At the Crossroads of Japanese Modernism and Colonialism: Architecture and Urban Space in Manchuria, 1900-1945

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Abstract

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This is a study of the unexplored layers of the Japanese practice of urban planning and architecture in urban Manchuria (current northeast China) during the first half of the twentieth century. I reframe my examination within a broader context of international imperialism and Japanese reception of modern architecture during the first half of the twentieth century and argue that the dynamic interactions among the Japanese, Russian, and Chinese politicians and architects mutually shaped the international cityscapes in Manchuria. Moreover, I examine Japanese architects’ writings and buildings to illustrate how they regulated the indigenous and former colonial spaces and constructed a modern living space in Manchuria through the development of residential houses.

In contrast to the conventional understanding of Japanese building activities in Manchuria as architecture propaganda, my dissertation highlights the role of social class and visual representation in shaping the public experience of space in Manchuria. The development of colonial tourism and its visual products, including tourist postcards, commercial photographs, and guidebooks, constructed a controlled spatial experience and selective landscapes that overshadowed the colonial living space. Engaging with previous scholarship, recent historical studies, and new archival materials, I map out multiple urban and social layers—including imperialist and nationalist, public and private, collective and individual, tangible and conceptual spaces—and illustrate how these layers overlapped and intertwined with each other.
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To my beloved father, YANG Xiaoming
Introduction

I could tell you how many steps make up the streets rising like stair-ways, and the degree of the arcades' curves, and what kind of zinc scales cover the roofs; but I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing. The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past: the height of a lamppost and the distance from the ground of a hanged usurper's swaying feet; the line strung from the lamppost to the railing opposite and the festoons that decorate the course of the queen's nuptial procession; the height of that railing and the leap of the adulterer who climbed over it at dawn; the tilt of a guttering and a cat's progress along it as he slips into the same window; the firing range of a gunboat which has suddenly appeared beyond the cape and the bomb that destroys the guttering; the rips in the fish net and the three old men seated on the dock mending nets and telling each other for the hundredth time the story of the gunboat of the usurper, who some say was the queen's illegitimate son, abandoned in his swaddling clothes there on the dock.

As this wave from memories flows in, the city soaks it up like a sponge and expands. A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all Zaira's past. The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the Bags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.

Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*¹

No foreign land has exerted a more significant and lingering impact on modern Japan than “Manchuria,” *Manshū* 満洲, today the three administrative provinces of northeast China—Heilongjiang 黑龍江, Jilin 吉林, and Liaoning 遼寧 (formerly Fengtian 奉天) (Figure 1.1). The region, covering 1,250,000 km², is slightly smaller than Alaska and was mostly uninhabited until the late fifteenth century, when it became the

base for various Jurchen tribes. One of the tribes, led by chieftain Nurhaci 努爾哈赤 and his heir Huang Taiji 皇太極, established the Qing dynasty in 1644. For the following two and a half centuries, the region was considered both the frontier and sacred birthplace for the Manchu rulers.² As the Qing dynasty declined in the late nineteenth century, the neighboring Russian Empire annexed northern Manchuria, specifically the land north of the Amur River, Heilongjiang 黑龍江, and east to the Ussuri River 烏蘇里江.³ Russia founded the Chinese Eastern Railway Company (hereafter CER) in 1897 to construct railroads within northern Manchuria as a shortcut for the Trans-Siberian Railway. Military garrisons, factories, and settlements were built along railroads, businesses were opened in major settlement cities, and Russian engineers, military officers, merchants, farmers, and refugees moved to Manchuria.⁴

Japan’s story in Manchuria began with its victory in the Russo–Japanese War (1904–1905): it took over Russia’s exclusive rights of building railways and settlements in southern Manchuria. Like Russia, Japan established the Southern Manchurian Railway


⁴ For a history of Russia’s development in Manchuria through the maintenance of the CER, see Asada Masafumi, *Chūtō tetsudō keieishi: roshia to “Manshū” 1896-1935* (Nagoya-shi: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2012). David Wolff suggests that the close regional ties between the Russian Far East and Manchuria was one of the reasons why after the collapse of the imperial Russia many Jewish immigrants fled into northern Manchuria. See David Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
Company (hereafter SMRC) in 1906 to construct railroads and settlements. In 1932, the Manchukuo State, *Manshūkoku* 滿洲国, was founded under Pu Yi 溥儀 (1906–1967), the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, with de facto Japanese control. From 1932 to 1945, Manchukuo played a critical role in the formation, development, and collapse of the Japanese empire through economic development, political and military expansion, mobilization of people and materials, and cultural production. After Japan’s defeat in WWII in 1945, more than one and a half million Japanese people repatriated from Manchuria, making it one of the most tragic events in the modern history of Japan. The Japanese experience of Manchuria has haunted postwar Japan, and issues related to Manchuria remain recurrently stir up arguments among Japan, China, and South Korea.

By the early 1940s, over a million Japanese residents (sixteen percent of the entire population) were living in Manchukuo, two million Japanese troops had been dispatched

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7 See Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

8 There is a vast number of works on the academic research, oral accounts, popular literature, and journalist works documenting personal and collective experiences in Manchuria. See Mariko Tamanoi, *Memory Maps: The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009). For the earliest systematic collection of oral accounts, see Wakatsuki Yasuo, *Sengo hikiage no kiroku* (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshinsha, 1991). The Chinese records provides a different perspective from the Japanese one, which emphasize the Chinese government’s collaboration and commoners’ sacrifice in providing food for the Japanese repatriates, see *Huludao baiwan riqiao dagianfan* (*Repatriation of One Million Japanese via Huludao*) (Beijing: Wuzhou Chuanbo Chubanshe, 2005).
to battlefields in China, and countless Japanese visitors travelled between Manchukuo and Japan. Manchuria was not only the political, militaristic, and economic “lifeline” for Japan, but also a ubiquitous experience the Japanese encountered in everyday life. Manchuria was also featured prominently in a variety of media: illustrated introductions were included in Japanese elementary education textbooks; photographs were published in newspapers and magazines; exhibitions were held at department stores; tourists overbooked tours to Manchukuo via land, sea, and air. Suffice to say, every Japanese person encountered and experienced Manchuria in direct or mediated ways.

