IMAGES OF THE HOME FRONT IN WAR ART EXHIBITIONS

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1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

THIS STUDY WILL will illuminate concrete examples of how women participated in creating art in modern Japan, and examine their activities historically and sociohistorically from the perspective of gender.[1] How were women artists incorporated into the wartime system? What kind of art did they produce? How was this art interpreted? How did these experiences affect their creative activities? Focusing particularly on the artists' alliances and networks, I will investigate the social institutions surrounding women artists before, during, and after the Asia-Pacific War as revealed through wartime social circumstances and the changes therein.

One of the most important goals of this article is to investigate works created by women artists during the Asia-Pacific War. Recent studies have begun to reveal how many (male) artists produced war paintings [*sensōga*], but it is less known that women also engaged in wartime cultural production. In my previous research I examined the pair of collaborative oil paintings, *Japanese Women All Working Together for the Great East Asia War Effort* [Daitōasen kōkoku fujo kaidō no zu], and the Women Artists Service Corps [*Joryū Bijutsuka Hōkōtai*], the wartime association that produced it, as an example of women's wartime cultural activities. One question that emerged in the process of that investigation was why women painted the home front [*jūgo*], but not battles [*sentō*].

1 This article is based primarily on "Sensō bijutsuten ni okeru 'jūgo' no zuzō" [Images of the home front in war art exhibitions], the third section of the third chapter—the core—of my doctoral dissertation, "Kindai Nihon no senji bijutsu to josei: Josei bijutsuka no nettowāku kōchiku to hyōgen katsudō o megutte" [War art and women in modern Japan: Women artists' network building and creative activities] (Chiba University, 2010), with discussion supplemented as appropriate from other chapters.

In order to answer this question, we must analyze not only images of the home front displayed at art exhibitions but also those published in magazines so as to be able to situate *All Working Together* within a broader context of visual culture. During the war, there were a number of major exhibitions that focused on war art. Most important in those exhibitions were works featuring soldiers in battle, not the home front. At the same time, in terms of its subject matter and composition, *All Working Together* went beyond the ordinary bounds of "home front paintings." To understand why, it is necessary to examine the trajectory of women artists in modern art history through the lens of gender.

The broader underlying aim of this article is not to merely tack women artists onto preexisting male-centric scholarship on art, but rather to reframe the history of modern Japanese art from the perspective of gender and to understand modern women artists through an integrated consideration of art history, wartime culture, and gender (women's history).

2. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON IMAGES OF THE HOME FRONT

IT WAS RARE for the many war-related exhibitions in the Shōwa era (1926–89) to show only works featuring battle scenes: depictions by many artists of the work and activities of noncombatants who supported the total war lined the galleries as well. While previous studies have examined some specific non-battle works, there has been little research systematically and concretely investigating the role

fig. 1

Spring-Summer Panel from *Japanese Women All Working Together for the Great East Asia War Effort*. 240.0 x 300.0 cm. *Army Art Exhibition*, 1944.

of home front images in exhibitions. Apart from battle art, a certain percentage of public submissions to exhibitions themed on current affairs also concerned the home front. We need also to consider the images of mothers and children on the covers and in the illustrations in women's magazines, previously analyzed by Wakakuwa Midori,[2] as well as portrayals of women shown at state-sponsored exhibitions [*kanten*] and other events held on a continuing basis during this period. This is because the representation of the home front in the war years comprised the aggregate of all these images circulated through exhibitions and through a variety of media, each with different goals.

The *Holy War Art Exhibition* [Seisen bijutsuten] was co-organized twice by the Army Art Association [Rikugun Bijutsu Kyōkai] and Asahi Shimbun Company to commemorate the second and fourth anniversaries of the China Incident [Shina Jihen], as the war with China was then known. At the first exhibition, public attention centered on ten documentary paintings produced by artists embedded with the Central China Expeditionary Army [Nakashina Hakengun], with other works including those by members of the Army Art Association and invited artists as well as the general public.

The two iterations of the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition* [Daitōa sensō bijutsuten], the expanded successor to the *Holy War Art Exhibition*, celebrated the first and second anniversaries of the Pacific War [Taiheiyō Sensō]. Both included numerous army and navy campaign record paintings [*sakusen kirokuga*]; in addition, the second exhibition featured portrayals of the emperor and empress by Fujita Tsuguharu, Miyamoto Saburō, and Koiso Ryōhei in a special gallery that received much attention. Like the *Holy War Art Exhibition*, the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition* displayed works submitted by the public. The four showings of these two exhibitions were among the largest during the war in terms of scale and number of works. Moreover, the *Holy War Art Exhibition* and the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition* were major war-themed exhibitions that officially conducted open calls for artworks. I will therefore focus on these in the following examination, based on extant archival visual materials, of the heretofore little-studied images of the home front in war art exhibitions.

2 Wakakuwa Midori, *Sensō ga tsukuru josei zō: Dainiji Sekai Taisen ka no Nihon josei dōin no shikakuteki propaganda* [Images of women created by war: Visual propaganda for the mobilization of Japanese women in World War II] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1995).

The China-Japan War [Nitchū Sensō], which started in 1937 with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, had become a quagmire by 1939, the year the first Holy War Art Exhibition was held. The expanded and prolonged military conflict brought material shortages, steadily impoverishing the lives of citizens. The war prompted numerous artists to voluntarily visit the battlefront. Among the works showing soldiers that predominated at the *Holy War Art Exhibition*, depictions of the wounded alone occasionally showed female nurses beside men in their hospital rooms. Nurses, who provided care to wounded soldiers and other patients in hospitals on the home front, were expected to serve with valor once sent to the battlefront; in effect, they connected the home front and the battlefront. In art, wounded soldiers are often portrayed spending their time in recreation. While nurses are sometimes depicted at work caring for soldiers who have been blinded or who are in wheelchairs, as often as not they are shown simply sitting unoccupied beside their patients or lingering in a corner of a hospital room. The women are rarely treated as subjects in their own right, being nothing more than accessories to the wounded soldiers.

