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Between Han and Tang: Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period,
Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period,
Between Han and Tang: Visual and Material Culture in a Transformative Period,
Volumes edited by Wu Hung. Published by Cultural Relics Publishing House,
Beijing, 2000-2003.

Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture, edited by Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang.
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Forthcoming publications with Art Media Resources:

*Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Japanese and Korean Art and
Visual Culture*, edited by Hans Bjarne Thomsen.

Looking At Asian Art: Perspectives in Memory of Harrie Vanderstappen,
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Looking Modern

East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II

Edited by
Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen

Center for the Art of East Asia
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scholarly discussions by tracing patterns among Japan's neighbors, the other tries to develop an internal, national form of beauty that was then distributed that to the rest of the world. The direction of one is from the outside inwards, the other from the inside outwards. Both, however, attempt through the medium of photography to redefine how Japan is viewed in the modern world. What further combines both phenomena is the emphasis on using images of the past as arguments for the modern, for imaging a future of the Japanese nation based on its history.

Through the five articles mentioned above, we see a modern Japan that is intent on creating new visions with which to view and define itself, whether this is through advertisements, hairstyles, street theater, scholarly surveys, and photographs of Buddhist sculpture. New ideas and images were created in response to Japan's modernization and increasing contact with the wider world. Using in many cases the technologies imported from the outside, the Japanese created new images of themselves, both for consumption within the Japanese state and also for foreign audiences. Although many of the cases studies described in the articles display, at some level, alignment to the agendas of the modernizing state, the examples of the Meiji hairstyles, the model of Japan promoted by the Imperial Household Agency, and the example of the *Shimbi taikan* function as useful cautions against seeing this period as a narrative of inevitable modernization. Looking modern could take many forms and drew upon a world of different possibilities and choices.

Endnotes

1. "Japanese Art Studies in America since 1945" In Helen Hardacre, ed., *The Postwar Development of Japanese Studies in the United States*. (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 161-194
2. Helen Hardacre and Adam Kern, *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 1997),
3. Ellen Conant, *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century Japanese Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

VIEWING THE MODERN BODY IN JAPAN

Marketing Health and the Modern Body: Patent Medicine Advertisements in Meiji-Taishō Japan

Susan L. Burns

In his 1923 novel *A Certain Woman* (*Aru onna*), Arishima Takeo begins his story of the "modern girl" Yoko's search for love and sexual fulfillment by depicting her unexpected encounter with her former husband, Kibe, on a train heading from Tokyo to Yokohama. We quickly learn that Yoko and Kibe had been married six years earlier and that the marriage had ended after only two months. Yoko left Kibe and returned to her parents' home after discovering to her dismay that the glamorous journalist she thought she had married was in fact a "commonplace" man who expected her to settle down and become a "frugal housewife." Although she soon realized she was pregnant by Kibe, Yoko told her parents that the child was fathered by a lover in order to gain their support for a divorce and, after giving birth, immediately abandoned the child to the care of a nurse. On the train, humiliated by Kibe's refusal to acknowledge her greeting, Yoko retreated to the exterior platform of the car, where she began to gaze upon the billboard advertisements that were situated one after another in the paddy fields beside the tracks. "One carried a picture of a princess with long black hair holding a sutra scroll, with 'Chūjōtō' written across her breast. The word reminded Yoko of her bastard daughter, Sadako, bringing forth a welter of associations. . . ."

Chūjōtō is the name of a patent medicine (*baiyaku*) that was sold beginning in 1893. According to its manufacturer, the pharmaceutical company then known as Tsumura Juntendō, this herbal concoction, which was to be taken daily as an infusion in hot water, promoted female reproductive health, eased the discomfort of pregnancy and childbirth, and alleviated menstrual difficulties and "uterine disease." By the 1910s, Chūjōtō was among the most heavily advertised of the many patent medicines on the market at the time. Advertisements for the tonic appeared in newspapers, magazines, handbills, posters, and billboards, and all featured the company's trademark, the image of the "Chūjō prin-

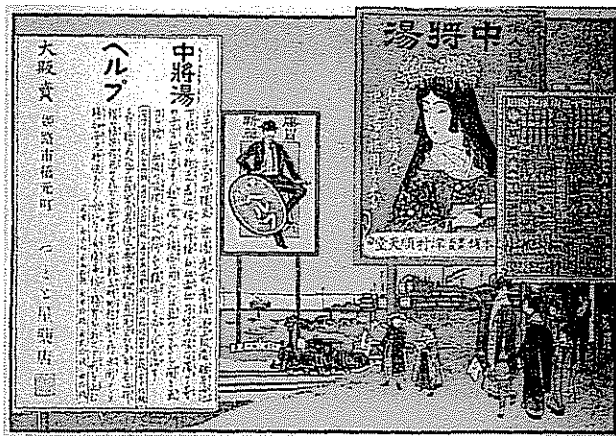


Figure 1. Chūjōtō handbill, 1910 (Yoshimaru Takahashi, ed. *Okusuruji gurafiti* [n.p.: Kotinsha, 1998], 57). See color plate 15.

cess" that Arishima described (fig. 1). I begin this paper by referencing this novel because it is revealing of the ubiquity of medical advertisements in the visual culture of Meiji and Taishō Japan and suggestive of their significance. Writing in 1923, Arishima was apparently confident that his readers would know of Chūjōtō and its advertisements and their claims in relation to the female body. Thus, he could deploy the billboard within the novel to evoke Yoko's memory of her daughter and her ambivalence about the roles of wife and mother she had abandoned. Taking a hint from Arishima's use of the Chūjōtō billboard, I want to examine the medical advertisements of Meiji and Taishō Japan as visual icons that did more than merely sell the products in question. They also were capable of eliciting "a welter of associations"—associations that point to the complex and evolving relationship among the state's vision of the bodies of its citizens, commodity culture, and modern subjecthood.

Patent Drugs and Advertising

It is possible to situate these modern advertisements as part of a long tradition of marketing medicinal products in Japan. As early as the mid-seventeenth century, patent medicines had become an important part of Japanese medical culture. A wide variety of remedies for all manner of ailments were available in cities and towns, sold from the storefronts of their producers, by medical practitioners of various types, and by peddlers who plied the streets, markets, and fairs. The *Edo kaimono hitori annai*, an early nineteenth-century guide to merchants in Edo, lists 206 *kusuriya*, or "medicine shops," while a similar work for Osaka gives the names of 178.² Many provincially produced drugs also came to circulate



Figure 2. Utagawa Toyokuni, Anzantō handbill, 19th century (Nojiri Kayoko, ed., *Kusuri kokoku* [Gifu: Naitō Kinen Kusuri Hakubutsukan, 1995], 67). See color plate 16.

throughout the country. For example, Shinkyōgan, a remedy for intestinal problems produced in Shiga Province, was prized as a souvenir by travelers on the Ōmi Highway.³

Patent medicine advertisements first appeared in the 1680s, at roughly the same time as those for kimono fabrics, making these two commodities the earliest to be marketed in this way, a development undoubtedly linked to the large number of producers and the intense competition for customers. These early advertisements took the form of handbills, some as small as 11 centimeters by 16 centimeters, others as large as 34 centimeters by 46 centimeters, that were distributed on the street or posted in sites where people were known to congregate—outside theaters, near the entrance to the licensed quarters, and on the grounds of popular temples and shrines. According to Masuda Tajirō, the ads for patent drugs differed from those of other retail products in a number of ways. For one, they were comparatively dense with text, typically including lengthy descriptions of the origin of the drug, the symptoms for which it was effective, and directions for its use. Advertisement text often centered on claims about the miraculous nature of the medicine, the formula for which was usually explained as a benevolent gift from a deity or someone of heroic stature to the ancestor of the contemporary producer.⁴ Terms such as "secret family transmission" (*kanden hiyaku*) and "divine gift" (*shinju*) appear frequently and often in enlarged lettering in these ads, foregrounding visually the assertion of miraculous origin.