Japanese architects built all over Manchuria then: they proposed large-scale apartments for families and dormitories for single employees in cities and designed agrarian communities for immigrants in the remote countryside. Together with their Russian predecessors and Chinese colleagues, Japanese architects—self-employed or hired by SMRC—transformed urban Manchuria into an architectural theatre: buildings with neoclassical façades and Chinese-style tiled, gable roofs stood alongside traditional Japanese shrines (Figure 1.2). They also actively participated in competitions held in Japan and Manchuria, proposing architectural styles for the expanding Japanese Empire in Asia.

It is striking, however, how this vibrant period of cultural exchanges and architectural practices has been silenced, dismissed, and misinterpreted in postwar Japan. Major Japanese architects kept silent about their activities and experiences in Manchuria.⁹ Publications and exhibitions on the history of modern Japanese architecture skipped over

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⁹ Examples include Yasui Takeo 安井武雄 (1884–1955) and Endō Arata 遠藤新 (1889–1951).
the period between late 1930s and 1945. Architectural historians have described the period between the late 1930s and early 1940s as a disruption in Japanese architects’ pursuit of modernism because of the shortage of construction materials, wartime regulations of building activities (senji kenchiku tōsei 戦時建築統制), and the empire’s ideological control of styles. As a result, the discourse of modernist Japanese architecture has underrepresented Japanese architectural practice in Manchuria.

Like Calvino’s story of Zaira’s hidden past, this study examines the previously unexplored social, political, and economic layers of Japanese practice of urban planning and architecture in Manchuria during the first half of the twentieth century. Engaging with previous scholarship, recent historical studies, and new archival materials, I map out multiple layers—including imperialist and nationalist, public and private, collective and individual, tangible and conceptual—and illustrate how these layers overlapped and intertwined with each other. These interlinked and interactive layers capture disparate phenomena, including the formation of distinctively international urban landscapes, the discourse of everyday life in colonial space, the visual representation of tourist space, and the spatial configuration of social classes in Manchuria at the time. In this way, I argue for a re-examination of the architectural kaleidoscope in urban Manchuria within a

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10 For example, one of the largest retrospective shows on Japanese modern houses, the exhibition “Nihon no ie: 1945-nen ikō no kenchiku to kurashi,” (Architecture and Life after 1945)日本の家: 1945 年以降の建築と暮らし, was held at the National Museum of Modern Art from July 19, 2017 to October 29, 2017. It excluded houses built in Japan and Manchuria during the interwar period in its historical narrative of the development of Japanese houses since the Meiji period. Another recent example is an archival exhibition held at National Archives of Modern Architecture, “Shiryō ni miru kindai kenchiku no ayumi” 資料にみる近代建築の歩み (The Development of Modern Architecture in Japan as Seen in Historical Documents) from May 14, 2016 to July 31, 2016.

confluence of collaboration and competition among various groups of different ethnicities, nationalities, and classes, and a nexus of political, social, and cultural events in Japan and Manchuria, which engendered a potent moment for the architectural practice in East Asia during the turbulent twentieth century.

**Current Scholarship**

Studies of urban planning and architecture in colonial Manchuria developed in tandem with interests in the architectural legacy of Japanese imperialism. Historian Koshizawa Akira’s pioneering research has focused on the planning and maintenance of Japanese railway settlements, *tetsudō fuzokuchi* 鉄道付属地, establishing the trajectory of Japan’s colonial development as an evolving, centripetal development. He argues that the plans of settlements and public buildings displayed the most advanced designs and concepts that represented Japan’s experimentation of political ideals in Manchuria, which made the region far more advanced than any other region in China in the twentieth century. However, he has analyzed only the Japanese-produced maps, which focused exclusively on the SMRC settlement, placing it in the center and describing it as the most active neighborhood, if not the only one. Information of Chinese and Russian neighborhoods was scarce. This visual strategy led to a misconception that the SMRC settlement was the geopolitical center in Changchun, which was not the case.

Beginning in the 1980s, Japanese and Chinese scholars collaborated in a series of fieldwork projects, “exhaustive surveys” *shikkai chōsa* 悉皆調査, which aimed to measure all the extant Japanese colonial buildings in Chinese cities that had concessions or were occupied by foreign powers. Led by architectural historian Fujimori Terunobu 藤尾繁伸, 

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from the University of Tokyo and Wang Tan from Qinghua University, professors and graduate students conducted on-site research in various Chinese cities, registering and measuring buildings. The encyclopedic report, “A Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840–1945,” Zenchōsa higashi-ajia kindai no toshi to kenchiku, was the first attempt to catalog extant colonial buildings in Asia. Together with symposiums, dissertations, and articles, this long-term project has established the foundation for generations of Japanese and Chinese scholars, providing firsthand archival data and the archeological methodology.

One participant, architectural historian Nishizawa Yasuhiko, became a major researcher on building activities in colonial Manchuria. He began with a critique of Koshizawa’s nostalgic viewpoint, pointing out that several plans were never carried out, and maps were so heavily censored by the Kwangtung Army that representation of certain areas was omitted. Therefore, Nishizawa has instead focused on the network of architects and circulation of building materials among Japan’s colonies at the time. Further, he has examined the extant Japanese buildings commissioned by the Kwantung Army, SMRC, and the colonial Manchukuo government in former Manchurian cities and

13 Cities include Tianjin, Shenyang, Shanghai, Qingdao, and Xiamen (Amoi).


15 As the participants recall, the completion of these projects largely relied on Chinese graduate students’ personal networks of families and relatives in gaining access to various buildings. Changchun, however, was not listed in the reports because the researchers could not find a local institution with which to collaborate. Part of the information came from historians Nishizawa Yasuhiko and Bao Muping’s accounts in the symposium “New Directions in Modern Asian Architectural History,” held in Tokyo on November 30, 2015.
interpreted their designs as visual representation of colonial ideology.\textsuperscript{16}

