environment that women see inside the house is very different from what men see. If we look at an example with manga, Hasegawa Machiko’s *Sazae-san* is very different from the manga that men draw. She picks up on points that we miss and finds humor from within everyday life. In that way photographs can be quite similar.  
 Watanabe: Even if you look at foreign women photographers’ work, you can see that they really have good patience. There are a lot of women can choose one motif and really go deep with it....  
 Itō: Because women have more negative feelings than man, their thinking is simpler. This could be a connection to hormones (laughter). Depending on their personality they might be more masculine or feminine. Bourke-White is almost all masculine... In this way, women’s personalities are reflected on their surface and therefore it is good to think of their photographs doing the same.

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 77.



Watanabe: In that line of thought, from Tokiwa's photographs we might never know she is a woman. When you look at her she seems like a very beautiful young woman, but her photographs are so strong as to make you wonder what man took them. Because she has a good heart, even when men hesitate, she goes right up to the front to take pictures.<sup>286</sup>

Though women such as Tokiwa acknowledged the antagonistic attitudes toward their presence and sought a range of means to define themselves and their work, in constantly being typecast as the subject of discussions such as these they were forced to come up with strategies for self-representation that almost always foregrounded their gender identity. Never just photographers, the *women* photographers found themselves in the trap of publicly refuting or embracing this descriptive title. Male critics thought they were giving them a way out by saying that the successful photographers “don't even make you feel they are women” through their work.<sup>287</sup> In one roundtable titled, “Though They May Call me manly...” Tokiwa Toyoko was selected as an example of the empowered woman who wasn't afraid of photographic machinery, alongside a radio producer, journalist, recording producer, and car saleswoman (Figure 9).<sup>288</sup> Described as “fitting into” work meant for men, the moderators of the roundtable barely stifled his bemusement at these women's ability to learn to use the tools of their trade. In January of 1957, studio photographer Ogawa Chieko fought back against the idea that the standard for a photographer was masculinity, arguing for her right to be “feminine” despite her work within a

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<sup>286</sup> Hasegawa Machiko's (1920-1992) comic *Sazae-san* ran from 1946 to 1949 in the *Fukunichi Newspaper* and from 1949 to 1979 in the *Asahi Newspaper* and was adapted as a radio program, animated television series, and movie. For a discussion of the depiction of women's bodies in this and other manga, see the epilogue of Namiko Kunimoto, *The Stakes of Exposure: Anxious Bodies in Postwar Japan* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

<sup>287</sup> “Joryū shashinka no totta shashin: sennsēshonarizumu de shōbusuru onna no me” (Photographs by female photographers: The female eye competing through sensationalism) *Shūkan Shinchō* 8(14) (372) (April 1963), 94-97.

<sup>288</sup> “Atarashii shokuba wo kaitaku suru joryū champion ōi ni kataru: otokomasari to iwareru keredo” (Though they may call me manly...Speaking at length with the female champions exploring new work spaces) *Fujin Kurabu* (Women's Club) (August 1958), 288-293.

predominantly male workforce:

I have not become a camera man but would like to be called a camera woman. I do not behave like a man, and it is lamentable that I have neither sex appeal nor gentleness. Whether photographing frightful old men or fidgety young children, even if I raise my voice I do so gently. Women capture with a woman's eye, and I think women should continue to use their characteristics.<sup>289</sup>

She continued with a word of hope for other female photographers, "In order to break the past concept, 'Not possible if female' (or, I can't if I am a woman), have many experiences and get to know them as your own. Sincerity in relation to your work and effort are incredibly important." Here Ogawa negotiates the contradictions of her entry into this workforce, pressuring her male colleagues and the mass press to go beyond the limits of what was thinkable for professional women and urging them to consider her on her own terms: a gentle woman, powerfully wielding the camera to make a living.

In reading the reflections of female photographers active in the postwar period, it is possible to see the ways in which they were aware of the historical construction of their gender in relation to their work. For instance, Sasamoto Tsuneko wrote critically of her experiences:

After all, did the word equal rights actually take root in the postwar? Though it was said that there was no discrimination between sexes over work, what people often said when they saw my work was: 'No matter who you photographed, their faces are soft and gentle. That is because you are a woman.' That really shows the truth of the situation.<sup>290</sup>

For Sasamoto, it was impossible to separate her gender from her work due to the conditions in which photography continued to be cast as a male profession and she leaned on this to stage her resurgence in media presence beginning in the 1990s through her retrospective

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<sup>289</sup> Ogawa Chieko, "Josei kameraman are kore" (This and that of the female cameraman) *Foto tekune* (Photo Technique) (January 1957), 3-5.

<sup>290</sup> Sasamoto Tsuneko, "Hōdō shashinka toshite, onna toshite" (As a documentary photographer, as a woman) *Shinchō* 45, (February 1988), 229.

promotion as Japan's first (and eventually *oldest*) female photojournalist.<sup>291</sup> This points to the complex significance of what it meant to be a so-called New Woman at this point in history.

An example of the many nuances to the label is that at the same time the term “New Woman” was used to portray the new legal rights granted to Japanese women under the American-written constitution, the term was also used to describe the work of prostitution. This suggests that *any* woman doing work outside of the home with her body could fall into the category of “New Woman.” For instance, in the early months of defeat in the fall of 1945 the Japanese government scrambled to establish state-run prostitution to service the Allied forces, which in their logic would protect the Japanese race from miscegenation. To recruit ordinary Japanese women to work in the facilities they posted a sign in the Ginza neighborhood of Tokyo that read, “To *New* Japanese women: As a part of national facilities to deal with the postwar, we are seeking active cooperation of new Japanese women to participate in the great task of comforting the occupation force.”<sup>292</sup> Many of the women who responded to the ad were so poor they showed up for the interview barefooted and left when they found out what the work was actually going to be, illustrating the dire economic circumstances of the time. Managing the trans-Pacific politics of sex was integral to the emergence of a Cold War regime. This new world order hinged upon notions of the moral authority of the democratic norms of a free nation in

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<sup>291</sup> See articles such as “Josei no hōdō shashinka dai ichigō no tanjō hiwa” (The untold story of Japan's first female photojournalist) *Shinchō* 12 (December 1996), 266-273; “Sasamoto Tsuneko nihonhatsu no josei hōdō shashinka” (Sasamoto Tsuneko The First Female Photojournalist in Japan) *Chunichi Shimbun* (June 9, 2017). In the last few years she has become almost as famous for her age as her gender, for a selection of publications and media celebrating her long life, see: *Kōkishin gāru ima 97 sai geneki shashinka ga kataru shiawase na nagaiki no hinto* (The curious girl active now at 97 tells hints for a long happy life) (Tokyo, Shogakukan, 2011); and the film *Warau 101 sai x 2: Sasamoto Tsuneko Muno Takeji* (Laughing at 101 x 2: Sasamoto Tsuneko and Muno Takeji), directed by Atsunori Kawamura (November 1, 2016, Tokyo).

<sup>292</sup> John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 126-127.

order to justify its elimination of communism. Thus, the optics of supporting state-licensed prostitution were not in line with these purported goals and the occupation abolished it in favor of private prostitution which quickly grew to “between fifty and seventy thousand sex workers,” often called pan-pan girls “catering to predominantly American servicemen during the occupation period.”<sup>293</sup>

As diplomatic historian Sarah Kovner argues in her study on sex work in postwar Japan, the visibility of prostitution and its appearance as a widespread phenomenon implied to many that regardless of class anyone’s female family member might find their way into the sex industry.<sup>294</sup> Here, the image of the female photographer as new woman and entrepreneurial street walker as new woman intersect to show us a historical context wherein it was difficult for a woman working in the public sphere to escape reference to the use of her body for work.<sup>295</sup> While literature scholar Annmaria Shimabuku contests that the “question of postwar sexual labor in service of the U.S. military was a question of the emergence of a postwar biopolitical Japanese state,” I would argue that the logics defining appropriate uses of the female body did not stop at sexual labor but included a resistance to women joining what had been predominantly male workforces.<sup>296</sup> Thus, the image of the female photographer as New Woman and entrepreneurial

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<sup>293</sup> Robert Kramm, *Sanitized Sex: Regulating Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Intimacy in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 2.

<sup>294</sup> Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan*. Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

<sup>295</sup> On the return of the public figure of the self-reliant, modern girl in the postwar period, see Jennifer Coates, “Women in the Public Sphere,” in *Making Icons: Repetition and the Female Image in Japanese Cinema, 1945-1964* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016), 134-159.

<sup>296</sup> Annmaria Shimabuku, *Alegal: Biopolitics and the Unintelligibility of Okinawan Life* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019), 16.

street walker as New Woman intersect to show us a historical context where it was difficult for a woman working in the public sphere to escape reference to the use of her body.

These discourses on women as photographers in postwar Japan have enjoyed a durable and strong hold on the way the history of Japanese photography has been written until very recently. The prolific photography critic and historian Iizawa Kōtarō, whose writings on the last fifty years of the history of Japanese photography are widely published in Japanese and English, has been one of the most enthusiastic apologists for the absence of women from the canon.<sup>297</sup> In his 2010 book, *『Onna no ko Shashin』 no jidai (The Era of “Girls” Photographs)*, Iizawa condescendingly justifies the term “girls’ photographs” which he coined and applied to photographs taken by young women who began to work in the 1990s. Writing his own history of photography that includes only a handful of women from the nineteenth century to the 1980s, Iizawa explained what he perceived to be as lack of female participation in photography in Japan as due to the intellectual and physical barriers that photography posed through its complex machinery and heavy weight of the equipment in addition to social restrictions on women’s work outside the home.<sup>298</sup> He noted, “Because women did not receive the training to use the machine

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<sup>297</sup> A brief selection of Iizawa’s contributions available in English are: “Innovation in the 1930s: The Early Works of Hiroshi Hamaya and Kansuke Yamamoto,” in *Japan’s Modern Divide: The Photographs of Hiroshi Hamaya and Kansuke Yamamoto*, ed. Judith Keller and Amanda Maddox (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013), 12-16; “The Evolution of Postwar Photography” in *The History of Japanese Photography*, ed. Anne Wilkes Tucker (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts Houston, 2003), 208-225. In Japanese: *Gendai nihon shashinn ākaibu: shinsai igo no shashinn hyōgen 2011-2013* (The Modern Japanese Photo Archive: Photographic Expression After the Earthquake 2011-2013) (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2015); *Fukayomi! Nihon shashin no chōmeisaku 100* (Reading Deeply! 100 Masterpieces of Japanese Photography) (Tokyo, PIE International, 2012); Iizawa Kōtarō and Kaneko Ryūichi, *Kimura Ihei: Japan Through A Leica* (Tokyo: Kokushokankōkai, 2006); *Arakibon!: 1970-2005* (A Book of Araki Books!) ed. Iizawa Kōtarō (Tokyo: Bijustu shuppansha, 2006).

<sup>298</sup> Though Iizawa had begun to use the term “onna no ko shashin” (girl’s photographs) in the 1990s this book marks his first published theorization of the logic behind it. *『Onna no ko Shashin』 no jidai* (The Era of “Girls’ Photographs”) (Tokyo: NTT Publishing, 2010).

of the camera, it was not a logical or *physical* option for them to think ‘I will try out photography.’”<sup>299</sup>

Iizawa is not the first to mobilize an argument about women’s capacity (or lack thereof) to use photographic technology based upon gendered notions of physical and intellectual ability. His very limited genealogy of female photographers mirrors that produced by many historians and institutions. For instance, the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography’s *The Encyclopedia of Japanese Photographers* lists only about ten women out of 328 entries, most of whom began working after the introduction of digital technology.<sup>300</sup> Echoing historians of technology and gender Nina Lerman, Arwen Mohun, and Ruth Oldenziel, this chapter builds on my discussion in Chapter Three of the ways in which the assumptions that women were not adept at using optical technologies were built into the design of the camera itself to analyze male-dominated photographic culture from multiple approaches to show how “despite social barriers and stereotypical assumptions women have been absent only from the history of technology [and photography] as *written*, not from its history as *experienced*.”<sup>301</sup>

The continued lack of scholarship about female photographers, which acts to confirm the original myth that there were few, is evidence of a narrow definition of what makes a photographic archive. The photographic print had little economic value in postwar Japan.<sup>302</sup> The

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<sup>299</sup> Ibid., Iizawa 36. Emphasis mine.

<sup>300</sup> *Nihon shashinka jiten—Tokyoto shshahin bijutsukan shozō sakka* (The Encyclopedia of Japanese Photographers—Artists from the collection of the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2000).

<sup>301</sup> Nina E. Lerman, Arwen Palmer Mohun and Ruth Oldenziel, "Versatile Tools: Gender Analysis and the History of Technology" *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Special issue: Gender Analysis and the History of Technology (Jan. 1997), 18-19. (Emphasis mine)

<sup>302</sup> Although photographic exhibitions, particularly at small galleries, played a great role in shaping photographic culture, before 1960, exhibitions were rarely documented in photographs and almost never

chief means to consume photographs in the postwar was through mass magazines: from weeklies published by big newspapers to the camera and photography-centered periodicals printed in the hundreds of thousands.<sup>303</sup> Only a few of the photographs I discuss were ever mounted on a wall or printed in a photobook. Rather, they were all cheaply printed on newsprint, the flimsy paper of mass magazines or as inserts in best-selling books. Tokiwa Toyoko's *Dangerous Poison-Flower* is a case in point: produced by the publisher Mikasa Shobo, which specialized in translations of foreign language novels, Tokiwa's book of reflections on photographing in the red-light district around the American Occupation base in Yokohama was more likely to be read by the three million readers who had made the publisher's translation of *Gone with the Wind* such an enormous success than it was to be advertised in a photography magazine.<sup>304</sup>

It is no coincidence that right as women became more visible as photographers, a widespread popular practice to put the female body on public display sprang up in the postwar photography world. The *nūdo satsuekai*, or nude shooting session, was a commonly held and documented event from the late 1940s to late 50s where photography clubs, magazines, and

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preserved in an archive. What remains of these exhibitions are critical commentaries of them printed in magazines and newspapers. For more on the position of the original print in Japan see Yuri Mitsuda, "Shashin no arika: Hosei eikoh orijinaru purinto to minigurafu" (Where Photography Is: Original Prints and Minigraph by Eikoh Hosoei), in *Shashin 'geijutsu' to no kaimenni: Shashin shi 1910 nendai—70 nendai* (Photography at the Interface with 'Art': The History of Photography from 1910s to 1970s) (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2006), 277-293.

<sup>303</sup> Key photography magazines include, but are not limited to *Amachua Shashin Sōsho* (Amateur Photography Series), *Asahi Camera*, *Camera*, *Canon Circle*, *Foto Taimuzu* (Photo Times), *Kamera Mainichi* (Everyday Camera), *Kamera Taimuzu* (Camera Times), *Kamera Tsūshin* (Camera News), *Kamera Puresu* (Camera Press), *Nikkor Gurafu* (Nikon Graph), *Nippon Camera* (Japanese Camera), *Photo Art*, *Sankei Camera*, *Shashin to Gijutsu* (Photography and Its Techniques), *Shashin Kōgyō* (Photographic Industry), etc.

<sup>304</sup> Mikasa Shobo attributes its recovery in the postwar to the success of the 1948 edition of *Gone with the Wind*. In 1955 it published a translation of a collection of Hemingway. See: <http://www.mikasashobo.co.jp/c/etc/>

newspapers organized female models to pose in the nude in public spaces such as parks and beaches and also in studios and hotels.

### **The Woman in the Photograph/The Woman Taking the Photograph: The Nude Shooting Session Phenomenon and Postwar Photography Culture**

On the 14th of May 1955 the police were called to investigate the report of public obscenity in a park in Yokohama (Figure 10).<sup>305</sup> At the scene of the crime they found a group of amateur photographers and their naked, female models. The incident spurred a series of discussions about the nature of art (*geijutsu*) as critics and photographers alike ruminated on the fine line between pornography and art photography. In the *Asahi Shimbun*'s reporting, the police argued that the nature of obscenity (*waisetsu*) was defined by the purpose of the attendees and the location of the event. It was acceptable for camera clubs to hold nude shooting sessions (*nūdo satsuekai*) which were “truly in the pursuit of beauty,” in instances such as a recent nude shooting session involving thirty photographers which was held at a private studio in Yokohama. However, unlike that private gathering, most participants out of the hundreds on the scene at the park in question were not members of the club that had organized the event, but in fact had bought tickets to participate purely out of a curiosity (*kōkishin*) to see the nude models. According to the police, this was not an acceptable display of public morals. The sponsors responded by saying the photographers present came out of curiosity was an arbitrary judgment made by the police—there were nude studios right in front of the neighborhood police station itself, after all. According to the organizers, the photographers had no intention of taking erotic photographs (*ero shashin*) but were there for the sake of art. Despite these protests, on July 30,

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<sup>305</sup>“Ikisugita? ‘Bi no tankyū’: Nūdo satsuekai teire ‘geijustu da’ to shusaisha okoru” (Have they gone too far? ‘The search for beauty’: Police crackdown on the nude satsuekai ‘It’s art!’ claim angry sponsors – Yokohama), *Asahi Shimbun* (May 26 1955).



1955, the *Asahi Shimbun* reported that the organizers and three models were indicted for public obscenity (*kōzen waisetsu*).<sup>306</sup>

What was the nude shooting session and why did it gain such enthusiastic popularity? At the same time that the obscenity trials surrounding the translation and publication of *Lady Chatterly's Lover* were being held in Japan from 1951 to 1957 during which more conservative definitions for condemning public and representational acts of sexual expression and nudity were solidified, one of the most popular photography events in Japan centered on questions of representing the naked female form in public.<sup>307</sup> The success and continuation of the nude shooting session hinged on the argument that it was producing “art photography” and not obscenity. A complicated logic emerged: in order to argue that photographing naked women in public was not obscene, women such as Tokiwa needed to be able to participate. Restricting them from the event by implying that they needed to be “protected” from the content as was the concern with potentially obscene literature such as *Lady Chatterly's Lover* would have been akin to admitting that the nude shooting session was, in fact, obscene in nature and in need of censorship. At the same time, the reification and repetition of the trope of a woman in front of a wall of male photographers from the 1920s onward acts as visual evidence that photography was a practice from which women were excluded not for the reasons that critics often list — complicated technology, heavy equipment, expense, and lack of free time — but rather, as

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<sup>306</sup> “Nūdo satsuekai ni shobun ‘kōzen waisetsu’ ni fureru ihō: Yohokama chicken de kisoyūyo” (Punishment for the nude shooting session: The District Prosecutor’s Office indicts for the illegality of ‘public obscenity’) *Asahi Shimbun* (July 30, 1955).

<sup>307</sup> On the differences between reality and representation in the “principles of the nonpublic nature of sex” (*sei kōi no hikōzensei no gensoku*) see Kirsten Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012), 34-36.

feminist scholar Judith Fryer Davidov argues about the American context, they could not be seen as photographers because "in the tradition of the genre they—their bodies—are the subject."<sup>308</sup>

Newspaper debates regarding whether these events and the images they produced qualified as obscene or as pornography support historians Lynn Hunt and Walter Kendrick's assertion that pornography "names an argument, not a thing."<sup>309</sup> The proponents of nude shooting sessions, photographs produced at the events, and the subsequent discourses in the media around them reveal as much about the context of postwar Japan as they shake the founding myth of the history of postwar Japanese photography: that the social reportage (*hōdō shashin*) movement which shared similar values of conveying a sense of truth-telling with realism photography's (*riarizumu shashin*) drive to shed light on social dynamics were the most dominant mode of image-making in the early postwar era. Meticulous reenactments of the photography world's negotiations over what "realism" meant in the postwar period have dominated the history of postwar Japanese photography in the last decades, continuing to stamp out all memory of the lively debates around obscenity, sex, and the rise of the female photographer in the postwar period.<sup>310</sup> What these debates have failed to recognize is that the representation of women in nude photographs was directly connected to the reality of their

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<sup>308</sup> Judith Fryer Davidov, *Women's Camera Work: Self/Body/Other in American Visual Culture* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1998), 11.

<sup>309</sup> Lynn Hunt ed., *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity 1500-1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 13.

<sup>310</sup> Iizawa Kotaro's essay, "The Evolution of Postwar Photography," is exemplary of this scholarly tendency. In, Anne Wilkes et al, *The History of Japanese Photography* (Houston, Museum of Fine Arts & New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003): 208-212. For an extended discussion of the discourses around realism photography see "Controversy over Realism Photography" in Yoshiaki Kai, "*Sunappu*: A Genre of Japanese Photography, 1930-1980," (PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 2012), 101-138. Also, Julia Adeney Thomas, "Power Made Visible: Photography and Postwar Japan's Elusive Reality," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 67, 2 (2008), 365-394.

emergence into the field of professional photography. In other words, the nude shooting session and the spike in popularity for nude photography in general, says a lot about the values of vernacular photography and what actually sold photography magazines and books in the postwar.

One of the key illustrations of the gendered construction of photography as a pastime and profession, the shooting session (*satsueikai*) was and continues to be a popular activity amongst photography clubs around the world wherein participants gather at an outdoor location, often a famous landmark, to take photographs with the guidance of an expert or famous photographer.<sup>311</sup> Though shooting sessions did not always center on a model and often focused on famous scenery like Mt. Fuji or well-known gardens, by the 1930s most shooting sessions organized by magazines or national photography clubs charging admission advertised models as one of the main features of the event. A perusal through popular photography magazines from the turn of the nineteenth century through the 1950s reveals that the predominant relationship that women are shown to have with the camera is as models at shooting sessions. As Davidov argues, within the photographic tradition, and especially for pictorialists working at the turn of the century, the “female nude was the ‘legitimizing’ subject” since “in photography as in painting, the predominantly male artist (as culture) transformed the female nude (woman’s body as nature) into a work of art.”<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> No doubt, the model shooting session is the photographic follower of the art school practice of painting naked models, introduced to Japan in the late nineteenth century with much controversy. Art historian Sato Doshin discusses how, very similar to the postwar display of nude models at shooting sessions, in the 1890s nude painting became a social issue because it put “what it meant to be ‘naked’” and “what it meant to have a corporeal existence” on display for public view. Sato Doshin, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*. Trans. Hiroshi Nara (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2011), 267.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., Davidov, 52.

While the experiences of the female models who worked for photographers have not been recorded in any significant way, the assumption being that their jobs were fleeting and that they had little agency in the performance of the work itself, I mine a fifty year span (1910-1957) of representations of their work to provide a glimpse into the evolution of the shooting session-format and the trope of the visualization of male photographer and female subject. In the earliest photographic documentation of a shooting session, which took place on the beach just south of Tokyo in 1910, the photographers focused on locals clad only in *fundoshi* (loincloth) gathering seaweed from the shallow tidal waters (Figure 11).<sup>313</sup> However, by 1926, key changes were made to the visual representation of the shooting session: the act of photographing in a group and photographing women are depicted as the key attractions of this event (Figure 12).<sup>314</sup> Women were so much the assumed universal subject to photograph that when there was a brief flowering in female photographic activity in the late 1920s and early 1930s in Japan, these women too, organized female model shooting sessions.<sup>315</sup> In the autumn of 1927, over five hundred women reportedly gathered in the western mountains of Kyoto for an outdoor photography competition sponsored by the Kyoto Vest Club. Two actresses from the film company Nikkatsu and four from Makino were supplied as models for the event and the winning photos were put on display

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<sup>313</sup> “The Grand meeting of photograph taking held at Choshi, Shimosa, on July 23 and 24,” *Gurahikku* (Yurakusha: August 1910), 23.

<sup>314</sup> This photograph depicts a movie shooting session organized by the Baby Kinema Club, named after Charles Pathé’s Pathé Baby amateur movie camera, first imported to Japan in 1923. “Tokyo no bebii kinema satsuekai,” *Asahi Camera* (September 1926), 317. On the rise of amateur film clubs and the spread of movie technology in Japan see, Makino Mamoru, “Rethinking the Emergence of the Proletarian Film League of Japan,” translated by Abé Mark Nornes, in *In Praise of Film Studies: Essays in Honor of Makino Mamoru*, edited by Abé Mark Nornes and Aaron Gerow & Kinema Club (Victoria, B.C.: Trafford, 2001), 15-45.

<sup>315</sup> Kerry Ross, *Photography for Everyone: The Cultural Lives of Cameras and Consumers in Early Twentieth-Century Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2015), 111- 113.

at the Kyoto branch of the Takashimaya department store. Unfortunately, no record of how these women photographed the female models survives. As Ross points out, this event was unique in its focus on women, as out of the over five hundred photography clubs throughout Japan and its empire, “only a handful were specifically for female photographers and only one offered membership to both sexes.”<sup>316</sup>

By the late 1930s, how-to manuals advised photographers, who were always assumed to be male, how to hire and deal with female models for shooting sessions, and cartoons poked fun at the image of a throng of men gathered around a female model, their wives sidelined.<sup>317</sup> One caricature lampooned the single-minded focus on photographing models with an image printed across two pages titled “Spring Shooting Session” (Figure 13). On the right-hand page the cartoonist sketched rolling rice fields just before their planting and in the bottom left corner a sign reads: “Shooting session this way,” pointing to the left page of the drawing where perplexed wives stand together outside a tent of empty chairs beneath the sign “Shooting Session.” At top left a line of men scurry to join the tight cluster of photographers who instead of pointing their cameras at the landscape that surrounds them, are creating a halo of light around the invisible model they snap away at. The caption reads “Models! Models! Why are they all taking pictures of that model again? We already took her picture before and it was top-notch.”<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>317</sup> Shimojima Katsunobu, *Saishin shashin satsuei jitsugi* (Recent Practical Skills in Photography) (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1937): 80-102; *Asahi Kamera* (April 1938).

<sup>318</sup> *Asahi Camera* (April 1938): 620-621. On the use of the nude in painting as a part of the Japanese colonial imperialist project, see Wakakuwa Midori, “Teikokushugi to nūdo” (Imperialism and Nude) *Image & Gender* Vol. 9 (March 2003), 6-14.

Photographers' hearts were a-flutter as model shooting sessions picked up again after the end of the war. An advertisement for a shooting session in the mountainous spa town of Hakone in 1949 publicized the name of the featured female model with the same emphasis that it gave to the announcement that Kimura Ihei, one of the most well-known photographers at the time, would lead participants in taking pictures (Figure 17).<sup>319</sup> Clearly, models were presented at these events as one of, if not, *the* main attraction. Organized by the *Asahi Camera* magazine in tandem with the *Zen Nihon Shashin Renmei* (All Japan Photography Association), the organizers invited 300 photographers to apply directly to the office of the Asahi Newspaper. Works taken on the day would later be judged and awarded 200,000 yen for the first place, 100,000 yen for the second, and 5,000 yen third – no small amount when a new twin-lens reflex camera could be bought for around 5,000 yen at the time. By 1953, almost every issue of *Asahi Camera* featured advertisements and coverage of model shooting sessions, suggesting that not only participation in, but also consuming and viewing these events sold magazines.

Two occurrences were responsible for the wild success of the model shooting session in the postwar period: the camera boom and the thriving world of commercialized sex. In the August 1954 edition of *Maru (Circle)* magazine, the journalist Shiono Inui described a Tokyo overrun with cameras: “On Sundays, in the entertainment districts, in parks, on the mountains or by the sea, no matter where you go, cameras, cameras, cameras” (Figure 12).<sup>320</sup> According to

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<sup>319</sup> *Asahi Kamera* 34(1)(194) (October 1949): 66. The ad is full of details that illustrates the cost and logistics of the trip: Participants could either pay 400 yen to cover express train and bus from Shinjuku Station, or 250 yen to take a bus from Shinjuku Station, where they were to meet at 7am on Sunday, October 18<sup>th</sup>. They were to arrive in Hakone at 11 am, whereupon they would schedule to begin shooting, take a boat ride across Lake Ashinoko, and have opportunities to soak in hot springs and have dinner before heading home.

<sup>320</sup> Shiono Inui, “Kamera būmu to kamera zasshi” (The Photography Boom and Camera Magazines) *Maru* (August 1954), 41-54. This magazine began in 1948 as a general interest magazine but slowly shifted toward covering issues related to the military and warfare.

Shiono, if the number of photographs per day could be interpreted as a measure of culture, Japan would come in second only to the United States as a “civilized country” (*bunmei koku*) where *Life* magazine reported that over two-billion shutters were being clicked a day. Shiono continued:

Cameras hang on the necks of small primary school students to high school students on school excursions, and there is no university, company or factory where a photography circle is not being organized. Newspaper companies and camera magazines are always pushing shooting sessions and courses that they have arranged and recently the Asahi Newspaper held a shooting session in the outer gardens of a shrine where about 5,000 people turned up. In the lost property division of the Iidabashi Metropolitan Police Department, more than 500 masterless cameras including a foreign camera worth 200,000 yen are sleeping, and forty-two of the forty-eight students from Keio University who went on the start of the summer trip to the Kansai region carried cameras.<sup>321</sup>

These details paint a vivid picture of how avidly the camera had been embraced by users young and old in Tokyo and how the shooting session became one of the primary ways to practice using it. For many such as Shiono, it was precisely the so-called photography boom brought on by the new ubiquity of the camera and the popularity of photography magazines that were responsible for both the rise of the female photographer and new forms of social organization around the camera.<sup>322</sup> The image accompanying his article illustrated this phenomenon with a cartoon of a new 35mm camera surrounded by photography magazines whose covers bear the image of a naked woman’s body (Figure 14).

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<sup>321</sup> Ibid., Shiono, 42.

<sup>322</sup> According to the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry statistics, in 1951 the domestic camera industry produced 243,887 steel cameras, 71,855 of which were exported, and in 1955 the production number rose to 1,064,902, of which 234,423 were exported. By 1960 the industry produced close to 2 million cameras, 710,846 of which were exported. Cited in Japan Photographic Equipment Optical Inspection Association, eds. *Sekai no nihon kamera: Yushutsu sangyō he no ayumi (The World’s Japanese Camera: A History of the Export Industry)* (Tokyo: Japan Photographic Equipment Optical Inspection Association, 1984).

Shiono also included a description of nude modelling and nude shooting sessions in his article, which for him, illustrated an unexpected boon to the business of photography:

If one takes only Tokyo as an example, there are close to one hundred theaters serving as nude studios such as the “folding studio” in Shinbashi, among others. Every day in theaters such as these, amateur camera men who hardly know how to take a picture are clicking away their shutter buttons to take “art” photos. According to one cameraman, there are about 200 women working as professional “official” models in Tokyo, and 400 in the entire country, and if we were to count the unofficial models, movie extras, and “female students,” the numbers would likely surpass a thousand.<sup>323</sup>

It was common for photography magazines such as *Photo Art* to print “nude studio model introductions,” detailed lists of studios and the prices that they charged for nude modeling services (Figure 15).<sup>324</sup> The trope of the nude female model was so familiar to readers in the mid-1950s that a range of articles from fictionalized accounts of a day in the life of a nude model (most likely written by a man), to warnings about proper etiquette (don’t try to organize a nude shooting session with your friends as models and don’t assume the model wants to have sex with you) sprang up across a variety of publications illustrated by humorous cartoons of the scene often juxtaposed against the “artful” nude that one was supposedly taking (Figure 16). *Photo Art*’s “Diary of a Model” honed in on the salacious nature of the nude modeling industry through its depiction of a fictional model who invites a customer back to her apartment for a shooting session whereupon he offers to pay her 50 yen per pubic hair to have her remove them to create better physical symmetry in his shot (Figure 17).<sup>325</sup> The same magazine also published warnings

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<sup>323</sup> Ibid., Shiono, 43.

<sup>324</sup> “Nūdo sutajio moderu shōkaijo” (A Letter of Introduction to models at nude studios) in *Rinji zōkan nūdo to guramā* (Temporary Special Edition: Nudes and Glamor) *Photo Art* (December 1957).

<sup>325</sup> “Moderu nikki,” (Diary of a Model) *Photo Art* (September 1956): 158-9.



that photographers should remember that the models “are humans too, and it should not be forgotten that they are respectable working women” or that they might be your sister.<sup>326</sup>

The heightened fervor over photographing models and the shift toward photographing their naked bodies that sprung to life in the immediate postwar was connected to the new demand for female nudity brought on in no small part by the American Occupation soldiers but also by the loosening of restrictions on public and print expressions of female sexual behavior which was capitalized upon by the mass press, photography clubs, and camera companies. In 1953, the journalist Narumigi Ichirō wrote that “the liberation of sex” was one of the gifts given to postwar Japan along with the “four presents” of “respect for human rights, equality of men and women, freedom of speech, and women’s enfranchisement.”<sup>327</sup> Most significantly for the nude shooting session and published representations of it, “The Press Code for Japan” released by the Occupation did not list obscenity as one of the three subjects that it would censor, which included criticism of the Allied authorities, nationalist propaganda, and references to everyday life difficulties such as food shortages or destroyed cities.<sup>328</sup> Instead, it specified that it was the responsibility of the police to monitor obscenity in the media. Cultural historian Mark McLelland argues that for its part, the Japanese government appeared to permit and even condone “sports, screen, and sex” as a distraction from the realities of occupation.<sup>329</sup> What is more, he puts forth

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<sup>326</sup> “Nūdo yomoyama banashi” (A chat about nudes) Rinji zōkan nūdo to guramā (Temporary Special Edition: Nudes and Glamor) *Photo Art* (December 1957), 142-145.

<sup>327</sup> Cited in Mark McLelland, “‘Kissing is a Symbol of Democracy!’ Dating, Democracy, and Romance in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19, no. 3 (2010), 518.

<sup>328</sup> For further discussion of censorship, see Eto Jun, *One Aspect of the Allied Occupation of Japan: The Censorship Operation and Post-War Japanese Literature*. Occasional paper, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, East Asia Program (Washington D.C.: Wilson Center, 1980).

<sup>329</sup> McLelland, *Ibid.*, 522.

the claim that the erotic culture that developed in the late 1940s and early 1950s created a context in which the Japanese press freely discussed the meanings of terms such as “sexual liberation [*sei kaihō*]” and “free love [*jiyū no renai*]” a full decade before they were common place in the mass press in the United States.<sup>330</sup>

For its part in the thriving erotic print culture the nude shooting session is also connected to *kasutori* culture which produced a sexually focused pulp literature which flourished as the result of the legal freedoms given to the press and the loosening of regulation over public decency.<sup>331</sup> As extensively discussed by historians John Dower and J. Victor Koschman, *kasutori* culture was defined by “theories of decadence as the only true honesty and authenticity, of the carnal body as the only body worth venerating.”<sup>332</sup> These themes were most clearly manifested in the realm of visual and literary culture: one author has suggested that between 1946 and 1948 over seven hundred erotic serials were published, though the majority were short-lived.<sup>333</sup> During this period, in addition to published erotic material, strip shows of all varieties and dance halls skyrocketed in popularity. Sasamoto Tsuneko, documented one strip show that was organized for female spectators. In her photograph, the women in the audience observe with interest as a dancer in metallic pasties, arms akimbo, walks the platform in heels between the group (Figure

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<sup>330</sup> For the impact of the end of wartime censorship on mass media representations of sex, see Fukushima Jūrō, *Sengo zasshi no shūhen* (The Environment of Postwar Magazines) (Tokyo: Tsukuma shobō, 1987), 239-64.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid., John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, 148.

<sup>332</sup> J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 148.

<sup>333</sup> Shimokawa Kōshi, “Gairo no ero shashin uri wa doko ni kieta? (Where did the erotic photo street sellers disappear to?), in *Sei media 50-nen* (50 Years of Sex Media) (Tokyo: Takarajimasha, 2005), 32.

18).<sup>334</sup> The first American-style beauty pageants were held in 1947, followed shortly after by the “picture-frame nude show” (*gakubushi nūdo shō*) in which nude women, their bodies often painted, posed inside of large frames in playful renditions of Western masterpieces.<sup>335</sup> Though scholarship on the history of photography often distances photographic practice of this period from the sexual and gendered themes of *kasutori* culture, professional and amateur photographers alike mobilized common visual themes and language of *kasutori* culture.<sup>336</sup> Similar to the “media catchphrase” *ero guro nansensu* (erotic grotesque nonsense) that Miriam Silverberg describes as characterizing mass culture in the 1920s and 1930s through physical expressiveness and the social inequities of consumer culture, the nude shooting scene also spoke to feelings of newness and disjuncture over “a capitalist mass culture both propagated and challenged by the dominant ideology of the state.”<sup>337</sup>

In the early 1950s, scopophilia exploded all over the pages of photography magazines in the form of the *nūdo satsuekai* (nude shooting session) as its published image spread from magazine to magazine.<sup>338</sup> First advertised in *Asahi Kamera* in 1950 as a feature of American photographic schools, *Kamera* then printed a half-page photograph of the nude shooting session

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<sup>334</sup> Sasamoto Tsuneko sakuhinten: “*Shōwa • ano toki • ano hito*”: *Nihon hatsu josei hōdō shashinka* (Exhibition of Works By Sasamoto Tsuneko: “Shōwa • That Time • That Person”: The First Female Photojournalist in Japan) Volume 157 of JCII Photo Library (Tokyo: JCII Photo Salon, 2004), 36.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid., Dower, 151-153. An example of one of these “nude masterpieces” is also printed in *Nihon Gendai Shashinshi 1945-1970 (Contemporary History of Japanese Photography)*, ed. Japan Professional Photographer’s Association (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977), 22.

<sup>336</sup> For instance, a recent exhibition at the Domon Ken Museum of Photography in Sakata, Japan, of the photographs of eighteen photographer’s primarily postwar work took the theme of children as its unifying concept, depicting a sanitized, playful version of these photographer’s postwar oeuvre. “Showa no kodomo” (The Children of the Shōwa Period) April 20-August 29<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>337</sup> Silverberg, Ibid., 34.

<sup>338</sup> Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian 1989, 2009), 16-17.

held on the beach in Los Angeles, titled “Photographer’s Beach Party” and led by the Black Star Agency photographer Alfred Gescheidt (Figure 19-20).<sup>339</sup> The photographs illustrating the scene depict two models wearing a wrap around their waists, standing on a rocky outcropping while the photographers below framed their shots. Next to these images of how photographers participated in a nude shooting session, the magazine published the resulting photographs: bare breasted models, striking theatrical poses lit by a bright sun against the rocks of the cliffs where they posed. The accompanying text described how this type of outing was common for students at the Art Center, a Los Angeles school of art and photography. Usually around fifty to seventy students photographed two models and by the end of the day they would each have at least five to seven worthy photographs and had become closer friends while enjoying the coastline. Citing the nude shooting session as a popular way to study photography in the United States, the event soon took on a life of its own spurred by the Japanese photographic press.

A depiction of a particularly arresting parallel to the photographer’s beach party was printed in the pages of *Nihon Kamera* (Japan Camera) in November 1953 (Figure 21). In it, ten Japanese photographers perch on a rock, perhaps at a beach, aiming their lenses at the woman who stands turned away from the taker of the photograph, arms raised with a towel in her hands, exposing her naked buttocks and thighs so that only those on the rock can see the fully exposed front side of her body. Contrary to the models led by Gescheidt with translucent scarves, this woman’s matter-of-fact use of a thick towel to partially shelter herself from those behind her while nonchalantly fully exposing herself to the cluster of men perched on the rock is striking in its lack of artifice. More of a business transaction than performance of the role of a visual muse, this model’s stance suggests that the role was not as glamorous as previously depicted. This

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<sup>339</sup> See Fig 13-14. “Umibe no satsuekai—amerika no shashin gakkō seikatsu” (Shooting session on the beach – Photo school life in America) *Asahi Camera* 35(11) (207) (November 1950), 56-58.

photograph pressures the borders of what art historian Kenneth Clark argues is the distinction between “naked” and “nude.” In his description of the “naked” body, the subject is “huddled and defenseless” while a “nude” painting shows the body clothed in art.<sup>340</sup> By this definition, the tension of the male gaze creates both states of undress.

The trope of a wall of male photographers, cameras erect in the direction of the female model, whose face is often obscured, so strongly characterized amateur photography gatherings in the early 1950s that photographs of the event have been used to represent amateur photography culture in postwar Japan. The editors of the *Contemporary History of Japanese Photography*, an overview of the history of Japanese photography published in 1977, printed the 1948 photograph “Nude Art photo shooting competition Tokyo, Old Shibuya Station Gardens” by Sakai Shinichi alongside photographs of strip clubs as what the editors interpret as an example of the underbelly of the photography world at this point in time (Figure 22).<sup>341</sup> Though the model’s apparent discomfort remains the same, this photograph is a visual reversal of the one prior: here, the model covers her face with her hand while baring her breasts to the viewer, a diaphanous piece of fabric knotted around her waist. At least seventeen men stand behind her with cameras raised, while a handful of bystanders curiously peek at the back of her naked body.

One obvious visual commonality that unites these images is that all of the participants pictured are male, however, there is evidence that newspapers and camera companies experimented with gearing shooting sessions toward the rising number of female photographers. In the late 1950s weekly newspapers began to report on “women only shooting sessions” a

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<sup>340</sup> Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A study of Ideal Art* (London: John Murray, 1956), 1.

<sup>341</sup> Sakai Shinichi, “Ratai geijutsu shashin satsuei gyōgikai Tokyo kyū Shibuya eki tei teien” (Nude Art photo shooting competition Tokyo, Old Shibuya Station Gardens) in *Nihon Gendai Shashinshi 1945-1970 (Contemporary History of Japanese Photography)*, ed. Japan Professional Photographer’s Association (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977): 23.

virtuous rehabilitation of the event where the models were emphatically clothed. Was this version of the event a reaction to the nude shooting session? The *Asahi Shimbun* reported that on April 17, 1955, over one hundred female college students and "office girls" gathered in raincoats for a women's only shooting session with male and female models. The article poked fun at the female attendants for requesting the signatures of the male models at the end of the session, commenting: "Whether it was a shooting session or a signing session, no one can tell." This rare, but telling image suggests that women too derived pleasure from shooting sessions and casts them as actively enjoying photographing the male and female body (Figure 23). In contrast, echoing earlier women's photography club events such as those held by the Shirayuri Camera Club in the early 1950s, the main selling point of another women only shooting session that took place in July of 1962 was that participants could bring their children along with them and include them as subject matter. Sponsored by the *Zen Nihon Shashin Renmei*, a national organization of amateur photographers and in partnership with Fuji Photo Film, which encouraged all participants to use the FujiPet camera, a model that was marketed toward female users for its ease of use, this event is clearly focused on crafting an event that relies on the stereotype of women needing easy to use cameras to take pictures of their children. In fact, Fuji Photo Film became one of the chief supporters of the idea of the women's only shooting session in the 1960s, offering prizes such as free cameras and film to participants.

Tokiwa Toyoko picked up on the gendered dynamic of the shooting session and began to participate in the male dominated nude version so that she could capture the relationship between female models and male photographers. The resulting photographs are evidence that Tokiwa acknowledged the antagonistic attitudes toward the public presence of female photographers and sought a means to define herself and her work in a way that both subverted and took advantage

of the spectacle of the female body. In showing up at male-dominated photography events and then making a name for herself through publishing her coverage of them, she asks viewers, “Because I am not a man, but in fact a woman, do I have any advantage when taking photographs?”<sup>342</sup>

### **Tokiwa Toyoko: The Camerawoman’s Gaze**

When Tokiwa asked the above question she wanted the reader to come away from the book with the answer that there are many ways in which women are more suited to slipping in and out of certain contexts than men are and that is why they *should* be photographers. Indeed, the question of how a female photographer’s gender related to her work structures the entire book, and I pivot here to focus on it: for Tokiwa, it was not only an issue of combatting or reinforcing conceptions of women as inclined toward a particular subject matter, but also a reflection of changing attitudes toward women’s labor and the tensions that arose as women entered what had been a predominantly male workforce. Tokiwa’s sensational and widely viewed photographs of “working women” – from wrestlers and cross dressers – to “the women who make a living naked” – which included pearl divers, nude models, and prostitutes – brought visibility to the changing meaning of female labor.<sup>343</sup> At the same time, depicting herself as the woman who was able to put herself in the contexts to take these photographs also allowed Tokiwa to situate herself as the preeminent female photographer of the early postwar period.

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<sup>342</sup> Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flower) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobo, 1957), 12.

<sup>343</sup> Tokiwa’s first solo exhibition in 1956 was titled *Hataraku Josei* (Working Women) and featured many of these photographs included in her book.

It was Tokiwa who cheekily dubbed herself “the cameraman in a skirt,” expressing the tension inherent in the name of her profession. In her writing, she sees her gender as one of the many disguises that she puts on – along with a doctor’s white coat behind which she hid her camera to secretly photograph prostitutes getting inoculated for STDs, the hunter’s guise as she hides herself to shoot from the window of a building in the red light district to capture images of prostitutes with their American soldier clientele or, the clothes of a Buddhist worshipper as she walks the streets of the red light district in a procession of monks to surreptitiously photograph the juxtaposition of the two (Figure 24-26). These photographs are compositionally framed through their quick capture as she walks down the street or snaps away from behind cover as an expose of each world that she inhabited. Thus, she testified that she needed these disguises to efface her otherness or belong in the setting in which she wanted to get the picture. At the same time she adamantly protested to constantly being singled out as the female cameraman. The many disguises that Tokiwa put on allowed her to “to transgress boundaries, violate cultural taboos,” and “to speak from [her] own, authentically felt interior.”<sup>344</sup> The “cameraman,” the “doctor,” the “hunter”: each helps us understand how Tokiwa indulged in certain “dangerous moments of ‘pleasurable disorder’” in crossing the boundaries of sex, race, and class through her own “gendered imaginary.”<sup>345</sup>

Two models stand before a group of men in suits and ties awaiting the moment of complete reveal before raising their cameras (Figure 27). The model at the center of the frame takes off her *yukata* (cotton kimono) and fans it behind her like the plumes of a feathered tail.