Not every medicine advertisement took this edifying approach, however. By the early nineteenth century, many ads were clearly designed to entertain and amuse, making use of images by well-known woodblock print artists and text authored by popular writers of fiction, among them Hiraga Gennai, Santō Kyōden, Shikitei Sanba, and Kyokutei Bakin. For example, an advertisement for Anzantō, or "safe birth decoction" (fig. 2), a drug said

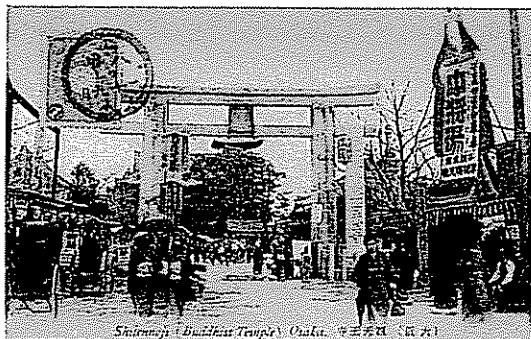


Figure 3. Postcard of Shintennōji with Chūjōtō billboard. From the personal collection of Kuzui Mizuo. See color plate 17.

to be able to prevent miscarriage and difficult childbirth, features an image by Utagawa Toyokuni of a woman in courtesan attire holding the product. This use of the figure of the courtesan may well have been intended to be ironically humorous in that the courtesan, an icon of sexual pleasure, was often represented as contrasting—favorably—with the reproducing body of the wife in late Edo culture.⁵

This well-established practice of advertising patent medicine notwithstanding, it is less continuity than difference that I want to emphasize as I turn to consider the advertisements of the Meiji and Taishō periods. Nothing in the early modern period can compare with the scale of the new culture of advertising that took form beginning in the late nineteenth century, propelled initially by the creation of new forms of print media such as newspapers in the 1860s and magazines in the 1870s, developments made possible by the adoption of new technology, as woodblocks were abandoned in favor of the printing press. Advertisements appeared in newspapers such as *Kaigai shinbun* and *Bankoku shinbunshi* as early as 1867, and by the 1880s there were so-called advertisement newspapers, free circulars that were devoted solely to print ads.⁶ The 1890s saw the appearance of even more new forms of advertising. Large illustrated billboards and illuminated signs began to appear, attached to the roofs of buildings in urban entertainment areas and placed along popular transportation routes. A late Meiji postcard of Shintennōji Temple (fig. 3), a religious and entertainment center, is revealing of how these early billboards were used. In the upper left-hand corner, a large billboard for Chūjōtō, featuring the image of the Chūjō princess, can be seen.

At roughly the same time, advertisements began to be attached to telephone poles and displayed in streetcars and railway cars.⁷ Somewhat later, beginning in the 1910s, ads first appeared on “give-away goods,” such as fans, boards for the game *sugoroku*, calendars, and paper balloons.⁸ An example of the use of give-away goods as advertisements is the fan (fig. 4), which is decorated by an advertisement for Jintan, a pill marketed as a digestive aid and “rejuvenator.”



Figure 4. Fan with Jintan advertisement (Nojiri, *Kisuri kōkoku*, 67). See color plate 18.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, then, advertisements saturated the print media and public and private spaces to a degree unimaginable before modernity, and within the new visual culture of advertising, advertisements for medicinal products had an especially prominent place. Patent medicine manufacturers, such as Morita Jihei (1841–1912), who produced Hōtan, a remedy for intestinal problems said to be beneficial for cholera, and Kishida Ginkō (1833–1905), who made Seikisui, an eyewash, were among the first to make use of the new medium of the newspaper; they pioneered the development of marketing devices such as the use of illustrations, trademarks, slogans, and testimonials in their print ads.⁹ Morita and Kishida also developed the strategy of scattering large signs bearing their ads, the precursors of modern billboards, around the country. So prominent were these advertisements that one traveler, recounting his trip from Tokyo to Niigata in an 1877 newspaper article, wrote that at every point on his trip he saw “a schoolhouse and signs for Mr. Kishida’s Seikisui and Mr. Morita’s Hōtan. No matter where I went, if there was something resembling a village, then I always found these three things.”¹⁰ Statistical analysis of print media also reveals the predominance of medical advertisements in this era. In the early 1880s, advertisements for patent medicines occupied more “newspace” within the *Asahi shinbun* than any other product—more than 50 percent of the total in 1882.¹¹ Similarly, a survey of fifty-seven newspapers found that patent medicines ranked second in total number of ads, exceeded only by advertisements for books and magazines, until 1910 when ads for patent medicines and toiletries began to outnumber those for any other product.¹²

The Politics of Health in Modern Japan

The prominence of patent medicine advertisements can be explained in part by the entrepreneurial savvy of men like Morita Jihei and Kishida Ginkō, who grasped the commercial potential of the new print media to market their products. But the context of their activities and of the growth of the trade in patent drugs was the formation in the late nineteenth century of a new state-sponsored medical culture that redefined the social meaning of bodily health, investing it with both political and personal significance. Beginning in the early 1870s, the new government of the emperor Meiji made improving the health of its citizens a policy goal, and to that end it aggressively pursued the construction of a modern medical and public health system. In Europe public health policy had been formulated in the wake of industrialization and its attendant health problems. In contrast, in Japan governmental concern about health emerged before industrialization and in explicit response to the perceived threat of European imperialism.¹³ The forced "opening" of the country in the 1850s had brought not only political and economic turmoil but also an epidemiological crisis, as cholera and other acute infectious diseases were introduced to Japan, sparking a series of devastating epidemics that continued into the early twentieth century. After 1868, as the new government became involved in the compilation of statistically produced indices—among them, average height, weight, chest dimension, life expectancy, and rates of contagious disease, disability, and infant mortality—these too were interpreted as evidence of Japanese weakness vis-à-vis the West. Consequently, governmental policy came to be oriented around the notion that the improvement of health was necessary to create the large and healthy population that would make Japan a prosperous and powerful nation capable of resisting the European powers.

To this end, the Meiji government sought to exercise authority over medical knowledge, practices, and institutions. New medical schools and a system of state licensing led to the promotion of so-called Western medicine over traditional forms of medical practice. Well-established forms of treatment such as acupuncture, moxibustion, and massage came to be regarded as ineffective or overtly dangerous in contrast with "scientific" medical practices. Policing and confinement became the primary means to deal with the danger posed by infectious disease. Individual physicians were charged with reporting cases of infectious disease to the local police, and quarantine hospitals were created for those struck down by acute infectious diseases such as cholera and typhus. Lock hospitals were established to house prostitutes who suffered from syphilis, as were asylums for the mad and sanatoria for sufferers of leprosy. Government campaigns addressed individual behavior, encouraging people to eat bread and drink milk, to adopt Western hairstyles and clothes, to use soap and toothpaste, and to cease the blackening of teeth, all in the name of promoting health and hygiene.

