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Local Colourism in Korean and Taiwanese Art under Japanese Colonial Rule

: the Native Artists’ National Identity

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History of Art, Ph.D.

The University of Edinburgh

2021
Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Boram Lee

13<sup>th</sup> April, 2021.
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Abstract / Lay Summary

This thesis aims to present a new perspective to interpret Local Colourism in Korean and Taiwanese art by investigating its origin and the link between these nations, within the context of the artistic milieu during the colonial period in the early twentieth century. Local Colourism has received substantial scholarly attention in Korea and Taiwan, and most studies recognise the art trend as a part of the colonial policy that was designed to satisfy the exoticist viewpoint of the coloniser. This is the first comparative study on Local Colourism of Korea and Taiwan, which were the two most prominent colonies of Japan, concerning the native artists’ national identity. It emphasises the artists’ active role in Local Colourism and explores the social and cultural conditions that enabled Local Colourism to develop as a movement that took hold in these countries.

This research demonstrates that Local Colourism emerged from Japan in the late nineteenth century, and traces the origin with focus on Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866–1924). It examines how its influence was expressed in the formation of Korean and Taiwanese Local Colourism in the 1920s and 30s, and further investigates the role of a new art education model that the Japanese Government-General implanted in both colonies. While paying close attention to the social and cultural circumstances of colonial Korea and Taiwan, it explores how the artists of colonised nations expressed their sense of national identity in their work, and what led them to develop and promote Local Colourism in their homeland.
Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my patient and supportive supervisor Dr. Chialing Yang for her advice and guidance that have been invaluable throughout this research. I would also like to acknowledge my second supervisor, Dr. Yuthika Sharma for her constructive suggestions and critiques during the process. I wish to thank my colleagues, Wang Zi and Sui Mengxuan for their encouragement and support, it has been a truly great and fun time with them.

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This thesis follows the Revised Romanisation of Korean for Korean words, which was officially introduced in 2000 by the National Institute of Korean Language. In some cases, minor variations are applied in Korean names according to the 2nd Transcriptions of Romanisation for Korean Family Names. Chinese terms are rendered in Pinyin romanisation, and Taiwanese scholars’ and painters’ names are transliterated based on the Wade-Giles system, as it is generally used in official documents in Taiwan. Japanese is rendered in modified Hepburn Romanisation. Korean, Taiwanese, and Japanese names are given in their customary order, with the surname first followed by a given name. Proper nouns, such as books, art groups, and school names are generally represented by English translations, followed by appropriate romanisation and the original language in brackets.

Unless otherwise noted, all English translations of Korean, Chinese, and Japanese are the author’s own.
Introduction

This thesis examines Local Colourism, an art movement that emphasises the expression of national identity, which was inextricably linked to the artistic milieu of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. The Empire of Japan ruled over Taiwan for five decades from 1895, 15 years before Japan’s full annexation of Korea. Japan attempted to establish a replica of the Japanese bureaucracy, police, education, and judicial system in the two colonies; while Korean and Taiwanese nationals lived through such circumstances, some artists chose to express their desire for nationhood through their work.¹ Their ideas resonated with people in the wider society and developed as an art movement, Local Colourism, from the 1920s.

Local Colour is a translated word for 地方色 (JP: chihōshoku, KR: jibangsaek, TW: difangse) or 鄉土色 (JP: kyōdoshoku, KR: hyangtosaek, TW: xiangtuse), which were widely used in the art circles of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The term was used to refer to the idea or ideology presenting distinctive national characteristics, and often indicated a trend that contained specific national features. In these three countries’ art world, Local Colour pointed to an art trend that promoted distinctive national characteristics through the portrayal of particular figures and landscapes.² In this thesis, the term Local Colourism indicates the manifestation of the national identity of native artists who took a profound interest in their homeland and were affectionate towards their own country. On top of the subject matter that presents unique national features, Local Colourism put great emphasis on

² The discussion regarding the emergence of “Local Colour” in Japanese art society continues in Chapter 1.
the artists’ mind and concern for their nation which underlies much of their work. Along with the social processes which affected the construction of their thoughts and beliefs in political and cultural levels, the native artists had established distinctive national identity under colonial rule, which became the fundamental idea of Local Colourism.3

‘National identity’ is a key term in this study, which is defined as ‘a sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by (the maintenance of) distinctive traditions, culture, linguistic or political features, etc.’4 The studies on this social identity have been conducted largely in different fields including sociology, psychology, anthropology, and philosophy, and the existing literature provides diverse aspects of national identity.5 This study understands national identity as a strong emotional attachment toward a nation and the feeling of belonging to the national group.6 Similarly, ‘national sentiment’ in this study refers to ‘the sentiment unifying a group of people who have a real or imagined common historical experience and a common aspiration to live together as a separate group in the future.’7 ‘Nationalism’ and ‘colonialism’ are also important concepts to understand this study. Nationalism has been variously described as a sentiment, a state of mind, a principle, an ideology, as

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5 For more information about recent literature on national identity, see Richard R. Verdugo & Andrew Milne, National Identity: Theory and Research, (Information Age Publishing Incorporated, 2016).
6 ‘Colonial identity’ is primarily designed to achieve two important objectives in the overall project of colonisation: the first was to justify the conquest and subsequent exploitation of foreign lands, and the second was to induce in the native population a self-unworthiness so these become willing participants in their marginalization and attached mass deprivations.; Ratna Ghosh, Ali A. Abdi & M. Ayaz Naseem, “6. Identity in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts,” 57-66.
doctrine, a theory of modernisation, and a historical process. The sociologist Ernest Geller saw it as ‘primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent,’ and the historian Elie Kedourie defined nationalism as ‘the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by a certain characteristic which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.’ This thesis puts focus on nationalism’s emotional and ideological aspects and uses the term to refer to native artists’ advocacy for national independence or self-determination with interests and affection for their homeland. ‘Colonialism’ is also a complex and diverse ideology that has been studied by many scholars, although this study limits the range of the term and uses it to refer to the colonial system or principle enforced by the coloniser.

Local Colourism in Korea and Taiwan has been studied by domestic scholars focusing on the artworks produced during the Japanese colonial period, and most studies have hitherto characterised Local Colour paintings as merely a Japanese colonial policy made flesh to meet the exoticism of the coloniser. This study analyses not only the emergence and influence of Local Colourism in Japan but also its shifts in ideas and aesthetic values later in Korea and Taiwan. It attempts to postulate a new perspective on Local Colourism; that it arose from native artists driven by their affection for their homeland rather than simply by Japanese colonial policy. I analyse Local Colourism within the broader context of social and political interactions between the three countries, which influenced the national and cultural identity that is inherent in the art. It also highlights the implicit ideologies of the artists through their works. It aims to

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shed new light on Local Colourism from a different perspective by analysing the works of Local Colourists who shared a similar art trend in three different countries and stresses the artists’ ideologies that were manifested in their paintings.

This new approach to Local Colourism that concentrates on artists’ thoughts and emotions regarding their homeland is certainly different from the view taken in the existing literature. This study aims to elevate the position of Local Colourism, considered in previous studies a consequence of Japanese colonial policy, to the position of a concrete movement led by Korean and Taiwanese artists as they found worth and pride in their nation’s beauty, traditions, and culture. More than just a policy, Local Colourism was an expression of affection towards the artists’ homeland.

Pak Gyeri surveyed Korean art critics’ theories of the 1930s and the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition extensively and concluded that Japanese imperialism and curiosity about the exotic features of colonised Korea played a leading role in Local Colourism.10 Moon Jeonghui covered the Joseon and Taiwan Fine Art Exhibitions and asserted that Local Colourism in both countries reflected the unfavourable conditions found under Japanese colonial rule.11 Kim Hyunsook argued that Korean Local Colour painting was created for the Japanese to observe their colony and to satisfy the view of the coloniser.12 Pak Seoktae conducted a study that put more emphasis on the strong

connection between Japanese colonial policy and the art trend. He suggested that the Japanese juries of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition intentionally stressed the necessity of Local Colour in painting; artworks that embodied the different and “inferior” cultures of traditional or local sceneries of Korea were often given awards at the exhibition. Kim Youngna also maintains that what the Japanese judges favoured at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition were rather exotic, quaint customs or pastoral countryside scenes. All the prior research is important as they provided detailed art historical data and engaging surveys; however, they presented a limited perspective on Local Colourism as their view was highly focused on political relations of Japanese colonial power and colonised Korea in understanding the art trend.

Taiwanese scholars’ publications on Local Colour maintained similar perspectives and suggested its close connection to Japanese colonial policy. Yen Chuan-ying described the phase of modernisation in Taiwanese art and stated that Local Colour was encouraged to promote the achievements of Taiwan during the colonial era. Lin Yu-chun argued that Local Colourism advocated the spirit of the Japanese government of the time, and the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition became a platform to promote such ideologies. Yang Yung-yuan traced the origin of Local Colourism in Taiwan and argued that early Western-style painting in Taiwan and the colonial policy

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of Japan were closely related.\textsuperscript{17} Yuko Kikuchi referred to Local Colour as a synonym for vernacularism and stated that vernacularism functioned as colonial propaganda by stressing Taiwan’s position as one of the regions of Japan.\textsuperscript{18} Both Taiwanese and Japanese scholars’ studies contributed to understanding the general circumstances of the Taiwanese art circle during the colonial time, however, they tended to put too much emphasis on Japanese colonial policy in conducting their research, which resulted in a lack of comprehensive understanding of Taiwanese Local Colourism.

All the literature cited above on Korean and Taiwanese Local Colourism focused on the paintings displayed at the fine art exhibitions organised by the Japanese Government-General and adhered to the view that Japanese colonialism directly guided Local Colourism. It is an undeniable fact that Joseon and the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition had a political purpose to a certain extent; the Japanese government offered entertainment, such as art exhibitions, to distract the local population’s interest from political issues and to give a positive impression of colonial policy.\textsuperscript{19} In much of the literature on Local Colourism, the Japanese political intention in holding the art exhibition was over-interpreted and the art movement was construed as a simple extension of colonialism.

This study extends the scope of Local Colourism beyond Korea and Taiwan and further discusses Local Colourism in Japanese art society. It argues that Local Colourism was initiated in Japan from the late nineteenth century but appeared and intensified in

\textsuperscript{18} Yuko Kikuchi ed., \textit{Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan} (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007).
Korea based on indigenous artists’ nationalistic sentiment during the Japanese colonial period. Taiwanese Local Colourists also showed an enthusiastic attitude towards the genre in their homeland, quite separate from the colonial policy. The art movement was continued by indigenous painters who explicitly expressed their nationalist sentiments during the colonial period in Korea and Taiwan. This study conducts intensive research on the individual artists’ ideologies and the emotions felt towards their homeland, by exploring not only visual but also textual data: Local Colourists’ paintings, as well as their letters, essays, and articles, are analysed to understand their thoughts regarding national identity. The catalogues of the Joseon and Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition (1922–1944, and 1927–1936, respectively) offer important visual materials for this study as they documented the art trend. Furthermore, contemporary art critics’ and colleague artists’ diverse opinions on Local Colourism published in major newspapers and magazines are also examined to see how the art trend was perceived during that time.

_Dong-A Daily_ (donga ilbo, 東亞日報) is one of the most frequently referenced publications in this study, which officially acclaimed itself as an “organisation for national expression,” which aimed to “truly and directly deliver people’s opinion, ideal, aspiration, and hope” and stand its ground against the actions of the colonial power.\(^\text{20}\)

Similarly, primary sources cited in this study, such as _Taiwan People’s News_ (taiwan minbao, 臺灣民報) and _Joseon Daily_ (joseon ilbo, 朝鮮日報), were owned and operated by natives who aimed to deliver the voice of its people during the colonial period.\(^\text{21}\)

Although the media were suspended several times and the content of articles was limited by the press regulation and censorship imposed by Japan, however, those

\(^{20}\) _Dong-A Daily_, 1 Apr 1920.

\(^{21}\) Xiaokun Song, _Between Civic and Ethnic: The Transformation of Taiwanese Nationalist Ideologies_ (VUB Press, 2009), 85-94.
primary sources referenced in this study persistently delivered the thought of the natives in the era of Japanese rule.

From the beginning of Local Colourism in Japan in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century when the art movement prevailed in Korea and Taiwan, this thesis offers a different perspective on understanding Local Colourism, by understanding the artists’ proactive attitudes towards the art movement, in opposition to the existing literature that emphasised the role of Japanese colonial policy as the main generator of the trend. The initial question in my thesis was conceived in response to the marginal understanding of Japanese Local Colourism in Korea and Taiwan, despite the highly significant role it played in preceding the Local Colourism of both nations. The first chapter questions what Local Colourism of Japan was and how it began. As such, this chapter explores the beginning of the art movement led by Kuroda Seiki 黒田清輝 (1866–1924), focusing on the period from 1896 to 1910. His studies in France led him to play a pioneering role in Western-style painting education in Japan, and the Department of Western-style painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (tōkyō bijutsu gakō, 東京美術学校) became a centre for art education in early twentieth-century East Asia, under the competent guidance of Kuroda. Analysing his painting and writing reveals Kuroda’s philosophy and ideas on art and how they affected early Korean and Taiwanese artists who studied under his influence. This chapter goes further and investigates the early students of the colonies who studied at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, explores how they assimilated the new art in Japan and examines its correlation with the beginning of Local Colourism in Korea and Taiwan.

To have a clear understanding of the source of Local Colourism in Korea and Taiwan, Chapter Two examines extensively the circumstances regarding the art and art
education of the two nations, from the precolonial to the early days of the colonial period. This chapter attempts to find the answer to the question of how Local Colourism was established in Korea and Taiwan and traces the process based on each nation's social and cultural context. It also examines art-related colonial policies and the new modern art education transferred from Japan to Korea and Taiwan to find out to what extent these affected the formation of the colonies' Local Colourism.

Chapter Three explores the initial stage of Local Colourism in Korea, with a focus on Ko Huidong 高羲東 (1886–1965) who was one of the first Korean students to study at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in the early twentieth century. Ko and his Korean artists colleagues who graduated from Japan carried out a crucial role in introducing Western art and its education in their country during the colonial period, and consequently, their painting styles and ideas about art exercised considerable influence over the young Korean artists of the time. This chapter poses the question of how much change the young artists who adopted Western art brought to Korean art society and what the links are between them and Local Colourism. It also explores how the traditional Korean painting society responded to the fresh impetus that was created by the new generation of artists.

While Ko Huidong clearly expressed his affection towards Korea in his work, Na Hyeseok 羅蕙錫 (1896–1948), who is the central figure in Chapter Four, went further in her expression of national identity. She had made great achievements not only in Korean artistic circles but also in the independence movement of Korea and the movement for women’s rights. This chapter investigates Na Hyeseok’s sense of national identity that was reinforced during the colonial period with the question of how her artistic output reflected her ideologies and sentiments and investigates her role
regarding Local Colourism of Korea. It puts emphasis on her Local Colour paintings and the social movements that she actively participated in and explores how her national consciousness was manifested through her works.

The last chapter examines Local Colourism in Taiwan, which can be understood in parallel to that of Korea and argues that Taiwanese Local Colourists' works were also based on their affection for their homeland. By analysing the case of Taiwanese Local Colourists who also experienced life under Japanese colonialism, Chapter Five discusses how artists of both colonies explored Local Colourism, and also compares and analyses how they promoted this art trend. This part of the study focuses on the active role of Taiwanese Local Colourists to trace their sense of national identity in the quest of unveiling the genuine nature of the art movement.
Chapter 1. Local Colour in the Modern era: new art in Japan from 1896 to the 1910s

Everything under the sun undergoes renewal, and for art to develop and make progress, it too must stop clinging to archaic values.\(^{22}\)

From the mid-nineteenth century, the new Meiji regime of Japan prominently adopted Western technology. To succeed in the political task of modernisation, the government hired a great many foreign advisors, and also sent several missions abroad to learn about Western civilisation. This policy of westernisation caused major alterations in Japanese modern art: several European artists were hired to teach Western painting from 1876, and the education in Western painting settled and evolved in Japanese society. When Kuroda Seiki (1866–1924) who studied fine art in France, returned to Tokyo in 1896, his works marked a new era of Western-style painting (\(\text{yōga},\) 洋画; abbreviation of \(\text{seiyōga},\) 西洋画) in Japan. ‘Western-style painting’ refers to a painting created in oil on canvas or any other Western materials, techniques, and aesthetics, which was a modern concept in East Asia and the term coined as the counterpart of traditional painting with ink on silk or paper.\(^{23}\) New painting materials and Western-style in visual art, which are not seen in traditional painting, hence translated as Western-style painting, and the term has been widely applied in the Asian countries.


As a major figure who led education in Western-style painting in Japan, Kuroda’s ideologies and style of painting impressed Japan’s art world. Along with the slogan, “Japanese spirit, Western skill (wakon yōsai, 和魂洋才)” that emphasised adopting Western skills and technology within Japanese (cultural) perception, in the early twentieth century, Kuroda and his artist colleagues expressed their “Japanese spirit” through the use of Western painting techniques. They believed that depicting traditional Japanese culture, customs, and scenery by applying their new Western painting technique would make them distinguished in the Japanese art milieu. They were referred to as the New School and dominated the paradigm of Western-style painting in Japan. Their influence also reached the traditional Japanese painting (nihonga, 日本画) and stimulated nihonga painters to accommodate Westernisation in art and create a new style, the Hazy-form (mōrōtai, 朦朧体). Western art exercised a far-reaching influence over the formation of the popular Japanese art trends in the early twentieth century and also brought significant changes in Korea and Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period.

To understand the background of Local Colourism that arose in Japanese art society in the late nineteenth century, this first chapter begins by analysing how the modern Japanese art society responded to the rapidly changing social and political circumstances regarding a great influx of Western models and foreign techniques.

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24 The “Japanese spirit” or “spirit of Japan” had been acclaimed several times by Kuroda and other Japanese artists of the time, such as in Kuroda Seiki, “Hope toward the Future Art World”, Tokyo Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, accessed 14 Sep 2021, https://www.tobunken.go.jp/kuroda/archive/k_biblo/biblo04.html

25 Bert Winther-Tamaki, “Yōga; the Western Painting, National Painting and Global Painting of Japan”, Review of Japanese Culture and Society Vol.25 (2013), 127–136.; The word nihonga first began to be used in the decade 1880-90, and it came to include almost all painting done in any school that used the traditional formats, brush, ink, and colours on paper or silk.; Lawrence Smith, Nihonga: Traditional Japanese Painting, 1900–1940 (British Museum Press, 1991), 14.
Furthermore, it draws attention to Kuroda Seiki’s ideologies and style of painting through his paintings, essays, and letters, to understand how his works were linked to the formation of Local Colourism of Japan. As this study expands the range of Local Colourism, which is a new approach to understanding the art movement, this chapter explores from the Western-style painting education in Japan that the early Korean and Taiwanese students received. It focuses on how these painters adopted the new art in Japan, and explores how they were related to the beginning of Local Colourism in their homeland, based on their early paintings and primary sources.

1.1 Phasing in Western Art in Late Nineteenth-century Japan

The Meiji government destroyed the Shogun regime that had lasted more than 250 years, and the young Emperor Meiji 明治 (1852–1912) proclaimed the restoration of imperial rule. This new regime carefully but extensively accepted Western technology and culture to achieve Western industrial standards and to absorb modern Western culture. The government prioritised education, establishing a national system of public schools, and hired a large number of foreign experts for the new political tasks of modernisation. The Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books (banshoshirabesho, 番書調所) was also established in 1885 to research foreign publications to increase Japan’s capacity to counter and match the capabilities of foreign nations.

The institute set up the drawing department under the direction of Kawakami Tōgai 川上冬崖 (1827–1881) who had an interest in the practical and scientific side of Western painting, to facilitate the production of industrial design and drafting.26

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Takahashi Yuichi 高橋由一 (1828–1894) encountered Western lithographs at the institute and began to take an artistic interest in Western art. He received guidance in Western painting from Kawakami, and later studied under the English illustrator Charles Wirgman (1832–1891) who was living in Japan and cemented his reputation as one of the first Western painter. As the government valued the scientific and utilitarian aspects of Western painting, Takahashi maintained that only Western painting adequately fulfils its function as a medium of exact visual communication and serves the government's purpose. His painting, Salmon (fig.1.01) demonstrates that Takahashi placed a great value on reality, which was able to be realised based on his study of form and colour. From the detailed description of the skin to the meticulous use of chiaroscuro, this painting caused a sensation due to its realistic representation of texture. Along with the introduction of photography to the country in the 1850s, which played a vital part in Japanese culture, Takahashi’s still-life and landscape paintings were able to display more accurate realities by referencing the new Western technology.

In 1876, the Technical Fine Arts School (kōbu bijutsu gakkō, 工部美術学校) was founded to deliver practical training in Western art. Takahashi and three Italian professionals, the painter Antonio Fontanesi (1818–1882), the sculptor Vincenzo Ragusa (1841–1927), and the architect Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti (1843–1887) arrived in Japan in the early 1860s as a correspondent for the Illustrated London News and lived in Yokohama for the rest of his life; Olive Checkland, Japan and Britain after 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges (Routledge, 2003), 98.


were hired at this first governmental art school. Fontanesi was a well-known painter and a professor at the Royal Academy of Turin in Italy. As he admired the Barbizon School, many of his landscape paintings showed a tranquil atmosphere in pastoral landscapes with sombre pigments and an indistinct delineation of form. While most students only received practical training in his class, some talented students such as Asai Chū 浅井忠 (1856–1907), Yamamoto Hōsui 山本芳翠 (1850–1906), and Koyama Shōtarō 小山正太郎 (1857–1916), were imbued with Fontanesi's painting style and became acquainted with Western artistic techniques through the prism of the Barbizon school’s romantic naturalism.

Interestingly, Fontanesi’s paintings were admired by many young Japanese painters, but others pointed out that his painting style had a crucial weakness: as Marrziano Bernardi stated, “the qualities of his pictorial sensibility had nothing to gain from the ‘tonalism’ of the Impressionists”. Nonetheless, Fontanesi’s influence on the early Meiji period art society was considerable, and his simple use of colour and monotonous brown tonality was transmitted to his pioneering Japanese students and they often painted calm and solemn landscape paintings. After Fontanesi returned to Italy due to illness in 1878, Asai Chū, Koyama Shōtarō and other students of Fontanesi

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32 Shively, Tradition and Modernization, 200.
dropped out of the Technical Fine Arts School and formed their own art group, the Association of the Eleven (jūichikai, 十一会).\textsuperscript{35}

This first governmental art school seemed to be the solid foundation for promoting Western art in Japan; however, it failed to flourish and was closed down in 1883 due to a resistance to foreign modes of culture, fuelled by a fear that native traditions were in great peril.\textsuperscript{36} Western-style painting functioned in opposition to traditional Japanese painting by the 1880s, and the process of Westernisation was often subjected to heavy criticism. Meanwhile, the traditional Japanese painters and conservative groups such as the Painting Appreciation Society (kangakai, 鑑画会), which was formed in 1884, led a conservative movement with the people who greatly appreciated Japanese tradition. The movement revolved around Okakura Tenshin (岡倉天心 1862–1913) who was a Ministry of Education officer, and Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853–1908), a philosophy professor at the Imperial University. Fenollosa put particular emphasis on the style of Kano school (kanōha, 狩野派), which was characterised by its heavy, purposeful line, skilful use of washes, and solid construction. He argued that these traditional, yet distinctive painting styles would be strong enough to absorb those Western influences and represent the best in Japanese culture with all its seriousness and lofty idealism.\textsuperscript{37}

As Okakura and Fenollosa won a mandate for the establishment of Japan's governmental art school and opened the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1887, they made a great contribution to the renaissance of traditional Japanese painting in the late

\textsuperscript{35}They were not satisfied with the newly appointed Italian art teacher Prospero Ferretti (1836–1893); Ono Yoshiki, "An Essay on Asai Chu", Bulletin of Cultural Research Vol.20 (2012), 102.

\textsuperscript{36}Shively, Tradition and Modernization, 201.

\textsuperscript{37}Smith, Nihonga, 14.
nineteenth century. The Western-style painting class was excluded from the school’s curriculum, and there had been no official educational institution for it since the closure of the Technical Fine Arts School. Asai Chū and his fellow artists who had studied under Antonio Fontanesi organised the Meiji Art Society (meiji bijutsukai, 明治美術会) for the revival of Western-style painting in Japan and held annual art exhibitions from 1889, but they could not recover their previous reputation. They strove to create a painting style that would resonate with Japanese audiences cognitively and emotionally, yet this was not an easy task considering the relatively short time since the influx of Western-style painting in Japan. Their paintings were not charming enough for the Japanese public who had already experienced diverse visual materials from traditional painting to state-of-the-art photography. The Western-style painters were required to develop original ideas and techniques, which could attract the Japanese audience again.

While Okakura and Fenollosa made a great contribution to the growth of interest in traditional painting in the late nineteenth century, the Western-style painting field was at a standstill for about a decade until the arrival of Kuroda Seiki in 1893. Kuroda, whose sobriquet is “the father of modern Western-style painting in Japan,” brought a new style and trend that depicted intimate but idealised features of Japan. Kuroda received an enthusiastic welcome from the Japanese Western-style painters and the public, as his philosophies of painting that implied the sense of national identity fascinated them. His role was not limited to Japan by revitalising the state of Western-

40 Ibid, 79.
style painting, but also influential in neighbouring countries and closely connected with Local Colourism in Korea and Taiwan. Hence, Kuroda’s ideas and his national identity, which had been developed during his artist career should be examined in great depth.

1.2 Japanese Localisation of French Plein Air Painting

The early Meiji regime actively promoted the perception of a united Japanese identity to cope with the frequent intrusions of the West that threatened Japan’s sovereignty and autonomy: nationalism permeated all areas of Japan’s high culture, especially amongst the educated classes from the 1850s onwards. At the same time, the government was enthusiastic about modernising the nation and promulgated “Rules on Ministry of Education Scholarship Students Abroad” in 1875 to acquire broad knowledge from the West. Kuroda Seiki was one of the students who followed the trend and went to Paris in 1884 intending to study law.

Kuroda was born into a wealthy aristocratic family but was soon adopted as heir by his uncle, Viscount Kuroda Kiyotsuna 黒田清綱 (1830–1917) who was a powerful politician and an important figure in the Meiji Restoration. Under his adoptive father, Kuroda Seiki benefited from an education in foreign languages and had the opportunity to study abroad. He originally went to France to study law, and attended law school in

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45 Weisenfeld, *MAVO*, 271.
1886, but an art dealer, Hayashi Tadamasa 林忠正 (1853–1906) who became close to Kuroda in Paris, advised him to study art. Hayashi introduced Kuroda directly to a French artist Louis-Joseph-Raphaël Collin (1850–1916), an exponent of idyllic and classic grace in painting who trained at the École des Beaux-Arts.

Kuroda soon resolved to become an artist and wrote a letter to his adoptive father to explain his change of mind. In the letter, he demonstrated that some Japanese students had already received doctorates in law in France, but no one had been exhibited at the Paris Salon as a Japanese national. He argued that studying Western art was not only for his interest, but it would also serve to enhance national prestige overseas. Since then, Kuroda’s goal became to be known to the Western public by winning a prize at the Paris Salon to achieve the aim of elevating Japan’s international reputation. Indeed, the Meiji government advocated the nationalist sentiments

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46 In Kuroda’s letter to his father in February 1886, he said Yamamoto Hōsui 山本芳翠 (1850-1906), Fuji Masazō 藤雅三 (1853-1916), and Tadamasa Hayashi persuaded him to learn Western art: “Everyone says that Japanese art does not equal western art and are strongly urging me to study painting. Also, I have been told that I have the fundamental skills to take up painting, and that if I were to study painting, I would become a very good painter, and that my study of painting would be more meaningful for Japan than my study of the law”: Yamamoto Hōsui was a Japanese artist who studied under Jean-Léon Gérôme and introduced Western art techniques to Japan with Kuroda, but he died early in 1906. Fuji Masazō studied in Paris, he was the first Japanese student to study under Raphaël Collin, and he stayed in the United States for the rest of his life.; Yamanashi Emiko, “The Life and Arts of Kuroda Seiki”, in Kuroda Seiki, Master of Modern Japanese Painting; the 150th Anniversary of His Birth (bijutsu shuppan sha, 2016), 30.

47 Miura Atsushi, “Raphaël Collin et le Japon”, Histoires de Peinture entre France et Japon (Collection UTCP, 2009), 194; Collin made his debut at the Salon of 1873 with “Le Sommeil”, which brought him a medal of the 2nd class and the work was bought by the Rouen Museum. In 1884 he was decorated with the Legion of Honour, in which he was advanced to the grade of an officer in 1889. He became a professor at the Beaux-Arts; in 1909 was elected a member of the Institute and was a member of the Superior-Council of the Fine Arts and Rhie Committee of the Society of French Artists.; “Raphael Collin”, American Art News, 28 Oct 1916.

effectively with media and education so that every Japanese was concerned with the national interest and promoted national ambition. As an adoptive son of a powerful political figure, Kuroda Seiki maintained strong nationalist feelings, which repeatedly appeared in his works.

Kuroda began to grasp the aesthetic principles of Western art, mostly through Raphaël Collin’s works that reflected the influence of Neoclassicism and Romanticism. He believed that the function of painting is not just the representation of the outward form of nature, but the expression of inner thoughts and ideas. For Collin’s *Floréal* (fig.1.02), Kuroda stated that “ignorant people would only see a beautiful naked woman in a meadow of flowers, but it represented the feeling of spring by the figure of a woman as lovely as a flower beginning to bloom”. He understood the connotations of paintings and applied his knowledge in his figure and landscape paintings. Furthermore, as Raphaël Collin had displayed several stylistic elements borrowed from the Impressionists, including the use of informal compositions and a preference for bright colours, Kuroda learnt various styles of painting, and this settled as distinctive characteristics of his works later in Japan.

While Kuroda was in France, plein air landscape painting was widespread and highly visible. He felt an affinity with artists who painted scenes of rural life and landscapes, such as Jean-Francois Millet (1814–1875) who was famous for paintings

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51 Ibid, 28.
that captured the rural tradition through a realistic and personal approach. Plein air painting, the practice of painting a landscape or other chosen subject out of doors, was already common during the 1820s, and landscape painting became the most popular of all the genres in France from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Kuroda encountered Millet’s paintings of pastoral subjects based on humanity and nature at a Retrospective Exhibition of Millet at the École des Beaux-Arts in 1887 and was fascinated by them. In the following year, he visited Barbizon where Millet and other plein air painters had settled and began to produce oil paintings regularly. He copied paintings by Millet and also made his own paintings that showed the strong influence of the master. While he was in Jouy-en-Josas, a suburb of Paris, Kuroda painted *Rural Cottage* (fig.1.03), which reflected his interest in the context of the surrounding landscape and daily routine. It shows a peaceful moment in the backyard of a commoner’s cottage with chickens and a haystack that was considered an ordinary scene in the countryside of France. Millet focused on scenes of peasants’ labour and the plight of the hard-pressed rural French, however, Kuroda concentrated more on depicting common pastoral scenery. Kuroda liked to paint the ordinary landscapes and familiar scenes in France, and he continued to depict this theme later in Japan.

Along with the mass movement of painters who established their own artists’ communities in rural locations, Kuroda moved to Grez-sur-Loing in 1890 with Kume

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57 Murphy, *Jean-François Millet*, 29.
Keiichirō 久米桂一郎 (1866–1934) with whom he had shared a studio in Paris.\(^{58}\) During the 1880s and 1890s, accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation stimulated artists’ nostalgic longing for the countryside, and their fidelity to nature and interest in atmospheric effects led them to focus on extracting emotional significance from the light and tone of the landscape.\(^{59}\) With other artists in Grez, Kuroda and Kume depicted rural landscapes and life in the countryside with intimate feelings based on keen observations of nature. In the following year, Kuroda portrayed a young woman of Grez reading a book, *Reading* (fig.1.04). The woman reader was a common theme at that time in Paris; Kuroda may have selected this theme especially for the Salon since this is the only painting in which he depicted a French woman with a book.\(^{60}\)

*Reading* was selected at the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français of 1890, and as he had hoped, Kuroda became the first Japanese artist to have his name featured in a salon in France.\(^{61}\) It was a remarkable achievement for Kuroda who only began to learn Western painting from 1897. Furthermore, as he mentioned in the letter to his father, Kuroda believed his achievement contributed to the elevation of Japan’s national prestige in the world. This sense of Kuroda’s national sentiment was revealed in this painting by affixing his signature in Japanese kanji as 源清輝寫 (*minamoto seiki utsusu*): the first three characters, 源清輝, form Kuroda’s artistic name, and the last word, 寫


\(^{61}\) The model was Maria Billault (1870–1960) and this painting was sent to Japan and exhibited for reference at the fourth exhibition of the Meiji Fine Arts Society; Carter and Waller, *Foreign Artists*, 231.
means “to describe” or “to draw". He also put the date in the painting with the Japanese era calendar scheme 明治二十四年 (meiji nijūyonnen), Meiji 24th year, the year of 1891.\textsuperscript{62} It was a significant change, considering most of his paintings were signed “Seiki Kuroda”, “Séiki Kouroda”, or “S.K.” with the western calendar system. It is important to note that Kuroda chose to affix his name and date in kanji in the painting that he submitted to the Paris Salon, as it clearly shows his intention to signal his national identity to the Western audiences.

Curiously, Kuroda noted that his French teacher, Raphaël Collin advised him to make his signature in the Japanese way.\textsuperscript{63} The reasoning behind Collin’s suggestion may have come from the circumstances of late nineteenth-century Paris, which turned in favour of Japanese art. Japanese artworks were widespread in France due to diplomats, travellers, and merchants bringing large quantities of artworks to Europe. Japonism became a fashionable trend centred in Paris, and many European collectors and artists were fascinated by the sophisticated and exotic Japanese prints and crafts. Since traditional Japanese art and culture formed a popular trend, Raphaël Collin probably took the view that his Japanese student Kuroda should make use of his Japanese nationality in his painting so that the painting could attract attention from the French public. It was not simply a way to draw the attention of Westerners who were interested in Japanese art; it was, moreover, an effective way to introduce the Japanese Western-style artist to them.

Kuroda was aware of the prevalent Japonism in Paris, not only because Raphaël Collin was a great collector of Japanese artworks, but also because Hayashi Tadamasa,\textsuperscript{62} Kuroda’s Japanese signature was also found in Woman with a Mandolin, which Kuroda made for the Salon of the Société des Artistes Français in the same year, but this painting was rejected.