Major topics in home front artwork, meanwhile, included soldier send-offs, work in farming villages and at factories, and comfort visits. Though it was already wartime, these works still portray noncombatant young men. In particular, in depictions of heavy industries, the laborers are still nearly all men, with no women substituting for them, the same as before the war. On the other hand, some works set in farming villages, such as Tsutsui Shigeo's *Participation*, depict female students helping with farm labor, actively portraying female participation in villages while also showing that a surprisingly large number of men were still working there. Public submissions accepted for exhibition moreover included works such as Kanda Shūzō's *Welcoming Returning Soldiers*, which was predicated on the expectation that soldiers would survive and come home. Works themed on comfort visits [*imon*] were already a part of the *Holy War Art Exhibition*. The depicted visits, especially those to hospitals, were predominantly by women from various women's associations and by girls, highlighting the role of women as caregivers. As we can see from the paintings by Ōwada

Tomiko and Iwamoto Suzuko, female artists most often depicted women engaging in care activities such as making comfort visits or working as military nurses. Given that both the painter and subjects are women, here we can observe a double structure of caregiving, that is, of women artists concerning themselves with caregiving women. It has been pointed out elsewhere that domestic subjects were considered more appropriate for women artists from before the war, and it may be said that even in wartime individual women continued to pursue subjects along much the same lines. Male artists, on the other hand, could depict both battles and the home front.

Of special note among the home front artworks are those showing people praying. The act of praying in itself contributes nothing whatsoever to productive activities for directly carrying on with war. Even so, images of prayer continued to appear more or less consistently in later exhibitions as well. These images were almost all of women or children who had been left behind on the home front. I will come back to this point later in this article.

Japan's victories in the early battles of the Pacific War cleared away the sense of suffocation brought on by the prolonged war in China as people reveled for a time in the news of triumphs including the occupation of successive parts of Southeast Asia. This optimism affected the art world as well. The Pacific War advanced the justification that Japan was liberating Asia from the Western imperial powers. By embracing this justification, artists went on to give shape to war paintings possessing a majesty on par with the history paintings of the West within an art world that had long deplored the lack of true "fine art" [*bijutsu*] in Japan prior to the arrival of modern art.[3] Expanded conscription in response to the prolonged war, however, soon resulted in an acute lack of labor. This problem was severe in rural villages as well, precipitating a conclusive drop in production. Women's entry into the munitions industries, in particular, became a priority. Thus one of the greatest differences between home front images in the *Holy War Art Exhibition* versus the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition* is the marked increase of women depicted at work.

3 Kawata Akihisa, "Sensō to bijutsu: Sōsetsu" [War and art: Overview], in *Nihon kingendai bijutsushi jiten* [Encyclopedia of modern and contemporary Japanese art history], ed. Taki Kōji and Fujieda Teruo (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 2007), 446–47.

Female nurses ceased to serve merely as incidental details and were instead shown engaging in specific tasks and responsibilities, as exemplified by Ōwada's painting of military nurses.

Perhaps in echo of calls for production of more planes and battleships, depictions of industrial production grew in range to include those factories, and their proportion within the total number of home front artworks increased as well. Another major change was the appearance of female industrial laborers in art around this time. However, the laborers represented were still overwhelmingly male, and those in the heavy industries were consistently depicted as young, healthy, and muscular.

Female laborers were most often represented as engaging in handiwork, as exemplified by the students sewing military uniforms. Youth laborers also made occasional appearances, most likely in correspondence to the real-life labor shortage of the time. Reflecting the increasingly dire situation at war, wounded soldiers were shown vowing to rejoin the war effort. Further portrayals depicted them working in factories after recovering and returning to society.

Meanwhile, inversely proportional to the increased depictions of industrial labor, the number of works portraying rural villages decreased in the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition* compared with the *Holy War Art Exhibition*. The relatively few depictions of manual laborers in rural villages show a sharply increased number of women carrying loads and performing other such tasks, but few men. Sekiguchi Fumio's *Old Man and Grandson Protecting Mountain Fields* is symbolic of the place of women in home front images at war art exhibitions: while the woman here is shown contributing to labor as well as to procreation, her work is unacknowledged in the title and her role thereby ignored.

As if in anticipation of the bombings of Japan's home territories, the number of works depicting women practicing to fight damage from air raids—a subject rarely seen at the *Holy War Art Exhibition*—increased in the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition*. As far as I can determine,

the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition* was also the first of the two to include portrayals of the making of *senninbari* thousand-stitch belts (e.g., Nadoyama Aijun's Naha *Thousand-Stitch Belt*) among representations of women on the home front. Other general exhibitions had included the subject of the thousand-stitch belt from around the late 1930s. In regard to the encouragement of soldiers, depictions shifted to show not hospital visits but boys and girls writing letters to be included in comfort bags sent to the front, as Matsuyama Hiroyuki's *Comfort Letter* illustrates. In general, it can be said that representations of "labor" done by women increased.

Images of people praying were also consistently chosen for exhibition, many of them featuring female family members or survivors of soldiers. However, no image of prayer was included in the *Daitōasen bijutsu dai nishū* [Great East Asia War art collection II] catalogue, which reproduced a portion of the works from the second Great East Asia War Art Exhibition. At the same time, images of prayer did appear in other general-interest publications such as *Sensō bijutsuten gashū Shōwa jūhachinen* [Art from war art exhibitions, 1943], so it does not seem to be the case that the demand for them suddenly disappeared.

Kitahara Megumi argues that the paintings of the emperor and empress by Fujita Tsuguharu, Miyamoto Saburō, and Koiso Ryōhei displayed in the special gallery of the second Great East Asia War Art Exhibition aptly symbolize the imperial couple's role in the war, namely to pray, govern, and heal.[4] The paintings of the emperor praying for victory at Ise Shrine and the empress visiting a hospital effectively stand at the epitome of images of prayer and the comfort of soldiers. They evoke a vision of all members of the Japanese "family"—centered on the emperor and extending to women at the bottom of the societal pyramid—united in their thoughts for the soldiers on the front.

4 Kitahara Megumi, "Kieta sanmai no kaiga: Senchū/sengo no tennō no hyōshō" [Three paintings that disappeared: Representations of the emperor in the wartime/postwar period], *Iwanami kōza Ajia Taiheiyō Sensō 2: Sensō no seijigaku* [Iwanami lecture series, Asia-Pacific War 2: The politics of war] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005), 179.