As health was being redefined as a requirement for full participation in national culture, patent medicines, long regarded as a necessary and beneficial part of medical culture, underwent a reevaluation. In 1870 the Meiji government promulgated the Rules for the

Regulation of Patent Drugs (*baiyaku torishimari kisoku*), which made the Daigaku Higashikō, the precursor of the Tokyo Imperial University Medical School, responsible for inspecting the formulas of patent drugs to determine if they were in fact effective and whether the retail price of a given drug was reasonable in relation to the cost of its production. The new law also explicitly addressed the advertising conventions of the early modern period, forbidding reference to deities within ads and the use of terms such as "secret family transmission" and "secret formula." The intent of this law was to bring an end to the trade in patent drugs, most of which were based upon medical theories that were Chinese or indigenous in origin. Advocates of Western medicine, who were predisposed to look askance at the drugs they were empowered to inspect, staffed the Higashi-kō, with the result that only a few drugs, most notably Hōtan, succeeded in making it through the approval process—a fact that Morita was quick to incorporate in his advertisements.¹⁴

In the end, this ambitious law proved unworkable when it became clear that the Higashikō was unable to deal with the overwhelming number of drugs that had to be examined. It was repealed in 1872. In 1875 the government abandoned the principle that patent drugs be demonstrably effective and stipulated that "harmlessness" (*mugai*) would be the standard for licensing. Then in 1877, a new law termed the "Regulations for Patent Drugs" (*baiyaku kisoku*) was promulgated. Defining a patent drug as "any medicine, whether in the form of pill, salve, liquid, powder, or infusion, which is made according to a secret family formula," it required that producers pay a tax of two yen per year for each formula they used, and it established licensing fees for retail shops and medicine peddlers. In 1882 the strategy of taxing the manufacture and sale of patent drugs was affirmed and extended. The government, declaring patent drugs to be "like tobacco and sake, unnecessary for daily life," attached a tax of 10 percent on the retail price of every package of a patent drug sold. The proceeds of both the 1877 and 1882 laws were specifically designated for the funding of the Bureau of Hygiene (*eisei kyoku*), the government office that oversaw public health and medical matters. As Shimizu Tōtarō has noted, in taxing the patent medicine industry, the Meiji government had two aims: it sought to reduce the influence of what it viewed as illegitimate forms of health care while simultaneously promoting the new state-authorized medical system.¹⁵ The effect of these early regulations was profound. Many of the Edo-period provincial manufacturers were driven out of business by the 1890s, to be replaced by newly established companies in Tokyo and Osaka more attune to the modern marketplace and modern medical discourse.¹⁶

Against the backdrop of governmental regulation, public debate about patent drugs began. In the mid-1870s, public health officials, physicians, and "enlightened" journalists expressed concern about the impact of patent drugs ads. Perhaps the most influential of the many critics of these products was Fukuzawa Yukichi, the author, newspaper publisher, educator, and political theorist who championed the movement for "Civilization and Enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*) in the 1870s. In the late 1870s, Fukuzawa wrote a series of essays attacking the trade in patent drugs. Suggestive of his stance was the argument

he put forth in an article entitled "On Patent Medicines" published in 1879 in a popular collection of essays.¹⁷ Fukuzawa described the flourishing market for these products as "truly alarming" and argued that these medicines, which he characterized as relying on ingredients such as "charred kittens," "dried snake heads," and "human fat gathered from crematoria," were threatening the health of those who purchased them. Moreover, the willingness of people to spend money on useless pills, potions, and salves represented a dangerous waste of resources, both human and material, that Japan could ill afford.¹⁸

In explaining the continuing popularity of patent medicines, Fukuzawa took note of a number of factors, including the ignorance of the populace and the arrogance of doctors, but he was most concerned about the power of the print advertisements that were now appearing in Japan's newspapers and magazines—and he took specific note of their use of visual elements. According to Fukuzawa:

If you look at the advertising section of the various newspapers of today, you will see that there are many more handbills (*bikifuda*) for patent medicines [than for any other product]. And in only these handbills, in addition to words, drawings (*zu*) and pictures (*e*) have been added in order it seems to capture people's attention. If you think about the inner workings of the newspaper business, then there is nothing wrong with taking money from a maker of patent medicines and turning his handbill into an advertisement, but as I have said before, in Japan newspapers are something of consequence to the lower classes, and so lower-class people do not question whether a patent medicine is good or bad; rather, they just rely upon the newspaper and think if a medicine has appeared in the newspaper, then there is nothing to worry about, and so they take it without question. And so the newspapers have become nothing more than lantern carriers (*chōchinmochi*) for patent medicine makers.¹⁹

These comments are particularly interesting, given that Fukuzawa himself was the publisher of the newspaper *Fiji shinbun* and no critic of advertising in general. In 1882 he wrote a series of editorials on the theme of the "encouragement of advertising" (*kōkoku no susume*), playing off the title of his very successful work *The Encouragement of Learning* (*Gakumon no susume*, 1872). Fukuzawa argued that advertising was necessary to sustain the emergent newspaper industry by providing revenue to keep down the cost of the newspaper and by attracting readers who, though perhaps initially more curious about new products than current events, would benefit nonetheless from exposure to the new medium.²⁰ Given this stance, Fukuzawa's unwavering criticism of patent drug advertisements is revealing of the controversial nature of these products but also of the perception that ads were in fact influencing consumer choices.

Patent Drugs Ads and the Modern Subject

The aggressive advertisement of medicinal products at the onset of modernity was not a phenomenon peculiar to Japan. In *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women*, Timothy Burke notes that "the beginnings of the visual culture of modern consumption in the West were certainly replete with bodily images. In nineteenth-century Britain, for example, a hugely disproportionate share of advertising was aimed at the promotion of patent medicines and toiletries."²¹ Burke argues that the profusion of such products and the ways in which they were marketed in nineteenth-century Britain and elsewhere (colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwe is the focus of his study) suggest that the commodification of medicines and toiletries has a special significance for the production of modern subjects. Through their ads, these products established an intimate connection with the body by laying claim to the ability to render it healthy, clean, and attractive, qualities that found new meaning within modernizing societies as evidence of national or ethnic superiority. But this implicated medicines and hygiene products in the enactment and reproduction of notions of social hierarchy, gender, race, and other markers of identity and difference, because their ads necessarily drew upon what Burke terms "cultural and social raw material"—that is, the cultural, economic, political context within which commodities are produced and circulate.

Burke's work, which places the marketing of medicines and toiletries in a transnational perspective that links subjectivity and consumerism while also taking careful note of the cultural embeddedness of both the products and the ads for them, provides a framework by which to explore the iconography of Japanese patent medicine ads. In his own study of American advertising, *Fables of Abundance*, Jackson Lears, however, reminds us that the visual and verbal strategies of advertisements can be far from transparent. Lears too notes that patent medicine ads had a particularly prominent place in the commercial culture of late nineteenth-century America. He argues that ads of this period often employed "a bizarre amalgam of hieroglyphs," prompting Lears to raise the question, "how does one infer any particular set of cultural meanings from the imagery surrounding the body in entrepreneurial advertising?"²² His conclusion is that the yoking of dissimilar and contesting images is itself significant, revealing that conceptions of the relationship of the "self and world" were being transformed in this era as positivist science began to challenge the linkage of spiritual and bodily health that was authorized by evangelical Protestantism. Lears argues that the "commercial vernacular of advertising" was a site that preserved vestiges of the older conception of the body that was challenged by an increasingly impersonal and technologically oriented medical culture.