\textsuperscript{63} Shuji, “Eastern and Western Dynamics”, 182.
the art dealer who persuaded Kuroda to become an artist, had become a leading figure in the art world as the most important dealer in Japanese art to the French market.64 Furthermore, several exhibitions of Japanese artworks were held in Paris from the 1880s, including an extensive exhibition of Japanese prints at the École des Beaux-Arts in 1890. All the Western interest and appetite for traditional Japanese art gave Kuroda a source of national pride. It was Raphaël Collin who initiated the idea of a Japanese signature, but Kuroda was the one who considered it an opportunity to publicise Japan’s modern art by attracting Europeans’ attention. In doing so, he ultimately succeeded in introducing Japan as a modernised country that boasted fine Western-style artists.

The nationalist sentiments that Kuroda held were well explained in a letter that he sent to his father after his painting was accepted for the Salon. In the letter, Kuroda stated that he used Japanese kanji in his painting to signal the advanced situation of Japan to the West.65 This letter proves the strong national identity that was inherent in Kuroda, as he emphasised national prestige rather than his accomplishment as an artist. Considering that the signature is a way to enhance an artist’s identity also to intrigue patrons and viewers, Kuroda sensibly used his signature to attract people’s attention and to publicise Japan as a modern country.66 Although his painting could not receive much attention in France (because it was one of nearly 1800 paintings accepted at the Paris salon in 1891), this was a significant step in the development of Japanese modern art.

When Kuroda Seiki returned to Japan in 1893, the general public of Japan still believed that it was essential for Japan to hold on to its traditional ethics and customs because they represented the country's identity and culture. Kuroda and his peer painters also had the desire to maintain the national identity and reflect this idea into their paintings. He sensibly chose subjects of his paintings to display the national and cultural identity of Japan. Since Kuroda personally experienced Japonism in France, he had an objective perspective on Japan, and which subjects and scenes were thought best to represent the essence of Japanese features and its identity.

One of his major motifs of painting was derived from Japanese woodblock prints, *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵, particularly from the subject of female beauties and landscapes, which were already popular in Europe (fig.1.05). Kuroda believed that these typical subjects of *ukiyo-e* effectively signalled the authenticity of Japan and its identity. He applied the subject to his painting *Maiko Girl* (fig.1.06) and showed an apprentice *geisha* wearing a traditional Japanese *kimono* and sitting by a window in the background of the Kamo River. His lyrical approach to painting with distinctive Japanese motifs matched traditional Japanese poetic sensibilities. The bright and soft colours created a huge sensation and were particularly well received in Japan. The romanticised Japanese women and landscapes full of light appeared continuously in Kuroda's works and became a fashionable theme for his pupils and young painters. His paintings that showed beautified Japanese features represented Japanese national identity, appealed to the Japanese public and led to a breakthrough in the Western-style painting society of Japan that had reached an impasse over about a decade.

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Kuroda opened his first private art academy, Tenshin Studio (ten shin dōjō, 天真道場) in 1894 with Kume Keiichirō, who had similar cultural and artistic experiences in France. They searched for the ideal form for Japanese Western-style painting and introduced colourful outdoor landscape paintings influenced by plein air painting and Impressionism, along with subjects of native Japanese context. Kuroda and Kume transmitted their knowledge passionately to young art students and implanted new concepts of painting in Japan. Their talented students, such as Fujishima Takeji 藤島武二 (1867–1943), Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助 (1869–1939), and Wada Eisaku 和田英作 (1874–1959) successfully assimilated the new style of painting, hence, their paintings mostly showed the intimate nature and local landscape of Japan with ordinary people, especially Japanese females in nature. Their paintings were not only quite different from the works of previous Western-style painters who had studied under Antonio Fontanesi but also sensational and drew people’s attention to their new Western-style paintings that had distinctive characteristics.

As Kuroda’s pupils began to participate in the Exhibition of Meiji Art Society that Fontanesi’s students held, the exhibition showed two very different styles of painting: Kuroda and his younger Western-style painters were called the New School (shinpa, 新派) and the existing group of Western-style painters around Asai Chū and the members of Meiji Art Society were named the Old School (kyūha, 旧派). The most distinctive differences between the Old and New schools could be found in the use of colours and the tonality of painting. Most of the Old School painters were not able to experience the new art trends in Europe and tended to adhere to what they had learnt from Fontanesi’s

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70 Kuroda took over the Seikokan, the art studio of Yamamoto Hōsui.
71 Tokyo National Museum, Kuroda Seiki, 147.
use of murky and monotonous brown colour. On the other hand, the New School artists made paintings with bright colours and light as Kuroda and his colleagues had experience in producing plein-air-style Impressionist paintings in France. The Old School was nicknamed the Resin School (aburaha, 脂派) and the New School was known as the Purple School (murasakiha, 紫派) based on their great differences in the use of colour. Furthermore, while the Old School did not have fixed integrated themes for paintings, the New School painters focused on taking distinctive Japanese subject matter that the audiences could easily relate to. The new bright exuberant style adopted by the New School was originally intended for representing Japan's national identity, but its intimate theme and vibrant colours were cheerfully accepted by the Japanese public and became widespread in Japanese art society from the 1890s.72

As the new painting style initiated by Kuroda and Kume had growing numbers of proponents and supporters, they stepped up their demands for establishing an official educational institution for Western-style painting. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, not only did the victory over China enhance the prestige of the nation, but the trend of Westernisation was also re-intensifying in various areas.73 Following the requirement of Education Minister Saionji Kinmochi 西園寺公望 (1849–1940), the Western-style painting department was inaugurated at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1896, and both Kuroda and Kume took teaching positions.74 As they occupied important positions

in Western art education, the New School began to show absolute dominance over the Old School.

Kuroda took charge of designing the curriculum of the Western-style painting department, which was a great opportunity for him to arrange a stable platform to pass on his knowledge and ideologies of art to the next generation. In the same year, Kuroda and other progressive painters formed a group, the White Horse Society (hakubakai, 白馬会) which became the most influential art group in early twentieth-century Japan. The faculty of the newly established department and the members of the White Horse Society were almost the same: Kuroda was at the centre of the major art institution and also took the lead in the modern art society of Japan. Consequently, the style and ideology of Kuroda, various and bright colours used in plein-air-style outdoor scenes with Japanese subjects, were extensively transmitted to his colleagues and young painters. This style became mainstream in the Western-style painting field and dominated the art exhibition of the White Horse Society which was held in 1896.

Kuroda’s Lakeside (fig.1.07), featured at the second White Horse Exhibition, was a representational artwork that reflected the prevalent trend in early twentieth-century Japan. Kuroda portrayed Kuroda Teruko 黒田照子 (1873–1970) wearing a casual summer garment, yukata and holding a round fan by Lake Ashi in the Hakone area. Teruko later recalled that it took almost a month to complete the painting because Kuroda only painted before 3.p.m. and only when the weather was fine. Every

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76 Kuroda Teruko’s name was Kaneko Taneko 金田種子 when the painting was made, but she changed her name after she became Kuroda’s wife.
77 Nihon Nikkei Newspaper, 27 Oct 1965.; quoted in Tanaka Atsushi, Place of Artists; Foundation of Modern Japanese Art (Die Brücke, 2005), 70.
composition was carefully staged, from her pose towards one side and gazing into the distance, to the traditional Japanese fan, *uchiwa* on her hand. The distant hills and the tranquil lake captured well the calm and restful atmosphere of the natural environment of Japan and harmonised with the graceful Japanese lady and her traditional blue clothing. The small pink flowers drawn in the fan, Teruko’s soft red lips, and her hairpin function were in marked contrast to the blue-green colours in the painting and created a lively atmosphere. Kuroda stayed outside in nature and painted the special light and atmosphere with pleasant light colours, and successfully depicted the humid climate of Japan in summer with a pale colour tone.

This painting shows Kuroda’s partner during their summer holidays, but it represents Japanese sentiment by displaying Japanese pastoral scenery and figures, with the poetic quality and the use of bright romantic colours. Kuroda’s painting that showed ideal national features and connoted Japanese identity fascinated other Japanese painters and the wider audience. As the White Horse Society opened a research institute in 1900 to support research and teach techniques of painting, more art students were able to learn from Kuroda and assimilated his painting style. The paintings from the White Horse Society that captured certain Japanese features with bright scenes also successfully attracted the attention of Japanese viewers who were accustomed to the somewhat monotonous paintings of the Old School.\(^7\)

The feeling of fresh air and the bright light of plein air and the Impressionist-style borrowings that Kuroda implanted in Japan also affected the traditional Japanese painting field. Traditional painters’ direct experience of Western painting was limited, and their access to actual oil paintings was mostly through Japanese Western-style

\(^7\) Weisenfeld, *MAVO*, 15–17.
painters. Kuroda’s recent painting style that expressed natural light and atmosphere likely awakened Okakura Tenshin who was in the centre of the conservative movement, but also made him perceive the deficiencies of the traditional painting. As a part of the effort to preserve national identity against extensive and proliferating Westernisation, he began to put efforts into revitalising traditional painting by purposely integrating what were considered to be the best elements of traditional painting and combining these aspects with techniques and materials from Western-style painting that Kuroda introduced to Japan.79

As Okakura was forced to leave the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1898, he established the Japan Art Institute (nippon bijutsuin, 日本美術院) in the same year with his followers.80 He continued to encourage creating a new style in traditional painting, and the members of the institute, such as Yokoyama Taikan 橫山大観 (1868–1958) and Hishida Shunshō 菱田春草 (1874–1911) experimented with various techniques borrowed from Western painting methods based on Okakura’s principles. They eliminated the descriptive ink lines and concentrated on expressing subtle atmosphere and gradations of shade, even though the ink lines were one of the essential characteristics of the traditional Japanese painting. The young traditional painters were moving towards the effects and even some of the materials of oil painting while preserving a most notably Japanese style and sentiment.81 This new lineless style of painting with natural chiaroscuro and tonal depth effects was called the Hazy-form (mōrōtai, 朦朧体). This term was coined by Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868–1927) in

80 For more information about Okakura’s resignation, John Clark, “Okakura Tenshin and Aesthetic Nationalism”, *East Asian History Vol.29* (2005), 14–16.
1900 as a derisive description of the hazy atmospheric blocks of pigment shading without linework.

The representative works in this exhibition must be paintings of veteran artists of this art institute, Taikan, Kanzan, and Shunso, etc. I would like to name the style, Dim-form (hyōbyōtai, 縹渺体) or Hazy-form, however, I appreciate that they tried to trace and observe the whole colour of Western art, also to show some aspects of Impressionism.82

Yokoyama Taikan’s Misty Moon (fig.1.08) well presents the new style of traditional painting in the late nineteenth century. This painting expresses a moist and fresh atmosphere under the moonlight by omitting clear black ink lines that were central to traditional Japanese painting technique. The Hazy-form, which eclectically adopted techniques of Western and traditional painting, was widely applied by the members of the Japan Art Institute, and became popular in its biennial exhibition, the Japanese Institute of Fine Arts Exhibition (nippon bijutsuin tenrankai, 日本美術院展覧会, also known as its abbreviation, Inten 院展).

While traditional and Western-style painting exhibitions were held separately by different art groups, the Japanese government organised the first national art exhibition in 1907, the Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition (monbushō bijutsu tenrankai, 文
部省美術展覧会) which comprised Western and traditional painting divisions, and a sculpture division. This prestigious annual art exhibition, which was known by its abbreviation Bunten, was considerably influential and played an important role in the founding of early Japanese modern art. The purpose of Bunten was similar to the Paris Salon on which it was modelled: to shape public taste and enhance Japan’s international prestige, based on the assumption that it was the state’s responsibility to promote high culture. Bunten was considered a way to gain nationwide fame by the Japanese painters and they were encouraged and motivated to attend the exhibition. It became a grand gathering of Japan’s artworks at the time and Japanese arts were bursting with vitality.

Bunten was held annually from 1907 to 1918, functioning as the central institution for evaluating and sanctioning art, in addition to building and heightening public interest in art. The exhibition attracted large audiences every year and received frequent press coverage, thus, popularising and enhancing the social recognition of art. It was an amusing spectacle for the Japanese public and considered a gateway to achieving fame for artists. The most eminent artist and a jury member of the Western-style painting division, Kuroda published an article and argued:

The future of fine art is on 'not losing the spirit of Japan'. In oil painting, the technique of expression is borrowed from the West, yet (I) do not want to lose Japan-ness in spirit.

84 Atsushi, Place of Artists, 96.
He insisted that the Japanese artists should focus on expressing the charm of Japan with Western materials so that their works could be considered comparable with the works of Western artists. Kuroda emphasised the importance of displaying Japanese features in painting rather than unquestioningly copying the Western painting trends. This idea was claimed by several Western and traditional painters, such as Hishida Shunsō, and Kanokogi Takeshirō 鹿子木孟郎 (1874–1941). Those ideas had been widely disseminated in Japanese art society, and many young artists followed the tendency to display the unique Japanese elements and nationalistic features in artworks. Along with the continuing nationalist feelings felt throughout the country, it became one of the major trends amongst modern artists.

Many of the artworks awarded at Bunten reflected the current vogue for expressing distinctive Japanese features: a great number of paintings displayed traditional customs, native culture, figures, and landscapes, which showed unique Japanese characteristics. Nakazawa Hiromitsu's 中沢弘光 (1874-1964) Summer (fig.1.09) is a representative work that illustrated the art trend of the time, and it also shows the strong influence of Kuroda Seiki, even evoking Kuroda’s works, Lakeside (see

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fig.1.07). In both paintings, a young Japanese lady in traditional clothing is under bright sunlight, showing one side of the face and gazing off into space. The background of *Summer* embodies plein air expression: bright clouds are reflecting sunlight and white-capped waves are breaking on the shore. This motif was widespread in the early twentieth century; however, Takamura Kōtarō 高村光太郎 (1883–1956) put a brake on it in 1910. Takamura was an artist and poet who had studied sculpture and Western-style painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and later studied further in New York, London, and Paris for three years. With great artistic talent and various experiences in the West, he severely criticised the current state of contemporary Japanese Western-style painting society.

There are many people in the art world today who hold *Local Colour* in high esteem and place great value on it. There would even seem to be those who think that the fate of Japanese oil painting is going to be determined through some sort of compromise with Japanese *local colour*. ... Kuroda Seiki is another artist who gives the impression of striving to make his work seem deliberately Japanese.89

Takamura’s critical and progressive opinion of the art trend not only raised the clarion call of rebellion against established art but also introduced a modernist message that emerged out of the context of Japanese culture.90 He coined the term, *Local Colour*

(chihōshoku, 地方色) to indicate the trend that Japanese artists depicted national features in similar ways. He regarded Local Colour as the antiquated style of Western-style painting and specifically pointed out Kuroda as a major artist who actively embraced Local Colour in painting. Takamura was the first person who pointed out the Local Colour trend in Japan and applied the term to indicate the fashion. As stated in his essay, Local Colour was frequently seen in Western-style paintings from the early 1900s, and the subject matter continued to appear in the following decades.

Except for Kuroda and a few of his peers who had studied Western art in Europe in the late nineteenth century, most Western-style painters in Japan had limited reference data and scant information about Western art. Local Colour that displayed specific national features, the style of the late nineteenth-century plein air, and the light effects borrowed from Impressionism, was still fascinating for the Japanese artists and public who had minimal access to Western art trends. For Takamura who had personally experienced the latest art trend in the West, not only was depicting Local Colour old-fashioned and “completely insignificant”, but he also believed that nationality was of no ultimate consequence in terms of any artistic achievement.91 He emphasised individualistic creative expression to contemporary Western-style artists in Japan, which was opposed to the prevalent paintings that presented Local Colour.

Japanese art society underwent consequential changes from the late nineteenth century as they actively embraced Western art. Kuroda Seiki played the primary role in settling the style of plein air and Impressionism with the specific subject of Local Colour, which became a breakthrough in Japanese modern art. However, it was heavily criticised for its limited range of themes. Furthermore, as new art magazines such as

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White Birch (shirakaba, 白樺) extensively introduced many Western artists such as Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890), Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) and diverse art trends including Expressionism, Fauvism and Art Nouveau, the new painting trend gradually lost its leading position. However, Korean and Taiwanese artists began to pay attention to Local Colour from the early twentieth century based on a distinctive ideology. This part has explored how Local Colourism began in Japan, it continues to investigate Korean and Taiwanese artists who revealed their national identity through their works.

1.3 Prelude to Westernisation in Korean and Taiwanese Art

While Japan consolidated its official art education system and had active discussions about European art trends in the 1900s, Korea and Taiwan only had a basic art education, and Western art was still unfamiliar to the nationals.

Japan had set out on its invasion of East Asian countries from the Sino-Japanese War and as they won the war in 1895, the Qing dynasty ceded the territory of Taiwan to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Japan took full sovereignty of Taiwan and made the country their first overseas colony. The Russo-Japanese War of 1905 secured Japan’s position in Korea, and soon Korea became Japan’s colonial possession by the Treaty of Annexation signed in 1910. The Japanese Government-General organised the same administrative structures in Taiwan and Korea and enforced almost identical colonial policies including educational policies.⁹²

The Japanese Government-General of Taiwan and Korea gradually implanted foreign influence in local culture: before Taiwan was ceded to Japan, Western culture was strongly rejected in Taiwan under the Qing dynasty’s control, and the Joseon dynasty of Korea also carried out “National Isolation Policy” until the late nineteenth century. Some people of the colonies who were interested in the Western culture actively engaged with the international changes and even moved to Japan to learn the latest modern techniques from the West. Most particularly, artists and art students who were attracted by Western art moved to Japan because no art schools were established in either country since art training was never a major concern in Japan’s colonial education.93

As the Empire of Japan held a dominant position by subordinating these two territories, the colonisers’ sphere of exercising rights expanded whilst the rights of colonial Taiwanese and Korean fell under the control of Japan. Along with the extension of the principle of extraterritoriality to Japanese citizens in Taiwan and Korea, Japanese military officers, politicians, and merchants began to settle in their colonies. Quite a number of Japanese artists had chances to go to Taiwan and Korea as war correspondent painters. Ishikawa Kinichirō 石川欽一郎 (1871–1945) was the most representative Japanese painter who moved to Taiwan in 1907 as a military officer and became an instrumental figure in introducing and disseminating Western watercolour painting in Taiwan. Many Japanese military painters, such as Saigō Kogetsu 西郷孤月 (1873–1912) and Kosugi Hōan 小杉放庵 (1881–1964), arrived in Korea but they did not play a significant role in Korean art society. Some Japanese painters established private art institutes in the colony, however, these were mostly for Japanese people

living in Korea for their interests and leisure. Korea was secluded from Western art education until the first Korean art student Ko Huidong 高羲東 (1886–1965) who studied at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, came back to Korea in 1915.

The Tokyo School of Fine Arts began to grant admission to international students in 1897. Korean and Taiwanese students who had opened their eyes to Western art gradually moved to Japan, especially to Tokyo to study at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Under Kuroda Seiki's direct guidance and the well-structured curriculum, Japanese and foreign students of the Western-style painting department were able to learn his style of art. According to the department's curriculum that Kuroda designed in 1896 (table 1), the school not only offered practical training in Western art, but it also provided classes for the theoretical study of art, such as art history and archaeology (table 2). Kuroda also made a regulation that all students had to submit a self-portrait for their graduation work and the school kept the paintings from 1903, which became a valuable asset for researching Western-style artists in the early twentieth century, especially the first Korean and Taiwanese artists.

Ko Huidong was the first Korean student to enter the Western-style painting department in 1909. In his graduate work of 1915 (fig.1.10), Ko depicted himself with a traditional Korean garment and hat, which the literati class of the Joseon dynasty used


95 Unlike Japanese students, foreign students were required to pass only the drawing test during the highly competitive entrance examination, but they would not be granted certification to be a teacher upon graduation.; Lai Jen-Yi, “Cultural Identity”, 65.

96 Since 1903, all the graduation works were bought by the school except for a few years.; Yi Taehyun, “Study of Tokyo School of Fine Arts Korean Students’ Graduation Self-Portraits”, The Bulletin of Art and Culture of Seowon University (1994), 227-268.
to wear in daily life.\(^{97}\) Given that Ko was wearing Western-style suits in most of the pictures taken in Japan and later in Korea, the Korean clothing and the hat must have been specially prepared for the self-portrait to express his national identity. It is not known whether Kuroda suggested to Ko that he should wear the specific outfit to show his nationality, as Raphaël Collin had done to Kuroda in France; however, Ko certainly meant to display Korean features particularly. Another graduation work of Ko, *Sisters* (fig.1.11) shows two Korean girls in traditional dress standing in a garden. This work shows the unique features of Local Colourism that displayed idealised national features by depicting beautiful ladies wearing traditional dress in romanticised background scenes. This painting was made in the last year of Ko’s study in Japan and showed characteristics in common with Kuroda’s paintings. Not only Kuroda, Ko’s other teacher at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Wada Eisaku 和田英作 (1874–1959) also affected his painting style.\(^{98}\) Wada studied under Kuroda and contributed to the early development of Western-style painting in Japan, and also followed the art trend that embraced Local Colour. In *Girl Reading Newspapers* (fig.1.12), he applied bright colours in natural light and depicted a scene of a girl in a traditional dress yukata lying on a Japanese mat, tatami, which conveys a strong sense of Japanese national identity. In *Sisters*, Ko certainly displayed his Japanese Local Colourist teachers’ influence and expressed his sense of national consciousness through female figures in the style of plein air and Impressionism that used to be widely circulated in Japanese art society.


\(^{98}\) “Bright Colours of Exhibition”, *Maeil Shinbo*, 2 Apr 1921.
When Ko Huidong returned to Korea in 1915, he was introduced as “the first Western-style painter” with the plate of *Sisters* in a Korean newspaper.\(^99\) The article noted that this painting was the first Western-style painting produced by a Korean painter. This article also explained basic information about Western paintings such as the different types of painting and further stated that although Western art had been well-known in Japan for decades, no Korean was interested in it. Ko became the first Korean Western-style painter and attempted to introduce to his own nationals what he had learnt in Japan. However, Ko later stated that when he went out with his sketch box for painting, people made fun of him saying he looked like a merchant, and some of his friends even said it did not seem worth studying since he paid so much money and suffered a lot in a foreign country.\(^{100}\) Korean society was still indifferent to Western art in the 1910s, which was in complete contrast to the Japanese art society that already widely accepted Western art and responded quickly to contemporary Western art trends.

For Ko, who studied under Kuroda for five years, Kuroda’s style of painting and his ideology on art was the main reference to learn about Western painting, and it became Ko’s fundamental dichotomy when establishing his ideas about art. As the first Korean Western-style artist, Ko was fully focused on the absorption of new art techniques and the style of his teacher, rather than creating his own style of painting. In 1918, Ko organised the first modern art association in Korea, the Painting and Calligraphy Association (*seohwa hyeopoe, 書畵協會*) with twelve Korean painters. They published magazines, and Ko published an essay “The Origins of Western Art”, arguing that Korea has its unique features and the special aesthetic sense of a nation that should

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\(^{100}\) Ko Huidong, “Me and the Era of Painting and Calligraphy Society”, *Shincheonji* (1954), 182.
be displayed in painting.\textsuperscript{101} He tried to introduce Western art in Korea and emphasised the importance of reflecting Korean characteristics through painting.

The association also held annual art exhibitions from 1921 until 1936, which attracted the public and critics’ attention. Art critics criticised the fact that only landscape paintings and sketches of nature were exhibited, and none of the paintings displayed the reality of people or their lives.\textsuperscript{102} The Korean painters were asked to “create new art that reflects people’s real life and their sentiments and thought”.\textsuperscript{103} Not only Ko’s Western-style paintings but also traditional paintings that mostly drew ideal landscapes or were considered apart from reality, continuously encountered criticism from art critics and the public. Korean audiences were eager for actual landscapes and people in paintings, and it became the initial idea of Korean Local Colourism that displayed the actuality of Korean people and landscapes in painting, rather than idealised national features. Korean nationals had developed nationalist sentiments under the Japanese colonial rule and were looking for indigenous Korean culture, tradition, and national identity. Since the March First Independence Movement of 1919 that resulted in the massacre of Koreans and multiple atrocities committed by Imperial Japan, Korean independence became more crucial to the Korean public. The prevalent ideology of the people needed to be manifested, and this idea began to shape the fundamental ideas of Local Colourism in Korea.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ko Huidong, "Origin of Western Painting", \textit{Seohwa hyuphuibo} 1 (1921); quoted in Hong Sunpyo, "Ko Huidong’s Creative Activities and the New Art Movement", \textit{Art History Forum} 38 (2014), 169.
\item Cho Jeongyuk, "Retrospect of Korean Art: the Place of Modern and Contemporary Art, the Exhibition of Painting and Calligraphy Society 1–9", \textit{Monthly Art Magazine Misulseuage} Vol.94 (1992), 152–156.
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Local Colourism appeared in Korean art society in the early 1920s by Ko Huidong and a few Korean artists who depicted unique national features and atmospheres in painting as a means of expressing their sense of attachment to the homeland. This art movement has been misinterpreted by some scholars that it was for Japanese audiences to show the exotic nature of the colony. However, Local Colourism was originated by native artists who care about and have affection for their nation, on the basis of the nationals’ eagerness to see their homeland as it is, with vigorous support for their country.

Ko’s *Sisters* of 1915 was the first Western-style painting introduced to Korea and showed Kuroda’s strong influence in terms of displaying beautified national characteristics. However, Local Colourism in Korea was redefined based on the national sentiments of the Korean public, and Local Colour paintings that reflected realistic Korean features began to appear extensively in the 1920s by Korean Local Colourists.

Kim Kwanho 金觀鎬 (1890–1959) was the second painter to enter the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1911, two years after Ko Huidong. Ko received attention as the first Korean artist of Western painting; however, Kim attracted even more attention because of his outstanding talent in painting. He graduated from the art school at the top of the class, and his graduation self-portrait painting (fig.1.13) showed refined skills with delicate brushwork that described the fine effects of light and shade. Another graduation painting by Kim, *Sunset*, was awarded third prize at the tenth Bunten in 1916. This news created a great sensation in Korea and Kim was praised “as a representative of Korea, he showed the genius of Korean art to the world”\(^\text{104}\). He began to gain fame as a talented artist and became the first Western-style artist to hold a solo

exhibition in Korea. His landscape paintings, such as *Landscape with Pavilion* (fig. 1.14), depicted a unique landscape of Korea with bright colours and poetic feeling. This painting shows the influence of Kuroda who stressed plein air painting infused with the colour of Impressionism. The painting contains a multi-coloured lake reflecting trees and a pavilion, with the bright colours of the mountain and trees also evoking a warm and dreamy atmosphere. Kim Kwanho organised the New Star Society (*sakseonghoe*, 朔星會) in 1925 with Kim Chanyeong 金瓚永 (1893–1960) who entered the same school one year later than him, and was greatly motivated to foster young artists. However, this society existed for only three years until 1928, and both artists stopped making Western-style paintings in the 1930s.105

The Japanese Government-General of Korea tried to eradicate Korean national and cultural identity, thereby making them loyal to the colonising authority. However, this colonial policy ironically evoked their national sentiments and made them feel proud of their own culture and national traditions.106 This popularised public ideology was shared with Western-style artists who mostly studied in Japan and came back to Korea in the late 1920s. Along with the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition (*joseon misul jeollamhoe*, 朝鮮美術展覽會) run by the Japanese Government-General from 1922, Local Colourism began to settle in Korea and progressive Korean Western-style artists were at the centre of the art trend.

Unlike Korea’s, Taiwan’s art society was able to adopt Western art and its education gradually by following the lead of Ishikawa Kinichirō, a Japanese artist who

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moved to Taiwan in 1907 and passionately introduced the new modern notion of art education to the island. He worked as a part-time art teacher at the Taiwan Governor-General’s National Language School (Taiwan zongdufu guoyu xuexiao, 臺灣總督府國語學校) until his resignation in 1916, and settled as the most representative Japanese watercolour teacher of the time. He expressed doubt about the decorative and imitative nature of Japanese painting and argued that young artists should paint actual nature, rather than copy masters’ paintings.107 His early paintings in Taiwan and his Taiwanese students’ works in the 1910s show the landscape of Taiwan based on its actual figures (fig.1.15).

During Ishikawa’s first stay in Taiwan, he inspired young Taiwanese art students, such as Liu Jintang 劉錦堂 (1894–1937), and Chen Cheng-po 陳澄波 (1895–1947), and was credited with redirecting modern art education in the colony and encouraging talented young Taiwanese artists to study at professional art schools in Japan.108 The Taiwanese students in Japan organised the Society of Red Formosa (chidaoshe, 赤島社) in 1927, which played a key role in the rise of Western-style painting in Taiwan.109 In the same year, the Taiwan Education Association under the Japanese Government-General of Taiwan organised the annual Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition (Taiwan meishu zhanlanhui, 台灣美術展覽會). The members of the Red Island Association actively engaged in the national art exhibition that had a similar system to the Joseon Fine Art

108 Marlene J. Mayo et al., War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960 (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001), 94.
Exhibition and began to establish Local Colourism of Taiwan. Taiwanese Local Colourism began from the native artists who depicted specific topics that could be uniquely seen on the island, such as distinctive scenery of Taiwan or the daily life of the indigenous peoples. Some Taiwanese art historians understood this art movement as an outcome of the colonial rule since some Japanese juries of the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition publicly put emphasis on depicting the island’s tropical landscapes with bright and rich colours.\textsuperscript{110} However, this study pays attention to the relation between Taiwanese Local Colourism and the native artists’ national identity, and analyses how the art movement began in the island.

\textsuperscript{110} Christina Sarah Wei-Szu Burke Mathison, “Identity, Modernity, and Hybridity: The Colonial Style of Taiwanese Painter Chen Cheng-po (1895-1947),” (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2013), 80.
Chapter 2. The Foundation for Local Colourism for Korea and Taiwan: Modern Art Education and the Japanese Painters

Local Colourism was the first major art movement to appear in Korean and Taiwanese modern art society during the Japanese colonial period. The particular political and cultural circumstances that the Japanese authorities brought to the colonies induced the native painters to develop Local Colourism and prompted the formation of the colonies’ art society. Since Taiwanese and Korean people were ethnically close to the coloniser and shared similar cultural heritage, the Japanese Government-General firstly brought the Japanese education system as a central pillar to instil loyalty to the Japanese Emperor Meiji 明治 (1852–1912) and to supply an adequate labour force.\textsuperscript{111} New educational policies were gradually enforced, and modern art education was introduced in the colonies. By 1910, the public education curriculum in both colonies included drawing class, and greater numbers of indigenous students had the chance to encounter Western-style painting and to learn about it.\textsuperscript{112} Furthermore, Japanese artists including Ishikawa Kinichirō, Gōbara Kotō 郷原古統 (1887–1965), and Shiotsuki Tōho 塩月桃甫 (1886–1954) contributed to the colonies’ art education at public schools.

This chapter explores the extent to which the educational policies affected Korean and Taiwanese modern art society and the development of Local Colourism: how did the two colonies react to the policies and how did colonial rule link to the

\textsuperscript{111} Leo T. S. Ching, \textit{Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation} (University of California Press, 2001), 20.

beginning of Korean and Taiwanese Local Colourism? As this is an early yet significant stage of the nations’ progress in Western-style art, which has been neglected in the studies on Local Colourism, this chapter attempts to analyse the beginning of Western art education in Korea and Taiwan in detail. It examines the modern art education that the Japanese Government-General implemented the colonies and the role of Japanese painters, which were closely related to the birth of Local Colourism. It begins with the modern art education that the Korean government offered before the colonial period, and consecutively analyses Japanese modern art education in both Korea and Taiwan, to understand its influence on native art society. My study also investigates the role of Ishikawa Kinichirō and his fellow artists in the development of the modern art societies and Local Colourism in Japan’s colonies.

2.1 Modern Art Education, as the First Step towards Local Colourism

Modern education in Korea began in the 1880s as the royal government of Joseon signed a succession of treaties with Western nations: although these were unequal treaties, Korea opened its port for trade in peaceful diplomatic ways. The Joseon government realised the necessity of Western concepts of education to respond to and prepare for the Western powers.

In 1886, the Yukyeong Public Institute (yugyeong gongwon, 育英公院 also known as the Royal English School) was established under the government’s supervision, and three American missionaries, George W. Gilmore (1858–1933), Homer B. Hulbert (1863–1949), and Dalzell A. Bunker (1853–1932) from the Union Theological

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113 Joseon government signed a treaty with the United States, the United States–Korea Treaty, in 1882, and consecutively made similar treaties with western countries, such as the United Kingdom–Korea Treaty of 1883, the Germany–Korea Treaty of 1883, the Italy–Korea Treaty of 1884, the Russia–Korea Treaty of 1884 and the France–Korea Treaty of 1886.
Seminary in New York, were hired as teachers (fig. 2.01).\footnote{Klaus Dittrich, “The Beginnings of Modern Education in Korea, 1883–1910”, Paedagogica Historica Vol.50, no.3 (2014), 270.} They not only taught their religion to the Korean people but also taught a variety of subjects, such as English, natural sciences, history and political science. Korean reformers who were eager to emulate the Japanese adoption of Western institutions organised the Enlightenment Party (\textit{gaehwapa}, 開化派) and advocated the necessity of modern education for the public. They received permission from the government to establish private educational institutions on a trial basis and attempted to introduce foreign knowledge and technical skills.\footnote{Michael J. Seth, Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press and Centre for Korean Studies, 2002), 14–15.} Foreign missionaries in Korea also founded several schools from 1886 and put efforts into introducing modern subjects (approximately 100 private primary schools were established by missionaries by 1903).\footnote{Methodist missionary, Rev. Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858–1902) established the Baejaje Academy in 1885, and Mary F. Scranton (1832–1909) was a Methodist Episcopal Church missionary and the founder of the Ewha Girls’ Academy of 1886. Presbyterian missionary, Horace Grant Underwood (1859–1916) founded the Gyeongsin School in 1886, and Annie J. Ellers (1860–1938), the first female medical missionary to Korea, founded the Jeongsin Girls’ Academy (\textit{jeongsin yeohakdang}, 貞洞女學堂) in 1887.; Yi Yoonmi, Modern Education, Textbooks and the Image of the Nation: Politics of Modernization and Nationalism in Korean Education, 1880–1910 (New York: Garland, 2000), 79.}

In 1895, King Gojong 高宗 (1852–1919) of the Joseon dynasty promulgated the “Imperial Edict on Education” that emphasised the importance of public education.\footnote{Encyclopaedia of Korean Culture, accessed 26 Nov 2020, \url{http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents_id=E0005550}} The Department of Foreign Affairs requested the Korean legation in Japan to send Japanese school textbooks to refer to for writing Korean schoolbooks, and the Editorial Bureau of Education of the Korean government hired two Japanese specialists.\footnote{Yun Geoncha, Ideology and Movement of Korean Modern Education (Seoul: Cheongsa, 1987), 114.}
Takami Kame 高見鶴 (active in Korea ca. 1894–1897?) was a correspondent for a Japanese newspaper company, Current News (jiji shimpō, 時事新報) in Korea, and Asakawa Matsuiro 麻川松次郎 (active in Korea ca.1892–1898) was a headmaster of the Public Institution (kyōritsu gakusha, 共立學舎), an educational establishment for Japanese students in Korea. They mostly assisted in translating the Japanese textbooks into Korean and Asakawa, in particular, kept translated Japanese publications at the request of the Korean government.