3. COMPARISON OF IMAGES OF THE HOME FRONT IN WAR ART EXHIBITIONS VERSUS OTHER MEDIA

GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED exhibitions [*kanten*] that were aligned with wartime state policies, such as the Ministry of Education *Wartime Special Art Exhibition* [Monbushō senji tokubetsu bijutsuten] (November–December 1944), displayed many images that evoked the war, including of female laborers on the home front. On the other hand, only a few artworks presented about the same time in the New Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibitions [Shin Bunten] contain images, such as of labor at munitions factories, which can immediately be tied to the home front. Instead, the works there fall into the same generic categories that were seen in peacetime, such as images of women [*fujinzō*], female nudes [*rafuzō*], girls [*shōjozō*], mothers and children [*boshizō*], and beauties [*bijinga*]. At least on the surface, then, images directly associated with wartime labor were scarce in these government-sponsored non-war art exhibitions compared with the *Holy War Art* and *Great East Asia War Art Exhibitions*. Among the seemingly universal subject matter listed above we must, however, pay particular critical attention to the images of mothers and children. For example, Mukai Kuma's *Giving Birth to a Boy*, which received the special prize [*tokusen*] at the fourth *Shin Bunten*, commemorates a personal event—the birth of the artist's first son—but is related to the state's demand for men as soldiers. Asai Kan'emon's *Abundant Harvest (Honorable Family)*, presented at the *Wartime Special Art Exhibition*, shows a war orphan as an "abundant harvest," a human resource. These mother and child images fully answer to the wartime social situation.

Images of mothers and children communicated their ideological message most effectively in illustrations and covers for women's magazines. According to Wakakuwa Midori's scholarship mentioned above, mother-and-child images were the most frequent type appearing in *Shufu no tomo*, which boasted the largest print run among magazines targeted at housewives. These depictions of strong mothers raising their children with tender affection constituted the most effective visual propaganda tool for mobilizing women into the war. And no medium was better suited to disseminating these propagandistic images than magazines catering to women, their intended target. Images of mothers holding their children do not appear much in the catalogues of the *Holy War Art Exhibition* and the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition*. They exerted their power best in women's magazines, not in art exhibitions presented to unspecified audiences.

4. "PRAYING WOMEN" AND "FIGHTING SOLDIERS/MEN"

OVERALL, IT MAY be said that representations of female labor at the *Holy War Art Exhibition* and the *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition* grew more diverse as though in correspondence to government policies that increasingly mobilized women into the workforce to remedy the chronic labor shortage resulting from the prolonged war. Even so, these representations seem far too few in comparison with the great variety of work and roles that women actually performed in place of men at the time. Art critic Kimura Shigeo had this to say about the general

disregard for home front images during the war:

> At this year's *Great East Asia War Art Exhibition* I had the strong sense that, *despite the masterliness of the campaign record paintings, works recording the fight on the home front were, indeed, entirely glossed over*. While this is partially the fault of the organizers for focusing the program on rather journalistic images of the battlefront and, in effect, completely neglecting to provide guidance so as to make the exhibition reflect the entirety of the Great East Asia War itself, a certain amount of blame must also be assigned to the artists who have forgotten the home front. . . . We would ask that *in conjunction with these paintings recording the brave fighting of our imperial soldiers, the brave fighting and dedication of our citizens on the home front be by all means represented more as well. This is because the fundamental purpose of mobilizing art in a so-called thought war [*shisōsen*] must be to communicate the entirety of war*, and it is by manifesting this whole that it becomes possible to more concretely convince the public of the awe of Japan. *Such is the nature of a thought war*.[5]

Kimura's criticism is not specifically about the lack of images of women on the home front. Still, if we go by his argument, it becomes impossible not to take up women's labor on the home front as a subject of depiction. If home front images had been glossed over at war art exhibitions, that was in part because exhibition organizers and artists had failed to portray the entire variety of work and roles women had taken over from men. Work on the home front would have served not only to support the lives of soldiers but also to communicate messages encouraging them, for example, to do well at war. In that sense, it would not have been surprising if more home front images had been produced than there actually were—a lack that seems to be related to an attempt to maintain a gendered order.

The priority of the Japanese military as regards women was not to draft them into work, but to secure human resources through reproduction and the protection of maternity [*bosei hogo*].[6] For the totalitarian state,

5 Kimura Shigeo, "Shisōsen ni okeru kaiga: Daitōa Sensō Bijutsuten o mite" [Paintings in a thought war: On viewing the Great East Asia War Art Exhibition], *Kokuga* 3, no. 1 (January 1943). Emphasis mine.

6 Takahashi Saburō, "Sensō to josei" [War and women], *Senjika no Nihon* [Japan under war], ed. Senjika Shakai Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Kōrosha, 1992), 259.

the patriarchal system underlying the Japanese family was precisely what underpinned its structures of authority.[7] Putting women to work would have challenged this principle of patriarchy. While the prolonged war and shortage of labor led women to be mobilized as workers, for the state this was by rights not ideal. In reality, in women's magazines like *Shufu no tomo*, which strongly reflected the unspoken pragmatic wishes of the state, the number of images of women working vigorously in munitions factories increased dramatically as the tide of the war turned against Japan.

But if images had fully portrayed the reality of women taking over the varied jobs and roles that men had held, then that would have undermined the state's professed ideal of upholding procreation, the most important gender role for women. In this context, it was images of women praying—not those of mothers and children, which were designed to encourage the reproduction of human resources, or those of women working to provide soldiers with material resources for carrying on the war—that consistently appeared in the catalogues of war art exhibitions. The age range of these women varied, as old mothers, wives, children, and sisters were portrayed praying for the military glory of their sons, husbands, fathers, and brothers. The images of women praying far outnumbered those of men.