Koshizawa’s and Nishizawa’s studies have laid the foundation for studies on urban planning and architecture in Manchuria. Having focused on urban plans and public buildings, they have emphasized the advances in technology and concept as representations of utopian ideology imposed by Japanese authorities. In this way, they have established the Japanese urban development in Manchuria as an example of typical progress to modernization in East Asia. Namely, like in Korea and Taiwan, Japan’s imperial expansion transformed Manchuria from a backward region into a modern, industrial space. Current studies continue the archive-driven, progress-oriented approach, equate technical advances with advances of civilization, and emphasize the role of Japanese imperial power. For example, the cover of the 2015 book that reports on building activities of the construction company Shimizu-gumi in Shinkyō depicts a colorful urban plan unfolding under the blue sky (Figure 1.3), which allegorically conveys the romanticizing view of Japanese construction in Manchuria: grand buildings were erected by the Japanese from an empty, wild land.\textsuperscript{17}

Like Koshizawa and Nishizawa, researchers in North America have also relied on


\textsuperscript{17} Kōji Maruda, \textit{Kōya ni shut sugen shita toshi shinkyō: Manshū shimizu-gumi no ashiato} (Fukuoka: Tōka Shobō, 2015).
Japanese archives compiled by SMRC’s research departments, focused on public architecture, and emphasized the role of imperial power. Unlike the Japanese scholars, they have tried to include the post-1945 period and living quarters of the local Chinese residents. For example, historian Christian A. Hess examined Dalian’s urban transformations during the transition period from the Kuomintang regime to the Communist Party (1946–1949) and explored the party’s vision of the function of the city and its influences on the city’s spatial configuration.

These interpretations have limitations in space and time: the government-sponsored buildings amounted to only one percent of the total number of buildings. Most of these government offices were built in the late 1930s after the foundation of Manchukuo, when major cities were already filled with houses and commercial buildings built by people of various nationalities, ethnicities, and classes. What have been veiled by the current studies, therefore, are the buildings’ relations to local geopolitical contexts and to people who built, used, and conceived them. Furthermore, historians have mainly

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relied on the Japanese-language archives compiled by SMRC.\textsuperscript{20} It is important to shift the temporal and spatial framework to include the time period before 1932 and to examine multiethnic neighborhoods other than Japanese settlements by using local Russian and Chinese archives.\textsuperscript{21}

Architectural historian Aoi Akihito 青井哲人 provided an important critique in his review of Nishizawa’s book. He points out the limitation of Nishizawa’s approach to architectural styles as static representations of Japan’s colonial ideology that ignored local reactions and interactions. He also challenges the view of building activities in Manchuria from a singular perspective of one imperial power and raises important questions: How was the change of dominant power (for example, from Russia to Japan in southern Manchuria) visualized in plan, site, and architectural style? What was the local building environment, and how did it react to the colonial development?\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{New Frameworks and Perspectives: Recent Historical Studies}

Recent scholarship on Republican Chinese history, colonial tourism, and labor studies have shed light on new ways to contextualize Japanese urban planning and  

\textsuperscript{20} The SMRC Research Department carried out extensive research since the early twentieth century and compiled reports on economic, demographic, and industrial aspects of Manchuria. See Noma Kiyoshi and SMRC Research Department, \textit{Mantetsu chōsabu sōgō chōsa hōkokushū} (Tokyo: Aki Shōbo, 1982). For a discussion on the activities of the research department, see Kobayashi Hideo, \textit{Mantetu chōsabu no kiseki: 1907–1945} (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shōten, 2006).

\textsuperscript{21} Historian Alessandro Stanziani brought the author’s attention to the differences between “local colonial archives” and “authentic local archives.” SMRC archives discovered in former colonial cities belonged to the former category as they shared the same organizing structure and imperialist perspective with the ones produced in Japan, which thus did not reveal local contexts.

construction in Manchuria. Studies on imperial Russia’s and Chinese warlords’ junfa 軍閥, political and economic activities, in Manchuria after the Qing dynasty was overthrown in the Revolution of 1911 have challenged the view that Japan was the single dominant power in the region and that its colonial construction brought the region into modernization. Historian Asada Masafumi’s research on the military balance among the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians in the early twentieth century demonstrates that even after Japan’s victory in the Russo–Japanese war, “a single country could not establish military hegemony in Manchuria from 1906 to 1918.” As a result, imperial Russia and Japan dispatched troops into the region to secure their own interests, and temporary alliances and military competition among Russia, China, and Japan maintained a subtle balance in Manchuria. Political unrest in their own territories also influenced the political balance in the region: the Xinhai Revolution in 1911 undermined Chinese influences in the region, and the Russian Revolution in 1917 ended the Russian control of Harbin.

Historian Ronald Stanley Suleski’s study reveals that warlord Zhang Zuolin’s 張作霖 (1875–1928) military control in Manchuria kept the region politically stable and that his civil government’s economic reforms, led by finance minister Wang Yongjiang 王永江 (1872–1927), revitalized the economy of the region. Suleski concludes that it was the tension between Zhang’s military expansion and democratic economic growth.

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24 Ibid., 1309.

25 Historian Jordan Sand astutely points out that the term “warlord” is inaccurate and problematic. However, the author has not yet to find a more effective word to replace this term, which is generally accepted and widely used.
that unsettled the region and threatened Japanese’ interests, which eventually led to his assassination by the Japanese Kwantung Army in 1928 (Huanggutun Incident).\(^\text{26}\) As a result, the spatial representations of the Chinese dominant political power, thriving economic activities, and the story of various political and economic powers that co-existed in the urban space of Manchuria remain underrepresented in the literature.