The “Ordinance of Primary School” and “Principles of the Rules for Teaching in Primary School” were also proclaimed in Korea in 1895 for providing a modern concept of education to children aged between eight and fifteen. Four primary schools were founded in the capital of Korea in 1895: reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, foreign languages, and drawing (dohwa, 圖畫) were on the school curriculum. This was the first time that drawing had become a subject for study, and Article 9 of “Principles of the Rules for Teaching in Primary Schools” announced details of a drawing class:

The drawing class is for training eyes and hands to be able to perceive shapes and to develop the skill of drawing them precisely: the main point of the class is to practise design and to understand the beauty of

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119 Inaba Tsugio, Education in the Late Joseon Dynasty and Japanese, trans. Hong Junki (Korea: Onnuri, 2006), 22–24.; Takami reported about the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) in Korea on 8th July 1894 and returned to Japan in 1897. Asakawa stayed in Korea since 1892 as an educator for Japanese students and had a contract with the Korea Editorial Bureau of Education in 1896 for two years.

120 Asakawa also translated the New Book of Vaccination that was published in 1898.

general shapes. The drawing class in the primary course begins with
drawing straight lines, curves, and simple shapes and occasionally
practising and drawing diverse shapes based on straight lines and
curves: students are also allowed to work on portraying simple figures
in stages. In the post-primary course, the same basic rules apply at the
beginning of drawing class, gradually introducing the portrayal of real-
life objects or drawing according to painting manuals: students are also
allowed to choose their themes and to learn mechanical systems
drawing. When teaching drawing, objects learnt in other courses or
from objects that children could see every day should be drawn and it
is also necessary to cultivate habits of cleanliness and meticulousness.

尋常科에 圖畵를 가하는 時에는 直線 曲線及 其單形으로부터 始하여
時時로 直線 曲線에 基한 諸形을 習하여 圖케 하고 漸進하는 大而
簡單한 形體를 圖게  함이 可함. 高等科에는 初에는 前項에 準하고
漸進하는 大而 諸般의 形體에 移하고 實物과 或 圖本에 就하여 圖케
하고 또 時時로 自己의 意思로써 立題케 하고 兼하여 簡單한 用器物의
圖를 敷합이 可함. 圖畵를 敷합에 他の 數科目에 敷한 物體와 兒童의
日常 目擊하는 物體 中에 就하여 圖게하고 兼하여 清潔을 好하고
精密을 尚하는 習慣을 養합을 要함.122

122 Principles of the Rules for Teaching in Primary Schools, Official Gazette of Korea, 1050 of 15
Aug 1895, accessed 17 Jan 2019,
The early drawing class in public school aimed to foster skills of depicting objects accurately. From drawing straight lines to portraying simple objects in surroundings, art education was focused on accurate representation of specific items. Interestingly, the "Principles of the Rules for Teaching in Primary School" in Korea was quite similar to Japan’s "Principles of the Rules for Teaching in Primary School" which was produced in 1891, which the Japanese government enacted based on opinions of Japanese elites who had studied in the United States and Germany. Since the Enlightenment Party led the educational reform in Korea that was derived from the Meiji Restoration of Japan, the Korean government adopted the Japanese education system that actively embraced Western-style education to build a rich and powerful country. The Korean government carried out modern education that was borrowed from Japan and accordingly, Japanese modern art education was also beginning to be introduced to Korea.

As the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 led Korea to become a protectorate of Imperial Japan, Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909) who was the first Japanese Prime Minister, became the first Japanese Resident-General of Korea in 1906. The Japanese government concentrated on primary education for "making of loyal and good subjects by instructing based on the Imperial Rescript concerning

http://nl.go.kr/nl/search/bookdetail/online.jsp?contents_id=CNTS-00049822172&topF1=title_author&kw=%E8%88%8A%E9%9F%93%E5%9C%8B%E5%AE%98%E5%A0%B1&dn=&yon=&disabled=&media=&web=&map=&music=&etc=&archive=&cip=&kolisNet=&korcis=#

education” and for “aiming at imparting common knowledge and art, special attention being paid to the engendering of national characteristics and the spread of the national language”. The Japanese authority abolished the existing “Ordinance of Primary School” of 1895 and proclaimed the “Ordinance of Common School” in August 1906, which shortened the existing six-year primary education course to four years.

Under the new ordinance, the Editorial Bureau of Education in Korea published schoolbooks, and the first Drawing Manual (dohwa imbon, 圖畵臨本) (fig. 2.02) for Common School was circulated from 1907. This drawing book was a set of four volumes and continuously published in the following years. About six thousand copies were printed in the following year and more than eighteen thousand copies were circulated in 1909 in public schools. This drawing book introduced working from straight-line figures, basic objects in perspective to animal and human figures in simple brush lines, aiming to train students by showing the painting manuals. It only suggested drawing images of black brush lines in Western perspectives and specific proportions; Western painting media such as oil paint, watercolour, or chalk pastel were not yet introduced to students during the class. The Drawing Manual of Korea and the Japanese Brush Painting Manual (mōhitsuga tehon, 毛筆畫手本) of 1904 (fig. 2.03) had a lot in common in subjects and styles. Although the Korean drawing book mostly took subjects from the Japanese one, it also modified some drawings and reflected their national characteristics: for example, the Drawing Manual inserted a drawing of a Korean boy

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wearing traditional Korean clothes with a brush and a book in his hand, which was a
typical image of Korean student, instead of using a Japanese figure (see figs. 2.02 and
2.03): as the Editorial Bureau of Education in Korea declared, the purpose of carrying
out the new education system was not only to learn foreign affairs but also to study
Korean history, culture and traditional ethics to form a strong foundation for the
nation. Although the Korean government applied Japanese educational regulations
and schoolbooks to some degree, they also published their own schoolbooks and
attempted to inspire a patriotic spirit in the students.

As Japan fully annexed Korea under the terms of the Japan–Korea Treaty in
1910, the coloniser effectively expanded its authority in the political, economic and
socio-cultural state of Korea. Education was also a priority for the new ruler, thus Japan
organised a Committee of Joseon Education soon after the occupation to find effective
measures to cultivate the character of Koreans to be Japanese subjects and promulgate
the Japanese language. Furthermore, the colonial government scuppered the
establishment of new private schools and foreign-run mission schools. “The First
Ordinance of Joseon Education” was enacted in August 1911, and the drawing class

128 “Our children are the sincerity of this country. They faithfully and diligently receive education,
develop talent and skill, and learn foreign countries’ situations. We wish the foundation of this
country could be firm as a rock and a great mountain. (우리 몛 어린이들은 국가의 實心으로,
교육하심을 몸받아 恪勤하고 면려하여, 材器 속성하고 각국의 形勢를 暗練하여, 并驅
자주하여 야국의 기초를 태산과 반석같이 조치하기를 날로 바라노이다.); Editorial Bureau of
Education, Preface of New Primary Education 新訂尋常小學序, Feb 1896.
129 Committee of Joseon Education had a meeting on 11 October and 21 December 1910 and
deliberated on the matters of education in their colony; Kang Myoungsook, “A Historical Study
on the Enactment of the First Joseon Educational Ordinance in the Japanese Colonial Period”,
130 Bruno Della Chiesa et al. (Eds.), Educational Research, and Innovation Languages in a Global
became mandatory in both Common School and Higher Common School. The regulation of the drawing class was changed:

The main point of drawing is to understand general shapes and acquire the skill of drawing them precisely, also to cultivate a sense of beauty. In drawing class, children should be taught freehand drawing of familiar everyday objects as well as the objects that they learn in the school curriculum. Simple geometric drawing should also be instructed. When teaching drawing, copying masterworks, life drawing, and pattern design should be properly taught together.

This new regulation specified two drawing categories, freehand drawing and geometric drawing, and specified three painting genres, copying masterworks, life drawing, and pattern design. Since the word *shasei* (sketching from life) in Japan was used for

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the genre of bird-and-flower, landscape, and figure paintings, it is plausible that art education beyond a practical purpose was also provided.133

From the “Ordinance of Primary School” in 1895 declared by the Korean government to the Japanese Government-General’s “The First Ordinance of Joseon Education” that lasted until 1921, Japanese modern art education was gradually implemented in Korea: the drawing class was introduced along with other practical subjects, such as arithmetic and science, to build up national power by assimilating Western knowledge and culture. This early modern art education was focused on portraying subjects with accuracy; however, later by 1909, it embraced the intention of “cultivating the sense of beauty” and allowed freehand drawing. Therefore, art education in the 1910s offered a wider scope of drawing that pursued the sense of beauty by sketching landscapes and figures, which marked an initial step for modern art education in Korea. Taiwan, the nation that was colonised by Japan in 1895, went through similar phases of art education to those of Korea.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki signed between the Empire of Japan and the Qing Empire on 17 April 1895 marked the ending of the First Sino-Japanese War, solidified Japan’s status as victor and presented its great power in East Asia. China ceded the full sovereignty of Taiwan to Japan in perpetuity, therefore, the supreme authority over Taiwan was transferred from one foreign occupier to another, and Taiwan became the first colony of Japan for the next five decades.

Isawa Shūjī 伊澤修二 (1851–1917), the first Chief of the Educational Bureau in Taiwan, advocated assimilating Taiwan into Japan and attempted to duplicate all the functions of the Japanese education system within the colony. Isawa believed that the essence of colonial education was in teaching the Japanese language to Taiwanese people and attempted to establish public institutes for providing Japanese language education for the natives. Thus, the Government-General of Taiwan National Language School (taiwan zongdufu guoyu xuexiao, 臺灣總督府國語學校) (fig. 2.04) and its affiliated primary school were founded in 1896, and the “Ordinance of Government-General of Taiwan National Language School” was enacted in the same year. In the following year, detailed principles for the affiliated primary schools were announced including instituting the drawing class:

The drawing class is for training eyes and hands to be able to perceive shapes and develop the skill of drawing them precisely: the substance of the class is to enhance creativity and identify the beauty of shapes. The lower grades start from straight lines, curves, and simple shapes, the primary stage is based on a straight line and curve, which allows students to work on portraying other simple figures. It then proceeds to portray physical or familiar objects around; the subjects should be taken from objects learned in other courses or from objects that could be seen every day, to cultivate students’ preference for immaculateness and admiration for meticulousness as habits.

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This instruction is almost identical to the Korean article “Principles of the Rules for Teaching in Primary Schools” of 1895, which the Korean government copied from that of Japan. This Japanised modern art education method was carried out in Korea in 1895 by the government’s aspiration to modernisation, whereas in Taiwan, the colonial power unilaterally implemented the educational policies to train Taiwanese students. The drawing class aimed to support practical skills to supply skilled manpower for the modernisation of colonial society. This initial level of modern art class emphasised acquiring the skills of being neat and clean in drawing before the students were to learn complex and advanced drawing; it did not move forward to encourage students to develop their artistic abilities but stayed rooted in practical purpose.

The Japanese Government-General promulgated the “Ordinance of Taiwan Public School” in 1898, to set up a stable and permanent type of primary school instead of the extant language institutes. The drawing class first appeared in Taiwanese primary education for children aged between eight and fourteen in 1907 as an optional course but became a mandatory course in 1912, therefore, greater numbers of Taiwanese students began to receive modern art education. The drawing class was retitled Craft and Drawing Class (shougongji tuhua, 手工及圖畫), aiming to train Taiwanese students to make simple items with various materials and to acquire drawing or design skills. For the first and second-year students, only simple crafting, using paper, thread, fabric, wood, and metal to make ‘simple and proper’ items, was taught for two hours per week. From the third to sixth grades, the representation was added to the teaching content for three to four hours: copying masterworks, life drawing, and pattern design were instructed during the class. These specifics for the drawing class in Taiwan were also closely related to the First Ordinance of Joseon Education of 1911 that the Japanese Government-General of Korea had issued. Taiwanese students, as well as Korean students of the time, could have opportunities to receive basic Western modern art education in the early twentieth century under the influence of Japanese education policies.

Korea and Taiwan began to carry out a new modern art education and went through similar steps under the Japanese influence. In Korea, the Enlightenment Party vigorously pushed policies towards Western modernisation, which Japan had already

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launched in the 1850s. The Korean government not only sent talented students to foreign countries but also adopted Japan’s modern school system to learn advanced science and technologies from the West. The new policies for primary education that the Korean government enforced in 1895 were modelled on Japanese educational policies, therefore, most education methods conducted in Korea were also closely related to those of Japan. Modern art education was introduced along with other subjects with the practical purpose of acquiring Western technologies and knowledge; accordingly, art education was focused on developing basic skills for general drawing and design. As Imperial Japan obtained control over Korea in 1905, the Japanese Resident-General of Korea promulgated the “Ordinance of Common School” to educate Korean people in the Japanese language and provide vocational training. The core principle of education in Korea was to make people become subjects of the Japanese emperor, consequently, Japanese language and ethics studies formed a significant part of the school curriculum. The Japanese authorities instituted amended educational policies depending on the colony’s state, and art education also showed gradual changes: freehand drawing, landscape and figure paintings were taught in secondary schools from 1909, which allowed space for students to draw and express what they saw under teachers’ supervision.

This gradual process in Korea’s modern art education appeared in Taiwan around the same period, as the Japanese Government-General of Taiwan implanted Japan’s modern education system from 1895. The art education for the native students did not exceed the scope of practical and industrial purposes in the beginning, but later in the 1910s, the drawing class began to embrace a broader range of content and allowed students more choices during the course. Japan’s two biggest colonies, Korea and Taiwan faced a new phase of art education by 1910 that allowed drawing and
sketching of broad subjects that were different from previous art education that mainly taught design and imitating the painting manual. Still, the drawing class emphasised developing practical drawing skills; however, in a few exceptional cases, some advanced art education was carried out by Japanese art teachers in the colonies. Ishikawa Kinichirō was the most renowned art teacher in Taiwan who offered wider options for students and fostered the first generation of Western-style artists in Taiwan. While most teachers taught basic skills of drawing with the idea of ‘making the colonised useful to the Japanese emperor’, Ishikawa played an important role in introducing Western-style painting. The early art education and the related policies carried out by the colonial government was the first step to Local Colourism as they prepared the ground for the art movement. Based on the environment that was formulated by art education, the proactive native artists and Japanese art teachers were the ones who directly initiated and established Local Colourism in Korea and Taiwan.

2.2 The Differing Role of Japanese Artists in the Colonies’ Modern Art Society

The Japanese Government-General of Taiwan first established National Language Schools to provide Japanese language education to the natives. Several groups of Japanese teacher trainees were brought in a steady flow from Tokyo to supply a sufficient number of teaching staff in Taiwan, and they were dispatched to the Japanese language institutes after about ten weeks’ preparation. Most of them worked in National Language Schools to educate Japanese people in Taiwan and to train Taiwanese to be future Japanese language teachers. With an increasing number of the

young islanders entering the schools, not only the alumni of language schools who received the proper training to be a teacher, but also Taiwanese scholars who used to teach in traditional private schools were hired, and Japanese painters in Taiwan such as Ishikawa Kinichirō, were hired to lead a drawing class.\textsuperscript{140}

Ishikawa was a member of the Meiji Art Society that many modern Japanese painters joined in Japan, and had a profound knowledge of Western painting: he translated \textit{The Art of Landscape Painting in Oil Colour} (1906) by Sir Alfred East (1844–1913), an English watercolour painter who had visited Japan in 1899 and published it as series of articles.\textsuperscript{141} Ishikawa taught himself watercolour painting in Japan during his tenure at the Printing Department of the Ministry of Treasury, and his status as a watercolourist gradually grew after his works were exhibited at the Meiji Art Exhibition.\textsuperscript{142}

Ishikawa came to Taiwan in 1907 with the Imperial Japanese Army and was ordered to enter the central mountain range and draw topological maps of aborigines’ territories so that the forest resources could be exploited: he was one of the early Japanese artists who came to Taiwan during the colonial era.\textsuperscript{143} During his sojourn in Taiwan, the art class became mandatory in public schools and Ishikawa took a part-time

\textsuperscript{140}The number of traditional Chinese private schools that mostly taught Chinese classics, reading, calligraphy and composition was significantly reduced under intense pressure from the Government-General of Taiwan. The island’s regional administrations were ordered to closely supervise the traditional private schools’ affairs in November 1898 and were entitled to suspend or dissolve the schools; Ibid,285.


\textsuperscript{142}Lin Mun-Yi ed., \textit{Yōga: Modern Western Painting of Japan} (Museum of National Taipei University of Education, 2017), 200.

teaching position at the Taiwan Governor-General’s National Language School from 1907 and at the Taipei Middle School (taipei zhongxuexiao, 臺北中學校) in 1909.\textsuperscript{144}

The drawing class in public schools mostly ranged over the basic skills of drawing and introductory knowledge for practical and industrial painting, but Ishikawa further introduced watercolour paintings of plein-air and Impressionism.\textsuperscript{145} As the drawing class expanded its range to allow students’ choices of drawing subjects in the 1910s, not only Ishikawa, but also other Japanese art teachers including Shiotsuki Tōho, Gōhara Kotō, and Kinoshita Seigai 木下靜涯 (1889–1988) introduced Western and Japanese painting to the class.\textsuperscript{146} Furthermore, their extracurricular activities, such as holding art exhibitions (fig. 2.05) and publishing articles about paintings, were influential for the first generation of Taiwanese painters under colonial rule, before many went for further study in Japan and Europe.

Ishikawa formed the Western art study group, the Purple Waves Society (shilankai, 紫瀾會) in 1908, taking its members on outdoor painting exhibitions, and holding art exhibitions of their works.\textsuperscript{147} He also invited Japanese watercolourists such as Miyake Kokki 三宅克己 (1874-1954) and Makino Katsuji 牧野克次 (1864–1942) to hold joint exhibitions in Taiwan. Also, paintings were brought from Japan by his

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\textsuperscript{144} Only about five per cent of school-age Taiwanese children enrolled in common school (32,281 students) in 1906 and more than thirty-five per cent of students left the school before they finished the course.; More details about student registration are available; Tsurumi, Japanese Colonial Education, 19&63.

\textsuperscript{145} Yen Chuan-ying, "Colonial Taiwan", 248.

\textsuperscript{146} Shiotsuki Tōho (1921–1945 in Taiwan); After he graduated from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, he settled in Taipei as a teacher of art at Taipei First Middle School and Taiwan Governor-General’s High School. Gōhara Kotō 郷原古統 (1919–1936 in Taiwan) taught at Taichung Middle School, Taipei Third Girls’ High School, Taipei Second Middle School.

\textsuperscript{147} Taiwan Nichinichi Shinbo, 23 Apr 1908; quoted in Yang Meng-che, Development of Modern Taiwanese Art under the Japanese Occupation (Taipei: Wunan Publishing, 2013), 103.
initiative, which increased the popularity of watercolour painting in Taiwan and inspired Taiwanese people.\textsuperscript{148} He also published several articles about paintings and expressed his keen interest in Taiwanese landscapes. In *Watercolour painting and Taiwan's landscape* of 1908, he stated:

Some twelve years after the occupation, most Japanese still have a very vague idea of Taiwan. I wish I could at least let these unfortunate folks know a little bit about the Taiwan landscape which is to be rated Japan’s No. 1. Perhaps people may regard my view of Taiwan as Japan’s No. 1 landscape to be an overstatement, but I deeply believe so and I am sure my friends and colleagues in Tokyo would come to the same opinion if they should have the chance to see the landscape here. If we compare Taipei with any Japanese city, Kyoto seems to bear the closest resemblance. … However, Taipei’s colours appear more beautiful, with red roofs, orange walls, and green bamboos, contrasting strongly against the viridescent tree leaves. Can we imagine such serene and solemn scenery of sublimity in Japan? Under the blue sky, Taiwan shines even more brightly.\textsuperscript{149}

Ishikawa expressed his great affection for the nature of Taiwan and admired its colours greatly. He initially moved to Taiwan as a part of the Japanese Army and presented his

\textsuperscript{148} Tsai Chia-chiu, "Japanese Watercolours and the Flourishing of Watercolour Painting in Taiwan during Japanese Rule", in *Yōga: Modern Western Painting of Japan* (Museum of National Taipei University of Education, 2017), 195.

\textsuperscript{149} Ishikawa Kinichirō, "Watercolour Painting and Taiwan Landscape", *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō*, 23 Jan 1908; quoted in Liao Ping-hui, *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule*, 6–7.
sketches and watercolour paintings that recorded the geography of aboriginal areas as visual reports of Taiwan.\textsuperscript{150} Ishikawa began to take a keen interest in Taiwan’s nature as he explored it personally, and his early paintings in Taiwan showed the landscape of the island with a great diversity of colours based on its features.

Ishikawa portrayed Snow Mountain (\textit{xueshan}, 雪山; also known as \textit{tsugitaka yama} 次高山) in Taichung with watercolours (fig. 2.06). In the painting, he depicted the grand mountain that radiates different colours depending on distance and latitude variation, under the bright blue sky with strong sunlight. He used semi-transparent watercolours to capture the reflected light in the mountain and built layers of colours to express the depth of the landscape.\textsuperscript{151} The subtle strokes of faded yellow and green colours spreading from underneath the mountain to the foreground showed that the season of the painting was close to winter. Ishikawa often took the Taiwanese landscape as a theme of his watercolour painting and represented it in a naturalistic manner.

Ishikawa not only continued to paint watercolour landscapes but was also devoted to teaching the native students as an art teacher. The first generation of Taiwanese Western-style painters, such as Chen Cheng-po 陳澄波 (1895–1947), Ni Jianghuai 倪蔣懷 (1894–1943) and Liao Jichun 廖繼春 (1902–1976), received initial training in modern painting under Ishikawa. He became the most representative Japanese watercolour teacher of the time and played an instrumental role in introducing the new concept of outdoor painting to Taiwan and prompted his students and other Taiwanese artists to acknowledge their homeland as a theme for painting. It

\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō}, 13 Oct 1929; quoted in Yūko Kikuchi, \textit{Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan} (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007), 42.

\textsuperscript{151} Snow Mountain (\textit{xueshan}, 雪山) gained a new name, Tsugitaka Mountain (次高山) during the Japanese colonial period, which literally means “Second Highest Mountain”.

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was the focal role of Ishikawa that called attention to Local Colour of Taiwan among Taiwanese modern painters by initiating the idea of describing their motherland. He only triggered the simple idea, but as it circulated extensively among the native artists, Local Colourism became a major art trend in the 1920s as the Taiwanese artists not only followed the idea but also actively expanded and developed their ideas and subjects regarding Taiwanese Local Colour.

In 1900, only about two per cent of the Taiwanese school-age population was enrolled in common schools, but the percentage increased to twenty-five per cent by 1920, and growing numbers of Taiwanese students received modern art education. Accordingly, modern art became familiar to Taiwanese people, and local artists of similar mind organised several modern art groups, such as the Seven Star Painting Society (chixinghuatuan, 七星畫壇), the Taiwan Watercolour Society (taiwan shuicai huhui, 臺灣水彩畫會), and the Society of Red Formosa. They often depicted their homeland based on their ideas of the time, and those paintings that reflected artists’ sense of national identity became the origins of Local Colourism in Taiwan. Along with the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition of 1927 that exhibited and promoted their paintings extensively, Taiwanese art society became vibrant with the native artists’ artworks and Local Colourism featured prominently in the exhibition.

While Japanese artists and the colonial policies proved a crucial influence in the modern art society of Taiwan, their impact on Korean art society was not as significant until the 1920s. Along with the Korean government’s introduction of the modern education system in 1895, Japanese teachers were invited to assist in establishing the educational

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structure. In 1906, Kojima Genzaburō 児島元三郎 (active in Korea ca. 1900–hi1920s), a graduate of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, led a drawing class at Hanseong High School (gwallip hanseong godeung hakgyo, 官立漢城高等學校). Unfortunately, there is no trace of his works nor his achievements in art education in Korea. It was assumed that art education of those days in Korea was only for practical purposes, Kojima could have made a minor impact on introducing Western art to the native students. Yamamoto Baigai 山本梅涯 (1852–1928) set up the first Western-style painting studio, the Association of Studying Western Painting (yanghwa sokseuphoe, 洋畵速習會) in 1911 to teach Western-style painting to Koreans but this association was soon discontinued due to a lack of students. There are not many records of him either; however, two paintings that he presented at the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition of 1922 were passed down as black-and-white prints in the catalogue. His two oil paintings, Spring of Koryo and Herbs and Buds (fig. 2.07) depict steep mountains which show an impression of Mountain Kumgang (also known as Diamond Mountains) that had been one of the most inspirational and popular themes for Korean artists. In both paintings, mountains reach to the skies and clouds and fog create empty space, which is more common to see in traditional painting than Western painting: as his colleague artist, Hiyoshi Mamoru 日吉守 (1885–?) recalled, “the painting style of Yamamoto was based on the traditional painting”. Hiyoshi also mentioned that Yamamoto’s teaching method was mainly about copying great artists’ works, and he hardly used any models for

153 Daehan Maeil Shinbo, 8 Sep 1906.
154 Maeil Shinbo, 20 Jan 1911.
painting. Although Yamamoto's art studio has importance as the first Western-style art institute in Korea, considering his painting styles and his teaching methods, he did not have a major influence on Korean modern art society.

In Korea during the 1910s, the impact that the Japanese artists and art teachers created was not as great as it was in Taiwan. The first Japanese art teacher who was known for initiating Korean students into Western-style paintings was Yamada Shinichi 山田新一 (1899–1991) who was a graduate of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Yamada moved to Korea in 1923 and soon took the art teacher position at Kyeongseong Second High School (gyeongseong jei godeung botong hakgyo, 京城第二高等普通學校) until 1927. Satō Kunio 佐藤九二男 (1897–1945) took over Yamada's position and fostered the second generation of Korean Western-style artists, such as Yoo Youngkook 劉永國 (1916–2002), Jang Wookjin 張旭鎭 (1917–1990) and Yi Daewon 李大源 (1921–2005). Before the second generation Western-style painters who studied under the Japanese teachers and actively showed themselves in public during the 1930s, the first generation studied Western-style painting in Japan itself.

The first Korean Western-style painter, Ko Huidong entered the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1909, and two more students, Kim Kwanho 金觀鎬 (1890–1959) and Kim Chanyoung 金秉騏 (1893–1960) consecutively entered the same art school in 1911 and 1912: these three painters did not receive any art education directly from Japanese art teachers in Korea. Ko Huidong recalled his first encounter with Western painting in 1899 at the governmental Hanseong French Language School (hanseong beobeo hakgyo, 漢城法語學校). As Korea signed a commercial treaty with France in 1886, the French

\[157\] Ibid.
school was established in 1895 in Seoul and Ko studied in this school from 1899.\(^\text{158}\) Not only the French Language School, but also several schools for foreign languages such as the Hanseong English Language School (\textit{hanseong yeongeoh hakgyo}, 漢城英語學校) of 1894, the Russian School (\textit{hanseong aeo hakgyo}, 漢城俄語學校) of 1896, the Chinese School (\textit{gwallip haneo hakgyo}, 官立漢語學校) of 1897, and the German School (\textit{hanseong deogeo hakgyo}, 漢城德語學校) of 1898, were established consecutively and taught Korean students aged from fifteen up to twenty.\(^\text{159}\)

These foreign language schools did not include art classes in the curriculum, but the French language teacher, Emile Martel (1874–?) asked his friend, Leopold Rémion, who was a French potter invited to Korea to make royal pottery, to draw a portrait of him.\(^\text{160}\) Ko was attracted by this painting and began to have an interest in Western-style painting. Meanwhile, he was working in the Ministry of the Royal Household (\textit{gungnaebu}, 宮內府) as an interpreter for the Korean government, and taking traditional-style painting lessons from the renowned court painters, Anh Jungshik 安中植, (1861–1919) and Jo Seokjin 趙錫晉 (1853–1920).\(^\text{161}\) However, the typical traditional art training system of copying Chinese artists’ masterpieces that did not allow artists’ creativity made him lose interest in it. Ko continuously kept his interest in

\(^{158}\) The Governmental French Language School shut down in 1911 by the Japanese colonial rule that foreign languages are not allowed to be taught except English and Japanese; Yi Gwangsook, “A study on French Language School of the Korean Empire”, \textit{Language Research} Vol.48 (2012), 182.
\(^{159}\) The first regulation for Foreign Language School, Control of Foreign Language School 外國語學校管制 was enacted in 1895. The Korean government established the Ordinance of Foreign Language School in 1906 and consolidated all the language schools to Hanseong Foreign Language School and taught male students 12-years-old or over.
\(^{160}\) Kim Yunhwa, “A Study on the Aspects of Modern Ceramics regarding with Art Nouveau of Europe and Korea”, \textit{Korea Society of Design Trend} Vol.23 (2009), 326–327.
Western-style painting and in 1909, the Ministry of the Royal Household ordered him to go to Japan for art research. Therefore, he entered a preparation course for the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in the same year and began to learn from Kuroda Seiki until his graduation in 1915. Kim Kwanho and Kim Chanyoung moved to Japan to study industry and law but later changed their major to Western-style painting at the same school as Ko: the painter was considered in a low social position in Korea, therefore Kim Kwanho and Kim Chanyoung who belonged to the upper class chose to study well-respected field in the beginning, but later changed their mind to study fine art. These first-generation Western-style painters actively engaged in art education, organised artists’ groups and held art exhibitions in Korea during the 1910s and the following decade.

In the meantime, most Japanese artists in Korea established their own communities with Japanese settlers and sought to maintain a strict Japanese style to keep their national identity. The two different nationalities of Korea and Japan (almost conflicting identities given the political situation) created their own domain, therefore, Japanese and Korean artists rarely interacted with each other. Amakusa Shinrai 天草神来 (1871–1917), a former assistant professor at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, moved to Korea in 1902 and opened the earliest Japanese traditional art studio and organised the Joseon Art Association (Joseon misul hyeopoe, 朝鮮美術協會) with other Japanese painters in 1911. Shimizu Dōun 清水東雲 (1868–1929) also opened his atelier in 1908 and only accepted Japanese students. Although Koreans and

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Japanese artists coexisted in the territory of colonised Korea, the conflicting ideas of nationalism of Korean and assumed Japanese supremacy did not promote or create a positive background for mutual interchange in art. It is interesting that the Japanese immigrants’ experience in Korea was quite different from those in Taiwan which also underwent a colonial occupation by Japan.

The Taiwanese under the Japanese colonial rule was said to have retained a fairly positive image of the Japanese, unlike the Koreans who opposed the occupation tenaciously. As the Japanese troops ruthlessly suppressed Taiwanese resistance at the beginning of the colonial period, there were some ambivalent sentiments towards the colonisers during the fifty years of the Japanese occupation. Taiwan had transformed itself through modernisation and entered the path of capitalist development, which has advanced so far ahead of Chinese society that was repeatedly under conditions of political instability and social stagnation. A great number of Taiwanese intellectuals of the period often used the Japanese as a means to acquire skills and knowledge for modernisation, and Japanese culture and settlers were stably merged into the colony. On the other hand, most Koreans passively resisted the colonial authorities constantly: a considerable number of Koreans assisted the colonial regime and collaborated with the Japanese Government-General, but most antagonised colonial people continued the independence movement to keep their national identity. Countless independence movement groups were organised in Korea and

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165 Tsurumi “Colonial Education”, 310.
166 Ching, Becoming "Japanese", 71.
167 Liao Ping-hui, Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 5.
168 The Five Traitors of Eulsa Year; Yi Wanyong 李完用 (1858–1926), the Minister of Education; Yi Geuntaek 李根澤 (1865–1919), the Minister of Army; Yi Jiyong 李址鎔 (1870–1928), the Minister of Domestic Affairs; Park Jesun 朴齊純 (1858–1916), the Minister of Foreign Affairs;
abroad, also the nationalist movements continued during the colonial period.\textsuperscript{169} In its history of five thousand years, Korea had defended the country against the neighbouring nations' repeated invasions and established a strong national identity even more exclusive than that of the East Asian countries.\textsuperscript{170} Accordingly, most native Koreans were bitter toward colonial rule and harboured intense hostility to the colonisers in their country. Therefore, in contrast to the Japanese artists in Taiwan, those in Korea and the native painters had a great barrier between them due to the conflicting ideas of nationalism and failure to create a common ground in art. Furthermore, most Koreans strongly resisted sending their children to the primary schools established by the Japanese, and instead enrolled them in the traditional educational institution (\textit{seodang, 書堂}): the number of the traditional institutions increased to 24,294 in 1917, while the total number of public primary schools was 428 (the traditional institutions outnumbered the primary school until 1942 in Korea).\textsuperscript{171} Such a strong sense of national identity that Korean people had during the colonial period was expressed through diverse methods: the early Korean Western-style artists also displayed their national identity and affections towards homeland, which became a foundation of Local Colourism in Korean art society in the 1920s.

\textsuperscript{169} Many independence movement groups such as the Korean Independence Military of 1912, the Korean Independence Group of 1913, the Korean Independence Military Government of 1914, were organised by Korean politicians and commoners in Korea and abroad, and the March 1st Movement in 1919, June 10th Movement in 1926, the Gwangju Student Independence Movement in 1929, etc. the nationalist movements arose consecutively.

\textsuperscript{170} Norman Vasu et al., \textit{Nations, National Narratives and Communities in the Asia-Pacific} (Routledge, 2013), 146.