The act of praying in itself cannot possibly produce anything of realistic benefit to the conduct of war. Why, then, were the images of praying women necessary? According to Yamazaki Akiko, images of praying women represent them as waiting in hope of nothing but the safe return of their menfolk.. She observes that soldiers are motivated more strongly to fight if they can believe that those left behind have no one but them to depend on, rather than feeling that even if they died their loved ones would weather the crisis by cooperating with other women to work and get by on their own.[8]

In other words, representations of collaborative work by women—who were in fact the most important source of labor under the total war regime—were kept to a certain minimum, while images of powerless praying women who contributed to productive activity in no way

7 Wakakuwa, *Sensō ga tsukuru joseizō*, 46.

8 Yamazaki Akiko, "Kenkyū nōto: Hyōshō to shite no 'senninbari'—'Senninbari' no hyōshō bunseki no tame no jendā riron ni yoru apurōchi" [Research notes: Thousand-stitch belts as representation—A gender-theory approach to the analysis of representations of thousand-stitch belts], in *Kafuchōsei sekai shisutemu ni okeru senji no josei no sabetsu no kōzōteki kenkyū* [Structural research on wartime discrimination against women in the patriarchal world system], Japan Society for the Promotion of Science FY2005–6 Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) project report, principal researcher: Wakakuwa Midori (March 2007), 124–25.

fig. 2

Autumn-Winter Panel from *Japanese Women All Working Together for the Great East Asia War Effort*. 185.7 x 298.5 cm. *Army Art Exhibition*, 1944.

whatsoever were consistently utilized to encourage soldiers to fight. We could even go a step further and argue that the praying women function on behalf of viewers to support and sanctify the actions of the soldiers in battle paintings from the standpoint of the home front. Whereas proactive work and everyday motherly activity by women were, at least in the context of certain limited domains, applauded in other media, in war art exhibitions images of women who were confident of their own roles and who performed them assertively carried the risk of overshadowing soldiers, the main actors of war. The soldiers were the ones fighting the war. The figure of the praying woman projected the ultimate image of women as powerless in order to support soldiers save by venerating their hallowed fight and offering prayers of gratitude.

As the above discussion shows, a comprehensive picture of wartime representations may only be obtained by examining the front as seen in battle paintings alongside home front paintings, their complementary counterpart. With this in mind we will now look closely at *Japanese Women All Working Together for the Great East Asia War Effort*, which went beyond the scope of the home front images of the time, and the Women Artists Patriotic Corps Group, which produced the work.

5. WOMEN ARTISTS AND WAR: THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WOMEN ARTISTS SERVICE CORPS[9]

THE WOMEN ARTISTS Service Corps was established in February 1943. Western-style painter Hasegawa Haruko was elected chair, while Western-style painters Fujikawa Eiko and Migishi Setsuko and

9 For details on the Women Artists Service Corps and its chair Hasegawa Haruko, see the essays by Kitahara Megumi and Kokatsu Reiko in this report and my article "'Joryū Bijutsuka Hōkōtai' to *Daitōasen kōkoku fujo kaidō no zu ni tsuite*" [On the Women Artists Service Corps and Japanese Women All Working Together for the Great East Asia War Effort], *Bijutsushi*, no. 153 (2002).

Japanese-style painter Taniguchi Fumie were chosen to be board members. The general membership included about fifty women artists from art groups such as Bunten, Kokugakai, Nika Association, Dokuritsu Bijutsu, Shinseisakuha, and Issuikai.[10] These women had previously participated in one way or another in the many women artists' organizations founded in the 1920s and 1930s.[11]

These organizations functioned to deepen connections between individual artists. The women were already active as professionals, but networking and solidarity helped them gain footholds in their careers and educated younger generations of women artists.[12] Many of these women came from middle-class families and were graduates of the Women's Art School [Joshi Bijutsu Senmon Gakkō; present-day Joshibi University of Art and Design]. Although this uniformity of background was effective in bringing them together, its insularity, combined with the lack of economic infrastructure supporting women, also caused many to seek financial stability by cementing their status within the art establishment [*gadan*], that is to say within the existing structures of authority, instead of turning to avant-garde or other innovation in artistic expression itself. During the Asia-Pacific War, their solidarity moreover turned into a conduit for efficiently integrating them into the war effort. At the same time, involvement in wartime cultural production inevitably drove them to grapple with the social and political events of the time, compelling changes in their activities, expression, and subject matter.

Central to the activities of the Women Artists Service Corps were exhibitions on the theme of youth soldiers [shōnenhei] held in conjunction with two recruitment campaigns. The group mounted the *Fighting Youth* [Tatakau shōnenhei] touring exhibition between September and December 1943, and the *Victorious Youth* [Shōri no shōnenhei] touring exhibition between August and September 1944. The former began at Shinjuku Mitsukoshi department store (September 24–30) and traveled west to the Daimaru department stores in Kobe (November 2–7), Osaka (November 12–18) and Kyoto (December 7–12) in the Kansai area.[13] Some of its works survive as reproductions on postcards. The exhibition was organized by the Army Art Association,

10 "Joryū Bijutsuka Hōkōtai kessei" [Women Artists Service Corps founded], *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, February 25, 1943; "Joryū Bijutsuka Hōkōtai" [The Women Artists Service Corps], *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, February 26, 1943. Vis-à-vis membership regulations, Kokatsu Reiko has observed that since few women artists belonged to the abovementioned art organizations at the time, in actuality younger artists must have also joined the group. Kokatsu Reiko, "Kindai Nihon ni okeru josei gaka o meguru seido: Senzen, sengo no yōgaka o chūshin ni" [Institutions surrounding women artists in modern Japan: With a focus on prewar and postwar Western-style painters], in *Hashiru onnatachi: Josei gaka no senzen, sengo 1930–1950 nendai/* Japanese Women Artists before and after WWII, 1930s–1950s, exh. cat. (Utsunomiya: Tochigi Prefectural Museum of Fine Arts, 2001), 54. For the young artists, there was a "Youth Group" (Seinentai) organized under the Women Artists Service Corps. This Youth Group was formed at the opening ceremony of the *Fighting Youth* exhibition (to be discussed below). *Tōkyō Mainichi Shimbun*, September 25, 1943. The 1944 membership directory of the Women Artists Service Corps in the possession of former member Takagi (née Shibuya) Shizuko reveals an extensive network covering the entire spectrum of female artists of the day, including Western-style and Japanese-style painters, sculptors, and craft artists.

the Women Artists Service Corps, and Mainichi Newspapers, and sponsored by the Army Ministry [Rikugunshō], the Office of Information [Jōhōkyoku], and the Great Japanese Women's Association [Dai Nihon Fujinkai]. It displayed more than 120 works in a variety of genres from Western- and Japanese-style painting to watercolors, sculpture, and crafts. All were by women and featured youth soldiers.[14]