Like the ads that Lears confronted, those of the Meiji-Taishō era too present bewildering visual puzzles that are not instantly intelligible to the modern viewer. My approach is to analyze the images deployed in ads in light of a wider set of cultural references, and as my discussion to this point suggests, I am conscious of the social restraints, particularly the politicization of health, with which manufacturers and advertisers engaged as they marketed

these products. In the face of official and civil discourse that attacked patent medicines as at best useless and wasteful and at worst dangerous quackery that threatened public safety, manufacturers and advertisers sought to represent their products as an essential part of modern life by linking them with technological advancement, the new ethos of nationalism, and the pleasures of bourgeois life. But at the same time, the ads of patent drugs, with varying degrees of explicitness, contested the emergent regime of "public health," which subjugated individual well-being to the social and national good: their ads suggested that good health could be attained quickly, safely, and privately through self-medication, circumventing the need to consult a doctor or visit a hospital.

Patent Drug Ads and the Language of the Trademark in Meiji Japan

I want to turn now to look closely at the imagery and design of Meiji- and Taishō-period patent medicine advertisements to explore how the modernity of these products and of the subjects that consumed them was signified and celebrated. Rather than attempting to survey the thousands of ads that appeared in this era, I will focus on the advertisements of some of the most aggressively marketed and—perhaps unsurprisingly—bestselling of the many patent drugs that flooded the market during this era. Ads for products such as Chūjōtō, Jintan, Dokumetsu (a syphilis treatment), and Nōgan (a remedy for "brain disease") were not only among the most "visible" of all advertisements in terms of their sheer number and size; they were also among the most visually complex. As such, they are best regarded as "exemplary" rather than typical, but their designs are revealing of the visual language of advertising that was taking form in this period, which was utilized to a greater or lesser degree in other ads as well.²³

A 1910 handbill advertising two Tsumura Juntendō products (see fig. 1) incorporates several of the features that characterize the most sophisticated ads of this period. It utilizes a design that was especially popular in the early 1900s depicting a scene of contemporary life that incorporates an advertisement as part of the landscape. The illustration on the fan shown in figure 4 also features such a design: a fashionable kimono-clad woman in an idealized summer landscape discovers a handbill for Jintan hanging from a tree limb. The Chūjōtō handbill displays a middle-class family, consisting of a young husband and wife, their six children, and an older woman, presumably the husband's mother, on what appears to be a sight-seeing excursion to an imaginary and self-consciously "modern" site. In the background, a steam locomotive, a factory, and a steamer can be seen. In the foreground are large billboards displaying ads for Chūjōtō and Herupu (from the English "help"), a remedy for intestinal problems. It is these billboards, rather than the train and the factory that capture the interest of the family in the ad—and by extension our interest as well. In addition, rather than the Hi no Maru, the so-called rising sun flag that children are often

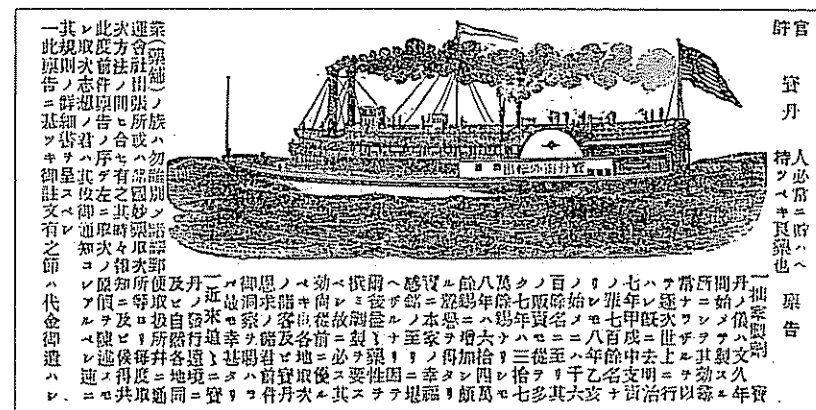


Figure 5. Hōtan newspaper advertisement, 1876 (Hajima Tomoyuki, *Shinbun kokoku bijutsu taikai, Meiji hen: Iyaku, keihōbin* [Ōzorasha, 1999], 1).

depicted as waving in patriotic prints of this era, these children hold flags emblazoned with "Chūjōtō" and "Herupu."

In *Advertising the American Dream*, Roland Marchand used the term "social tableaux" to describe "advertisements in which persons are depicted in such a way as to suggest their relationship to each other or to a larger social structure."²⁴ This handbill is an example of such a tableau: it depicts an affluent bourgeois family at leisure, presumably enjoying the benefits of good health.

According to Judith Williamson's seminal work, *Decoding Advertisements*, in scenes like this one, in which a product is connected to a particular way of life, "the product and the 'real' or human world become linked in the ad, apparently naturally, and the product may and does 'take over' the reality on which it was, at first, dependent for its meaning."²⁵ This particular ad explicitly references Japan's modernization through its images of modern technology and makes the billboards for Chūjōtō and Herupu part of this scene of national progress. Such visual references to modern technology were an important motif in patent medicine ads throughout the Meiji period. Morita Jihei used images of steamships and locomotives in his ads for Hōtan as early as the mid-1870s. A case in point is the 1876 Hōtan ad (fig. 5), which features a steamship flying an American flag and emblazoned with the words "Hōtan foreign exports." On the face of it, this seems an odd choice of an illustration for a diarrhea remedy, but it works to establish a metonymical relationship between the steamship and Hōtan and to assert the modern nature of Morita's product. The U.S. flags and the reference to the export of Hōtan imply the existence of an American market for this Japanese product, an important claim, given the then vocal criticism of Fukuzawa Yukichi and others that patent drugs were nothing more than quackery that exploited the ignorance of gullible Japanese consumers.

But the most potent visual element in the 1910 Chūjōtō handbill is the Chūjōtō trademark, the so-called Chūjō princess (Chūjōhime), who appeared in almost every Chūjōtō advertisement.²⁶ The emblem of the “princess” iconically references the story that Tsumura Kanekichi, founder of Tsumura Juntendō, propagated to explain the origin of the drug, which was first manufactured in Tokyo in 1893.²⁷ Tsumura claimed that the formula for Chūjōtō was based upon one passed down in his mother’s family, the Fujimura of Nara Prefecture. The name of the drug evokes the famous legend of the Chūjō princess, who was said to be an incarnation of Kannon, the goddess of mercy. According to the legend, which became a theme of both noh and kabuki dramas, the princess was born into the powerful and noble Fujiwara family in the mid-eighth century. Her mother died when she was a small child, and the woman her father later married hated her because of the girl’s continued devotion to her dead mother. The stepmother plotted to kill the girl, but she was rescued by a family retainer who (according to Tsumura’s version of the legend) hid her first with the Fujimura family in a remote village and later at the nunnery at Taimadera. At long last, the father of the Chūjō princess became aware of the plot and sought to bring her home, but the girl, then seventeen, refused, choosing instead to become a nun to pray for her mother’s salvation. According to the story told by Tsumura Juntendō, as an expression of gratitude for their aid, the princess gave the Fujimura family a formula for a miraculous drug that could relieve problems associated with childbirth and menstruation; this was passed down secretly within the family for generations, until of course Tsumura Kanekichi decided to manufacture and market it.