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<sup>344</sup> Michael Rogi, “Blackface, White Noise: The Jewish Jazz Singer Finds His Voice,” *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 3 (Spring 1992), 448.

<sup>345</sup> Judith Fryer Davidov uses this term to describe Laura Gilpin’s photographs of the Navajo.



The second model is still fully clothed, expectant hands at the openings of her robe, caught in the instant before she too discloses her bare body to the expectant audience. The overhead lights flare, a reminder that these two women are on a stage before an audience who are there to photograph their exposed bodies. This photograph was taken by Tokiwa Toyoko in 1956 and published in her 1957 best-selling book of photographs and essays, *Kikenna adabana* (*Dangerous Poison-Flower*), paired to the left of an image of three *ama*, female free divers who are shown with breasts bared as they dry themselves by a roaring fire on the beach (Figure 27). The caption, “The ‘working women’ who make a living ‘naked,’” places them within a shared history of female labor while contrasting their contexts and highlighting their differing audiences.<sup>346</sup> What is more, these representations of women who work by baring their bodies offers another perspective on the gaze and the female body as it is acted out in the nude shooting session. As John Berger suggests regarding painting, “To be naked is to be oneself... To be nude is to be seen naked by others and yet not recognized for oneself. A naked body has to be seen as an object in order to become a nude... To be naked is to be without disguise. To be on display is to have the surface of one’s own skin, the hairs of one’s own body, turned into a disguise.”<sup>347</sup>

The shift from woman as subject of the gaze to the producer of it is illustrated in Tokiwa Toyoko’s role in constructing her own gaze of the female body in *Kikenna adabana* (*Dangerous Poison-Flower*). In a short chapter she vividly describes how a few years prior she attended her first nude shooting session in the garden of a Tokyo hotel. The sense of anticipation that all participants shared as they awaited the start of the event was palpable: Tokiwa mused that it was most likely everyone’s first time to photograph women completely in the nude in such a public

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<sup>346</sup>Ibid., *Kikenna adabana*, 156-157.

<sup>347</sup> John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972), 54.

setting.<sup>348</sup> Before the models emerged, the event organizers stressed to the participants how the photographs they had gathered to take that day were to be taken with “solemnity” (*genshuku*) for the sake of “art” (*geijustuteki*) and in the name of “a cultured nation” (*bunka kokka*). As the models one by one entered the garden and disrobed, the men around Tokiwa grew silent, and all that could be heard were the clicking of shutters. Describing her approach to the event she explained, “I did not go to photograph the nudes, but went to photograph the men taking pictures of the nudes.” Nonetheless as the only “cameraman in a skirt,” she wrote, “I sharply felt the feeling of being a woman in a man’s world.”

We might choose to read Tokiwa’s photographs of the nude shooting session for the indexical demographic information that they provide on the type of person who attended these events and what kinds of cameras he carried. Or, we might read them to understand Tokiwa’s experience of the event: As the perspective of each photograph shifts, we can imagine her circling the scene with her camera, searching for the best angle from which to capture the display of groups of men in suits crowding to get their angle on the scene (Figure 28). By focusing on moments when the models are being posed by a balding, bespectacled man, Tokiwa’s photographs of the event also highlight their constructed nature. In a time when you could count on nude photos in almost every issue of popular photography magazines, Tokiwa’s photographs self-consciously set out to depict the raw dynamics of two naked young women manipulated and photographed by an audience of men. Thus, Tokiwa joined the nude shooting session as a participant in a widespread practice, but also as a keen observer of the normative social dynamics of the activity itself.

After her first experiences to the new photography fad, Tokiwa recounted that she

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<sup>348</sup> Ibid., Tokiwa Toyoko, 184-189.

attended many nude shooting sessions – in her telling they were essentially the training grounds for young photographers in the early 1950s. The spectacle of a woman photographing naked women’s bodies on display for men quickly drew widespread media attention: her photograph of the nude shooting session was reproduced so often in the 1950s that it came to represent Tokiwa as a photographer as well as the cultural context of Japan immediately after the end of American Occupation. In 1956 the photography magazine *Nihon Camera* (*Japan Camera*) published Tokiwa’s photograph of the event, described above, of two models undressing before a suited, all-male audience with the caption “Naked in a second, the change from daughters to art” (Figure 29).<sup>349</sup> In the next couple of years this photograph was reprinted in several magazines to represent the changing trends and discourses on photographic culture in postwar Japan. One article in a weekly newspaper labeled the photograph as an example of “The Turnover Toward Art,” and pointed out that her inclusion of the male participants in suits made for a powerful image that described the undercurrents of social dynamics of the scene in a tasteful and nuanced way (Figure 30).<sup>350</sup> Much like literary critics’ depictions of James Joyce as the “figure of the Romantic artist, sincere, pure, and incapable of obscenity,” which served to transform *Ulysses* from pornography to art, articles such as these presented Tokiwa as capturing the obscene while not participating in it herself.<sup>351</sup> In the critic’s perspective she was not even *capable* of participating in the erotic nature of the event because she is a woman. It was however the very

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<sup>349</sup>*Nihon Kamera* March, 1956. This photograph was part of her series 1956 *Hataraku Josei* (*Working Women*) and published in *Kikenna adabana* (*Dangerous Poison-Flower*).

<sup>350</sup> “Renzu ni tsumi ari: Kamera būmu no ronri hakusho” (There is an offense in that Lens: White paper on the Logic of the Camera Boom), *Shūkan Shinchō* (August 1957), 48-51.

<sup>351</sup> On discussions around art and pornography in the literary world and the controversy around the publication of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* in Japan see Ann Sherif, *Japan’s Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 64.

fact that her “*ketteiteki shūkan*” (decisive moment) was achieved while photographing undercover while posing as a doctor’s assistant that made some critics accuse her of using her sex as a form of cover to get photographs that if “you weren’t a woman you wouldn’t be able to take pictures of.”<sup>352</sup> In contrast, critics mused that a banker’s complaint that he could be identified in her photo of the nude shooting session revealed that his participation in the event had less than artistic purposes.

While Tokiwa’s photographs of the nude shooting session were often favorably seen as example of an “artistic” rendering of this current in photography, they were also remarked upon with surprised curiosity regarding the sex of the photographer, on the other. Though a few articles throughout the 1950s suggested ways for male photographers to show their wives that nude shooting sessions were a legitimate past time, an equal amount of press was dedicated to discussions of how proper etiquette with the models would make it less likely for wives to be concerned about the interaction and lampooned photographers who expected that a nude shooting session might be an invitation for further relationships with the models.<sup>353</sup> The assumption in all of these conversations was that the photographers were male and models were female; that Tokiwa’s frequently reproduced photograph turned this expectation on its head and represented her as an actively seeing female drew viewers and commentators to it. Thus Tokiwa shows how the nude shooting session instructed photographers that it was through *women’s*

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<sup>352</sup> Ibid., “Kiotta taido ni gimon: akasen chitai wo hishatai ni Tokiwa Toyoko sha ‘Kikenna adabana’” (Calling into question enthusiastic attitudes: Tokiwa Toyoko’s *Dangerous Poison Flowers* takes the areas around the red light district as its subject) *Asahi Shimbun* (November 8, 1957), 6.

<sup>353</sup> Whole issues were dedicated to the proper etiquette around arranging nude shooting sessions from the number of friends to make a perfect group to how to make sure your wife doesn’t suspect you are having an affair with the model, to proper payment of the model. See for example, “Foto Āto rinji no zōkan *nūdo* to guramā ‘Nudes and Glamor’” (Photo Art extra special edition: Nudes and Glamor) *Foto Āto* (December 25, 1957).

*bodies* that photographs were produced by an assumed male photographer. Doing so, she highlights the ways in which the popular depiction of women's bodies as the subject of photographs was a means of delegitimizing the emergence of women as photographers. Women were less of a threat to the long-held dominance of men in the field if their naked bodies remained the central theme of the social and visual practice of photography. In an act of double exposure, Tokiwa strips bare the photography world's attempts to keep women in front of, rather than behind the camera.

Returning to Tokiwa's questioning of the relationship between her sex and her work, on the one hand, Tokiwa saw photography as a vehicle through which women might equally participate in image-making alongside men and fought against casting women as photographers of children and domestic scenes. However, on the other hand, Tokiwa was constantly put in a position where she had to explain her choices of composition and subject-matter in relationship to her sex. In 1957, *Asahi Camera* hosted another roundtable with Tokiwa Toyoko, Ogawa Chieko, Imai Hisae (1931—2009), and Akahori Masuko interviewed by the literary critic Nakajima Kenzō (1903—1979).<sup>354</sup> In it, Nakajima's commentary centered on the idea of a special female vision:

Though in foreign countries there are many female cameramen such as Bourke-White, in Japan it has only recently been that one might be called by the name of a female photographer, and all of you are probably the first to be able to be called this. It will be interesting if there is a change to women's occupations...even if it is fashion photography, the person whose picture is taken by a woman will be well looked after. Even when photographing scenes of the rough shipyards, isn't it true that you can see what men cannot? That is to say, with the advance of female cameramen like yourselves, it is meaningful how from now photography work will change.

He continued, questioning Tokiwa: "Are there things you cannot see if you are not a woman?"

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<sup>354</sup> "Shashin shōbai uraomote: joryū puro kameraman" (Both sides of the photography business) *Asahi Camera* (August 1957), 155-160.

To which she responded, “Yes, I think so. After all, when a man has seen a woman, there is nothing that cannot be removed from her. If you are not a woman you cannot see in naked frankness...It’s that kind of thing that I would like to do.” Insinuating that the male gaze could only perceive women as an object to undress while the female gaze was capable of seeing through this desire, Tokiwa pointed to her own work. Right on the heels of her first solo show held at the Konishi roku gallery in Ginza, Tokiwa was a sensation in the photography world for her documentation of prostitutes in the red-light districts catering to the American military bases and her depictions of the craze for nude shooting sessions. Tokiwa was quick to explain her success in capturing scenes of international sailors on deck in Yokohama’s harbor and the prostitutes who catered to the American military bases as due to her unassuming, feminine stature. In the same way that Tokiwa’s hand did not shake with excitement when photographing nude models, she was also able to “calmly and effectively” enter the red-light districts and document the daily activities of the prostitute community.<sup>355</sup> “In other words,” she confided, “I may be reaping the benefits of being a young woman.”<sup>356</sup>

In the 1956 roundtable of female photographers interviewed by critics Watanabe Tsutomu and Itō Ippei mentioned previously, Watanabe too focused on the aspects of Tokiwa’s approach which he felt were made possible by her gender:

Watanabe: At Tokiwa’s show there was a nude shooting session series. I heard another man there say that while he and others had been trying their best to take pictures, this woman had come along and objectively photographed their ridiculousness...

... Tokiwa has the flexibility to rise above emotion in that moment and take pictures.

Tokiwa: That was at the Canon school and from the first moment I knew I wanted to take that kind of picture. Though at first I started out nervously, as I took photos I soon became shameless about it...I don’t have a single photo of just the model.

Watanabe: It is for that reason that women have something good going for them.

Tokiwa: Yes, I was able to do very well.

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<sup>355</sup> Tokiwa, *Kikenna adabana*, 13.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

Tokiwa confirmed the idea that being a woman made her less likely to shake with anxiety when confronted with the naked female body and similarly found that as a young woman, sailors on the ships in the harbor did not expect her to take their photograph, so she was able to catch them off guard. She wrote of being able to overcome the great sensitivity that prostitutes in the red-light district had to outsiders and dressed to fit in with their attire when she was among them: “I always put on a skirt and *geta* (raised wooden sandals) to look like a young lady of that area, carried my camera in my left hand without paying much attention to it, and strolled around the red-light district. If I had put on a sweater and pants I would have quickly been looked at with a suspicious eye.”<sup>357</sup>

Tokiwa’s comment that women had a special ability to identify male desire highlights the fact that at the same time that female photographers deeply sought recognition, acceptance, or anonymity in the field, the perception of them as subjects within the photography world as professional anomalies placed them in the uncomfortable position of having to work within this subjecthood. For Tokiwa it made sense to agree that she had a special skill that men lacked when it was her photographs of sexual difference that garnered great attention for her as an up and coming photographer as well as stirred feelings of anxiety within the predominantly male photography community. Furthermore, it is significant that Tokiwa turned to representations of otherness in the form of the prostitutes, female wrestlers, pearl divers, and Americans as she was simultaneously “emerging from a tradition (into which they at first tried to place themselves) of the history of art that had consistently represented [*her*] as other.”<sup>358</sup>

Another significant point is that when seen side by side in Tokiwa’s book, the images of

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<sup>357</sup> Ibid.

<sup>358</sup> Davidov, Ibid., 6.

the American Occupation treating the female Japanese body and those of the Japanese salarymen treating the female Japanese body form a compelling comparison (Figure 31-32). Whether in suits with cameras, or uniformed, each man performs a form of masculine power vis a vis the bodies of these women. Though one may be naked and the other clothed, Tokiwa reveals the ambiguity around gendered work for the “new woman” in the Japanese postwar economy. Whether modeling for Japanese salarymen or catching the eye of American occupying forces, Tokiwa shows a disdain for the type of boundary transgression she sees in the Japanese female body at the same time that she too sought to define what it meant to be a New Woman of postwar Japan.

Tokiwa’s account of how she came to photograph Yokohama’s prostitutes underscores the connection between her identity as a female photographer, Japan’s recent defeat, and the relationships between Japanese and their occupiers as deep motivating factors in picking up a camera. Within her photographs we have the woman who was othered, photographing those who are other. While working in different contexts, like Laura Gilpin photographing the Navajo or Consuelo Kanaga’s portraits of African Americans, the shared identity as other may have drawn them to those who had also been an exploited subject matter. This is not to say that they do not do their own violence. Taken from her middle class perspective, Tokiwa’s photographs of prostitutes were adamantly meant as condemnations of their work. As she wrote:

The time came when I became conscious of signs of antipathy and hatred toward the Occupation army begin to smolder again. The memory of my father’s sad death began to wriggle across the image of foreigners. It consoled me to go with camera in hand to the Yokohama port and point it at Americans. This feeling lasted as I pointed it in the direction of these arrogant military men and the women who flattered them. Rather than looking for the beauty in my subject, I looked for sadness and the things I hate in them...”<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> Tokiwa, *Kikenna adabana*, 145.



Instead of finding ways to support these women who lived in neighborhoods that still only had dirt roads abutting the vast American military bases, Tokiwa made it clear that it was her goal to hide in the shadows of these neighborhoods so that she could expose these women for fraternizing with the enemy as you can see in the scenes she captured as depicted here. Her strategy of photographing prostitutes is the opposite of the way a nude shooting session was organized: often shooting from the window of a second floor or reaching around the corner of a building, she observed and stalked them:

“At first I observed them from afar. I went to the bath with them, I watched them washing clothes, standing and eating—usually their daily routine was that around two in the afternoon they all went in threes and fives to the public bathhouse. They gathered and then carried all the items they would need for the bath and with their hair up in towels turban. Leaving the bath, they would go to the sweets store right across the way and buy Ramune [soda] that cost 10 yen per bottle and chewing ice candy returned home. It was this look that I photographed through a long-range lens while hiding myself behind the wall of the bathhouse. At that time, though I wanted to photograph their pure form, I also saw them as the representation of their attempt to wash all the hatred from their bodies.”<sup>360</sup>

It was as if Tokiwa too hoped that she might be able to change her own feelings of hatred by taking pictures. For Tokiwa, the pain of the loss of her father in the Allied air raids of the greater Tokyo area in 1945 was made more acute in scenes of American soldiers traipsing around her hometown. In taking a picture of all that embodied her sadness and anger, she learned to use photography process this pain and came to see photographic technology as crucial to this process:

Taking the commonly referred to ‘yō pan’ girls as my subject, rather than the foreigners [who patronized them], I wanted to gouge out the reality of these women’s existence...However, without realizing, the start of my journey into photography was related to the strengthening of my feeling. As if to say, I was, at the same time as the

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<sup>360</sup> Ibid., 15.

progress of camera technology, awakened to the essential ways of a camera man.<sup>361</sup>

Tokiwa was, therefore, conscious that her gaze had both personal, national, and technological meanings in the work that she produced. In this way, the naked body of a prostitute being treated for STDs or the naked body of a paid model being photographed by Japanese businessmen were interconnected metaphors for the state of Japanese women in the postwar period: one used her body to collude with the enemy in a way that many saw as adding to the “feminization” of the defeated Japanese, the other used her body as a part of an event that sought to cast women as the naturalized passive subjects of the photograph. Photographing the naked female body was for Tokiwa an act that was simultaneously deeply personal and also a public negotiation with the meaning of postwar changes that she and the women she photographed attempted to navigate.

### **Conclusion: The “Realism” of a Naked Female Body**

Beginning in the late 1940s, photography magazines and publishers such as *ARS* capitalized on the interest in photographing models and began to release special issues and volumes on nude photography that worked to codify the appropriate principles of nude photography.<sup>362</sup> Throughout the 1950s they often acted as go-betweens for photographers and models, advertising nude studios where photographers were charged by the size of the group and

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<sup>361</sup> Ibid, 146.

<sup>362</sup> A small selection of books on nude photography published in the 1950s includes: *Amerika nūdo shashinshū* (A Collection of American Nudes) (Tokyo: Ars, 1951); *Gendai furansu nūdo kessakushū* (A Collection of Contemporary French Nude Masterpieces) (Tokyo: Ars, 1951); *Nippon nūdo kessakushū* (A Collection of Japanese Nude Masterpieces) (Tokyo: Ars, 1953); *Gendai foto āto [1] nūdo hen* (Contemporary Photo Art [1] Edited Volume of Nudes) edited by Kawade Shinsho (Tokyo: Kawade Shinsho, 1955); *Nūdo Fotoshū* (Nude Photo Collection) (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1958).

the number of models they wanted (Figure 33).<sup>363</sup> In a sense, photographing nude female bodies can be seen as a commercially successful activity from which the photography world sought to profit. Much like the prolific literature on the “*sunappu*”, or snapshot photograph, and “realism”, the popularity of nude photography also generated an abundant how-to literature that was published in the mass press.

As historian Kerry Ross has shown in her work on prewar camera clubs, how-to literature was a thriving genre that gave enthusiasts the chance to connect with professionals and develop their own approaches to the subject-matter after cultivating an educated eye. In addition, Julia Thomas has provocatively demonstrated that the how-to diagrams that the prolific photographer Domon Ken used to illustrate his thesis on realism are evidence of the subjective constructions of the very idea of realism itself. While Domon, who is often called the “father,” or “master” of Japanese realism published his how-to treatises on the social role of realism, he, and other well-known photographers and critics contributed to instructional series on nude photography, calling into question the ideological underpinnings of realism when it was applied to the female body.

In an article titled, “The Practical Skills of Shooting the Nude Photo,” critic Shigemori Koen (1929—1992), who was known for his involvement in the debates around photographic realism, advised readers on the best way to set up lights in a studio to shade a woman’s breast from the side so that her nipple is perfectly illuminated against the dark shadow of her body (Figure 34-35).<sup>364</sup> The article cleverly evades the need for Shigemori to describe the models’

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<sup>363</sup> An advertisement for a nude studio near Shinbashi, Tokyo, posted in the December 1953 issue of *Camera* advertised nude models for 800 yen per hour for one person and a group discount of 500 yen per person for five people: 72. See also, “Nūdo sutajio moderu shōkaijō” (Nude studio: Places for Introducing Nude Models), *Photo Art* (December 1957), 143.

<sup>364</sup> Shigemori Koen, “Nūdo wo utsusu: Nūdo foto satsuei no jistsugi” (Photographing Nudes: The Practice Skills of Shooting the Nude Photo), *Photo Art* (January 1957).

bodies in words by printing photographs of her as illustrations of the principles taught along with explanatory diagrams. In these schematic renderings, a pole with a ball on top acts as stand-in for the model's body and the reader's eye is directed back to the photographs of the model's illuminated breasts, the ever-present example of a successful lighting set-up. How-to instructions such as these defined the nude photo as an image created with specialized equipment, in a timeless space, by a male photographer, for the sake of, what exactly? It couldn't be for the form of realism that Domon Ken had put forth in the early 1950s that sought to capture the "absolute unstaged snapshot, absolutely unstaged"?<sup>365</sup> Was it for "art" or "a cultured nation" as the moderator had announced at the nude shooting session Tokiwa first attended?

In 1953 Domon Ken, similar to Shigemori, broke down the basics of composing an "unstaged snapshot" through a carefully crafted set of how-to schematics of different framings of a chair.<sup>366</sup> That the "how-to" image was as easily applied to instructions for taking what Domon Ken hoped were more socially aware photographs as they were to the right way to frame the female body as a decontextualized object separate from history speaks to the necessity to reconsider the realism debates (*riarizumu ronsō*) of the late 1940s and 1950s. While scholars such as Justin Jesty have provided a powerful account of the ways in which painters, critics, and photographers argued for a stronger correspondence between art and politics, the fact that many photographers who made these arguments also profited from leading and advising nude shooting sessions casts new light on the high-handed language of constructing a new realism for postwar

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<sup>365</sup> Domon Ken, "Riarizumu shashin to saron pikuchua" (Realism photography and salon pictures) *Camera* 46 (4) (1953), 185.

<sup>366</sup> Domon Ken, "Fotojenikku to iu koto—aru shōhei no shashin ni tsuite" (On being photogenic: Concerning the photograph of a wounded soldier) *Camera* 45 (6) (1953), 157-158. Julia Thomas discusses this image in "Power Made Visible: Photography and Postwar Japan's Elusive Reality," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 67, 2 (2008), 365-394.

Japan.<sup>367</sup> As it turns out, the new realism of postwar Japan was constructed through the rendering of women's naked bodies into "art" and casting great doubt on the ability for female photographers to wield a camera.

The popularity of taking nude photographs and the conversations that circulated around the practice are crucial to understanding postwar Japanese photography and the politics that were at stake. Nude shooting sessions were one of the key ways that men (and often women) learned to photograph in the postwar, casting the naked female body as the primary site for learning how to become a photographer. These events provide the opportunity to examine ways in which female photographers called into question the assumption of man as taker of photograph and woman as its subject. In this sense, the female nude in postwar Japan was a kind of genre photograph, which art historian Brian Wallis argues functions as a "form of representational colonialism" in its presentation of the "...subject as already positioned, known, owned, represented, spoken for, or constructed as silent..."<sup>368</sup> In a reversal of what Wallis describes as nineteenth-century photographic portraits emphasize a white middle-class sitter's right to personhood, the nude shooting session situated the female model and aspiring female photographer as bodies to be imaged and described by male photographers.

To return to the parallel rise of the Japanese camera and the Japanese female photographer, the new affordability of the camera in the postwar put women like Tokiwa in the position of being the subject of the gaze and also a gendered spectator. Seen again, this time without its *obi*, or strip of coral paper looped around the dust-jacket, the cover image of

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<sup>367</sup> Justin Jesty, "The Realism Debate and the Politics of Modern Art in Early Postwar Japan," *Japan Forum*, 26: 4: 508-529. In Japanese see: Domon Ken, "Riarizumu wa shizenshugi de wa nai" (Realism is not naturalism) *Camera* 46 (6): 174-177.

<sup>368</sup> Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes," *American Art* Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 1995), 54-55.

Tokiwa's book is a defiant positioning of her critical eye against both an emasculated Japanese man and emboldened Japanese woman (Figure 36). Within this image we can see how the female photographer as New Woman was seen as a symbol of the crisis of masculinity that Japanese men experienced and how Tokiwa sought to both represent herself as a successful New Woman photographer while condemning other forms of labor through her photographs of prostitutes and nude models. We can also see what a focus on Japan teaches us about photography: that encounters between the photographer and the photographed reveal the indivisible relationship between image making and power, a subject I will return to in the next chapter as a generation of female photographers sought to wield the camera against state-supported environmental pollution in the late 1960s.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Through Young Eyes: The Student Photography Revolution 1950s-1970s**

In 1969 a group of twenty students from the Jissen Women's College Photography club arrived at the Ashio copper mine, set in the mountainous valley of Tochigi prefecture. At the time, the name Ashio resonated across Japan in the same way that today Chernobyl, the Nevada Test Site, and Fukushima immediately evoke images of contamination, social activism, and tensions between private industry and the public sector. Over the following two years the young photographers returned frequently to photograph the town which had for the last century been the center of debates on nature and politics and the source of pollution for the vast Watarase River tributary system. Their sometimes grainy, sometimes high contrast photographs such as the first image in their series of mountains stripped bare of all life by poison sulfur gasses reveal less of a focus on technique and skill, but rather a determination to capture the impact of industrial pollution on the environment and people of the cluster of towns around the mine (Figure 1). In fact, many of them learned to develop negatives for the first time in the dark room they set up in the local Buddhist temple which also served as their bunk house.

The young female photographers of the Jissen Women's College Photography Club traveled to Ashio to understand the tensions between the concerted effort on the behalf of its residents and overseers to picture it as a utopia and its history as the inspiration for pollution theory amongst Japanese environmental scholars and activists. The group of eighteen to twenty-year-old students, Canon and Nikon cameras in hand, embedded themselves within the town to depict these contrasts: they met with local women's clubs, bathed at local bathhouses with residents, and discovered that inside the soot-covered row houses were cheerfully appointed homes with the newest electric refrigerators. The blackened, carbon encrusted eaves of employee

houses against hillsides barren of all life guide the viewer to ask what is inside, creating a sense of closeness, rather than distance and objectification (Figure 2). Their photographs, long afterwards published as *Ashio 1969-1971* (1994), juxtapose these scenes with children playing in the unpaved streets and intermingle them with reproductions of historical photographs of the miners barracks and portraits of Tanaka Shōzō (1841-1913), the nineteenth century pioneer of Japanese environmental activism (Figure 3-5).<sup>369</sup>

In a time when female photographers did not often make headlines in major photography magazines and were seldom featured in major Tokyo galleries, by the mid-late 1960s the ubiquity of hand held cameras and changing social norms around photography made it possible for these women to travel to rural Japan with the conviction that they could form a powerful social critique through photographs. In part, continued reliance on the evidentiary function of photography imbued the camera and its images with a weapon-like status that it had not enjoyed since the war. The camera as weapon of the state became the camera as weapon turned against these state as the students held the strong belief in it as their weapon of choice and form of protest in a period of national upheaval. As former student photographer Higashi Yumi recounted, “We had the choice between carrying cameras or violence (*gebaruto*). We debated whether we should put our cameras down and join protests but chose to continue with our cameras.”<sup>370</sup> So far this study has addressed the meanings embedded into the camera, its users, and the publication of photographs as these agents have shifted from wartime use in service of the state to postwar applications that revealed the limits of photography’s gendered and nation-oriented culture. This final chapter considers photography culture from the perspective of a

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<sup>369</sup> Alumni of the Jissen Women’s College Photography Division, *Ashio 1969-1971*. Tokyo, 1994.

<sup>370</sup> Interview with Higashi Yumi, former member of the Jissen Women’s University Photography Club, August 1, 2017.



movement of photographers who very consciously created their own meanings for the camera and forms of producing and distributing their work.

The Jissen Women's College photographers were part of a nationwide student movement known as the Zen Nihon Gakusei Shashin Renmei (All Japan Student Photography League) which was one of the thousands of groups called "circles" (*sākuru*) that characterized Japanese social and political life in the 1950s and 60s. More than just a circle, it was founded in 1952, to unite existing primary, secondary, and university photography clubs across Japan into one collective group with its own publication and annual events and exhibitions. The organization was revolutionary for its conception of the collective production (*kyōyō sakusei*) of photography essays, exhibitions, and books. Beginning as early as 1954, university members of the organization began to make work around the principle of collective production: individual clubs decided on a theme, conducted research and developed a storyboard, captured images in the field, and then collectively organized and edited the resulting photographs. Similar to the process of producing a piece of photojournalism or a film, the students' work differed in that they kept the authors of each image anonymous, often publishing a list of names of those involved at the end of a series but always obscuring individual authorship of singular images for the sake of the group's overall statement. It was in this way that the All Japan Student Photography League produced its most penetrating social and environmental criticism from the mid-1960s to early 1970s. And yet, one of the other compelling aspects of the group, its means of connecting its student members with professional photographers and critics such as Fukushima Tatsuo, Domon Ken, Kimura Ihee, Hamaya Hiroshi, and Tōmatsu Shōmei through photography courses and workshops, also necessitated that they constantly defend collective production against the critique of established professional photographers who saw it as evidence of vertical social

organization that turned members into robots following orders. This chapter examines these debates from the early 1950s to the mid 1970s to show how through the group's radical redefinition of what it meant to take photographs and who was qualified to be a photographer they created an influential interpretation of authorship and the meanings of the photographic document.

Ashio was the main site for the development of environmental activist theory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and in the 1960s it became one of many sites of environmental disaster that inspired students across Japan to develop their own *photographic* theory. As the testing grounds for understanding the relationship between the self and photographs as action (*kōi toshite no shashin*) these were the sites where students formed a theoretically informed photographic method prior to and in tandem with the experimental photographers of well-known collectives such as Provoke which became internationally famous for its grainy, out of focus style that challenged the ontological nature of the photographic document. While much international scholarly and curatorial attention has been given to the latter, the theoretical writings and activities of student photographers has only recently been acknowledged.<sup>371</sup> Thus, this chapter also interrogates critical scholarship's continued exclusions to understand why a mass movement of student photographers that lasted over two decades, had a prolific publishing record, and developed its own historically conscious theory for photography as political action has been left in relative obscurity. What is more, the organization's trajectory

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<sup>371</sup> See, “Kōi toshite no shashin — Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei no seiritsu to saisho no henkaku (The Founding and First Transformation of the All Japan Student Photo Association) in *Nihon shashin no 1968: 1966–1974 futtosuru shashin no mure* (1968—Japanese Photography: Photographs that Stirred Up Debate, 1966–1974) ed. Kaneko Ryūichi and Tasaka Hiroko (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2013), 178-183; Kaneko Ryūichi, “Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei no shashin—kojin kara shūdan he” (The All Japan Student Photo Association—From Individual to Group) *Shinpojiumu ‘Nihon shashin no 1968’ zen kiroku* (Symposium “Japanese Photography’s 1968” Full Record) Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography (June 15, 2013).

from its beginnings as a mass movement supported by major Japanese newspapers and camera corporations to its later shift toward independent publishing and small-scale circulation sheds light on trends in Japanese photography and social organization during this period.

### **The Beginnings of a Movement: Are Students Photographers?**

Though university photography clubs began to hold joint exhibitions and shooting sessions in the 1930s, it was not until 1941 when the first nation-wide student photography organization was formed as a part of the wartime state's national push to unify existing social organizations in support of the war effort.<sup>372</sup> There is scant record of wartime activities and the idea for a nationwide organization seems to have fizzled out until 1952 when the Zen Nihon Gakusei Shashin Renmei (All Japan Student Photography League) was rekindled to unite existing photography clubs and support the creation of new photography groups across the country.<sup>373</sup> From the start corporate interest drove the organization and events of the group: its main office was located in the publicity department of Fuji Photo Film in Tokyo which also jointly sponsored the All Japan Student Photography Contest every year along with the *Asahi Newspaper*. Thus, from its foundation in the postwar period, the student photography organization was embroiled in the contemporary culture of wildly popular photography contests hosted by newspapers and magazines and the politics of sponsoring social activities to sell camera equipment and photography supplies.

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<sup>372</sup> “Zen koku wo ichigan ni gakusei shashin renmei” (The student photography association bands together to unite the whole country) *Asahi Shimbun* (June 5, 1941), 5.

<sup>373</sup> “Renmei go nenkan no ayumi—Senpai wo kakonde no zadankai” (Five Years of the Association—A Roundtable with Our Upperclassmen) *Zen Nihon Gakusei Shashin Renmei Kaihō* No. 23 (July 1957).

From the late 1940s to the late 1950s monthly photo contests sponsored by magazines such as *Ars*, *Camera Mainichi*, and *Kamera* in addition to camera corporations such as the Canon Co. and Fuji Photo Film had the power to make the careers of up and coming young photographers and were one of the key incubators of photographic discourse. In 1954 there were ninety-four thousand entrants to the Fuji Photo Contest, guaranteeing that selection from their numbers gave the winner instant celebrity status in the photography world.<sup>374</sup> After all, it was when judges Domon Ken and Kimura Ihee discovered Tōmatsu Shōmei in a 1952 photo contest in *Kamera* that he was recruited to work with the famous editor and photographer Natori Yōnosuke at Iwanami Shashin Bunkō and from there went on to participate in the leading photography collectives of the postwar period.<sup>375</sup> There are many other examples of amateurs who won a national photo contest and rode the wave of recognition to become professional photographers working in the fields of photojournalism and commercial photography.<sup>376</sup>

Looking back on this period, the photographer Ishii Akira recalled,

I remember speaking to people I met at that time who forgot their jobs and their life because they were so excited about photography...now people live life, they go bowling, or for a drive, or play golf and there are a lot of amateurs. But back then, if you did photography, you couldn't do anything else. It was a time when if you did photography you couldn't have any other pleasures, but seen from another way it meant that amateurs were taking the same kinds of photographs as the pros. At the height of the Fuji Contest, [amateur] photographs were not inferior to the pros.<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> Cited in Tucker, Anne Wilkes et al, *The History of Japanese Photography* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts & New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003), 325.

<sup>375</sup> Ueno Kōshi, *Shashinka: Tōmatsu Shōmei* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1999), 44-8.

<sup>376</sup> Ishii Akira and Kimura Ihei, “Shashinkai wo shigekishita chōsen dōran” (The Korean upheaval/uprising that stimulated the photography world) in *Kimura Ihei taipan shashin kono gojūnen* (Fifty Years of Photography: A Conversation with Kimura Ihee). ed. *Asahi Camera* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1975), 232-5.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid., Ishii Akira and Kimura Ihei, “Shashinkai wo shigekishita chōsen dōran” (The Korean upheaval/uprising that stimulated the photography world) in *Kimura Ihei taipan shashin kono gojūnen*: 234.

In 1952 Fuji Photo Film, the *Asahi Newspaper* and the All Japan Student Photography League joined the photo contest frenzy to jointly sponsor the annual Zen Nihon gakusei shashin konkūru (All Japan Student Photography Contest). Geared toward elementary through university students, the contest mirrored those for amateur adult photographers in its format and commentary by the very same judges that chaired the popular adult contests. From 1955 through the early 1960s, the photographers Domon Ken, Ina Nobuo, and Kanamaru Shigene in addition to the film critic Tsumura Hideo and novelist Tamura Tajiro provided commentary on the winning photographs and advised directions for student photographs that were printed in the *Asahi Newspaper*. While the contests should be read as a very successful marketing strategy to sell newspapers, magazines, and the Fuji point and shoot cameras that were awarded to the winners, they should also be acknowledged for their power to publicly shape conceptions of what it meant to be a young photographer.

On the one hand, student photography clubs were spaces where young women could experiment with photography alongside male club members at a time when the professional photography world continued to be the province of men. Yamamoto Kimiko, a member of the Aoyama Gakuin University photography club gave evidence to this: “I wanted to join a club where men and women could be active on the same level” and in doing so “I went from being a person who did not identify with the statement ‘I do photography’ to identifying with it.”<sup>378</sup> Female students, however, faced resistance from male club members, and as Yamamoto described, they were often treated like “pets” who were there to dabble and did not take photography seriously. The format of the collective production movement, anonymized the

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<sup>378</sup> “Shashinbu no shukujotachi: Imai hisae sensei to joshi daisei no zadankai” (Ladies of the photography department: Imai Hisae and a round table discussion of female college students) *Zen Nihon Gakusei shashin renmei kahō* No. 36 (1959), 1-3.

images of individuals and forced members to work together to produce photography essays creating space for men and women to work together on an equal level. In Yamamoto's view, it was collective photography that gave female photographers the opportunity for photographs taken by female members to not be held in contempt (*keibetsu sareru koto no nai yō*) by male photographers.

By contrast, though the collective production method sought to decenter individual authorship from the work as a whole there was a concerted attempt on the behalf of critics to shape student photography into a practice that was always connected to the age or gender identity of the young photographers. The winning photographs selected from between fifteen and twenty thousand entrants each year from 1952 to 1960 won the contests because in the eyes of the committee they skillfully expressed the essence of childhood through their images. Commentary on the winning photographs printed in the *Asahi Shimbun* infantilized the students' practice, commending photographers for reminding critics of what it felt like to be in the early stages of life. Critic-photographers such as Kanemaru Shigene evaluated work by elementary through university age students as a symbol of human progress as their skill increased with age: in his view, while each photographer's work should reflect "the feeling of their age," younger students should transport the viewer to the experience of being a child and work by older students should reflect the overall feeling of their generation.<sup>379</sup> Among the winning photographs printed in the paper are playground scenes, street photography from a child's perspective, or as selected by Tamura Tajiro (1911-1983), the famous author of *Nikutai no mon* (Gate of Flesh), a

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<sup>379</sup> Kanemaru Shigene, "Zen Nihon gakusei shashin konkūru: Nyūsen sakuhin no naka kara. Sunaona wakōdo no kankaku shinsago sō" (Photographs chosen from the winning works: All Japan Student Photography Contest. An honest youth's sense: Thoughts after examination) *Asahi Shimbun* (August 26, 1995), 3.

photograph of a young newspaper seller whose stuffed rucksack full of papers waiting to be sold conveyed strong boyhood emotion to the viewer (Figure 6-7).<sup>380</sup>

Consequently, critics tended to evaluate male and female student photographers by basing the worth of their work to the photography community solely on the unique perspectives that their age or gender identity gave them assuming that they did not have the artistic capacity to surpass these backgrounds. Though they aspired to take photographs inspired by the professionals but with a unique vision of photography as political action, due to their age critics constantly cast the students as on the edge of making derivative work. Hamaya Hiroshi, a well-known photographer who had been active during the war as a photographer and continued his career in the postwar period as a prominent member of the Japan Professional Photographers Society warned students that “many photographs show symptoms of being poisoned by being imitations” of what the professionals were doing.<sup>381</sup> In his view, though new types of photographic perspective such as microscopic scientific photographs were on the rise as interest in photography was becoming nearly universal, students who strove to take photographs using new technologies or inspired by the many photography magazines that filled newspaper stands would only make images that looked like “you have seen them somewhere before.” Similar to encouraging housewives to photograph domestic scenes, in Hamaya’s logic what students had going for them was that their unique “spirit of freedom and creation comes from the era of youth and the age of being a student.”

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<sup>380</sup> Tamura Tajiro, “Zen nihon gakusei shashin konkūru: bakku no kandō” (From the All Japan Student Photography Contest: The emotion of a bag) *Asahi Shimbun* (January 24, 1960), 17.

<sup>381</sup> Hamaya Hiroshi, “Jibun no me to kangae de: umai shashin yori, yoi shashin wo” (With your own eyes and ideas: Toward a good photograph rather than a skillful one) *Asahi Shimbun* (December 11, 1961), 6.

## Group Shooting: A New Conception of Photography as Collective Action

In Chapter Four I addressed the popular phenomenon of photography shooting sessions and their postwar iteration focused on photographing naked women and contended that this form of mass practice helped reinforce the idea that a woman's place was in front of the camera lens. Student photographers developed another form of group shooting from the late 1950s onward that set out to redefine the relationship between a photographer and their work and call into question the social responsibility of the photographer. Despite the adult critical inclination to see student work as imitative, student photographers made major contributions to the photography world in the 1950s through 70s in two distinct ways: first, through the collective production (*kyōyō sakusei*) model that they developed for making photographic essays and second, through their application of collective production to create a national map of images of environmental pollution and protest.<sup>382</sup>

In the 1960s the All Japan Student Photography League entered a new phase of prolific output that makes their work difficult to categorize. In 1965 and 1966 they published two photobooks, *Jōkyō 1965* (Conditions 1965) and *Jōkyō 1966* (Conditions 1966) that framed their practice in explicitly political terms and called upon students to rethink their approach to photography.<sup>383</sup> Within the pages of the first volume Fukushima Tatsuo, a critic who regularly

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<sup>382</sup> At the risk of separating the works from one another, here I focus on the photography collections that depict environmental pollution. However, the volumes that image and protests against the revision of the security treaties (*10 · 21 to wa nani ka* (What is 10. 21?) (1969) and demands for the return of Okinawa from American Occupation (*13-17. 11 '69 Sato bōbei soshi tosō* (November 13-17, 1969 Fight to Prevent Prime Minister Sato's Visit to the United States) (1969) were produced alongside the group's photographs of environmental pollution and should be thought of as part of the same movement to use photographs to demand broad social and political change.

<sup>383</sup> Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, *Jōkyō 1965* (Conditions 1965) (Tokyo: Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, 1966); Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, *Jōkyō 1966* (Conditions 1966) (Tokyo: Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, 1966).



contributed to *Nihon Camera* and *Asahi Camera*, positioned himself as the mentor to the new direction in student photography. In his essay, “Shashin de wa nani ga dekiru ka” (What can be done through photography?) Fukushima recounted how at photography camp organized by the All Japan Student Photography League in 1965 over a period of four days, each participant looked at over 2,500 photographs taken by the participants, thought deeply about them and then returned to them to select the three hundred that would make up *Conditions 1965* through a “democratic” process of discussion.<sup>384</sup> This was not only a method of selecting images for the series, but method for a “decisive form of self-transformation” in which individuals could see first-hand that in order to change the current reality they needed to understand the relationship between society and the self by destroying hierarchies and reaffirming the value of horizontal social organization in their group.

Beginning with the publication of *Conditions 1965*, the League applied this conceptualization of the important connection of the individual to the exterior world to publish works that imaged protests against the Vietnam war, the revision of the U.S. security treaties in 1969, and demands for the return of Okinawa from American Occupation (Figure 8-9).<sup>385</sup> They created a national pollution map of Japan through photographs (1970), examined the rural town of Gujo which was a historical site of peasant protest (1971) and drew attention to the conditions of life in Hiroshima (1971) (Figure 10-12).<sup>386</sup> Their prolific range of work makes the All Japan

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<sup>384</sup> Fukushima Tatsuo, “Shashin de wa nani ga dekiru ka” (What can be done through photography?) in *Jōkyō 1965 (Conditions 1965)* (Tokyo: Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, 1966), 187-8.

<sup>385</sup> *10・21 to wa nani ka (What was 10.21?)* (Tokyo: *10.21 to wa nani ka wo shuppan suru kai*, 1969); *'69 11/13-17 Sato hōbei soshi tōsō (The battle against Sato's visit to the U.S.)* Tokyo: *Futatabi 10.21 wo shuppan suru kai*, 1969).

<sup>386</sup> All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai (On this ground we have no country)* (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography Organization,

Student Photography League a simultaneously compelling and overwhelming opportunity to think through the environmental activism of the 1960s and 70s, visualizing political protest, historical consciousness in the photography world, modes of photographic production, and the circle – all through the lens of photography culture. In particular, I am interested in how these works are historical documentation of the way students across Japan developed their own *photographic* theory. Their conception of the collective production (*kyōyō sakusei*) of photography essays and books redefined what it meant to take photographs and who was qualified to be a photographer by decentering the identity of individual photographers and importance of individual photographs from the work. This meant that large numbers of female students could anonymously publish photographs. What is more, student photographs were purposely kept out of the art market which relies on the myth of the individual artist as genius producer. The purposeful disconnection from the art market has resulted in the unintended consequence that their work has not been collected by major photography or arts institutions.

Collective production took on different forms and changed over time, but its general contours can be pieced together from published and unpublished notes on the process that the group kept. Photo series composed through collective production were largely structured through symposia, the collection of related materials, and engaging in group discussions and critiques of the photographs that everyone took. To start, in most cases, a regional club or in some cases the heads of the All Japan Student Photography Organization itself, chose a theme and sent out an “appeal” to chapter and national members. As the unpublished appendix to ヒロシマ・広島・ひろう-じま (*Hiroshima*, 1972) details, the appeal might introduce the political perspective they

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1970); Nagoya Women’s College Photography Department OG, *Gujo 1968-1970* (Ishikawa Prefecture: Adachi Printing Corporation, 2015).

were hoping to shed light on, the historical context, and any materials for reference that interested photographers might engage with. In general, the next step was to hold a symposium or camp where materials related to the idea were distributed so that members could discuss how they connected to photographs they wanted to take. As a workflow chart printed in the All Japan Student Photography League Newsletter demonstrates, the production of a photo series was envisioned as a constant process of negotiation between the photographed world and between members of individual clubs, and also from one club to the next. Their outline of this process looked like this (Figure 13):

**Publish newsletters** On the camp's viewpoint and the symposium, Sendai and Yonezawa are the starting points for taking action in each region.

**Beginning the First shooting**

...This is the process of establishing the actual work of taking photographs: Reevaluate the photographs taken so far, in order to re-take photographs come up with a shooting plan, decide on participants from other schools.

As a method of communication between regions, are frequently publish mimeographed copies.

**July training camp** While thinking about the problems brought on by the individual, and where we have come to, we will think through the overall issues that we should face and publish them in the concrete plans of the circle.

**Each circle's camp** Pick out the photographic issues that come up in the camp for each circle, write about it, and generalize for each region.

**Start of second shooting action**

General symposium: Summary of summer activities, put together a method for presenting what each person has done.<sup>387</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> “Shashin wo toru, Kōdō o okosu” chart, *Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei kaihō* (Bulletin for the All Japan Student Photography League) No. 63 (September 1, 1968), 6.