The exhibition catalogue has not been discovered, but based on one newspaper article,[15] an exhibition review,[16] and postcards acquired by me and by Kitahara Megumi, the submissions included the following: Morita Motoko's *Looking upon the Great Skies* (Army Press Department Chief Award, Western-style painting); Hirata Yasuko's *Altimeter* (Mainichi Award, Western-style painting); Nakatani Miyuki's *Tank Inspection* (Army Art Association Award, Western-style painting); Terada Sakae's *Maintenance* (Women Artists Service Corps Award, Western-style painting); Asami Shōkei's work of unknown title; Hisamatsu Masako's work of unknown title; Kuhara Namiko's *Altimeter Training* (believed to be a relief); Akimoto Matsuko's Departure to the Great Skies (Western-style painting); Naomura Nobuko's *Three Signalers* (Western-style painting); Shibuya Shizuko's *Youth Soldier Engaging in Maintenance* (Western-style painting); Katsura Yukiko's *After Training Exercises* (Western-style painting); Hasegawa Haruko's Soulful Artillery (Western-style painting); Nakada Kikuyo's *To the Great Skies* (Western-style painting); Ōkubo Yuriko's *Haircut* (Western-style painting); Matsumi Hideko's *Cafeteria at Tokyo Army Youth Pilot School* (Western-style painting); Oda Haruko's *Youth Soldiers' Room* (Western-style painting); Fukazawa Kōko's Young Signalers (Western-style painting); Akamatsu Toshiko's work of unknown title (drawing); Terada Sakae's *Meal Preparation* (drawing); Taniguchi (Fumie) Senka's *Air-Defense Soldiers and Tank Soldiers* (Japanese-style paintings); Ishida Shigeko's *Searchlight Control Station* (Japanese-style painting); and Yabe Shūko's work of unknown title (tank-patterned dye work).[17]

Prior to the *Fighting Youth* exhibition, on June 25, the Patriotic Group had joined with the Army Press Department to hold a "Patriotic Movement Founding Conference" at Kudan Military Personnel Hall, where the group's offices were located. Discussed at this conference

11 E.g., Shuyōkai (Western-style painting, 1918), Getsuyōkai (Japanese-style painting, 1920), Suikōkai (Japanese-style painting, 1925), Josōkai (Western-style painting, 1934), and Shichisaikai (Western-style painting, 1936). For women artists' groups, see Kokatsu, "Kindai Nihon ni okeru josei gaka o meguru seido." In addition to painters' groups, there were also groups for women doll artists, such as Josei Ningyō Dōjin (doll making, 1936) and Ningyō Sugatakai (doll making, 1936). (Information in parentheses is in order of genre and founding year.)

12 Ishimura Isoko, who graduated from the Women's Art School in Western-style painting in 1940, told me that as students she and her friends submitted work to an exhibition held by the Seigakai (a group founded by graduates in Western-style painting from the class of 1940). Students exhibiting works were considered "sassy" (namaiki] at the time, but alumna Akamatsu Toshiko (Maruki Toshi) urged Ishimura to go ahead and not worry, as she would take responsibility. Interview with author, October 24, 2003.

13 The Tokyo showing of the *Fighting Youth* exhibition was advertised in Tōkyō Mainichi Shimbun (September 24, 1943) and the Kobe, Osaka, and Kyoto showings in the Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun (October 31, 1943).
Additionally, the Patriotic Group mounted the *Victorious Youth* exhibition from

was the implementation of a broad movement that would target the mothers of prospective army youth soldiers to stoke their enthusiasm for sending their sons into the "final fight" [*kessen*] and that would, at the same time, deploy art to rouse the determination of women around the country to carry on with this last struggle; the participants also agreed to soon hold a nationwide touring exhibition to disseminate the movement's principles.[18] It is all but certain that the exhibition conceived at this conference was Fighting Youth, which aimed to call on mothers to send their sons to the front, that is to say, to mobilize motherhood for the war. Here, I would like to focus on the following remarks made at the conference by Major General Yahagi Nakao, chief of the Army Press Department:

> A movement to boost the morale of mothers of youth soldiers matches the sentiment of the current time and is truly laudable. While in this I have high hopes for our women artists, *I would also hope that you will, as women, go about your activities while remembering that sound families—wholesome, beautiful families—are the source of true warriors*.[19]

Although the Army Ministry was sponsoring the exhibition, it was clearly not eager to have women artists be active during the war. Indeed, on the contrary, Yahagi urges them to create "sound," "wholesome," and "beautiful" families like other ordinary women. Whereas the procreation of human resources was the most important duty assigned to wartime women, many women artists had, by choosing to continue with their art, either rejected participation in the patriarchal family or more simply evaded it by default. This disconnect between the Patriotic Group and the military regarding gender norms was never reconciled and would be revealed in *All Working Together*, which was executed a year later.

According to former member Oda Saiko, the Patriotic Group was commissioned to produce a painting on the home front by the Army Ministry in December 1943, as a result of which *All Working Together* was completed and presented at the *Army Art Exhibition* in 1944.[20] This work focusing on women's labor comprises two panels, the Spring-

August 16 to 20, 1944, at Ginza Matsuya department store. This exhibition was the group's second having to do with youth soldiers, according to my research. Mainichi Newspapers, which sponsored it, reported that the show was being held in conjunction with the army's 1945-season youth soldier recruitment campaign and would take place in sixty-two cities throughout the country until October 31. "Shōri no shōnenhei ten" [Victorious youth exhibition], *Tōkyō Mainichi Shimbun*, August 18, 1944. The article further notes that the exhibition would tour to Matsumoto, Naoetsu, Tsuruoka, Noshiro, Hirosaki, Ichinoseki, Ishinomaki, Aizuwakamatsu, Utsunomiya and Maebashi, and that two other contingents would be dispatched to Hokkaido along with one each to the Chugoku-Shikoku area and to Kyushu.

14 "Takumashi hatsu no nyūshōsaku *Tatakau shōnenhei* bijutsuten hiraku" [Brave first prizewinner: Fighting youth exhibition opens], *Tōkyō Mainichi Shimbun*, September 25, 1943.

15 "Takumashi hatsu no nyūshōsaku."

16 "Tatakau shōnenhei bijutsuten" [Fighting youth exhibition], *Tōkyō Mainichi Shimbun*, September 26, 1943.