After 1870 claims of miraculous origin had become taboo in patent drug advertisements, but Tsumura Kanekichi and his successors used the image of the Chūjō princess holding her sutra box to signify the ancient and divine origins they claimed for their product. As a symbol of merciful divine intervention, the Chūjō princess trademark clearly functioned to affirm the product’s claims of efficacy. At the same time, it also evoked the idea of maternity, which was then becoming central to the gender ideology espoused by the Japanese state. From the 1870s onward, the Japanese government became progressively pronatalist in stance: it criminalized abortion, controlled access to contraception, and from the 1890s promoted “good wife and wise mother” as appropriate social roles for women. The mother-child bond had a central but ambiguous place in the legend of the Chūjō princess. While devotion to her mother inspired the princess, she herself rejected marriage and motherhood in favor of a life of religious devotion. However, in ads for Chūjōtō, any trace of such ambivalence is eclipsed by the representation of the joys and rewards of family life. Within the 1910 handbill, the princess is depicted as gazing beatifically downward as the large, happy, and prosperous family frolics beneath her.²⁸

With the exception of a brief moment in the 1920s when the consuming potential of the so-called modern girl was tested by marketing the promise of physical attractiveness, Chūjōtō advertisements consistently depicted reproductive health as the means to female happiness. A particularly dramatic way of making this point is the design featured in a



Figure 6. Chūjōtō newspaper advertisement, 1904 (Hajima, *Shinbun kokoku bijyūsu taikēi*, 136).

newspaper advertisement from 1904 (fig. 6), versions of which appeared frequently in the print media for decades to come. It visually contrasts the life of a woman who avails herself of Chūjōtō with that of a woman who does not. While the latter is depicted as disheveled, ill, alone, and unhappy, the consumer of Chūjōtō is represented as an attractive, industrious wife and mother, the very vision of the “good wife and wise mother” of official doctrine.

As the use of the emblem of the Chūjō princess within the 1910 handbill reveals, trademarks were an important part of the language of patent medicine advertisements. They were potent symbols that functioned economically, dramatically, and covertly to attach meanings and values to products. No company proved more adept at exploiting the signifying potential of trademarks than Morishita Nanyōdō. Founded in 1893 by Morishita Hiroshi (1869-1943), the son of a Shinto priest, this Osaka-based firm quickly became one of the best-known and most profitable producers of patent drugs.²⁹ Its success reflected the keen business sense of Morishita Hiroshi, who launched a series of products that echoed an acute awareness of the social trends of his day. One of his first products was a pill, Nikutai Bihakugan (lit., “pill to beautify and whiten the flesh”), that was marketed as a skin-whitening agent. It capitalized on the new concern for “whiteness” as a marker of gender and class in this era when skin color was assuming new significance in the discourse on racial difference.³⁰ While other manufacturers marketed products like Bihakusui (lit., “beautifying

whitening water”) and concealing powders and foundations, Morishita’s innovation was to create a product that claimed to work internally to produce authentic whiteness.³¹

Following Nikutai Bihakugan, in 1900 Morishita Nanyōdō next introduced Dokumetsu (lit., “poison extinguisher”), a cure for syphilis. Syphilis was one of the first diseases to be identified as a public health threat in the early Meiji period: efforts at controlling the disease centered on prostitutes, who, as in Europe, were identified as primarily responsible for the spread of the disease—initially to the men who were their customers and then through them to their wives and children.³² First in the treaty ports and later in cities and towns across Japan, licensed prostitutes were required to submit to periodic examinations by public health officials and those found to be infected were subject to confinement and treatment in Lock hospitals. As the disease, long known in Japan, was identified as a social “problem,” it was reinterpreted as a “shameful disease” that was associated with poverty, illicit sexuality, and immorality. Cures for syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases came to constitute a significant percentage of the patent drug trade and were aggressively advertised. So pervasive were the ads for such drugs that in the 1920s, when a Christian women’s organization began a “movement to improve contemporary women’s magazines,” it made one of its targets the advertisements for syphilis cures, charging that such ads encouraged sexual misbehavior on the part of women by deemphasizing the dangers of the disease.³³

Dokumetsu was introduced on May 13, 1900, with the publication of a full-page advertisement in the *Osaka shinbun* that made use of design elements that would define the marketing of this product for several decades (fig. 7). This ad is strikingly different from those of Dokumetsu’s competitors, which for the most part made use of a straightforward “before and after” motif like that seen in the 1904 Chūjōtō ad (see fig. 6). Print advertisements for Baidoku Kiyaku (lit., “syphilis wonder drug”), for instance, contrasted the image of a disheveled pock-faced young man with a deformed nose (a collapsed nose figured largely in the popular imagination of the syphilis sufferer) with that of the handsome countenance of a healthy man.³⁴ In contrast, the Dokumetsu ad adopted a distinctly different approach that affirmed the discursive links between health and modernity while ignoring the official rhetoric that stigmatized the disease it was meant to treat.

At the center of the Dokumetsu ad is the product trademark, an image of Otto von Bismarck, the first chancellor of united Germany, who oversaw its transformation into a modern state. The use of Bismarck’s visage in this context was an audacious move. He was undoubtedly one of the most famous of contemporary European statesmen, and Itō Hirobumi, who had returned to the post of prime minister in 1900 for another term, was known to regard him as a personal hero. Bismarck was probably recognizable to most educated Japanese, but the text beneath the image, the Dokumetsu slogan, makes the visual metaphor explicit: “Bismarck is the minister most renowned for his ingenuity; Dokumetsu is the only medicine known to defeat syphilis.” In other words, Dokumetsu is to syphilis treatment what Bismarck is to political reform. Above the image of Bismarck, frames are used to draw the attention to two important pieces of “text” in this textually dense ad. The one on the



Figure 7. Dokumetsu newspaper advertisement, 1900. From the personal collection of Kuzui Mizuo.

right lists in bullet fashion the names and institutional affiliations (with prestigious universities and hospitals) of those jointly described as responsible for creating the formula for the new drug, each of whom is named as a “doctor of philosophy” (*bakase*) or a “professor” (*sensei*). The framed text on the left contains another list of prestigious “doctors” and “professors,” those who have “accepted” Dokumetsu.

Morishita Nanyōdō was one of the first companies to make use of expert endorsements to market its product, and this became one of the standard features of its ads. The next level of text names in colloquial language the symptoms for which the drug has efficacy and provides information on dosages, while the third level is devoted to listing the names of the more than one hundred pharmacies in Osaka where Dokumetsu could be purchased.

While public health discourse asserted that syphilis was a dangerous and shameful disease that threatened the sanctity of the family and the health of the nation’s youth, this 1900 Dokumetsu ad and those that followed never referenced this pejorative perspective, but rather offered the assurance that a safe and effective cure was available by simply taking a drug that was within reach of every consumer. Implicitly rejecting contemporary criticisms of patent medicines that portrayed such products as little more than quackery, the ad makes use of Bismarck and his associations with reform, progress, and national power to bolster the message of the advertisement copy: Dokumetsu, developed and embraced by leading physicians associated with the best hospitals and the universities of the country, was a modern, efficient, and rational means to achieve a cure.