Framing the chart are the directions “Collect and look up materials,” “Walk,” “Look,” “Take photographs,” and “Take action.” The act of taking photographs was meant to be a constant pursuit that led to taking action. The other activities that informed taking pictures, such as the process of reading and writing about what they were doing, getting to know a chosen site, meeting together to discuss the images, would constantly feed into and shape the kinds of pictures they could take. As this work flow chart shows, together the students worked as a team in the way editors of a magazine and photojournalists operate in tandem to create stories and content. Collective production flies in the face of the modernist notion of photographers as fine artists producing singular works like painters to be hung on a gallery wall. Instead, thinking of photographs as manufactured by a team of people connects this work with that of photojournalism, where we must consider the entire system of actors, materials, and transport methods for producing photographs which makes up the “photography complex.”<sup>388</sup>

The collective production process created student photographers who conceptualized a theoretically oriented approach to photography that decentered individual photographers and reoriented photography as a social practice with activist goals and deemphasized its connection to fine art. While their work flow looks very similar to that of the photography department for a magazine, it is more likely that their inspiration came from the circle model social organizations as well as contemporary environmental activists practice. In the 1960s their writings were dominated by theorizations of the issue of praxis: though their end goal was to take photographs that were socially aware and activated the viewer, their main focus was on the process of getting to a place where engaged photography was possible. This meant deemphasizing the identity of

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<sup>388</sup> James L. Hevia, “The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China 1900-1901, Making Civilization” in Rosalind C. Morris, ed., *Photographic East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 81.

the photographer and the value of the photographic print itself and instead focusing on researching contemporary issues and bearing witness to pollution events. As environmental historian Kevin Richardson points out, in this period activists in Japan reinvented the term “*genba*” (site or local place) to mean ““the site of *real* activity,” or, more precisely, “the place where things were *happening*.”<sup>389</sup> For the photographers of the student movement, the *genba* was the process of producing the photographs. By engaging with the action of gathering information about Minamata or Ashio, going into the field to get to know and interview people affected, and then collectively producing an exhibition or photo book they developed a photographic activism that placed each person at the center of their photographs and in the eye of industrial pollution.

This places the work of the All Japan Student Photography League in connection with the anti-commercial efforts of collectives such as Gutai Bijutsu Kyōkai and Hi-Red Center and the American movement in Process art.<sup>390</sup> They do not cite these artists as the inspiration for their work, however, it was the circle (*sākuru*) model of social organizing that dominated the world of politics and past times that gave them a framework for their emphasis on the production of the work. This makes sense, for as art historian Reiko Tomii points out, works by many art collectives such as Gutai “remained primarily those of individuals within a collective environment, rather than those of a collective.”<sup>391</sup> Few scholars connect the emergence of this

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<sup>389</sup> Kevin Richardson, “Scientific Wastelands and Toxic Utopias: The New Environmentalism of 1970s Japan,” PhD Diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2019.

<sup>390</sup> For a discussion of Hi-Red Center’s anti-art “capitalist realism” see William Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), 263-280.

<sup>391</sup> Tomii argues that “collaborative collectivism” emerged in the mid-1960s and uses Hi Red Center’s *Cleaning Event* where the group donned white coats and “cleaned” the streets of Tokyo in preparation for the Tokyo Olympics as an example. Against this description, Marotti contends that High Red Center’s approach intentionally resembled a conspiracy, with names hidden and membership radically unspecified to set their work apart as that of neither a collective nor individuals. Reiko Tomii, “After the 'Descent to

collective trend in the art world to the social structure of the circle. From circles that focused on literature and film appreciation to those connected to the workplace or political parties, the circle was an incredibly productive site for inspiring participatory action in literature, politics, and art, be it writing fan letters or grass roots organizing.<sup>392</sup>

Curators and art historians have been quick to identify process oriented works as evidence of “an intimate and mutual relationship between art and photography in Japan.”<sup>393</sup> In their perspective process is the vital key to the experimental Japanese photography group Provoke (1968-1970), crediting them with the origin of this method to the extent that they are cited as the only group in Japan that addressed the nature of photography and the role of the photographer through their focus on process.<sup>394</sup> However, the activities of the circle provide precedent for their work and the student photographers of the All Japan Student Photography League prolifically published on the circle as their model for photography as process. The All

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the Everyday’: Japanese Collectivism from Hi Red Center to The Play, 1964-1973,” in *Collectivism after Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination after 1945*, Blake Stimson and Gregory Sholette, eds., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 46.

<sup>392</sup> On circle culture of the postwar period see Michiba Chikanobu, *Shimomaruko Bunka Shūdan to sono jidai* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 2016); Narita Ryūichi, “Heibon to sono jidai,” in *Sengo Nihon sutadīzu 1:40, 50-nendai*, edited by Iwasaki Minoru, Ueno Chizuko, Kitada Akihiro, Komori Yōichi, and Narita Ryūichi (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2009), 219-243. On the methodological challenges of writing histories of collective theater in the postwar period, see Miryam Sas, “Intersubjective Spaces, Communal Dreams,” in *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moment of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagined Return* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 74-94.

<sup>393</sup> Yasufumi Nakamori, “Experiments with the Camera: Art and Photography in 1970s Japan,” in Nakamori, Yasufumi, and Allison Pappas, eds. *For a New World to Come: Experiments in Japanese Art and Photography, 1968–1979* (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2015): 10.

<sup>394</sup> This is critic and editor Nishii Kazuo’s perspective, supported and cited in Kaneko Ryūichi “Provoke, 1968-1970,” in *Form Postwar to Postmodern Art in Japan 1945-1989: Primary Documents*, ed. Doryun Chong et al., (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012), 214. See also Yuko Fuji, “Photography as Process: A Study of the Japanese Photography Journal *Provoke*,” PhD diss., (The City University of New York, 2012); and Philip Charrier, “Taki Koji, Provoke, and the Structuralist Turn in Japanese Image Theory, 1967–70,” *History of Photography* 41, no. 1 (April 2017): 25–43.

Japan Student Photography League produced over a decade's worth of charts, maps, and diagrams documenting their evolving approach to the practice of photography as being composed by a system of actions. Some, as in the case of a map of the Chubu region of Japan, are constructions of cultural data on the area that a photographer could use to inform their exploration of it (Figure 14). Others, such as the "Nationwide map of environmental contamination and pollution" map serve a similar informative purpose, albeit with a focus on locating recent cases of pollution around the country in an effort to rethink how photographs might contribute to this national picture of corporate and government sanction devastation (Figure 15). Finally, there are also hand drawn maps inserted into journal-like records and reflections on photographing in a particular area. The map of Gujo accompanying essays on the meaning of photographing as political action by the Nagoya Women's College Photography Department is simultaneously didactic and experiential (Figure 16). The notes that the author took on the cost of wares sold at particular shops or the fact that the river running through the town is almost dry add observed information in a way that the more scientific gaze of the prior pollution map cannot. What is more, the method of creating information through maps says a lot about how the students saw their photographs working: both photographs and maps become models of experience that connect the individual to larger structures. In a vivid illustration of this relationship, a photograph taken by the Jissen Women's College shows school children bent over their desks in concentration as a map of Japan looms behind them (Figure 17). Within the map of Japan is a map of the world, and thus photographer locates herself in connection with the child, Japan, and globe. As the author of the Gujo Shooting Record asserts, each of these maps was created as part of the process of photographing and they became a record of how choosing a place to shoot or what to shoot was directly connected to clarifying one's own problems. The

problem of what to photograph and a photographer's own issues were one and the same. It was only in connecting the self to humanity that the photographer might start to think about how to solve larger problems of society.

Photo historian Maren Stange traces the origins of twentieth century documentary photographic style back to Progressive Era photographer Lewis Hine's work; one might also connect the method of mixing maps and diagrams with photographs to the photography exhibitions held to expose the squalid conditions of tenement housing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the United States. What social reformer Lawrence Veiller (1872-1959) dubbed the "Social Exhibition" was a mix of statistical information on disease, diagrams of tenements, and photographs of their occupants and the environs employed as a "mechanism in civil and social work."<sup>395</sup> Similar to these exhibitions, the All Japan Student Photography League photographs, maps and charts present the provocation that they are only fully legible in relation as a collective, or in totality. It makes sense then that volumes with the greatest activist leanings such as *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this land we have no country) included an assemblage of statistical, anecdotal, and citational information that when paired with the photographs formed the scientific and emotional catalyst to activating the viewer.

In this way, the group sought to situate the taking of photographs as a practice informed not only by their way of life (*jibun no ikikata*) but also most importantly by a historical consciousness of the historical role of photography in times of social upheaval. Like many other circles seeking to increase literacy in a certain area the All Japan Student Photography League developed its own curriculum for its members. As mentioned, they held a combination of regular

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<sup>395</sup> Cited in Maren Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America 1890-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 37-8.



meetings, slide lectures, and symposia to encourage members “to think about how circles and photography are based on your way of life.”<sup>396</sup> The group encouraged regional chapters to hold annual symposia for new members where they could freely discuss their thoughts about the relationship between the individual and the circle and the circle and photography. Through courses on “Japanese Photography” “Photographers of the world” and “The history of photography” the group outlined its goals to demonstrate to members how the circle activities can affect the “development of photography and also to think about how other genres such as film and painting have had an impact on human development.” New members of the organization were initiated through a study of historical works as well as contemporary photographers including the photography group VIVO, Tōmatsu Shōmei, Narahara Ikkō, Domon Ken, *Life* magazine photography, the Magnum photographers (Robert Capa in particular), Atget, Robert Frank, William Klein, Richard Avedon, and Eugene Smith. Their comparative, research based approach to teaching the history of photography did not construct a nationalist narrative about the history of photography centering Europe and the United States as the origin of photographic movements, rather it sought to place the photographer within individual historical events which they had the capacity to shed light on through their photographs.

This distinct intellectual trajectory toward historicism came on the heels of the spread of modernization theory among Japanese and American intellectuals. This movement conceptualized history as a universal process of teleological movement toward capitalist civilization. Opposing the perspective that Japan was participating in a process that would allow it to catch up with a version of Euro-American progress, science, and rationality, by the late 1960s and in the 1970s, a new generation of historians also sought to critique national efforts to

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<sup>396</sup> Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, “Renmei no kikaku katsudō keikaku” (The league's activities plan) *Young Eyes Zen nichu kaihō* No. 59 (May 1, 1967), 6-7.

celebrate the centennial of the 1868 Meiji Restoration.<sup>397</sup> Right-wing politicians used the anniversary as an opportunity to revive the prewar *Kigensetsu* (Empire Day) holiday and leftists historians responded in great force by arguing that commemorating the Meiji Restoration with such fanfare put the country at risk of reviving the prewar emperor system and also support for militarism and war.<sup>398</sup>

Against this back drop of historical controversy the members of the All Japan Student Photography League had a different vision for the role of history's revival in the 1960s. In addition to arguing for the importance of situating their work in relationship to the history of photography they saw their movement as directly connected to radical collectives such as the Paris Commune, which was one of the first political uprisings to be photographed.<sup>399</sup> The Paris Commune developed an approach to educational curriculum that focused not on the nation but on the participants in its movement and its Artists Federation sought to make artistic production autonomous from state support.<sup>400</sup> Citing the Artists Federation's goal to take control of local and national exhibitions in its effort to seize cultural production from strict state and other hierarchical control, the students saw themselves as the inheritors of this radical agenda. To

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<sup>397</sup> For a discussion of Modernization Theory see J. Victor Koschmann, "Modernization and Democratic Values: The 'Japanese Model' in the 1960s," in *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War*, edited by David C. Engerman, Nils Gilman, Mark Haefele, and Michael E. Latham (Amherst, M.A.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 225-249; Sebastian Conrad, "'The Colonial Ties are Liquidated': Modernization Theory, Post-war Japan and the Global Cold War," *Past & Present*, no. 216 (2012), 181-214.

<sup>398</sup> See Nick Kapur, "The Empire Strikes Back? The 1968 Meiji Centennial Celebrations and the Revival of Japanese Nationalism," *Japanese Studies* Vol. 38 No. 3 (2018), 305-328.

<sup>399</sup> See G. Doy, "The Camera Against the Paris Commune," in T. Dennett and J. Spence eds., *Photography/Politics I* (London: Photography Workshop, 1979), 13-26.

<sup>400</sup> For a full discussion of the Paris Commune's approach to education as "equality in action" see Kristin Ross, *Communal Luxury: The Political Imaginary of the Paris Commune* (London & New York: Verso, 2015), 39-44.

situate themselves along a similar trajectory, the All Japan Student Photography League recommended that members read and conduct research on an international cast of revolutionaries such as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Emile Zola, Gustave Flaubert, Leo Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Alfred Nicholas Rambaud, Gustave Courbet, Edvard Munch, Honore Daumier, and Nadar and put these works in conversation with Japanese pioneers such as Ishikawa Takuboku (1886-1912), Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), Nagai Kafū (1879-1959), Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943), Tayama Katai (1872-1930), Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), Mori Ōgai (1862-1922), Ōsugi Sakae (1885-1923), and Kōtoku Shūsui.<sup>401</sup> The members were instructed to use these radical thinkers to read Japanese historical documents that included declarations by arts and crafts workers as well as to examine social movements such Miyazawa Kenji's Rasuchijin Society and the Yamabiko School. In this way it was through methodological consciousness and theory (*hōhō ishiki*) that they could form the action of taking photographs.

Citing the German philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach, an influential thinker in the field of historical materialism who Marx critiqued in his "Theses on Fauerbach," the All Japan Student Photography League proclaimed:

Human beings create history by pursuing their consciously motivated purpose, no matter what outcome the history produces. And the combined power of the many wills moving in these various directions and the various actions of these wills on the outside world is history.<sup>402</sup>

Through their historical awareness, the All Japan Student Photography League sought to prove the ways in which modernization did not lead to the construction of great civilizations but

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<sup>401</sup> Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, "1860 nendai 1960 nendai zu" (A graph of the 1860s and 1960s) *Young Eyes Zen nichī kaihō* No. 59 (May 1, 1967), 8.

<sup>402</sup> Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, "Renmei no kikaku katsudō keikaku" (The league's activities plan) *Young Eyes Zen nichī kaihō* No. 59 (May 1, 1967), 7.

had embedded within it the means for ever increasing repression, suffering, and environmental degradation. In the 1960s the All Japan Student Photography League gave a nod to the expectation that it was their youthful perspective that gave their photographs power by rebranding its newsletter under the title *Young Eyes: Zen nichū kaihō* (All Japan Newsletter) and demonstrating that seen through their eyes Japan was in great need of historical reckoning. As they explained, photographs were the most compelling medium through which to express this call to arms because they were images not just for seeing or merely to “look” at, but “to change the current state.”<sup>403</sup>

### **Collective Production Comes Under Fire**

Critics from generations with a memory of the strong role photographers had played in uniting into national organizations to produce and distribute propaganda photographs soon began to ask questions about collective production and what differentiated “democratically” produced work and the faceless work determined by a top-down organizational model. In other words, they questioned whether the circle’s emphasis on group organization and anonymous production might hinder its ability to facilitate independent, individual thought. Though historians have argued that the circle model of social organizing was a crucial element of postwar Japanese participatory democratic culture, in the context of the postwar photography and art worlds, which valorized the modernist notion of the independent artist despite trends in group organization, critics began to worry that collective production robbed individual autonomy from the photographer. Despite the fact that photography groups such as VIVO in the 1950s and the photographers connected to *Provoke* in the late 1960s produced much of the most influential

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<sup>403</sup> All Japan Student Photography League, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970): inside cover.

photographic work in the 1950s and 1960s in Japan, they too were groups who were primarily famous for the discrete works by the individuals that composed them. The photography world reflected trends in other media internationally to forgo a critique of authorship in favor of a “celebration of the hero of anti-hero (invariably male) battling along against social convention and the greyness and ennui of postwar realities.”<sup>404</sup> Critics distanced photography from what art historian John Roberts calls the “collectivist character” of the avant-garde and reportage film and photography of the 1920s and 1930s, perhaps remembering the perils of enforced national collectivism during the 1940s.

Though many arts collectives in postwar Japan as well as the United States collaborated on work together, they did not seek to completely efface the identity of individual authors as did the All Japan Student Photography League.<sup>405</sup> According to photographer Nagano Shigeichi collective production obliterated individual subjectivity “as many cameramen assert themselves, often making the common subject as a whole ambiguous.”<sup>406</sup> Echoing this, others weighed in that too many perspectives included at once weakened the critical claims of the overall project: didn’t collectively produced anonymous works depersonalize the politics that the students sought to weigh in on? The key concern that photographers such as Nagano and Tōmatsu Shōmei had

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<sup>404</sup> John Roberts, *The Art of Interruption: Realism, Photography and the Everyday* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 115. A notable exception to this can be seen in the critical writings of Nakahira Takuma and Taki Koji, who in the late 1960s began to search for a method for photographers to decenter their subjectivity from their works. See Philip Charrier, “Taki Koji, Provoke, and the Structuralist Turn in Japanese Image Theory, 1967–70.” *History of Photography* 41, no. 1 (April 2017): 25–43.

<sup>405</sup> The one exception is Group “I” which in 1965 began to put pressure on authorship with works such as “Impersonal Exhibition” for which each member painted two identical abstractions, declaring that “each one of us is a unit within the multitude, and is positioned within it.” Cited in Reiko Tomii, “After the ‘Descent to the Everyday’”: 60.

<sup>406</sup> Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, *Kyōyō seisaku* (Collective Production) No. 1 (Tokyo: Bunpeisha, June 1965), 18.

was that the circle model of organization set in place a hierarchy for decision making that validated the needs over the overall group over that of the individual. Nagano thus characterized collective production as when “a leader calls everyone to action, creates a scenario with it, and uses the members like the gears of a machine.”<sup>407</sup> Some went as far to call collective production the “roboticization” (*roboto-ka*) of photography, continuing the mechanical metaphors to characterize group members as mindless apparatus.<sup>408</sup>

In response to the mounting criticism in 1965 the Kanto branch of the All Japan Student Photography Organization distributed a questionnaire to twenty-seven of the region’s university photography clubs to determine members’ perspectives on the relationship between individual photographers and the group in the process of creating collectively produced photography projects.<sup>409</sup> That year it published the results of the survey in a two part series as a defense and explanation of collective production. The authors argued, “collective production is a means for locating the importance of the individual within society” (*shakai seikatsu no naka no kojima no igi wo mitsukeru*). In naming their work as a form of *gemeinschaft*, described by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies as community produced through the production of mutual bonds, they sought to show photography itself as a form of social organization.<sup>410</sup> Thus, it was through

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<sup>407</sup> Ibid., *Kyōyō seisaku* (Collective Production) No. 1: 19.

<sup>408</sup> Yoshimura Shinya cited in *Kyōyō seisaku* (Collective Production) No. 1: 20. Fukushima Tatsuo, “Shashin = sākuru = kyōyō sakusei” (Photography = the circle = collective production) *Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei kaihō* No. 52 (March 1965), Unpaginated

<sup>409</sup> Including but not limited to Chiba University, Chiba Institute of Technology, Chuo University, Hitotsubashi University, Jissen Women’s University, Joshibi College of Art and Design, Kogakuin University, Meiji University, Japan Women’s College, Rikkyo University, Senshu University, Kanagawa University, Tokyo University, Gakushuin, Tokyo Keizai daigaku, and Aoyama Gakuin. Cited in *Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei, Kyōyō seisaku* (Collective Production) No. 1 June 1965. Tokyo: Bunpeisha, June 1965.

<sup>410</sup> A fraught term, *gemeinschaft* has also been fused with understanding of cultural value that facilitates capitalist processes. “*Gemeinschaft* capitalism” is therefore an “ideological hybrid that fuses together

one's relationship to the group that the individual could grow a political consciousness as well as come up with new ideas through the procedures of working together toward one goal. Influential photography critic Shigemori Kōen shared their view that the social mechanism of collective production had the potential to “shed the skin of the supremacy of the art trend in photography” by encouraging photographers to put society first over the image.<sup>411</sup>

The survey and its results defended student photography against the criticisms of collective production and gave evidence that their research-oriented photography practice reached beyond the mere production of images to train activist students through the camera. For one, the majority of clubs reported that the themes for collectively produced works were not decided by the heads of the organization or even the heads of the clubs but were usually determined by the members of the individual affiliated groups. The leaders of individual groups merely “translated” what each individual had decided together. They went as far as to strongly assert that the circle was not built on the “nation” (*kokka*) or the “national people” (*kokumin*), but was a totally free place for individuals to develop.<sup>412</sup> In addition, each of the twenty-seven clubs surveyed reported that the social significance of collective production was that it promoted self-growth through the social research that they conducted for each project. What they accomplished was “research through photography” (*shashin wo tsujite kenkyu*) with the goal of thinking through human formation (*ningen keiseki*) and modern society. Through the anonymous activist subjectivity that the students created they made the subjects photographed more visible by

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capitalism and communitarianism within a shell of anti-liberalism.” See Kanishka Jayasuriya, *Reconstituting the Global Liberal Order: Legitimacy and Regulation* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 26.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid., *Kyōyō seisaku* (Collective Production) No. 1, 17-18.

<sup>412</sup> Kanto gakusei shashin renmei, *Kyōyō seisaku* (Collective production) No. 2 (Tokyo: Asia Type, November 1965), 11.

erasing themselves, foregrounding society above the creation of their own subjectivity as photographers.<sup>413</sup>

### **“These photographs were not made to ‘look at’”: Student Photography as Environmental Activism**

The questions of how the individual could be the most effective activist and what is the most effective form of photographic activism were key to the All Japan Student Photography League’s work on environmental pollution. In 1970 the *Asahi Newspaper* reported that over the summer break students took their rucksacks and sleeping bags to industrial towns throughout Japan to photograph cities that were the centers of environmental pollution (*kōgai toshi*).<sup>414</sup> “Blistering their feet going from schools to hospitals and city halls making surveys of local citizens” members of the All Japan Student Photography League made visits to Minamata, Yokkaichi, Fuji, Ashio, and Ashikawa among other places hit by industrial pollution. In each of these towns they identified the toxic rainbow of elements raining down on citizens and coating the roofs and walls of buildings: they slept in youth clubs covered in reddish brown smoke from iron factories and identified the white smoke of sulfuric acid gas and reds of oxidized iron powder but reported that the “yellow smoke seems to be unknown even by the factory workers.” Wherever they stayed the students gathered citizens together to listen to their fears that change in industrial towns was difficult to come by. Responding to the resignation of the many workers they interviewed who felt powerless to speak out against industries backed by the state, the

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<sup>413</sup> Only *Ashio 1969-1971* (1994) and *Gujo 1968-1970* (2015), which were published decades after their production bear the names of the photographers involved. All other All Japan Student Photography Group volumes do not indicate the names of individual photographers.

<sup>414</sup> “Kamera de kōgai wo chōsen: kōjō gai de pachiri aima ni shimin shūkai gakusei shashin renmei” (Challenging pollution with the camera: clicking away in a factory town during the break citizens also gather) *Asahi Newspaper* (August 30, 1970), 23.



student photographers reported: “The camera can catch the evil which cannot be caught and is part of the means for battling environmental pollution!” The belief that photographs were capable of representing the unrepresentable drove much of their work in this period.

Historians such as Simon Avenell argue that during Japan’s long sixties (1959-1973), “the environment became a visible and consequential space in the consciousness of Japanese in all spheres.”<sup>415</sup> The All Japan Student Photography League was a leader in this movement and in 1970 published a slim volume of forty-four pages of photographs taken on their trips across the country entitled, *Kono chijō ni ware ware no kuni wa nai* (On this Ground We Have No Country) (Figure 10; 18). The photobook, which they sold on street corners in Ginza for 350 yen a piece, is one of their clearest examples of collective production as “research through photography.” Made from photographs taken by members who traveled to pollution sites, factories, mining towns, refineries, and fishing villages across the country overlaid with text and statistics drawn from historical documents, petitions to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, novels, and testimony from victims, it was the first project to visually depict and connect ongoing pollution disasters across the entire Japanese archipelago as the result of the government’s high economic growth policy. In doing so, its black and white grainy, high-contrast photographs and accompanying text form what the group called a “pollution map” of Japan.

Thus, the students’ goal to form a national campaign to visualize environmental degradation across the Japanese archipelago was of the first to visually connect disparate pollution events that occurred for a range of reasons: air, land, water; arsenic, methyl mercury, cadmium, and sulfur dioxide. In direct contrast with the Japanese state’s wartime campaign to

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<sup>415</sup> Simon Avenell, “Japan's Long Environmental Sixties and the Birth of a Green Leviathan,” *Japanese Studies*, 32:3 (2012), 426.

limit what could be photographed, these students demand that environmental pollution be made visible through the camera. The act of visualizing pollution in national, rather than only regional terms is also what differentiated their work from photographers such as Domon Ken, who turned his camera on coal mining villages in the early 1950s, and contemporaries who were documenting Minamata disease. Though Domon Ken's *Chikuhō no kodomotachi* (The children of Chikuhō) (1960), focused largely on the plight of the children living in coal mining towns and ignored the fact that miners were taking their own photographs of the conditions they worked in, it might be the first complete photobook in the postwar period dedicated to visualizing human life in the crosshairs of industrial pollution.<sup>416</sup> Building on his example, in their focus on the bodies of Minamata sufferers or the communities effected by methyl-mercury poisoning, photographers have been described as simultaneously creating a distancing effect as well as the potential for their images to "be used for the betterment of the human condition."<sup>417</sup> While Kuwabara's photograph of a hand twisted by methyl-mercury poisoning may "divide the normal from the diseased, the healthy from the ill," W. Eugene and Aileen Smiths photo essays have often been cast as empathetic and insightful windows into the lives of the Japanese families they lived with during the two years they spent embedded in the community.<sup>418</sup> The students likely

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<sup>416</sup> On reportage photography as social work in postwar Japan, see Justin Jesty, *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2018), 66-8.

<sup>417</sup> Michael L. Sand, "Latent Image: W. Eugene Smith's Controversial Minamata Photograph," *Aperture* No. 160 (Summer 2000), 14-19.

<sup>418</sup> On Kuwabara Shisei, see Julia Adeney Thomas, "History and Biology in the Anthropocene: Problems of Scale, Problems of Value," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 119, No. 5 (December 2014), 1597; On photographs of Minamata by the Smiths as well as others see, Timothy S. George, *Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 157-213; Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Industrial Poisoning, Minamata, 1972" in *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News* Jason E. Hill and Vanessa R. Schwartz, eds. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 94-96. On depictions of Minamata disease in film, see Justin Jesty, "Making Mercury Visible: the Minamata documentaries of Tsuchimoto Noriaki," in *Mercury Pollution: A Transdisciplinary Treatment*, edited by Michael C. Newman and Sharon Zuber (Boca Raton, F.L.: Taylor

would have been familiar with these photographers and their images as they traversed the country to build their own activist handbook. Unlike W. Eugene Smith's photographs of Minamata sufferers, which were published in the 2 June 1972 issue of *Life* magazine, the students did not seek to translate their work into the language of photojournalism's photo essay but were looking for something that was simultaneously more abstract and concrete.

*On this Ground We Have No Country* begins with two declarations: one regarding the role of history and the other, the role of photographs as political action. The cover and inside cover bear a reproduction of Tanaka Shozo's critique of the Meiji era (1868-1912) Japanese government's limitations on the freedom for people to gather and organize in groups and legalization of the dispossession of people from their lands (Figure 18). It had done this to make the interests of mine owners and steel magnates the foremost interests of the state. As the student photographers point out, the only new aspect in 1960 was the scale of destruction on the bodies of fisherman, farmers, urban dwellers, and children of mining towns. Their harrowing visualization asks if citizens can call a land their country if it has so continuously abused its people. This question and title of the volume are taken directly from Tanaka Shōzō, who, in 1900, upon witnessing the Meiji government wipe out a town with 400 years of history in the way of the Ashio copper mine noted, "Japan is destroyed. Remember this. From this time on, on this ground we have no country."<sup>419</sup> In connecting the cause of pollution in the 1960s with the historical trend to sacrifice people and nature for national goals, be they producing metals for

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and Francis, 2011), 139-160; Christine L. Marran, "Slow Violence in Film," in *Ecology without Culture: Aesthetics for a Toxic World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), 55-89.

<sup>419</sup> Cited in Fukushima Tatsuo, "Shashin • kōgai • waga tōsō" (Photography • Environmental Pollution • Our Fight) *KEN* No. 3 (Tokyo: Shaken, 1971), 95.

wartime armaments during the Russo-Japanese War or extracting as many resources from the land as possible for the chemical, pharmaceutical, and oil industries that fueled the “economic miracle” of the 1960s and 70s, the student photographers developed a historical critique to argue that this was an old form of pollution in the name of nationalism brought back at an accelerated pace.

In the inside cover of the volume, next to Tanaka Shōzō’s words, are the student’s declarations relating their photographic work to the imperative to action:

This photo collection was not made to "look" at. It was made to change the current state, to expel pollution from this land. And so, when you see this immediately stop, go to the streets, the locations of pollution, and participate in the movement. That is what we will be doing. Join the “pollution rallies” in small and large gatherings in your cities. Even if you only do a small thing, it is all action that helps us to move forward.

Following this invocation, the volume lays out photographs like pieces of industrially processed meat on a conveyor belt: the Keihin Chiho industrial region (connecting Tokyo, Kawasaki, and Yokohama in one large industrial belt) is a reminder that industrial zones are often right at the edges of urban life, one of the causes of smoggy skies over Tokyo (Figure 19-20). *Danchi*, or mass housing blocks once the modern answer to the postwar housing crisis now spread across wide swaths of cities like a cancerous growth, black soot from hundreds of factory smoke stacks creates “black sparrows” (*kuroi suzume*), coal mining towns where 80-100 tons of coal send black dust up into the air and lungs of school children, reproduced photographs of some of the 485 people who died in 1963 from CO poisoning and the other 822 who were classified as poisoned, the port town of Niihama where the Sumitomo Chemical Industry, Sumitomo Electrical Power, mining, and logging plants dump liquid waste runs into the ocean where the fish eat it and then these factories feed the same fish to their workers, photographs of

methyl-mercury poisoned victims in Minamata and Niigata, and so on (Figures 21-24). The succession of images one after the other work together to sicken the viewer.

The main focus of the photographs is visualizing the death cycle of industrial pollution from the producers of pollution (factories) to the places where toxins are being embedded (water, mud, air) and ending with those who suffer from contact with it (women, workers, children, the elderly). By creating this visual compendium of pollution as a process the students connect back to photographs themselves as part of a cycle of action. *On this Ground* is a pollution map at the same time that it is almost an illustrated dictionary of pollution as it is occurring across Japan. It is a compendium of the factories that produce the smoke and liquids that are discharged into the surrounding communities illustrating how mass pollution events as Methyl-mercury and cadmium poisoning happen when industry goes unchecked.

Echoing this premise, a couple years later photographer Nakahira Takuma's theoretical text, "Naze shokubutsu zukan ka" ("Why an Illustrated Botanical Dictionary") (1973) similarly sought to establish the main purpose of photography as its "social foundation" and outlined its potential for effecting social change. "For Nakahira," photo historian Philip Charrier articulates, "it is not enough for photography to merely support political action. Rather, it needs to *be* or *constitute* action in its own right."<sup>420</sup> Nakahira's text has received wide attention for its contribution to 1970s image theory and he and fellow photographer-theorist Taki Koji are often treated as revolutionary authors of this idea. In the students' decade of collaboration that lead to the publication of *On This Ground* they too developed an approach toward photographs as a blend of indexical and transparent windows to be seen through and subjective documents made by the photographer. It is in their insistence that photographs be used as evidence of real abuses

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<sup>420</sup> Philip Charrier, "Nakahira Takuma's 'Why an Illustrated Botanical Dictionary?' (1973) and the quest for 'true' photographic realism in post-war Japan," *Japan Forum*, 14 (Sep 2017), 14.

against real people at the same time that they sought to strip their own identities from the images that we see a middle path: the students infuse a belief in the indexicality of photography as its fundamental strength with the desire to make informed subjectivity the catalyst for conveying this information.

Though they do not engage with the buzzwords “realism” or “document” often in their texts, the student’s saw their work as important documentary evidence of environmental abuse. Their process and aesthetic relates to Nakahira’s belief that “photographers should give up the impulse to create or make aesthetically pleasing images based upon the norms by which photographs are conventionally evaluated; they should purge their photography of all manner of egoism...and instead adopt a practice that is radically humble, functional...”<sup>421</sup> Which is why there is no aestheticization of suffering or death present in *On This Ground*. Their small format ensures that the viewer will not mistake sweeping vistas of factory smokestacks or the smoggy skylines of Tokyo and Osaka for renderings of the sublime. In some cases, up to three photographs are arranged per page; because each page is roughly 5 ¾ x 8 inches those with multiple photographs squeezed onto a single page are visual arguments about repetition and intensity (Figure 25). Their high contrast and overly exposed shadows obscure information at the same time that they expose the extent of ruination, constructing a visual parallel with work by the photographers connected to *Provoke*.

Unlike monumental aerial photographs taken from an airplane high above the battlefield, in the student photographs it is not possible to forget that a human is making the pictures nor is it possible to “*stop* thinking about those chemical and ecological realities” depicted.<sup>422</sup> As is the

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<sup>421</sup> Charrier, *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>422</sup> For an insightful critique of recent trends in supposed environmental activist photography such as Edward Burtynsky’s which finds beauty in deathscapes see Clint Burnham, “Photography from Benjamin

case of photographs of water, mud, and stones in the holding dam at the Ashio copper mine, some of the photographs in the collection are more abstract depictions of sites of pollution (Figure 26). Other photographs show slick oil on the surface of the water, or trash floating in it. Others are so heavily overexposed that shadows take over and while lines of dead plants and dry straw twist in bundles that mimic the bristly strands of a woman's greying bun (Figure 27). In instances of such abstraction the students anticipate the danger that the viewer might be liberated from a sense of responsibility when pollution is envisioned so beautifully. There is no industrial sublime seen from a god's eye perspective to release the viewer from connection to the soil. Rather, in these instances, the abstract forms are paired with text that describes how in the early twentieth century in Ashio "the screams of 83 villages were ignored. With the overflowing of the Watarase River over 5,000 people were affected." The viewer is always brought back to human impact on these forms to situate the viewer within a politics of activation.

Though factories and images of industrial wastelands make up the majority of the collection, when humans are the main focus of the photographs, their bodies, too are contextualized with testimony of victims and numerical quantification of suffering through the listing of numbers of fatalities and sufferers. Ishimura Michiko's words, who won the Ramon Magsaysay award for exposing the Chisso Corporation's dumping of methyl-mercury into the Minamata Bay and nicknamed the "Rachel Carson of Japan," are printed at the bottom of a photograph of the sixteen-year-old Hannaga Ikkō in a wheelchair, hands and feet twisted as he holds a small dog: "We did not receive one cent. Instead, one after another those high up in the company gave us mercury to drink. From the earth one after another 42 people died. Even

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to Žižek, via the Petrochemical Sublime of Edward Burtynsky," in *Petrocultures: Oil, Politics, Culture*, edited by Wilson Sheena, Calson Adam, and Szeman Imre (Montreal; Kingston; London; Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 459.

mothers drank it. Their children were born with it. And after that one after another 69 people had Minamata disease” (Figure 22).

In these photographs the human body is the final stage of the death cycle: one photograph in particular combines these approaches of envisioning human suffering through the body with a closely framed abstraction of the flesh. This is a photograph of about skin, but it is also a meditation on changes that transform the familiar into distortions of the ordinary and every day that resonates with Tōmatsu Shōmei’s photographs of the skin of atomic bomb survivors in *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961*.<sup>423</sup> Warped fingers pull skin in an ambiguous part of the body tightly into crêpe paper creases, and shadows fall on skin that has been morphed by scars, changing the familiar physical body into a strange landscape (Figure 28). A sufferer of Yushō disease, or PCB poisoning, pinching folds of their skin together, drawing a line across their body that bisects the fields of mottled skin. Text in black and white overlaying the photograph informs the viewer that in 1968 after rice bran oil was contaminated with PCBs the Kanemi Corporation sold it to farmers who used it in chicken feed and for cooking. At the time of publication two people had died and 1014 were ill, but eventually 14,000 grew ill and 500 died.<sup>424</sup> The skin, like the photograph can be manipulated, distorted, taken apart and re-arranged. The photograph, like the skin becomes the site of exploration into the experience and everyday life of both photographed and photographer.

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<sup>423</sup> Teruaki Tomatsu et al., *Hiroshima-Nagasaki Document 1961* [*Gensuibaku Kinshi Nihon Hyōgikai*], (Tokyo: Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, 1961).

<sup>424</sup> Kiyomi Tsukimori et al., “Long-term effects of polychlorinated biphenyls and dioxins on pregnancy outcomes in women affected by the Yusho incident,” *Environmental health perspectives* vol. 116, 5 (2008), 626-30.



*On This Ground* ends with a condemnation of the last one hundred years of Japanese history and an incitement to break the ongoing sequences of “madness and aggression of capital” that had led Japan to attempt to escape from Asia and become one of the great powers. Calling into question anything that purports to be done “through the eye and will of the people” or the National Diet for that matter, the students write that they seek the total destruction of a 20<sup>th</sup> century on its path to the fictitious glittering 21<sup>st</sup> century. To do this, photographs are not enough, as they “reject the weak falsity of those who ask: ‘What can we initiate through photographs?’” Calling into question the very utility of photographs as “the marrow is being sucked from the bones” of the lower classes the students seem to deny the very medium that they have been working through in the volume. And yet, we might read this as a denial of the *photograph* as the end goal, not the practice of *photography* as action as outlined in their writings and in the examples set in this very book. The book, like the wound of trauma, allows those who experience it to relive again and again the occurrence of injury. It makes possible from one page to another, the suturing of pollution events experience into a narrative form that has no beginning or end. What kind of book, or wound is it? This book, like the scarred earth and bodies it contains, it is a longing to construct wholeness from the disintegrating, an attempt to understand photographs and catastrophic damage through each other.

By building a compendium of images of the process of pollution and human suffering that are rooted within their contexts, the students created a causal account for the abusive power of industrialization. Most importantly, at the same time, by erasing individual authors from the work they do not reduce social and economic relations to a matter of individual resolution, but instead insist upon a totalizing view that demands deep structural change. In opposition to the fears that photography critics had that collective production would destroy individual autonomy

to act, the All Japan Student Photography Organization's publications make the argument that social problems and environmental pollution cannot be solved through individual action and their photographs function to raise collective awareness to demand structural change. While photographers of the Provoke group such as Nakahira Takuma were busily asking "What are photographs" with installations at the Paris Biennale, the all Japan Student Photography League insisted that the more pressing political question was "What can be done through *photography*"? This was not merely a debate over what kind of photographs were best suited to depicting social upheaval and the changing times, but between young photographers and the Japanese government over what participating in a democracy could look like.

## **Conclusion**

In their act of making collections of photographs and selling them in the streets of Tokyo the students sought to create active viewers of their photographs who, in photo historian Ariella Azoulay's words, upon seeing the image would enter into a "civil contract" that would activate them to form community through the very act of seeing the image.<sup>425</sup> This civil contract depended on the relationships formed between all those involved in the process of making an image – camera, photographer, photographed subject, and viewer of the image – each collaborates with one another to make meaning and form a new community around this meaning.

The All Japan Student Photography Leagues' theoretical orientation of photographs as transforming broader social practices and demands that it do so set precedent throughout the Japanese photography community. Though scholars usually cite a model of influence wherein

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<sup>425</sup> Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*. Trans. Relia Mazali and Ruvik Danieli (New York: Zone Books, 2008), 22.

professional photographers such as Tōmatsu Shōmei are responsible for trends amongst the students they advised, the All Japan Student Photography League's collective work, focus on the environment, and the importance of historical consciousness; their work predates similar foci amongst professional photographers. These themes had a lasting impact on the framing of Japanese photography and its relationship to the social context of the 1960s and sparked a paradigmatic shift in the photography world. I argue for a model of influence that credits student photographers for this work, rather than emphasizing its practice by groups such as Provoke, and professional associations such as the Japanese Professional Photography Association, which worked to write the first comprehensive history of Japanese photography.

Despite their many publications and close ties to the biggest names in Japanese photography and art criticism, the All Japan Student Photography League has only recently received scholarly attention. Their lack of participation in the photographic art market, emphasis on anonymous works, the inability of the art market and historians to conceive of group authorship, and the tendency for students to transition away from their photographic practice once they graduated from university predisposed their movement to be relegated to the category of amateur photography, of which art historians are inclined to steer clear.<sup>426</sup> Or perhaps the slow fizzle of their photographic movement in the late 1970s was grouped as a whole along with dissolution of the student protest movement, their conclusions taken as a sign that the movement was ineffective and doomed from the start.

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<sup>426</sup> On similar blind spots to group authorship in relation to the work of Matsuzawa Yutaka, see Peter van der Meijden, "Disappearance and appearances: Psi in Holland," in *From Nirvana to Catastrophe: Matsuzawa Yutaka and his "Commune in Imaginary Space"* edited by Yoshiko Shimada, Yugyong Yong, and Ryusuke Yamai (Tokyo: Ota Fine Arts, 2017), 128-148.

Yet as the students involved in the organization in the 1960s began to retire in the recent decades, they rekindled their own quiet movement to collect the remaining materials related to the All Japan Student Photography League and establish an archive of their work. No major institution collected their newsletters, nor did the *Asahi Newspaper* save any of the decade's worth of nearly 20,000 photographs per year that were sent in for the annual student photography contest. This new open access online archive of newsletters and published materials will be the only cohesive collection of their work and reinitiates the work that the students began over fifty years ago. Their archive provides crucial access to photographic and textual documents to help photographers and activists think through strategies for photographing the after effects of the triple disaster in Fukushima in 2011.

As an organization of hundreds of thousands of members across multiple decades that printed its own newsletters, published its own photography books, and published its work in major national newspapers, the All Japan Student Photography League is an example of the shape and form of what photography of the masses looked like in this period. Rather than using the evidence of their experience to merely reproduce the ideological systems that established their difference in the first place, confronted with their work we see a means of contestation of this system.<sup>427</sup> Much like earlier attempts to define the female photographer, student photography helps define what photographic culture was by “specifying its negative limits” and showing how student and female photographer operated within the same structures.<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> Joan Scott warns historians against the use the evidence of experience, which “becomes evidence for the fact of difference, rather than a way of exploring how difference is established, how it operates, how and in what ways it constitutes subjects who see and act in the world” in “The Evidence of Experience,” *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Summer, 1991), 777.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*, 779.

## Epilogue: The History of Photography Culture on Display

In 1968 the Seibu department store in Ikebukuro, Tokyo, held the first major exhibition to narrate a history of Japanese photography from 1840 to the end of World War Two: *Shashin 100 nen—Nihonjin ni yoru shashin hyōgen no rekishiten* (A Century of Japanese Photography: A Historical Exhibition of Photographic Expression by the Japanese). The narrative put forth in this exhibition and the movement that it kicked off to establish the first major photography museum in Japan have defined the history of Japanese photography ever since. To be precise, the gathering of original prints and reproductions made from negatives from regional archives, private family collections, and historical associations across Japan, the exhibition and its subsequent texts reinvented and re-presented the role of the photographer in society and the role of the photograph as index of the photographer's subjectivity. Seeking to explain and denounce the failure of Japanese photographers to mount a significant critique of the wartime state, the curators looked to historic photographs for examples of photographic style that they could claim as the foundation for a photographic history of which they were proud. The visual argument set forth in this exhibition has for the most part been repeated in subsequent histories of photography written in English and Japanese: it made concrete the assumptions about who could be a photographer and what the main characteristics of Japanese photographic culture were in the twentieth century.<sup>429</sup> The Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photographic Arts, established in 1990 to house the exhibition materials, has further reinforced these arguments.

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<sup>429</sup> In addition to the exhibition catalogue, whose essays more directly focus on the responsibility of photographers during specific historical contexts, the exhibition also produced the first major volume on the history of Japanese photography which reproduced many of the photographs in the exhibition. The exhibition catalogue: Watanabe Yoshio, *Shashin 100 nen—Nihonjin ni yoru shashin hyōgen no rekishiten* (A Century of Japanese Photography: A Historical Exhibition of Photographic Expression by the Japanese) Tokyo: Japan Professional Photographers Society, 1968; subsequent book: Japan Professional Photographers Society, eds., *Nihon shashinshi 1840-1945* (A history of Japanese photography) (Tokyo:

The *A Century of Japanese Photography* exhibition was sponsored by the Nihon Shashinka Kyōkai (Japan Professional Photographers Society, JPS) in conjunction with the Nihon Shashinki Kōgyōkai (the Japan Camera Industry Association, JCIA) and the Shashin Kanko Zairyō Kōgyōkai (the Photo-Sensitized Materials Manufacturer's Association) and therefore was on the one hand backed by Tokyo's professional photography establishment active since before and during the wartime period. On the other hand, the curatorial team was made up of a generation of photographers who had started their careers after the war: led by Tōmatsu Shōmei it also included Nakahira Takuma, Taki Koji, Naito Masatoshi, Inoue Seiryu, and Imai Hisae who was the sole female member involved. In its presentation, catalogue, and round table discussion on the exhibition, the younger generation found themselves in the situation of finding ways to delicately express a critique of the senior figures in their field.

The exhibition itself was the product of the most extensive archival research carried out to date. On trips the curators took around the country to gather negatives and prints, they estimated that they collected more than one hundred thousand original prints and around thirty-five thousand reproductions. Once back in Tokyo, under Tōmatsu's direction the team selected 1,640 pictures from the larger set, grouping the images into sections divided by what the curators interpreted as their *shashin hyōgen* (photographic style). The categories of photographs included the "Period of the First Enlightenment," which highlighted photography of the 1860s and 1880s; "Commercial Photography Studios," focused on studios that were active from the 1870s to the 1920s; "Art Photography"; "Accidents"; "Fashion"; "Advertising"; "National Propaganda";

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Heibonsha, 1971). A version of the book with the exact same photographs was published in English with introduction and supplementary essay by historian John Dower, see Japan Photographers Association, eds., *A Century of Japanese Photography*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). The influence of these histories is apparent in the later seminal history of Japanese photography, Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, eds. *The History of Japanese Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in Association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003).