17 Although not mentioned in the articles on the exhibition, Western-style painter Nomura Chiharu (1908–2000) also partici-

Summer Panel (fig. 1) and the Autumn-Winter Panel (fig. 2), set against the backdrop of their respective seasons.[21] The work is monumental, with the panels measuring 240.0 x 300.0 and 185.7 x 298.5 centimeters, respectively. The back of each panel holds an inscription probably provided around the time the work was finished and bearing the title, a statement of purpose, the artists' signatures, and date of completion. According to these inscriptions, the paintings were finished in March 1944. The statement of purpose is almost identical on both panels; the mention of serving as "an aid to future record" suggests the work was intended to be documentary. Because *All Working Together* contains a great number of images, for our analysis I have created diagrams of the front and back of each panel and numbered and labeled the various kinds of labor shown. Hasegawa Haruko, Nakada Kikuyo (Yoshie), Katsura Yukiko, and Nakatani Miyuki signed both panels, making it likely that they played central roles in the execution of this collaborative work.[22]

In order to clarify the basic composition of *All Working Together*, I will first turn to discussing the work's art-historical genealogy vis-à-vis its three features of monumentality, collaboration, and photomontage. Many of the so-called war paintings produced during World War II in Japan employ monumental canvases of sizes in the 200s. In terms of dimensions *All Working Together* is, at size 300, even larger. Yet though *All Working Together* is monumental in size, it is not monumental in composition, as war paintings of the time ultimately aspired to be. It does not adopt the form of the war painting as history painting, the grand-scale genre that was the most highly regarded in the Western oil-painting tradition. Hence, despite the size of *All Working Together*, it is difficult to contextualize it within the prevailing practice of war paintings at the time. War paintings contemporary to *All Working Together* typically portray one chosen scene with absolute realism, but *All Working Together* evinces no interest whatever in such methods. Its composition compartmentalizes the pictorial space and fills it with many details in a way that war paintings of the time did not.

While *All Working Together* is also characterized by its collaborative aspect, this was not limited to this work: indeed, among avant-garde

pated in the sketching sessions for *Fighting Youth*. Nomura was born in Okaya, went to Tokyo in 1926 after graduating from Hirano Girl's Higher School, and studied art under Nakagawa Kazumasa. She was accepted multiple times for participation in the state-sponsored [*kanten*] and Shun'yōkai exhibitions. She later married poet Tatsumi Seika (1905–1973) on the condition she be allowed to continue painting. Uekusa Gaku, "Bijutsu to sensō, Shinshū shusshin sakka no sakuhin kara 15: Nomura Chiharu *Fuyu no tanbo*" [Art and war as seen in the works of Shinshū artists 15: Nomura Chiharu's *Winter rice field*], *Shinano Mainichi Shimbun*, December 24, 2007.

18 "Shitei o kessen e! Joryū gaka ga yo no haha ni yobikaku" [Send our sons to the final battle! Female artists call on mothers], Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun, June 26, 1943. In preparation for the exhibition the Patriotic Group visited various youth-soldier schools to observe and to sketch. For example, more than fifty members visited the Kumagaya Army Pilot School on June 29, 1943. "Joryū Bijutsuka Hōkōtai Kumagaya Hikōhei Gakkō kengakuki" [The Women Artists Service Corps visits the Kumagaya Army Pilot School], *Tōkyō Mainichi Shimbun*, June 29, 1943. On June 15, members also visited the Army Youth Signaler School. "Joryū gaka, tsūshinkō e" [Women artists visit signaler school], *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, June 15, 1943. In the lead-up to the exhibition the participants produced a series of essays and sketches

artists, especially Surrealists, joining as one on a single project was a cutting-edge creative method of the time. Within the wartime social environment, though, this method of collaborative production was increasingly turned to the purposes of serving the state. One early wartime example of collaborative production is *Mural of the China Incident in Commemoration of Shiro Nobuyoshi* by Dōrinsha. Dōrinsha comprised graduates of the Western-style painting and sculpture departments of the Tokyo Fine Arts School, who created the joint work to commemorate one of their number who had died in the China-Japan War. In this example, collaborative production was chosen as a symbolic act of commemoration, and the "mural" in the title heightens the work's monumental nature. The mural movement, led in the 1920s and 1930s by Mexican painters Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco with funding from the Mexican government, sought to visually communicate the country's history and traditions along with the achievements of the Mexican socialist revolution to the wider populace; the movement was adopted in the United States during the New Deal and had a profound impact throughout the world. Kitagawa Tamiji and Noda Hideo became acquainted with the Mexican artists and introduced the mural movement to Japan. Most likely the young Dōrinsha artists had been influenced by this movement to no small degree. The mural movement raised social and public awareness among Japanese artists, preparing the ground for the later emergence of war paintings. Japanese-style painters, too, produced collaborative works at Dōmoto Inshō's Tōkyūsha studio; the studio's female members, notably, depicted women's labor on the home front.

In Japan, photomontage, which began with photographic technologies was, like collaborative production, originally a new experimental method favored by Surrealist artists. In post–Great War Europe, photomontage was enthusiastically embraced in the works of German Dadaists and Russian Constructivists, and in the post-revolutionary Soviet Union was used in print media for political propaganda. *All Working Together* was likely produced by rendering images adapted from photographs in oils so that, strictly speaking, it is not photomontage; nevertheless it emulates this avant-garde artistic method. In a postwar interview, Katsura Yukiko states that she designed

of their experience titled "Haha yo, ko o ōzora e: Kumagaya Rikugun Hikōhei Gakkō ki" [Mothers, send your sons to the great skies: Kumagaya Army Pilot School visit notes] that was published in *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun* from July 6 to 10.

19 "Shitei o kessen e!" Emphasis mine.

20 "Joryū gaka ga kakasareta 'jūgo'" [The home front that women artists were made to paint], *Nishi Nihon Shimbun*, August 1, 1985.

21 The inscriptions on the backs of the panels, however, read "three-panel work." The exhibition catalogue, *Daitōa Sensō rikugun sakusen kirokuga happyō rikugun bijutsu tenrankai* [The Great East Asia War army campaign record paintings army art exhibition] (1944), lists a third panel, "(Collaborative Work) *Japanese Women All Working Together for the Great East Asia War Effort:* In Three Panels (Japanese-Style Painting Panel)," in addition to the Spring-Summer and Autumn-Winter panels. I asked former group members Kinoshita Suzuko and Okada Setsuko, but they did not remember anything about a third panel.