Figure 8. Jintan street sign. From the personal collection of Kuzui Mizuo.

nature, Jintan's introduction to the market was marked by an especially aggressive marketing campaign that employed both well-established and new advertising strategies and initially cost about one-third of the company's profits.³⁵ In addition to the frequent use of full-page newspaper ads (thirty-one in 1906 alone), the Morishita company attached abbreviated ads for Jintan, consisting of its name and trademark, on street signs in towns and cities across Japan (fig. 8), a practice that began in 1907 when three thousand such signs were attached to telephone poles in Tokyo. The company also pioneered the use of large illuminated signs, erecting a large one in front of Osaka Station in 1907 and another on top of the Kaikarō, a fashionable restaurant housed in a three-story building on the grounds of the popular Tokyo shrine, Kanda Myōjin.³⁶ All this seems to have proved effective, because Jintan quickly became Japan's best-selling patent drug.

Central to all Jintan ads, whatever form they took, was the product's trademark (see figs. 4, 8, and 9), an image of an imposing mustachioed man wearing an elaborate uniform that featured a cocked hat decorated with feathers, a tailcoat with massive epaulets, a sash, and medals. Significantly, this figure appears impressively tall, broad shouldered, and handsome—there is no hint here of the short, slight, and sickly body that figured so largely in public health lamentations about the state of Japan's citizenry. According to the official company history, the identification of the model for the Jintan trademark was the subject of much contemporary speculation.³⁷ It was rumored that the image paid homage to Itō Hirobumi's eldest son, Fumikichi, to Morishita Hiroshi himself, or to some officer of high rank in the Japanese military. In fact, it seems that it was the formal dress of the type worn by diplomats at state functions that provided the inspiration for the trademark's design. This visual representation of high officialdom surely resonated with the contemporary ethos of "success and prosperity" (*risshin shusse*) that encouraged the youth of Japan to aspire



Figure 9. Jintan newspaper advertisement (Machida Shinobu, *Jintan ha, naze nigai* [n.p.: Borantia Jōhō Nettowōku, 1997], 15).

to rise in wealth and social stature, but the text of the ad makes the visual reference explicit: it declared in large bold print the slogan "the pocket medicines of PhDs" (*hakase no kaichūyaku*), suggesting that the country's intellectual elite made frequent use of Jintan's invigorating properties.³⁸ As in the Dokumetsu

campaign, newspaper ads for Jintan framed the trademark with text that cited the names of prestigious doctors who had embraced the new product.

But the evocation of the ethos of upward mobility did not exhaust the semiotic potential of the trademark. Jintan hit the market in February 1905, as Russian and Japanese troops were clashing at Mukden. Morishita Hiroshi may have had diplomacy in mind in conceptualizing this symbol, but as the rumors about which general was the model for the trademark suggests, the Jintan trademark was widely viewed as representing a military officer. Coming in the midst of Japan's celebrated struggle with a "Western" power, the trademark represented national as well as individual achievement at this moment of rising nationalist sentiment. To be sure, this approach was far more restrained than that employed by other manufacturers. Many advertisements of this period feature images and designs that explicitly appealed to Japanese nationalism and expansionist sentiments. A case in point is the October 1910 newspaper advertisement for Zemu (fig. 10), from the English "gem," another "pocket medicine" similar in nature to Jintan. It features a border made up of the "rising sun" flag and the Japanese naval flag and depicts what appears to be a Russian naval officer on bended knee in the center. The text beneath the image explains that Zemu is loved by the brave sailors of Japan's navy and by the whole of the victorious nation.



Figure 10. Zemu newspaper advertisement, 1905 (Hajima, *Shinbun kokoku bijutsu taikēi*, 193).

Eventually Morishita Hiroshi Yakubō began to exploit the nascent politicality of the Jintan emblem, embedding “Uncle Moustache” (*Hige no ojisan*)—as the trademark was known—in scenes that explicitly evoked Japan’s accelerating economic development and its success in the race for colonial acquisitions. It was not the first company to make much of its products overseas sales. As we have seen in the 1876 *Hōtan* ad, as early as the mid-1870s, advertisements were already featuring claims about export markets. But Morishita Hiroshi made his product’s popularity outside Japan (exports to China began in 1907) an integral part of his advertising strategy. We see this strategy at work in a newspaper advertisement from January 1, 1910 (see fig. 9), the year in which Japan acquired Korea as a formal colony. It features “Uncle Moustache” sitting upon crates of Jintan, labeled variously as “for India,” “for America,” “for China,” and “for Korea.” Beneath him stands a crowd of people, among them an Indian in a turban, a Chinese with a long queue, a bearded frock-coated European, an American Indian with a feathered head dress, and a Korean with a wide-brimmed hat, all offering praise for Jintan. According to the balloons above them, the figure representing Africa says, “We black people call Jintan ‘god,’” while the “Chinaman” declares, “Because of Jintan, the people of China can rest easily for the first time.” The figure labeled “America” is equally enthusiastic, stating respectfully, “Dear Mr. Jintan, I expect that because of your effectiveness, I will be able to be active this year as well.” Uncle Moustache, for his part, responds, “I hope that with the help of Jintan all the people in the world can

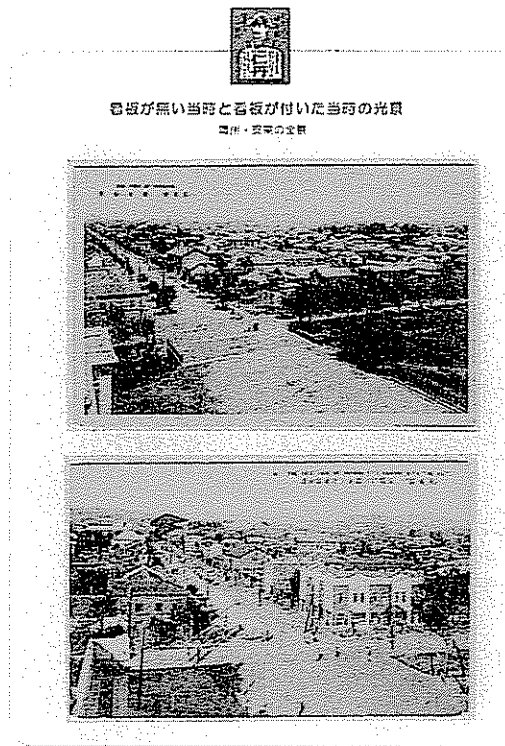


Figure 11. Postcard from the “Jintan is here too” series. From the personal collection of Kuzui Mizuo.

become healthy, happy, and increase their wealth.” There is, to be sure, an element of tongue-in-cheek humor in the extravagant praise offered up to Jintan and in Uncle Moustache’s portentous words of greeting. But the humor neither detracts from this advertisement’s very real celebration of Japan’s economic and territorial

expansion nor obscures its pointed use of Jintan to signify “Japan” itself.