“Manchuria,” featuring photographs of Japanese colonization of Manchuria; “Period of War”; and others. Each section established its own common visual vocabulary that centered on what Taki described as “the social consciousness [of the photographer] from the Meiji period to World War II.”<sup>430</sup>

The largest section, “The Document,” comprised anonymous pictures selected from magazine and newspaper archives, suggesting a new way of thinking about the connections between photographers and the scenes they sought to capture (see figure 2).<sup>431</sup> By filling the gallery with works by unknown authors that depicted specific historical events and places, the curators might have been pointing out the ubiquity of the photographic image in the mass press. Alternatively, they may have sought to emphasize the content of an image and its framing over the identity of its maker. In contrast, the national propaganda works by well-known photographers such as Domon Ken exemplified the use of the medium to create fictions in support of the war effort. In the exhibition’s narrative dedicated to “National Propaganda” which consisted of photographs pulled from mass-produced photography magazines such as *Asahi Graph* and *NIPPON*, the curators demonstrated ways Japanese photographers had stopped trying to document the context of everyday life, instead presenting idealized fantasies to advertise the

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<sup>430</sup> Itō Tomomi, Murakami Ichiro, Hamaya Hiroshi, Tōmatsu Shōmei, Taki Koji, Naito Masatoshi, Kimura Keiichi, Kumakiri Keisuke, and Matsumoto Norihiko, “‘Shashin 100 nen’ ten wo oete” (The End of the “A Century of Japanese Photography” Exhibition), *Nihon shashinka kyōkai kaihō* (Japan Professional Photographers Society Newsletter), no. 19 (1968), 24.

<sup>431</sup> I argue in Chapter Five that there was great interest in anonymizing photographs to place the content of the image as the primary meaning on display as exemplified by the work of All Japan Student Photography League. There are connections between the display strategies employed in “The Document” section and that of Nakahira’s photographic installation *Circulation: Date, Place, Events* at the 1971 Paris Biennale. For further discussion of Nakahira’s work, see Franz Prichard, “On *For a Language to Come, Circulation and Overflow*: Takuma Nakahira and the Horizons of Radical Media Criticism in the Early 1970s,” in *For a New World to Come: Experiments in Japanese Art and Photography, 1968–1979*, ed. Yasufumi Nakamori and Allison Pappas (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2015), 84–89.

wartime Japanese imperial project (see figure 3). In the critic Tomomi Ito's words, these were "photographs . . . taken from a position of great indifference to history."<sup>432</sup>

Reflecting on the exhibition, Tōmatsu and many of the other curators concluded that the pictures on display were evidence of the collective failure of Japanese photographers to make images that analyzed historical events critically. Immediately following Japan's surrender at the end of World War II, Japanese photographers—unlike Japanese painters and writers—did not engage in public self-criticism for colluding with the state and supporting the war effort.<sup>433</sup> In fact, those who had been the most active in producing propagandistic imagery, such as Domon and the photographer-editor Natori Yōnosuke, continued in the postwar period to act as the gatekeepers for the photography world.<sup>434</sup> It was against these antecedents that Tōmatsu, Nakahira, and Taki pushed back: in their view, these figures had used the visual techniques of the documentary photograph to present state lies to the Japanese public, calling the entire premise of the "document" into question. Their "Document" section made up of anonymous photographs taken from newspapers and magazines, supposedly lacking in ideological

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<sup>432</sup> Itō Tomomi, Murakami Ichiro, Hamaya Hiroshi, Tōmatsu Shōmei, Taki Koji, Naito Masatoshi, Kimura Keiichi, Kumakiri Keisuke, and Matsumoto Norihiko, "'Shashin 100 nen' ten wo oete" (The End of the "A Century of Japanese Photography" Exhibition), *Nihon shashinka kyōkai kaihō* (Japan Professional Photographers Society Newsletter), no. 19 (1968), 22.

<sup>433</sup> On debates over war responsibility in postwar literary circles, see J. Victor Koschmann, "The Debate on Subjectivity in Postwar Japan: Foundations of Modernism as a Political Critique," *Pacific Affairs* 54, no. 4 (Winter 1981–82), 609–31. On postwar photography, see Justin Jesty, "The Realism Debate and the Politics of Modern Art in Early Postwar Japan," *Japan Forum* 26, no. 4 (September 2014), 508–29.

<sup>434</sup> In the 1950s Domon made a name for himself as the father of Japanese realism, though he had been using a similar photojournalistic style to shoot propaganda photographs for *Nippon* and *Shashin Shūhō* state-sponsored periodicals that glorified Japanese imperialism. For more on Domon's postwar articulations of his photographic theory, see Julia Adeney Thomas, "Power Made Visible: Photography and Postwar Japan's Elusive Reality," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 2 (May 2008), 365–94.



underpinnings faces off against the propaganda of the wartime period to show how “documentary” form is not without the capacity to be rendered a tool of state politics.

For these reasons, Taki and Nakahira became deeply invested in the meaning of the “document” and believed that it was necessary to reconceive photography’s indexical function. In their view, images of the colonial development of Japan’s northernmost island in the 1870s and 1880s by Tamoto Kenzō and also pictures of the aftermath of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki by the military photographer Yamahata Yōsuke were the only examples of a true photographic document in the exhibition.<sup>435</sup> Taki and Nakahira argued that in their historical contexts, both photographers had found ways to be so fully present in the making of their pictures that they connected directly with their subjects and had thus made work that did not contribute to the modernist project of turning photographers into artists.<sup>436</sup> Historian Gyewon Kim has called Taki and Nakahira to task for their romanticizing of a set of photographs that extended the state’s vision into new northern colonial territories, and in Chapter Two I address the fact that Yamahata was not only the author of the very raw photographs of the aftermath of atomic bombing, but also the photographer responsible for creating humanizing images of Emperor Hirohito. When published in *Life* magazine his photographs helped transform the emperor from a figure whom many had considered to be a Class A war criminal to a marine biologist who admired Abraham Lincoln.

But in addition to these omissions in their argument, I would like to point out another lacuna in the organization of the exhibition, one that carried my research to new archives and

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<sup>435</sup> For an insightful critique of Nakahira and Taki’s decontextualized adoration of Tamoto Kenzō, see Gyewon Kim, “Reframing ‘Hokkaido Photography’: Style, Politics, and Documentary Photography in 1960s Japan,” *History of Photography* 39, no. 4 (December 2015), 348–65.

<sup>436</sup> See Philip Charrier, “Taki Koji, Provoke, and the Structuralist Turn in Japanese Image Theory, 1967–70,” *History of Photography* 41, no. 1 (April 2017), 25–43.

sources. In their obsession with the truth-telling function of photographs, these photographer-curators came up with a vision for photography that asked few questions about the circumstances of a photograph's production, the social formation of photographers, and the relationships between cameras and humans. Because their definition of photography's purpose for making a "record" hinged so much upon their current goals as photographers to, in Franz Prichard's words, "capture a radically transforming world" resulting in a photography that "was merely the by-product of...provocations between the camera and the fluid contours of an urban subject," it is perhaps unsurprising that the exhibition and its accompanying texts are for the most part a history of male photographers producing for the most part photographs that would fit into the category of photojournalism.<sup>437</sup> Photographic culture defined produced by the masses and deeply gendered, as I have presented in this study, is strikingly absent from the exhibition. Was the camera ever part of efforts to write histories of Japanese photography in this period, and if so what happened to it?

### **Uniting Photographs and Cameras**

The display of or *absence* of cameras in photography exhibitions says a lot about how scholars, curators, corporations, and other photographic organizations have gathered around a specific telling of the history of photography. As historians examine the institutionalization of narratives within this field, we need to account for what continues to be an unstable balance between photography as art and photography as mass practice or even photography as the history of technology when put on display in museums.

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<sup>437</sup> Franz Prichard, *Residual Futures: The Urban Ecologies of Literary and Visual Media of 1960s and 1970s Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 86.

The *first* centennial exhibition of the history of Japanese photography, *Nihon shashin hyakunenshi* (One hundred year history of Japanese photography) was organized by the Photographic Society of Japan in 1962 and held at the National Museum of Nature and Science. To curate the show the society put together a committee of 45 experts in the fields of “history, science, arts, sociology, general information, materials and photographic works” to classify the cameras and photographs collected and categorize them for display.<sup>438</sup> The resulting exhibition held over 600 photographic prints in addition to historical cameras, negatives, and documents produced by Japanese camera companies. Photographs from the imperial household as well as eleven taken by Prince Takamatsu, the younger brother of Hirohito, were also on display; Prince and Princess Takamatsu officiated a ribbon cutting at the opening ceremony. With such imperial presence and in its goal to impress upon the over 75,000 visitors the significance of the Japanese contribution to the history of photography and its technology the exhibition was, in many senses, a celebration of photographic nationalism. Seen from another angle, the exhibition put forth the broadest display of the objects that together contributed to the history of photography and inspired the first major discussions amongst the photography community in Japan around establishing a permanent place where all of the material objects related to this broad photographic culture could be housed.<sup>439</sup> It is significant that at the time, photographers and members of the industry alike envisioned an institution that would be home to not only

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<sup>438</sup> Photographic Society of Japan, eds., *1963 nenban nihon Shashin nenkan* (Japan Photo Almanac) (Tokyo: Photography Society of Japan, 1963), 354.

<sup>439</sup> For documentation of the exhibition and a full list of items put on display see, Photographic Society of Japan, eds., *1963 nenban nihon Shashin nenkan* (Japan Photo Almanac) Tokyo: Photography Society of Japan, 1963; also, Michifusa Otagi, “Nihon shashin hyakunenten yori,” (From the one hundred years of Japanese photography exhibition) *Shashin Kōgyō* (November 1962), Unpaginated; “Nihon shashin hyakunenshi” (One hundred years of Japanese photography) *Nihon Kamera* (November 1962), 141-143.

photographic prints, but also include a wide array of objects such as cameras, negatives, and photographic equipment.

The curators of the second centennial exhibition, *Shashin 100 nen—Nihonjin ni yoru shashin hyōgen no rekishiten* (A Century of Japanese Photography: A Historical Exhibition of Photographic Expression by the Japanese), mentioned above, were wary of the framing of photographs in the service of national glorification. 1968 was the centennial of the beginning of the Meiji period and the curators of the exhibition made it clear that they wanted nothing to do with the “Meiji boom” including human pyramids, themed consumer products, hymns, and televised ceremonies of tens of thousands of dignitaries celebrating the anniversary of the Japanese entrance into the global sphere being held across the country.<sup>440</sup> In preparing the exhibition, photographer Hamaya Hiroshi declared that the assembled historical photographs were not to signal a “return to the chapter of the Meiji restoration” but were to be interpreted as a means for photographers to think about how to move forward.<sup>441</sup>

The Japan Professional Photographers Society seized the momentum of the success of both of these exhibitions and the publication of the accompanying seminal texts using photographs gathered for the exhibition to launch a campaign to construct Japan’s first government supported photography museum.<sup>442</sup> In a time when there still were no dedicated

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<sup>440</sup> See Nick Kapur, “The Empire Strikes Back? The 1968 Meiji Centennial Celebrations and the Revival of Japanese Nationalism,” *Japanese Studies* Vol. 38 No. 3 (2018), 305-328.

<sup>441</sup> Hamaya Hiroshi, “Nihonjin ni yoru shashin hyōgen hyakunen rekishiten” (A Century of Japanese Photography: A Historical Exhibition of Photographic Expression by the Japanese) *Nihon shashinka kyōkai kaihō* No. 17 (1967), 8-9.

<sup>442</sup> Nihon Shashinka Kyōkai (Japan Professional Photographers Society), eds., *Nihon shashinshi 1840-1945* (A history of Japanese photography) Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971; Japan Professional Photographers Society, eds. *Nihon gendai shashinshi* (The History of Modern Japanese Photography 1945-1970) Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977; Nihon shashin bijūtsukan setsuritsukai (Association for Establishment of a Japan

photography departments in Japanese art museums, they called upon photographers, designers, and critics to vouch for the social and historical importance of photography in Japan. Soon, even the mayor of Tokyo, Suzuki Shunichi, inspired by Jacques Chirac's efforts to build the Vidéothèque de Paris, a museum dedicated to French video history, endorsed the idea as a key part of his plan to internationalize Tokyo.<sup>443</sup> Thus, it was after decades of preparation that the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography opened its doors on June 1, 1990 on the site of a former Sapporo brewery.

There was also a third formative exhibition from this period: *Nihon kamera hattatsuten* (The development of Japanese cameras), like the 1962 *100 Year History of Japanese Photography* was held at the National Museum of Nature and Science, in Ueno, Tokyo in 1986. This exhibition represents a turn away from the photographic image to a center on the camera itself. Beginning with the first camera made in Japan in 1903, 500 examples of Japanese-made cameras from the first point-and-shoots made for amateurs to the most high-tech professional models were collected and put on display.<sup>444</sup> This two-month show was the final stop that the collection had made on an international tour to the U.S., funded in part by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. Hosted by five cities and seen by over 400,000 viewers, after the conclusion of the exhibition, the Japan Camera and Optical Instruments Inspection and Testing Institute, run by the

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Photography Museum), eds., *Shashin bijūtsukan setsuritsu shui 1* (The Purpose of Establishing a Photography Museum 1) (Tokyo: Nihon Shashinka Kyōkai, December 10, 1979.)

<sup>443</sup> On the Vidéothèque de Paris see Catherine E. Clark, *Paris and the Cliché of History: The City and Photographs, 1860-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 215-219.

<sup>444</sup> See Nihon kamera zaidan, eds. *Nihon kamera zaidan shōshi 1954-2004* (A short history of the Japan camera industry institute) (Tokyo: Nihon kamera zaidan, 2004), 26-7.

Japan Camera Industry Institute (from here on, the JCII) similarly wanted to create a permanent place where the cameras and materials connected to them would be available to the public. In December of 1989, it opened the Japan Camera Museum. Its building also houses the Japan Historical Camera Museum, the JCII Library which has one of the largest collections of photography and camera magazines, and the offices of the Japan Professional Photographers Society and the Japan Society of Photography.

Due to the momentum generated by these three exhibitions, the practice of collecting both photographs and cameras was established as a museum endeavor. The 1962 exhibition was an example of how early display practices had approached the presentation of photographic history in its broadest sense: by pairing cameras with photographs and negatives they sought to put the full process of creating photographs on view. Before their separate institutional enshrinement, the photograph and camera enjoyed a moment of visual and theoretical coupling. Approaching these exhibitions in terms of the precedent they set for exhibiting photography culture, it is possible to see the two directions they branched off: the history of photography as one of an arts practice valuing the photographic print, and the history of photography as the history of its technology. Despite their mutually dependent histories and coeval institutional establishment the camera museum and photography museum were formed to separate and govern over photography's discursive spaces. The founding of the photography and camera museum was based around the premise of evaluating photography first and foremost as a fine art existing in relationship only with the two dimensional world and the camera as technology, divorced from the images that it makes.

Throughout this dissertation I have described a photography culture spanning from the 1930s to the 1970s that was not controlled nor guided by a single institution. Though the

National Museum of Modern Art held six photography exhibitions from 1953-1974, between 1974 and 1994 it held none.<sup>445</sup> Together, camera corporations, publishers, small galleries (often run by the camera companies), department stores, individual photographers, and photography clubs and collectives each invested in the production of the valuable materials of the photography world. In this period, the magazines, newsletters, and cheaply produced photo books produced by these actors were not collected by art museums, rather, they were held by private individuals, local libraries, and professional organizations.

The opening of the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, however, signaled a great shift for the photography world. The museum would rather quickly distance itself from the nearly forty years of photographers working against the conception of their practice as fine “art” to embrace this very viewpoint. The means by which cameras and photographs have become separated from one another in the context of exhibitions is part of what Christopher Phillips calls the process of “formal isolation and cultural legitimation of the great undifferentiated whole of photography” around the world.<sup>446</sup> In the U.S., as curators such as Beaumont Newhall working for MoMA in 1939 and in Japan, the curators of *The History of Japanese Photographic Expression in the Past 100 Years* conceptually organized photographic history around the “outlining of distinct styles, naming [of] great masters, and telling a story of technical change and formal process.” In doing so they “explicitly articulated a program for the isolation and expert judging of the aesthetic merit of photographs” above all else.<sup>447</sup> In other words, as has

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<sup>445</sup> Julia Adeney Thomas, “Raw Photographs and Cooked History: Photography’s Ambiguous Place in the Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo,” in *East Asian History: The Continuation of Papers on Far Eastern History*, ed. Geremie R. Barme (Canberra, Australia: Institute of Advanced Studies Australian National University, 1998), 126.

<sup>446</sup> Christopher Phillips, “The Judgement Seat of Photography,” *October*, Vol, 22 (Autumn, 1982), 63.

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid.*, Phillips, 33.

been discussed by scholars Douglas Crimp and Rosalind Krauss, in an the effort to put photographs on their walls, art museums and galleries pared down the diverse practices of photography to isolate and include only the images that could be considered “art” alongside painting and sculpture. In Japan, the process of turning photographs into widely accepted works of art took much longer than in the United States and the Japanese market for photographic prints only began to emerge in the 1970s.

When the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography opened its doors in 1990 it may have intended to put photographic technology on display: one of the key “basic concepts” of the museum outlined by the museum committee was to build an “Images and Technology Gallery” where an interactive display would lead viewers through a history of optical technology from shadow pictures and magic lanterns to video and holographs.<sup>448</sup> However, this gallery was short-lived and looking through the catalogue of exhibitions, one is hard pressed to identify exhibitions that focus on the material technology of photography, or the tools that make the images. One key exception is the exhibition, *Kuwabara Kineo shashinten raika to Tokyo / Kineo Kuwabara: Tokyo Through a Leica* (2001) in cooperation with the JCII. The first part of the exhibition is made up of Kuwabara’s prewar and postwar photographs taken using German Leica cameras, in which the viewer is guided to appreciate the new visual possibilities afforded by the small, portable 35mm camera through Kuwabara’s street scene snapshots. The second part of the exhibition subtitled, *The Leica Storybook*, put successive models of the Leica camera and their technological progression on display from an early 1913 prototype to a more recent 1984 model.

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<sup>448</sup>Takazawa Kenji and Shibata Naoko, eds. *Tōkyōto shashin bijutsukan sōgō kaikan 20 shūnenshi* Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography 1990-2015 (Tōkyō: Tōkyōto rekishi bunka zaidan tōkyōto shashin bijutsukan, 2016), 506.



In the accompanying exhibition catalogue the curator Kaneko Ryūichi puts forth the idea that the Leica and photographs it produces are more than just branded items, but embody a radical shift in the relationship between photographer and camera.<sup>449</sup> Unlike twin reflex cameras where the photographer holds the camera at her or his chest and looks down into the range finder, the 35mm camera can be held in only one hand right at the eye. One of the most well-known photographers in twentieth century Japan, Kimura Ihei, described this radical new feeling of using a 35mm camera: “The Leica becomes your eye, it becomes your hand. The camera does not exist as a thing apart from myself, but also becomes one with my body. Because of this, I and the camera can become one with the object.”<sup>450</sup> Kaneko argues that Kuwabara’s early photographs taken on a Leica are an example of the way in which photographs were taken until the invention of the digital camera. This insightful historicization of the practice of photography in relationship to the machines that make it is missing from subsequent shows, but necessary to our study of changes in the way photographs have been made over time and the physical relationship that photographers had with cameras.

This exhibition is also an example of another trend in the display of cameras in museum settings: here, the aura around an original artwork that the museum so carefully seeks to construct is applied to the camera. It makes sense that the only exhibition to put a camera on display would focus on the Leica which at the time of Kuwabara’s use was a luxury object that

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<sup>449</sup> Kaneko Ryūichi, “Kuwabara Kineo no shashin—yohaku toshite no toshi tōkyō he no manazashi” (Kuwabara Kineo’s photographs—A look at the city of Tokyo as blank space) in *Kuwabara Kineo raika to tōkyō – raika • sutōri bukku* (*Kineo Kuwabara: Tokyo Through a Leica – The Leica Storybook Kineo Kuwabara: Tokyo Through a Leica*) (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 2001), 85.

<sup>450</sup> Kaneko Ryūichi, “Raika shashin to wa nani ka? (What is a Leica Photograph)” in *Kuwabara Kineo raika to tōkyō – raika • sutōri bukku* (*Kineo Kuwabara: Tokyo Through a Leica – The Leica Storybook Kineo Kuwabara: Tokyo Through a Leica*) (Tokyo: Toppan Printing Company, 2001), 110.

cost as much as a small house. In attempting to put on display the camera's technological relationship with its photographic visualization, the Metropolitan Museum of Photography drew equivalence between an exclusive camera and fine art photographs: both were objects to be revered for their rarified role in visual culture. By displaying Kuwabara's snapshots which were originally printed in hobbyist camera magazines on cheap paper as fine art prints next to the exclusive Leica, the print and camera are molded to fit neatly into the museum's narrative about the production of art.

The museum's emphasis on casting photographic culture as adjacent to the fine arts had ramifications on their collecting practices as well as the selection of photographers whose work they displayed. In the guiding principles for the collections, established February 3, 1989, the institution set forth that it would collect photographic works, reference materials on photography, photographic equipment and materials, and reference materials on images and technology.<sup>451</sup> Out of these categories, the museum's priorities are revealed in the fact that the photographic print was the only object assigned direct numerical collecting targets.<sup>452</sup> Strikingly absent from these stipulations is the collection of the personal papers of photographers. The loss of the voices of photographers in the form of their letters and collected papers is done for the sake of their canonization as the museum itself becomes the de facto author and editor for artists who have passed away.<sup>453</sup>

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<sup>451</sup> See "Shūshū no kihon hōshin" (Guiding Principles of our Collections), *Ibid.*, Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography 1990-2015, 36-39.

<sup>452</sup> As of March, 2016 the museum holds "21, 671 photographs from Japan, 5,633 photographs from abroad, 2,367 works related to Images & Technology, and 3,722 reference materials." *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>453</sup> The practice of limiting collections to the photographic print or art object itself is common among Japanese art institutions. Standard practice is for the families of the artist to become responsible for their papers, creating a situation where researchers must request special permission from the family to view any existing materials. The lack of institutional recognition of these materials means that photographers

The lack of artist's archival voices is not the only problem. Out of the seventeen photographers designated "major" Japanese photographers by the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography's Guiding Principles for Collection in 1989, none were women. When the guidelines were updated in 2006 only two out of the twenty-one "major photographers" identified were women. This official policy in collecting male photographers is reflected in the exhibitions held: in 2006 Ishiuchi Miyako became the first female Japanese photographer to have a solo exhibition at the museum.<sup>454</sup> One might label these collecting and exhibitionary strategies the institutionalization of absence.

A partial antidote to the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography's casting of photography as an exclusive arts practice might be found in the camera corporation museum. The Fuji Film Square and the Nikon Museum play with the borders between art, science, and industry and are surprising spaces where the history of the culture of photography are put on display. All at once a history, science, art, technology, and self-promotional institution, the camera corporation museum is in many ways freed by its lack of hard disciplinary boundaries. Of course, one might argue that this flexibility and critical capacity are overshadowed or perhaps

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and their families are also less likely to assign value to them. Such was the case of Yamazawa Eiko, who destroyed all of her personal papers in the late 1980s, and Tokiwa Toyoko, whose personal papers were discarded when she moved into a nursing home in recent years.

<sup>454</sup> The first female photographer to have a solo show at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography was Berenice Abbott, in 1990 (*Photographer: A Modern Vision*). Other exhibitions including Japanese women photographers: *Nihon no kontenporarī shaisn wo meguru 12 shihyō / Japanese Contemporary Photography: Twelve Viewpoints* (1990), *Watashi toiu michi he mukatte: gendai josei serufu pōtoreito ten / Exploring the Unknown Self: Self-Portraits of Contemporary Women* (1991), *Nihon no shashin, 1970nendai tōketsu sareta toki no kioku / Japanese Photography in the 1970s* (1991), *Jendā kioku no fuchi kara / Gender - Beyond Memory: The Works of Contemporary Women Artists* (1996), *Eizō kufū sakuhinten: inge morasu mai daiarī / Images and Technology Exhibition — Photographs 1950s to 1990s: from the journals of inge morath* (1997), *Rabuzu bode nūdo shashin no kigendai / Love's Body: Rethinking Naked and Nude in Photography* (1998), *Tesaguri no kissu nihon no gendai shashin / Kiss in the Dark Contemporary Japanese photography* (2001).

even rendered impotent by its chief goal of advertising and sales, and neither of these spaces have solved the problems of diversity of representation or archival practices.

That said, the corporate photography and camera museum are not necessarily so different from the art museum in their attempt to imbue value in the images and objects that they put on display. The Fuji Film Square and the Nikon Museum were both established relatively recently (2008 and 2015) in conjunction with their corporate headquarters. The lavishly produced space of the Nikon Museum is arranged much like a cutting-edge science museum: interactive displays and large-scale videos introduce the visitor to an image of Nikon as one of the world's leaders in innovating optical technology. Cameras play a large role in this narrative, serving as an overarching historical barometer for Nikon's role in Japanese and international history. In a sweeping glass case Nikon's cameras are lined up in parallel with photographs from key events from Japanese history on the top and key events in the development of the company's photographic technology on the bottom, putting forth the visual argument that cameras are history. Like the JCI Camera Institute, the Nikon Museum has been given official designation as a science and technology museum by the Japanese government and it makes much of its mission to display the role that Nikon has had in advancing optical technology for national goals such as space exploration. In addition, it frequently holds exhibitions related to Nikon photography culture such as a recent show of the product and graphic design work by the graphic and industrial designer Kamekura Yūsaku (1915-1977). The Nikon Museum is only of the only institutions outside the Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art, where Kamekura donated his archive of product designs, that has shown his work.

The Fuji Film Square, too, is an example of the corporate camera museum's disciplinary flexibility in the name of photography and nation. Located next to Fuji Film headquarters in the

luxury complex Tokyo Midtown in Roppongi, it is a self-described “showroom” where visitors can interact with Fuji Film’s latest products which also houses the “Photo History Museum” and the “FujiFilm Photo Salon,” a gallery for photography exhibitions using Fuji Film products. In the case of the Fuji Film Square, the largest narrative emphasis is placed on Fuji’s role within a worldwide history of camera technology. Its largest display is not a wall of its own cameras, or film, but rather a history of the international developments in photographic technology from Daguerre to the birth of the 35mm camera. Adjacent to this case is a smaller display of Fuji Film’s most popular products, including color film and disposable cameras that revolutionized photography in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

What is most significant about this small museum is its use of the space to exhibit photographs alongside cameras – indeed, it is called a “Photo History Museum,” rather than a camera museum. Unlike the Tokyo Metropolitan Photography Museum exhibition of Leica cameras and photographs by Kuwabara Kineo, the cameras that are highlighted here are affordable models such as the FujiPet, popular amongst teenagers in the early 1960s. Giving equal gallery space to the mass-produced camera and the photograph, the Fuji Photo History Museum creates a dynamic relationship between aesthetic appreciation of the photographic print and the mechanism of the camera. On display is a willingness to see cameras and photographs as inhabiting the same visual, cultural, and historical realms.

Walter Benjamin describes exhibition value as developing as works of art are put on display and “become a creation with entirely new functions.”<sup>455</sup> As an object put on display, rather than an object in the hands of a photographer, the camera is used to tell a story about the

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<sup>455</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, Trans. J.A. Underwood (New York: Penguin Books, 2008).

making of historical periods, economic growth, global trade, and shifts in photographic style brought on by new optical technologies. Currently, the key spaces representing the material history of photography are not found in the art museum. It is spaces like Fuji Film Square, the Nikon Museum and in the U.S., the George Eastman House, that put forth examples of the construction of photographic culture and attempt to write a history of photography for Japan that includes its diverse practices. Still absent from these spaces are the historical processes that positioned women as subjects of the photograph rather than photographers themselves. Thus photography's exhibitionary spaces have yet to truly explain the experience of photographic culture or historicize the range of identities that it has produced.

FIGURES

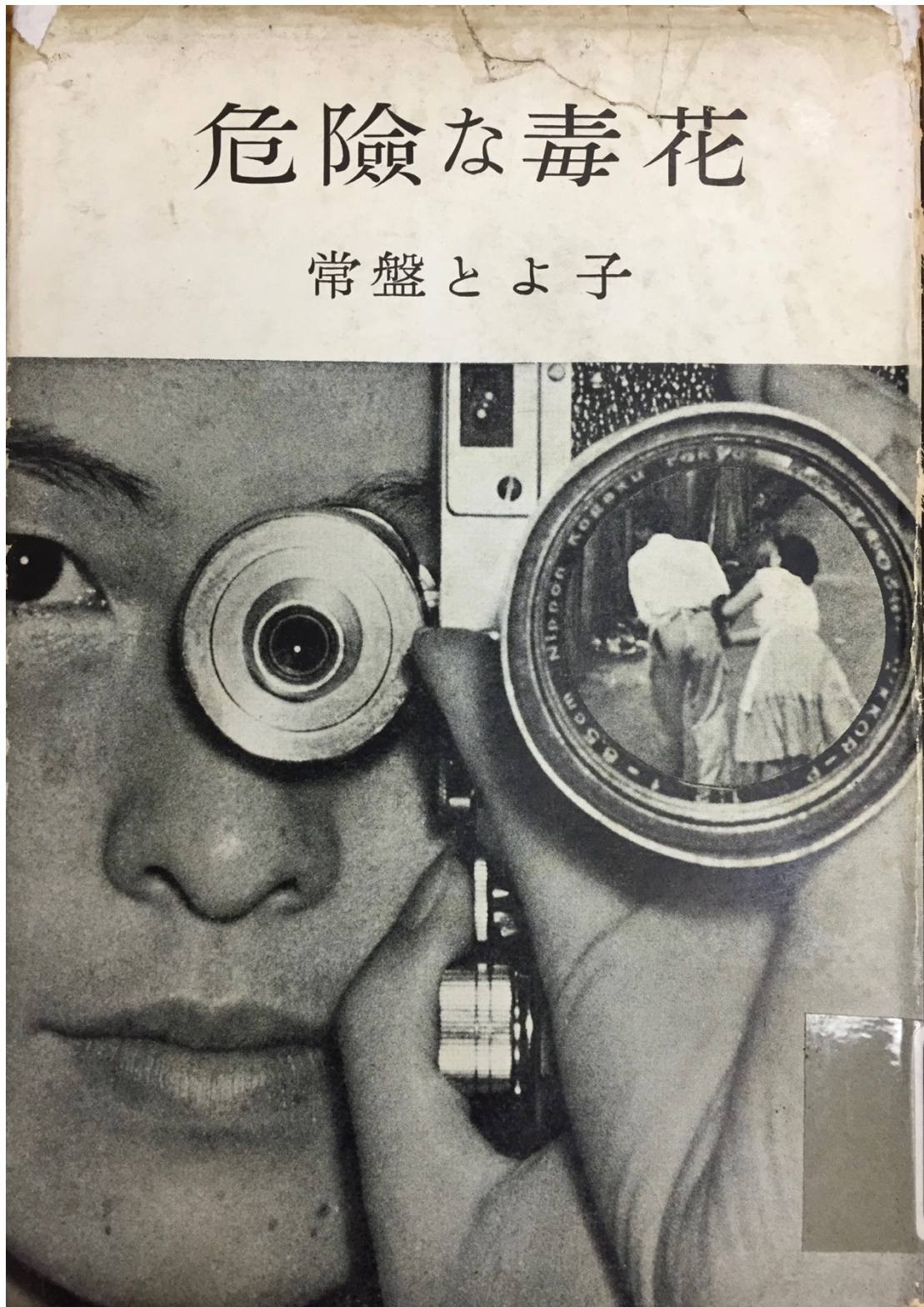


Figure 0.1. Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957), cover.





Figure 1.1. Sasamoto Tsuneko cover photography of *Shashin Shūhō* (June of 1940)







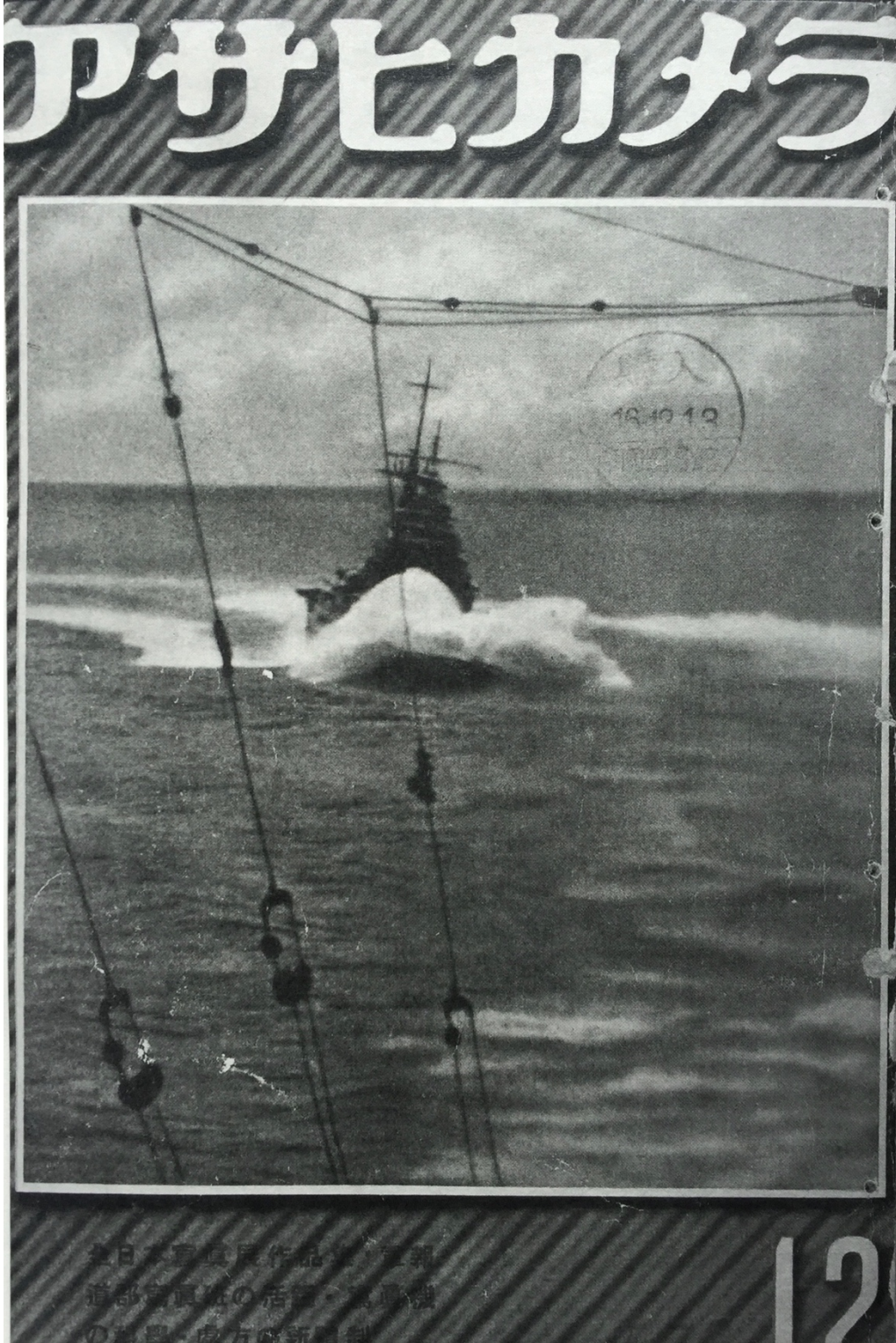


Figure 1.3. Ishige Kozo, cover photograph. *Asahi Camera* 32 (6)(189) (December 1941)





Figure 1.4. Top: advertisement for Seiki Kōgaku Kenkyūjo (or Precision Optical Instruments Laboratory, now known as Canon Co.) Bottom: Advertisement for Oriental Shashin Kōgyō (Oriental Photo Industrial Co.) *Asahi Camera* 32 (6)(189) (December 1941), unpaginated.

Asahi Camera K10-33

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY  
ASAHI SHIMBUN PUBLISHING CO., LTD.  
TOKYO  
(MADE AND PRINTED IN JAPAN)

慰問に・報道に・記録に

總力戰の彈丸



活して使はう

高感光度・極微粒子・全整色性

# さくらフィルム

株式会社 小西六 東京日本橋

Figure 1.5. Konishi roku advertisement, “For providing comfort • For communicating news • For making a record.” And, “High light sensitivity • extremely delicate grain • full color properties,” *Asahi Camera* 32 (6)(189) (December 1941), back page.





Figure 1.6. Right: Oriental Photography Industry Company Advertisement. “Defeat America and Britain, our enemy.” “One hundred million advancing, the jewel of the fire.” “Typewriting papers, dry plate (photography).” Oriental (written across the wings of each plane). Left, Konishi Roku advertisement: “Take Photographs! Photographs that are useful – Sakura Film,” *Arusu Shashin Bunka* (Ars Photography Culture) (February 1942), unpaginated.

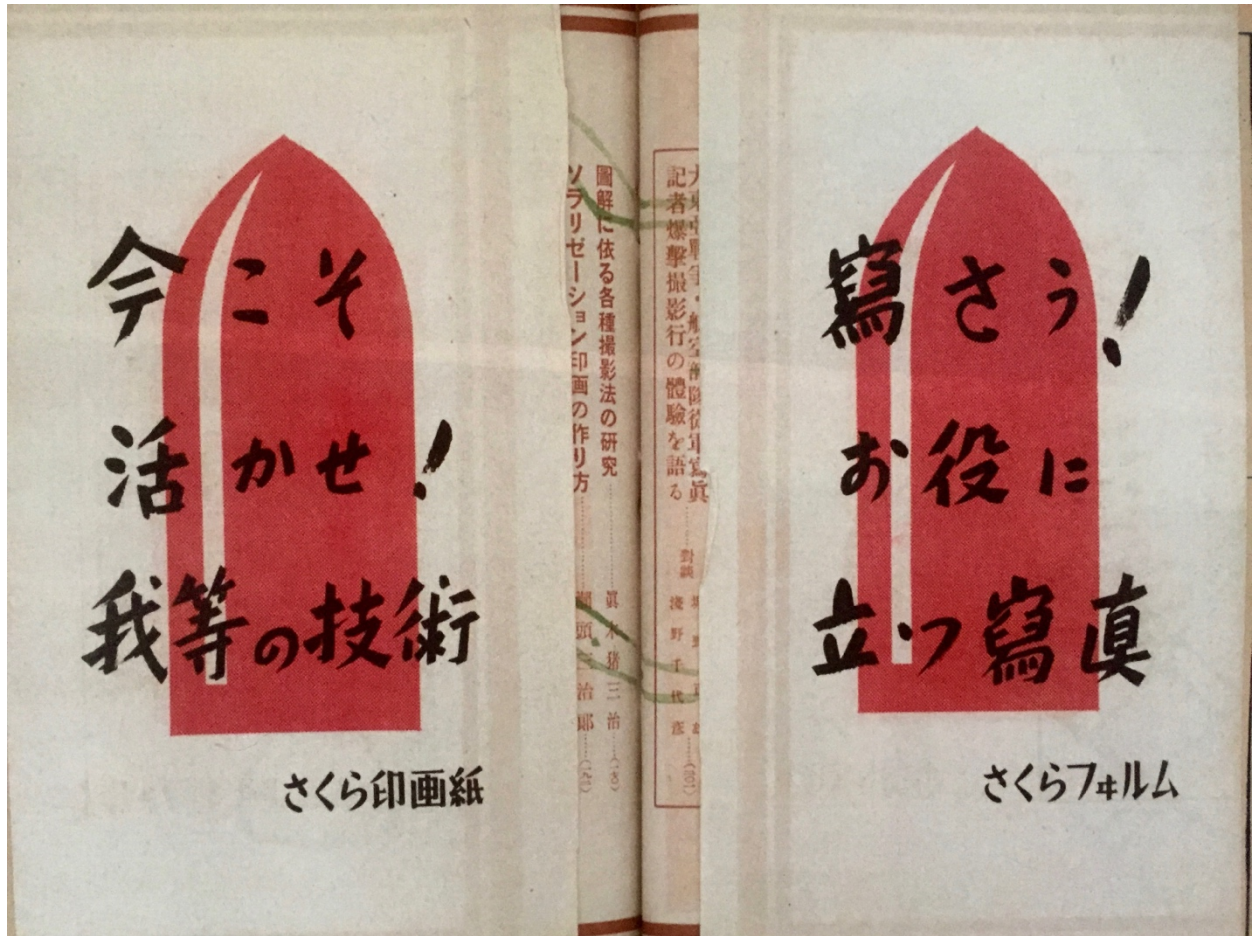


Figure 1.7. Fold out detail of previous advertisement. Left: “Now is the time to make the best use of our technology – Sakura Printing Papers,” *Arusu Shashin Bunka* (Ars Photography Culture) (February 1942), unpaginated.







Figure 1.9. “Shashin han no katsuyō honsha tokuha shashin buin kara kiku hōhata no naka de no Kushindan,” (Utilizing the photo corps: Hearing from the special correspondents of this magazine stories of their hard work from the artillery fields and the bitter cold) *Asahi Camera* 13 (5)(74) May 1932, 473.



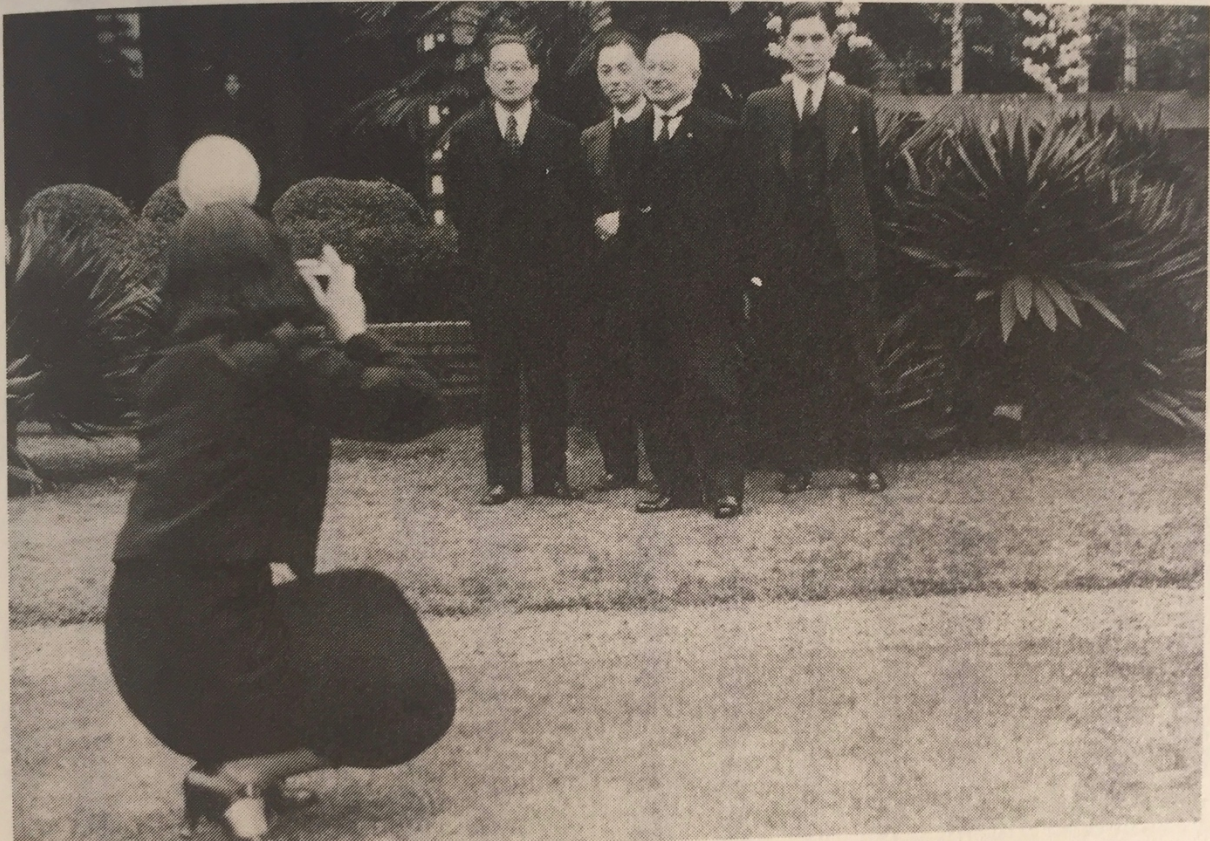


Figure 1.10. “Shashin han no katsuyō honsha tokuha shashin buin kara kiku hōhata no naka de no kushindan,” (Utilizing the photo corps: Hearing from the special correspondents of this magazine stories of their hard work from the artillery fields and the bitter cold) *Asahi Camera* 13 (5)(74) (May 1932), 473.