Furthermore, Suleski’s examination of how Zhang constantly changed alliances with Japanese Kwantung Army, Russia, and the central Chinese Republic government to maximize his profits reveals the complicated, nuanced, and fluid environment of local politics. The delicate issue of local collaboration and resistance is addressed by historian Rana Mitter, among other historians of empire studies, who articulates the ambiguous ground of the Chinese local gentry, who struggled with the reality of occupation and nationalist movements around the establishment of Manchukuo. Their analysis, therefore, challenges a rigid dichotomy between colonizer and colonized spaces, and calls for a re-examination of the contested, middle-ground space fragmented by social classes in Manchuria.\(^\text{27}\)

One great challenge for the studies of the visual culture of Manchuria is that...


countless postcards, photos, and posters that have presented a challenge to the conventional archaeological approach, which analyzes every photo and postcard in detail in search of a understanding. Recent studies on colonial tourism have provided an informative framework to unravel the relationship between space and visual representation of Manchuria. In the words of historian Kenneth J. Ruoff, tourism encompasses many aspects of modernity, including “nationalism, mass consumerism, the expansion of political participation, industrialization in the form of a transportation infrastructure, global integration, and in the case of tours of the colonies, imperialism.”

Colonial tourism is central to the formation and maintenance of Japanese empire in concept and practice, as tours in colonies mediated the experience of incorporating colonized land into the imperial territory, which, as historian Kate McDonald puts it, was “one manifestation of the spatial politics of the empire.” Since the end of the nineteenth century, the development of Japanese tourism in Manchuria produced a variety of visual products, including postcards, posters, photo albums, and guidebooks, that played a significant role in shaping the public reception of Manchuria in Japan. The majority of Japanese people created impressions of Manchuria through visual products and reaffirmed them during arranged onsite tours.


29 One of the most comprehensive historical examinations of Japanese development of tourism is the study by Gao Yuan, “Kankō no seijigaku: senzen/zengō ni okeru nihonjin no ‘manshū’ kankō,” (PhD diss., Tokyo University, 2005). The most recent study was by Kate McDonald, *Placing Empire: Travel and the Social Imagination in Imperial Japan* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017).

30 McDonald, "Placing Empire," 7.
Furthermore, studies of colonial tourism have challenged the idea of Manchuria as isolated from Japan and pointed out the temporal contemporaneity and spatial continuity within East Asia before and during wartime. Indeed, a trans-regional railway network and tourist boom in the colonies enabled vibrant exchanges of people, objects, and ideas between Japan and Manchuria. Thus, how Japanese architects perceived their roles in the architectural interactions between Japan and Manchuria needs further investigation.

The massive flow of Chinese transient populations from North China to Manchuria was one of the most influential phenomena in China in the first half of the twentieth century. Historians have examined various forms of Japan’s management of the vast number of Chinese workers through direct recruitment or indirect collaboration with Chinese brokers, and they have argued that Japan’s labor management determined the growth and collapse of Japan’s colonial control in Manchuria. For example, SMRC’s fast growth in Manchuria was not solely due to its large investments and experienced employees, but mainly a successful mobilization of low-cost Chinese labor.\(^{31}\) Half of these temporary workers labored on construction sites. Instead of a top–down perspective focusing on the colonial government’s policies and regulations, an examination of relationships among Japanese architects, contractors, workers, and Chinese workers is essential to illuminate local interactions among the Chinese and the Japanese on construction sites, as well as a hierarchical space fractured by social classes.

**Theoretical Framework and Organization**

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This study consists of four chapters and a brief conclusion, which together address Aoi’s questions and contribute to the current studies of modern Japanese architecture in several respects. I situate my examination of Japanese development of urban Manchuria within a broader geopolitical context, focusing on the spatial configurations of interactions between the Japanese and other ethnic neighborhoods.

Chapter One takes the case of Changchun 長春—which later became the “new capital” Shinkyō 新京 of Manchuria—to exemplify how the competition and collaborations among the Russian, Japanese, and Chinese settlements and neighborhoods influenced the formation and transformation of an international, commercial, and diverse cityscape. Using previously unidentified Chinese and Japanese maps, I combine textual descriptions with images and visualize the earliest urban development—described in the text—in maps. In this way, I reveal that cities in Manchuria were not empty fields but rather crowded and contested grounds shaped by dynamic and fluid relationships among various imperialist, nationalist, and regional powers.

Chapter Two examines Japanese architects’ designs for private houses in practice and on paper, architectural exhibitions of living space, and architectural writings published in the Manchurian architectural journal Manshū kenchiku zasshi 满洲建築雑誌—the most influential architectural journal published in Manchuria from 1921 to 1945. My examination clarifies Japanese architects’ efforts to modify former Russian spaces, regulate extant Japanese spaces, and incorporate indigenous Chinese spaces into their construction of a modern Japanese space in Manchuria. In particular, they aimed to develop a living space suitable for the middle class, which was achieved by promoting ideas related to the Life Reform Movement and suburban houses. Their design for an
ideal interior of the modern house in Manchuria also shifted from a modern Western interior to a synthesis of Japanese and Western interiors, and then to a return to a purely Japanese style.

Chapter Three examines how the development of colonial tourism fragmented the urban space in Manchuria by creating a layer of tourist/public space and visual representation that overshadowed other layers. I take the photo album of the Rosetta tour in the Meiji period, tour pamphlets and travelogue illustrations in the Taisho period, and guidebooks of bus tours in Shinkyō, to demonstrate that the development of tourism transformed the image of Manchuria from an adventurous, remote frontier to a safe, comfortable theme park of modernity. The constructed space of Manchuria by a variety of media, therefore, contained a discrepancy between different layers of spaces—between image and text, collective and individual. In particular, I analyze photos taken by Japanese photographer Kuwabara Kineo (1923–2007) in his 1940 visit to Manchuria, illustrating the uneven representations between official ideology and individual experience. The uneven spaces and representations led to the romanticized perspective and nostalgic sentiments looming in the historical accounts and public reception of architecture and urban planning in Manchuria.