22 Kokatsu, "Kindai Nihon ni okeru josei gaka o meguru seido," 24.

23 "Intavū: Katsura Yuki no yonjūnen korāju to fūshiteki kaiga no aida de" [Interview: Katsura Yuki's forty years—Between collage and satirical paintings],

the work based on photographs from newspapers and magazines.[23] From early in her career Katsura had incorporated pasted collages of paper, leaves, cloth, or cork into her works and also re-created collages in oils. Given her oeuvre, it would not have been surprising if she had arrived at the idea of creating *All Working Together* out of a montage of newspaper and magazine photographs.

In Japan, aside from Surrealists, Noda Hideo and Matsumoto Shunsuke—who was influenced by Noda—produced montage works characterized by panoramic urban images. Matsumoto's works in particular provide clues for understanding the genealogy of the visual characteristics of *All Working Together*, since both he and Katsura belonged to and exhibited in the Nika Association and its avant-garde offshoot, the Ninth Room Society; Katsura, Hasegawa Haruko, Fujikawa Eiko, and others associated with the Patriotic Group also contributed to the magazine *Zakkichō*, of which Matsumoto was chief editor. Photomontage was adopted as a visual propaganda tool during the war in magazines such as *Shashin shūhō* and *Front* (designed by Hara Hiromu of Tōhōsha). It was akin to photographic murals in scope and technique. One of the new media that characterized the 1930s, photographic murals were utilized primarily in display design at expositions and exhibitions in Europe from the late 1920s onward.

When we thus situate *All Working Together* within the art scene of the time, it becomes clear that it employs a variety of cutting-edge avant-garde artistic techniques. At the same time, in terms of format, it follows traditional East Asian "landscape with sun and moon" [*jitsugetsu sansuizu*] pairs of screens, in placing the sun and the moon within depictions of the four seasons. If, taking the work as a whole, we imagine the Spring-Summer Panel with the sun to be the right screen (facing the viewer) and the Autumn-Winter Panel with the moon to be the left screen, then we can see that images of agriculture, fishing, and mining—industries fundamental to national strength—are arrayed along the outside, with portrayals of industries and activities directly supporting the war concentrated in a broad belt in the center. From this we might argue *All Working Together* to be at once a clear declaration of commitment to sustaining the total war and an attempt to merge the

Mizue, no. 893 (August 1979). My search of newspaper and magazine photographs of the time has uncovered six that served as sources of the images in *All Working Together*; for details, see my article "Joryū Bijutsuka Hōkōtai." In addition, the images of lathe operation and fighter jet production in the Spring-Summer Panel of *All Working Together* are nearly identical, respectively, to the sketches published by Hasegawa Haruko as an illustration for her essay in *Nihon fujin* (January 1944) and by Fujikawa Eiko under the title "Senjō no kessen josei 1: Byōuchikō" [Women on the battlegrounds of the final fight 1: Riveter] in *Asahi Shimbun* (October 8, 1943). This suggests that while Katsura might have decided on the overall composition, in some parts artists were free to paint as they chose. The sketch on which Hasegawa based her part of *All Working Together* appeared in a report on live-in work at a factory in Shinjuku that she undertook between October 10 and November 10, intimating that the woman she depicted is

traditional *jitsugetsu sansuizu* format with avant-garde art methods and modern iconography as represented by the production of airplanes and parachutes.

All Working Together cannot be understood within the general scope of the home front images discussed in previous sections. The work portrays forty-three kinds of labor done by women in lieu of men away at war, demonstrating the diversity of women's work on the home front and highlighting the role of women laborers as replacements for men. Livestock farming, agriculture, and fishing are represented from among the primary industries alone, with a wide range of work shown from the secondary industries as well, including mining, munitions production, and construction. Moreover, unlike the works in the war art exhibitions examined above, *All Working Together* explicitly shows female laborers, not young male ones. It even covers barbering and retail, kinds of work men were not allowed to engage in at the time. Thousand-stitch belts, which function as symbols of prayer elsewhere, are treated here simply as one of many images of work. Likewise, mother-and-child imagery—representing the procreation of human resources, the most important duty of women during the war—is not accorded symbolic significance but merely presented as one part of scenes showing, for example, a mother working in a "family factory" [*katei kōjō*], in other words, doing piecework at home.

Women artists were mostly relegated to depicting home front images during the war, in the same way that they had been limited to domestic subjects considered "proper" for women in peacetime. Male painters were by contrast free to depict both battles and the home front. Gender, then, impacted painters' choice of subject matter. As if to turn this limitation to its advantage, *All Working Together* presents women—and only women—as laborers. Unlike in other, more typical home front images, we find hardly any men in *All Working Together*, except instructors of military drills or a soldier engaging in conversation beside a sunken charcoal hearth. Indeed, in the portrayal of metalsmithing, the man in the photograph on which the scene was based was deliberately replaced by a woman. This worldview envisioning women as joining in solidarity and exercising self-reliance in the absence of men stands

in opposition to that of "praying women." *All Working Together*, which shows the real-life diversity of female labor on the home front, highlights the nature of modern warfare: that without women to work in place of men a total war could not be waged. Within this context, the Women Artists Service Corps chose to portray anonymous women engaging in multiple kinds of labor. The work's photomontage-like composition, which sets it apart from conventional war paintings, is likely an outgrowth of the artists' commitment to creating a "record" of women's labor, as stated in the back inscriptions. Observing nameless female physical laborers in preparation for *All Working Together* and striving to develop its themes seem also to have prompted the artists to turn their eyes toward society in a way that they had not especially been inspired to do before, as Nakatani Miyuki's statement below illuminates.