From the 1910s, Japanese artists and teachers in Taiwan introduced new concepts of art, art education, and new training methods widely to Taiwanese society and it encouraged the advent of a new generation of Taiwanese Western-style painters.\footnote{Li-Yan Wang and Ann Kuo, “Glocalization: Art Education in Taiwan”, \textit{The International Journal of Arts Education} Vol.8, no.1 (2010), 127.} The earliest Western-style painters’ group, the Seven Star Painting Society was established by Ishikawa Kinichirō’s seven students in 1926, and among the members, Chen Cheng-po, Chen Zhiqi 陳植棋 (1906–1931), and Chen Chengfan 陳承藩 (1913–1987) entered the Tokyo School of Fine Arts.\footnote{Members of the Seven Star Painting Society; Ni Chianghuai 倪蔣懷 (1894-1943), Chen Cheng-po 陳澄波 (1895–1947), Chen Zhiqi 陳植棋 (1906–1931), Chen Yingsheng 陳英聲 (?–?), Chen Chengfan 陳承藩 (1913–1987), Chen Yinyong 陳銀用 (?–?) and Lan Yinding 藍蔭鼎 (1903–1979); Li Song-tai, “A Brief Account of the Stylistic Changes of Chen Cheng-po’s Art” in \textit{Catalogue of Chen Cheng-po Centennial Memorial Exhibition} (Chayi Cultural Centre, 1994), 24.} Chen Zhiqi, one of the successful students of Ishikawa, had a keen interest in landscape painting and left a series of landscapes of his hometown, such as \textit{Landscape of Taiwan} (fig. 2.08) that was exhibited at the ninth Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy (\textit{teikoku bijutsuin tenrankai, 帝国美術院展覧会; 1919–1934}).\footnote{Although Chen Zhiqi passed away when he was only 26, his five landscape paintings of Taiwan were selected at the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition and the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy in Japan.; Rao Zuxian, “The Fusion of Nature and Humanities: Danshui Scenery under the Artist’s Brush from the Collection”, \textit{The Archives of Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica}, accessed 17 Mar 2021, https://archives.ith.sinica.edu.tw/collections_con.php?no=230} He portrayed outdoor scenes of Taiwan with bright colours and light brushwork, which conveyed an impression of watercolour painting, and was reminiscent of Ishikawa’s work. Ishikawa was the most influential art educator and a mentor to numerous Taiwanese artists who studied Western-style painting. His contribution to the development of Taiwanese modern art, especially watercolour painting, was significant: due to his active engagement in the Taiwanese modern art
society, his Taiwanese students were able to establish a distinctive status in watercolour painting, across East and Southeast Asian art.

This chapter has explored the art education and the Japanese art teachers in the colonies to investigate its connection to Local Colourism, which has been overlooked in previous studies on the topic. The modern education that the Japanese Government-General provided in Taiwan and Korea was to unite the entire population psychologically and instil loyalty to the state in each of its members. The almost identical educational environment was offered to the colonies but as the natives adopted a different standpoint on the new circumstances enforced by the Japanese, the Taiwanese and Korean societies created disparate atmospheres. The modern school system successfully put down roots in Taiwan while the colonial government’s public schools were rejected in Korean society. Japanese artists in Taiwan were closer to the native students and passed on skills and knowledge of modern art directly during the drawing class at schools; furthermore, they actively taught Western-style paintings for extracurricular activities and organised art exhibitions from the 1910s. Contrarily, in Korea, Japanese settlers and the locals were not able to socialise with each other, therefore, Western-style painting and its education that the Japanese artists brought to the colony failed to create a great effect as they did in Taiwan, but the early Korean Western-style artists who had studied in Japan played the role in their homeland. Such differences between the colonies were also closely related to their national identity and nationalism, which had been accumulated through different histories.

This chapter clarifies the role of art education and Japanese teachers during the early colonial time: they laid the foundation of the art movement in Korea and Taiwan,

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175 Tsurumi, Japanese Colonial Education, 212.
yet the native artists’ national identity and their ideas in painting led to the actual beginning of Local Colourism. This first generation of Western-style painters of Taiwan and Korea, who had a quite different background in learning painting, both led to Local Colourism that had a strong connection with the sense of national identity. Although Local Colourists of both nations had a different educational environment in art and different social conditions during the colonial time, they showed a sense of attachment to their homeland through their paintings and established a major art trend in Korean and Taiwanese art society in the early twentieth century.
Chapter 3. A Sense of National Identity in Local Colourism of 1920s Korea

From the early twentieth century, Western art began to be instituted in the Japanese colonies throughout the Japanese empire and showed its influence over the native art societies. The Korean art students who received art education in Japan by the 1910s conveyed the techniques and ideas of Western art to their homeland and also introduced visual and textual information of modern art to Korea. The new art trend from the West brought a considerable change in traditional ink painting techniques; however, the purpose of this chapter is not to explore such technical changes but to investigate the ideologies of the artists and how they presented them in their artworks and writings under Japanese colonialism.

As this dissertation proposes a new angle to Local Colourism that connotes artists’ ideas and emotions regarding the sense of national identity, this chapter carefully re-evaluates the Local Colourism of Korea, emphasising individual artists’ endeavours to establish the art trend through their own visual language. With Ko Huidong as a central figure, Korean artists of the 1920s who lived in the age of political chaos and experienced the encountering moment of tradition and Western art are analysed minutely. This chapter asks a fundamental question of why the Korean artists adopted national identity in their paintings and investigates how they expressed their sense of nationhood.

Along with the new public art exhibition organised by the Japanese Government-General from 1922 to 1944, and the development of mass media of the 1920s, Korean artists not only actively participated in the exhibition but also published numerous critiques and articles. Korean art society became vitalised and art critics and audiences
were also actively engaged in the art society: they required a new style of art that applied intriguing Western-style painting techniques and at the same time reflected their interest and ideas of the time. The artists also attempted to develop an original style of art that could satisfy their own interest and draw attention from Korean nationals, which was the beginning of Local Colourism in Korea.

3.1 Establishing a Foundation for Local Colourism in Korea

Article 1. His Majesty the Emperor of Korea makes the complete and permanent cession to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea.

Article 2. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan accepts the cession mentioned in the preceding article and consents to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan.

The Japanese Government-General carried out major colonial policies since the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910: Terauchi Masatake 寺内正毅 (1852–1919), the first Japanese Governor-General of Korea and Yi Wanyong 李完用 (1858–1926), a pro-Japanese minister of Joseon signed the treaty when the Korean Emperor refused to sign. The official name of Korea, ‘the Great Korean Empire’ that was proclaimed in 1897 by Emperor Gojong was renamed ‘Joseon’ in the same year by the Japanese military government, and they initiated a policy of forced assimilation designed to Japanise the entire Korean population. They began to replace local culture and political institutions and implanted the Westernised Japanese cultures into the subordinated nation. Furthermore, Japanese authorities in Korea sought to enforce educational policies that were designed to turn Koreans into well-assimilated subjects of the Japanese emperor: education was viewed as the main instrument to transform Korean people into Imperial citizens.

While art education in Korea was not able to encourage native students to learn Western-style painting due to the shortage of proper books and materials, coupled with teachers’ lack of basic knowledge about art, Korean students who studied painting in Japan played a crucial role in establishing Korean modern art society, particularly in Korean Local Colourism. As Ko Huidong decided to study Western-style painting at the Tokyo School of Arts in 1909, Ko became the first Korean artist to receive formal education in art, and his initial idea to establish a distinctive Korean art formed an

essential foundation for Local Colourism. He stated that the first thing he learnt in Japan was how to sketch the effect of light on plaster figures, and trained his eyes to detect the curve of objects, the relations of light and shade, and the instant changes of shapes. After he learnt the basics of sketching for a couple of months, Ko acquired the plein-air style that Kuroda brought to Japanese from France, and many of his paintings, both traditional and Western-style took on the style of plein air, depicting the appearance of outdoor settings.

Ko Huidong’s style is distinctive in Washing Clothes at Clear Stream (fig. 3.01) of 1915, one of his earliest traditional ink paintings. He combined traditional painting techniques with the idea of plein air painting that he developed in Japan and laid the groundwork for Korean Local Colourism. In the painting, a middle-aged couple wearing traditional clothing are washing clothes by a stream in spring. He applied traditional ink-and-wash painting techniques to portray an ordinary landscape of Korea with mountains, hills, and trees for the background, which is borrowed from plein air painting. Interestingly, the theme of the painting, peasants’ everyday life, is unusual in traditional Korean painting that ordinarily described idealistic landscapes based on Chinese scenery, abstract or generic images of nature, and expressed lofty scholarship. Ko Huidong, in contrast, focused on ordinary people and mediocre scenery where they spent their life: through the typical and familiar scenes of Korea, he showed Korean costumes, culture and landscapes which are common but also distinctive features of Korea. Washing Clothes at Clear Stream was the only traditional ink painting that Ko

181 Ko Huidong, “Three Things that I cannot Forget for the Fifty Years of Painting”, Donga Daily, 5 Jan 1959.
182 Seoul National University Museum, A Retrospective Exhibition of Ko Huidong (Seoul National University Museum, 2005), 38.
made in the 1910s, which demonstrated how he applied the ideas and techniques of Western art that he had learnt in Japan into traditional ink painting.

The Calligraphy and Painting Association, the first Korean artists’ group started during the colonial period, officially announced its establishment in 1918 and formally elected executive members. This society not only played an important role in understanding Ko Huidong’s early social activities in the 1910s but also in understanding the intricate socio-political circumstances of the time. Thirteen painters and calligraphers, including Ko Huidong, Anh Jungshik who taught Ko earlier and also the first president of the group, and Oh Sechang 吳世昌 (1864–1953), a renowned calligrapher and independence activist, organised the group aiming to study Western-style and traditional ink painting and to educate younger generations of artists. Along with the founder members, Korean independence activists, Kim Gajin 金嘉鎭 (1846–1922) was named as vice-chairman of the Calligraphy and Painting Association, Kim Yunshik 金允植 (1835–1922) and other pro-independence activists were nominated as commissioners. As the March First Movement of 1919 arose in reaction to the colonial occupation, Oh Sechang who was one of the 33 Korean leaders who signed the Declaration of Independence, was arrested on a charge of complicity in the movement: some members of the society were actively engaged in the independence movement but Ko himself did not actively participate in any independence movements, the reason could be found in his retrospective article in 1954:

The grief of losing motherland began to sink deep into people’s hearts, I also deplored and reached a state of confusion. Suddenly, I thought I should just drink and make paintings for life.

나라없는 민족의 비애가 국민들의 가슴속에 사모치기 시작하여 죽을 수도 살 수도 없는 지경에 이르러 비분강개하다가 그때 문득 생각키운 것은 그림이나 그리고 술이나 먹고 살자는 것이었다.  

Ko repeatedly stated the difficulties and stifling feeling under colonial rule in his writings and essays. Although he was not at the forefront of the independent movement, as his grandson Ko Jungcheong 高重青 (1932–2012) recalled, Ko Huidong advocated anti-colonial nationalism and stuck to such ideas during the colonial period. Approximately ten per cent of the Korean population was involved in the nationwide independence movement in 1919 including his close artist colleagues, but as the remaining ninety per cent of the Korean population did, Ko did not officially specify any political stance during the time.

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185 The reputation of Korea became unspeakable. There was nothing one could do. Thus, I let go of all that was in my mind and decided to immerse myself in the world of painting and drinking. (국가의 체모는 말할 수 없이 되어버렸다. 무엇이고 하리고 하여도 할 수가 없게 되었다. 그러하여 이것저것 심중에 있는 것을 다 청산하여 버리고 그림의 세계화 주구에로 갓 것을 정하였다.); Ko Huiding, "Me and Joseon the Age of Calligraphy and Painting Association", Shincheonji, Feb 1954.
186 Seoul National University Museum, A Retrospective Exhibition of Ko Huidong, 130.
Ko Huidong was the only Western-style painter among the founder members of the Calligraphy and Painting Association to promote the new Western-style painting in Korean art society. In 1919, he took charge of advising the Goryeo Painting Group (goryeo hwahoe, 高麗畵會) organised by young Korean students who wished to learn Western-style painting. His students, such as Kim Gwangchu 金光秋 (1905–1983) stated that he wished to study art due to Ko’s influence and studied Western-style painting in Japan later. Not only Kim but also the members of the society, Anh Seokju 安碩柱 (1901–1950), Yi Jechang 李濟昶 (1896–1954), Jang Bal 張勃, (1901–2001) and Gu Bonwoong 具本雄 (1906–1953) also went to Japan for further study in Western-style painting.

Ko Huidong is always mentioned by Western-style painters in Korea when they name their teacher. Whether the painters knew Ko personally or not, they found Ko as a teacher. Furthermore, almost every established artist studied under Ko, at least once. He is the most respected senior artist and authority in Korean art society.

지금이 조선에서 서양화를 전공하는 사람이면 자기네들의 스승을 들 때 의례 춘곡 교화동씨를 내세운다. 그가 교화동씨를 알긴 모르건 스승으로써 씨를 찾게된다. 더구나 화단의 중견이상으로 가면 거이

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As he actively engaged in art education and shared his ideas with young artists, Ko left a significant mark in art education during that time. He did not leave many paintings that could have been useful to understand his ideas in the 1910s and the following decade, but as he devoted himself to art education during the time, his ideas and style spread widely in Korean art society and his efforts brought to light in the mid-1920s as many of his students led Local Colourism.

The Goryeo Painting Group soon dissolved as many of them left for Japan, and Ko continued to put all his effort into the Calligraphy and Painting Association and published the first Korean article about Western art in the association’s first art magazine of 1921, *Origin of Western art*:

Just as Asia has Asian elements and Europe has European elements, Korea has distinctive Korean elements. Look, the climate of Korea is mild, and mountains and streams are particularly special. ... In a painting or sculpture, a nation’s life should stay sound and calmly contain the value of the age.

아세아에는 아세아의 것이 있고 구라파에는 구라파의 것이 있음을

같이 조선에는 조선의 독특한 것이 있도다. 보라, 조선에는 기후의

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189 “Today’s Devotion with One Mind 4: Mr. Huidong’s Desperate Struggle of 20 Years”, *Dong-A Daily*, 6 Jan 1940.
He emphasised the beauty of Korean nature and asked artists to express national features that embodied national identity. Due to the Japanese Government-General’s frequent order to delete radical articles and prohibit publications, Ko did not use any radical or rebellious words but urged artists indirectly to show their sentiments about the homeland. Although he did not officially express his stance on anti-colonialism nor the independence of Korea, considering the political circumstances of the time that newspapers and magazines that ‘violate public order’ could be stopped and forbidden, what Ko argued in his essay was enough to encourage other Korean painters to have a sense of nationalism and to display it through their work.\(^1\)

Saitō Makoto 斎藤実 (1858–1936), the third Japanese Governor-General of Korea who was newly nominated for the position in 1919, launched a charm offensive ‘Cultural Rule’, which allowed some limited space for cultural activities to colonial subjects to calm the public sentiment.\(^2\) Japan’s ultimate goal in applying Cultural Rule was to encourage Korean participation in the life of the colony while slowly intensifying

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\(^1\) Ko Huidong, "Origin of Western art, Journal of the Calligraphy and Painting Association 1 (Oct 1921); quoted in Hong Seonpyo, "Ko Huidong’s Creative Activities", 163.


\(^{190}\) Reform Bills of Korean Colonial Policy was enacted in April of 1919.
its long-range programme to assimilate Korea culturally. Korean people gained more opportunities in education, enterprise, politics, and other realms of public life without forcing them to renounce Korean national identity, whilst Japanese settlers, albeit with reluctance, accepted the Cultural Rule for their long-term benefit considering their vested interests. The new rule supported establishing a middle ground where colonisers and colonised could compromise to some extent. The Korean public, including artists and art critics, were able to participate in cultural and political affairs from the 1920s. The Japanese authorities limited the number and content of Korean publications but allowed the newspaper publications by Korean editors: *Dong-A Daily* (*donga ilbo, 東亞日報*), *Joseon Daily* (*joseon ilbo, 朝鮮日報*), and *News of Current Affairs* (*sisa sinmun, 時事新聞*), three Korean newspaper groups were considered a means of nationalistic movement, and greatly supported by the natives. Ko Huidong was one of the founder members of *Dong-A Daily*.

Ko Huidong designed the cover of the first issue of *Dong-A Daily* (fig. 3.02) that was published on 1 April 1920. He depicted two heavenly figures and two dragons soaring upward, which were derived from the tomb mural of the Koguryo dynasty (BC 37-668AD). As the principle of *Dong-A Daily* was to represent the Korean nation's opinion, Ko decorated the first front page with vigorous characters from the Koguryo period when the nation had been one of the great powers in East Asia. Through the illustration, he attempted to support the newspaper's principle that accorded with his

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196 "Promulgating Our Creed", *Dong-A Daily*, 1 Apr 1920.
aspiration for his homeland, which was to build national power for independence. During the colonial period, Dong-A Daily was suspended four times for an indefinite period and articles were often censored by the Japanese authorities’ control. However, Ko and his colleagues believed they were taking part in the independence movement as they continuously published newspapers for the nation.197

Having a sense of national identity, Ko actively engaged in organising the First Exhibition of the Calligraphy and Painting Association (fig. 3.03) in April 1921 and showed his passion for popularising Western-style painting. The exhibition advocated harmonising old and new art and displayed paintings in three sections: first, it displayed old masters’ paintings, traditional and Western-style artists’ paintings were in the second section and calligraphic works were exhibited last. This format of the exhibition reflected the state of Korean art society in the 1920s that greatly valued traditional art and calligraphy. Traditional ink painting and Western-style paintings were displayed together in one section since the number of Western-style paintings was not sufficient to create a separate section. The majority of the 78 exhibited paintings were traditional ink paintings and only a few were Western-style paintings including Ko’s work.198 Unfortunately, the details of the paintings displayed in the exhibition are not known, but Ko’s effort to introduce Western-style painting by displaying his own painting brought great opportunities for the Korean public to encounter the new kind of art. Furthermore, this annual exhibition offered artists a chance to show their works and to communicate with each other, and also generated numerous articles and critiques, which contributed to activating and expanding the Korean art circle.

198 “Bright Colours of Exhibition”, Maeil Shinbo, 2 Apr 1921.
Ko Huidong became keenly aware of the necessity of an art institution where he could officially and regularly share his ideas and painting techniques and established the Academy of Calligraphy and Painting (seohwa hagwon, 書畵學院) in 1923 with the members of the Calligraphy and Painting Association (fig. 3.04). The academy offered a three-year course and it had three departments, traditional ink painting, Western-style painting, and Calligraphy.\(^{199}\) He took students of the Western-style painting department for outdoor painting and actively taught the skills and knowledge about Western art that he had learnt in Japan.\(^{200}\) In the fifth Exhibition of the Calligraphy and Painting Association of 1925, Jang Seokpyo 張錫豹 (1903–1958), Gil Jinseop 吉鎭燮 (1907–1975) and other students’ 48 Western-style paintings were displayed, which was the first time that the number of exhibited Western-style paintings exceeded traditional-style paintings.\(^{201}\) Since the exhibition did not publish a catalogue, it is not possible to identify the exhibited paintings in detail but from the list of painting titles published in a newspaper, it is assumed that most of them were landscape paintings.\(^{202}\) Ko stated that all the exhibited Western-style paintings were from his students in the academy, which proved to be a great result for his hard work.\(^{203}\) Despite various endeavours of Ko and other teachers in the academy, the Academy of Calligraphy and Painting was closed down in 1925 due to economic difficulties.

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\(^{199}\) The Dong-A Daily Newspaper introduced the art institute of Calligraphy and Painting Society as the first art institute in Korea and pointed out the pure spirit of Korean art and hoped the spirits can flourish in the world by the art institute; "Art institute of Calligraphy and Painting Society", Dong-A Daily, 1 October 1923.

\(^{200}\) "Students of Western-style Painting Department in the Academy of Calligraphy and Painting is Going on a Travel Tomorrow to Doseon Temple, for Sketching under the Instruction of Ko Huidong", Dong-A Daily, 12 Oct 1924.

\(^{201}\) 30 of traditional ink painting, 48 of Western-style painting 48, 10 of Calligraphy; “Critique for the Fifth Exhibition of the Calligraphy and Painting”, Joseon Daily, 30 Mar 1925.

\(^{202}\) Ibid.

\(^{203}\) “Wild Waves in Arts”, Dong-A Daily, 26 Mar 1925.
On one hand, Ko Huidong played a leading role in introducing Western art to his colleague artists who were not yet familiar with Western painting techniques, and on the other hand, he heavily criticised ink painters and urged traditional artists to create new painting styles by studying Western painting techniques. He bitterly criticised the traditional ink painting circle as most of the artists were copying paintings of Chinese masters’ paintings, or copying the Chinese painting manuals, which are not the spirit of true artists.204 Most traditional ink painters who had already consolidated their style stuck to the conventional way, however, open-minded young artists like Yi Sangbeom 李象範 (1897–1972) developed a new style while maintaining traditional methods. In the Calligraphy and Painting Association, Yi and Ko Huidong were close and actively exchanged opinions on arts along with other artists. Yi had learnt traditional ink painting from a renowned traditional painting artist, Anh Jungshik, therefore, his paintings used to follow typical and common painting subjects in China and traditional ink painting in Korea: his *Returning Fisherman in Autumn River* (fig. 3.05) of 1922 showed that Yi still stuck to conventional painting subjects in the early 1920s. However, Yi began to break away from the traditional painting practice and attempted to create a distinctive painting style with Korean identity in art, which implied Korean characteristics and sentiments. Yi considered familiar pastoral landscapes that could be seen anywhere in Korea as a perfect theme to realise his ideas.

I was originally affected by the Southern School of China, but I wished to create a unique Korean style of painting apart from copying Chinese or Japanese painting style. That was why I preferred to draw the

natural scenery of Korea. I was very much obsessed with the sentiment of Korea and indigenous themes. I desired to express Korean tastes in every mountain peak, foot of a mountain, and tree. The pure and graceful autumn of Korea is the best scenery I love and enjoy.

나는 원래 남화의 영향을 많이 받았으나 소원은 중국이나 일본의 화풍을 그대로 옮긴 것이 아니라 우리나라의 독특한 화풍을 창조해 보려는 데 있었다. 그래서 내가 즐겨 그린 소재들이 한국의 자연풍경이었다. 나에게는 한국적인 정서와 향토적인 것에 대한 집착이 무척 있었다. 한 봉우리와 뇌 뿌리나 한 그루의 나무에도 한국적인 정서를 풍겨보고 싶었다. 특히 청초하고 고아한 한국의 가을은 내가 가장 사랑하고 즐긴 풍경이다.205

This idea of Yi Sangbeom exemplified Local Colourists who emphasised national character in the painting. He often depicted farming villages with traditional cottages, mountain ridges, paddies, and farmers, which were familiar scenery in Korea. He often applied Hemp-fibre strokes (pimacun, 披麻皴) to describe foreground paddies and ridges and Mi-dots strokes (midiancun, 米點皴) to depict the misty atmosphere in the background: although he employed traditional Chinese-style brushwork in his painting, his ideas of portraying aspects of everyday life with ordinary people were a great accomplishment in the traditional painting field in Korea. After Sunset (fig. 3.06), which he presented in the third Exhibition of the Calligraphy and Painting Association in 1923, showed a drastic change in Yi’s style compared to the work he had presented in the

previous year. This painting, which applied light and shade of ink effectively with short brush strokes, and described the mountains and rivers of his homeland, was highly praised:

For example, *After Sunset* of Yi Sangbeom displayed a new style that did not exist before in Korean art society, as he abandoned abstract ideas (that were frequently applied in traditional painting) and applied landscape sketching style in painting, which was the first skilful style since the new movement in the Korean art society.

한가지 레를 들면 청 델 이상범씨의 “해진 뒤” 와 가튼 것은 종래 우리 화단에서는 볼 수 있든 새로운 작품으로 추상적 기분을 버리고 사생적 작품을 동양화에 응용한 덤은 화단에서 새로운 운동이 잇슨 후 첫 솜씨로 볼 수가 있겠다.206

The “new movement” in this article indicated the recent trend of holding art exhibitions for the public: it was highly acclaimed for its pioneering role in bringing vitality to Korean art society. Yi managed to maintain the continuity of traditional art, and integrate the visual presentation of Western art, therefore, his painting received a great deal of attention from the public and colleague artists. Yi and young traditional ink painting artists strove to realise the national identity that embodied what they believed to be the essential and distinguishing characteristics of Korea. Based on Ko’s initial idea,

206 “Cheerfulness of the Exhibition of Calligraphy and Painting Association”, *Dong-A Daily*, 1 Apr 1923.
they actualised typical features of the Korean landscape in painting that implied their sense of national identity. For these traditional-style Local Colourists, Korean nature was a great symbol of the nation as it had not been altered by the realignment of the political state. Their neighbours, commoners, and peasants were also a main motif for the artists as they shared nationalist sentiments under Japanese colonial rule. Such mundane or common elements of Korea became a means for Local Colourists to show their affection and concern for the homeland where they were living.

During the colonial period, many Korean Local Colourists projected their thoughts on the nature of homeland and people living in the land. The Calligraphy and Painting Association, a group of Local Colourists held what was to become an annual art exhibition in 1921; this event not only offered Korean artists the opportunity to share ideas and opinions on Local Colour in painting but also allowed the Korean public to get closer to such paintings. The artists and the art group played a significant role in leading Local Colourism of Korea, which was able to be examined through newspapers and magazine articles. However, due to the lack of visual materials for their activities, the catalogues of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition that the Japanese Government-General of Korea organised in 1922 until 1944, became essential methods to study artworks of Korean Local Colourism in the 1920s.

3.2 The Role of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in Local Colourism

Along with the Cultural Rule enacted by Saitō Makoto in 1919, the Japanese Government-General aimed to promote happiness and profits of Korean nationals by the reform of the cultural system and to offer them equal treatment to the Japanese in
politics and society. Under Article 32 of the Second Educational Ordinance of Korea that came into effect in 1922, Korean people were able to obtain educational conditions identical to those enjoyed by the Japanese: Korean students had more opportunities to receive public education and even to study abroad. Therefore, more students were able to learn diverse art techniques through formal school education and, consequently, increased numbers of artists boosted art society to grow by actively creating artworks, organising art groups, and holding exhibitions.

Ko Huidong’s students from the Goryeo Painting Society formed the Goryeo Art Association (goryeo misulhoe, 高麗美術會) in 1923, aiming to pioneer Korean art society and to foster younger generation artists by running a traditional and Western-style painting and sculpture class. This association only lasted two years but was able to cultivate prominent young artists who mostly went to Japan for further study and became leading figures in Korean art later in the 1930s. Not only the Goryeo Art Association, but also many new art groups were organised nationwide in the 1920s, such as the Morning Star Group (sakseonghoe, 朔星會) of 1925 in Pyeongyang, the Blue Light Group (changgwanghoe, 蒼光會) of 1927 in Seoul, and the Unlabelled Group (yeonggwave, 零科會) in Daegu. Among the art groups in the 1920s, the Green Homeland Group (nokyanghoe, 綠鄕會) of 1928 actively advocated the free spirit of young artists and emphasised the importance of creating Korean art and asked that the artists should not aimlessly chase Western art but should seek national art based on

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208 New Educational Ordinance will be enacted from 1st April; “About the New Educational Ordinance” Dong-A Daily, 11 Apr 1922.
210 “Organizing Painting Research Institute, Morning Star Group”, Dong-A Daily, 26 Jun 1925.
colours of Korean nature that are bright, clear and radiant.\textsuperscript{211} This small group, organised by four young Western-style artists, soon disbanded and the main members of the group relocated to a new art association, the Graduates’ Association of Tokyo School of Fine Arts (\textit{dongmihoe}, 東美會) of 1929. All members were alumni of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and the head office was in Tokyo, but they were looking for the authentic Local Colour of Korea. This art association issued a manifesto and advocated pursuing the art that chants the faithful sentiment of Korea.\textsuperscript{212} Korean artists in the 1920s actively attempted to develop a national style of painting to address their identities and national sentiments. Local Colour in painting was about establishing artists’ sense of belonging to the motherland that was distinguished from both Japan and the Western countries. Indeed, not only painting, but also native novels, plays, and films attempted to have more colours of Korea.\textsuperscript{213}

\textsuperscript{211} The members of Green Homeland Group were Pak Gwangjin 朴廣鎭 (1902–?), Kim Jugyeong 金周經 (1902–1981), Shim Youngseop 沈英燮 (?–?), Jang Seokpyo 張錫杓 (?–?), Oh Jiho 吳之湖 (1905–1982), and Jang Ik 張翼 (?–?); Shim Youngseop, “Arrogant Statement for Art”, \textit{Dong-A Daily}, 15–16 Dec 1928.


\textsuperscript{213} Ibid.
The nation yearned to see the identity and originality of Korea, and the beauty of Korean nature was regarded as an inexhaustible subject: Korean artists were asked to put the effort into painting as heirs of Korea. Some people even argued that only the painting that embodied artists’ distinctive individuality and national character based on unique national spirit could have artistic significance. Local Colour became a major art movement and also a cultural trend in the 1920s by public demand that looked forward to seeing national identities and consciousness in their own cultures. Korean art critics agreed with the public opinion and argued that artists should avoid imitating Western or Japanese painting and focus on realising the Korean atmosphere in painting that reflected the age.

As the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition was held on a national scale in 1922, it became a major place for Local Colourists to show their works, and for audiences to appreciate them.

The Japanese Government-General planned to organise an annual art exhibition that is similar to the Imperial Fine Arts Academy Exhibition in Tokyo, to promote the development of art in Korea...

총독부에서는 조선에 제한 미술의 발달을 비보할 목적으로 동경의 제국미술원 전람회를 방하야 매년 일자 미술전람회를 개할 방침을 내정하고...
In December of 1921, the Japanese Governor-General announced a plan for the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition to promote the development of Korean art. This first national art exhibition aimed to draw public interest in art and to provide opportunities for artists to show their talents.\(^{219}\) To present objective judging criteria in aesthetical perspectives, the government authorities stated that masters of the art, not government officials, would be the judges for the exhibition. Kuroda Seiki and Kawai Gyokudō 川合 玉堂 (1873–1957) were initially invited as jurors but later, Kuroda was not able to participate due to ‘unavoidable circumstances’, and Okada Saburōsuke 岡田 三郎助 (1869–1939), a colleague of Kuroda and a professor at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, replaced him.\(^{220}\) Korean artists, Yi Doyoung 李道榮 (1884–1933), Seo Byeogoh 徐丙五 (1862–1935) were also appointed as jurors at the exhibition.

The Joseon Fine Art Exhibition was made up of three different categories, the department of traditional ink painting (dongyanghwa, 東洋畵; the literal translation is “Oriental painting”), Western-style painting, and calligraphy.\(^{221}\) As Western-style painting began to raise its awareness in Korea from the 1880s through diplomatic relations with western nations, traditional ink painting and Western-style painting, both terms became settled as two different categories of Korean art in the 1920s.\(^{222}\)

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\(^{219}\) Ibid.

\(^{220}\) “Change in Juries of the Art Exhibition”, Dong-A Daily, 21 May 1922.

\(^{221}\) Traditional ink painting (dongyanghwa, 東洋畵) or “Oriental painting”, the term had become widely used from the 1920s instead ‘Calligraphy and Painting (seohwa, 書畵)’ that had been circulated more frequently in Korean society, which indicates traditional ink painting. “The Calligraphy and Painting Association and the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition”, National Institute of Korean History, accessed 25 Oct 2018, [http://contents.history.go.kr/mobile/nh/view.do?levelId=nh_051_0060_0030_0020#ftid_540](http://contents.history.go.kr/mobile/nh/view.do?levelId=nh_051_0060_0030_0020#ftid_540)

Joseon Fine Art Exhibition was the first national event to use the terms officially to clarify two different painting genres.

Four hundred and three artworks by 291 artists were displayed for the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition and gathered around 25,000 viewers in three weeks: the exhibition received wide coverage in the press and attracted a great deal of attention from the public. Many secondary schools arranged a field trip to the exhibition for students to be exposed to the latest art in Korea. The royal family of Korea and the Japanese viceroy of Korea also visited the event, supporting the success of the exhibition and encouraging civic participation. The Joseon Fine Art Exhibition became the main event for Korean artists to show their artworks. However, as the exhibition was held by the Japanese Government-General under colonial rule, some artists asked themselves what to depict and what ideology they should reflect following their sense of personal identity and national consciousness. The ideas for Local Colourism that reflected their keen interest in the motherland with connoted nationalism gradually grew among the artists and established as a mainstream trend in the exhibition with the two leading Western-style painters, Ko Huidong and Na Hyeseok 羅蕙錫 (1896–1948).

Na Hyeseok, the earliest Western-style female artist of Korea and a graduate of the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts (shiritsu joshi bijutsu gakkō, 私立女子美術学校) in Tokyo, also put efforts into Local Colourism and art education of Korea. Na also

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224 “Great Success of the Art Exhibition”, Dong-A Daily, 4 Jun 1922.
225 The Private Women’s School of Fine Arts was the first fine art institution for female students in Japan, founded in 1900, and later renamed the Women’s School of Fine Arts in 1919; female students were not allowed to enrol in the Tokyo University of the Arts until 1946.; Takahashi Naoko and Yi Mirim, “Study on Western art education in the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts, focusing on the 1910s”, Journal of Studies on Rha Hyeseok Vol.4 (2014), 166.
attempted to establish her own style as well as express her sense of nationhood in her work.

It is not a time for imitating Western paintings. We can choose between styles and methods of Western art since we can use Western painting material and brush. At the same time, the expression of artists’ individuality based on locality or national character should be distinct from the West. It has to have a special Korean expression.

그리하여 우리는 별씨 서양류의 그림을 흉내낼 때가 아니요. 다만 서양의 화구와 필을 사용하고 서양의 화포를 사용하므로 우리는 이미 그 묘법이라든지 용구에 대한 선택이 있는 동시에 향토라든지 국민성을 통한 개성의 표현은 순연한 서양의 풍과 반드시 달라야 할, 조선 특수의 표현력을 가지지 아니하면 아니 될 것이다.226

Although Na studied in Japan during the colonial period, she stressed the importance of expressing the national identity of Korea through paintings and contributed greatly to the early Local Colourism in Korea. The Korean students who studied in Japan during colonial times experienced Western culture and advanced educational systems and they believed that it was their duty to learn and introduce new trends to their homeland.227 Likewise, for Na Hyeseok and Ko Huidong who studied there, Japan was a place where

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227 Hyeon Sangyun (1914) “Who is the young man?” To Korean students in Hakjigwang (Dec 1914); quoted in Pak Seonmi, Modern Women, Came Back to Joseon through Japanese Empire (Seoul: Changbi, 2005), 64–65.
they could assimilate new knowledge from the West, however, they were fully aware that Japan was the colonising power that had seized control of their homeland, and such a sense of national identity became a fundamental idea of Local Colourism later in Korea.