Chapter Four explores the nuanced social layer of architectural practice in Manchuria, comprising architects, contractors, and workers. I analyze Japanese architects’ proposals and debates to regulate communities, as well as the activities of Japanese contractors, Japanese workers, and Chinese workers, to reveal the under-recognized role of class in the Japanese perception of architectural development in Manchuria.
The conclusion discusses the architectural transformations that unfolded in Manchuria after 1945, identifying layers that were added and erased during the clashes between Kuomintang and Communist parties (1946–1949) and the ten-year Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). The examination reveals the changing functions of landmark buildings, not only as placeholders for ceremonial events and embodiments of colonial authorities, but also as battle fortifications and tangible anchors for collective memory. As a result, the architectural practice and urban layers in Manchuria need to be reexamined in the nuanced geopolitical context, dynamic relationships among various social groups, and reciprocal, contemporaneous exchanges between Japan and Manchuria.
Chapter One

Competition and Collaboration: Rediscovering the Urban Dynamics of Changchun 1898–1932

Looking at grand buildings with gable roofs and broad asphalt avenues that glistened under the blue sky, a fifteen-year-old female student expressed her excitement from the bus window on a city tour of Shinkyō 新京, the capital of Manchukuo. The booming capital “built by the blood and sweat of we Japanese” embodied “the harmony between past and future and between the West and the East.” This chapter examines the formation and transformation of the urban landscape of Shinkyō as a case study within the context of political and economic interactions among imperialist, nationalist, and regional powers in Manchuria. I focus on the period between the end of the nineteenth century and 1932, when the city was called Changchun 長春.

Differing from the current assumption that the Japanese planned and built the new capital from a *tabula rasa*, my examination of a variety of newly discovered archives and maps reveals underrepresented layers in the urban development of Changchun. I argue that the competitions and collaborations among the Chinese, Russian, and Japanese population in the military, politics, and economy mutually shaped Changchun’s cityscape, which were represented by the overlapping boundaries and mixed living spaces. Changchun’s urban center, therefore, was not originally located in the SMRC settlement as scholars have argued but was in the Chinese quarters and shifted several times due to a confluence of developments in domestic and international trade, expansion

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32 The quote was from the dairy of a fourth-year female student of the Nara Women School in her 1939 field trip to Manchuria and Korea. The digitalized version of the dairy essay can be accessed at the website of the Nara Women College. [http://www.nara-wu.ac.jp/nensi/96.htm](http://www.nara-wu.ac.jp/nensi/96.htm).
of railways, and social dynamics among multiple ethnic groups. Furthermore, I trace the development of the Trading Zone, and its geopolitical relationships with other neighborhoods, which defined the city’s character as an international, commercial center. Last, I examine Japanese architects’ discussions of the planning of the new capital, Shinkyō after 1932 focusing on the zoning and the design of a “civic center” that represented the political goal of the new regime. Far from an ideal and experimental utopia, Japanese architects’ proposals embedded geopolitical imbalances into the urban structure of Changchun.

**Current Studies: the Japanese Perspective and a Singular Trajectory**

In his studies of the urban developments of Japanese settlements—Dalian, Fengtian, and Changchun—in colonial Manchuria, Koshizawa Akira established a standard trajectory of Changchun that developed from a SMRC settlement to the political center of Manchukuo. Based on maps produced by SMRC, Koshizawa characterized the SMRC settlement in Changchun, built in 1908 (Figure 1.4), as an exemplary case of Japanese settlements in Manchuria, because it represents three common features: a geometric layout consisting of grid blocks and circular plazas, a division of neighborhoods based on function, and the construction of basic infrastructure. Koshizawa considered SMRC’s plan of Changchun similar to the later Shinkyō because

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33 In this dissertation, the author uses the word colony and colonial to describe the circumstance of Manchuria. Although Korea was officially annexed by Japan in 1910, and Manchuria was never an official colony of Japan, writings of Japanese writers, journalists, and politicians at the time referred to these two regions in words and phrases of “colonial policies” shokumin seisaku, 植民政策 and “exploring the colonies” takushoku 拓殖, which indicated the public reception of these two regions as colonies was at least promoted as fait accompli.

34 Koshizawa, Manshūkoku no shuto keikaku, 52-56.
both featured avenues extending from circular plazas in radiating directions. Koshizawa also compared the urban plan of Shinkyō and Tokyo and argued that Shinkyō’s zoning guidelines and a high ratio of green space realized what the restoration plan of Tokyo after the 1923 earthquake had envisioned but failed to execute. Further, Koshizawa pointed out that the Japanese constructions of industry and infrastructure paved the way for the city’s industrial development under the People’s Republic of China. He concluded that the Japanese meant to build Shinkyō as an idealistic utopia with experimental concepts of urban planning and advanced technology, which proved that Japan’s thorough colonial construction differed from Western ones that merely plundered resources.

Historian William Shaw Sewell has adopted Koshizawa’s viewpoint, describing the development of Changchun as from a railway outpost to the capital of a puppet state. As a result, he has illustrated the shift of the urban center from the Yamato Hotel (Figure 1.5), located in front of the train station, to the Manchukuo Diet (Figure 1.6), built along the newly planned Shuntian 順天 Avenue in the southwest. Sewell also compared attitudes of the Thai, Japanese, and Chinese governments in the adoption of European architectural styles: unlike the former two countries, the Chinese government—in his opinion—was reluctant to accept any Western-style official buildings before 1911.

\[35\] Sewell, “Japanese Imperialism and Civic Construction in Manchuria.”

\[36\] Ibid., 104–05. Sewell lists the Japanese examples of Akasaka Place and Hyōkei-kan, which were designed by Japanese architect Katayama Tōkuma and commissioned by the Meiji government. In this dissertation, the author uses the word “Western style” to describe buildings built in East Asia featuring structural and decorative elements from architectural traditions and trends in Europe and America. Art historian Jacqueline describes such buildings as “European historicizing styles,” which included the Akasaka Place and Hyōkei-kan. She considers these styles to be showcases
According to him, the politically unstable Chinese society at the end of the Qing dynasty led the Chinese government to maintain a passive attitude towards Westernization and to oppose Western architectural styles. His claim is not accurate: the Qing government commissioned buildings in European historical styles in Tianjin, Beijing, and Changchun at the time, such as the Western Mansions Xiyanglou 西洋樓, in the Old Summer Palace Yuanmingyuan 圓明園, in the suburb of Beijing.