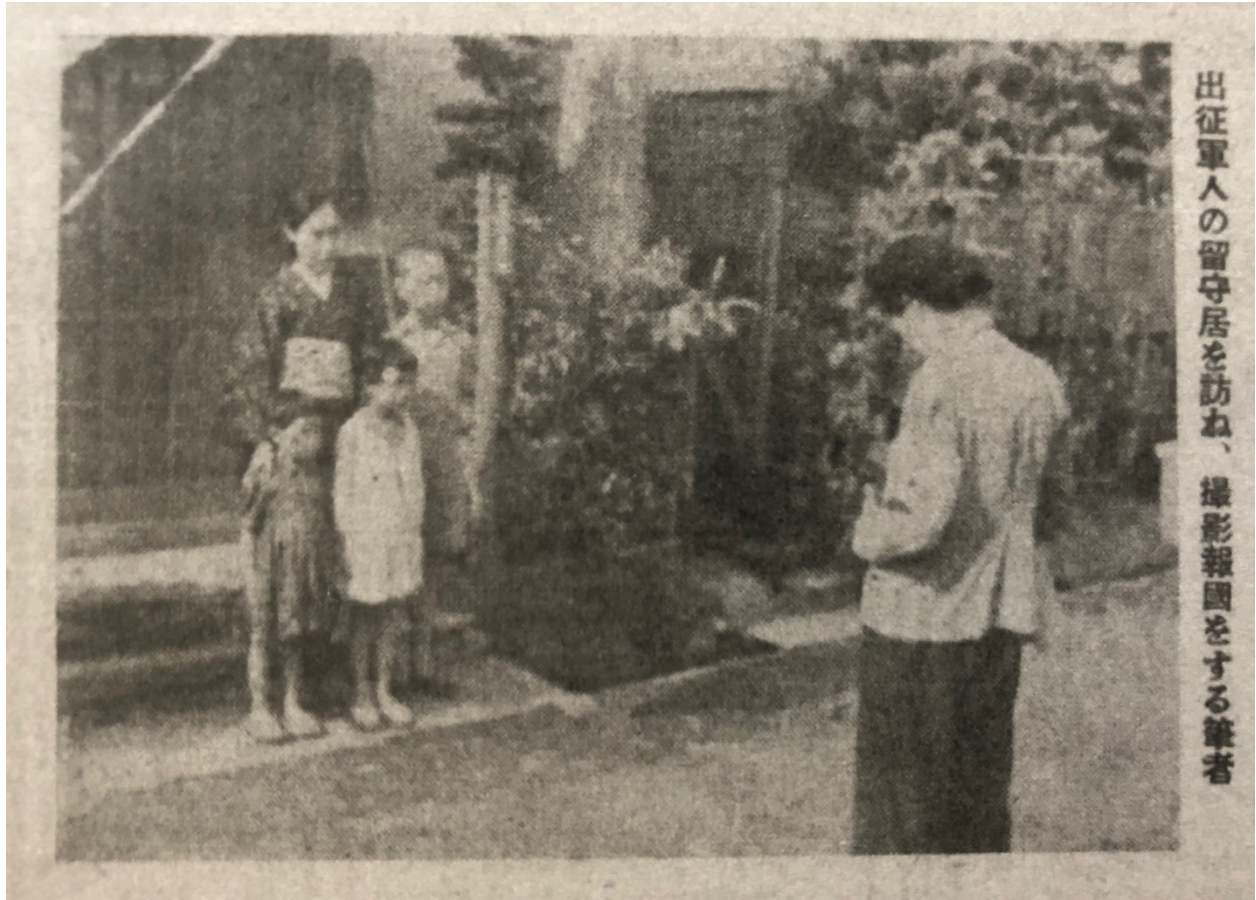
Figure 1.11. “Shashin han no katsuyō honsha tokuha shashin buin kara kiku hōhata no naka de no kushindan,” (Utilizing the photo corps: Hearing from the special correspondents of this magazine stories of their hard work from the artillery fields and the bitter cold) *Asahi Camera* 13 (5)(74) (May 1932), 476.





◆——官邸中庭で阿部首相と秘書たちにカメラを向ける著者。  
撮影・加藤恭平。昭和14年

Figure 1.12. “The writer points her camera at the Prime Minister and secretaries in the garden of the official residence. Photo by Katō Kyōhei, 1939,” In Sasamoto Tsuneko, *Raika de shotto! Ojōsan kameraman no shōwa funsenki* (Shot with a Leica! A Young Lady’s Showa War Record) (Tokyo: Seiryu, 2002), 13.



出征軍人の留守居を訪ね、撮影報國をする筆者

Figure 1.13. “Shusseigunjin no rusui wo tazune, satsuei hōkoku wo suru hissha,” (The writer takes a patriotic photograph visiting the residence of a soldier on the battlefield during his absence) in Kin Toyoko, “Watashi no shashin hōkoku kiroku: dare ka kokyō wo omowazaru,” (My photographic record of patriotism: How could someone not think of their hometown?) *Nihon Shashin* (Japanese Photography) (May, 1944), 52-53.



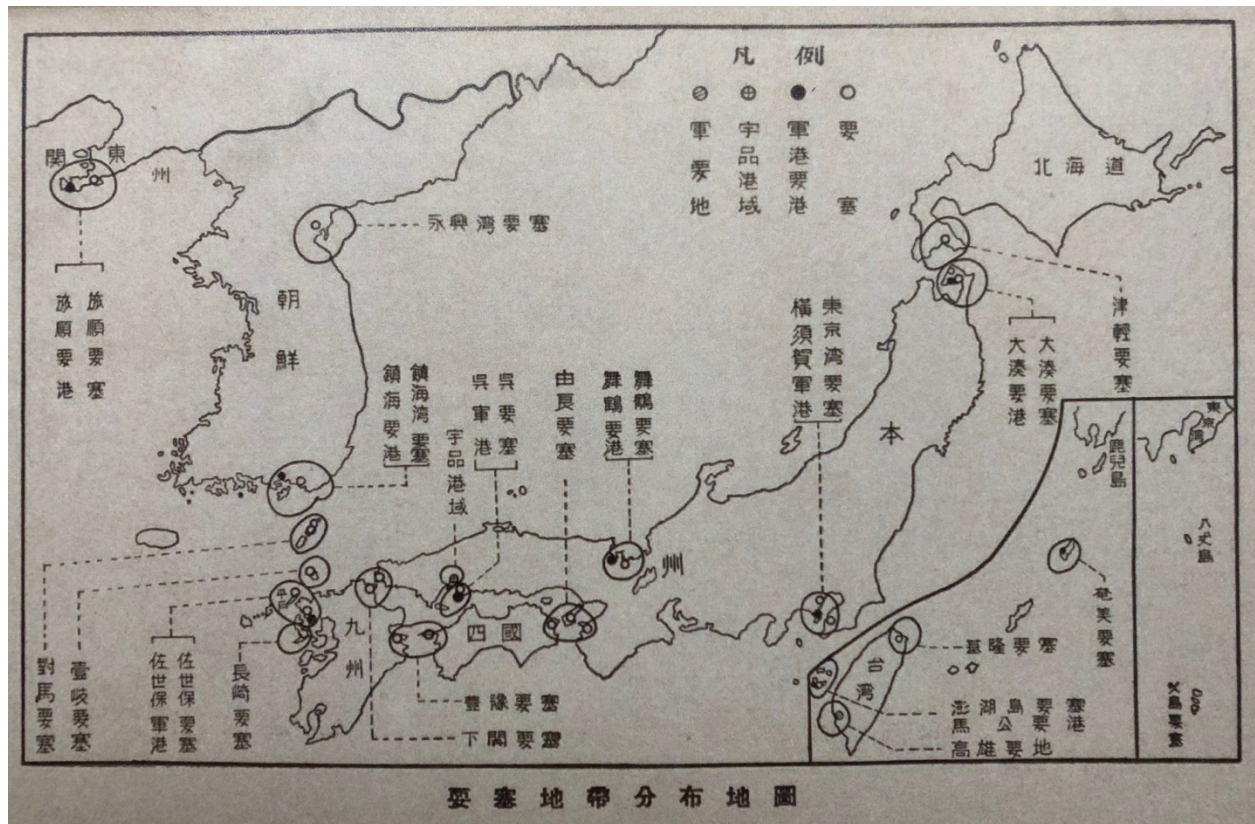


Figure 1.14. “Yōsai chitai bunpu chizu” (Map of the distribution of fortified zones) in “Satsuei kuiki katsetsu” (Explanation of restricted photography zones) in *Arusu saishin shashin dai kōza dai 1 kan* (Ars’s Great Course on the Latest Photography, Volume 1) (Tokyo: Ars, 1934), 257. Empty circles represent fortified zones (*yōsai*), black circles represent strategic naval ports (*gunkō yōkō*), the circle with a cross through it represents the Ujina port in Hiroshima, and circles with diagonal lines through them represent and strategic military areas (*gun yōsai*).

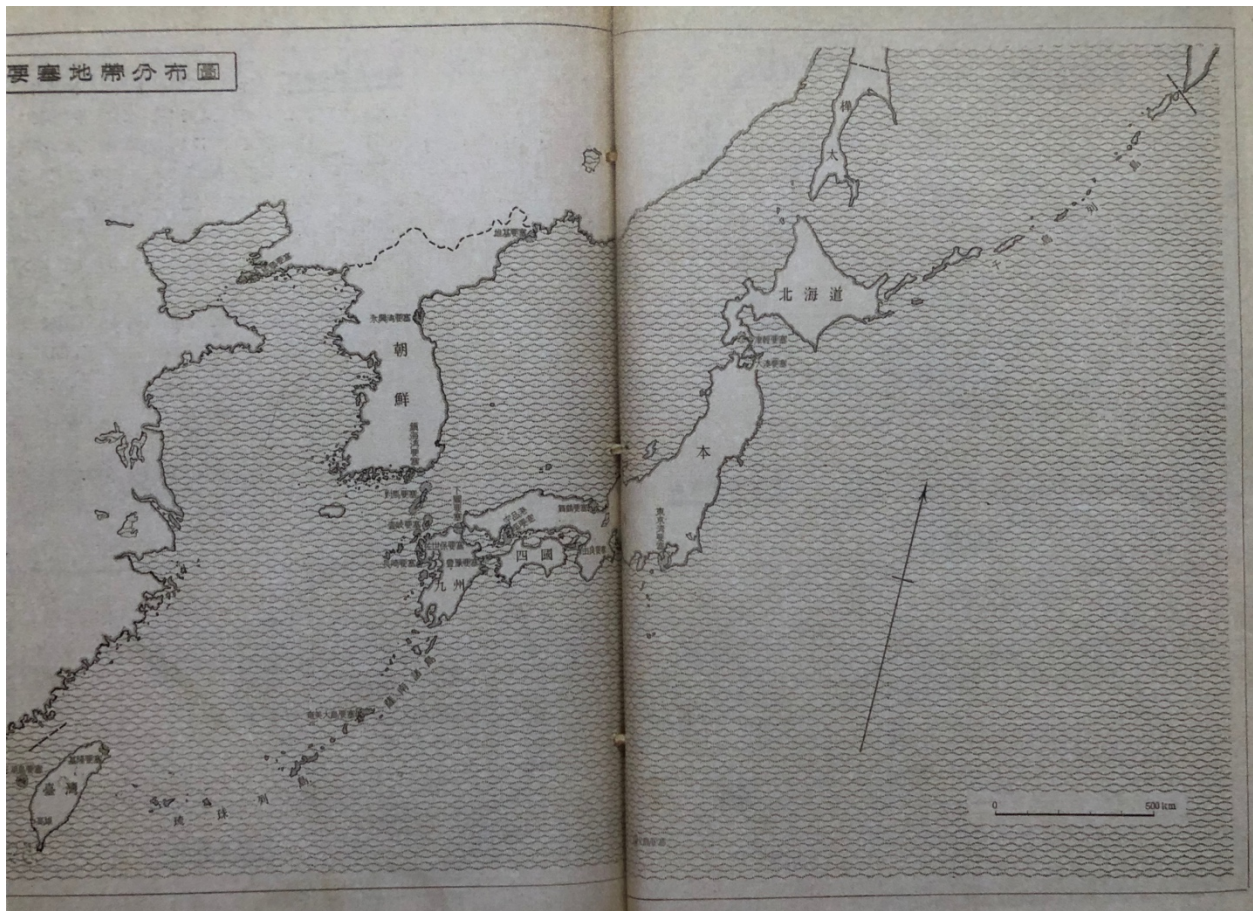


Figure 1.15. “Yōsai chitai bunpu chizu” (Map of the distribution of fortified zones) in *Shashin jitsugi dai kōza dai 5 kan: fūkei satsuei no jissai* (The practical skills of photography, Volume 5: The practice of taking scenery photographs) (Tokyo: Genkōsha, 1938), 260-261.





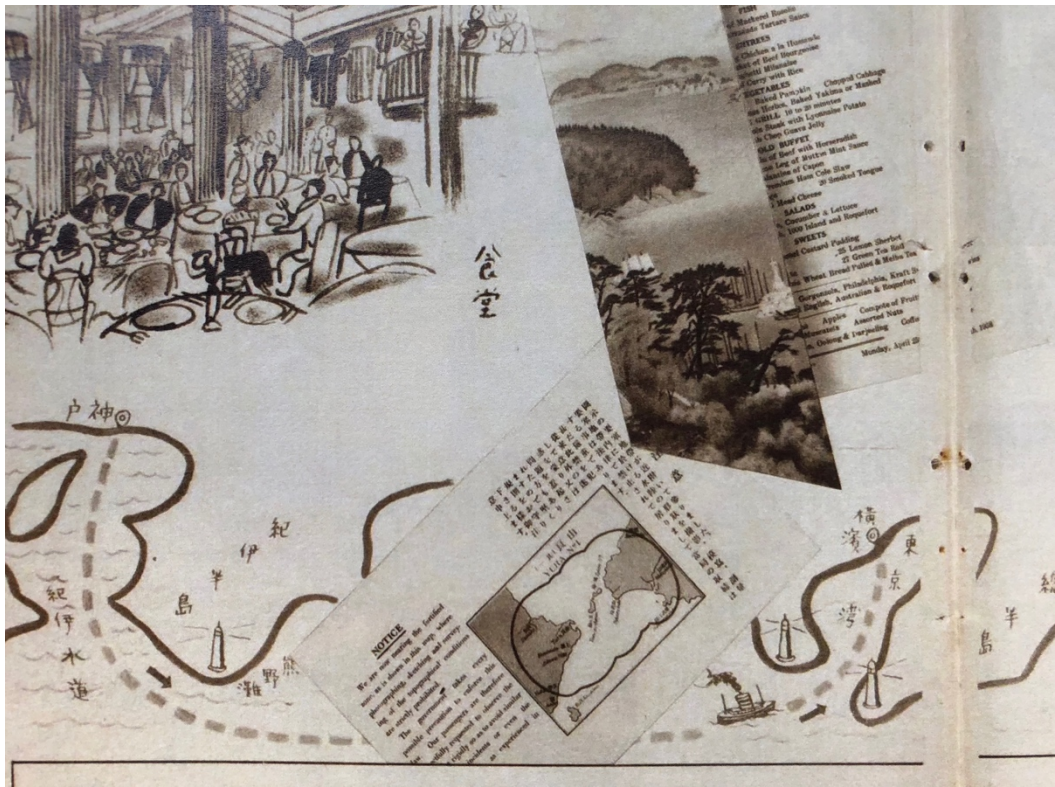
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Figure 1.17. "Satsuei negai" (Photography request) in "Chūi subeki satsuei kinshi kuiki" (Restricted Photography Zones to be careful of) in Shimizu Hayashi, *Subarashiku jōzu ni utsureru shoho no satsuei hon* (The elements of photographing wonderfully well) (Tokyo: Kōgyōsha, 1935), 358.





Figure 1.18. “24 jikan no hiroyuku asahi kamera shusai taiyōmaru satsueikai,” (24-hour sailing shooting session on the Taiyomaru sponsored by Asahi Camera) *Asahi Camera* 25(6)6 (147) (June, 1938), unpaginated. Top, full page; bottom, detail.













The "Asakusa Higashi-Hongwanji Temple," converted into a home for the homeless.



Figure 2.1. "The 'Asakusa Higashi-Hongwanji Temple,' converted into a home for the homeless," in *Tokyo senkyūhyaku yonjūgonen aki* = *Tokyo, Fall of 1945* (Tokyo: Bunkasha, 1946)





Figure 2.2. “Street stalls near a pile of Junk at Shinjuku” and “Peddling their wares at Sukiya-bashi” in *Tokyo senkyūhyaku yonjūgonen aki = Tokyo, Fall of 1945* (Tokyo: Bunkasha, 1946)



Figure 2.3. “Birds-eye view of Ningyo-cho from Kiyosu-bashi” in *Tokyo senkyūhyaku yonjūgonen aki* = *Tokyo, Fall of 1945* (Tokyo: Bunkasha, 1946)





Figure 2.4. “Jeeps lined up in front of the Meiji- Seimie Bldg.” in *Tokyo senkyūhyaku yonjūgonen aki* = *Tokyo, Fall of 1945* (Tokyo: Bunkasha, 1946)

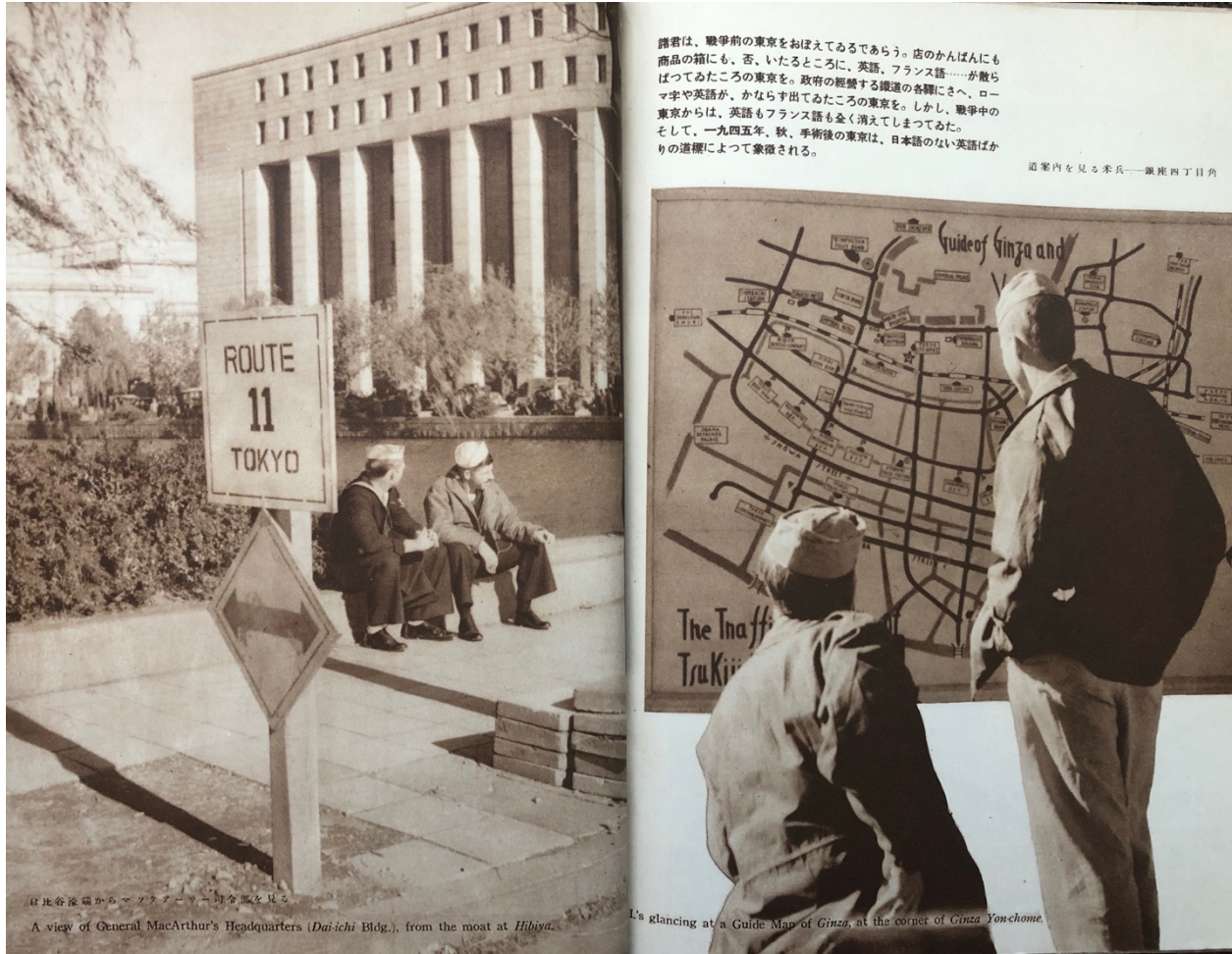


Figure 2.5. “A View of General MacArthur’s Headquarters (Dai-ichi Bldg.), from the moat at Hibiya,” in *Tokyo senkyūhyaku yonjūgonen aki = Tokyo, Fall of 1945* (Tokyo: Bunkasha, 1946)





AS SURRENDER CEREMONIES BEGIN ON "MISSOURI'S" DECK, JAP. EMISSARIES STAND STIFFLY WHILE MACARTHUR TELLS THEM HE WILL ENFORCE TERMS STRICTLY

## JAPAN SIGNS THE SURRENDER

Figure 2.6. "Japan Signs the Surrender," *Life* Vol. 19. No. 12 (September 17, 1945), 27-39.



Figure 2.7. “From the ‘Missouri’s yardam, high over the deck, the surrender scene looked like this. MacArthur (right, behind table) stands backed by the representatives and signers for the victorious nine nations and dominions. The Japanese delegation has grouped itself stiffly about 10 ft. in front of the table which holds surrender documents. Some 20 two-to-four-star U.S. Army and Navy officers are lined up at left. Correspondents watch from the No. 2 gun mount (center) and from the platform (lower right) where many of the photographers were also stationed. John Florea in “Japan Signs the Surrender,” *Life* Vol. 19. No. 12 (September 17, 1945), 28.



Figure 2.8. “Umezu signs for the Japanese imperial staff while Admiral Halsey (third from left in line of officers at left) cranes his neck to watch critically. Unlike all other, Umezu signed standing up. As he did, a Japanese colonel in the enemy delegation wiped tears from his eyes. General Spatz (eight from left) revealed afterward that U.S. planes were ready with 8,000 tons of bombs to halt any last-minute treachery on the part of Jap diehards, to whom the *Missouri's* deck full of high Allied officers might have presented a tempting target for a final suicidal effort.” Carl Mydans, in “Japan Signs the Surrender,” *Life* Vol. 19. No. 12 (September 17, 1945), 30.





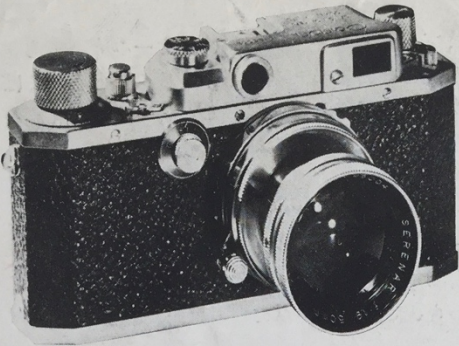
Figure 2.9. “America’s biggest admiral, 280-pound Rear Admiral John F. Shafroth, who directed naval shelling of the Jap mainland in the war’s closing weeks, symbolizes U.S. military might as he watching proceedings under the flag (evidently framed in reverse years ago) which Commodore Matthew Perry carried into Tokyo Bay in 1853 to open Japan for commerce,” in “Japan Signs the Surrender,” *Life* Vol. 19. No. 12 (September 17, 1945), 35.



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

MELJ1384

Figure 2.10. “There are many camera enthusiasts serving with the British Commonwealth forces in Japan, and for year that have been getting many good pointers from the Japanese experts. Above Mr. G Hamaoki, proprietor of a Tokyo camera shop, gives some darkroom instruction to Sergeant Ron Melrose, of the Royal Australian Corps of Signals (RA Sigs), the NCO in charge of the Britcom Base Signals Detachment, Ebisu Camp, Tokyo.” Meldrum, Donald Albert (Tim). Australian War Memorial, MELJ1384.



キヤノンカメラのアメリカと日本に於ける販賣價格比格表は次の通りであります。皆様がアメリカで御求めになられる場合よりも日本で御買上げ下さる方がどんなに御安いこととせう。

**それに御一人一個を御持歸へり  
の場合は關稅がかゝりません。**

キヤノン カメラ	II-B	f:1.9 50mm	米國小賣値段	\$ 249.00
			日本内地値段	\$ 99.85
キヤノン カメラ	II-B	f:3.5 50mm	米國小賣値段	\$ 189.00
			日本内地値段	\$ 75.60
望遠レンズセレナー		f:20 85mm	米國小賣値段	\$ 144.00
			日本内地値段	\$ 49.00
望遠レンズセレナー		f:40 100mm	米國小賣値段	\$ 78.00
			日本内地値段	\$ 28.10
望遠レンズセレナー		f:40 135mm	米國小賣値段	\$ 105.00
			日本内地値段	\$ 37.65

(以上レンズは全部コーテツドされて居ります)



## キヤノンカメラ株式會社

東京都中央区銀座五丁目三番地  
電話 銀座 (57) 502 • 3767 • 4461 番

Figure 2.11. “The comparative sales price of Canon in Japan and the United States are as follows. Isn’t it much cheaper to buy a camera in Japan right now? One camera per person and there is no tax.” Canon promotional brochure, 1951. Canon archive, Tokyo.





AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

MELJ1068

Figure 2.12. “Japan is a ‘camera-happy’ country, and Tokyo particularly is liberally dotted with camera shops, stocked with everything from miniatures the shape and size of a cigarette lighter, to the famous and highly priced Canon. Discussing the virtues of a £100 Canon camera with a Japanese sales assistant, is Corporal (Cpl) Ron Paxton, of Wodonga, Vic. Cpl Paxton, who had had fourteen years in the Australian Army, including Second World War service in New Guinea and Borneo, is at present Transport NCO at the British Commonwealth Ebisu Camp, Tokyo,” Meldrum, Donald Albert (Tim). Australian War Memorial, MELJ1068.



Figure 2.13. Georges Dimitri Boria, MacArthur Memorial Archives B23 F17 Tokyo 067.



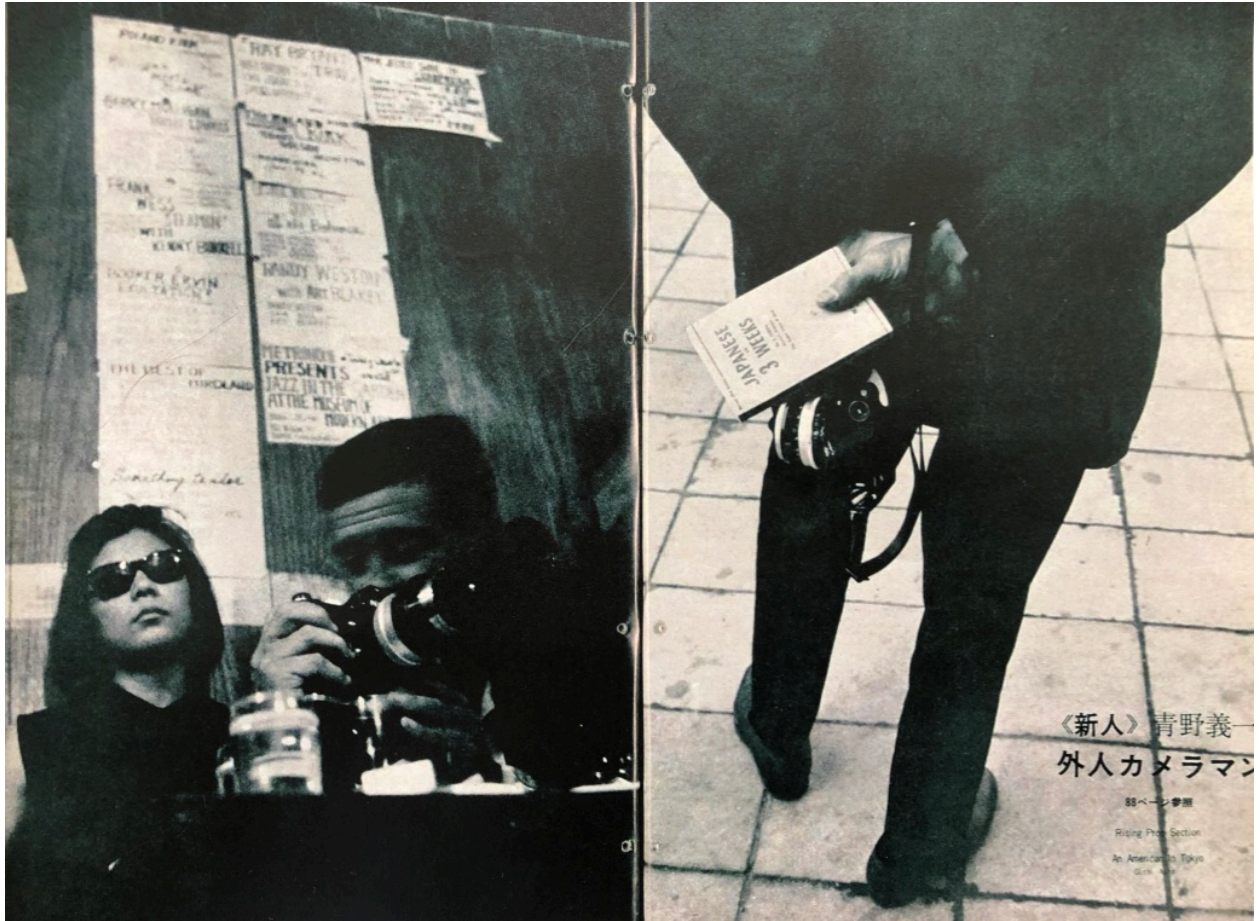


Figure 2.14. Aono Yoshikazu, “Shinjin’: Gaijin kameraman,” (New stars: The Foreign Cameramen) *Asahi Camera* 49(12)(379) (December 1964)

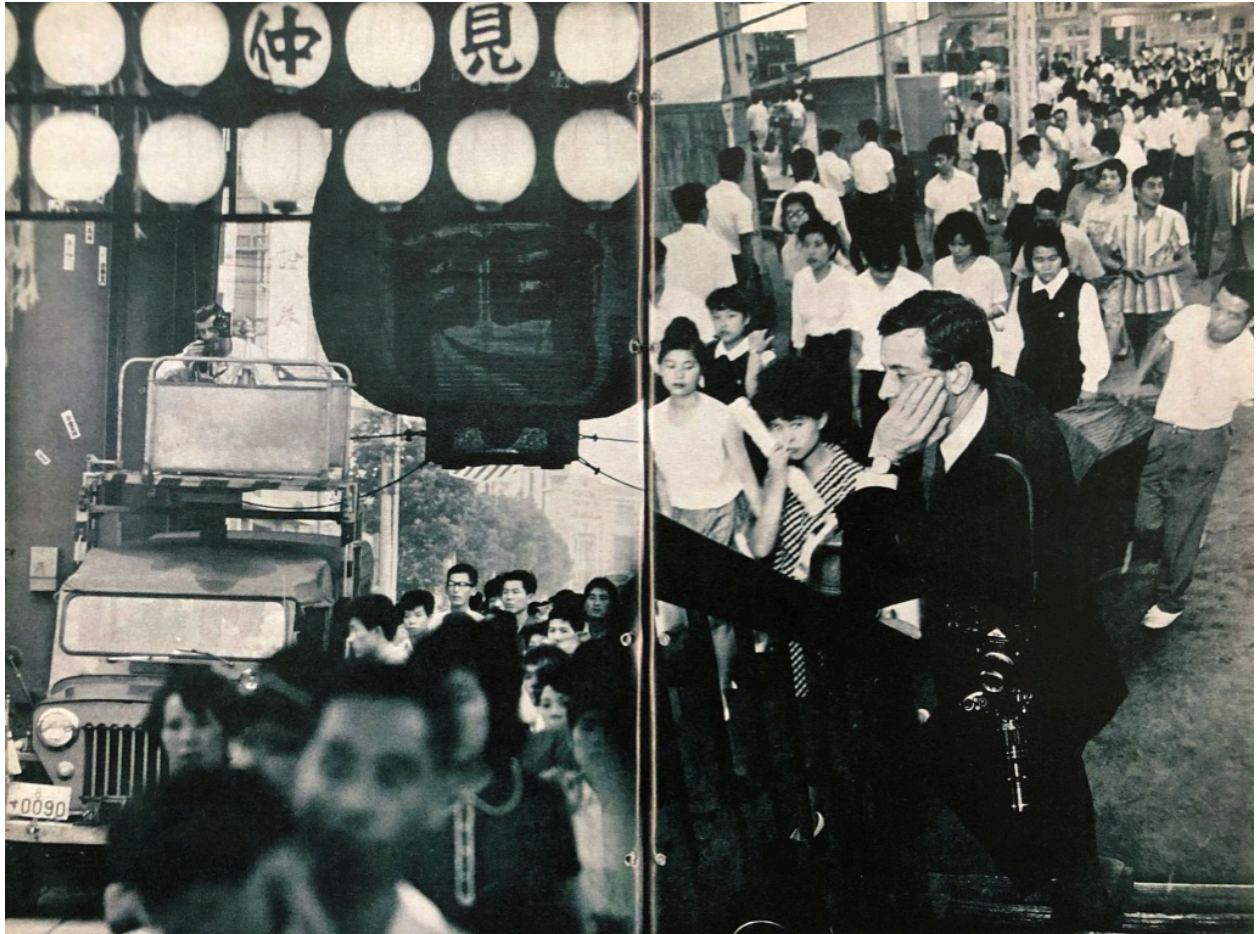


Figure 2.15. Aono Yoshikazu, “‘Shinjin’: Gaijin kameraman,” (New stars: The Foreign Cameramen) *Asahi Camera* 49(12)(379) (December 1964)



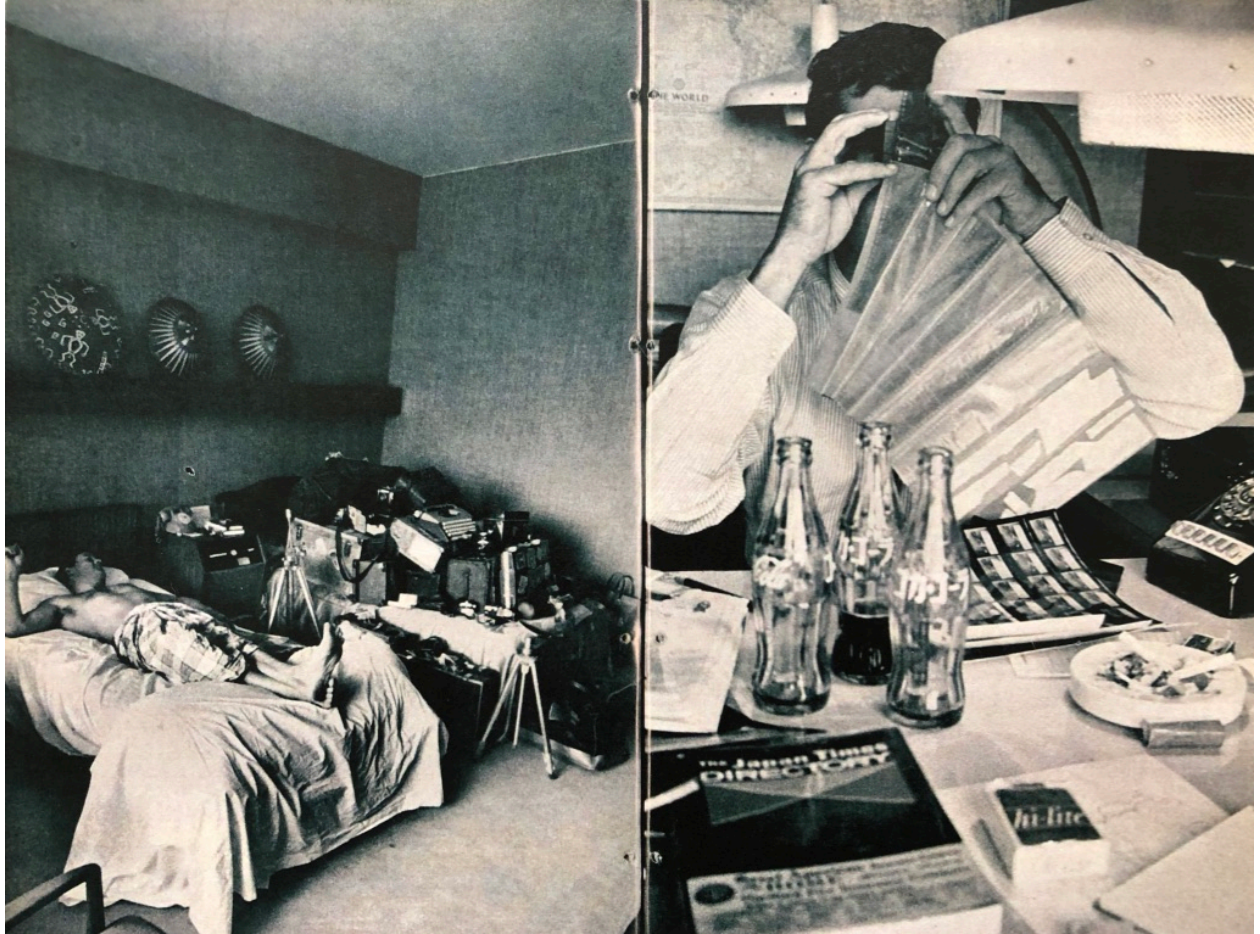


Figure 2.16. Aono Yoshikazu, “‘Shinjin’: Gaijin kameraman,” (New stars: The Foreign Cameramen) *Asahi Camera* 49(12)(379) (December 1964)



Figure 2.17. “B-36 Bomber’ Bourke-White” in “Bāku hoito joshi ni mono wo kiku” (Asking Ms. Bourke-White about various things) *Asahi Camera* (August 1952), 90.





Figure 2.18. “B-36 Bomber’ Bourke-White” in “Bāku hoito joshi ni mono wo kiku” (Asking Ms. Bourke-White about various things) *Asahi Camera* (August 1952), 89.

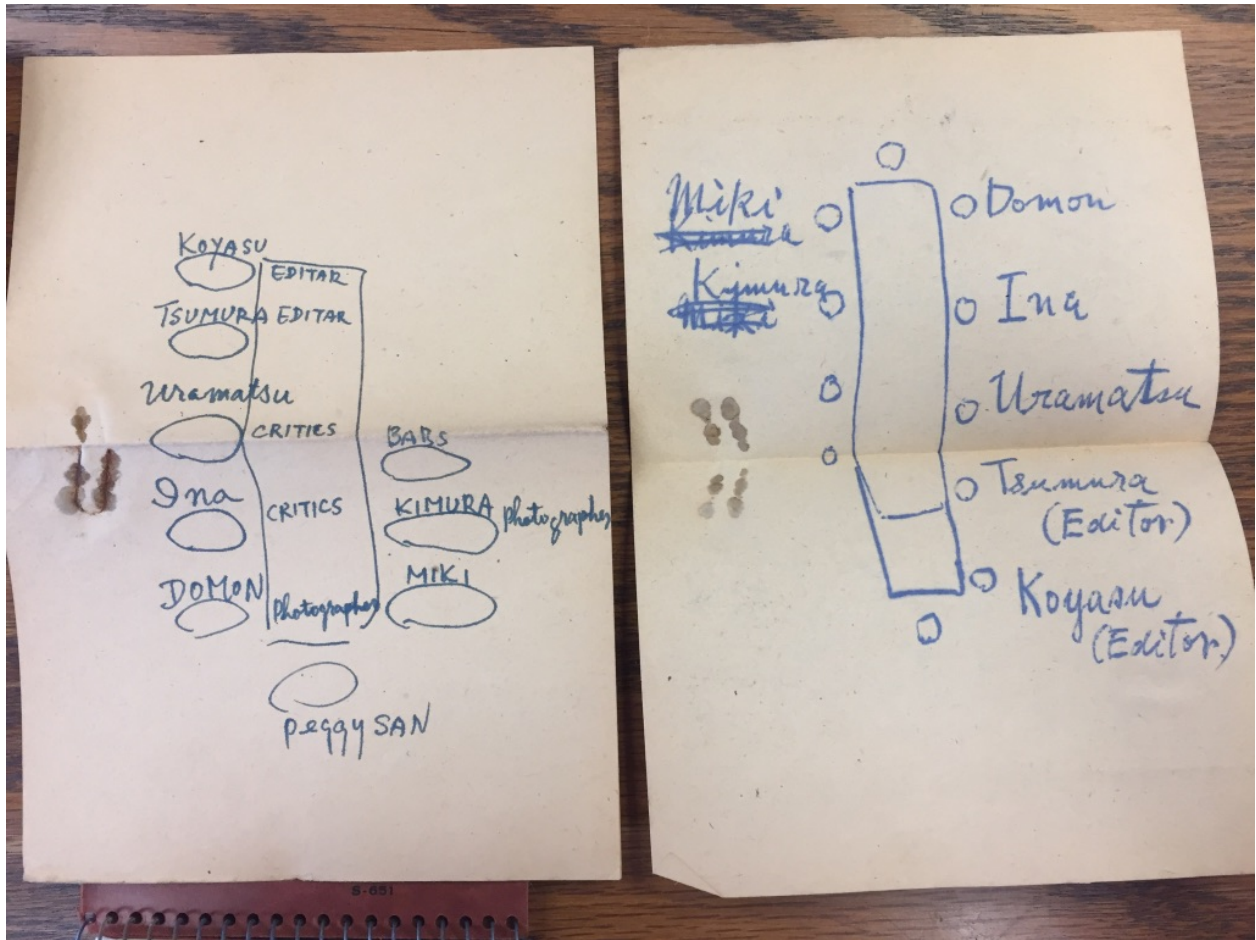


Figure 2.19. Potential seating arrangements for the 15 May 1952 *Asahi Camera* roundtable (published August 1952). Margaret Bourke White Papers, Syracuse University.



Figure 2.20. “Dave Duncan” by Miki Jun, taken in Tokyo. In it, Duncan holds a Leica III with Nikon lens affixed to it. The photo is taken with a Rollei auto-mat super xx. In *Asahi Camera* (October 1950), 7.



The story behind the stories in

LIFE

TO: All LIFE Salesmen

ISSUE OF DECEMBER 1, 1952

FROM: Stanley Rayfield

#5570

(lead)

THE SAVAGE SECRET WAR IN KOREA (11 pages)

Newsfront in this issue is given over almost entirely to LIFE Photographer Margaret Bourke-White's story on guerilla warfare in Korea. This, the editors think, is one of the finest stories LIFE has run. It was suggested by Bourke-White, one of the great photographers. The story is doubly remarkable in that if it was to be done at all, it was done by a woman.

Typical of LIFE's editorial acumen is the fact that although for two years Korea has been the most consistently worked over newscenter in the world, LIFE is the first publication to show readers the look of this unknown war that goes on mercilessly day and night. Heretofore the only reports of this guerilla fighting have been scattered newspaper stories.

Bourke-White's story is the story of a war within a war that President-elect Eisenhower will never see when he goes to Korea. Former LIFE Staff Writer Charles J. V. Murphy's text piece in this issue complements her coverage and lifts readers' sights to the problems and policy decisions Eisenhower will face. Thus, in this issue, LIFE gives readers a searching comprehensive look at Korea - from the immediacy of fighting to the long-range problems we seek to solve.

With this story LIFE Photographer Margaret Bourke-White joins the ranks of those LIFE photographers - David Douglas Duncan, Carl Mydans, Hank Walker, Joe Scherschel, Howard Sochurek, John Dominis, Mike Rougier - who have given all aspects of the Korea war the finest coverage any war has had.

For three months, Margaret Bourke-White lived in conditions of the most primitive discomfort and hardship deep in the heart of guerilla territory in southwest Korea. She lived chiefly on U.S. Army rations. Drinking water she purified in her canteen with Halizone tablets when she could not get water purified by the U.S. Army for its advisers to the Korean National Police.

Photographer Bourke-White worked for nearly three months with the Korean National Police. At times when they were shooting it out with guerillas, she was making pictures only a few hundred yards (continued on page 3)

Copyright Time Inc., 1952



Margaret Bourke-White at work on this LIFE story

Figure 2.21. Stanley Rayfield, "The Story Behind the Stories in Life: Issue of December 1, 1952 The Savage Secret War in Korea," Margaret Bourke-White Papers, Syracuse University.



WITH LIFE PHOTOGRAPHER MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE ON ASSIGNMENT IN KOREA



Figure 2.22. Stanley Rayfield, "The Story Behind the Stories in Life: Issue of December 1, 1952 The Savage Secret War in Korea," Margaret Bourke-White Papers, Syracuse University.