The Morishita company’s use of the culture of imperialism to market its products reached its height with the extension of the “Jintan is here too” (*Koko ni mo Jintan ga . . .*) campaign to the East Asian continent. Begun in the 1910s, this successful and long-running campaign featured the issuance of a series of collectable picture postcards displaying photographs of famous sites. Each scene included signs or billboards featuring the Jintan trademark, with red arrows superimposed to indicate to the viewer where the trademark was located. Early postcards were of famous domestic sites, but as Japanese influence on the northeast Asian continent grew, more and more sites in Korea and China were featured. A picture postcard from the mid-1930s shows Japanese soldiers outside the city walls of the Manchurian city of Qiqihar (fig. 11). Visible are signs for three Morishita Hiroshi Yakubō products: Jintan, eyedrops called *Daigaku Meyaku*, and a vitamin supplement called *Wakamoto*. The design of the “Jintan is here too” postcards recalls the “ad within an ad” motif so popular in the late Meiji period, but with a significant difference: the social tableaux featured in the Meiji ads have been replaced with something far more ominous, a colonial landscape. And while

the former were designed to metonymically connect the consumption of the ad's product with the acquisition of a desirable personal lifestyle, the "Jintan is here too" images linked the product to a narrative of national achievement. They suggest that, like the soldiers on horseback, Jintan too has contributed to Japan's fulfillment of its imperial destiny.

Patent Drug Ads and "Civilization Disease" (*Bunmei byō*)

But while many patent medicine advertisements visually evoked the benefits, both personal and national, of modern life, others played upon the profound sense of dislocation that accompanied the rapid social changes of this era. The late nineteenth century saw the introduction of a new kind of patent drug: products such as Nōgan ("brain pills"), Kennōgan ("healthy brain pills"), and Shinseiiki ("spirit relaxing elixir") claimed to have psychotropic benefits for a quintessentially modern set of ailments, among them "nervous exhaustion" (*shinkei suijaku*), "hysteria" (*bisuteri*), and "neuritis" (*shinkeisū*). The very terms for such complaints were neologisms of the moment, coined to translate psychiatric terms that originated in European medical discourse. In marketing these products, advertisers targeted a specific kind of consumer. He was male, middle-class, and urban, the counterpoint in fact of the equally gendered target of Chūjōtō ads.

A case in point is Nōgan, manufactured by Yamazaki Teikokudō (founded in 1888). Nōgan's trademark (fig. 12) was an image of a young man wearing the uniform of a high-school or university student whose hands are cupped around a downcast face in a pose that suggests contemplation, headache, or despair—or perhaps all of these. The university student, the protagonist of many a Meiji novel, was a well-established symbol of the anxieties of modern life. In works such as Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* and the novels of Natsume Sōseki, students or recent graduates appear adrift and confused by the competitiveness, materialism, and isolation of life in Tokyo but find the social mores and values of their provincial parents to be of little use in achieving either upward mobility or personal happiness. In fact, the Nōgan trademark is almost the inverse of the Uncle Moustache of Jintan fame. Both wear uniforms that allow them to be placed within the social hierarchy of the day, but while the handsome figure of Uncle Moustache suggests success and confidence, the Nōgan student is an emblem of a different kind of modern experience.

The Nōgan trademark thus iconically referenced a particular kind of consumer, the educated man who knew both the promise and the frustration of modern life, but it was often embedded within a larger design scheme that made "nervous exhaustion" a social as well as an individual problem. In the 1906 Nōgan advertisement in figure 12, the trademark is situated at the top of an illustration of an immense crowd of people, largely comprising men, both Japanese and Western, whose moustaches, high collars, and frock coats suggest their solidly middle-class status. Their faces bear expressions that are tired, sullen, or anxious as



Figure 12. Nōgan ad, 1906 (Hajima, *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikō*, 229).

they gaze out from the space of the ad.

Strikingly, the explicitly "Japanese" faces are few in number compared to those that bear Western features, so while the illustration certainly conveys the loneliness of the new Japan, read more abstractly it also suggests the competitive modern world, where not only the individuals but also societies were struggling to survive and succeed, an evocation perhaps of the Social Darwinist paradigm that figured largely in both popular and political discourse at this time. The text of the ad provides an explanation for the sense of malaise, anxiety, and despair the illustration conveys—and a solution. Rather than the result of individual inadequacy, these symptoms are explained as physiological in nature: the ad informs us that "a sensible and sensitive intellect flows from the activity of healthy brain nerves." For those who feel themselves lacking the necessary reason, sensitivity, or intelligence, Nōgan is the answer. It is "the king of the brain disease medicines of this century," capable of providing a "complete cure" for brain disease and nervous exhaustion.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that advertisements for patent medicine became an important part of the visual landscape of Japan beginning in the Meiji period. On billboards, signposts, and telephone poles, these ads lined the streets of towns, cities, and villages. As calendars and posters, they decorated the walls of private homes and retail shops. They filled the pages of newspapers and magazines and adorned the mundane articles of everyday life. The proliferation of these ads is revealing of the growth of the patent drug industry at this moment when the centrality of bodily health within politics and culture made marketing medicines a profitable business. But as the exploration of the iconography of the ads has revealed, while they proclaimed the wondrous benefits of their salves, decoctions, and pills, manufacturers were also representing and promoting new conceptions of subjecthood, marked by gender, class, nation-ness, and empire. The 1910 Chūjōtō handbill we examined was one example of this. It conveyed a complex visual message that linked reproductive health to national progress, the newly valorized social roles of wife and mother, and personal prosperity and happiness as a member of the middle class. Similarly, Jintan ads promised not only personal vitality but also upward mobility and ethnic superiority within an imperially ordered world.

What, then, of the potentially contestatory power of advertisement, of which Jackson Lears took note in his examination of patent drug ads in nineteenth-century America? As we have seen, elements of parody and appeals to “prior meanings” can certainly be found in the Japanese ads of this period. However, they do not seem to have undermined the new modern conceptions of subjectness that the advertisements explicitly deploy and display. The ambivalent stance toward maternity that the Chūjōtō princess might seem to signify was in fact subsumed within a visual space that celebrated reproduction wholeheartedly. And while the use of the face of a famous statesman to sell a syphilis cure or the illustration of the people of the world gathering to praise a breath freshener invite a reading as parody, the critical power of these ads seems muted. Produced at a moment when health itself was so overtly politicized and by an industry anxious to establish its legitimacy, it is perhaps not surprising that the modern body promoted by the ads intersects neatly with the national body envisioned by the Meiji government. If there is a critical element in these ads, it is in their assertion that bodily health can be attained through the market, circumventing the regulatory power of medicine professionals and institutions—and the state that sustained them.