There are significant limitations to Koshizawa and Sewell’s arguments and methodologies. First, they relied solely on the Japanese-language sources: neither of them have used any contemporary Chinese texts or visual materials.37 Second, they extracted maps and building designs from their local contexts to establish an abstract, evolutionary development. This narrative is ahistorical because it assumes that the development was a consistent, and even unbroken process that was imposed solely by the Japanese without any interference. Last, they assumed a rigid dichotomy between the Japanese colonizer and the local colonized in the absence of the Chinese government or any other regional powers. Their viewpoints, therefore, have ignored the complexity and unpredictability of local military, political, and social dynamics.

Before being renamed as Shinkyō in 1932, Changchun consisted of four districts from the north to south: the Kuanchengzi 宽城子 Settlement, the Japanese SMRC settlement, the Trading Zone, Shangbudi 商埠地, and the Inner Town, Chengnei 城内 for the Meiji government’s determination to enter the world’s leading powers. See Jacqueline Kestenbaum, “Modernism and Tradition in Japanese Architectural Ideology, 1931-1955” (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1996), 2–4.

37 Koshizawa and Sewell did used or mentioned any Russian archives either: there were also Russian settlements in Manchuria at the time. Their discussions of the Chinese and Russian neighborhoods were based only on Japanese archives.
The oldest was the Inner Town, founded in the early nineteenth century, and next was the Kuanchengzi settlement founded by the Russian CER in 1898. The SMRC settlement was built in 1907 and the Trading Zone was opened by the Chinese government to promote international trade in 1909. The Inner Town was the largest and the SMRC settlement was the smallest among the four districts. In order to reconstruct a complete urban history of Changchun, therefore, it is crucial to understand the urban development of the four districts and their interrelationship before 1932.

**Primary Sources: Chinese-Language Archives and Newly Discovered Maps**

To begin with, it is important to discuss the primary resources used for this research. Like Koshizawa and Sewell, most scholars have relied on the Japanese-language materials, in particular, the research reports compiled by SMRC research department and the Japanese consulate in Changchun. Maps examined so far were also solely produced by the Japanese, which depicted the SMRC settlement in detail and the other districts in a sketchy manner. This visual strategy led to a misconception that the SMRC settlement was the most advanced area and the geopolitical center in Changchun.

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38 The Japanese pronunciations are Kanjōshi, shōfūchi, and Jōnai, later after 1932, the Jōnai area referred to the area consisting of the Trading Zone and Inner Town together.

39 Among the Inner Town (5.82 km²), the Kuanchengzi settlement (5.52 km²), the Trading Zone (5.39 km²), and the SMRC settlement (5.06 km²), the SMRC settlement was the smallest, see Koshizawa, *Shokuminchi manshū no toshi keikaku*, 27.

40 For a discussion of research reports of SMRC Research Department, see Kiyoshi Noma & SMRC Research Department, *Mantetsu chōsabu sōgō chōsa hōkokushū* (Tokyo: Aki Shōbo, 1982). For a discussion on the activities of the research department, see Hideo Kobayashi, *Mantetu chōsabu no kiseki: 1907-1945* (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shōten, 2006). The Japanese Consulate conducted a series of research reports from 1910 to 1929, which were located in the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tokyo. Koshizawa has mentioned the use of reports, but none of the maps in them have been used by any scholars.
which was not the case. Scholars have realized that using only Japanese materials resulted in a biased perspective. Based on the discovery and usage of Russian and Chinese archives, recent studies have shed light on the understanding of the districts other than the SMRC settlement. For example, Asada has used research reports from CER and Russian consulate to examine the development of CER in relation to Russia’s expansion in Manchuria, revealing a complicated relationship between Russia and China in Manchuria.\(^{41}\)

The county annals of Changchun, *Changchun xianzhi* (CCXZ), compiled in 1942 by a group of local Chinese officials and school presidents, were of particular importance as they detailed the names of roads, streets, institutions, and their changes in the Trading Zone and Inner Town, which were barely mentioned in the Japanese materials.\(^{42}\) Another important source was *Shengjing Newspaper*, *Shengjing Shibao* 盛京時報, a Japanese owned local newspaper that was in print from 1906 to 1945 in Manchuria. Japanese publisher Nakajima Makio 中島真雄 (1869-1943) established the *Shengjing Shibao* in Fengtian in 1906, which was the first and largest Chinese-language

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\(^{42}\) The County Annals of Changchun, *Changchun Xianzhi* was referred to by various Japanese sources as the primary source at the time. The editors were a group of Chinese elites who obviously had a close relationship with the local Japanese officials; but they seemed to maintain autonomy. The Annals was republished in 2006 based on the 1942 version. Zhang Shuhan et al., *Minguo changchun xianzhi, dehuixian xiangtuzhi, minguo shuangyangxian xiangtuzhi* (Nanjing: Fenghuang Press, 2006).
newspaper in the region until 1945.\footnote{For an introduction of Shengjing Newspaper, see Hua Jingshuo, “Manshū ni okeru shoki no shinbun: ‘Entō-hō’ to ‘seikyō jihō’ no keiei wo chūshin ni” \textit{Ryūkoku Daigaku shakai gakubu kiyō}, 4 (2015): 119-129.} For nearly half a century, the newspaper’s Chinese employees reported on a broad range of daily happenings in Changchun, such as the opening, closure, and relocation of government offices, institutions, and stores, as well as government policies, street incidents, and performances at theatres and brothels. In particular, the daily trivia documented everyday commercial activities in the Trading Zone, which filled the gap left by abstract maps and general statistics.