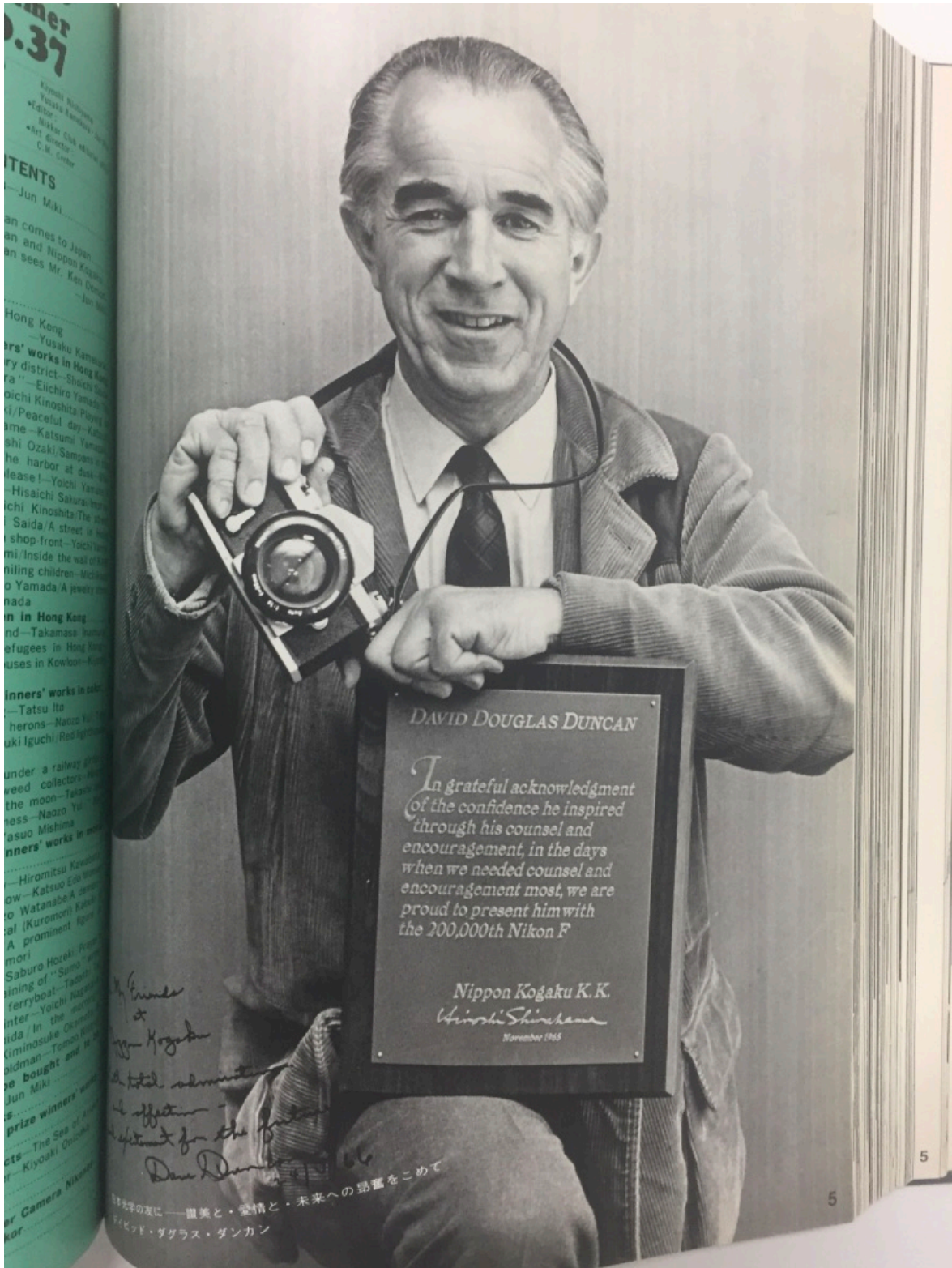


Figure 2.23. *Nikkor Club Newsletter* No. 37 (Summer 1966), Nikon Archive.





Figure 2.24. “The Emperor and General MacArthur” September 29 *Asahi Shimbun*. In The Pacific War Research Group, eds. *Foto dokyūmento: Hondo kūshū to senrō* (Photo documents: Mainland air raids and occupation). Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 2015: 204.



Figure 2.25. Yamahata Yōsuke, “Dazed Boy, face cut by glass, stands clutching a rice ball. Some food supplies were brought to victims by searchers coming into blast area from suburbs.” In “When Atom Bomb Struck— Uncensored,” *Life* (September 29, 1952), 23.





THE CROWN PRINCE LEADS HIS SISTERS AND PARENTS PAST THE FLOWER-SHADOW PAVILION WHERE HIROHITO OFTEN MEDITATES

# *Sunday at Hirohito's*

## *Emperor poses for first informal pictures*

The pictures on these pages are the first informal photographs ever released of the Japanese imperial family. They include the first pictures showing a smile on the emperor's face, the first of the empress with her chickens, the first of the family at a meal, the first of the emperor reading American comics.

For Japan, the photographs are precedent-shattering and even more startling than the emperor's abandonment of his claim to divinity. Two of these pictures were published in the Tokyo press last month and caused a sensation. The Japanese imperial household had granted permission to LIFE as a "special honor" to use four Sundays in December photographing the members of the imperial family. Since the family is fearful of assassination, American photographers were barred and Japanese photographers of the Sun News Agency used.

The photographs of Sunday at Hirohito's show how great a symbolic comedown the war has forced on Hirohito. The obvious intention of the Japanese in permitting them was to build the emperor as a man understandable to Americans. What happens in the future to Hirohito's status will not be particularly influenced by the facts that he is a model family man, aged 44, neat and nervous, methodical, thrifty, decent, with a strong voice and handshake and fond of his wife (a love choice), children and his mother, who was strongly opposed to the war. He admires Abraham Lincoln (see p. 79), as do many Japanese, who are taught more American history than many Americans. He has read the works of Longfellow and Whittier. His children, who resemble their mother more than him, always come together on Sunday. The two boys live with their grandmother at another palace.



THE FUNNIES in the Stars and Stripes (Blondie and Moon Mullins) are read by emperor to crown prince.

Figure 2.26. *Life* (February 4, 1946): 75.

## *Japs show emperor as scholarly family man*

The not very subtle purpose of the Jap imperial household is to present Hirohito as a democrat, father, grandfather, citizen and botanist. It censored some photographs of him in uniform, happily revealed a little shabbiness, such as the baby carriage above, had him read a copy of the New York

*Times* and got Abraham Lincoln into the picture (opposite page). The emperor is in fact a qualified working biologist. He himself discovered the two pickled marine fauna shown below and named by him *Symphosiphoea Imperialis Teruo* (the shrimp) and *Lyrocteis Imperatoris Komai* (the jellyfish).



THE EMPEROR'S PLANTS are watered personally by the emperor on the front terrace of the bomb shelter.

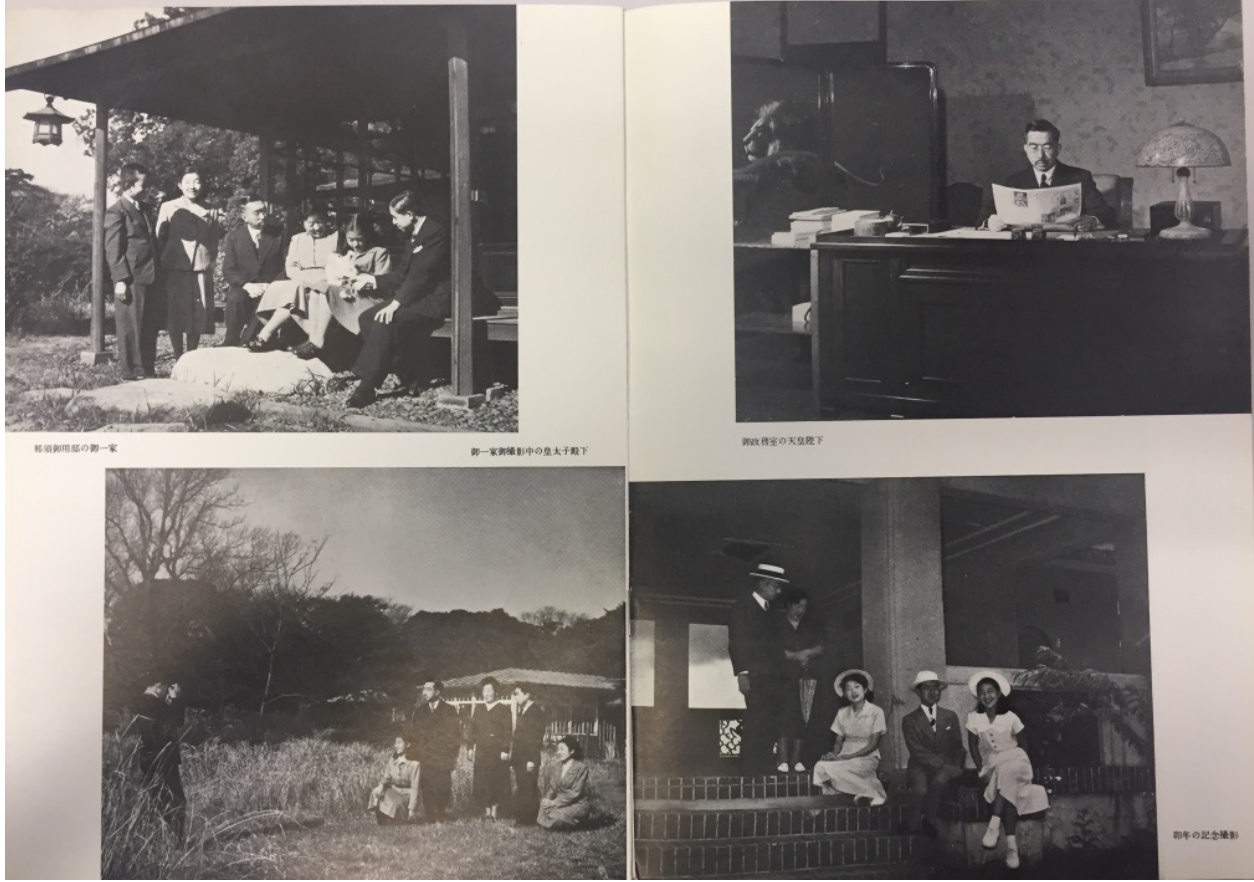


THE EMPEROR'S SHRIMP (center) was discovered by him on beach in 1918, his own jellyfish (right) in 1941.



EMPEROR'S LABORATORY is modern, fully equipped. Near shelter is storehouse for his biological specimens.

Figure 2.27. *Life* (February 4, 1946), 78.



那須御用邸の御一家

御一家御撮影中の皇太子殿下

新設書室の天皇陛下

那年の記念撮影

Figure 2.28. Kumagai Tatsuo, *Kōshitsu gonichijō* (The honorable daily life of the Imperial Family) Japan Photographic Society, 1954.





Figure 2.29. Atomic bomb mural in *The Family of Man* which was curtained off for the Emperor's visit. In Shirayama Mari and Kohara Masashi *Sensō to heiwa "hōdō shashin" ga tsutaetakatta nihon* (War and Peace: The Japan that "documentary photography" sought to transmit) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2015), 184.

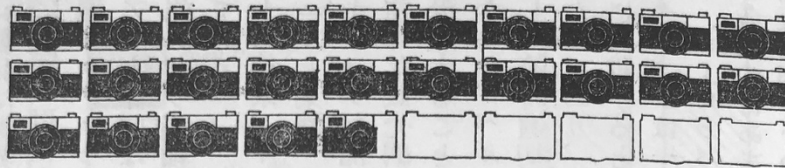




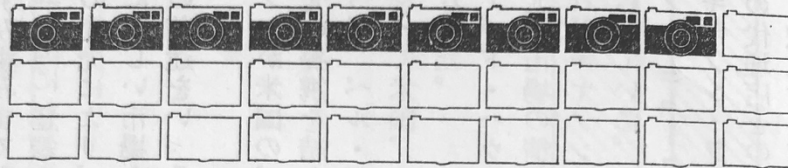
Figure 3.1. Ministry of Trade and Industry, “G makku senteihin” (G-Mark Selected Products) *Tsūshō sangyō kankei hōrei shū* (Trade and Industry Related Laws and Ordinances), Volume 1. (Tokyo, 1957), 1033.

## キヤノン製品の国内生産にしめる比率

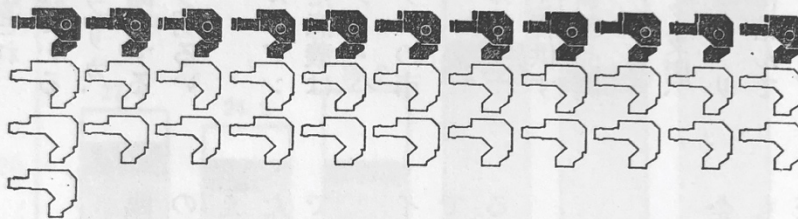
### ① 高級レンジファインダーカメラ



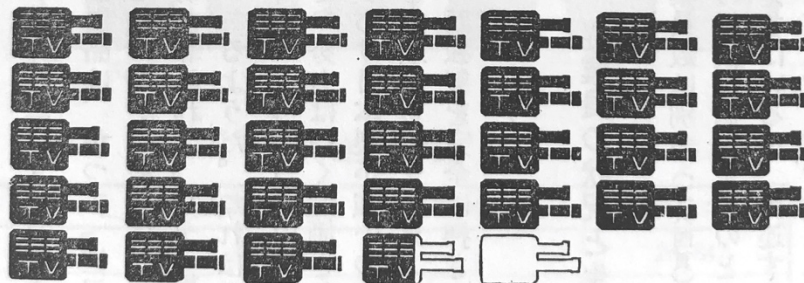
### ② 35mmレンズシャッターカメラ



### ③ 8mmシネカメラ



### ④ テレビ用レンズ



### ⑤ 自動レントゲンカメラ

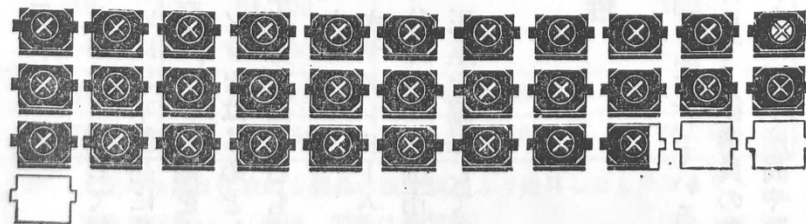


Figure 3.2. The ratio of cameras domestically made that are Canon cameras, from top to bottom: high quality range finder cameras, 35mm lens shutter cameras, 8mm film cameras, lenses for television cameras, automatic x-ray cameras. “Kiyanon seihin no kokunai seisan ni shimeru hiritsu” (Ratio of Canon products to domestic production) Fukumoto Kunio, ed. *Sekai no me Kiyanon kamera* (Canon camera eye of the world) Tokyo: Fuji International Consulting, 1962: 261.



Figure 3.3. Hagiya Takeshi, “Kokusan kamera no meiki 60 sen” (60 selections of famous domestically produced cameras” in *Kokusan kamera no rekishi shōwa 10-40 nen hōkoku ni miru* (Seeing the history of domestically produced cameras through advertisements 1935-1965) (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1994), 9.

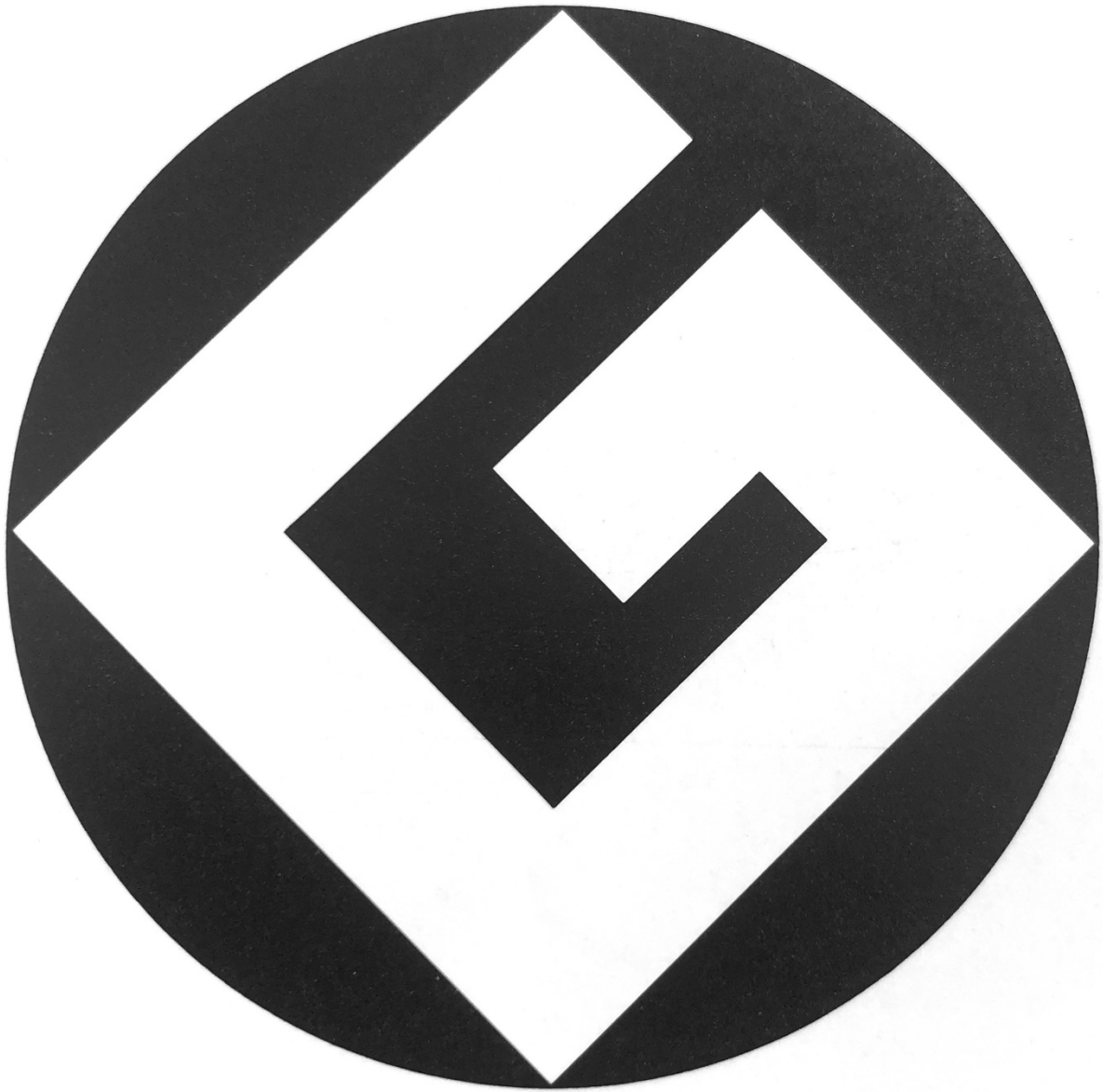


Figure 3.4. Symbol for the Good Design Selection System, design by Kamekura Yūsaku in 1957. Kathryn B. Hiesinger and Felice Fischer, eds. *Japanese Design: A Survey Since 1950*. (New York: Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1995), 62.





Figure 3.5. Shitō Kineo, “Parodei, jikaban waga tōsō, Shitō Kineo” (Parody, Mein Kampf private edition, Shitō Kineo)” *KEN* No. 3 (Tokyo: Shaken, 1971), 7.

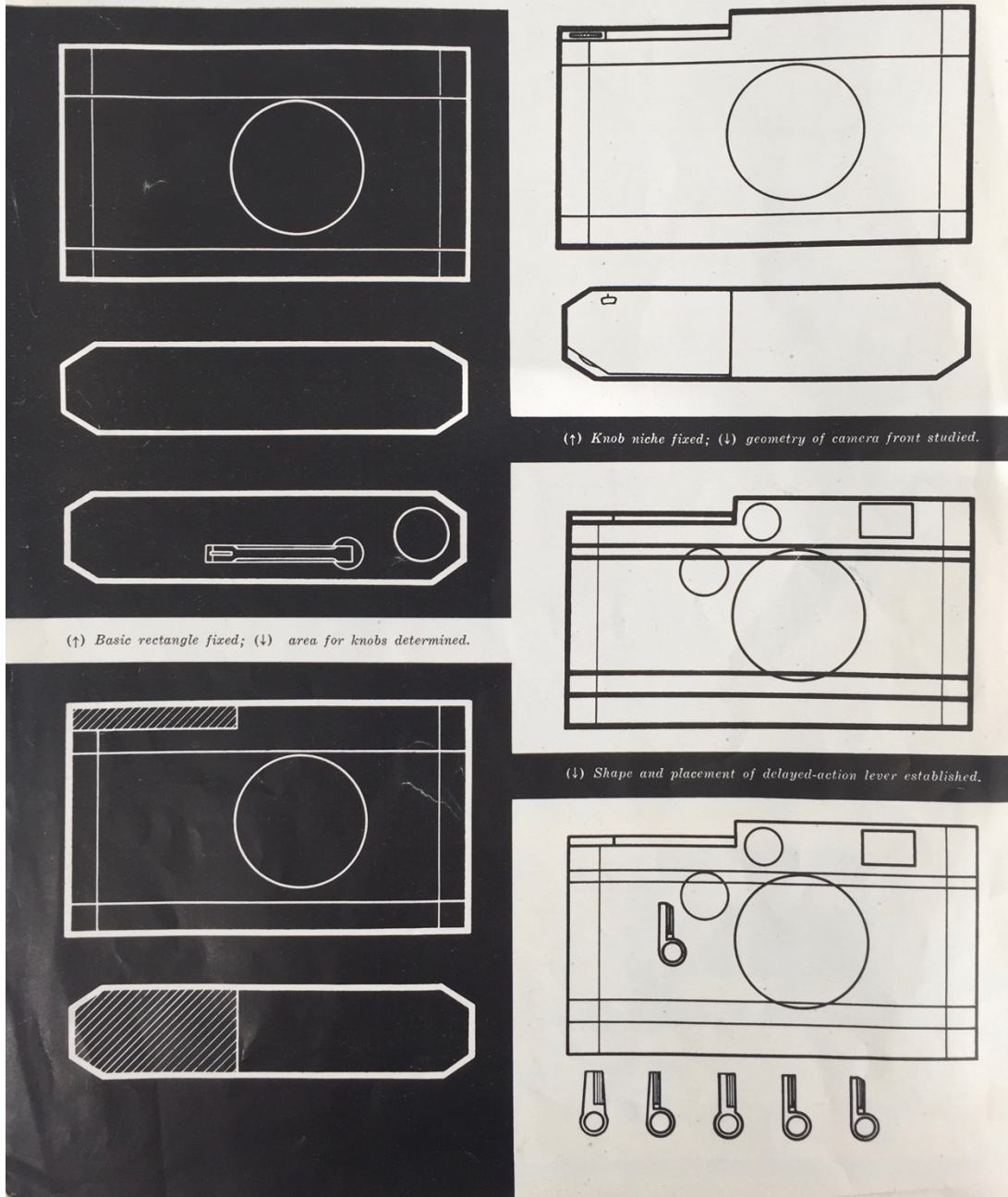
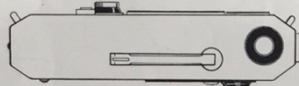
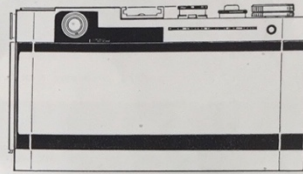
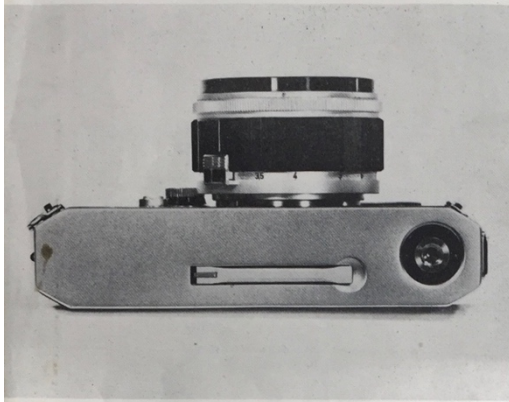


Figure 3.6. "Canon Camera: Japan Designs for the world market," *Industrial Design Magazine*. (April 1957) Unpaginated.





Bottom elevation (above) shows trigger rapid-wind lever, folded flush with the base. When in use, it is locked in place at right angles to the base. This and several other minor conveniences are the Canon V's only mechanical advances over the IV-S2. The main differences are redesigned controls and a new body slab.

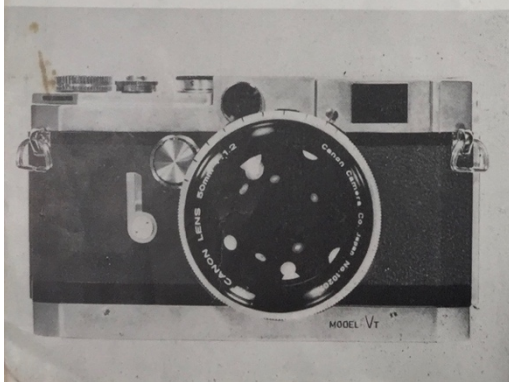
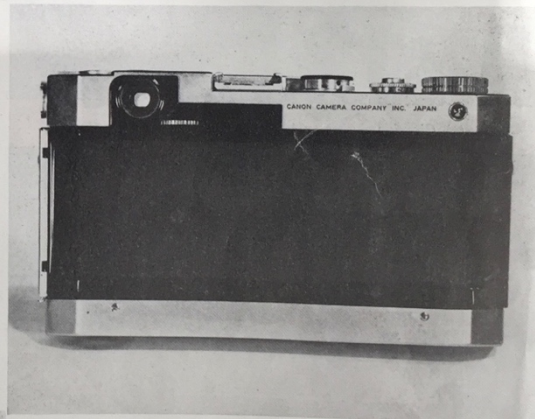
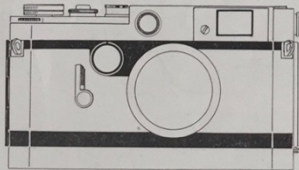


Figure 3.7. "Canon Camera: Japan Designs for the world market," *Industrial Design Magazine*. (April 1957) Unpaginated.



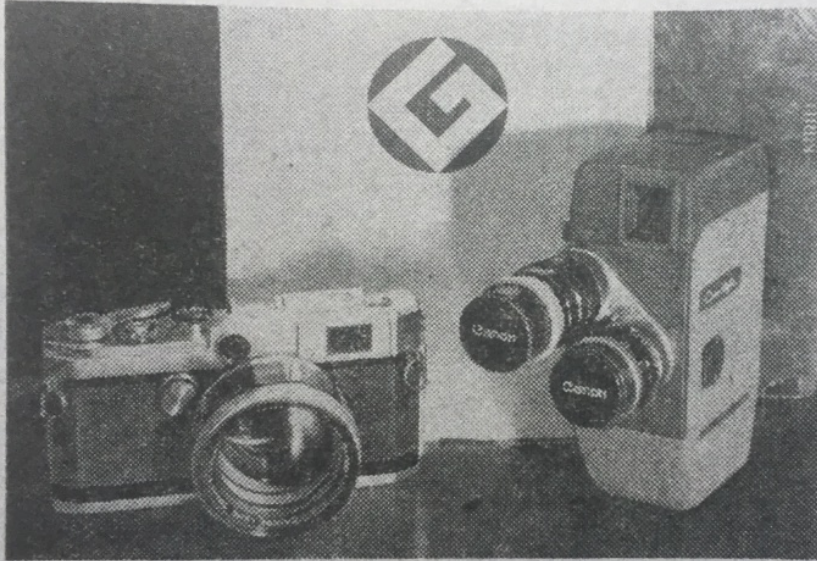
Figure 3.8: Ishimoto Yasuhiro, (Japanese, born 1921), Untitled from the series *Katsura*, 1953-54. Gelatin silver print, printed 1980-81. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; Gift of the artist in memory of Ishimoto Shigeru.





Figure 3.9. "Canon Camera: Japan Designs for the world market," *Industrial Design Magazine*. (April 1957), Cover.

## 経済



グッド・デザインに選ばれたカメラとGマーク

府選定の優良品」という意味の「Gマーク」証紙をつけて販売される制度が始まったのは昨年の三月。このため通産大臣の諮問機関である意匠奨励審議会の中に、グッド・デザイン分科会（坂倉準三会長）を新設、約四十名の委員が審査に当り、この九

ところから二十数点のグッドデザインを選び出している。ところが、十一月末に開かれた意匠奨励審議会の席上、小

二郎（日本インダストリアルデザイン協会理事長）、豊口克平（工業芸試験所意匠部長）、佐々木

（同）、小池太郎（芸大助授）の五委員が、「現在グッド・デザイン選定方は間違っている。現状を善できなければ辞任する」との爆弾発言を發表した

である。

五委員の判断の焦点は、「いまのままだと選定委員がボス化して選定に巨額利権がから

Figure 3.10. “Dare ga tame G-māku—seifu sentei no yūryōhin” (Who is the G-Mark For?), *Shukan Shinchō* (December 1958), 21.



Figure 3.11. “Sara ni gyōkai no rīdā toshite” (As a leader in the industry) “Nihon no dojō ni mottomo tekishiteiru” (Most suitable for Japanese soil) “kamera kigyō” (Camera corporation) *Sekai no me kiyanon kamera* (Canon Camera: The eye of the world) (Tokyo: Fuji International Consulting, 1962), 235.





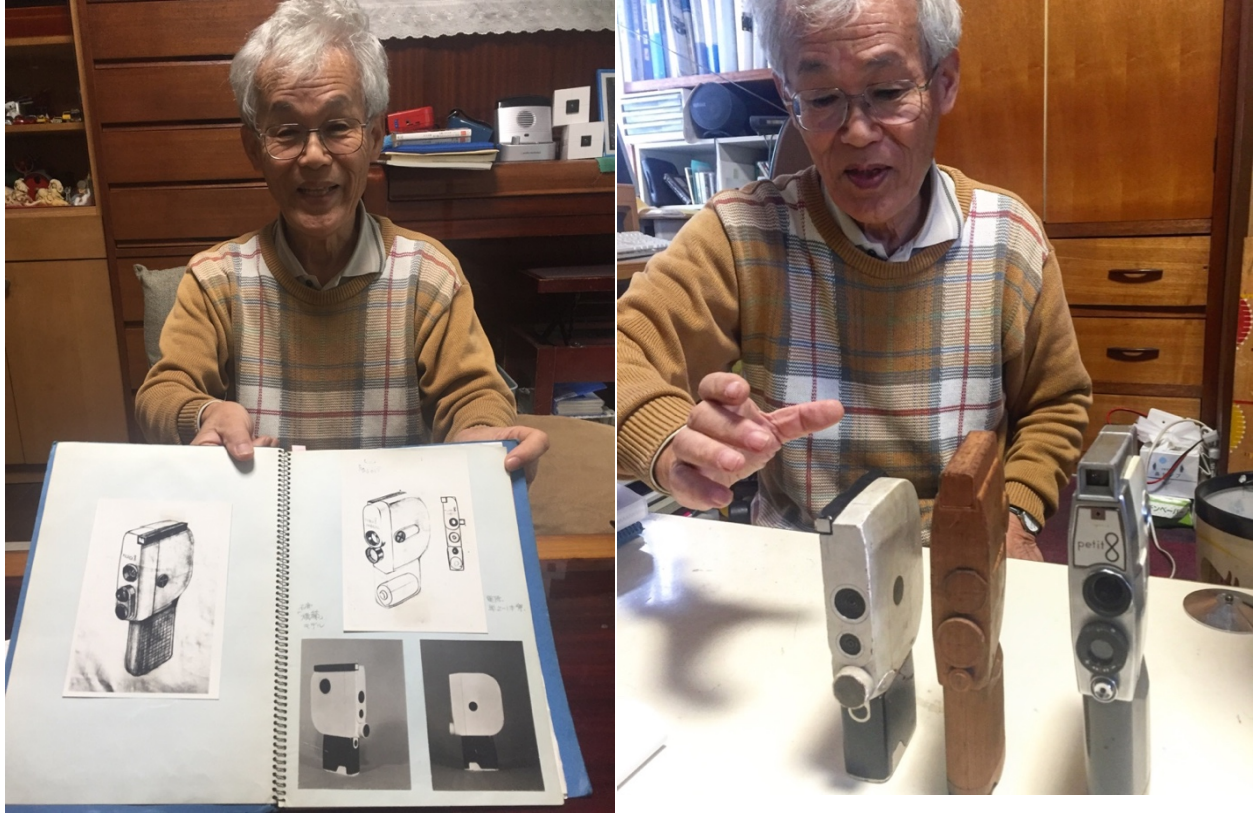


Figure 3.13. Interview with Mizukawa Shigeo November 16, 2016. Photograph by the author.




 最高の技術・最大の設備から生れる 東京光学のカメラ

# プリモフレックス

**大丈夫ですか？**  
 オットふるえていますね  
 落着いて、落着いて……  
 プリモなら 誰にでも  
 ピントグラスにうつる  
 通りに撮れる すばらし  
 いカメラなんです。  
 カメラはもう男性のみ  
 のものではありません。  
 貴女もプリモで  
 楽しい傑作を  
 お撮り下さい。

有名カメラ店・デパートにて販売  
 総発売元  株式会社 **大澤商會**  
 東京都中央区銀座西2の5  
 大阪・京都・名古屋・福岡・札幌  
 カタログ  
 〒8 同封  
 東京都中  
 央局区内

¥23,000  
 (皮ケース付)

Figure 3.14. Primoflex advertisement. “Are you alright? You are not able to find focus, aren’t you? Relax, relax...If it’s a Primo, anyone can take a picture just as it appears on the focusing screen. It is a wonderful camera. The camera is no longer a thing for only men. Why don’t you also enjoy taking pictures with a Primo?” *Fujin kurabu* (November 1954)



Figure 3.15. Kamekura Yūsaku, Neon sign for Nippon Kōgaku kōgyo kabushiki kaisha, 1959. Tokyo Ad. Art Director's Club, eds. *Nenkan kōkoku bijutsu* (Annual of Advertising Art in Japan) (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 1959), 229.





Figure 3.16. Kamekura Yūsaku, Graphic and industrial design work for Nippon Kōgaku Kōgyo Kabushiki Kaisha. Nikon F pictured at left, in contrast to the Nikon SP. 1959.





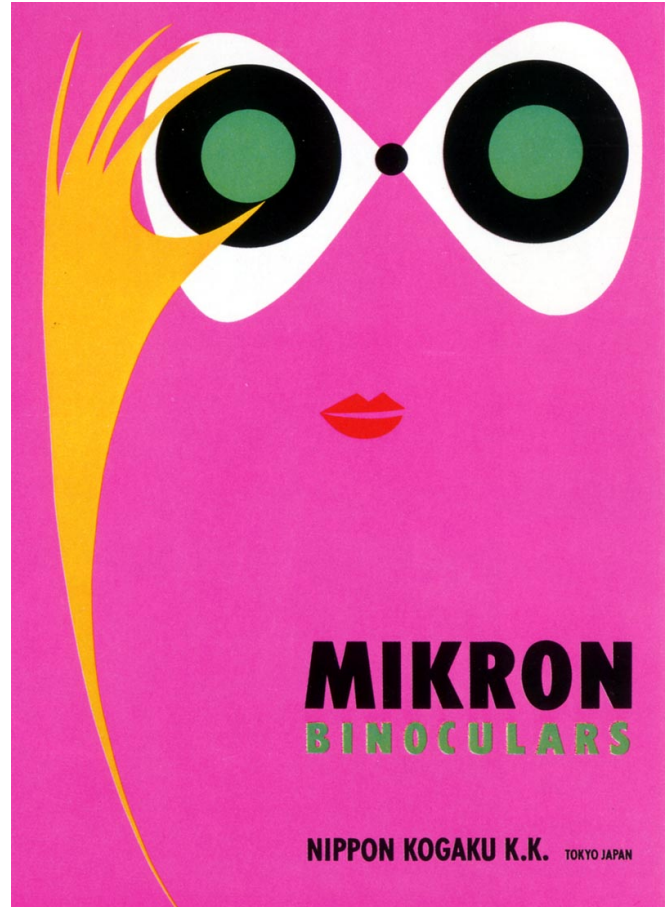


Figure 3.18. Kamekura Yūsaku, Nippon Kōgaku Kōgyo Kabushiki Kaisha. Left: Binoculars advertisement poster, 1950 76.7 x 51.2cm Record No. 0615 Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art; Right: Nikon Mikron Binoculars advertisement poster 1955, 103 x 72.7 cm. Record No. GD0062 Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art

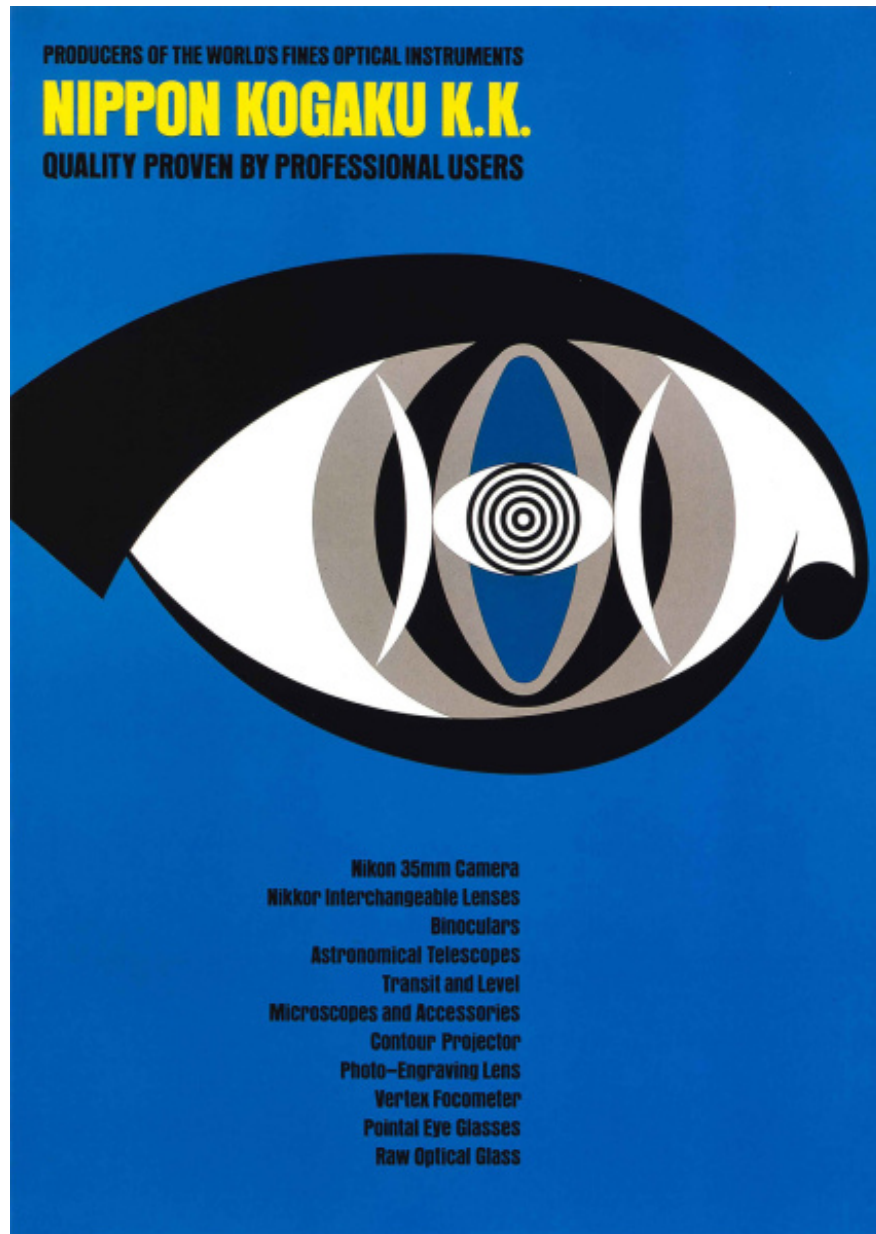


Figure 3.19. Kamekura Yūsaku, Nippon Kōgaku Kōgyo Kabushiki Kaisha advertisement, 1954.  
103 x 72.7 cm. Record No. 0879, Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art





Figure 3.20. “Graphic Design,” World Design Conference Organization, ed. *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* World Design Conference 1960s in Tokyo (Proceedings from the World Design Conference) (Tokyo: Bijustu Shuppan-sha, 1961), 280.



Figure 3.21. "Seating of Conference Hall at Sankei Kaikan," World Design Conference Organization, ed. *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* World Design Conference 1960s in Tokyo (Proceedings from the World Design Conference) (Tokyo: Bijustu Shuppan-sha, 1961), 279.



May 12

〈個性〉

Seminar session  
“personality”

〈個別性〉 〈地域性〉 〈世界性〉

Panel discussion  
“individuality”  
“regionality”  
“universality”

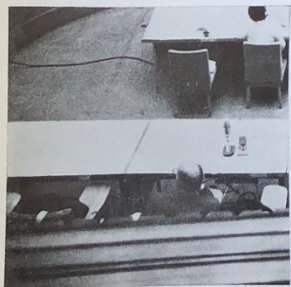


Figure 3.22. “Seminar Session,” World Design Conference Organization, ed. *Sekai dezain kaigi gijiroku* World Design Conference 1960s in Tokyo (Proceedings from the World Design Conference) (Tokyo: Bijustu Shuppan-sha, 1961), 286.



Figure 3.23. Kamekura Yūsaku, Poster for the Eighteenth Olympic Games, Tokyo, 1961  
40 1/2 x 21 9/6 (103 x 54.8 cm) Museum & Library, Musashino Art University, Tokyo.





Figure 3.24. “The manly appearance of a big battery hanging from her shoulder,” and “Though they might not lose to male photographers, there are those who win through their rights as women,” (in reference to female photographers being able to enter the women’s areas of the Olympic Village) *Shūkan Sankei* (October 1964)





Figure 4.1. Cover sleeve: “Though just a young woman, standing alone, she holds the camera as her sole weapon and resolutely documents and makes notes on women of the street!” Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957)



Figure 4.2. “Atarashii shokuba no joseitachi,” (The women of the new workplace) *Fujin Kurabu* (May 1956), 406-7.





Figure 4.3. “Kyō no gunzō: nihon shashinka kyōkai,” (Today’s Dynamic Bunch: The Japan Professional Photographer’s Society) *Shūkan Asahi* (December 9, 1951)



Figure 4.4. “Zen kantō shashin renmei dai ikkai taikai jikkyō,” (Coverage of the first meeting of the All Kantō Photography Association) *Asahi Camera* (August 1926), 218.

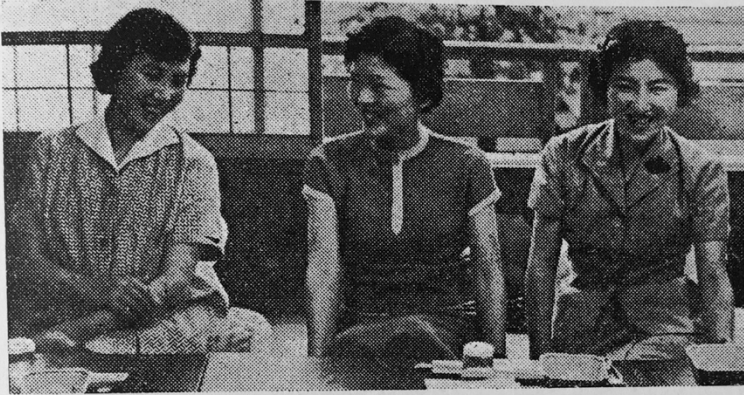








右より赤堀、常盤、三岸の三氏



連載座  
談会 7

# 夏の宵・女流写真家・縁

トー 常盤とよ子  
ス 三岸芳子  
一ゲ 赤堀益子

## 運営の難しい女性のクラブ

伊藤 やあどうも。きょうは僕はとて  
も喜んで来たんだよ。なにしろベッピン  
さん達が相手だからね。ところで常盤さ  
んのこの間の展覧会は評判がよかつたで  
すね。

常盤 はあ、おかげさまで。

三岸 赤堀さんから電話が来て、彼女  
やつたわねといつてたのね。

伊藤 三岸さんはどちらですか。

本誌 秋元啓一さんの奥さんですよ。

伊藤 じゃあうちのすぐそばだ。

本誌 おめでたなのですが、きょうわ  
ざわざお越し願って恐縮でした。(笑声)  
本誌 常盤さんは写真を始められてか  
ら三年目くらい？

常盤 もう五年になります。

伊藤 赤堀さんはフォトアートにいら  
つしやつたでしょう。

赤堀 ええ。

伊藤 ちよつと見覚えがあるんだ。二  
三年前只見川に行かれたんですね。

Figure 4.7. "Natsu no yoi · Joryū shashinka · endai no banashi," (A summer's eve · female Photographer · bench talk) *Foto āto* (September 1956), 132.









Figure 4.9. Tokiwa Toyoko at top right as an example of the “pro camera man” in “Though they may call me manly...Speaking at length with the female champions exploring new work spaces,” *Fujin Kurabu* (August 1958), 288-293.