Ko Huidong submitted two paintings to the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition: one traditional ink painting, *Summer Farming Village* (fig. 3.07) that had been signed in his pseudonym, *Chungok 春谷* in Chinese characters with his two seals, and one Western-style painting, *In the Garden* (fig. 3.08) with his signature in the English alphabet, *H.T. Ko.*, which stands for ‘Hee Tong, Ko.’ Although Ko was a leading Western-style artist in Korea, he learnt traditional ink painting earlier and interacted continuously with traditional painters. Therefore, he presented both different techniques of paintings that depicted Korean scenery based on factual landscapes with his idea of “Koreanness”: Ko argued that establishing a unique Korean style of painting is an important task for artists, and steadily required them to make a great effort to find charm in Korean culture and scenery.\(^{228}\) He believed that the endeavour to present Koreanness, in other words, to show characteristics and patterns that are typical of the Korean society in the 1920s, is required in the art society and it would contribute to making distinctive Korean art: along with the natural scenery of Korea, customs and traditions that were formed based on common beliefs, habits, inclinations, and ideas of Korean people for centuries were considered important. Ko’s paintings displaying familiar local landscapes and the intimate neighbourhoods were the reflection of his ideas, and gradually became one of the main themes for Korean Local Colourists in the 1920s. Ko captured an ordinary scene of a farming village in *Summer Farming Village* and showed a scene of familiar and intimate rurality in *In the Garden* that portrays a girl carrying her

younger sister on her back in a garden. He portrayed familiar landscapes in his paintings, as he valued the ordinary features of his homeland with the idea of expressing Koreanness. His idea to articulate distinctive Korean characteristics in painting played an important role in developing Korean Local Colourism, however, his unsettled painting skills between traditional and Western-style painting techniques were severely and publicly criticised:

The future of Ko Huidong is extremely dangerous as an artist. When I saw his painting (I forgot the title) for the first time at the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition a few years ago, I become disillusioned. It seems as if he wanted to show the orientalised Western-style painting, but it almost always ended up failing ... It was a meaningless display of oil paintings, only a pathetic mixture of Impressionism and the literati style brushwork... This is an unsuccessful poor work, but Ko would not think in this way, therefore his future as an artist is truly in danger.
Ko Huidong continued working on paintings, but he did not make Western-style paintings anymore: he recalled in an interview in 1935 that the high-priced art materials and the unpopularity of the Western-style paintings made him turn to traditional ink painting for the rest of his life. He argued that Western-style painting was not accepted in society and he alone struggled a lot with public indifference. Indeed, all the buyers of Western-style paintings in the first Joseon Exhibition were Japanese, including a professor of Kyeongseoung Law School and a director of Joseon Bank of Production Industry, and Korean people showed less interest in purchasing the new style of paintings. The price of Western-style paintings varied from seven to a hundred won, which was quite expensive considering the average monthly wage of factory workers in Korea was seventeen won, and bank employees got paid fifty to sixty won in 1922.

Ko Huidong's two paintings exhibited at the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition were not sold: low demand for Western-style painting in Korea discouraged him from

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232 “Paintings Flying Out the Door”, *Maeil Shinbo*, 6 Jun 1922.; Yamada Morihiko’s 山田盛彦 Night Wind was seven won, Katō Takuya’s 加藤卓爾 Early Spring in the Countryside, and Hayakawa Matazô’s 早川又藏 A Day in November were a hundred won.
continuing to pursue Western-style painting. Furthermore, the art market of the 1920s, which consisted of several galleries (seohwagwan, 書畵館), mostly dealt with traditional ink painting and calligraphy, thus, it was not easy for Western-style artists to find a place to sell their works. Ko mentioned economic difficulties several times in interviews and articles, therefore the main reason that stopped him from working on Western-style painting could be financial hardship. Nevertheless, Ko pointed out the importance of learning the skills and ideas of Western-style painting, which were necessary to know for the development of traditional ink paintings. In the late 1920s, Ko eventually gave up on Western-style painting, and devoted himself to traditional ink painting. He said, “Western-style painting and traditional ink painting are not different”, and he dedicated himself to traditional ink painting.

As the Japanese Government-General granted more publication permits for newspapers and magazines from early 1920, artists and critics were able to publish articles and essays implying national sentiments to some extent. Although such discourses and paintings regarding the sense of national identity only began from 1920, and most Korean artists were not engaged in Local Colourism, only a limited number of Korean artists displayed Local Colour paintings at the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in 1922: three Western-style artists, Ko Huidong, Na Hyeseok, and Jeong Gyuik (1895–1925) were able to exhibit their Local Colour paintings at the exhibition.

On the other hand, Japanese Local Colourists who participated in the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition continued to show their Local Colour paintings. One of the central

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234 Yi Seonghye, Study on the Production and Distribution of Calligraphic Paintings in the Period of Transition to the Modern Times (PhD diss., Pusan University, 2010), 140–151.

235 Jeong Gyuik depicted a woman wearing a traditional Korean dress sitting in front of a desk holding a book in her hands, in his painting, Lady in the Study.; Na Hyeseok’s paintings are explored in Chapter 4.
Japanese artists of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition, Tōda Kazuo 近田運雄 (1891–1955) who graduated from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and moved to Korea in 1921, kept Japanese Local Colour in Guitar (fig. 3.09) by depicting a Japanese beauty wearing a kimono, playing guitar and gazing ahead. This painting was selected as the best work at the first exhibition. Many Japanese Local Colourists in Korea also displayed idealised scenes and beautified figures in a bright atmosphere that was unrelated to the Korea where they were living. Their idealised Japanese Local Colour paintings were favoured by Japanese people living in Korea; therefore, Japanese Local Colourism was continued by Japanese artists in Korea and exhibited in the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition. Furthermore, a few Japanese Local Colourists who served on juries of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition encouraged Korean artists to express their Local Colour, but it was not related to the exoticism of the coloniser nor any political purpose as previous studies had argued. For example, Wada Eisaku who was a professor of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and a jury member at the second Joseon Fine Art Exhibition argued that regardless of political assimilation or integration policy, Korean things should be developed in Korea: the nation's customs, language, and art should be developed. In that sense, Local Colour was stressed by an artist who valued national characteristics but not from a coloniser who had a sense of superiority over the colonised nation. As a colleague of Kuroda Seiki, Wada Eisaku himself made many Local Colour paintings that show the vivid national identity of Japan while it was neglected by the influx of Western popular culture. Korean Local Colourists’ works that reflected their sense of national

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identity were in accord with the Japanese juries' opinions that the expression of national features was important, and Local Colourism became settled as the main genre at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in the 1920s.

From the second Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in 1923, traditional-style artists also began to gradually present Local Colour paintings. Yi Sangbeom’s *Fog in Sunset* (fig. 3.10) shows a drastic change in style and theme by portraying a typical farming area of Korea. Thatched huts are situated cosily at the foot of a hill and the mist rising from the middle distance is connected to the sky while emphasising mountains in the background. The gradual changes of distance and the concrete portrait of space were newly applied in his painting. His landscape paintings based on actual sketches or studies were highly appreciated as it was a new trend that appeared in traditional ink painting and expressed Korean nature effectively.\(^{239}\) Yi’s landscape paintings that reflected an atmosphere of the home were not only an extension of the traditional-style painting but also a manifestation of his national sentiments. As stated above in his interview, Yi had a great enthusiasm for the ordinary landscape of Korea that could deliver his sense of national identity. Local Colourism in traditional-style painting was led by Yi Sangbeom who kept asking himself “what is ours (Korean)?” and how to properly paint the scenery and customs of Korea.\(^{240}\) Yi’s Local Colour paintings were appreciated in 1920s Korea and continuously won awards at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition. From 1926 to 1934, he was consecutively awarded nine grand prizes every year and became a recommended artist who could display works without evaluation, until the last exhibition in 1944.\(^{241}\)

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239 "Cheerfulness of the Exhibition of Calligraphy and Painting Association", *Dong-A Daily*, 1 Apr 1923.

240 Ibid.

Interestingly, some Japanese juries of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition and artists also encouraged the wish to express Korean Local Colour. Nagahara Kōtarō 長原孝太郎 (1864–1930), a juror of the third Joseon Fine Art Exhibition stated:

The unique natural characteristics and circumstances of Korea can only be found in Korea. Therefore, the people who are always in contact with it should contain such features in their artworks. However, somehow, paintings of the urban district in Korea look like those of Paris, and the natural scenery also could not express the Korean atmosphere. ... Artists should work hard for the revival of Korean art by trying hard to establish Korean art and demonstrate the natural talents their ancestors had.

Nagahara highlighted Korean Local Colour as he studied under Kuroda Seiki who emphasised displaying Japanese Local Colour in painting. Nagahara was himself a Local

Colourist in Japan, and when he was in Korea only for a few days for the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition, he asked Korean artists to depict Korean Local Colour. He encouraged native artists to show their unique national atmosphere in paintings including urban and rural landscapes. Not only Nagahara but also Yūki Somei 結城素明 (1875–1957), who studied in the Tenshin Studio of Kuroda and later at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, commented that the paintings of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition were lacking in ‘Korean Local Colour’. From the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition, Kuroda Seiki and his colleague artists in the New School were nominated for the juries as they wielded strong influence over Japanese art society. As the Japanese Local Colourists who came to Korea as jurors and had published art critiques, the word ‘Local Colour’ was used to indicate Local Colour in Japan applied to Korean art. This term has been commonly used in Korea to point out “the unique characteristics of a certain local nature or culture”, but it expanded its meaning in the late 1920s from “a certain local”, to “a certain nation” and appeared in the Korean art world to indicate the style and the trend of painting in Korea.

As examined in the first chapter, Kuroda and his fellow artists had developed paintings that express Local Colour of Japan that displayed specific national sentiments with the style of plein air and Impressionism, not only because they had experienced and acquired such a style in Europe, but also the technique could express their idea effectively. The Japanese Local Colourists mainly focused on the beautified and idealised

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244 Kuroda was nominated for the jury of the First Joseon Art Exhibition, but a sudden inevitable circumstance prevented him to come to Korea, and Okada Saburōsuke, Kuroda’s colleague and a renowned Local Colorist, took his position.; “Change in Juries of the Art Exhibition”, Dong-A Daily, 21 May 1922.
features of Japan to represent their national identity. Kuroda and the artists of the New School concentrated on romanticising landscapes and idealising human figures, which had the connotation of Japanese nationhood that became to flourish with the Japanese imperial expansion in the early twentieth century. Such paintings fascinated the Japanese nation and satisfied their desires. In contrast, Korea was under colonial rule and the Japanese Government-General’s intervention in the domestic policies of Korea evoked an atmosphere of anguish and despair. In such an atmosphere, Korean artists observed minutely the tame scenery of Korea and commoners, which maintained its original features under the Japanese policy and shared similar ideas as one nation. Korean Local Colourists focused on ordinary landscape and people in a generally realistic manner, rather than the beautified and idealised scenes the Japanese Local Colourists pursued. Korean painters sought the essence of Local Colour in the reality of Korea and appreciated ordinary scenes and landscapes as they were. Though Ko Huidong and the early Western-style artists of Korea learnt Western-style painting directly in Japan when Local Colourism was widespread, they modified the themes of painting according to their ideas and patriotic sentiment.

Korean Local Colourism in both traditional- and Western-style art fields expanded its range and had more diversity and depth in ideas and style since greater numbers of Korean artists became proficient at Western art. Ko Huidong presented *Landscape Before Snow* (fig. 3.11) in 1929 and showed that he also shared such ideas on painting. In his painting, a farmer is carrying a load of firewood home on his back. A few traditional thatched cottages are in the middle distance while mountains and the void that represents the sky formed the depth of the painting. Since around seventy per cent of Korean terrain is covered with mountains and the fields and paddies were expanding in early twentieth-century Korea, many artists described farmland and surrounding
mountains, and such plain landscapes and ordinary people formed elements of Korean Local Colour.246

Korean Local Colourism that featured peasants in a peaceful setting of the countryside with Local Colourists’ pursuit of national identity accounted for a major part of Korean art in the 1920s and many of the prizewinning artworks at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition displayed the influence of Local Colourism. The role of native artists is clearly evident in initiating and leading the art movement under the colonial rule, which their writings and painting demonstrated.

Na Hyeseok, who laid the groundwork of Local Colourism through her paintings and writings, persisted in her original ideas, and sought to manifest her sense of nationalism through vernacular materials and rural landscapes. Her achievement was indeed greater than any other painters in Korea: she actively engaged in different social movements under the colonial rule and conveyed the atmosphere and mind of Korea through her works. Her establishment in Local Colourism will be discussed further in the next chapter.

246 The Japanese Government-General of Korea enforced ‘the rice production promotion plan’ from 1920 until 1934, to help with the shortage of rice in Japan.
Chapter 4. The Rise of Female Local Colourists in the Modern Korea

This chapterexploreswomen Local Colourists who made a public impact by officially displaying their artworks and publishing articles and essays. Amongst the newly emerged Korean female figures who stood out as professionals and activists under colonial rule, Na Hyeseok was a pioneering female painter who projected her sense of national identity onto her paintings and thereby played a leading role in Local Colourism in Korea. Na Hyeseok (1896–1948) was one of the first female students to take the opportunity to study in Japan and became the first female Western-style painter in Korea. She not only held a private exhibition and participated in many painting exhibitions, but also took a proactive approach to establishing the status of females in the conservative Korean society. On top of that, Na took an active part in the March First Independence Movement (samil undong, 三一運動) of 1919 and encouraged other women to take part in the nationalist movement against Japanese imperialism.

This chapter first examines Korean society of the early twentieth century to understand the cultural and social background of Na Hyeseok and her works during the colonial period. It explores why she adopted Local Colourism among the other developing painting trends of the time, and how she interpreted the trend in her work. It further analyses Na’s influence in Korean art society and how other female painters perceived Local Colourism. Rather than assessing individual works in detail, this thesis focuses on how Na and her fellow female artists’ sense of national identity contributed to their artistic choice in terms of style and subject matter that inclined towards Local Colourism.
4.1 To Be Acknowledged as a Female Artist in Korea

Men, by mere superiority of force, kept us in oppression. Their books tell us that a woman must always be secluded; she must not speak of external affairs, and she must only attend to the preparation of wine and food. Why should we, not differing from men in the enjoyment of physical and mental faculties, endure wrongs in ignorance of the world like dead people? We propose to establish a female school where girls may learn all kinds of accomplishment to prepare them for the duties of intelligent womanhood. We hope that our sisters will send their girls to the school.247

This was the first protest from Korean women in 1898 to the wider society that had been suppressing women’s rights. The Glory Society (chanyanghoe, 赞揚會), a literati-class women’s association for establishing a women’s educational institute, published the *Announcement of Korean Women’s Rights* in Hwangseong News and *The Independent* in September 1898. The announcement was considered “astonishing and amazing” by readers of the time and became a foundation for Korean women’s education, which had been neglected.248 They established the Sunseong Girls’ School (順成女學校, Sunseong yeohakgyo) in the same year and attempted to promote basic education for girls aged between seven and twelve. The Ewha Academy (ihwa hakdang, 梨花學堂) for girls was

248 Female Education Society, “Korean Women's Rights Announcement”, *Hwangseong News (Imperial Capital Gazette).* 8 Sep 1898.
established in 1886 by a foreign missionary, Mary F. Scranton (1832–1909), aiming to lead the drive for modern education for Korean women, yet only a few pupils chose to enrol due to groundless rumours surrounding the foreign missionaries, who were “regarded with great suspicion” by most Korean parents.249 Although the Sunseong Girls' School was closed down by 1903 due to economic difficulty, the Ewha Academy was able to grow as the increasing number of girls from the literati class began to enrol, yet most female students became housewives after graduation, and only a few graduates entered professions, such as teaching and nursing, and even fewer students pursued higher education.250

Along with the publication of the “Ordinance on Girls' High School” in 1908, the Korean Government founded the first state school for girls, Hanseong Girls’ High School (hanseong godeung yeohakgyo, 漢城高等女學校) and Empress Sunjeong (1894–1966) expressed her interest by sending an Imperial Message for the Encouragement of Education in Women’s Schools, saying “there should not be any distinction between men and women in education”.251 As a consequence, female education started to receive national attention and laid the groundwork for Korean women to acquire social status by offering them opportunities to have professional jobs.252

252 “Ordinance on Girls’ High School”, Official Gazette of Korea, 2 Apr 1908.
In 1911, the Japanese Government-General of Korea launched the “Women’s High Common School Ordinance” aiming at fostering virtuous women with diligence and frugality.\textsuperscript{253} Sewing and handicraft classes took about one-third of the entire school curriculum (10 hours out of 31 school hours per week, double the time in the previous school curriculum), and accordingly, other classes such as the Korean language class and drawing class took up fewer hours than before.\textsuperscript{254} The growing number of girls’ schools offered more chances for Korean women to be educated; 11 state schools for girls were founded by 1937 in the major provinces, and the number of female students increased 60 times in 1940 and reached 117,783, which was an increase from 1,975 students in 1911.\textsuperscript{255} In addition to official school education, many informal academies were organised for Korean women to support the limited number of female educational institutions in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{256} Only 939 female students received education in women’s high common schools from 1912 to 1921, but the graduates volunteered to run evening

\textsuperscript{253} “Women’s High Common School Ordinance”, Korea Ministry of Government Legislation 20 Oct 1911, accessed 28 Sep 2019, http://www.law.go.kr/%EB%B2%95%EB%A0%B9/%EC%97%AC%EC%9E%90%EA%B3%A0%EB%93%B1%EB%B3%B4%ED%86%B5%ED%95%99%EA%B5%90%EA%B7%9C%EC%99%(00112,19111020)

\textsuperscript{254} The regulations for drawing class were similar to the Ordinance of High School that was explained in Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{255} Kyeongseong (京城高等女學校, 1911), Pyeongyang (平壤公立高等女學校, 1914), Jeonju (全州公立高等女學校, 1926), Daegu (大邱公立高等女學校, 1926), Busan (釜山公立高等女學校, 1927), and Gwangju (光州公立高等女學校, 1927), Haeju (海州公立高等女學校, 1932), Hamheong (咸興公立高等女學校, 1935), Nanam (羅南公立高等女學校, 1935), Shinyuju (新義州公立高等女學校, 1936), and Daejeon (大田公立高等女學校, 1937) were established by the Japanese Government-General of Korea; Pak Cheolhui, "The Discriminative Characteristics That Appeared in the Distribution of the Learning Opportunities and in the Course after the Graduation from Women’s Godeung Botong School" The Korean Journal of History of Education Vol.28, no.2 (2006), 50.

\textsuperscript{256} 2,345 evening schools for women were established from 1920 to 1931.; Shin Namju, "A Study of the New Women in 1920s", Journal of the Korean Society of Women's Culture Vol.12 (2003), 130–131.
schools and spread the knowledge that they had acquired at formal school.257 Although it was still low, the number of female Korean students showed an increase and they involved themselves in social and cultural development and were also able to take up professions such as teacher, physician, nurse, journalist, and radio announcer based on their interests and education.258

They also made public appearances in fine art, music, and dance as professional artists, which was traditionally considered merely entertaining talents for men’s leisure and social gatherings.259 Most publicly known female artists received formal school education, and their performances began to be perceived as professional artistic activities. Furthermore, as some female artists received higher education abroad that most Koreans could not access, they also contributed greatly to breaking the existing stereotypes concerning females in society, yet it was not easy for educated women to pursue their dreams due to social bias against female professionals.260 Na Hyeseok marked a milestone in the women’s movement in the 1920s and established herself as one of the early renowned female figures.

In such circumstances, Na moved to Tokyo to study Western-style painting in 1914 and encountered a Japanese news magazine, Blue Stocking (seitō, 青鞜) that aimed

257 Ibid.
258 Jeong Jinsong, "Women’s Labor Participation in Colonial Korea", Journal of Korean Women’s Studies Vol.4 (1988), 65; from 1919 to 1938, an average of 59.5 per cent of Women’s High Common School graduates became housewives, 26.4 per cent entered a higher educational institution, 9.6 per cent became teachers; Pak Cheolhui, “The discriminative characteristics that appeared in the distribution of the learning opportunities and the course after the graduation from ‘Women’s Godeung Botong School”, The Korean Journal of History of Education Vol.28, no 2 (2006), 57.
260 Ibid.
to promote equal rights for women through literature and education.\textsuperscript{261} The magazine would remind her about gender discrimination in Korea, which had been deeply entrenched in society. Na began to express her progressive ideas in 1914 by publishing an article, \textit{Ideal Women}, arguing that women should try to develop their personality, and have sufficient ability to understand society to be ahead of the times as pioneers.\textsuperscript{262} As examples of women with great ideals, she mentioned "Ms Nora who followed the ideal of real love", and "Ms Raichō who pursued the ideal of genius". Nora Helmer was the heroine of \textit{A Doll's House}, a Norwegian play of 1879 that portrayed a married woman's sacrificial role for her husband, which was introduced in Japan in 1906, based on the German version with the alternative ending.\textsuperscript{263} The full original shock of Nora's departure from her husband was first revealed in 1911 when the literary society staged the first Japanese performance of \textit{A Doll's House}.\textsuperscript{264} The magazine \textit{Blue Stocking}'s January 1912 issue dealt extensively with the play and the main character; the members of Blue Stocking Society (\textit{seitōsha}) published a 110-page supplement devoted to Nora and made a great effort to reveal their thoughts on a woman's duty to society through the character.\textsuperscript{265} Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971) who was the founding editor of \textit{Blue Stocking} and a renowned writer, campaigner and political


\textsuperscript{262}Na Hyeseok, "Ideal Women", \textit{Hakjigwang} Vol.3 (Dec 1914).

\textsuperscript{263}\textit{A Doll's House} was published in 1879 by Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906). The female protagonist Nora inspired heated debates throughout Europe and the US about the role of women in society; Dina Lowy, "Nora and the ‘New Woman’: Visions of Gender and Modernity in Early Twentieth-Century Japan, \textit{U.S.–Japan Women's Journal} no.26 (2004), 75.


\textsuperscript{265}Dina Lowy, "Nora and the 'New Woman’", 76–84.
activist, also expounded her views on Nora. Na Hyeseok was also deeply inspired by Nora and composed this poem in 1921.

Like I am being happy  
when I play with my doll,  
As a doll of my father's daughter  
As a doll of my husband's wife  
I become a solace  
for their happiness.  
...  
Let go of Nora  
for the last time, obediently.  
From the wall of  
rigid obstruction,  
Open the door  
that has been closed tightly,  
and please let go of Nora.

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266 Na Hyeseok, “A Doll’s House”, Maeil Shinbo, 3 Apr 1921.
She reflected herself in the main character Nora who left the role of ‘doll wife’ to look for her self-identity in the play and expressed the women’s desire to be released from social pressures. In the poem, Na went on to describe the view that women have a ‘sacred duty to be a human’, which corresponded to the idea of the women’s movement, and also published a novel *Kyeonghui* in 1918, which criticised a society that discouraged females’ higher education and demanded early marriage.\(^{267}\)

Hiratsuka Raichō, who led the Blue Stocking Society, was an icon of the women’s movement in Japan from the 1910s and was a sensational public figure for the Korean female students studying in Japan. Na and her female friends organised the Blue Tower Society (*cheongtaphoe*, 靑塔會) inspired by the Blue Stocking Society, and published a monthly magazine *New Women* (*sinyeoja*, 新女子) in 1920.\(^{268}\) This magazine published essays and editorials that addressed gender-based social problems and encouraged women to have aspirations of their own.\(^{269}\)

Na Hyeseok also published an editorial cartoon, *What Is That?* (fig. 4.01) in *New Women*, which demonstrated the cynical social stereotyping of educated girls in Korea.\(^{270}\) The educated girls were called ‘New Lady’ or ‘Modern Girl’ which did not always have a positive connotation.\(^{271}\) Since conformity and obedience were considered

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\(^{269}\) The magazine *New Women* (*sinyeoja*, 新女子) was only published four times, as the fourth issue was impounded by the Japanese government-general on a charge of ‘an offence against public morals’, and the fifth one was never published; "Fourth Issue of New Woman Suffered a Calamity", *Dong-A Daily*, 22 Jul 1920.


the virtues of traditional women, those women who were self-assertive and had professional occupations drew unwelcome attention in society. Na depicted a lady wearing a Western coat and high heels with a violin in her hand, which represented a modern elite woman. Two male aristocrats in traditional clothes were pointing fingers at the woman, saying “Is that something called the violin? Jeez, that chick looks so arrogant, who would wish to take that (her as a wife)?” Such blind bias and prejudice towards modern women were commonly expressed in the early twentieth century. Na's other cartoon, *Domestic Life of Ms Kim Ilyeop* (fig. 4.02) showed the practical difficulties that modern women faced. The character in the cartoon was Na’s close friend Kim Ilyeop 金一葉 (1896–1971) who studied English at the Tokyo Eiwa School (tōkyō eiwa gakkō, 東京英和学校) in 1920 and took the managing editor's position of the magazine *New Women*. Na depicted Kim’s busy life as a housewife and an editor; reading in the late evening and writing a poem while cooking, thinking about *New Women* while sewing and staying up all night and writing articles ‘until dawn. This comic strip spoke for the professional Korean women at the time who juggled a career and housework.

Na Hyeseok not only contributed to the women’s movement but also took an active part in the independence movement against Japan, which eventually imprisoned her for five months in 1919 on a charge of encouraging students to join the independence movement. She began to have the spirit of independence from 1915 while in Japan and formed the Joseon Female Students Social Club (*Joseon yeoja yuhaksaeng chinmokoe*, 朝鮮女子留學生親睦會) with other female students to search

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for ways for them to be involved in Korea’s independence movement. When Na became a teacher at Jinmyeong Girls School (jinmyeong yeohakgyo, 進明女學校) back in Korea, she took part in the March First Independence Movement of 1919 with her students. She also visited major cities in Korea to encourage more women to join the demonstration against colonialism. Na and her colleague activists were arrested on the 8th March and underwent intensive interrogation and some of them even suffered considerable torture.

Despite the difficult time that she had to endure due to her strong belief in Korean independence, Na stood by her political convictions and maintained her passion for the women’s movement. Other female intellectuals also addressed national and female issues together and began to look for a sensible solution for the homeland’s and women’s liberation. Jeong Jongmyoeng 鄭鍾鳴 (1896–?) was a representative female activist of the time who organised the Mutual Aid Society of Female Working Students (yeoja gohaksaeng sangjohoe, 女子苦學生相助會) for female liberation and also formed the Society of Diligent Companions (geunuhoe, 勤友會) which supported the independence movement. Together with many independent groups inside and outside of Korea, female activists made a great effort to raise public concern for Korean independence and also for women’s rights, which eventually brought a change in colonial rule. The second Japanese Governor-General of Korea, Hasegawa Yoshimichi

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275 "Unseen Movement of Hundred Thousand Female Nationalists with the Liberal Idea", Shinhan Minbo, 7 Jun 1919.
長谷川好道 (1850–1924) was criticised for his military approach to the independence movement, and the newly appointed Japanese Governor-General, Saitō Makoto launched Cultural Rule in 1920 to mitigate national antagonism. Koreans were given more educational opportunities and thereby, female students showed a steady increase in numbers during the 1920s.278

Under such circumstances, about 200 girls were able to study at the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in Tokyo during the colonial period, and fifteen female students chose to learn Western-style painting after Na Hyeseok.279 Among the fifteen students, only seven participated in the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition and officially made their name as painters after graduation.280 However, their names were shown only a few times, and most of them stopped exhibiting as they got married or for other personal reasons.281 While female painters were showing a low participation rate in the Korean art society, Na held her solo exhibition at Naecheong House (naechoonggak, 來靑閣) on 19 March 1921, which astonished the whole society and also amazed her artist colleagues. Naecheong House was built as a cultural enterprise as an annexe to the Kyeongseong Newspaper office. By holding exhibitions in the newspaper building, Na Hyeseok and other artists who had an exhibition there were able to be publicised by

280 Ibid, 231.
281 The female painters are explored in detail in the following section, 4.2 Na Hyeseonk and Female Local Colourists in the Joseon Art Exhibition.
the newspaper and the company could earn a reputation on their role in Korean art society through the exhibitions and its articles.282

Na Hyeseok’s solo exhibition was the first Western-style painting exhibition to be held in the capital of Korea. Kim Kwanho, a graduate of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts had held his solo exhibition earlier on 17 December 1916 at the Martial Arts Hall of the Veterans Association (jaehyang guninhoe yeonmujang, 在郷軍人會鍊武場) in Pyeongyang: around fifty paintings were exhibited and the mayor of Pyeongyang, Honda Tsunekichi 本田常吉 (1874–?) purchased two of his paintings.283 Kim’s exhibition had significance as it was the first fine art exhibition displaying Western-style paintings in Korea; however, it was only popularised and circulated within Pyeongyang. Na’s exhibition opened in the capital of Korea, Gyeongseong, and was widely covered by the press and attracted a large number of people, and therefore, had a greater influence over Korean art society and acknowledged as the “the first exciting step of our art society”.

The opening of this (Na Hyeseok’s) exhibition today is such a new phenomenon that I cannot stop being happy. ... I observed the first exciting step of our art society for the public, which was a new experiment. I cannot hide my happiness and I am deeply touched by its desirable step and power, and people’s great love and full consent for it.

금에 이 전람회의 개회됨은 더욱이 깃봄을 주리기 어려울만한 새 현상이로다. … 우리미술계의 홍진하는 조일보를 우리 일반공중 압해서 떼어놓는 신 시험을 관하고 그 보법과 각력의 건전함과 일반의 애호와 찬성의 다툼을 두한히 감격하게 사하야 깃봄을 주리지 못하는 바이라 하노라.284

This anonymous critic greatly appreciated Na’s exhibition in terms of providing opportunities for the public to learn about the Western-style paintings that Na organised. Furthermore, the writer pointed out Na’s pioneering role in changing the social convention that looked down on painters as lower-class craftsmen, and the moribund art society that discouraged painters’ development. Na’s exhibition was indeed a remarkable event that connected the Korean public and the fine arts and brought improvements to artists’ social status.

To introduce Western-style paintings to the Korean public and encourage civic participation, Na Hyeseok opened her exhibition free of charge and officially invited them in a newspaper article.285 It was only in 1907 that the Korean public began to have opportunities to enjoy paintings in public places; the Kyeongseong Exposition (gyeongseong bangnamhoe, 京城博覽會) of 1907 that aimed to develop knowledge of the general public displayed paintings and prints along with other agricultural and

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industrial products. The Joseon Products Fair (Joseon mulsan gongjinhoe, 朝鮮物産共進會) of 1914 also exhibited various Korean and Japanese products, including traditional Korean, Japanese, and Western-style paintings. Such national events were for advertising the achievements of the nation, therefore, the exhibited paintings were also regarded as products as a part of the entire show. Therefore, Na’s two-day fine art exhibition that solely displayed Western-style paintings as artworks stimulated people’s curiosity and attracted more than four thousand visitors (fig. 4.03).

According to a news article that reported her exhibition, around seventy paintings were displayed, and about twenty paintings were sold; her New Spring was sold at 350 won; in the same year at the Exhibition of the Calligraphy and Painting Society, Beauty Chasing Butterflies by Kim Eunho 金殷鎬 (1892–1979), who was a famous Imperial painter of the Joseon dynasty, sold his painting for 300 won, and Yi Doyoung’s 李道榮 (1884–1933) Golden Pheasant was sold for 500 won in the following year in 1922. Considering the average monthly salary of school teacher was 24 won in 1923, paintings of well-known painters cost far more than the annual salary of

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286 The Korea–Japan Exposition of 1906 in Busan, and the Train Exposition in Incheon, in 1907 were organised earlier but on a small scale; Center for Art Studies, Visual Culture and Spectators in Modern Gyeongseong (Center for Art Studies, 2018), 24.
289 Ibid.
290 “Resplendent Exhibition”, Maeil Shinbo, 2 Apr 1921; “Successful Exhibition Opening, Old and New Paintings”, Maeil Shinbo, 1 Apr 1922.
ordinary people in Korea. Although the exhibition was for the general public, consumers remained within a certain upper class.

Since Na inaugurated the beginning of a fine art exhibition for general audiences, several public exhibitions were organised soon after and made a positive contribution to extending public participation in art. Elizabeth Keith (1887–1956), a British painter who was travelling in Korea, held an exhibition in Seoul in September of the same year of Na's exhibition. Keith displayed woodcut prints (fig. 4.04) and watercolour paintings of Korean culture and left an interesting note about audiences in her book.

How I loved watching the old Korean gentlemen, many of them of the old nobility, carefully examining each picture. ... Many of the Koreans were a bit bewildered at getting a glimpse of themselves as others see them. On the whole, the Japanese were the most understanding artistically.

For most Koreans of the early 1920s, Western paintings were still unfamiliar and bizarre. Keith's style of clear and detailed outlines and vivid colouration based on her close observation of Koreans would have been attractive and yet made them “bewildered” by the new style of painting. According to her records, the Japanese audiences who had been exposed to many art exhibitions in their homeland evidenced more mature attitudes, while Koreans seemed confused and uncertain. The Korean

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291 “Minimum Living Expense is 7 won”, Dong-A Daily, 8 Feb 1923.
292 “British Female Painter’s Art Exhibition”, Dong-A Daily, 18 Sep 1921.
audiences’ lack of experience of Western painting looked obvious in the foreigners’ eyes, which Na also pointed out earlier, saying that the society had been neglecting painting in particular compared to literature and music, and this caused people’s lack of understanding of painting.  

In her article Painting and Korean Women: many Korean women have a great talent for painting, which was published right before her solo exhibition, Na focused especially on female audiences and stated that although several circumstances around Korean women obstructed them from having an interest in painting, women were always welcome in her exhibition.