Scholars have used Chinese-language archives to illustrate the urban developments in Trading Zone and Inner town. Based on records from CCXZ and \textit{Shengjing Shibao}, historian Wu Xiangping has examined the historical origin, the urban formation of Changchun in the 1910s and 1920s, and for the first time, provides a detailed account of the names of streets and types of shops located in the trading zone in the 1910s and 1920s.\footnote{See Wu Xiangping, “19seiki matsu kara 1920-nenndai no chōshun toshi keisei: chōshun-jō, shōfuchi, fuzokuchi wo chūshin ni,” \textit{The East Asian Rim Research Center Annual Report}, no. 5 (February 2010): 52–64.} Similarly, based on news reports in \textit{Shengjing Shibao}, Gu Yanxin examines the influences of the construction of the main road on the development of the economy in the Inner Town.\footnote{Gu Yanxin, “20 shiji chuqi changchun laochengqu malu xiu zu ji dui changchun chengshi de yingxiang,” \textit{Mudanjiang Shifan Xueyuan Xuebao}, no.174 (February 2013), 73-75.} However, none of these studies were able to visualize the textual descriptions because of the lack of visual materials and maps.

Beyond new discoveries of Chinese-language archives, it is also necessary to re-discover Japanese-language archives. In addition to SMRC research reports, the Japanese
consulate in Changchun also collected information and compiled a series of reports since its foundation in 1909. Furthermore, Izumi Renji 泉廉治, the editor of the newspaper Changchun Daily, compiled Things in Changchun, Chōshun jijō 長春事情, in 1912, which was the earliest encyclopedic introduction of Changchun’s politics, economy, population, and society. The book was of particular importance because the author not only included information from SMRC and Japanese consulate but also had access to Chinese information: the calligraphy on the cover page was produced by Meng Xianyi 孟憲彝 (1863-1924), the fourth mayor of Changchun from 1911-1915 (Figure 1.8). Its texts and maps provided detailed accounts of Changchun’s Inner Town and Trading Zone, which have long been neglected.

The early twentieth century witnessed a development of cartography in Asia due to colonial expansion. Along with Russian and Japanese military expedition, cartographers collected knowledge, conducted surveys, and produced detailed maps of Manchuria. Under the threat of Russia and Japan, the late Qing Chinese elites realized the geopolitical importance of Manchuria and began geological surveys, producing detailed maps. Later the Chinese Republic government recognized the military

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46 Titled “Chōshun sho-jijō,” the research reports from 1910 to 1929 are located in the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tokyo.

47 Izumi Renji, Chōshun Jijō (Changchun: Chōshun Daily, 1912).


49 See Blaine R. (Blaine Roland) Chiasson, “Late-Qing Adaptive Frontier Administrative Reform in Manchuria, 1900–1911,” in Entangled Histories: The
sensitivity of map surveys and had issued prohibitions of foreign nationals’ cartographic activities.\textsuperscript{50}

In this chapter, I analyze the significance of maps produced in the 1910s and 1920s, which have not been discovered or discussed before. I have been able to identify six maps produced in the early 1910s—two Chinese ones and four Japanese ones—and two maps in the 1920s, which bear rich information on the original formation of four districts, the spatial configuration of the Trading Zone and Inner Town, and shifting spatial relations between these districts. My analysis and comparison of these maps reveal that these maps were not neutral but loaded with ideological perspectives. My examination is also the first attempt to combine texts, images, and maps to reconstruct a dynamic process of Changchun’s transformation during the early twentieth century.

The earliest Chinese map, the 1911 \textit{Donsansheng} map, was included in the \textit{Political Strategies of Three Northeastern Provinces, Dongsansheng Zhenglue} 東三省政略, published in 1912 (Figure 1.9). Written by Xu Shichang 徐世昌 (1855-1939) the first governor of the northeast China, the ten volumes provided the first account of the politics, economy, and population of Changchun. Although published in 1912, the data was collected between 1909 and 1911.\textsuperscript{51} The 1911 \textit{Donsansheng} map displayed the boundaries and shapes of the early districts.

\textit{Transcultural Past of Northeast China}, 169. Also see Xu’s prelude in the \textit{Dongsansheng Zhenglue}.

\textsuperscript{50} Shengjing Newspaper published forbidden orders for the foreign cartographers in 1912 and 1913.

\textsuperscript{51} It was first quoted by Koshizawa without identifying the source. Although the map was dated in 1912, the map was compiled in the time between 1909 and 1911. Xu Shichang, \textit{Dongsansheng zhenglv} (1911). I used the version located in the library of the
The second Chinese map was included in the *Atlas of Jilin Province, Jilin-sheng Quangtu* 吉林省全圖, a collection of thirty-seven maps of the cities and towns in Jilin. Promoted by Han Guojun 韓國鈞 (1857-1942), the president of the Jilin Ministry of Civil Affairs, *Jilin Minzheng-si* 吉林民政司, the atlas was published in October 1912 in celebration of the anniversary of the Republic of China. The *Map of Changchun Streets and Trading Zone, Changchun jieshi ji shangbu tu* 長春街市及商埠圖, provided the earliest detailed description of the Trading Zone (Figure 1.10). The colored map was compiled by the government official Mou Xuexian (1877-1939) 繆學賢, and drawn by the cartographer Dai Xiupeng 戴修鵬, who also later collaborated for the atlas of Heilongjiang province. Although published in 1912, the *jieshi* map was compiled earlier, as the new Japanese consulate, relocated to the border of the SMRC settlement in 1912, was not marked yet. The four Japanese maps produced in the 1910s include: the 1912 map in *Things in Changchun*, which marked institutions located in SMRC, Trading Zone, and Inner Town (Figure 1.11), the 1912 hand-drawn map (Figure 1.12), SMRC’s English map in 1913 (Figure 1.13), and the 1914 blueprint map (Figure 1.14) produced by the Japanese consulate. I will compare these previously undiscovered maps to reveal different

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52 The extant versions are located in National Library of China in Beijing, National Library of Republic China in Taipei, and a digital version in the Fangzhi Digital Database.