# 行き過ぎた？ 美の探究

## ヌード撮影会手入れ

### 横浜「芸術だ」と主催者怒る

【横浜発】横浜市警でアマチュア・カメラマンのヌード撮影会を手入れ、主催者、モデルらを近く審判送検することになった。これについて「こんどもどしどし取締る」(石井市警少年保安課長)という警察側の見解と「それではヌード撮影会禁止も同然で問題だ」(吉田横浜カメラ商組合長)とするカメラ商などの意見が対立、ヌード撮影はよりの昨今だけにカメラ・フイルムの間にも波紋を投げている。

去る十四日夜、横浜市金沢区谷津町三四一、文庫写真館に経警署鈴木哲夫さん(三〇)の二階スタジオで予約会員券を買った二十人が参加してヌード撮影会を開いたところ、同市金沢署はモデルが全裸になったとの理由で同夜鈴木さんとモデル(もとモデルを世話した神奈川県足柄上郡内我村、カメラ商加藤政弘さん(三〇)の三人を検挙した。

この事件についての警察と主催者の言分は次のようだ。

◇警察側「全裸が直ちに公然ワイセツにはならないが「不特定多数」の人たちの前で全裸になるのはいけない。警察庁でも海水着かパンツをつけるよう指示している。ほんとうに笑を迫及する芸術家が集って継続的な撮影会をつくり、そこでヌードを撮るならよいが、大部分の撮影会は会員制度と

いつてもその日限りの会員で、大部分が好奇心で参加している。これは風紀上面曰くない。

◇主催者側「ヌードという以上、全裸になるのは当たり前だ。また大部分の人が好奇心で撮るといふのは独断的見解だ。こんども別もって警察にも届け、交番の目と俵の先のスタジオで整々とやったのだから、決してエロ写真を撮るつもりではなかったのだ。





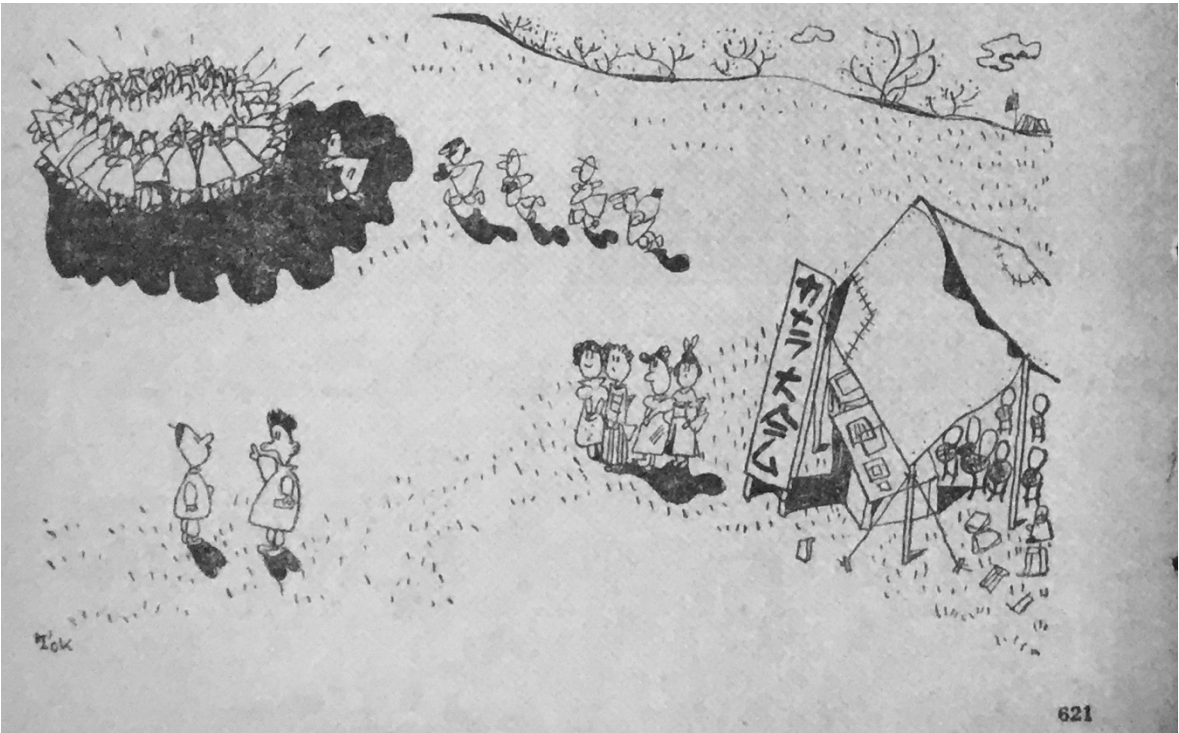


Figure 4.12. “Kyoto no bebii kinema satsuekai” (Kyoto Baby Kinema Club shooting session) *Asahi Kamera* (September 1926), 317. This photograph depicts a movie shooting session organized by the Baby Kinema Club, named after Charles Pathé’s Pathé Baby amateur movie camera, first imported to Japan in 1923.



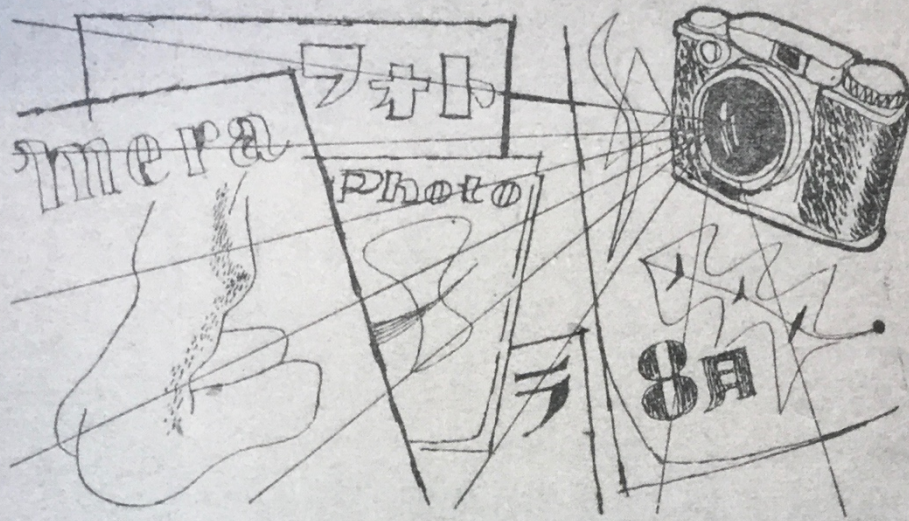


Figure 4.13. "Spring Shooting Session Cartoon." *Asahi Camera* April 1938: 620-621.









## カメラブームとカメラ雑誌

五人に一台の割合でカメラが日本中には  
らんしている。街を歩いてみても、確  
かに文字通りのカメラブームで、このフ  
アンを当てこんだカメラ雑誌は、ちよつと  
見たところでも十誌を超えるありさまだ  
が、そこへ「サンケイカメラ」「カメラ  
毎日」が新たに加わつて、どうやら混戦  
乱戦の様相を呈しはじめている。

まかれて  
うと推定するむきもあるが、そ  
うすれば現在五人に一人の率  
で、大体一家に一台はある勘定  
になる。無論この数字は、リッ  
チレットとかスタートカメラと  
か専ら小学生たちの間で愛用さ  
れている小型カメラや、各写真  
メーカー、カメラ店などの在庫  
品を含めてのことらしいが、い  
ずれにしても今日のようにカメ  
ラの普及ハンランした時代はな  
いだらう。

日曜日の盛り場、公園、山や海、どこへ行つてもカメラ  
カメラ、カメラ……。  
今日この頃のカメラ熱は大へんなもので、まずは猫も杓  
子も……、「カメラをぶら下げて眼鏡をかけたガニマタ紳  
士を見たら日本人と思え」と外人の間でも評判になるほど  
の流行ぶりである。  
全国のカメラファンは三百万人といわれ、日本中にバラ  
まかれて  
うと推定するむきもあるが、そ  
うすれば現在五人に一人の率  
で、大体一家に一台はある勘定  
になる。無論この数字は、リッ  
チレットとかスタートカメラと  
か専ら小学生たちの間で愛用さ  
れている小型カメラや、各写真  
メーカー、カメラ店などの在庫  
品を含めてのことらしいが、い  
ずれにしても今日のようにカメ  
ラの普及ハンランした時代はな  
いだらう。

### 五人に一台のカメラの数

( 41 )

Figure 4.14. Shiono Inui, "Kamera būmu to kamera zasshi," (The Photography Boom and Camera Magazines) *Maru* (August 1954), 41-54.



## ヌードスタジオ モデル紹介所

お茶の水モデル紹介所

東京都千代田区神田駿河台三ノ一  
TEL(29)六三三四

代表者 浅野八重氏  
創立 昭和二年、昭和四年労働大臣認可となる  
業務内容 写真モデルの紹介(ヌード、コスチューム)  
料金 コスチューム 一四〜一五名  
ヌード 二一〜二三名

☆コスチュームの場合  
○東京部内一日二、〇〇〇〜三、〇〇〇円  
○地方出張一日三、〇〇〇〜五、〇〇〇円  
(但し、旅費食費その他費用先持ち)  
☆ヌードの場合  
○東京部内二時間(カメラマン一人) 一、〇〇〇円  
三時間 一、五〇〇円

○(カメラマン一人増す毎に二〇〇円増)  
○地方出張一日(カメラマン五人まで) 三、〇〇〇円  
(但し、旅費その他の費用は先持ち  
カメラマン一人増す毎に二〇〇円増)  
これは、モデルの紹介がその主な業務内容であるが、約十坪のスタジオをもっていて、モデルを借りても、撮影場所のない人の便をはかっている。このスタジオは、約5KWの照明設備をもち、午前八時半から午後11時頃まで使える。スタジオ使用料金は、人数に関係なく一時間五〇〇円である。  
なお、最近アマチュア写真クラブなどの団体で撮影会を行うのが多くなって来たが、ここでは団体の申込に対しては特に便宜をはかってくれない。一人以上二〇人の場合は、総額から一割引き、二一以上三〇人までは同じく二割引き、三一人以上は、さらに割引きとなる。

### アイスタジオ

東京都千代田区神田駿河台三ノ六  
(葵商事株式会社)  
TEL(29)四六八七

代表者 水瀬好二氏  
創立 昭和二年  
業務内容 モデル付ヌード撮影、貸スタジオ  
商業写真撮影

### コザクラ・スタジオ

東京都文京区武島町二〇  
TEL(92)一五八六

代表者 丹内 昭  
創立 昭和三年十月一日  
業務内容 貸スタジオ、モデル撮影  
スタジオ設備 間口一五フィート、奥行二五フィート、カーライ用パタ七種、スライダック二基

料金 一時間七〇〇円、一人増すごとに七〇円増  
モデル 一五〇〇円(二時間)

### 南映スタジオ

東京都港区芝西久保巴町七九  
(日本電子株式会社)  
TEL(43)二二五四・八〇八四

代表者 茂原英雄氏  
創立 昭和二年七月  
業務内容 貸スタジオ(専属モデルはなし)  
スタジオ設備 中二間 奥行六間半(三坪)  
照明設備 10KW

料金 撮影者一人 一時間 一、〇〇〇円  
二時間 二、〇〇〇円  
三時間 三、〇〇〇円  
(撮影者一人増す毎に一〇〇円増)

### 優美アールスタジオ

東京都墨田区東両国三ノ七  
TEL(63)九七八九

代表者 岩佐義文氏

☆撮影費用(入会金別)  
撮影人数一人の場合  
二人 七〇〇円  
三人 一、〇〇〇円  
四人 一、三〇〇円  
五人 一、五〇〇円  
六人 一、六〇〇円  
七人 一、七〇〇円  
八人 一、八〇〇円  
九人 一、九〇〇円  
一〇人 二、〇〇〇円

### ナンバスタジオ

大阪市東区新川一ノ七二七  
TEL大阪(64)三三三二

ここには、フォトアート研究倶楽部という会があつて、この会に入会するとスタジオでヌード撮影ができる。  
入会は申込用紙に入会金二〇〇円を添えて申し込む。毎月作品批評会及び毎年コンテストを行う。撮影機及びフラッシュの使用はできない。撮影は前日指定する。無断で雑誌・ポスター・販売等には使用できない。といったところが会則の概略である。

創立 昭和三年  
業務内容 貸スタジオ(専属モデルはなし)  
スタジオ設備 約一〇坪、照明設備完備  
料金 撮影者の人数に関係なく、一時間 八〇〇円、二時間 一、六〇〇円  
三時間 二、四〇〇円

Figure 4.15. "Nūdo sutajio moderu shōkaijo," (A Letter of Introduction to models at nude studios) in *Rinji zōkan nūdo to guramā* (Temporary Special Edition: Nudes and Glamor) *Photo Art* (December 1957)

# ヌードよもやまばなし

「まじめなヌード写真を勉強したいと思いますが、モデルを紹介していただけますか。」というご質問のお手紙をよく読者から受けます。弊社では、直接モデルの斡旋紹介はやっておりませんが、左頁に有名なヌードモデル紹介所、ヌードスタジオをご紹介いたしました。

ここでは、ヌード撮影で気を付けてほしいことや、そのほかヌード



増加とともに、ヌードスタジオも雨後のタケノコのようにたくさんできました。東京だけでも一時は二十数カ所を数えるほどでした。しかし、その中にはいかがわしい不健全なものが多く、本場にヌードフォトを写そうとする人には不向きなものがありました。左頁に紹介したスタジオ、紹介所は信用のおけるものといえます。

モデルを借りるには、こういう信用のあるところで借りるのが第一です。いかがわしいところでは、良いモデルもいないし料金なども法外にとられることが

手紙なりでよく連絡してからいくのがよいようです。

**初めての人は心の準備が大切**

初めてヌードをスタジオで撮る人は、スタジオに入ったトタンにポーツとなって、一時間ただ無我夢中で過してしまいがちです。スタジオには、たいていポーズ



集といったものや、写真雑誌などがあてられますから、約束の時に

二の足をふんでおられる方があれば、それはより越し苦労というものです。貸スタジオでは、初めての方には撮影しやすい採光を教えてください。腕も上って来た人は自分の好きなようにライトを調節できます。

初めてのの方はベテランの方の撮影しているところを見せてもらうのもよい勉強になります。

**最近の傾向**

ヌードスタジオの最近の傾向どうかがつてきまず、近ごろ

来たときか、

Figure 4.16. “Nūdo yomoyama banashi” (A chat about nudes) Rinji zōkan nūdo to guramā (Temporary Special Edition: Nudes and Glamor) *Photo Art* (December 1957), 142-145.



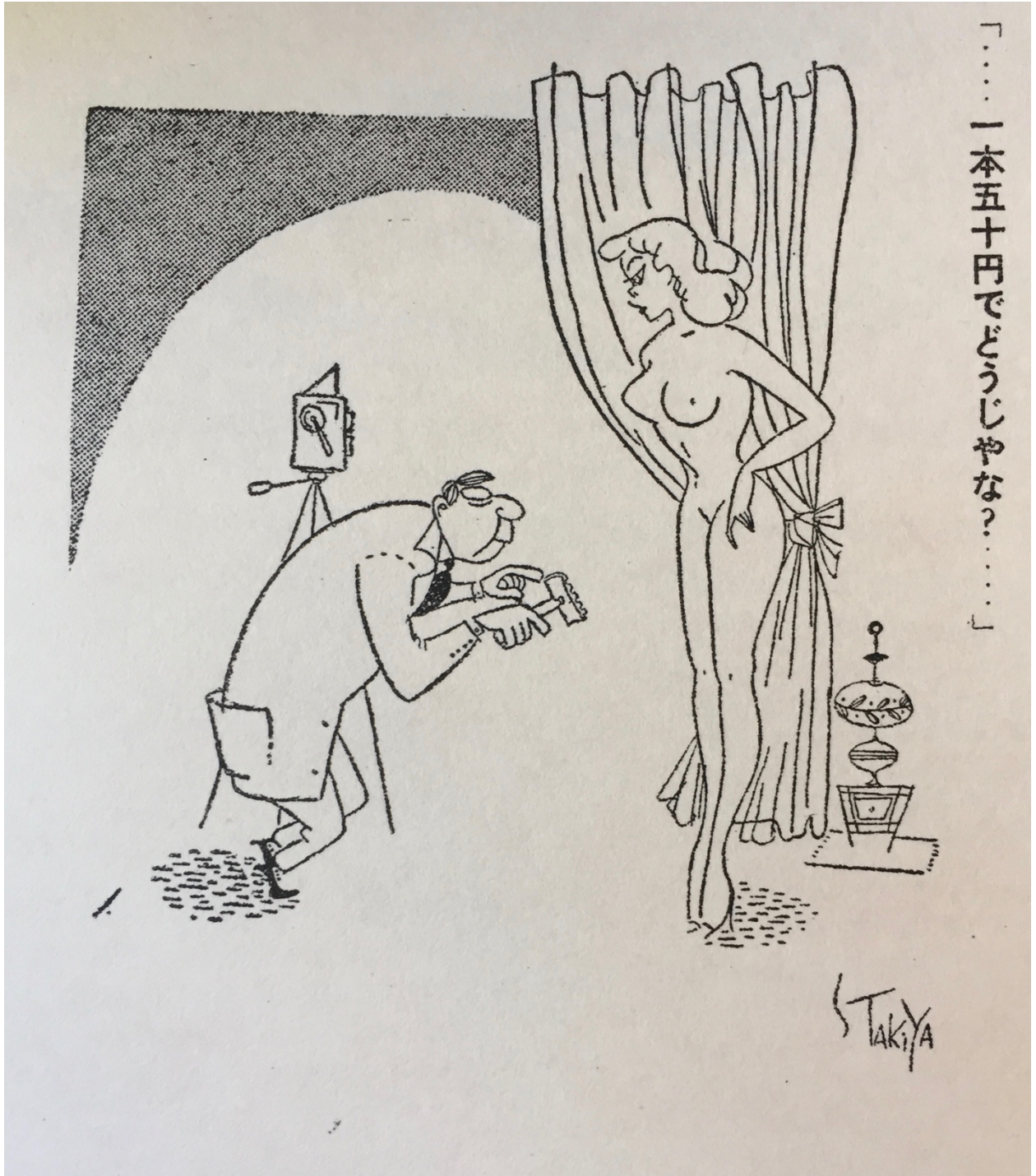


Figure 4.17. "Moderu nikki" (Diary of a Model) *Photo Art* (September 1956), 158-9.



Figure 4.18. *Sasamoto Tsuneko sakuhinten: "Shōwa • ano toki • ano hito": Nihon hatsu josei hōdō shashinka* (Exhibition of Works By Sasamoto Tsuneko: "Shōwa • That Time • That Person": The First Female Photojournalist in Japan) Volume 157 of JCII Photo Library (Tokyo: JCII Photo Salon, 2004), 36.







# 海辺の撮影会

—アメリカの写真学校生活—

撮影風景 一心不乱の写真科学生。御覽の通り、写真の撮れる範囲で、ありとあらゆる接写ぶりです。

ロス・アンゼルス美術と写真の学校—アート・セクター・スクールでは写真科の学生に、毎年度には二、三度ずつの野外旅行をさせている。この種の、広々とした野外で写真を撮る慣しは学生に野外撮影の貴重な経験を与える。

これには少くとも二名のモデルが使われて、時には大気に吹き流れる薄衣をまとった彼女達が岩の上や砂浜で芸術的なポーズをとる。そすると五十名から七十五名の学生たちがそれぞれ気に入ったモデルのまわりに集まって写真を撮り始めるのだ。

モデルを撮り終ると学生たちは海岸の自然に目をつける。打ち寄せる波は近くの重り合った岩盤に絶好な題材を与えて、そんな時にはいつも他の学生たちまで集まって来てしまう。

旅行が終る頃にはみんなが少くとも五、六十枚は撮りまして、仲よく、見事に編み付けをして家路へと帰るのである。

ブラック・スター社  
アルフレッド・ゲシャイド

55



作風は  
シュール・レアリズムとでも呼びましようか？  
ああ偉大なる神祕！乙女は頭を失った。

Photographers' Beach Party  
Alfred Gescheidt, Black Star

Figure 4.19. “Umibe no satsuekai—amerika no shashin gakkō seikatsu,” (Shooting session on the beach – Photo school life in America), *Asahi Kamera* 35(11)(207) (November 1950), 56.



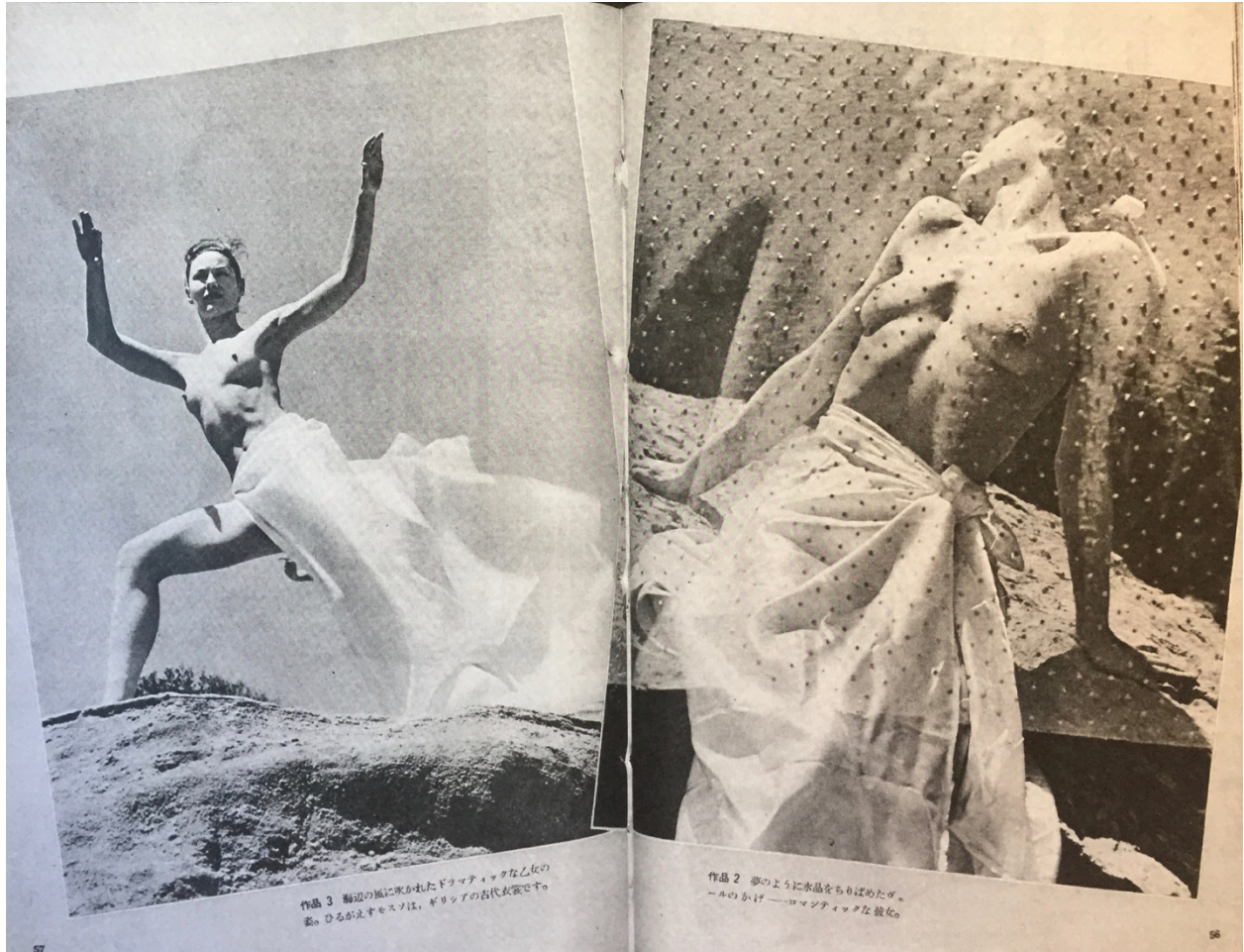


Figure 4.20. “Umibe no satsuekai—amerika no shashin gakkō seikatsu” (Shooting session on the beach – Photo school life in America), *Asahi Kamera* 35(11)(207) (November 1950), 57-58.





Figure 4.21. “Nūdo satsuekai” (Nude shooting session) *Nihon Camera* (November 1953), 36.



16 酒井慎一 | Sakai Sin-ichi [裸体芸術写真撮影競技会]1948.5.30.

Figure 4.22. Sakai Shinichi, “Ratai geijutsu shashin satsuei gyōgikai Tokyo kyū Shibuya eki tei teien,” (Nude Art photo shooting competition Tokyo, Old Shibuya Station Gardens) in *Nihon Gendai Shashinshi 1945-1970 (Contemporary History of Japanese Photography)*, ed. Japan Professional Photographer’s Association (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1977), 23.



三浦は  
 大入影を  
 下ドルを  
 引つつ走  
 るが、三  
 のでス  
 ーキを  
 している。  
 いる  
 人重傷  
 宿区  
 のバス  
 来ついで  
 か、みん  
 かない。  
 試験を  
 の交信よ  
 くてがま  
 ハム仲間  
 く免許申

こと、前方をよくたしかめず  
 安達威樹さん名義の免許証を使  
 へ届けた。

全日本写真連盟主催、朝日新聞後援の「女性だけの撮影会」が五日昼すぎから江東区の船場地区で開かれた。女性のカメラ熱はさかんで、白装のおばあさんや赤ちゃん連れの主婦ら百八十六人が参加。雨にけがる庭園で、カサをさしたモデル陣を追ってプロセこのけの梅えてパチリパチリ。なかには若い母親とお嬢さん、おばあさんの、母子三代の顔もみられた。初めてカメラを手にしたひとたちもいて、この方はフィルムの入れ方、撮影のコツといった講義にもっばら聞きいていた。写真家は母子三代（左の三人）もまじり撮影する女性たち

**赤ちゃん連れも女性だけの撮影会**

**全通大阪地本 書記長捕わる**  
 光村議員派

【大阪】大阪府警警務課捜査反取締本部は五日夜大阪市東淀川区西中島町全通大阪地本書記長大嶋（おとおも）道丸（みちまる）を公選法違反の疑いで逮捕、東区京橋の大阪郵政同内全通大阪地本など五カ所を捜索した。

一ノ二六八スレー卜下羽葉神谷

Figure 4.23. “Akachan tsuremo josei dake no satsueikai,” (Even with children: women’s only shooting session) *Asahi Shimbun* (July 6, 1962), 11.



Figure 4.24. Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957)



Figure 4.25. Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957)





Figure 4.26. Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957)





Figure 4.27. “Hadaka’ de kasegu ‘hataraku jousei’ tachi,” (The “working women” who make a living “naked”) in *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957), 160.





ヌード撮影会

わたしはヌードをうつし  
 はゆがずに、ヌードをう  
 つす男性たちをうつしに  
 行ってみた。「おんな」  
 がいる男の世界といった  
 感じをわたしは痛烈に感  
 じた。

Figure 4.28. Tokiwa Toyoko, "I did not go to photograph the nudes, but went to photograph the men taking pictures of the nudes. I sharply felt the feeling of being a 'woman' in a man's world," *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957)



Figure 4.29. “Pa to nuide yome kara geijutsu he no tankan” (“Naked in a second, the change from daughters to art”) *Nihon Kamera* (March, 1956)







Figure 4.31. Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957)



Figure 4.32. Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957)



るかね。

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芳賀 学校を卒業しても、早慶写真展  
 になつても仲よくやつて行ける。

172

Figure 4.33: Advertisement for a nude studio near Shinbashi, Tokyo: nude models for 800 yen per hour for one person and a group discount of 500 yen per person for five people. *Camera* (December 1953), 72.



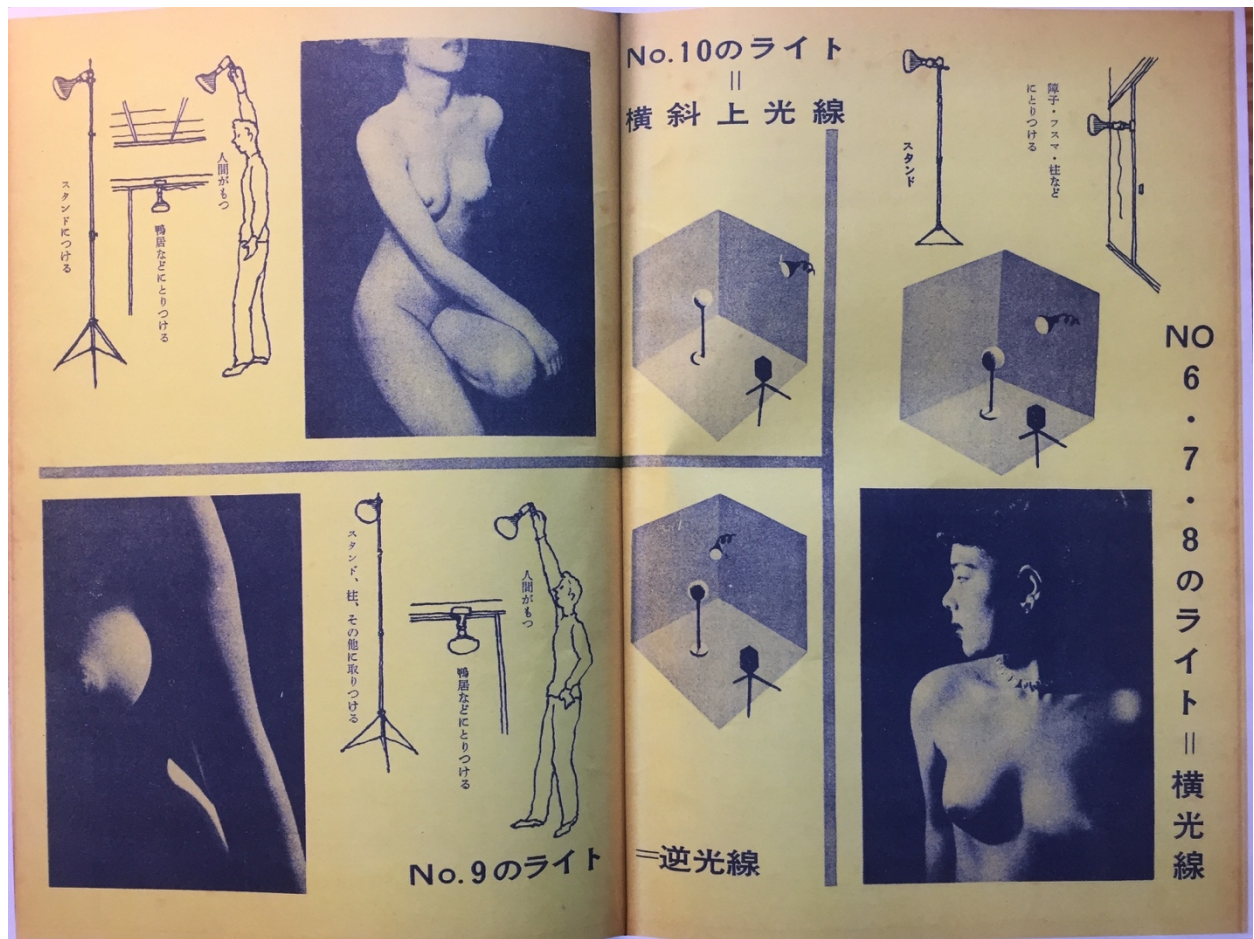


Figure 4.34. Shigemori Koen "Nūdo wo utsusu: Nūdo foto satsuei no jitsugi," (Photographing Nudes: The Practice Skills of Shooting the Nude Photo) *Photo Art* (January 1957)

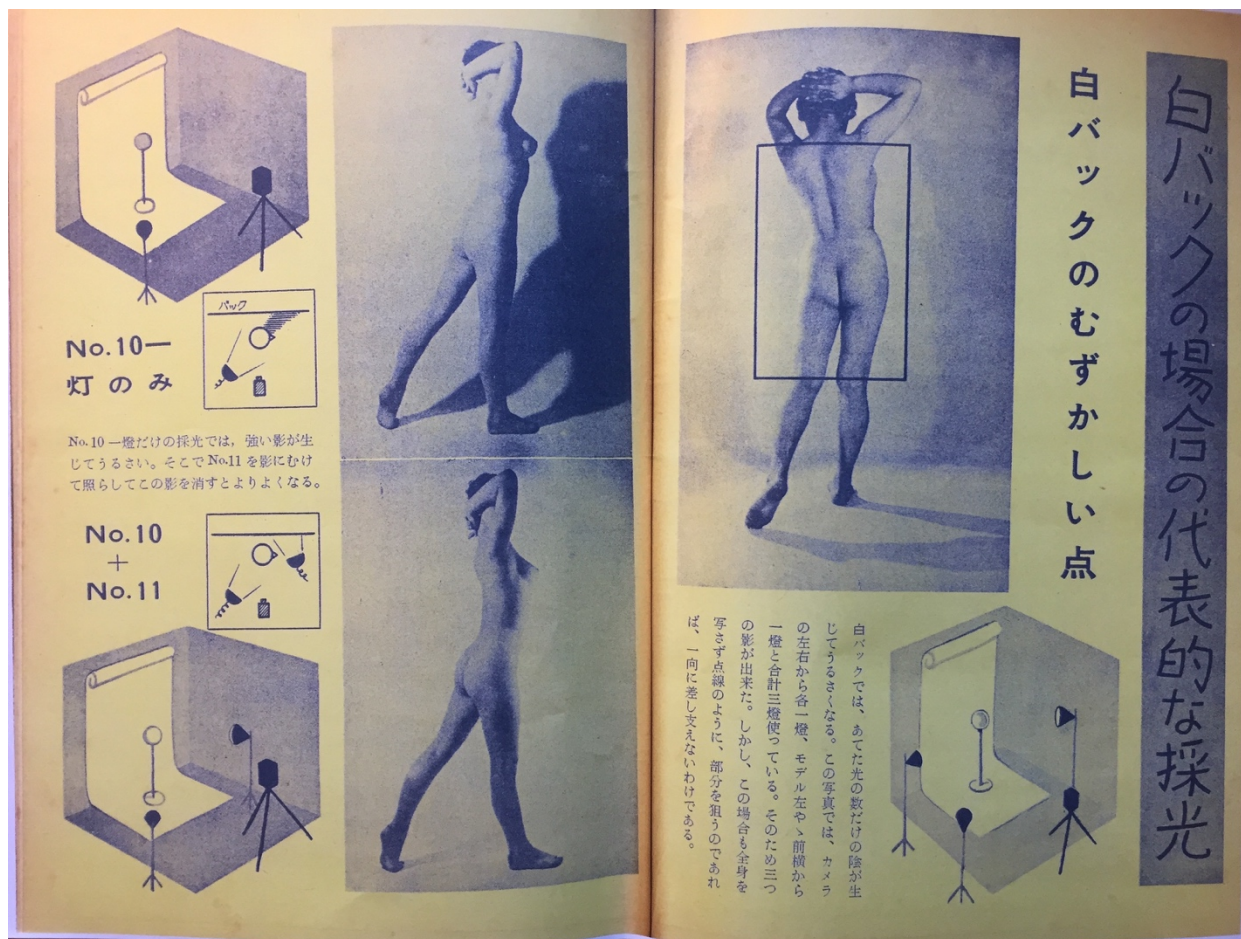


Figure 4.35. Shigemori Koen “Nūdo wo utsusu: Nūdo foto satsuei no jitsugi,” (Photographing Nudes: The Practice Skills of Shooting the Nude Photo) *Photo Art* (January 1957)



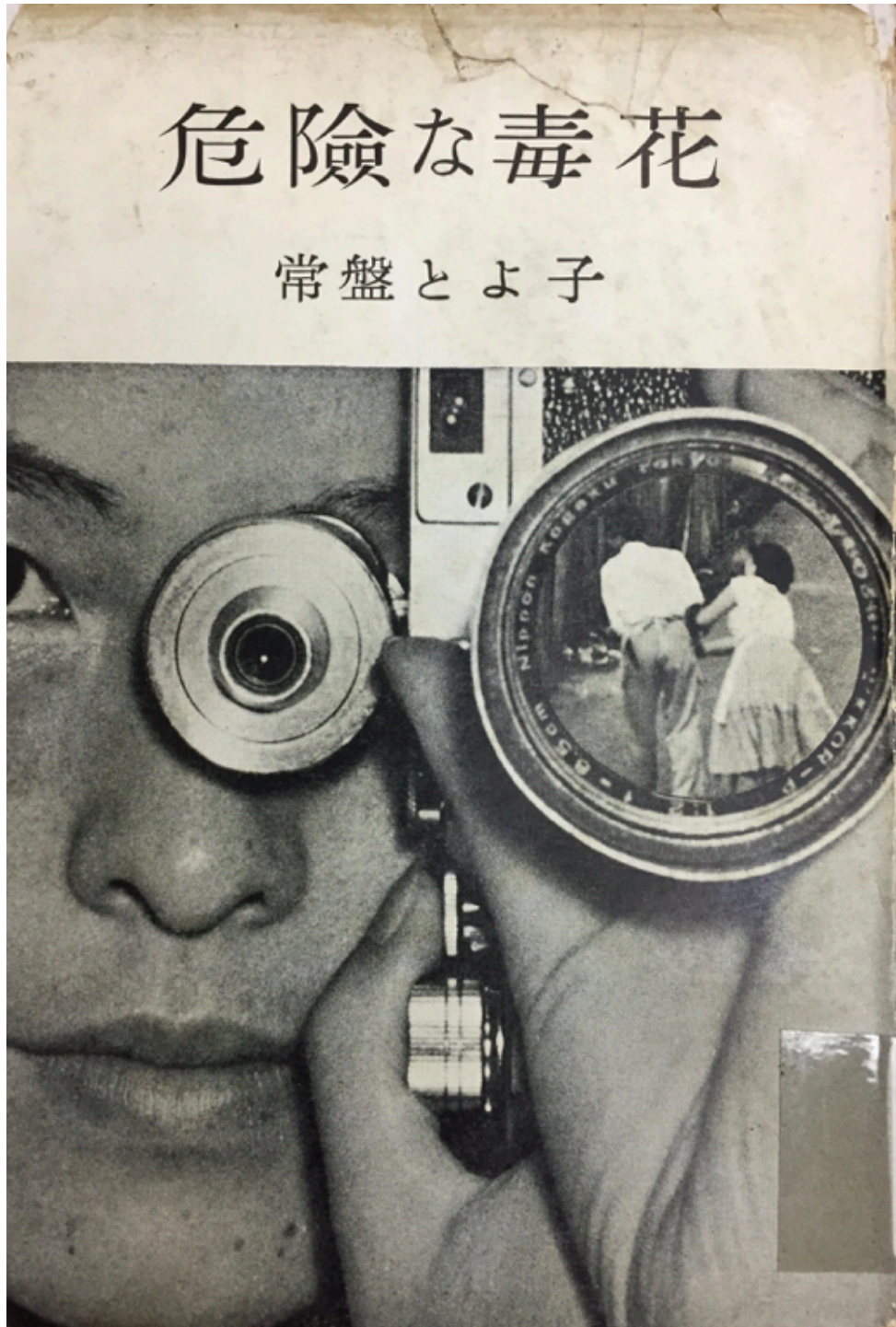


Figure 4.36. Tokiwa Toyoko, *Kikenna Adabana* (Dangerous Poison-Flowers) (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō Publishing, 1957)



Figure 5.1. “1 Engai 「aryūsan」 de hage yama ani natta, motoyama no yamahada,” (The surface of the Motoyama mountain which became bald from “sulfuric acid” smoke pollution) Alumni of the Jissen Women’s College Photography Division, *Ashio 1969-1971* (Tokyo, 1994), 1.





Figure 5.2. “13 Motoyama shataku,” (Motoyama company housing) Alumni of the Jissen Women’s College Photography Division, *Ashio 1969-1971* (Tokyo, 1994), 13.



Figure 5.3. “Tsūdō shataku no kodomotachi,” (The children of the Tsūdō company housing)  
Alumni of the Jissen Women’s College Photography Division, *Ashio 1969-1971* (Tokyo, 1994),  
12.



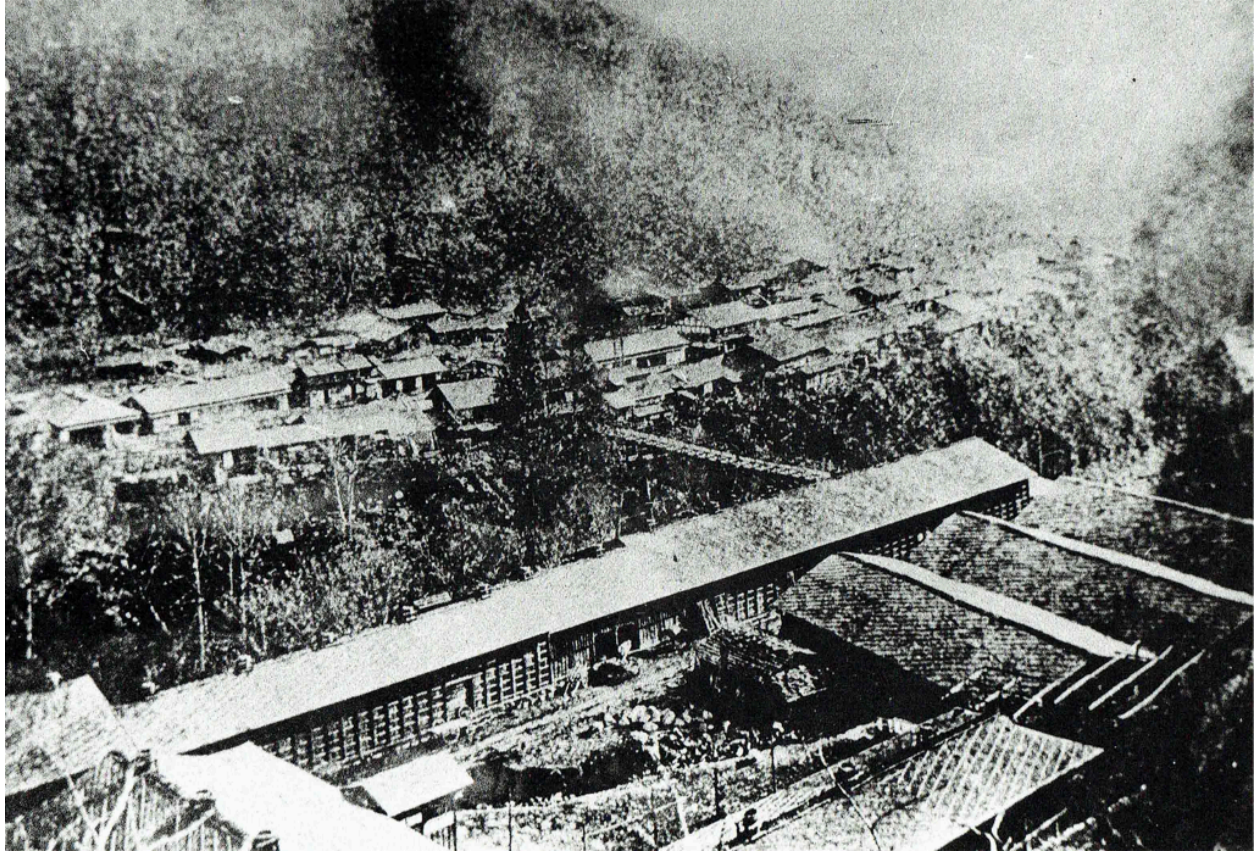


Figure 5.4. “25 Meiji jidai no furukawa kōgyō byōin (keihai byōin) no fukusha,” (Reproduction of the Furukawa mine hospital (silicosis hospital)) Alumni of the Jissen Women’s College Photography Division, *Ashio 1969-1971* (Tokyo, 1994), 25.





Figure 5.5. “5 Tanaka Shōzō 「Unryūji zō」 no fukusha,” (Reproduction of Tanaka Shōzō’s portrait from Unryūji temple) Alumni of the Jissen Women’s College Photography Division, *Ashio 1969-1971* (Tokyo, 1994), 5.







勝った、おながが... 小宮 (高) 新聞記者の少年



「新聞記者の少年」 高校の部活員 小宮 高

「全日本学生写真コンクール」

田村 泰次郎

全日本学生写真コンクール... 田村 泰次郎

新聞記者の少年... 小宮 高

バックの動感

この頃、カメラの裏面に... バックの動感... 田村 泰次郎

Figure 5.7. Tamura Tajiuro, "Zen nihon gakusei shashin konkūru: bakku no kandō" (From the All Japan Student Photography Contest: The emotion of a bag) Asahi Shimbun (January 24, 1960), 17.



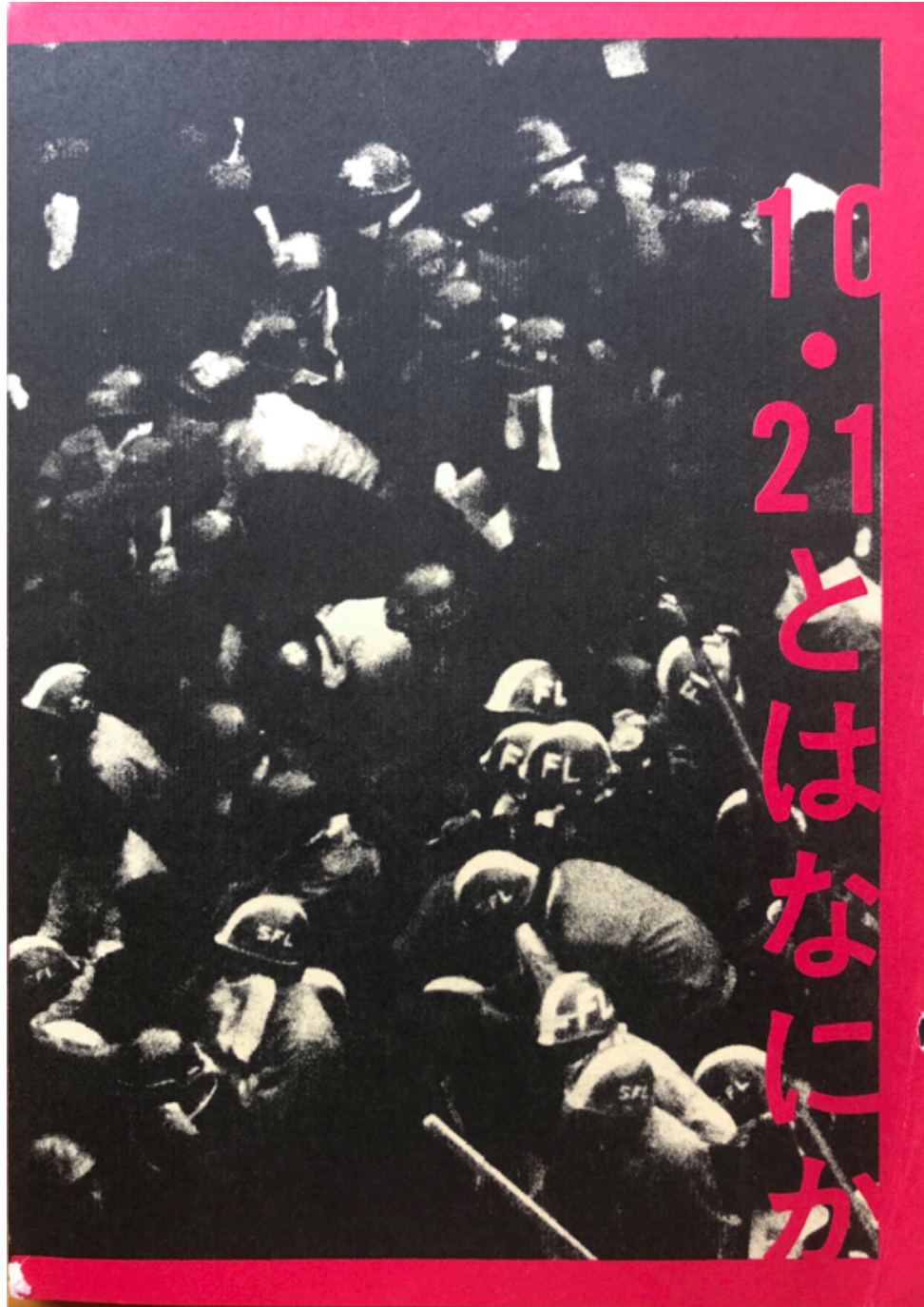


Figure 5.8. *10・21 to wa nani ka* (What was 10.21?) (Tokyo: *10.21 to wa nani ka* wo shuppan suru kai, 1969) Back cover reads: “Since Haneda 10.8, Japan’s reality has been a gradual revision of the security treaty by 1970, revealing the actual state of destructive power. This book is for those who are starting from the 100-year history of human suppression and now want to grasp the perspective of transformation from the depths of the self to reality. “What is 10.21?” — At this time, an unnamed crowd of us were the starting point to shake Japan...”