In 1921, a remarkable public exhibition that introduced Western paintings was organised by Yanagi Muneyoshi 柳宗悦 (1889–1961), a Japanese philosopher and art critic who greatly appreciated Korean traditional crafts and art. Yanagi held the Exhibition of Replicas of Western Masterpieces (fig. 4.05) in Korea and explained that “the person who knows the beauty of the West would truly understand that of the East. The exhibition displayed about 230 replicas from Greek to modern artworks, including paintings of Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni (1475–1564), Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) through to Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), aiming to promote Western paintings to the Korean public. He encouraged Korean youth to visit the exhibition, saying, “Korean friends, please do not hesitate to come only because it’s organised by a Japanese. We are your friends; we sincerely hope to be your friends. We

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295 In Yanagi’s view, Korea had harsh and painful history, and it was expressed in the hidden loneliness and sadness of their art: he understood ‘beauty of sadness (hiainobi, 悲哀の美) as the supreme beauty of Korean art, and white was the colour which expressed sadness in their art. His aesthetic views on Korean art need further evaluation as they were coloured by exoticism under Japanese colonisation, Yanagi’s genuine help to Koreans and Korean art should remain positive.; Kikuchi Yuko, Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism (Routledge: 2004), 131-140.
296 Yanagi Muneyoshi, “About Exhibition of Replicas of Western Masterpieces 2”, Dong-A Daily, 3 Dec 1921.
do not lie about such matters”. In the following year, Yanagi hosted the Exhibition of William Blake (1757–1827) that displayed about 20 replicas of original prints of William Blake, the well-known English painter and printmaker, at the Japanese Christian church (ilbon gidokgyo hoedang, 日本基督教會堂) in Seoul. Although both exhibitions that Yanagi organised presented reproduced artworks, they must have been eye-catching events for the public who previously had not seen any Western paintings, and also sensational for Korean artists having the opportunity to see the works of European masters.

Na’s exhibition and the following series of Western painting exhibitions in the early 1920s exposed various Western paintings directly to Korean viewers and helped them to have a broader understanding of art. Although Ko Huidong and other Western-style painters had attempted to introduce Western-style paintings through several publications, Na was the first artist to organise a Western-style painting exhibition and provide the Korean public with a chance to see the artworks in person. She pioneered public art exhibitions in the Korean art society in 1921 and created conditions favourable for them to enjoy art, and consequently, many fine art exhibitions for the general public were organised successively in the 1920s. Furthermore, Na consistently contributed several articles to newspapers and magazines which delivered information about Western art and culture and demonstrated her thoughts as a female painter who had a strong sense of national identity. In her article, About (the) Western-style Art Exhibition, she stated that Korea used to have glorious works of art in the past, but it has faded away, and “it is no exaggeration to say that Korean nationals nowadays do not...

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297 Yanagi Muneyoshi, “About Exhibition of Replicas of Western Masterpieces 1-3”, Dong-A Daily, 2–4 Dec 1921.
298 “Print Exhibition of British Artist”, Dong-A Daily, 14 Jan 1922.
have any ideas about art". Na argued that painting is the most effective means for spiritual consolation and emphasised the important role of the art exhibition.

Na Hyeseok was actively engaged in various activities regarding Western art and exhibition culture in Korea but she had to move to Andong county (安東縣) in Northeast China, as her husband Kim Wooyoung (金雨英, 1886–1958) whom she married in 1920, was transferred to the county as the Korean vice-consul in 1921. Andong county was located on the north-western border of Korea and occupied by Japan after the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Since the Empire of Japan constructed the first bridge built across the Yalu River and connected Northeast China with Korea in 1911, the number of Korean immigrants in Andong gradually increased and reached 6,341 among the 110,548 Korean settlers of Northeast China in 1927. Most Korean settlers in Andong were engaged in the manufacturing industry, labouring, or farming, and many of them had no fixed residence. For those who were not able to register for formal education, Na established a women's night school for Korean women in Andong.

While enlightening the public was a high priority to realise independence against Japan, about 332 women's night schools were established in the early 1920s and Na Hyeseok, who had always been enthusiastic about the nation's independence, took the

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300 “Korean Vice-consul”, Dong-A Daily, 25 Sep 1921.
303 The Andong Common School was established in 1918 funded by the Japanese Government-General; “Ms. Na Hyeseok Built Women’s Night School in Andong County”, Dong-A Daily, 22 Mar 1922.
initiative in education. She led classes from seven to ten o’clock at night, three days a week. The night schools during the colonial period not only taught the Korean language and history but also lectured on the current state under Japanese colonialism and the legitimacy of independence. However, in 1929, some educated women still argued that the main purpose of female education was to be a wise housewife who could sensibly manage domestic life; they did not recommend women to pursue careers outside the home. For Korean women who had been living in a male-dominated society, having progressive ideas and taking an active part in society required a long-term effort. Na, again, formed the Social Gathering of Korean Women (buin chinmokoe, 婦人親睦會) in 1926 in Andong to keep on guiding more women to have an interest in social issues.

Korean New Women are only a few. Kim Myeongsun, Kim Wonjoo, Na Hyeseok, Kim Mirisa, Jeong Jongmyeong, Shin Albert, Pak Wonhui and Han Kijoo—only them. Only they publish writings, make speeches, lead education, play music, and guide ideological movements—They are the few figures in Korean women’s society who could speak out. Only their names are shown in newspapers, magazines, and announcements.

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305 "Ms. Na Hyeseok Built Women’s Night School in Andong County", Dong-A Daily, 22 Mar 1922.
307 Yi Jeongsuk, "To Graduates; Disharmony is Women’s Responsibility", Dong-A Daily, 11 Mar 1929.
308 "Social Gathering of Korean Women in Andong Province", Dong-A Daily, 9 Sep 1926; "Visit Touring 303; Abroad International City 8", Dong-A Daily, 1 May 1927.
조선 신여자란 도대체 고 멋 사람밥게 엽담. 김명순이니 김원주니 라혜석이니 김미리사니 정종명이니 신알베트니 박원희니 윤심탁이니 한기주니 - 하는 그네들밥게 엽단 말이야. 글을 쓰다 해도 그 멋 사람, 말을 한다 해도 그 멋 사람, 교육을 한다 해도 그 멋 사람, 음악을 한다 해도 그 멋 사람, 사상운동도 그 멋 사람 - 운 조선녀자계의 무어라 무어라 하는 것은 그 사람들 박게는 엽데그려. 신문에 오르내리기도 그네, 잡지에 오르내리기도 그네, 공개장도 그네 뿐.309

The writer who used the penname Pak Dolyi pointed out nine Korean women’s names and argued that they were the only notable female activists who frequently exposed their identities in the 1920s. Those listed women were able to stand as professional female figures who received the higher education that was rarely open to Korean females. While 93 per cent of the female population were illiterate in the 1930s, these women received high school education and some of them studied in Japan and the U.S. and played a leading part in the female movement in Korea.310 They had a meaningful impact as the first generation of Korean female celebrities in professional fields, however, their various social activities were often severely criticised in the wider male-centred society; the writer of this article paid enough attention to be able to list the names of female activists, but he kept the sarcastic tone and said that the “new women are full of vanity, who do not know the beauty of truthful humanity”, without suggesting

309 Pak Dolyi, "Talking about Problems of New Women in the Night", New Women Vol.11 (Dec 1924), 47.
any reasonable grounds for that harsh judgement.\textsuperscript{311} A magazine article titled \textit{Warning: if you marry female students} argued that the educated women were extravagant and they were only interested in a romantic relationship, but not in politics nor philosophy, and needless to say, knew nothing about housework.\textsuperscript{312} This anonymous writer finished the article by saying “I could not ignore such an awkward situation, therefore, I wrote this article with my special intention of making ‘someone’ reflect on themselves”. These kinds of biased ideas showing hostility against educated women repeatedly appeared in mass media in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{313} Many writers, mostly male, made cynical remarks about educated women, openly saying “women who know nothing and willingly obey (men) are a hundred times better than those who know a little and are cocky”.\textsuperscript{314}

Korean society of the time was not ready to officially acknowledge women's social status, and the prominent female figures’ affection for homeland and efforts to enlighten other Korean women were not only underestimated but also became a target for ridicule. Under these hostile circumstances, most educated girls hesitated to show themselves in society and were passive about getting a profession. Regarding the social perception of women in Korea, the initial endeavour that Na Hyeseok and the first generation of professional females made was a courageous step forward for women's rights.\textsuperscript{315}

\textsuperscript{311} Pak Dolyi, “Talking about Problems of New Women in the Night”, 48.
\textsuperscript{312} Ssang S Saeng, ”Warning: If You Marry Female Student”, \textit{Byeolgeongon} Vol.10 (1927), 134–139.
\textsuperscript{313} \textit{Byeolgeongon} 別乾坤 was a liberal magazine that was published from November 1926 to July 1934, claiming to eliminate ‘underhand measures’. This magazine showed progressive ideas in many articles but at the same time, most writings were written by men and presented negative opinions of elite women.
\textsuperscript{314} “Unmarried Spinsters' Views of Marriage”, \textit{Byeolgeongon} 4, (1927), 118.
\textsuperscript{315} Female novelists such as Kang Gyeongae 姜敬愛 (1908–1943) and Baek Shinae 白信愛 (1908–1939) often portrayed the life of the lower class in Korea who suffered from economic
4.2 Na Hyeseok and Female Local Colourists in the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition

In contrast to most female students who graduated from the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in Tokyo, yet did not pursue an art career, Na Hyeseok was able to continue working as a painter with the assistance of her husband Kim Wooyoung. While the couple were staying in Northeast China in 1925, the first female journalist of *Joseon Daily*, Choi Eunhui 崔恩喜 (1904–1984) visited their house and reported: “her atelier on the ground floor was full of hundreds of paintings, and more paintings were hanging in the bedrooms, kitchen, and on the doors of the reception room, kitchen, bathroom, and lavatory”. Na had her husband’s full support and continued painting even in a foreign country. Due to the unstable environment of Andong county—frequent attacks by armed independence groups on Japanese officials, the Japanese police’s strict vigilance against Korean activists, limited public facilities and institutions—the vast majority of the emigrants from Korea belonged to the working class and engaged in agriculture. Therefore, Na hardly had any chance to meet other painters in the area, and focused solely on painting and actively participated in the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition.

difficulties and mental anguish. Kang Gyeongae is considered the most important female writer during the Japanese colonial era, who made her official debut by publishing ‘Broken Violin’. She was involved in a unified student strike against Japan in 1923 and was expelled from Pyeongyang Sungee Girls’ School. Baek Shinae made her debut in 1929 by winning the annual spring literary contest with ‘My Mother’, and left more than twenty novels behind when she died at the age of 31. They described unprivileged people’s lives minutely and reported the absurdity of the current situation under Japanese imperialism. Even though there were only a few in many fields, they consistently revealed their opinions and underlying intentions through mass media. Since it was impossible to report political issues directly or express their sense of national consciousness against Japan, they took indirect ways to show their thoughts by reflecting the reality of Korean people under colonial rule.

316 Na Hyeseok, “About My Husband”, *Shinyeoseong* Vol.4, no.6 (Jun 1926), 27.
Na’s two paintings, *Spring is Coming* and *Farmhouse*, were accepted at the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in 1922; both depicted the common sight of rural areas that could be easily seen anywhere (table 3). *Spring is Coming* highlighted two female farmers cultivating farmland in traditional Korean clothes in a village with traditional houses and stone walls, surrounded by high mountains. *Farmhouse* also evoked a similar atmosphere by depicting a farming family; a man is working in the field with a hoe and a little girl is sitting on the ground by his side. Behind them, a woman is milling grain with a millstone in an open barn, and Na carefully drew several agricultural tools such as mortar, shovel, grain sacks, and a hand cart; her paintings represented an ordinary Korean farming family. Considering these two paintings were made while she was living in China, she possibly portrayed immigrant families in Andong county.

Na Hyeseok’s other two paintings, *Fenghuang Mountain* and the *South Gate of Fenghuang Fortress* which depicted landscapes of China were submitted for the second Joseon Fine Art Exhibition. Fenghuang district was a well-known assembly place of Korean independent activists, which was not too far from where Na lived. The news about Fenghuang District Independence Group (*Bonghuangseong dongnipdan* 鳳凰城獨立團) appeared in March 1922 and the area was frequently reported in newspapers regarding overseas activists in the Korean independence movement. It is not known why she went to the area but, considering her activities in China, it is assumed that she went to assist independence activists or Korean immigrants.

Na Hyeseok never officially mentioned the reason for portraying the area, but considering that she took part in the *Incident of Heroic Corps* (*uiyeoldan sageon*,

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319 Andong County and Fenghuang Mountain are about 70km away.
義烈團事件）that aimed to blow up the Japanese government office buildings, and Na helped the members carry bombs and guns into Korea from China by using her stable status as the wife of a Korean vice-consul, it is assumed that she visited the area with a certain purpose. 321 She would not portray the serious situation regarding the independence activists, but she depicted the Korean settlers and their way of living in the area. She won fourth prize for *South Gate of Fenghuang Fortress* that depicted Korean settlers in a street market and described a Korean farmer working in a barren field in Mountain Fenghuang. She continued to pay attention to the overseas Koreans, and not only participated in various social activities for them but also described their life in her paintings. Although Na was not related to the agricultural industry nor familiar with farming practices, more than 93 per cent of the Korean population in Andong county belonged to agriculture, she made a close connection to them and reflected her concerns on canvas. 322

It should be emphasised that Na’s debut works for the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition have a common theme; given that she previously displayed around 70 paintings in her solo exhibition, including portrait, still-life, figure, and landscape painting, it is obvious that Na chose the specific theme for the national exhibition that would attract a lot of attention from the Korean public. Her nationalist sentiment was expressed in her paintings by appreciating the homeland and its nationals’ daily lives, which also corresponded to what Ko Huidong had argued for the development and practice of Local Colourism in Korea. Ko Huidong and Na Hyeseok both participated in the Exhibition of the Calligraphy and Painting Society in 1921 and displayed their Western-

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style paintings. Na was not a member of the society, which was comprised only male artists, but she was invited to show her works. This group exhibition opened two weeks after Na's solo exhibition that had attracted thousands of people in two days. Her name was well-known by then in Korean art society, and Ko was a board member of the Calligraphy and Painting Society; although there is no detailed record of how they interacted with each other, Ko and Na must have been aware of each other as they share a strong sense of national identity, which extended to Local Colourism.

Ko Huidong's Local Colour painting showed familiar Korean scenery and people as he appreciated the nature and people of his homeland, which were also distinctive features of Korea. Na was more focused on people's daily life in her two paintings and revealed national characteristics through commoners' ordinary works in their way of living. As the forerunners of Korean Local Colourism, neither Ko nor Na captured the special or scenic attraction of Korea but rather, closely described common scenes and common people to show their caring for the country. Interestingly, a growing number of Korean artists who participated in the national exhibition shared similar ideas in the 1920s. The early Local Colourists considered that national characteristics and spirit should be extracted from Korean culture and its history of more than four thousand years.323

Na Hyeseok was one of the most prolific Western-style painters during the Japanese colonial era, however, every painting of Na's that had been submitted to the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition was lost or not officially publicised, and only black-and-white prints of her paintings are seen in the exhibition catalogues.324 Her painting style, which

323 Sangseop, "Individuality and Arts", 8.
324 Many paintings and cultural heritages were destroyed or disappeared during the Korean War (1950–1953), and more were damaged after the war in the process of restoring them. More
could be commonly seen in her paintings of the 1920s, reflected the influences that Na absorbed while she was studying at the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in Japan from 1913 to 1918. She learnt Western-style painting from Isono Yoshio 磯野吉雄 (1875–1948), Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助 (1869–1939), and Kobayasi Mango 小林萬吾 (1870–1947) in the school but was not specifically affected by her teachers.\(^{325}\) She later recalled, “4-5 years that I spent in Japan for studying was completely useless”.\(^{326}\)

Na learnt basic painting techniques and skills in the school, but she was not satisfied with what she acquired and attempted to establish her own style by learning from the art trends through the contemporary exhibitions and magazines in Japan; the Ministry of Education Arts Exhibition of the 1910s in Japan was dominated by established artists and professors from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and Kuroda Seiki’s light-toned plein-air- and Impressionist-style paintings were prevalent, and she took inspiration from them during her stay in Japan.\(^{327}\)

Furthermore, art magazines that presented reprinted Western paintings and art theories became a great eye-opener for Na and other artists.\(^{328}\) She felt a great interest in Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, therefore her ten paintings selected at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition from 1922 to 1927 (see table 4.01), were all open composition, plein-air-style paintings,

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\(^{325}\) Takahashi Naoko and Yi Mirim, “Study on Western Art Education”, 155.


and applied rough brush strokes with ordinary subject matter, showed that her painting style was established upon the art trend that she experienced.\textsuperscript{329}

While most Western paintings introduced through magazines were printed in black and white, Na got a chance to see Gauguin’s original painting, \textit{Rocks and Sea} (fig. 4.06) displayed at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition as a reference painting.\textsuperscript{330} It was the first original work of Gauguin introduced in Korea, and also one of the earliest Post-Impressionism paintings to be shown in the nation. This painting was originally purchased by Matsukata Kōjirō 松方幸次郎 (1865–1950) who was the son of the fourth Prime Minister of Japan, Matsukata Masayoshi 松方正義 (1835–1924) and a successful businessman who collected Impressionist works including paintings by Claude Monet (1840–1926), Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890), and many sculptures by Auguste Rodin (1840–1917).\textsuperscript{331} \textit{Rocks and Sea} was presumably loaned to the Korea Military Headquarters and displayed at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition with its catalogue recorded as “submitted by the Korea Military Headquarters”.\textsuperscript{332}

\textsuperscript{329} In 1921, Ōhara Magosaburō (大原孫三郎, 1880–1943) first put his collection of French art on view, allowing the public to study at leisure works of Matisse, Renoir, Maurice Denice, Monet, and Cézanne. Paul Claudel (1888–1955) who arrived in Tokyo as France’s ambassador to Japan in 1921, helped arrange in that year an exhibition held in Tokyo that displayed works by several modern French masters, including Cézanne, Renoir, Paul Signac, Bonnard, Rodin, and Antoine Bourdelle, among others.; J. Thomas Rimer, \textit{Tokyo in Paris/Paris in Tokyo. Paris in Japan: the Japanese encounter with European painting} (Saint Louis, Mo.: Washington University Gallery of Art, 1987), 49.

\textsuperscript{330} \textit{Catalogue of the First Joseon Fine Art Exhibition} (Joseon Fine Art Exhibition Association, 1922), 61.


\textsuperscript{332} Lieutenant General Ōba Jirō 大庭二郎 (1864–1935) was the commanding officer of the Korea Military Headquarters (joseongun saryeongbu, 朝鮮軍司令部), and Major General Yasumitsu Kinichi 安滿欽一 (1871–1960) was the chief of staff.
In the painting *Rocks and Sea*, Gauguin portrayed the seascape of *Le Pouldu* (north-western France) at sunset, which was filled with vibrant and harmonious colours. Including this overwhelming painting, Na was mostly exposed to the works of Post-Impressionist artists and applied some of their unique features in her own paintings. According to an art critic who reviewed Na’s works: “more detailed brushstrokes are needed in her painting, in other words, do not lose feelings of the outdoor sketch. Also, harmonious colours are required to be clear in light and darkness”.

This anonymous critic set the standard of Western-style painting in the plein-air style and Impressionism and advised Na to follow such trends. This critique proved that her paintings tend to show distinctive brush strokes and vivid colours with real-life subject matter that was imbued with her ideas and emotions, also closer to Post-Impressionism styles and ideas. Na Hyeseok herself mentioned that her style was mostly affected by Post-Impressionism and her paintings of the 1920s showed its influence in style.

The first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition, where Na displayed her first two Local Colour paintings, successfully attracted more than twenty thousand people, and the Japanese Governor-General of Korea, Saitō Makoto also visited the exhibition. It was held at the Commercial Museum of the Japanese Government-General building, and Saitō visited on the first day, the 2 June, and interestingly, recognised Na’s name among other painters. He commented, “I heard Ms Na is an activist. Does she paint as well?”

What Saitō said about Na was simple, but it meant that Na was a well-known female independence activist. Already in the early 1920s, Na was famous for her political

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334 "Among Awarded Artworks at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition", *Joseon Daily*, 2 May 1926.
335 “Sales Record of the Art Exhibition”, *Maeil Shinbo*, 23 Jun 1922.
336 "Admiration of the Japanese Governor-General of Korea, Saitō", *Maeil Shinbo*, 3 Jun 1922.
activities related to the Korean independence movement but also starting to earn fame as a painter. She was not satisfied with her present status and put more effort into art education.

In 1923, Na was invited to become a founding member of the Goryeo Art Association (goryeo misulhoe, 高麗美術會), organised by nine Korean artists who deplored the stagnation of contemporary Korean art.337 She was still living in China, but she visited Korea occasionally by train, which took around twelve hours in the 1920s.338 The association held a Western-style painting exhibition and established the Goryeo Art Research Centre (goryeo misurwon, 高麗美術院) in the same year, aiming to foster younger generations of artists by running traditional- and Western-style painting and sculpture classes.339 In the association, Na met Baek Namsun 白南舜 (1904–1994), Kim Myeonghwa 金明華 (1903–1997), and Yi Sukjong 李淑鍾 (1904–1985) who were studying at the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in Japan.340 The art association was the first official occasion for Na to meet other female painters who also studied Western-style painting. Not only the members, but six more female students graduated from the same art school and put their name on the list of the awardees of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition (table 4). Unfortunately, there are barely any records of their private lives nor official activities; only the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition Catalogues offer a valuable...

337 “The Exhibition of the Goryeo Art Research Continues until This Friday”, Dong-A Daily, 1 Oct 1923.
338 There were some newspaper reports that Na’s husband Kim Wooyoung had commuted officially from Andong to Kyeongseong as he was Korean vice-consul of Andong county.; “Train Schedule Changes from 1 November”, Dong-A Daily, 2 Sep 1927.
339 “Goryeo Art Association”, Joseon Daily, 21 December 1923.; This research centre got widely known as five members of the centre, including Na, awarded at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition of 1924 among eight Korean awardees; “Goryeo Art Association Took Over the Prestige of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition”, Joseon Daily, 6 Jun 1924.
visual material archive of the female painters; Yun Shiseon 尹時善 (1898–?) who graduated from the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in 1928, awarded at the seventh Joseon Fine Art Exhibition of 1928 for *Dolls*, and Yi Sukjong’s *Mask* and *Landscape with Red Building*, were selected at the exhibition in 1929 and the following year. Yi became a teacher at the Kyeongseong Girls’ School of Commerce (게영성여자상업학교, 京城女子商業學校) and gave a series of talks on Korean colours and tastes in the 1930s.³⁴¹ Na Sangyun 羅祥允 (1904–2011) graduated from the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in 1927 and in 1928 married To Sangbong 都相鳯 (1902–1977), a pupil of Ko Huidong from Boseong High School (보성고등普成高等普通學校) in 1916 and was one of the important Western-style painters in Korean art. She displayed paintings in her husband’s solo exhibition in September 1928 and was featured at the ninth Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in 1930 for her *Campus of Tokyo Imperial University*.³⁴² They opened Sungsam Atelier (崇三畵室), a Western-style painting institute in 1931 to “contribute to the Korean art society that does not have advanced ideas on art, and to assist people who would like to study Western-style painting”.³⁴³ To Sangbong passionately made still-life paintings of the Joseon dynasty’s white porcelain with flowers, which became his major style of painting and received many people’s acclaim up to the present day. On the other hand, Na Sangyun did not present any paintings after 1930 and seemed to focus solely on teaching at the atelier.

³⁴¹ “Tonight, at seven in the Young Men's Association Hall: Listen to Female Disputants Flaming Harangues”, *Dong-A Daily*, 7 Dec 1934.
³⁴² “Western-style Painting Exhibition of Mr. Do Sangbong”, *Dong-A Daily*, 2 Aug 1928.
³⁴³ "Mr. Do Sangbong and His Wife's Western-style painting Institute", *Dong-A Daily*, 30 Sep 1931.
Yi Inbok 李仁福 (?–?) submitted *Korean Dance* in 1936 that depicted a Korean girl dancing in traditional dress and Yi Gaphyang's 李甲郷 (?–?) *Self-Portrait* of 1936 and *Lady with Check Patterned Dress* of 1937 were also consecutively accepted at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in the 1930s. Jeong Onnye 鄭溫女 (1920–2005)'s *Study of Spring* was accepted in 1940, and she continued to study Western-style painting at the Nihon University College of Art (*nippon daigaku bijutsu gakuin*, 日本大學美術學院), after graduating from the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in 1941.344 She held a solo exhibition at the gallery of Hwashin Department Store (*hwashin baekwajeom*, 和信百貨店) for a week from 5 September 1947 displaying around 40 paintings.345 Jeong was regarded as “a promising painter who recalled the styles of the French painter, Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919)“, but as she later defected to North Korea after the Korean war of 1950, not much was known about her.346

The six female painters briefly explored above did not continue presenting themselves in official events while Na Hyeseok and other female members of the Goryeo Art Association engaged in several activities. Baek Namsun could not complete her study in Japan due to health problems and later she stated that charcoal drawing was the only skill she learnt from school.347 Although Baek did not receive further art education, she gave art lessons at Gamyeong School (*gamyeong hakgyo*, 加明學校), continuously produced Western-style paintings and participated in the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition. Na and Baek had a similar educational background and work experience in education and both of them took part in the national exhibition. They developed a sense

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346 Some paintings of Jeong Onnye are traded back and forth online, but there are issues of provenance around them since it is difficult to distinguish imitations from originals.
347 “Western-style Painter, Painting is Life”, *Joseon Daily*, 1 Jan 1928.
of solidarity as there were only a few female Western-style painters and their relationship became stronger in 1929 when they both stayed in Paris and painted together.348

Na Hyeseok was actively engaged in social activities and published several articles in the 1920s, whereas Baek Namsun threw her efforts solely into painting. Her first painting displayed at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in 1925, *Still-life* (fig. 4.07) was her earliest extant painting. She described the Goryeo dynasty celadon that has been considered a representative masterpiece of Korean cultural heritage349; a melon-shaped pitcher and a flower-shaped cup and its stand were portrayed in the middle of her painting (fig. 4.08). Baek took the Goryeo celadon as the subject of her first debut work to the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition and expressed her keen interest in historical Korean culture and art. Baek soon left for France for further study and settled in the Académie Scandinave in Paris, an art school that offered eclectic, undogmatic art education towards figurative tendencies, run by Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish artists.350 The relationship between Baek Namsun and Na Hyeseok continued in Paris, as Na visited France with her husband in 1929. Baek recalled that Na often told her: “We are the people who would be recorded in Korean art history”, and said that she had a heavy responsibility to light up Korean art and its history.351 They visited many galleries and museums together, and Na encouraged Baek to continue her efforts in painting as a

348 Yun Beommo, “The formation of women’s art in modern times, the cases of Na Hyeseok and Baek Namsun”, *Journal of Studies on Rha Hyeseok* Vol.2 (2013), 178.
Korean artist; Na always had a great love of her own country and actively shared her ideas with others.

Kim Myeonghwa was also a female member of the Goryeo Art Association who graduated from the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts and became associated with Na Hyeseok and Baek Namsun. She only left one painting, *Friend wearing Korean clothes* (fig. 4.09) at the seventh Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in 1928.\(^{352}\) Kim portrayed a young girl with a short hairstyle who wore a traditional dress. She also depicted several books on a table and a Western-style painting on a wall for the background. This painting shows an image of the newly emerged female student who read books, appreciated paintings and wore a new short haircut that was different from the traditional long hairstyle. The educated women and their short haircuts in the mid-1920s were often publicly ridiculed and taunted by men; a schoolgirl interviewed in 1932 said that she would like to have the new haircut, but she was afraid of public ridicule: there were still many people with intolerant views on Korean women’s new fashion until the early 1930s.\(^{353}\) When Na got a haircut, it was even reported in a newspaper in 1927.\(^{354}\) What Kim Myeonghwa showed in her painting was a close friend of hers, however, it represented the image of the educated girl who adopted a new culture in the society that was not favourable to the elite women. The modern girl in the painting wore a traditional Korean dress and it was emphasised in the title as ‘*Korean clothes* (朝鮮服)’. The protagonist of the painting represented Kim and the young generation living in the same era; many girl students in Seoul had a strong sense of national identity in the same era.  

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\(^{353}\) “Girl Students, Cut Your Hair”, *Samchenli* 4 no.5 (May 1932), 18.

\(^{354}\) “Ms. Na Hyeseok’s Short Hair”, *Joseon Daily*, 9 Dec 1927.
1920s, and most of them participated in an independence movement in January 1930.355

Na Hyeseok, Baek Namsun, and Kim Myeonghwa were the three representative female Western-style painters of the 1920s who presented the sense of Korean national identity through their works. It is interesting to see how they showed their ideas in different painting genres; landscape, still-life, and figure paintings. Under colonial rule, Koreans developed the notion of a unitary nation and the artists expressed the distinctiveness of the Korean nation in their works.356 Na primarily made Local Colour paintings by observing farming villages and their original inhabitants. Baek Namsun and Kim Myeonghwa took the unique subject matter to reveal the distinctive cultural identity of Korea in their works. These three initial female Local Colourists developed diverse Local Colour paintings and became involved in Local Colourism in the 1920s.

Any individual or any society could be stronger and mature through hardship rather than by comfort. The person who appears under the circumstance could be a great figure, the idea that appears under the circumstance could be thought through, and the art that appears under the circumstance could be profound works. ... Korean people's national base would be stabilised by overcoming and winning through this crisis.

Na published an article in 1923, stating that Japanese imperialism was a “crisis” that Korean people should overcome. Na and her two female painter colleagues endured Japanese colonialism together and revealed their sense of national identity by depicting distinctive Korean traditions and culture in their works. As alumni of the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts, and members of the Goryeo Art Association, the three female painters shared similar ideas on paintings and showed exemplifying Local Colour paintings of the 1920s. Their nationalist sentiments contributed to shaping Local Colourism in Western-style painting in the precarious political situation. They explicitly chose paintings’ subject matter that could show a certain national characteristic and revealed the essence of Local Colourism. Unfortunately, the female Western-style painters’ extant writings and paintings were very few, and most of their pictures were only able to be identified through the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition Catalogues.

In March 1927, Na Hyeseok sent a letter to Yanakihara Kichibe 柳原吉兵衛 (1858–1945) who was a Japanese entrepreneur and president of the Commemorative Association of Imperial Yi (iwangga eogyeongsa ginyeomhoe, 李王家御慶事記念會). This

357 Na Hyeseok, “About the Suicide of Kang Myeonghwa”, Dong-A Daily, 8 July 1923.
association was organised to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Korea, Yi Eun 李垠 (1897–1970) and the Japanese Princess Nashimoto Masako 梨本宮方子 (1901–1989) in 1920. Yanakihara supported Korean female students in Japan with a vocation, for the harmony between Korea and Japan. He believed that education for Korean women was important as they would teach the following generation. Na Hyeseok established a friendship with the Yanakihara couple as they helped Na’s niece Kim Sukbae 金淑培 (1905? –1997) to study in Japan. In the letter that Na sent to them, she briefly stated that she was busy preparing for the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in May and she was trying to draw a Korean farming family. This painting is assumed to be One Spring Afternoon (see table 4.01) which was an award-winner at the sixth Joseon Fine Art Exhibition. In this painting, Na again showed her concerns for the motherland and captured countryside scenery. A peasant woman is pounding grain in a large mortar in front of a humble thatched cottage. Big earthenware pots that traditionally store comestible goods take up a corner of the garden and peach blossom trees behind them show the spring season. She appreciated the peaceful landscapes of the countryside and its residents but had different views on urban areas and city dwellers.

During the exhibition period, Na visited the capital of Korea and criticised the radical change in social conditions. She claimed that it was too easy to find Japanese products everywhere and people on the street looked so extravagant in their dress.

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361 Na Hyeseok, "Impression of Coming to Kyeongseon", Dong-A Daily, 27 May 1927.
She pointed out the Korean Product Promotion Campaign (joseon mulsan jangnyeo undong, 朝鮮物産奨勵運動), a nationwide nationalist economic campaign that encouraged Koreans to buy Korean products rather than Japanese goods, and showed her concern about the social trend.\textsuperscript{362} Na's brother Kyeongseok was in the centre of the campaign, therefore, she naturally paid special attention to it. She belonged to the upper class and could have had an easy life in her given environment, but in her writing, \textit{An Impression in Kyeongseong}, she criticised those luxurious people in the city, whereas she admired the native farmers in rural areas. She emphasised expressing national characteristics in painting and made ordinary Korean customs and landscapes her main subjects, similarly to other Local Colourists, and particularly added her own opinion of the “right way to proceed for Korean people” in her paintings. Na's Local Colour artworks of the 1920s show scenes of a farming village in Korea and the local villagers, which demonstrates her concerns about the nation-state. Her sense of nationalism and a desire for national independence was implied in her paintings, which was a fundamental idea of Local Colourism in Korea. The arts of Korea should be developed, and Koreans should put much effort into it. ... All the rich Korean resources are developed by the outsiders and Korean nature is about to be conquered by the outsiders, which are insults to Koreans and that is why we just cannot only worry about it. Now we cannot bear to see outsiders' dogmatism in the artistic expression of nature nor admiration of its virtuosity. There are

\textsuperscript{362} Kim Jinwung, \textit{A History of Korea: From "Land of the Morning Calm" to States in Conflict} (Indiana University Press, 2012), 342; “Produce and Consume the Local Product, Start from Today”, \textit{Dong-A Daily}, 16 Feb 1923.
no national boundaries in art, but as masters of the native soil, it is not possible not to have such a spirit.

조선에는 예술이 발전하여야 할 것이요, 조선인은 예술적 노력이 커야 할 것이다. … 조선의 모든 부원이 외래자에 의하여 개발되고 조선의 모든 자연이 외래자에 의하여 정복되려하니 그는 조선인의 모욕을 의미함이요, 항상 우여할 수 없는 소이이다. 이제 그의 자연의 예술적 표현 및 그 기교적 예찬에 있어서도 또한 외래자의 독단함을 차마 볼 수 없는 바이다. 예술에는 아무 국민적 계선이 있을 수 없는 일이거니와 향토의 주인들로서는 이 의기가 없을 수 없다.363

This art critic appreciated Korean nature in the beginning, saying that the great beauty of Korean nature is extraordinary, and it is waiting to be artistically represented by Korean artists who are the “masters of the native soil”. This essay urged artists to take the Korean natural environment as subject matter for their artworks with a sense of ownership and belonging, and also reminded them to be aware of outsiders’ arbitrary power, in other words, Japanese intrusion. The main argument of this article advised artists to pay attention to their motherland and proposed what they should pursue, which was a core idea of Local Colourism in the 1920s.