Endnotes

- * All images used with permission. I acknowledge with gratitude the generosity of Yoshimaru Takahashi, Kuzui Mizuo, and Machida Shinobu.
1. Arishima Takeo, *A Certain Woman*, trans. Kenneth Strong (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978), 39.
 2. Yoshioka Shin, *Edo no kigusuriya* (Tokyo: Seibō, 1995), 16.
 3. Suzuki Akira, *Nihon no denshōyaku* (Tokyo: Yakuji Nippōsha, 2005), 4–5.
 4. Masuda Tajirō, *Hikifuda ebira no fizoku shi* (Tokyo: Seibō, 1981), 199–200.
 5. On the Edo discourse on wives and prostitutes, see Yokota Fuyuhiko, “Imagining Working Women in Early Modern Japan,” in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, ed. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, no. 25 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1999), 153–68.
 6. The relation between the formation of newspapers and advertising is explored by many authors. I have found the following particularly useful: Yamamoto Taketoshi, *Kōkoku no shakaishi* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1984), pt. 1; and Kitada Akihiro, *Kōkoku no sanjō: Kindai media bunka no rekishi shakaigaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), chap. 2.
 7. Yamamoto, *Kōkoku no shakaishi*, 195–96.
 8. Yoshimaru Takahashi includes photographs of many such objects in *Okusuri garafiti* (Kyoto: Korinsha, 1998), 36, 98–101.
 9. Oda Hisashi, *Kōkoku hyakunenshi: Meiji* (Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, 1976), 58–73. The story of Seikisui is an interesting one: Kishida met J. C. Hepburn, missionary, linguist, and ophthalmologist, whom he credited with giving him the formula for Seikisui, in Yokohama in the 1860s. Hepburn was later to compile the influential English-Japanese dictionary that bears his name.
 10. Quoted in Oda, *Kōkoku hyakunenshi*, 73.
 11. Kabushiki Kaisha Daikō, ed., *Daikō hyakunenshi* (Osaka: Daikō, 1994), 38.
 12. Yamamoto, *Kōkoku no shakaishi*, 8, 35.
 13. I discuss the Meiji government’s medical reforms in “Constructing the National Body: Public Health and Nation in Nineteenth-Century Japan,” in *Nation Work: Asian Elites and National Identities*, ed. Timothy Brook and Andre Schmid (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 17–49.
 14. Shimizu Tōtarō, *Nihon yakushigaku* (Tokyo: Nanzandō, 1949), 199. Shimizu quotes the text of an 1871 advertisement for Hōtan that appeared in *Shinbun zasshi*, which claimed that its official approval was proof of its merit.
 15. Shimizu, *Nihon yakushigaku*, 200.
 16. Tamagawa Shinmei examines the fate of the Toyama patent medicine trade in the Meiji period in the final chapter of *Hankontan no bunkashi: Etchū Toyama no kusuritori* (Tokyo: Shōbunsha, 1979). See also Suzuki, *Nihon no denshōyaku*, chap. 6, which examines the disappearance of a number of well-known Edo-era medicines.
 17. Fukuzawa, “Baiyaku ni tsuite,” in *Fukuzawa Yūkichirō zenshū* (Tokyo: Keiō Gijyū Daigaku, 1960), 4:405–6.
 18. Needless to say, Fukuzawa’s view of these drugs is jaundiced. For a nuanced discussion of Japanese pharmacology, see Amano Hiroshi, *Kusuri bunka ōrai* (Tokyo: Seibō, 1992).
 19. Fukuzawa, “Baiyaku ni tsuite,” 406.
 20. Yamamoto, *Kōkoku no shakaishi*, 20–21.
 21. Timothy Burke, *Lifeline Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 11–12. Burke’s observation is supported by the work of Lori Anne Loeb, who examines advertising in late nineteenth-century Britain in *Consuming Angels: Advertising*

and *Victorian Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

22. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 152.
23. For criticism of the analysis of "ideal" ads, see William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products, and Images of Well-being* (Toronto: Nelson, 1986), 175. In my use of "exemplary" ads, I follow Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996), 174.
24. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 165.
25. Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertisements* (London: Marion Boyars, 1978), 35.
26. Another important aspect of the 1910 handbill is its inclusion of a so-called abbreviated calendar (*ryaku reki*), which appears on one of the billboards at the forefront of the scene. Such calendars referenced significant dates from the lunar calendar with those of the newly adopted Georgian calendar. Handbills of this era often included information of this type. In addition to calendars, they incorporated illustrations of famous sites, maps of various types, and ranking lists of sumo wrestlers and kabuki actors. The inclusion of such things encouraged consumers to retain and display the handbills, thereby maximizing their marketing potential.
27. On the use of the Chūjōhime legend by Tsumura Juntendō, see *Tsumura Juntendō 70-nenshi* (Tokyo: Tsumura Juntendō, 1964), 5–7.
28. On the ideology of "good wife and wise mother," see Sally Hastings and Sharon Nolte, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, ed. Gail Bernstein (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 151–74.
29. The background of Morishita Hiroshi and the history of his company are related in Morishita Tai et al., eds., *Morishita Jintan 80-nen shi* (Osaka: Morishita Jintan Kabushiki Kaisha, 1974). The early life of Morishita is discussed on pp. 18–31; on the marketing of Nikutai Bihakugan, Dokumetsu, and Jintan, see pp. 36–40.
30. Mikiko Ashikara discusses the place of "whiteness" in class and gender identity in Japan in "Urban Middle Class Japanese Women and Their White Faces: Gender, Ideology, and Representation," *Ethos* 31, no. 1 (March 2003): 3–37.
31. A 1901 advertisement for Bihakusui can be found in *Igaku keshōbin*, vol. 1 of *Shinbun kōkoku bijutsu taikai Meiji-ben*, ed. Hajima Tomoyuki (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1999), 80. Revealing of the connection between whiteness and social status is the text of this ad which states that the product is used by the "female officials within the court."
32. On syphilis in the Meiji period, see my article, "Bodies and Borders: Syphilis, Prostitution, and the Nation in Japan, 1860–1890," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 15 (December 1998): 3–30.
33. Miki Hiroko, "Josei zasshi in okeru baiyaku kōkoku," *Media-shi kenkyū* 13 (2003): 110–29.
34. Hajima, *Igaku keshōbin*, 238.
35. Machida Shinobu, *Jintan ha, naze nigai* (Tokyo: Borantia Jōhō Nettowoku, 1997), 10.
36. Yamamoto Taketoshi and Tsuganesawa Toshihiro, *Nihon no kōkoku: Hito, jidai, hyōgen* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1986), 130–43.
37. Machida, *Jintan ha, naze nigai*, 40; see also Morishita Jintan's Web site, http://www.jintan.co.jp/museum/story/index01_04.html.
38. On the Meiji ethos of personal advancement, see Earl H. Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981).

The Girl with the Horse-Dung Hairdo

David L. Howell

Looking Modern in the Early Meiji Period

Modernity is a haircut. Or so one might conclude by looking at East Asia in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In Japan, Korea, and China, men marked the onset of Western-style modernity by cutting off their topknots and queues. Some did this as a daring statement of their political and civilizational convictions. Many others did it only under duress. Whatever the circumstances, all understood the importance of hairstyle as a symbol of participation in traditional society, and hence the significance of the departure from tradition that the haircut represented.¹

For men in Tokugawa Japan, hairstyle served as a general indicator of legal status. Wearing a topknot with the pate shaved and the face clean shaven marked a man as a mainstream participant in society—that is, as a samurai or a commoner. Subtle variations in style helped to distinguish samurai from commoners, and there was always some room to accommodate individual taste and changing fashions. An unorthodox hairstyle revealed its wearer to be somehow outside the mainstream: a shaved head for Buddhist clerics and doctors, a topknot but unshaved pate for masterless samurai (*rōnin*), and unbound hair for some outcasts. This system of signification collapsed along with the early modern status system after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Accordingly, soon after the Restoration, the authorities began to encourage men to wear their hair in a "cropped" (*zangiri* or *sanpatsu*) style that was not associated with any particular early modern status group. Promoters of the cropped haircut often described it as a return to ancient Japanese practice rather than as the adoption of a foreign style, and indeed officials initially took care to distinguish between cropped and Western hairstyles. Nevertheless, by the late 1870s, haircuts in an unmistakably Western style had become standard for men throughout the country.²