Figure 5.9. '69 11/13-17 Sato hōbei soshi tōsō (The battle against Sato's visit to the U.S.) (Tokyo: Futatabi 10.21 wo shuppan suru kai, 1969) Images and timeline of protests against Prime Minister Sato's visit to the U.S. resulting in one of the largest mass arrests of in Japanese history as 2,500 were taken into custody.



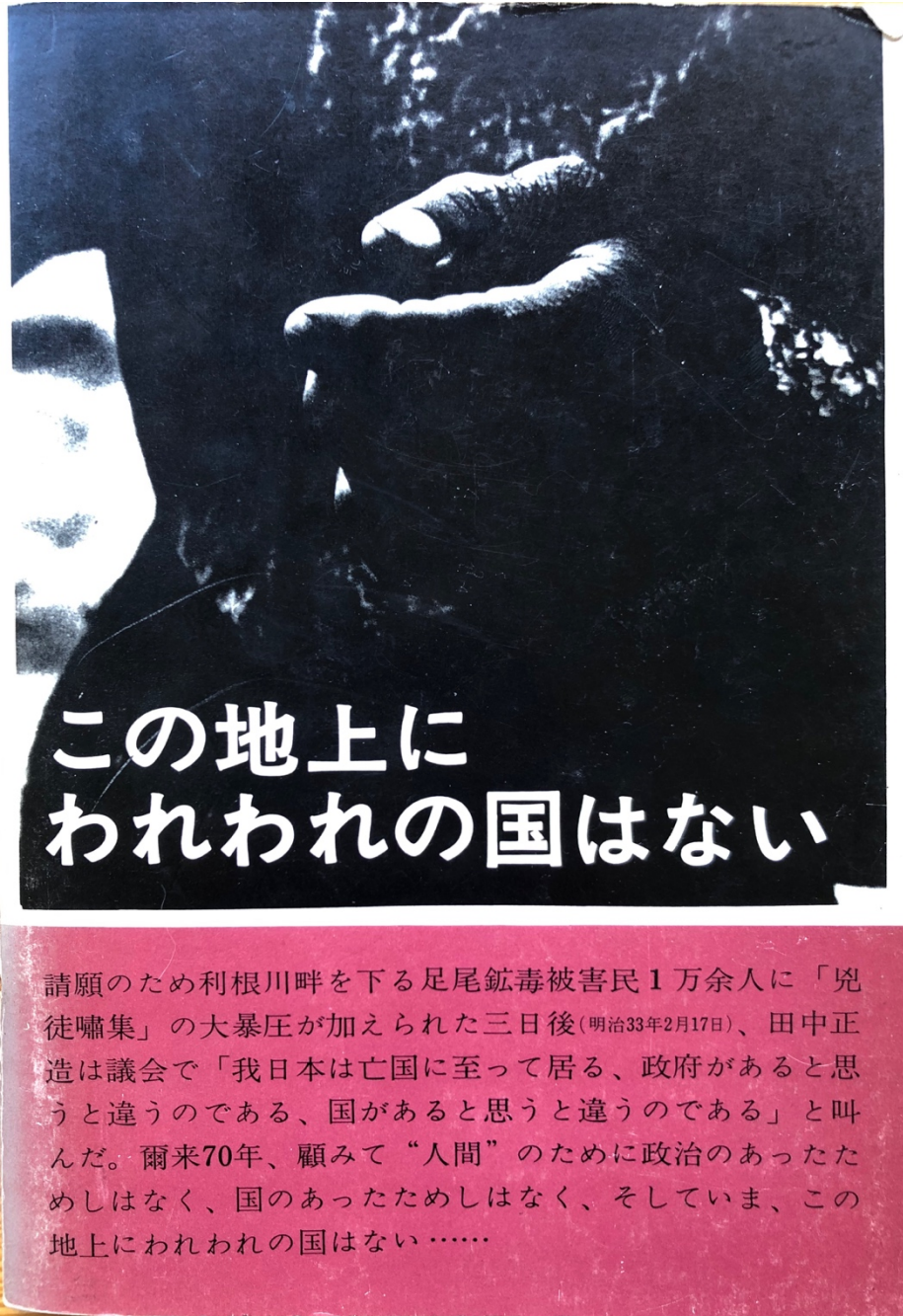


Figure 5.10. “Three days after 10,000 victims of the Ashio Copper Mine poisoning came down the Tone River in an “unlawful and violent gathering” with explosive pressure, Tanaka Shōzō went before the Diet (on February 17, 1900) and said “You are in a destroyed Japan. You are wrong if you think there is a government, you are wrong if you think there is a country.” Seventy years since then, there has never been a government for “humans”, there has never been a country, and now on this ground we have no country,” All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970)

# 写真集 郡上

宝曆郡上(とじょう)一揆から二百有余年、いま、この古く小さい泯滅の町(郡上町) 一帯は、夏、「郡上おどり」に集る35万の群衆でにぎわいかえる かつて農民のなかに燃えた血は、いま人々のなかにどのようにあるのか……そしてサークルとは……集団撮影行動とは……'68 '69、'70と、中京の一小サークルが、敢然とたちむかったそれら問題のすべてをはらんで、この写真集『郡上』はある

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雑草のごとくサークル・集団撮影行動創出記  
名古屋女子大学写真部

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Figure 5.11. Advertisement flyer for *Gujo 1968-1970*, which reads: Two hundred years since the great Gujo uprising in the Hōreki era, now in this old shrinking town in the summer 350,000 people crowd to dance the “Gujo dance.” How is the blood that used to boil within the farmers with the people now? And what is the circle... This photo series, *Gujo* is the product of collective shooting action done in '68, '69 and '70 by just a small circle from the Chūkyō region who resolutely fight against all of these problems. Private Collection of Hasegawa Tomoko.



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Figure 5.12. Advertisement for the photobook ヒロシマ・広島・hīrou-jīmō that reads: “**Hiroshima!** 1971, twenty-five years of crime and betrayal against atomic bomb victims. Now, again Hiroshima and Japan are undergoing even further demonic ambitions. Here are the opposing human perspectives…” *Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei kaihō* (Bulletin for the All Japan Student Photography League) No. 65 (October 15, 1971), 1.

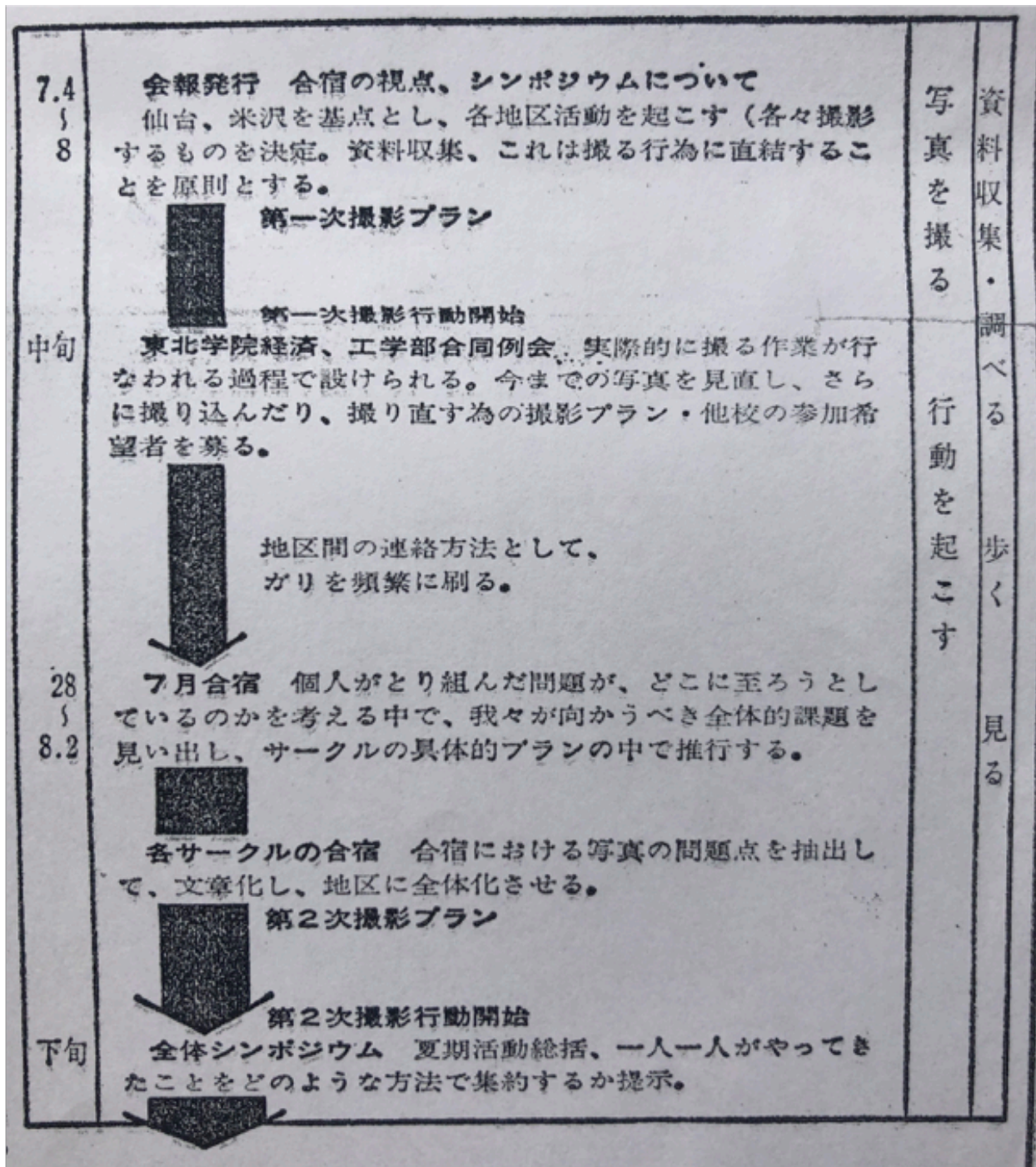


Figure 5.13. Workflow chart for collective production. *Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei kaihō* (Bulletin for the All Japan Student Photography League) No. 63 (September 1, 1968), 6.



中部シンポジウム撮影地図

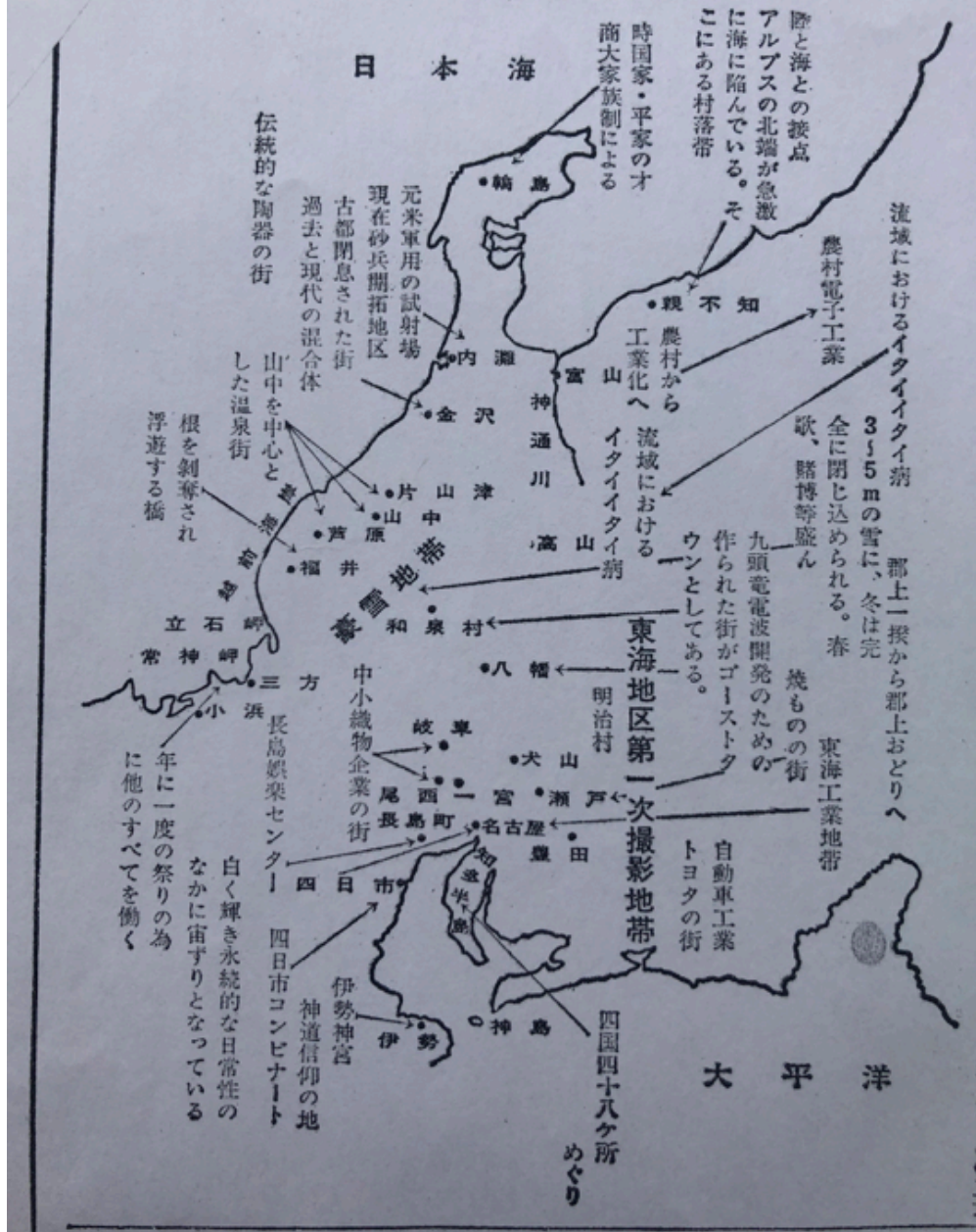


Figure 5.14. "Chubu symposium shooting map," Zen Nihon gakusei shashin renmei kaihō (Bulletin for the All Japan Student Photography League) No. 63 (September 1, 1968), 7.





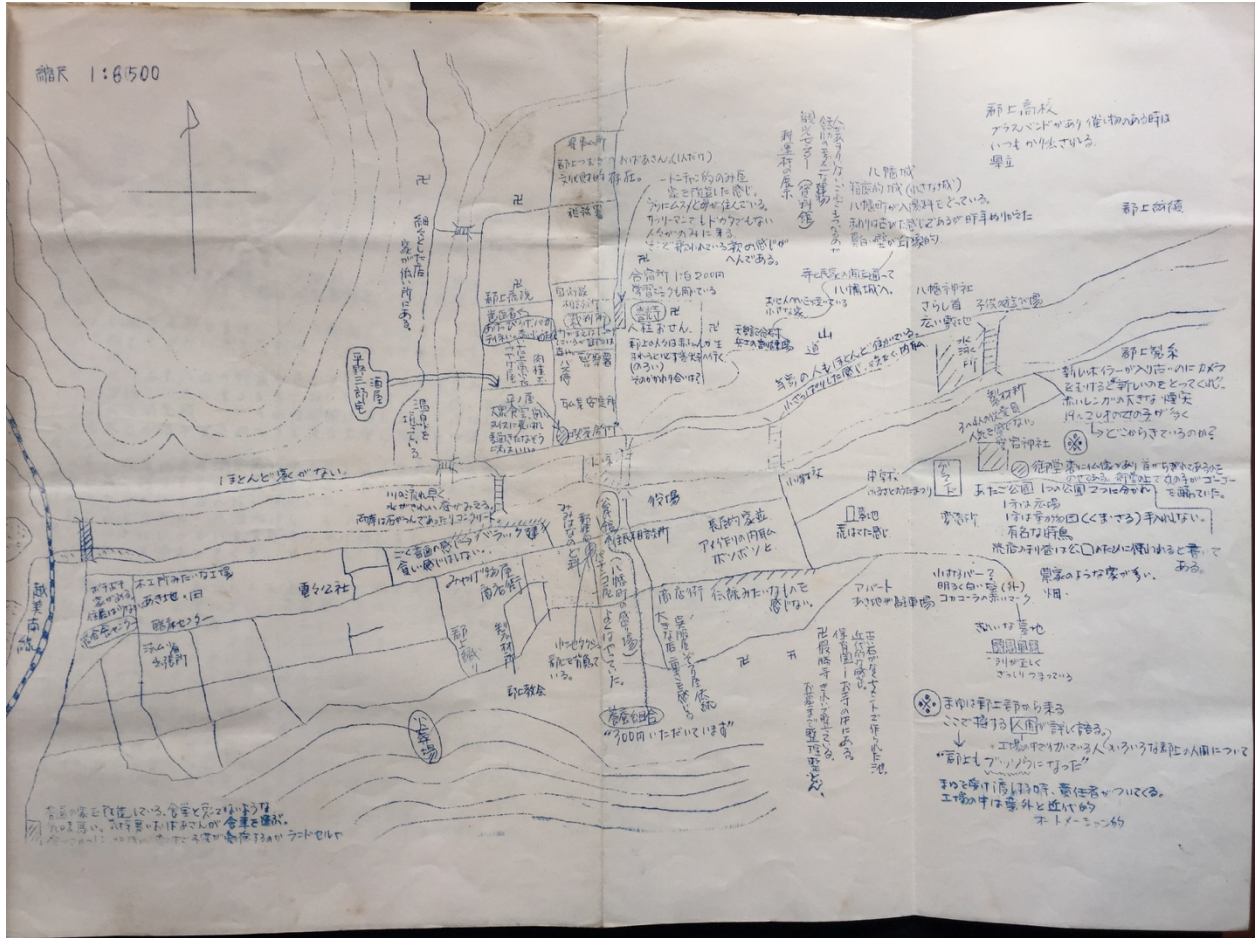


Figure 5.16. Map of Gujo in Nagoya joshi daigaku shashinbu (Nagoya Women’s College Photography Department) “Gujo satsueiki” (Gujo shooting record) (October, 1968) Private Collection of Hasegawa Tomoko.

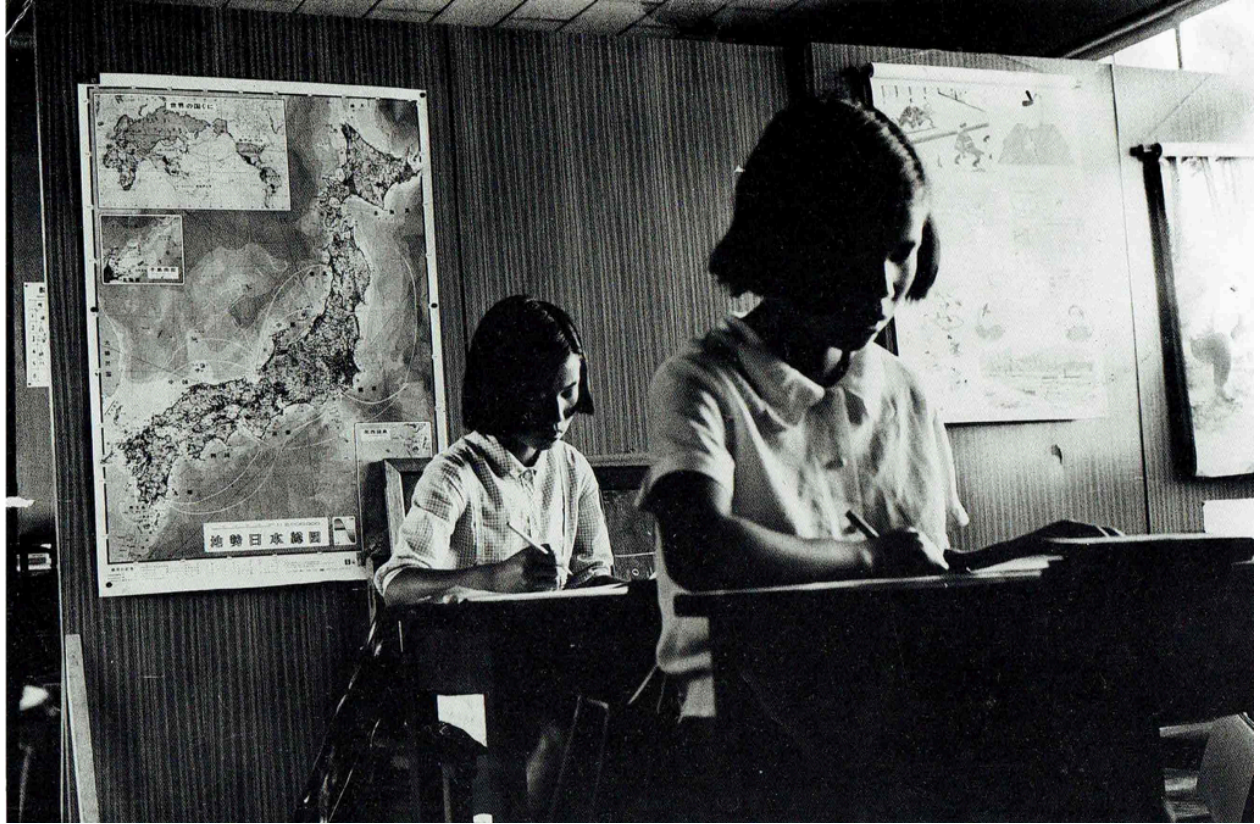


Figure 5.17. “61 Kaitakumura no gakkō,” (A school in Kaitaku village) Alumni of the Jissen Women’s College Photography Division, *Ashio 1969-1971* (Tokyo, 1994), 61.





Figure 5.18. “This photo book was not made to ‘look’ at. It was made to change the current state, to expel pollution from this land. And so, when you see these images immediately stop, go to the streets, the locations of pollution, and participate in the movement. That is what we will be doing. Join the ‘pollution rallies’ and in small and large gatherings in our cities. Even if it is small, it is all action that helps us to move forward,” All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970), Inside cover and first page.



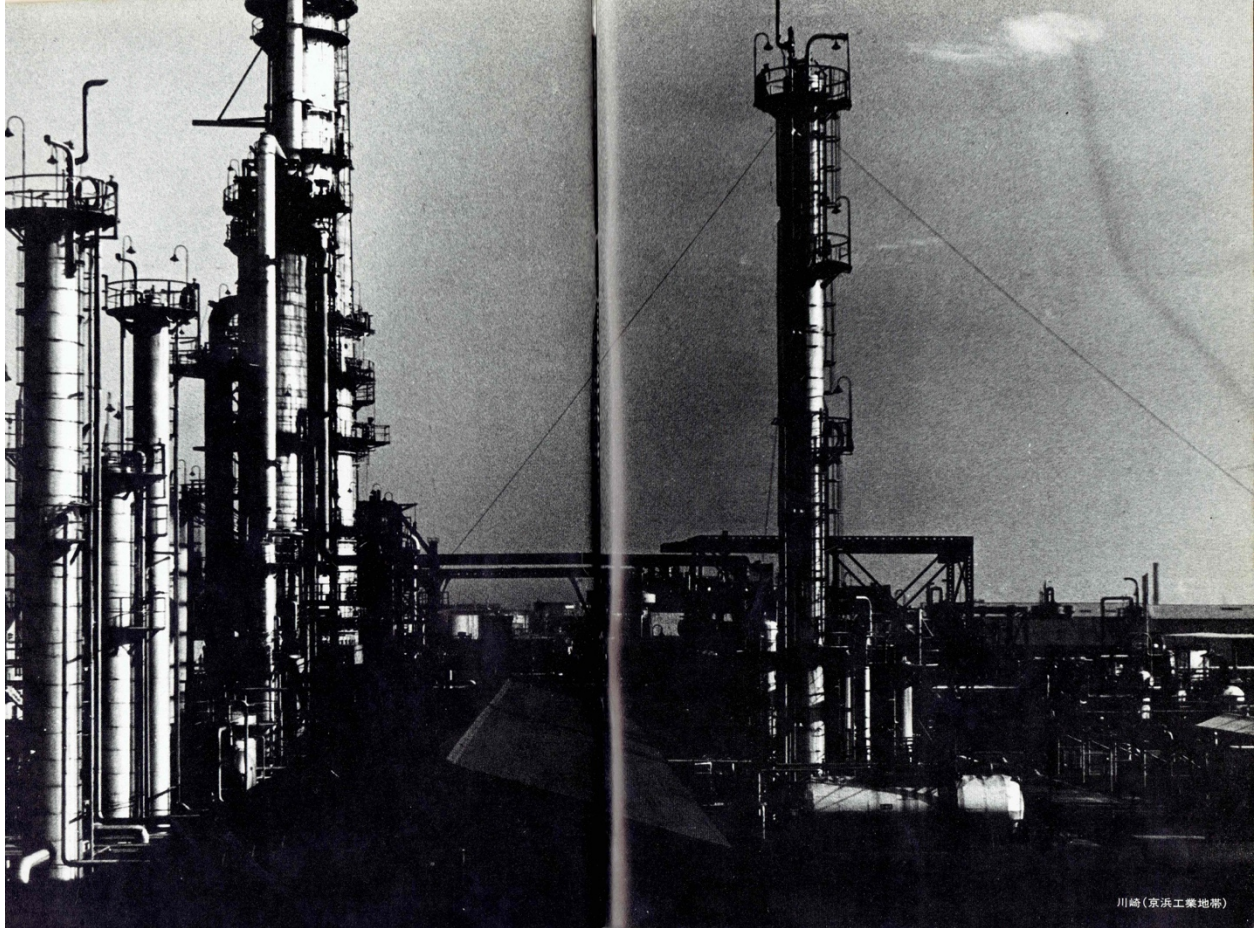


Figure 5.19. “Kawasaki (Keihin kōgyō chitai)” (Kawasaki (The Keihin industrial region)). All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970) Unpaginated.

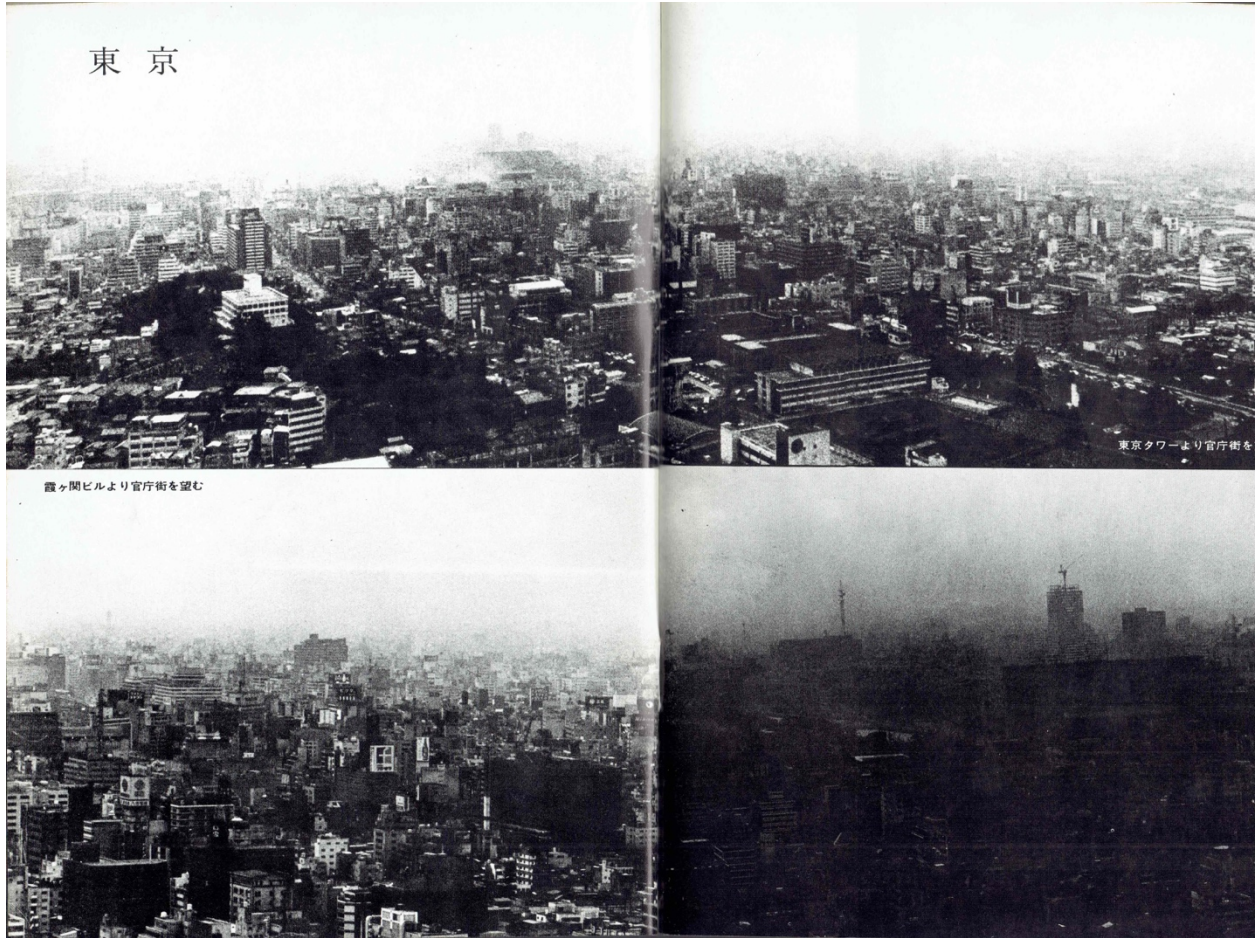


Figure 5.20. Top: “Tokyo tawā yori kanchō gai wo nozomu,” (Looking out over the central government buildings from Tokyo Tower). All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.



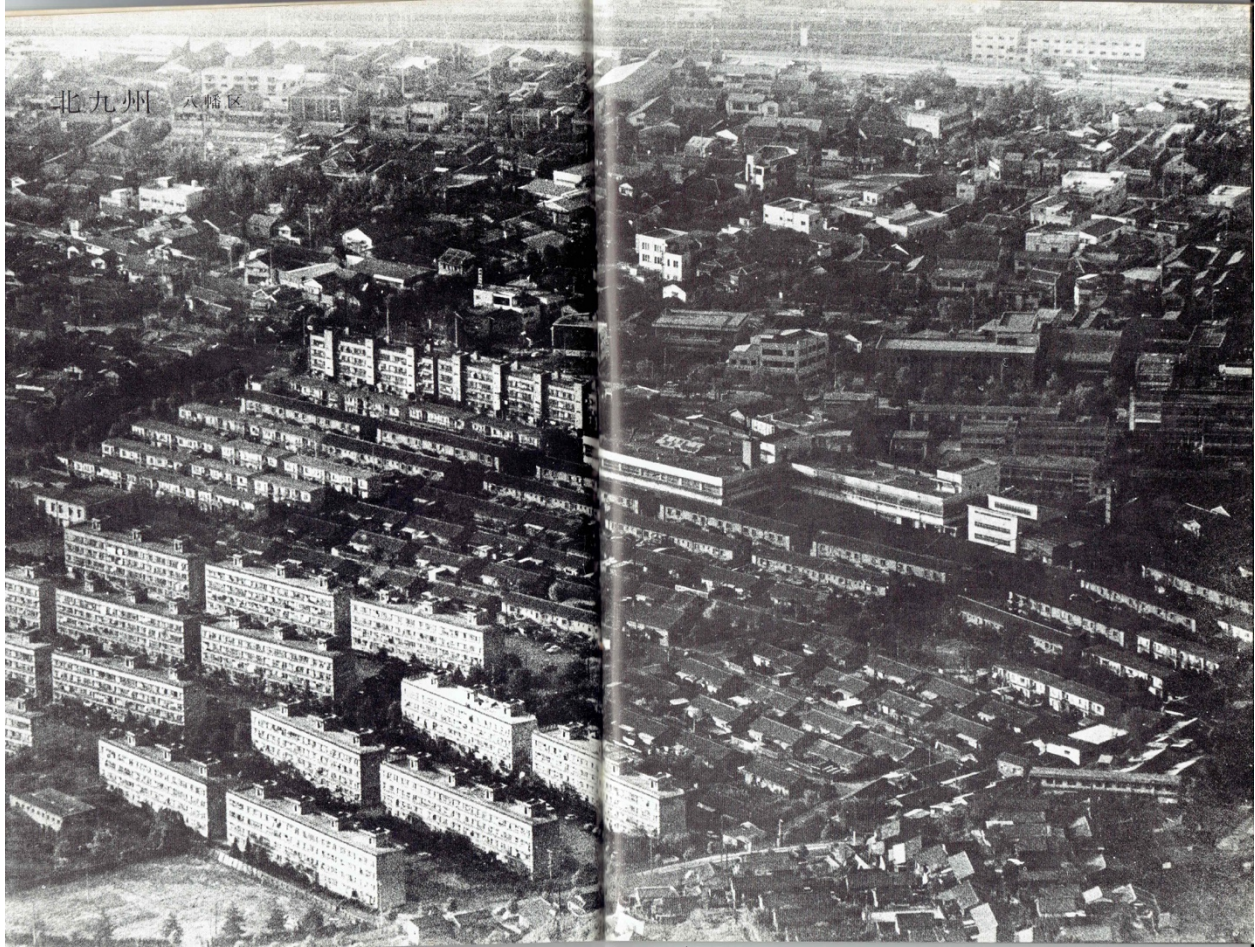


Figure 5.21. “Kitakyushu.” All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.





Figure 5.22. Left: “Minamata: 116 confirmed cases of Minamata disease (23 fetuses, 45 deaths)” Right: “Hannaga Ikkō, age sixteen.” Quotation from Ishimura Michiko’s novel *Kugai jōdo: Waga Minamatabyō* (Sea of Suffering and the Pure Land: Our Minamata Disease, 1969): “We did not receive one cent. Instead, one after another those high up in the company gave us mercury to drink. From the earth one after another 42 people died. Even mothers drank it. Their children were born with it. And after that one after another 69 people had Minamata disease,” All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.





Figure 5.23. Left: Reproduced photographs of some of the 485 people who died in 1963 from CO<sub>2</sub> poisoning and the other 822 who were classified as poisoned. Right: Individual portraits of two sufferers in their homes and hospital bed. All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.





Figure 5.24. Left: *Itai itai byō* (It hurts it hurts disease): cadmium poisoning in Toyama. Right: “I came prepared to die today. Because this is a huge problem please appeal to his highness the emperor.” “We are Japanese so please don't treat us as worthless beings.” “Mineral Pollution happens everywhere, so we can't move. It is all over the county in Kashima, in the middle of the Pacific Ocean there are small factories.” A farmer's words in a petition to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry Mining Safety Chief in *Concealed Pollution* (*Kakusu sareta kōgai*),” All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.



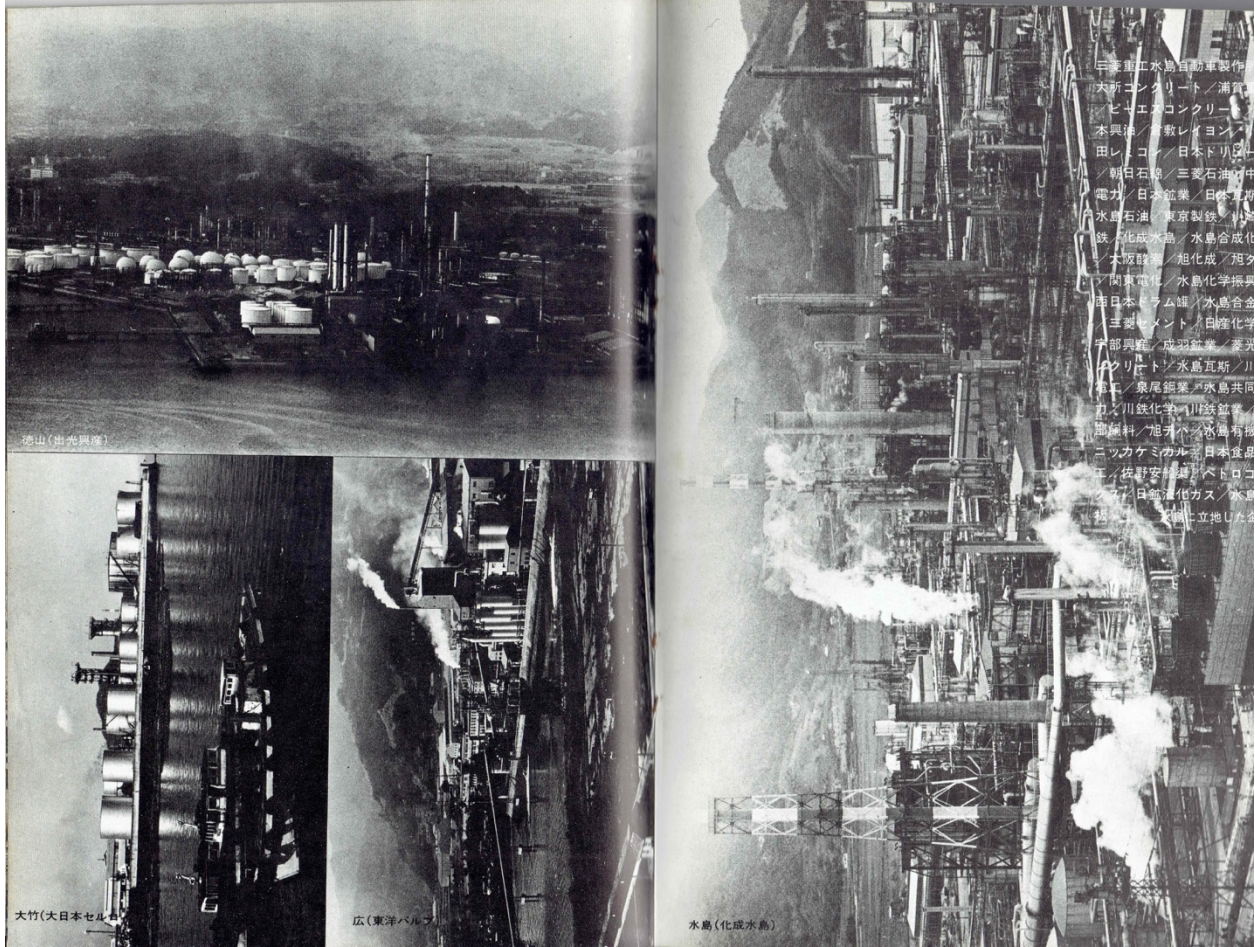


Figure 5.25. Factories from around the country in serial. All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.



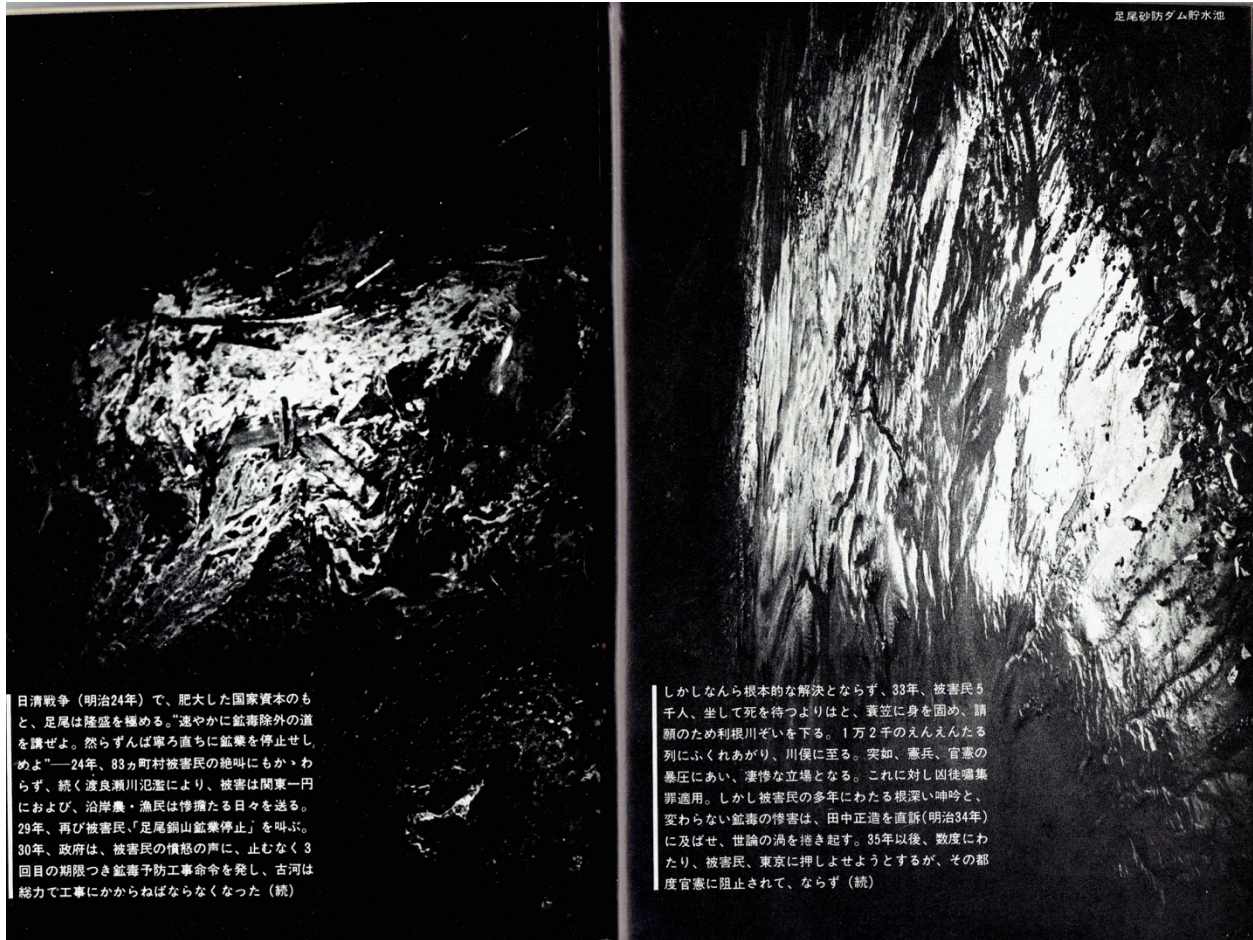


Figure 5.26. Left: Ashio copper mine as an example of the expansion of state capitalism beginning with the First Sino-Japanese War. All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.





ビニール容器(東京湾荒川河口)

洗剤の泡(多摩川)

Figure 5.27. Top: Plastic bottles. Bottom: Detergent bubbles in the Tamagawa River. All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.





Figure 5.28. Left: In 1968 after rice bran oil was contaminated with PCBs the Kanemi Corporation sold it to farmers who used it in chicken feed and for cooking. At the time of publication two people had died and 1014 were ill, but eventually 14,000 grew ill and 500 died. All Japan Student Photography League Pollution Campaign Committee, *Kono chijō ni wareware no kuni wa nai* (On this ground we have no country) (Tokyo: All Japan Student Photography League, 1970). Unpaginated.

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- . “Kaarū maidansu shi ni kiku: Carl Mydans, Miki Jun, Kimura Ihei, Ina Nobuo, Yoshioka Senzō” (Asking Carl Mydans: Carl Mydans, Miki Jun, Kimura Ihei, Ina Nobuo, Yoshioka Senzō) *Asahi Camera*, April 1951.
- . “Kamera hakusho’ toki no wadai: Kamera shōhisha chōsa” (‘Camera White Paper’ Topics of the Moment: Camera Consumer Survey) *Asahi Kamera*, November 1954.
- . “Shashin han no katsuyō honsha tokuha shashin buin kara kiku hōhata no naka de no kushindan” (Utilizing the Photo Corps: Hearing from the Special Correspondents of This Magazine Stories of Their Hard Work from the Artillery Fields and the Bitter Cold) *May 1932*, May 1932.
- . “Shashin shōbai uraomote: Joryū puro kameraman’ (Both Sides of the Photography Business) *Asahi Camera*, August 1957.
- . “Umibe no satsueikai—Amerika no shashin gakkō seikatsu’ (Shooting Session on the Beach – Photo School Life in America) 35, November 1950.
- . “Zen kantō shashin renmei dai ikkai taikai jikkō” (Coverage of the First Meeting of the All Kantō Photography Association) August 1926.

*Asahi Guraphu*. “Joryū shashinka kokuchi-ban” (The Female Photographer Notification Board) *Asahi Guraphu*, August 1952.

Asahi Shimbun. “Ikisugita? ‘bi no tankyū’: nūdo satsuekai teire ‘geijustu da’ to shusaisha okoru” (Have They Gone Too Far? ‘The Search for Beauty’: Police Crackdown on the nude satsuekai ‘It’s Art!’ Claim angry sponsors – Yokohama) *Asahi Shimbun*, May 26, 1955.

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