363 “Comments on the Current Event: The Opening of the Fifth Art Exhibition”, Dong-A Daily, 14 May 1926.
Unfortunately, most of Na Hyeseok’s original paintings were missing and the authenticity of her few existing paintings was not proved.\textsuperscript{364} \textit{Self-portrait} (fig. 4.10) was the only painting that is believed to be her original work, as her son Kim Geon (1929–2015) had been keeping it and donated it to Suwon Museum of Art in 2015.\textsuperscript{365} This painting evokes a melancholic atmosphere conveyed by the big and deep eyes of the woman, and the shadows in her forehead, cheeks, and lips reinforce its gloomy mood. While her side-part fringe hanging over her forehead with permed hair and the dark cardigan indicate that she was a ‘New Woman’ at the time, the serious ambience radiating from her face shows the agony that she felt. This painting displays Na Hyeseok’s concerns of the time, including the circumstances of Korea, and interpreted as the only painting that expressed her feelings directly during the colonial time.

As a female pioneer of Local Colourism, Na displayed Korean features with her concerns for the nation and continually presented female figures in her works in the 1920s. As she had a longstanding interest in various social issues from an early age, many of her paintings reflected such ideas, which established Local Colourism in Korea. Based on Na and the early Local Colourists’ works and efforts in the 1920s, Korean painters in the following decade showed varied styles and subjects within Local Colourism. In contrast to the first generation of Local Colourists, they mostly studied painting and carried out their work in Korea and brought a new atmosphere in the art society.

\textsuperscript{364} More information about the authenticity of Na Hyeseok’s existing paintings is available from Yun Beommo, \textit{Painter Na Hyeseok} (Seoul: Hyunamsa, 2005), 211–240.

\textsuperscript{365} Na Hyeseok’s \textit{Portrait of Kim Wooyoung} was also donated to Suwon Museum of Art, but it is unfinished work without the artist’s signature.
From the mid-1920s, the landscape of Korea underwent a dramatic shift as the Japanese Government-General Japanese businessmen in Korea formed the Association of Kyongseong City Plan and began to build major landmarks such as a new government office building (1925) and university buildings (1924). Department stores, cafes, and cinemas were gradually built, and these modern Western buildings formed a part of the Korean landscape. Yi Insung 李仁星 (1912–1950) described lively city scenery that is filled with modern buildings in his painting, Street Scenery at Sunset (fig. 4.11) and encouraged the extended Local Colourism by being awarded a grand prize at the tenth Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in 1931 at the age of nineteen. His painting was reviewed by Yun Huisun 尹熙順 (1906–1947), a representative art critic of the 1930s, and complimented on his outstanding talents among deficient paintings that attempted to show Local Colour. Yun criticised artists who depicted objects such as thatched houses or traditional gate towers, only for expressing the unique ambience of Korea without any clear idea. He argued that specific subject matter that shows Korean features is not the core of Local Colour, the essence of Local Colour is artists’ sense that implied a distinct intention to express national identity and a sense of national consciousness for appreciating the homeland. Yun contended that Local Colour is not for foreigners to fulfil their curiosity or exoticism, but is the manifestation of artists’ love of the native place.

Yun gave examples of European artists, Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851) and Jean-François Millet (1814–1875), to argue that Local Colour could be presented by artists who live in their native land while appreciating

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367 Yun Huisun, "Impression of the Tenth Joseon Fine Art Exhibition 2", *Dong-A Daily*, 2 Jun 1931.
Any conventional Local Colour paintings, such as *Spring Sunshine* (fig. 4.12), were severely criticised by Yun; it is only an arrangement of objects, like a crude explanatory image without any interest or affection for Local Colour.\(^{369}\) Interestingly, *Spring Sunshine* also won a grand prize in the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition in the same year as Yi Insung; however, meaningless depictions of Korean nationals or subjects began to be considered insufficient for Local Colourism. Local Colour painting that showed distinctive Korean characteristics with the artists’ sense of nationhood gained huge popularity in Korea during the 1920s, however, as this trend continued through the decade without any outstanding change, artists and critics were looking for a new unconventional view on art.

From the 1930s, art critics expanded their views and thoughts on painting and stated that Local Colour painting is not a matter of portraying long-established nor conventional elements. Local Colourists also broadened their ideas and sought to grasp the essential sentiment that ran through Korean society and attempted to express it in several different ways. The critics encouraged Local Colourists to reflect the spirit of the age, apart from conventional subject matter such as rustic landscapes or traditional features, but showed the spirit of the times, which became a new essence of Local Colour of Korea in the 1930s.

The limited themes of Local Colour paintings attributed to establishing Local Colourism in the 1920s, but as Yun Huisun continuously argued in the 1930s, Local Colourists’ intention to show their sense of nationalism with the spirit of the times became a new focal point of Korean Local Colourism: such an idea in art was well displayed in his painting, *Rest* (fig. 4.13) that was submitted to the tenth Joseon Fine Art Exhibition.\(^{369}\) Ibid.  

\(^{369}\) Ibid.  

\(^{370}\) Yun Huisun, “Impression of the Tenth Joseon Fine Art Exhibition 4”, *Dong-A Daily*, 5 Jun 1931.
Exhibition. As a Western-style painter, Yun captured a moment of a boy sitting on a box while staring into the air. An art critic and a close friend of Yun, Kim Jongtae 金鍾泰 (1906–1938) described Yun’s Rest as depicting a ‘little soul who was lost in thought’, which represented the students on strike against the Japanese colonialism that was prevalent in Korea since 1929. As art critics and Local Colourists of the 1930s put stress on artists’ intention to express the sense of national consciousness and the ambience of the time regardless of painting subjects, Local Colourism in Korea acquired an expanded range of subject matter under the idea of displaying Korean nationhood.

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Chapter 5. The Convergence of Korean and Taiwanese Artists’ Ideas, Local Colourism

The Joseon Fine Art Exhibition was the first Japanese government-sponsored national art exhibition, where Korean Local Colourists had presented their works continuously since the first event in 1922. Ko Huidong and Na Hyeseok pioneered advances in the Western-style painting field of Korea and led Local Colourism that demonstrated their strong national identity and also encouraged more young artists to follow the trend in the 1920s. The system of the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition was adopted from the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy of Japan by the Japanese Government-General of Korea. The Japanese Government-General of Taiwan also held the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition (taiwan meishu zhanlanhui, 臺灣美術展覽會; 1927–1943) in 1927, which became a great turning point in Taiwanese art.\(^{372}\) Local Colourism in Taiwan was developed in the late 1920s and practitioners’ paintings were exhibited at the national art exhibition.

This chapter asks: Why was Local Colourism prevalent in both Taiwan and Korea and what are the similarities and differences in Local Colourism of the two colonised nations under Japanese rule? How did the Taiwanese Local Colourist indicate their national feelings in their works? This last chapter looks at Chen Cheng-po 陳澄波 (1895–1947) and Chen Chin 陳進 (1907–1998), the two most outstanding Taiwanese Local Colourists during the Japanese occupation, who left an interesting and significant mark on the history of Taiwanese modern art. Their works are researched as

counters to the Korean Local Colourists who were studied in previous chapters. This chapter explores how Taiwanese artists adapted Local Colourism following their own circumstances and examines their Local Colour paintings from the late 1920s into the following decade, to understand to what extent they expressed national identity and analyses the genre’s impact in the contemporary Taiwanese art circle. The first part of this chapter begins with a detailed study of Chen Cheng-po’s works of the late 1920s with an emphasis on his inherent sense of national identity. This chapter further explores Chen Chin’s paintings in Japan and Taiwan, to see what brought her to alter her painting subject matter in the two different countries, and how her national sentiment affected its transition. The concluding part of this chapter sheds light on the national identity of Korean and Taiwanese Local Colourists and examines why Local Colourism was prevalent in both colonised nations under Japanese rule, furthermore, it analyses similarities and differences in their Local Colourism.

5.1 The Early Phase of Taiwanese Local Colour

Modern art in Taiwan began to flourish during the Japanese colonial period, and Ishikawa Kinichirō was at the centre of introducing and promoting Western-style watercolour painting on the island. Among Ishikawa’s Taiwanese students, Chen Cheng-po, who received formal academic art training at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts from 1924, became a prominent Local Colourist with a patriotic feeling for his homeland manifested in his works.

Born in February 1895, just three months before Taiwan was ceded to Japan, Chen Cheng-po was raised in the colonised state. He was mostly brought up by his grandmother Lin Baozhu 林宝珠 (1842–1933), as his mother had passed away shortly
after his birth and his father Chen Shouyu 陳守愚 (1867–1909) who was a Sinology scholar during the late Qing dynasty, died when Chen Cheng-po was fourteen. In 1913, he entered the Taiwan Governor-General’s National Language School where he met Ishikawa Kinichirō. Chen Cheng-po’s early work, *Mountain Stream* (fig. 5.01) of 1915, which depicted the outdoor scenery of Taipei, shows Ishikawa’s influence in style (see fig. 2.06). In the painting, a small river that flows from the foreground to the middle ground is in harmony with the hills and mountains which recede into the distance and create depth. The vivid watercolour patches in the foreground become fainter and details fade as they recede and leave a void in the background. In his *Taipei East Gate* (fig. 5.02) of 1916, Chen Cheng-po painted the East Gate in the middle distance and depicted two people, one pulling a fully loaded cart and another one taking a stroll under a parasol. Grey smoke belches from a factory chimney at the back left, presenting a contrast to the old gate. This painting reflects the environmental changes of Taiwan and imbues the people living in that period with a sense of intimacy. Before Chen Cheng-po moved to Japan for further study, he used thin and detailed expressions in watercolour that emphasised delicate light and shadow effects, and mostly dealt with the natural scenery of Taiwan.

After graduating from the Taiwan Governor-General’s National Language School in 1917, Chen Cheng-po took up a post at the Jiayi Public School (*jiayi gongxuexiao, 嘉義公學校*) and transferred to the Huzinei Campus of Shuijuetou Public School.

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374 Chen Cheng-po’s early watercolour paintings are available at *Chen Cheng-po Cultural Foundation Website*, accessed 28 Nov 2020, [https://chencchengpo.dcam.wzu.edu.tw/~chencchengpo/AboutCCp_Arts_show.php?category=%E6%B0%B4%E5%BD%A9](https://chencchengpo.dcam.wzu.edu.tw/~chencchengpo/AboutCCp_Arts_show.php?category=%E6%B0%B4%E5%BD%A9)
(shuijuetou gongxuexiao huzinei fenxiao, 水堀頭公學校湖子內分校) in 1920, where he taught painting class; he took his students outdoors for drawing, also led drawing classes during the summer and winter holidays (fig. 5.03). Although Chen Cheng-po enjoyed teaching, he had always been eager to study further to develop his painting skills, therefore he resigned from his post as a schoolteacher in 1924, and moved to Japan to study.

Mr. Chen (Cheng-po) went to the art school (the Tokyo School of Fine Arts) during the daytime and studied sketches at the Hongō Fine Arts Academy in the evening, regardless of the weather. Mr. Chen's daily life was also very simple: he did not have any habits of smoking, drinking, or playing cards; he was devoted to painting and has been working hard … On Sundays or holidays, he did not indulge in unnecessary entertainment. He would bring painting supplies to the countryside to sketch, or to the Ueno Park to paint a nearby museum, Shinobazu Pond, or landscapes of the park’s gardens.

Chen Cheng-po entered the Art Education Department at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts at the age of 30 and put all of his effort and enthusiasm into developing his painting skills, especially for outdoor paintings. He was mainly trained by Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助 (1869–1939) and Tanabe Itaru 田邊至 (1887–1968) at the art school, and also studied at Okada’s private art institute, the Hongō Fine Arts Academy (hongō bijutsu kenkyūsho, 本郷美術研究所) that was established in 1912. As a pupil of Kuroda Seiki, Okada participated in the founding of an association of Western-style painters, the White Horse Society in 1896 and moved to France in the following year to study Western painting under Raphaël Collin who had also taught Kuroda ten years before. Okada and Kuroda shared and sought to have some fundamental painting styles in common. As Kuroda did, Okada liked drawing outdoors, plein air and showed a great number of paintings with female subjects that contained distinctive Japanese characters (fig. 5.04). Chen Cheng-po learned techniques of Western painting from his Japanese teachers, but he did not take on their painting styles. His Taiwanese colleague artist, Chang Yi-hsiung 張義雄 (1914–2016) recalled:

I remember, once Professor Tanabe Itaru wanted to change his (Chen’s) sketch, but Cheng-po disagreed with the teacher’s correction and soon

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376Lin Yushan, Reminiscences with Mr. Chen Cheng-po, (Taipei: The Lion Art Books 106, 1979), 60.
changed it back again. Because he expressed his strong personality in painting, Professor Tanabe finally agreed with Cheng-po and let him express himself according to his thoughts. Likewise, Cheng-po insisted that each painting should be able to express the artists’ own strong personalities.

記得有一次，田邊至老師要改他的素描，澄波不同意老師的改法，不久又把它改過來。由於他在畫中表現出強烈的個性，田邊至老師最後終於同意澄波依自己的意思去表達。澄波就是這樣要求每張畫都能表達自己的強烈個性。377

Rather than adopting the painting styles of his teachers unquestioningly, Chen Cheng-po not only insisted on his own style in painting but also made a persistent effort to develop it. As he had a great interest in European paintings and yearned to study more about them, he collected the painting albums and catalogues of Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), Édouard Manet (1832–1883), and Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890) etc.378 He especially admired Vincent van Gogh and collected postcards and books of the Dutch post-impressionist painter.379 Chen Cheng-

378 Chen Cheng-po collected 411 copied images of artworks from art magazines, and 1115 art postcards; quoted in Li Shuzhu, "The Picture Collection of Chen Cheng-po and His Painting", *Yishuxue yanjiu*, no.7 (2010: 11), 104–108.
po’s painting, *Landscape of Tokyo School of Fine Arts* (fig. 5.05) of 1926 demonstrated the style of the great maestro: vivid and intense colours with rough and expressive brushstrokes created harmony and contrast of the whole, thick and rough textures of the surrounding tree branches and leaves on both sides of the painting especially evoked the impression of van Gogh’s work. Furthermore, Chen Cheng-po was often described as “a keen admirer of Vincent van Gogh”, or “a worshipper of van Gogh of the Post-Impressionism”, by his colleague artists.380 Chen Cheng-po’s other works, such as *Self-portrait* (fig. 5.06) of 1928 also attested to the inspiration from van Gogh, from the impasto technique and dramatic brushstrokes that portrayed his eyes that stare straight ahead, and a hat and the sunflowers in the background; it evokes the image of van Gogh’s *Self-portrait* (fig. 5.07) and his sunflower painting series.381 Besides the school curriculum, Chen Cheng-po attempted to create his own painting style by learning from European painters whom he respected.

In two years of studying Western-style painting in Japan, Chen Cheng-po achieved great success as the first Taiwanese artist whose painting, *Outside Jiayi Street* (fig. 5.08) was selected for the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy in 1926. Chen Cheng-po’s achievement in Japan was highly praised in his homeland. Taiwan People’s News (*taiwan minbao*, 臺灣民報) soon reported the news and referred to it as a

http://art.ncu.edu.tw/journal/words/%E3%80%8A%E8%97%9D%E8%A1%93%E5%AD%B8%E7%A0%94%E7%A9%B6%E3%80%8B%E7%AC%AC%E4%B8%83%E6%9C%9F_%E6%9D%8E%E6%B7%91%E7%8F%A0.pdf

380 Wu Mengjin, “Chen Cheng-po and the Western Painting in 1920s Japan–Before He Became the Admirer of van Gogh”, *Chen Chengbo zhuanti yanjiu 1*, accessed 14 Dec 2020, http://docsplayer.com/25409502-Microsoft-word-%E5%90%B3%E5%AD%9F%E6%99%89_%E6%AD%A3.doc.html

glory of Taiwanese art society.\textsuperscript{382} A Japanese critic, Ikumi Kiyoharu 井汲清治 (1892–1983) also praised Chen Cheng-po in a newspaper, stating that he showed extraordinary talent in his painting.\textsuperscript{383} *Outside Jiayi Street* is a landscape painting of Chen Cheng-po’s hometown, Jiayi 嘉義 in southern Taiwan. He presented a street scene near his home and captured his ordinary neighbours by applying a linear perspective to create a sense of distance. His admiration for Vincent van Gogh is also seen in this painting by the strong multiple-layered coarse brushstrokes applied to express banana trees on the right side of the painting, the slope that is covered with thick weeds near the canal, and also the leafy trees in the distance. A man with a conical hat carrying water buckets on his shoulder, a big banana tree on the right side, and the Temple of Wenling Mazu’s (wenling mazumiao, 温陵媽祖廟) curved roof with overhanging eaves on the other side, next to a tall banyan tree, effectively deliver the unique atmosphere of Taiwan: the tropical trees and the traditional Taiwanese temple’s double-tiered roof that curves upwards at the end (known as a swallowtail roof; yanweiji, 燕尾脊) are distinctive features of temples in Taiwan, and the Fujian and Guangdong area of Southern China.\textsuperscript{384} As the tropical vegetation of Taiwan and the unique characteristics of the Taiwanese temple, dedicated to the Chinese sea goddess Mazu 媽祖, were different from what Chen Cheng-po experienced in Tokyo in the 1920s, he must have considered them Local Colour of Taiwan.\textsuperscript{385}

\textsuperscript{382} “Taiwanese Student’s Western-style Painting Got Selected at the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy”, *Taiwan People’s News*, 12 Oct 1926.

\textsuperscript{383} Ikumi Kiyoharu, “Impression of the Western-style paintings in the Imperial Art Exhibition 2”, *Yomiuri News*, 29 Oct 1926.

\textsuperscript{384} Yi Chien-lang, *Dictionary of Traditional Architecture of Taiwan*, (Yuanliu Publishing, 2003), 112.

\textsuperscript{385} This painting was donated to Jiayi Municipal Office but was unfortunately lost and only a black-and-white copy of the original painting remains in the catalogue of the Seventh
Chen Cheng-po showed special affection for his hometown and produced several landscape paintings of Jiayi while studying in Japan. He painted *Wenling Mazu Temple* (fig. 5.09) in 1927 when he came back for vacation from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. It depicted the same street as in *Outside Jiayi Street* but displayed the intimate local atmosphere from a closer view. He portrayed a detailed facade of the temple with three entrances and roofs decorated with complex arrangements called *jian nien* 剪黏, which means “cut and glue”. This technique is originally from Southern China and was introduced to Taiwan since most of the early immigrants to Taiwan came from the southern part of China. As the roof decoration is one of the most outstanding visual characteristics of the temples in Taiwan, especially in comparison with the simpler lines of Buddhist temples in Japan, for example, Bentendō Temple 弁天堂 (fig. 5.10) in Ueno Park where Chen Cheng-po used to visit for sketching, he gave great attention to it to present the distinguishing features of his motherland. Alongside the temple, a group of people are standing under the shadow of a large banyan tree, and others are gathered around the water pump next to a small canal. Two women are sitting and washing while a boy is helping his mother to fetch water, and a man is waiting with a bucket in his hands. On the other side of the canal, a man is carrying two baskets filled with goods, using a wooden carrying pole across his shoulder. These

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ordinary people are wearing shorts or skirts, and half-sYived shirts with big conical hats, which were common attire in the countryside of Taiwan in the 1920s (fig. 5.11). His rhythmic and expressive brushstrokes and bright colours contribute to creating the painting's vibrant ambience. Chen Cheng-po continuously paid attention to the familiar environment with neighbours within the landscape of Taiwan which creates an intimate atmosphere, as he took a keen interest in informal and vernacular scenes of his hometown.

Chen Cheng-po’s Street Scene on a Summer Day (fig. 5.12) of 1927, which depicted a town street of Jiayi, was selected again for the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy. He felt a close connection with the local landscapes and the residents and continuously focused his attention on local subjects for his work. Not only that, Chen Cheng-po founded the Red Sun Western Painting Society (chiyang xiyanghuahui, 赤陽洋畫會, also known as Chiyang Society, 赤陽會) in March 1927 with other Taiwanese artists, aiming to “raise the cultural standards of Taiwanese citizens”. It was the first Taiwanese Western-style painters’ group; the main members of the art association were Chen Cheng-po, Liao Jichun 廖繼春 (1902–1976), Yen Shuilong 顏水龍 (1903–1997), Zhang Shunqing 張舜卿 (1906–?), Fan Hongjia 范洪甲 (1904–1998), and He Delai 何德來 (1904–1986). They had all studied together at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and developed a special bond. Among them, Liao Jichun, who entered the Art Education Department in the same year as Chen Cheng-po, also paid particular attention to the Taiwanese locals’ life and culture. He was a member of the Taiwanese Cultural Association (taiwan wenhua xiehui, 台灣文化協會), which was a reformist organisation.

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that pioneered the Taiwanese anti-colonial movement throughout the 1920s and the early 1930s. Inspired by the March First Independence Movement of Korea, the organisation was founded by Jiang Weishui 蔣渭水 (1888–1931) in 1921 with Taiwanese students who desired to re-establish Taiwanese culture and sense of national pride.

In September 1927, the Chiyang Society organised its first exhibition at the Tainan Public Hall (tainan gonghuitang, 臺南公會堂) and displayed about 20 paintings. The artists’ group merged with the Seven Stars Painting Forum (qixing huatuan, 七星畫壇) in 1929 and formed the Society of Red Formosa, which became the main art association that produced Local Colour paintings in Taiwan.

Faithfully reflect the pulse of the era
Life is beautiful
Our hope begins with art, finishes with art, and nourishes this island into a beautiful Formosa.
We love art and would sacrifice ourselves for the native island of Taiwan.

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393 The Seven Star Painting Society was the first Western-style painters’ group founded by Taiwanese in 1926. Along with six artists, including Ni Jianghuai 倪蔣懷 (1894–1943), Chen Zhiqi 陳植棋 (1906–1931), Chen Yingsheng 陳英聲 (?–?), Chen Chengfan 陳承藩 (?–?), Chen Yinyong 陳銀用 (?–?), and Lan Yinding 藍蔭鼎 (1903–1979), Chen Cheng-po held the first exhibition of Seven Star Painting Society from 28 to 31 Aug 1926 at Taipei Museum.
With diligent foolishness at all time, we will not neglect our research in order to progress further.

The mission of the Red Island Society lies on this, so is our lives.

Let the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition in autumn and the Society of Red Formosa Exhibition in spring decorate this scene of our exploited island!

忠實反應時代的脈動

生活即是美

吾等希望始於藝術，終於藝術，化育此島為美麗島。

愛好藝術的我們，心懷為鄉土台灣島殉情，隨時以兢兢業業的傻勁，不忘研究，精進。

赤島社的使命在此，吾等之生活亦在此。

讓秋天的台展和春天的赤島展來裝飾這殺風景的島嶼吧！

This declaration of the Society of Red Formosa clearly shows the aim of the group.\(^{395}\) It conveys the painters’ strong intention to show the present state of Taiwan through their works. The last sentence of the declaration “this scene of our exploited island”, implies negative feelings of the artists towards colonisation, but at the same time, “the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition” was considered positive as it “decorates” the Taiwanese art society


together with their own art exhibition. Taiwanese Local Colourists separated the national state and the art society, embracing the exhibition as a mutual way to pursue the growth of their art world. The Taiwanese Local Colourists’ enthusiastic attitude towards the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition stimulated other artists’ interest and helped the exhibition to become a settled feature in Taiwanese society.

Liao Jichun, a member of the Red Sun Western Painting Society and part of the Society of Red Formosa, was a Local Colourist who was passionate to express his ideas on national identity. In his work *Courtyard with Banana Trees* (fig. 5.13), he depicted the vernacular atmosphere in the daily life of Taiwanese. The distinct signs of local life and pastoral landscape—the strong sunlight of homeland shines on the green leaves of the banana tree and local people who wore ordinary clothes, are taking a rest in the shade of the tree—all signified Liao’s interest in the national and cultural character of Taiwan, which had different and distinctive features compared to Japan. Chen Cheng-po and Liao Jichun both enjoyed painting local scenes of Taiwan and the secular daily life of the islanders, as they believed that their ideas were needed to express the national identity of Taiwan. They were the earliest Taiwanese Local Colourists who searched enthusiastically for the distinctiveness of Taiwanese culture and the people’s way of life in order to portray them in their paintings.

Although some Taiwanese intellectuals believed that their mother nation was China with Japan being merely suzerain over Taiwan, others believed themselves to be Taiwanese and sought independence for Taiwan.\(^{396}\) The Taiwanese elites who constructed a Taiwanese culture separate from China often depicted the period of Japanese colonisation as Taiwan’s Golden Age and argued that Taiwan should have

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become an independent republic rather than being handed over to the Republic of China.\textsuperscript{397} Furthermore, as Taiwanese society entered the path of capitalist development and modernisation while under the control of Japanese capitalism, unlike Chinese society that repeatedly experienced political instability and social stagnation, they came to have a fairly positive response towards the colonial government.\textsuperscript{398} However, it is important to note that during the early phase of Japanese rule from 1895 to 1902 there were over 8,000 confrontations between locals and the colonial troops.\textsuperscript{399} The Japanese colonial administration overcame these challenges with brutal force: over 6,000 (and possibly as many as 14,000) Taiwanese were killed in the first six months of occupation, and some 12,000 more “bandit-rebels” were slain from 1898 to 1902.\textsuperscript{400} Beginning from late 1914, a different type of resistance began to develop under the leadership of young, educated Formosans who demanded that the occupying authority should provide racial equality, home rule, and popular elections.\textsuperscript{401} Although Taiwanese society was dissatisfied with the tyrannical rule of the colonial government when facing the Chinese, their hostility is said to have been even stronger than against the Japanese; therefore, Taiwanese nationals showed relatively positive attitudes towards the colonial administration.

\textsuperscript{398} Leo Ching, \textit{Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation} (University of California Press, 2001), 72.
Along with the policy of Assimilation (dōka, 同化) of 1918 that aimed to introduce the institutions or legal regulations of Japan proper to the colony, the Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition was operated in conformity with the colonial policy. \footnote{Leo Ching, \textit{Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation} (University of California Press, 2001), 88.}

The Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition, which was well-known by its abbreviation Taiten (臺展), was Taiwan’s first official art exhibition held by the Japanese Government-General of Taiwan in October 1927. It was under the supervision of the Taiwan Educational Society (\textit{taiwan kyōikukai, 台湾教育会}), whose budget was allocated by the Education Ministry with the Japanese governor-general serving as its president. \footnote{Kaoru Kojima, “The Woman in Kimono: An Ambivalent Image of Modern Japanese Identity,” \textit{Aesthetics and Art History} Vol.25 (2011), 9.}

The Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition followed the model of the government-sponsored exhibition that Japan had established in Korea in 1922, the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition. Japan organised art exhibitions in its two colonies to divert local people's attention from political affairs and to create optimistic images of the colonial government. The Korean artists who participated in the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition considered it a means to gain fame in society due to its large scale that attracted national attention; however, they also heavily criticised it and its organisational system. \footnote{Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, \textit{Early Film Culture in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Republican China: kaleidoscopic histories} (University of Michigan Press, 2018), 110-111.}

Korean artists, such as Kim Bokjin 金復鎭 (1901–1940) and Kim Jukyeong 金周經 (1902–1981), who both studied at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and Anh Seokyoung 安夕影 (1901–1950) expressed their dissatisfaction with the quality of the exhibition. \footnote{Kwon Haengga, “Painting Sale at the Official Exhibition,” National Institute of Korea History, accessed 26 Dec 2020, \url{http://contents.history.go.kr/front/km/print.do?levelId=km_021_0060_0020_0020_0020&whe_reStr=}}
exhibition. Furthermore, some articles written under a pseudonym were published in newspapers, claiming that the number of Japanese painters whose works were selected at the exhibition was more than the number of Korean painters, and argued that it was due to the colonial government’s plan to promote Japanese painters in Korea, not primarily for Korean artists nor future Korean art development. The Korean Local Colourists who had a strong sense of national identity and anti-colonialism were ambivalent about the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition: on the one hand, they actively participated in the exhibition to promote their Local Colour paintings to other artists and audiences, but on the other hand, they criticised the exhibition as having a “limitation as a bureaucratic art exhibition” that did not have any coherent ideas or clear regulations for selected artworks.

Different from the Korean Local Colourists, the members of the Red Island Society that was comprised of Taiwan Local Colourists, positively acknowledged the role of the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition and praised its constructive function. They did not limit the meaning of the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition only as a strand of colonial policy but recognised its practical aspects; for them, this large-scale annual art event organised for Taiwanese artists and residents was a unique affair that defined Taiwan as an independent cultural entity with distinctive characteristics, emerging from a

vague characterisation as a peripheral part of China.\textsuperscript{409} They had positive views on the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition and passionately showed their Local Colour paintings that demonstrated their affection for the homeland. Chen Cheng-po also argued in his article, “Express More Local Atmosphere” that the governmental exhibition and the private exhibition should take responsibility together for the popularisation and development of Taiwanese art.\textsuperscript{410} He also stressed the importance of expressing the “innocent minds” of the artists themselves, which would eventually bring audiences’ sympathy and satisfaction.

Due to the welcoming response of Taiwanese artists, the First Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition was able to gather a large number of native artists’ works and attracted a great deal of attention from the wider society. Among 73 Western-style painters who participated in the exhibition, 20 were Taiwanese artists and the Special Awards were only given to two native artists, Chen Chih-chi and Liao Chi-chun who were both members of the Red Island Society. Compared to the result of the first Joseon Fine Art Exhibition where only three Korean Western-style painters’ works were selected out of 55 painters, Taiwanese artists showed higher participation rates from the beginning of the national art exhibition, and also achieved great success. The artists continuously observed Taiwanese culture and local customs with affectionate attitudes and presented Local Colour paintings through the annual Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition and also in many private exhibitions. From the First Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition to the last year of his life in 1931, Chen Chih-chi displayed Local Colour paintings every year at the


\textsuperscript{410} Chen Cheng-po, ”Express more Local Atmosphere,” \textit{Taiwan People News}, January 1935, accessed 28 Nov 2020, \url{http://art.csu.edu.tw/exhibition/1001028-1202/index_03_literature_01.html}
annual exhibition and expressed his sentiments towards his motherland. His debut work *By the Sea* (fig. 5.14) that received the Special Award, depicted a seaside town of Taiwan surrounded by rough swirling waves. This painting, with bold brushwork and enormous vitality was regarded as the painter’s expression that revealed his confused state of mind under Japanese colonialism and established itself as a significant work among the Taiwanese Local Colour paintings.\(^{411}\) Along with Chen Cheng-po and Chen Chih-chi, an outstanding Taiwanese female artist of the early twentieth century, Chen Chin also made a substantial contribution to the establishment of Local Colourism in Taiwan.

### 5.2 Chen Chin, from an Artist to a Local Colourist in Taiwan

Chen Chin was the most prominent female Taiwanese painter whose ideas and artworks played a large part in the Local Colourism of Taiwan. Although she went through a time of dynamic political and social change, Chen Chin was able to receive higher education due to her father Chen Yunru 陳雲如 (1875–1963) who was an enlightened entrepreneur and also enthusiastic about educating his children. Chen Chin entered the Taipei Third Girls’ Secondary School (*taipei disan gaodeng nüxuexiao, 台北第三高等女學校*) in 1922 and studied Japanese-style painting under Gōhara Kotō 郷原古統 (1887–1965).\(^{412}\) Gōhara had graduated from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1910 and settled in Taiwan from 1917 through to 1936 as an art teacher at the girls’

\(^{411}\) Kuo Pi-tzu, “Crossing the Sea Towards South: Landscape of Taiwan under Japanese Colonialism,” *ART MAP 65* (March 2017), 30-33.

school and taught several female painters such as Zhou Hongchou 周紅綢 (1914–1982), and Lin Aqin 林阿琴 (1915–). His *Garden* (fig. 5.15) was one of his representative paintings that focused on detailed and realistic depictions, which also could be found in Chen Chin’s painting style.

The colonial government successfully promoted the importance of girls’ education in Taiwan, which led to the girls’ school enrolment rate reaching over 70 per cent by the end of colonial rule in 1945.\(^{413}\) As the colonisers implanted social infrastructure for public education that brought political stability and economic growth on the island, many Taiwanese were amicable towards the Japanese Government-General of Taiwan.\(^{414}\) However, Taiwanese girls’ opportunities for higher education were not as available as those for Japanese and Taiwanese men, and therefore the Taiwanese women who pursued higher learning chose to study abroad, mostly in Japan.\(^{415}\) Chen Chin became the first Taiwanese student studying at the Japanese-style Painting Education Department of the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in Tokyo. From 1925, she studied under two eminent Japanese-style painters, Yūki Somei 結城素明 (1875–1957) and Endō Kyōzō 遠藤教三 (1897–1970).\(^{416}\) Yūki was a graduate of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and became a professor at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts and at the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts who successfully presented his works at

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national fine art exhibitions, such as the Ministry of Education Arts Exhibition and the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy. His painting style was known for meticulous linear depictions and realistic colour expressions, as in Fig (fig. 5.16) that was selected for the first Ministry of Education Arts Exhibition in 1907. Chen Chin’s paintings of the late 1920s, such as *Poppy Flowers* and *Morning* (fig. 5.17) that was accepted at the First Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition of 1927 while she was still studying in Japan, show a direct influence from her Japanese teachers. In her paintings of those times, Chen Chin demonstrated her talent by precise and detailed depictions of plants and flowers, which also show her teachers’ impact on style. She was publicly recognised as the only talented Taiwanese painter whose works were selected at the exhibition.

In general, the mainlanders (Japanese) are more outstanding in Eastern-style paintings because of their hard work, also because they have teachers to follow. With the clever use of colours and fluent brushwork, even the ways of thinking are beyond the reach of the islanders (Taiwanese). However, Ms Chen Chin from Hsinchu only radiates splendour among islanders; she studied in mainland Japan with her brothers, her brushstrokes are light and fresh, and the colours are radiant and enchanting.
This statement published in the *Taiwan Daily News* praised Japanese artists highly and took an extremely discriminative attitude against the Taiwanese. From the view of coloniser, this article showed a sense of superiority that esteemed Japanese artists highly and looked down on the colonised nation’s artists, however, Chen Chin was particularly admired as she proved her distinguished talent through her artworks.

Chen Chin herself and her paintings began to stand out from the following year as her portrait painting of Japanese beauty, *High Winds* (fig. 5.18) won the Special Award at the second Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition. She applied delicate fine lines that brought an ideal and elegant atmosphere to the painting and created decorative effects by the patterns of the *kimono* and the surrounding plants and flowers. Chen Chin frequently chose to paint *bijinga* that showed the Japanese feminine beauty with traditional Japanese attire until 1931. In Japanese modern art, the portrait of beautiful women, *bijinga* constituted a generic term and settled as a popular genre.  