> Early next morning, we were allowed to see inside the mine. "Will you really be able to go up and down a ladder as tall as twenty meters?" the staff worriedly asked, but I was so filled with the zeal to discover new areas into which women might advance that it would not have mattered to me if the ladder had been thirty or fifty meters. I wanted to see how people worked inside the mine no matter what.[24]

Even Nakada Kikuyo (Yoshie), who in peacetime had produced images of women that upheld the gender status quo, participated in the production of both panels of *All Working Together* and painted female laborers.[25] During the 1920s and 1930s, women painters associated with proletariat movements had already pursued the same kind of deep concern with society while also evincing an acute sensitivity to gender norms. Arai Mitsuko, who submitted works to the *Proletariat Art Exhibition*, depicted female factory workers in a labor strike. She and other female proletariat artists drew on domestic images such as women and children to treat social and political subject matter, a domain previously reserved for male artists. There was hardly any contact between these painters and the members of the Women Artists Service Corps, and they of course had entirely different goals: the former class struggle, and the latter participation in the war effort. We

a projection of herself.

24 Nakatani Miyuki, "Josei gunzō: —— *kōzan no josei no shokuba*" [Group portrait of women: *Women's workplace in an unnamed mine*], *Kagaku shugi kōgyō* 8, no. 4 (April 1944).

25 Kokatsu Reiko has pointed out that the image of military nurses in the Autumn-Winter Panel of *All Working Together* may be by Nakada, based on its match with the painting *Sake at Departure* (Departure of Military Nurses) that Nakada submitted to the 1944 Ministry of Education Wartime Special Art Exhibition. Kokatsu, "Kindai Nihon ni okeru josei gaka

could, however, argue them to be similar in that they both sought to approach social subject matter through a focus on female labor. In fact, at least one discussion has already pointed out the expressive affinities that exist between images of wartime labor and proletariat art, despite their differing goals.[26] But the works discussed are predominantly by men, and works by women probably need to be understood from a different context.

Toward this end, let us first think about how the Patriotic Group members who participated in *All Working Together* themselves understood the project. The paintings' lack of visual polish seems a reflection partly of the dissonance between Katsura, who had affinities with avant-garde art, and the other members, who painted in more orthodox styles, and partly of differing degrees of enthusiasm toward the work. The upper right corner of the Spring-Summer Panel shows women marching; the woman at the head holds a banner reading "Women Artists Service Corps." It is not known who was in charge of this section of the work. The figures are small and look merely scribbled, making it difficult to read these self-portraits as signifying any sort of self-aware declaration on the part of the artists or any strong intent to put faces on themselves as the creators of the work. If anything, perhaps the figures indicate the extent to which the members had internalized the gendered ideal of fulfilling their "proper" duty as female artists from within the state. But however unsuccessful the members may have been in asserting themselves as artists within these representations, there surely was never any question of not including them or of deleting them once they had been installed. Here we may perceive the women's pride as the creators of the work—a pride that had much to do with the social circumstances surrounding female Western-style painters. The Women Artists Service Corps gave these painters, who until then had not had a firm base in the art establishment, a platform for public recognition. This participation in public activities no doubt instilled in them a certain sense of satisfaction.

Moreover, *All Working Together* occupied an uncommon place within the activities of the Women Artists Service Corps. As explained

o meguru seido," 54.

26 Sawada Keizō, "'Mokuteki geijutsu' to shite no puroretaria bijutsu to sensō bijutsu" [Proletarian art and war art as art with purpose], in *Shōwa no bijutsu 1945 nen made: 'Mokuteki geijutsu' no kiseki* [Showa art up to 1945: The trajectories of "art with purpose"], exh. cat. (Nagaoka: Niigata Prefectural Museum of Modern Art,

previously, the group's work centered on exhibitions themed on youth soldiers including *Fighting Youth*, and therefore as a project *All Working Together* was exceptional. The Japanese state was not necessarily eager to endorse the work's production or the group's activities as being desirable for women on the home front, in terms of either representation or authorship. As we have seen, the mobilization of women into the state within the realm of cultural representation was predominantly accomplished through printed images of mothers and children by male artists, so that the authorities probably only saw the benefit of the Women Artists Service Corps as lying, at best, in its being put to use to hold exhibitions to help recruit youth soldiers. In the same vein, major war art exhibitions typically showed women either praying or engaging in subsidiary labor falling outside the scope of full-fledged "defenders" of the home front. And yet, as we can see in the wartime mobilization of female intellectuals to pull women out of the home and integrate them into the state in place of male laborers, in practice interpretations of gender norms were modified depending on circumstances. The members of the Women Artists Service Corps were quick to perceive these subtle changes in the wartime gendered order and express them in *All Working Together*. Whereas the great majority of battle paintings, which were produced almost exclusively by men, strictly uphold and reinforce the national order, *All Working Together* appears to have transcended the intentions of its creators and the state. It is in this sense, we might argue, that *All Working Together* unwittingly converges on works by female proletarian artists, their completely different motivations notwithstanding.

Of course, there is no denying that the activities of the Women Artists Service Corps abetted the war. *All Working Together* suggests that all women in Japan labored equally, and represents work directly related to the war relatively most prominently: across the center and top. In other words, even though *All Working Together* depicts many forms of labor by women on the home front, it most emphatically celebrates those specifically associated with the war. The state, above all, was what stood most in need of such images of women in the face of labor shortages near the end of the war. While *All Working Together* does entail perspectives that potentially subvert the authorities, by and large

2005), 7–16.

27 When we think of what type of work is not represented in *All Working Together*, we see the disconnect between the representation and reality of women's labor. Shiozawa Miyoko et al., "Jogakusei wa dono teido no kinrōkan o motte iru ka" [What kind of view of work do schoolgirls have?], *Katei shūhō*, January 15, 1944 (based on a survey conducted in October 1943 on 715 student subjects from the highest grade in two Tokyo metropolitan higher schools, Japan Women's University Higher School and one other private higher school, and Ibaraki Prefectural Girls' Higher School) illuminates how schoolgirls from middle-class families and above viewed labor. According to the study, about 40 percent of schoolgirls wished to go into administrative jobs. Given their economic class, it is only natural that they would have wanted to avoid physical labor. Turning once again with this knowledge to *All Working Together*, with its absence of administrative work, we must note the false reality that it projects of all Japanese women jubilantly engaging in physical work.

the Patriotic Group sought to manifest their gaze as it put "art in the service of the state" [*saikan hōkoku*].[27]

Still when we consider *All Working Together* from the combined perspectives of wartime culture, art history, and gender history, we might say that even as the artists sought to cooperate with the wartime state system, they infused their work with a creative energy overflowing the bounds of the gendered order that had long regulated modern Japanese women including artists such as themselves, thus unwittingly posing a major challenge to the modern state.

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