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418 In China, portrait of female figures formed a subset of the genre called *shinuhua* (仕女畫) from 3 BC. This female painting was actively painted in the East Asia by the 18th century, and each country had its unique style but during Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese and Korean artists who studied fine art in Japan partially adopted Japanese style and applied it to their painting like Chen Chin. The Korean artist, Kim Eunho was famous for his painting of Korean beauties, known as *miindo* (美人圖). Kim’s painting style underwent a change from the early 1920s as *bijinga* was introduced from Japan, also during his time in Tokyo from 1925 for three years, he studied Japanese-style painting and applied the technique to his work.; Song Misuk, *Study on the*
painting genre and internalised the *bijinga* style in her search for new subject matter. During her time in Japan, she dedicated herself to *bijinga* that she was most passionate about and studied it under Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木 清方 (1878–1972) who was the leading master of the *bijinga*. Her aesthetic passion led her to win three consecutive Special Awards at the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition until 1930 with her portraits of Japanese women.\(^419\) This is a remarkable achievement for her as those paintings were against what the judges of the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition preferred. Matsubayashi Keigetsu 松林 桂月, 1876–1963), a judge of the second and third Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition, publicly and repeatedly stressed the importance of Taiwan’s unique style in painting that could present Taiwan’s distinctiveness and exotic features.

Taiwan has a great deal of excellent subject matter. In the future, (Taiwanese artists) should enthusiastically pursue Taiwan’s unique artistic style. Just as Tokyo is Tokyo, Kyoto is Kyoto, and Osaka is Osaka, each place has its own local art, and I look forward to this island having an expression of its local art.

臺灣本島優秀的題材很多, 今後應多努力熱心地追求臺灣獨特的藝術風貌，正如東京就是東京，京都就是京都，大阪就是大阪，各有其鄉土藝術，期待本島亦有鄉土藝術的表現.\(^420\)

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Not only Matsubayashi, but also Shidehara Taira 稲原坦 (1870–1953) who was the chairman of the judging committee at the third Taiwan Exhibition in 1929, encouraged Taiwanese artists to create works of local art in Taiwan to develop the style of the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition. Despite the Japanese judges’ repeated arguments on Taiwanese art, Chen Chin persistently painted bijinga as she preferred and was awarded a Special Award again in 1930 with her painting that depicted a young Japanese lady in a kimono sewing a blanket.

As Chen Chin had consecutively won awards since the first Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition in 1927, she built up a national reputation as a talented painter in Taiwan and was appointed a judge in the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibitions from 1932 to 1934. Indeed, she was the only Japanese-style painter from Taiwan who became a judge of the official exhibition. The new experience in Taiwan as a judge of the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition led Chen Chin to enter a new phase of her art career. Since her educational background in art and her official debut as a painter was in Japan, Taiwanese art society was comparatively unfamiliar to her, however, the judge’s position made her take a closer look at the art circle of her motherland. Chen Chin began to carefully engage in Taiwanese art society and presented a portrait of a young Taiwanese bride wearing a traditional red dress and red embroidered shoes with a golden hair ornament in Fragrance of Orchid (fig. 5.19). Under the tasselled lanterns, an elegant bride with blushing cheeks is sitting on the black wooden frame chair that is inlaid with mother-of-

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pearl. White orchids on both sides of her create an exquisite and noble atmosphere. In this painting, Chen Chin expressed a significant sentiment of Local Colour by depicting symbolic and cultural connotations and later recalled: “It would have been more convenient for me to paint Japanese subjects as I was in Japan at that time; however, after giving it some thought, I decided to depict our local subjects since I was Taiwanese.如果畫些日本的題材會比較方便，尤其那時我人在日本；但是想了想，我們台灣人，還是畫我們鄉土的東西。”422 Along with Fragrance of Iris and Orchid of 1932, Chen Chin began to portray Taiwanese women and local scenery and paid attention to the subject matter that conveys the social and cultural values of Taiwan.

As she returned from Japan to Taiwan in 1934, Chen Chin became more concerned about the distinctive features of Taiwan and began to show the unique characters through her paintings of Taiwanese women. She carefully selected subjects of paintings from her surroundings that she was accustomed to and produced Local Colour by elaborately portraying the elements that revealed the national characteristics of Taiwan. For the eighth Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition in 1934, she displayed Out in the Fields (fig. 5.20), which captured an intimate moment of a mother and two children in the fields. The young mother sports a short haircut with a fringe at the front that began to be popular from the late 1920s in Taiwan (fig. 5.21).423 Her elegant yellow Taiwanese shirt (dajinshan, 大襟衫) with flared three-quarter length sleeves and lowered collar height was also fashionable in the 1920s.424 A little girl on her back reaches out to her

424 Ye Licheng, Face of Taiwan, A Study on the Phenomenon and Meaning of Dress Wearing by Members of Taiwan’s Yan and Shi Family: Taking the Life History of Teacher Shi Suyun as an Example (Taipei: Xiweizixing Keji, 2010), 73.
big sister who is holding a branch of Taiwanese Photinia (*taiwan shinan*, 台灣石楠) which is endemic in Taiwan.\(^{425}\) Along with the wild bushes with silvergrass (*mangcao*, 芒草), and the yellow Formosan Sage flowers (*huanghua shuweicao*, 黃花鼠尾草) around that bring a warm and fresh atmosphere of Taiwan, this painting shows the peaceful daily life of local people. In the same year, Chen Chin stated in an interview, “Taiwan is a wonderful place. Who does not love the hometown where they grew up?” and revealed her affection for the homeland.\(^{426}\) From the mid-1930s, Chen Chin consciously chose painting subjects that revealed Local Colour with great effort in detail, as a way to express her Taiwanese identity.

Interestingly, Chen Chin’s Local Colour paintings presented at the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibitions were severely criticised by Nomura Kōichi’s (野村幸一, ?) article, in which he stated that her taste for Local Colour was “inappropriate”, “graceless”, and “away from the spirit of the times”.\(^{427}\) For Nomura, Chen Chin’s Local Colour paintings that did not reflect the modernity of Taiwan, such as Western buildings and the new infrastructure facilities which the Japanese colonial government implemented, were inadequate representation that did not reflect the circumstances at the time.\(^{428}\) Despite

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\(^{428}\) In fact, Taiwan had set off on the path of modernisation according to its enthusiastic colonial ruler from the 1910s, and the new generation of Taiwan quickly adapted to modern institutions and the local word for “modern (maoduan, 毛斷)”, had already become
such harsh criticism of her works, Chen Chin consistently and deliberately depicted local subjects with Taiwanese women.

Chen Chin took up a post as a teacher at the Pingtung Girls’ High School (pingtung gaodeng nüxuexiao, 屏東高等女學校) from 1934 to 1937 and had more chance to mingle with Taiwanese youth, which led her to present diverse paintings of local female figures, such as Sheet Music (fig. 5.22) where two girls wearing school uniform are reading music. This painting, which was featured at the tenth Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition, presents ordinary Taiwanese schoolgirls who Chen Chin was able to see every day while teaching. Chen Chin also visited Sandimen village near the school several times, where the Paiwan aboriginal tribe lived and also did some sketches of the Paiwan women and their costumes.\(^{429}\) This native tribe’s social structure is hierarchical, and their class system has consisted of three social tiers: the noble class, the distinguished class, and the commoner class.\(^{430}\) Only the nobles have the privilege of having tattoos and colour-glazed bead ornaments with luxurious clothes and headwear.\(^{431}\) Chen Chin paid attention to the Paiwan women of the noble class and captured a moment of their life in Women of Sandimen (fig. 5.23).\(^{432}\) In the painting, the native women are wearing headbands, luxurious tunics decorated with abstract snake

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\(^{430}\) The Paiwan tribe stood nearly at 18 per cent of the total indigenous population and ranked the third among whole tribes; “Paiwan”, Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples, assessed 23 Dec 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20100104144822/http://www.dmtip.gov.tw/Eng/Paiwan.htm


\(^{432}\) Women of Sandimen was selected in 1936 at the Ministry of Education Arts Exhibition in Japan.
patterns, an underskirt, and leg coverings as tradition. The woman on the right side is holding her baby in her arms and sits on a log, and her daughter is sitting next to her and staring at the viewer. Her tattoos on the back of her hand and the accessories including necklaces and headwear show that this woman belongs to the noble class. The other woman squatting on the left side is also wearing a traditional costume with patterned sYives and holding a decorated pipe in her left hand. From this quite ordinary scene of an aboriginal tribe, Chen Chin not only captured exotic local features but also succeeded in depicting an intimate and caring atmosphere: as she visited the Paiwan tribe several times and interacted with them in person, she was able to depict their natural yet distinctive characteristics in her work.

It was not only Chen Chin who portrayed the native tribes of Taiwan. From the 1920s to the 1940s, several Japanese artists, such as Shiotsuki Tōho 鹽月桃甫 (1886–1954), Akiyama Shunsui 秋山春水 (?–?), Miyata Yataro 宮田彌太郎 (1906–1968), and Murakami Hideo 村上英夫 (1897–1988) were fond of the aboriginal subject. However, many of their paintings were for objective clarity from a view of an observer. For example, Shiotsuki Tōho portrayed three Atayal (τaiya, 泰雅, also known as the Tayal and the Tayan) girls in his painting, Rainbow (fig. 5.24). It should be noted that the Atayal tribe participated in the Musha (wushe, 霧社) Incident of 1930, an uprising against colonial Japanese forces which caused the death of 644 indigenous people. Shiotsuki presented this painting at the tenth Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition in 1936, only

433 Chen Hueiyun, “Form and Meaning in Paiwanese Art and Material Culture” (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 2015), 116.
434 Lai Ming-chu, “The Sign Mother in Taiwanese Art History”, 15.
six years after the brutal incident happened. The three girls who are playing mouth harps (*kouhuangqin*, 口簧琴) are looking straight ahead as if they were posing for a photograph. Indeed, a picture of Aborigine Girls Playing Flute (fig. 5.25) from *Commemorative Photograph Album for Camphor Wood Investigation* (*kusunoki chōsa kinen shashinchō*, 樟木調查記念寫真帳) published by the Japanese colonial government gives a similar impression of Shiotsuki’s painting. The photograph was taken by a Japanese investigator hired by the Japanese colonial government, and the painting done by a Japanese painter was full of exoticism from the view of observers. Akiyama Shunsui’s *Spring of Valleys* (fig. 5.26) also dealt with the Taiwanese aboriginal girl in a sense of stillness as the main subject, which was not an unusual painting theme during the colonial time. These paintings of Taiwanese natives by Japanese painters show emotional detachment and distance, which were different from Chen Chin’s *Women of Sandimen* that captured ordinary yet familiar and intimate atmosphere scenes.

Chen Chin’s Local Colour paintings that focused on female figures carried through the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition until 1936, and continued at the Taiwan Government-General Art Exhibition (*taiwan sōtokufu bijutsu tenrankai*, 台湾總督府美術展覽會) from 1938 to 1941. Besides the art exhibition supervised by the colonial government, she also participated in private art groups’ exhibitions, such as the Tai-Yang Art Exhibition (*taiyang meishu zhanlanhui*, 臺陽美術展覽會) organised by Chen Cheng-po and six Taiwanese painters in 1934.\(^{436}\) The Tai-Yang Art Society (*Taiyang meishu xiehui*) was originally only for the Western-style painters but

extended to the Japanese-style painting department in 1940, accordingly, Chen Chin was able to join the exhibition from 1940 and stated her impression:

I participated in the Tai-Yang Art Exhibition because I am Taiwanese. The establishment of the exhibition is an establishment of another art group and more development opportunities. …… Therefore, setting up a group, a group of Taiwanese, and (having) a Taiwanese leader, are more development opportunities.

我參加台陽展是因為我是台灣人，台陽展的成立是成立另一個藝術團體，多一個發展的機會，…… 所以弄一個團體，台灣人的團體，台灣人作頭，有一個發展的機會。437

This shows Chen Chin’s perception of Taiwanese national identity and demonstrates her recognition of the significance of the Tai-Yang Art Society as a great foundation for development in the Taiwanese art society. Liao Chih-chun, and other members of the group sympathised with her opinion and mentioned that purpose of the Tai-Yang Art Society was to promote the art society of Taiwan.438 An art critic Wang Pai-yuan (王白淵, 1902–1965) described the artists’ group as the centre of the art movement of Taiwan,

and also an artistic expression of the Taiwanese nationalist movement.\textsuperscript{439} As a part of the group, Chen Chin displayed the national identity of Taiwan inherent in her works and, in doing so, vitalised the progress of Taiwan art society.\textsuperscript{439}

As one of the most successful Taiwanese female painters who was also at the forefront of Taiwanese Local Colourism, Chen Chin’s role in Taiwanese art history is significant. She benefitted from the new education system imposed by the colonial power, which enabled her to attain higher art education that laid the foundation for her to break beyond the structural limitations of patriarchal bias and reveal self-awareness of her cultural and national identity.\textsuperscript{440} She also assimilated the prevailing painting style in Japan and applied it to express her strong sense of belonging to Taiwan, which became an essential element of Taiwanese Local Colourism. From the mid-1930s, she began to depict Taiwanese figures and gradually embraced the cultural uniqueness and distinctive characteristics of Taiwan in her works. Along with her Local Colour paintings, more Taiwanese female painters such as Huang Hehua (黃荷華, 1913–2007) who also studied Western-style painting at the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts, participated in the Local Colourism in Taiwan. Chen Chin freely explored and developed her artistic talents in the 1920s and focused on Local Colour paintings in the following decade as she began to have an interest in exclusive characteristics of Taiwan.\textsuperscript{440}


5.3 Local Colourists’ National Identity

Chen Cheng-po and Chen Chin, these two representative Local Colourists of Taiwan are explored in this chapter as counterparts of Korean Local Colourists, Ko Huidong and Na Hyeseok. They went through a quite similar socio-political experience under the Japanese Government-General as leading artists who showed monumental achievements, however, there are substantial differences in their paths to becoming Local Colourists in two different colonies.

The major cause of the difference could be rooted in different time backgrounds. The Korean Local Colourists were able to experience Korea as an independent country and watched their nation being politically subjugated by Japan from 1910 to 1945, as Ko Huidong was born in 1886 and Na Hyeseok in 1896. Taiwan, on the other hand, was already colonised from 1895 before both Chen Cheng-po and Chen Chin were born; Chen Cheng-po was born in 1895, the same year the Japanese occupation began, and Chen Chin was born in 1907. The change in social standing of both Korean artists’, Ko Huidong and Na Hyeseok, from Korean national to Japanese colonial, made them feel nostalgic for their country and have a strong sense of national consciousness from the beginning of their artistic career and led them to be at the centre of Local Colourism in Korea. On the other hand, in the Taiwanese social environment, coexisting with Japanese nationals must have been natural to accept for Chen Cheng-po and Chen Chin as such circumstances had continued from the beginning of their life. From an early age, they had been able to take painting classes in their homeland run by Japanese art teachers, which was not the case for the two Korean painters. Chen Cheng-po and Chen Chin had sufficient fundamental art study before they started higher education in Japan, which made it possible for them to win awards while studying abroad; Chen Cheng-po
won a prize at the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy in Japan and Chen Chin got an award at Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition, which happened in their second year of study in Japan. Ko Huidong and Na Hyeseok did not have an award-winning career during their study in Japan but later won recognition in their homeland at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition.

As studied above, Chen Cheng-po developed his own painting style inspired by European artists and showed exceptional achievement as a student by winning an award at the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy with his Local Colour painting, *Outside Jiayi Street* (see fig. 5.08). Chen Chin devoted herself to *bijinga* while in Japan, but when she got closer to Taiwan as a member of the jury of the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition, she witnessed the social and cultural differences between Japan and the island and began to present distinctive features of Taiwanese culture as her main subject matter. Chen Chin’s profound interest in her homeland ultimately led her to make Local Colour paintings. Upon this opportunity, Chen Chin showed her concern for the local subjects that displayed special features of Taiwan. Although Chen Chin rose to great fame in Taiwan as a female Local Colourist, she did not limit her field to Taiwan but also constantly attempted to promote herself and her Local Colour paintings in Japan. Her *Ensemble* (fig. 5.27) was selected for the Exhibition of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy of 1934 in Tokyo. In this painting, the two women in traditional dress, *qipao* 旗袍 are playing the classic flute (*hengdi*, 横笛) and the moon guitar (*yueqin*, 月琴) while sitting on a black bench inlaid with ornamental mother-of-pearl. Chen Chin applied refined colour and meticulous brush technique to depict the two ladies, modelled after her older sister, Chen Xin (陳新, 1900?–?) and herself, in a local setting that evokes an antique and elegant atmosphere. Her awareness of unique Taiwanese
features and her intention to express them caused such Local Colour painting which was so beloved in Taiwan to be appreciated in Japan too. Along with Chen Chin’s strong faith and confidence in her works, she continuously exhibited Taiwanese Local colour paintings in Japan, which mostly explored the daily life of Taiwanese people. Among the subjects, what she admired the most were scenes that captured the ordinary routine of the upper-class Taiwanese ladies, as Chen Chin was one of them. She delicately captured Taiwanese women in their daily life and expressed Taiwanese Local Colour by deliberately revealing distinctive national characteristics in the Japanese art circle.

Chen Chin once said, “If you want to paint your own country, you must express your own national identity and its unique style, otherwise people cannot identify with the author’s attributes 要畫自己的國家，一定得表達自己的民族性，獨特的風采，否則人家不能認同作者的屬性”, and also said, “I am Taiwanese, I want to paint the style of Taiwan, and I want to paint good works; it is important to paint better than Japanese 我是台灣人，要畫台灣的風格，而且要畫出好的作品，要比日本人畫得好，才是重要的事”.\(^{441}\) Chen Chin's arguments represent her thoughts and intentions, which made her devote herself to Local Colour painting. Her strong sense of national pride led her to successfully promote her Local Colour painting in Japan. Her outstanding painting skills and the unique national feature of Taiwan realised in her works enabled Chen Chin to be recognised as one of the most established Local Colourists, not only in her homeland but also in Japan.

Chen Cheng-po, Chen Chin, and other Taiwanese Local Colourists were taking advantage of a unique state of affairs and maximised their opportunities to become

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outstanding artists. Furthermore, they also maintained their focus on the positive aspects of the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition.

We want to create Taiwanese art with the trend of the times. Good opportunities to participate in an exhibition are very important in the art movements of any country, therefore, artists should seize the opportunity well. If they accommodate themselves to the style of the exhibition or the judging committee for the sake of their own vanity, they will be cast aside!

我們要創造出具時代性的臺灣藝術。好的參展機會對任何國家的藝術運動都是相當重要的，故作家要好好的把握機會才行，若為了一己之虛榮，迎合展覽會或審查委員的作風而曲意配合，則是必須予以唾棄的！

This article, “To Taiwanese Artists”, which was published one day before the second Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition, presents the core idea of the Local Colourism of Taiwan. Local Colourists of Taiwan kept an affirmative view of the national art exhibition sponsored by the Japanese Government-General. While the exhibition was considered a great opportunity for their art circle, the Taiwanese Local Colourists highlighted the importance of maintaining their own style of art regardless of external factors, and also

emphasised the significance of reflecting the times and circumstances that connote Local Colour.

The Taiwanese retained a fairly positive image of the Japanese, however, there were numerous early instances of armed resistance against Japan and many Taiwanese elites espoused their national identity that resisted Japanese colonisation.\footnote{Ching Leo, \textit{Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation} (University of California Press, 2001), 8–36.} Similarly, the strong sense of national identity in Korea was rather reinforced during the colonial time, as Koreans’ long experience of political, economic, and cultural autonomy from the Joseon dynasty was violated.\footnote{McNamara Dennis L., “Comparative Colonial Response: Korea and Taiwan”, \textit{Korean Studies} Vol.10 (1986), 54–68.} Under colonial rule, Japanese culture and customs were imposed on Taiwanese and Korean nationals, and they were forced to become Japanese subjects. There is no doubt that colonial Japan left its political and cultural imprints on the people of its colonies, however, both colonies’ artists were able to establish their own art world, and Local Colourism appeared by painters who paid particular attention to their homeland and its people.

The Local Colour paintings of Na Hyeseok and Ko Huidong, Chen Chin, and Chen Cheng-po were indeed the reflections of their thoughts of the time, and also the representation of each nation’s different national concerns during the colonial period. Both Korean Local Colourists, Na and Ko, established their strong sense of national identity against Japanese colonialism, which went along with widespread nationalism in Korea and consistently made Local Colour paintings that carefully described local Koreans. In the case of Chen Chin, on the other hand, she did not show a strong sense of bonding with her nation but rather, focused on the acquisition of painting skills and style in Japan. It was from the early 1930s that she showed her interest in local
Taiwanese subject matters as Chen Chin came back to her homeland and began to associate with the local art circle. The distinctive characters of Taiwan attracted her to be absorbed in creating Taiwanese Local Colour paintings and she had earned her great recognition in Taiwanese art history. Similarly, Chen Cheng-po also made it his priority to cultivate his painting skills but his main subject matter had always been the Local Colour of Taiwan. During the colonial period, Chen Cheng-po naturally developed his affection and care for Taiwan as a local artist and presented such sentiment and ideas through his Local Colour paintings.

An art critic, Kim Youngjun (金瑢俊, 1904–1967) stated:

Regardless of whether it is literature, art, religion, or language, it can be argued that it is created and developed because it is inevitable and constantly required in human life. In other words, only those cultures that precisely correspond to the feelings of the people of that time and the living conditions of those of that time will be the cultures that have sincerity. …… The characteristics of culture vary over time, by nation, and by ethnicity, therefore, the culture could acquire its significance.
Kim argued that art should deliver sincere local sentiment, which he believed to be a quintessential feature of national art. As a painter who studied at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in the late 1920s, Kim stayed close to other Korean artists and created a mutual understanding of Local Colourism. His ideas put a special value on the emotions that underlie nationals who were living through the time of colonialism. For him, Local Colour painting that reflected such unique features of Korea which were created based on the cultural, social, political, and national conditions of the time, was the sincere art that displays the national identity of Korea. The idea of showing the national character in painting was not only prevalent in the 1920s and it was also accepted as the only art that reflected the fundamental significance of the time. Na Hyeseok, Ko Huidong, Chen Chin, and Chen Cheng-po were the painters who established such ideas earlier than others and manifested them as Local Colour paintings in their homeland. Likewise, Local Colourists of Korea and Taiwan also empathised deeply with such ideas and attempted to express their national identity through Local Colour paintings.

Korean and Taiwanese Local Colourism could be defined as an art movement that originated from the early twentieth century under Japanese colonial rule, by native artists who emphasised implying national identity in painting. Different from previous studies on Local Colourism which concentrated on its connection with political matters led by colonists, this thesis investigates from the beginning of the art movement and

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argues that Local Colourism is rooted in the artists’ concern and affection for their homeland and its nationals. Local Colourists’ ideas were built under colonial rule and established as a painting genre that expresses national identity by depicting scenes of everyday life, landscapes, and portraits; the unique current of the times gave the artists a special interest in the scenes of their homeland. Although the two countries’ Local Colourists had experienced different ways to develop Local Colourism, as artists of the colonised nation, they captured unique scenes that could express the identity of Korea and Taiwan and created Local Colourism that became a representative painting genre established during the Japanese colonial era.
Why did Local Colourism appear in both Korea and Taiwan from the 1920s, and was it just a means to sate colonisers’ exoticism as previous studies have argued? This is the initial core question that I asked at the beginning of this research. The two colonised nations’ artists commonly portrayed their homeland, especially the ordinary landscapes and figures which were seen in daily life. Their painting certainly shows the unique national features of Korea and Taiwan, a reflection of the artists’ personal and national experience during the colonial period. This dissertation attempts to show that their sense of self and national identity, which was developed under colonial rule, led them to express national characteristics and reflect the spirit of their time in their paintings by paying attention to their immediate environment and local people. Although several Korean and Taiwanese scholars have researched Local Colourism of their nation, they have focused almost exclusively on the colonial rule as the main factor of the art movement. This study attempts to understand the Local Colourism of both nations in the social and cultural context, with a different angle that emphasises the role of native artists’ ideology and sentiment in the development of Local Colourism.

This research finds the beginning of Local Colourism in late nineteenth-century Japan in the works of Kuroda Seiki. In doing so, it tackles previous studies that limited the meaning of Local Colourism in Korean and Taiwanese art history to being a mere by-product of colonial policy. It argues that the art trend was initiated by Kuroda Seiki, who also contributed to spreading it with his involvement in Japanese art society, along with his colleagues and students who strived to express their national identity. While Japan was going through an extensive modernisation process to cope with the pressures
from the Western powers, native artists valued Japanese traditional ethics and customs, as they believed that such features represented the country's identity and culture. For them, Local Colourism was the manifestation of their national pride and sense of attachment to their homeland. This is one major point of this research, as it proves that regardless of colonial policy, Local Colourism developed from the artists who were passionate about presenting national characteristics, as can be seen in the paintings of Kuroda Seiki, Hiromitsu Nakazawa, and Wada Eisaku among others. The rise of national feeling was exacerbated in times of stress and conflict; the articulation of the national identity of the Japanese Local Colourists was mainly carried out in a clear-cut context of catching up with the West while protecting their national identity. For the Korean and Taiwanese nationals of the early twentieth century, Japanese colonial rule reinforced their sense of national consciousness; the native artists initiated Local Colourism because they were keen to express their national ideas by painting subjects that demonstrated the unique characteristics of their homeland.

To clarify the origins of Local Colourism in Korea and Taiwan, Chapter Two explores colonial policies regarding art and art education carried out in the two colonies. It surveys Western art education and related policy that the Japanese Government-General employed, which focused on practical and industrial purposes over creative and imaginative learning. This research shows that neither the colonial policy nor school education are the catalyst for Local Colourism, but personal efforts are what made this trend bloom in Korea and Taiwan. In the case of Korea, it was the artists like Ko Huidong who studied in Japan and then came back to his homeland to disseminate the

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knowledge he acquired overseas, whilst in Taiwan it was Ishikawa Kinichirō who actively motivated Taiwanese students to engage in studying watercolour painting.

This research then argued that Local Colourists of Korea and Taiwan actively promoted Local Colourism based on their concerns and affection for their homeland. It explores the artists’ paintings, essays, and articles wherein their ideas and affection for their nation are revealed, and analyses how they displayed their national identity.

In this study, I categorise Ko Huidong and Na Hyeseok as leading artists in Local Colourism. They are already considered figures of great importance in Korean art history as a pioneering Western-style painter and the first female artist, respectively, but their contributions to the inception and development of Local Colourism have not been studied. Whilst only limited basic Western art education was available in Korea, Ko Huidong, who came back to Korea in 1915 after graduating from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, made a major contribution to vitalising education, as he actively engaged in art education, organised art groups and published several articles. Through analysing his work, Chapter Three highlights his ideas towards his homeland, which this study proposes became the groundwork for establishing Local Colourism in Korea. He explicitly chose specific subjects that show Korean characteristics to reveal his sense of national identity. Furthermore, based on the new painting techniques and skills learnt from Japan, Ko Huidong stressed the significance of manifesting national identity and fostered young Local Colourists.

Na Hyeseok was exposed to the women’s rights movement in Japan and also studied Western-style painting at the Private Women’s School of Fine Arts in Japan; however, she perceived Japan as a coloniser of her motherland and harboured strong aspirations for independence. In Chapter Four, this study closely examines her concerns
for Korean women and national independence, which were revealed in her essays, satirical cartoons, and paintings, as she portrayed distinct features of Korea through the ordinary people in the familiar landscape that could be seen everywhere in her nation, and also argued that having “a special Korean expression” based on “locality or national character” is essential in Korean art society. It argues that Na Hyeseok inaugurated Local Colourism along with other political and cultural activities regarding her national identity and promoted the fundamental idea for the art movement.

Chapter Five explored Chen Cheng-po and Chen Chin as major figures of Local Colourism of Taiwan. Chen Cheng-po, one of the earliest Local Colourists of Taiwan, who studied watercolour painting from Ishikawa Kinichirō in the homeland and continued studying at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, was a diligent learner who did his own research on European master painters’ work in the early 1920s and created his own painting style. While in Japan, he maintained his focus on the Taiwanese landscape, especially that of his hometown, and tried to articulate his thoughts through his painting. His painting series that repeatedly portrayed ordinary scenes of Taiwan show his attachment to and affection for his nation by revealing the unique characteristics of Taiwan and its nationals. Chen Chin reinterpreted the bijinga that she studied in Japan to portray Taiwanese high-class women and presented her interest in her national identity. This study not only considers her paintings, but also her writings that clearly showed her pride in Taiwan and argues that such feelings and ideas were the source of her painting.

Both Taiwanese Local Colourists also organised art groups with other Taiwanese painters and actively participated in private art exhibitions as well as the Taiwan Fine Art Exhibition. Their Local Colour paintings that represented natives’
distinct identity stimulated colleague artists and became established as one of the main genres in Taiwan during the colonial period. Chen Cheng-po and Chen Chin demonstrated their enthusiastic attitudes towards the national identity of Taiwan through their paintings and activities quite irrespective of Japanese colonial rule.447

Kim Heongsu (1919–2014, also known as Kim Sou) who won a Special Award at the Joseon Art Exhibition of 1944, set forth his views on his work in an interview.

I painted this work, Interior still-life of night, with an enthusiasm like soldier’s heart in the front line of the war, and it won a Special Award unexpectedly. Keeping the overwhelming feeling, I would do my best to serve the country as a painter, which is at a decisive battle of destroying the United States and United Kingdom.

이번 작품은 밤의 실내정물이라는 한 점으로 결선 아래 제일선 장병의 마음이라고도 할 만한 열의를 넣어서 그린 것이었는데 흔한 것이었는데 믿지 않게 특선되었습니다. 이 감격을 그대로 가지고 미술가의 한 사람으로서 미·영 격렬의 이 결정에 힘껏 봉공하려고 더욱더 노력할 것을 결심하고 있습니다.448

448 “Nine Painters Won Special Award; Twenty Third Joseon Art Exhibition winners”, Maeil News, 1 Jun 1944.
There is a vivid contrast between the Local Colourist who supported their colonised nation and culture, and the artists outside Local Colourism who openly supported Japanese Imperialism, which serves to highlight how Local Colour is a movement that derived from national love and affection. Kim’s still-life painting that depicted a dead fowl indoors, did not show any sign of praising Japan’s imperialism, however, he clearly stated his pro-Japanese mindset in the interview. He openly supported Japanese forces during the Pacific War while Korea was still under their rule. Similarly, the intention of stirring up the martial spirit of Japanese forces is also presented in *Boy’s day* (fig 6.01) by Tsai Yun-yan 蔡雲巖 (1908–1977, also known as Takamori Ungen 高森雲巖), which was selected at the Taiwan Governor-General’s Art Exhibition in 1943. In the painting, a mother wearing a traditional dress, *qipao* is holding a toy aeroplane decorated with the symbol of the Japanese military, and a boy is trailing a Japanese toy cart in a room that could be seen in any high-class Taiwanese house. The tablecloth behind the woman is embroidered with the characters, 祈武 (運長久, these last three characters are hidden, *kibu unchōkyū*), which means praying for military success. Kim Heongsu and Tsai Yun-yan are the artists who corresponded to the colonial policy and distinctly displayed their pro-Japanese sentiment.

The Local Colour paintings of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan are the outcome of native artists who carried strong attitudes and beliefs about their own people and about others, who feel their attachment to their nation passionately. They were eager to present their national identity through painting: nationalist sentiment was initiated in the Japanese Local Colourists’ minds due to the massive influx of Western culture,

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triggering a reaction to protect their identity, while Korean and Taiwanese Local Colourists’ sense of national identity was reinforced during the colonial period. The background of Japanese and the other two nations’ Local Colourists were different, however, it is clear that their works are derived from their nationalist sentiments and their affectionate attitudes towards the motherland. Local Colourism in Korea and Taiwan have been understood as a policy-driven trend to satisfy Japanese colonisers’ curiosity, however, the art trend of the two colonies deserves a more considered position in art history. This study attempts to assign a new meaning to Local Colourism of Korea and Taiwan by highlighting the native artists’ affection and concern for their homeland, and their proactive role in promoting the art trend, as the existing studies for Local Colourism does not recognise Local Colourists’ contributions.

As this study concentrates on the beginning of Local Colourism from Japan to Korea and Taiwan regarding the native artists’ sense of national identity, further research is needed to explore how the art trend flourished and ended. Furthermore, future studies could investigate the association between Local Colourism and the proletarian art movement in Taiwan and Korea: some Taiwanese artists including Chen Cheng-po showed a certain connection to the proletarian arts movement that was also flourishing across Japan, Korea, and Taiwan in the late 1920s and the 1930s.\footnote{Heather Bowen-Struyk, “Guest Editor’s Introduction: Proletarian Arts in East Asia”, \textit{Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique} Vol.14, no.2 (Sep 2006), 251.} It would be interesting to investigate how the proletarian art movement and Local Colourism, which were co-present in about the same period in the three nations are related.
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Table 1) Western painting department curriculum of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1896 (hours per week)\(^{452}\)

\(^{452}\) Hong Sungmi, “Study of Korean Students in Tokyo School of Fine Arts (동경미술학교 조선인 유학생 연구: 1909 년-1945 년 서양화과 졸업생을 중심으로),” (PhD diss, Myongji University, 2014), 15.
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<td>- Fast Sketching Human Body (pencil)</td>
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<th><strong>Spring is Coming, 1922</strong></th>
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| 3 | **South Gate of Fenghuang Fortress**  
(Fourth Prize), 1923 | 4 | **Fenghuang Mountain, 1923** |
| 5 | **Morning in Early Summer, 1924** | 6 | **Garden in Fall**  
(Fourth Prize), 1924 |
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<td>9</td>
<td>Tianhou Temple</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Highest Award)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Afternoon in Spring</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3) Ten paintings of Na Hyeseok, displayed from the First to Sixth Joseon Fine Art Exhibition Catalogues (1922-1927).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Artists</th>
<th>Works</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yun Shiseon</td>
<td><em>Dolls</em>, 1928</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yi Sukjong</td>
<td><em>Landscape with Red Building</em>, 1930</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yi Inbok</td>
<td><em>Korean Dance</em>, 1936</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Yi Gaphyang, <em>Lady with Check Patterned Dress</em>, 1937, oil on canvas, 112×89cm, The National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jeong Onnye, <em>Study of Spring</em>, 1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4) Korean Female painters’ paintings awarded at the Joseon Fine Art Exhibition.
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