53 The Japanese consulate originally rented a house from the Russian merchant on the third street in the Chinese town, and then moved to the west Third street renting Chinese merchant’s houses, and later acquired the land and built the new consulate in the trading zone in 1912.
perspectives of Japanese and Chinese cartographers. Moreover, two maps produced in 1920 and 1925 were more detailed and their contents showed the urban development in Changchun and characteristics of colonial spaces.

**Origin of Changchun: Inner Town**

Originally named Kuanchengzi 寬城子, the area of Changchun was part of the Longzhou 隆州 prefecture during the Jin and Yuan 元 dynasties. After establishing the Qing dynasty in 1644, the Manchu rulers designated the northeast region for preservation both because it was considered their sacred point of origin and because they needed it as a military depot. As a result, the Qing rulers prohibited Han people from immigrating into Manchuria, although the policy was only loosely carried out in reality. In 1800 (Jiaqing 嘉慶 5), the Qing government registered a self-defense community, Changchun-bao 長春堡, in the area and later upgraded it to a provincial county, Changchun-ting 長春廳, with 2000 registered family units. It was moved southward to the current location in 1825 (Daoguang 道光 5). The population of the city and its adjacent towns steadily increased throughout the nineteenth century and reached a total number of 23,975 family units of 92,135 people by 1883. It was designated as Changchun-fu (prefecture) 府, through the inclusion of adjacent counties in 1889 (Guangxu 光緒 15).

Since the late nineteenth century, Qing’s control of the northeast region was challenged by the Russian Empire, which expanded into the northern Manchuria through

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55 CCXZ, 135.
military occupation, railway management, and immigration.\textsuperscript{56} To counteract the threat, the Qing government allowed Han immigrants to move to the region to prevent Russia’s further encroachment.\textsuperscript{57} Having recognized the increasing importance of the region after the Russo–Japanese War, the Qing government appointed the Southeast Area Defense Administrator, \textit{Xi’nan-lu Bingbei Daotai} 西南路兵備道台 in 1909 (Xuantong 宣統 1) to administrate the city and its adjacent region Yitong-\textit{zhou} 伊通州.\textsuperscript{58} In 1913, the newly founded Republic of China re-designated the city as Changchun county, \textit{xian} 縣, together with its adjacent six rural towns (\textit{xiang} 鄉) and fourteen villages (\textit{tun} 屯).\textsuperscript{59}

In addition to political and military unrest, rampant activities of bandits 馬賊 had long threatened the central control and local safety.\textsuperscript{60} In defense against bandits, local merchants in Changchun collected wooden boards to build walls and set up six gates in 1865 (Tongzhi 同治 4), which marked the first physical border of the city.\textsuperscript{61} Later smaller gates were added for pedestrians. The gates were renovated and some of them were

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{57} Between 1905 and 1910 an average of 400,000 people were migrating to Manchuria annually. Chiasson, “Late-Qing Adaptive Administration,” 173–174.

\textsuperscript{58} It was referred as Guanchashi 觀察使 in Japanese documents.


\textsuperscript{60} Its origin can be traced back to the seventeenth century. See Kobayashi Hideo, “\textit{Manshū}’ no rekishi” (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 2008).

\textsuperscript{61} East Chongde 崇德, South Quan-\textit{an} 全安, West Jubao 聚寶, North: Yongxing 永興, Southwest Yong-\textit{an} 永安, Northwest: Qianyou 乾佑. CCXZ, Vol 2. 8–9.
\end{footnotesize}
demolished in the 1920s for the expansion of main roads that connected to the trading zone. Two canals were dug, one outside the northern gate and the other inside the western gate, which set up the boundaries of Inner Town, *chengnei* 城内 (Figure 1.15). The walls of the Inner Town marking the Chinese quarter remained until completely demolished after 1932.

The earliest *Dongsansheng* map (1911) shows the layout of Changchun: the irregular-shaped Inner Town was twice as long from the east to west as from the north to south, which led to its original name *Kuancheng*, the wide city. The river to the east, *Yitong-he* 伊通河, served as the main transportation route connecting with other regions before railways were opened. Canals were dug near the city walls and flowed into ponds in the lower level, which later were filled to build houses. One main road in the north-south direction, the Grand Avenue *Dajie* 大街, was connected with Trading Zone, SMRC settlement, and Kuanchengzi settlement. Two streets ran from the west to east and were divided by the main road into two sections. Third Street, *Sandao-jie* 三道街, divided the main road into two sections, Northern Grand Avenue, *Bei-dajie* 北大街 and Southern Grand Avenue, *Nan-dajie* 南大街. Shops and thatched houses gathered along the main road as well as the intersection of the main road and Third Street, which formed the center of the town.62

The *Dongsansheng* map also shows the original boundaries of the four districts and maps out the earliest interactions among Russian, Japanese, and Chinese powers in Changchun. Outlines of the Russian and Japanese settlements were superimposed on winding lines, which represented original roads that organically expanded to connect to

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the river. The overlapping lines suggested a clash between railway construction and water transportation. Furthermore, the outlines of Trading Zone overlapped with that of SMRC settlement, which was evidence of the competition between SMRC and the Chinese government to acquire land from local owners. The original border of Trading Zone was planned from North gate to the first canal toudao-gou 頭道溝, and West gate to the second canal erdao-gou 二道溝. While the Chinese government had difficulties acquiring funding, SMRC and Mitsui Company quickly secured land leases from local owners with the help from their Chinese employees. This was an example of the shifting, complicated relationship between the Chinese and Japanese at the local level.

The 1911 Dongsansheng map reflected the importance of water transportation: it marked bridges and roads accessing the river in detail. Inner Town, located close to the river, was the original transportation center. The spatial layout of the Inner Town—with its canals, walls, and gates—shows the reliance on water transport. Most of the residents in Changchun were farmers and merchants who produced and traded sorghum, soybean, and flour. The main route for inter-city transport was by water: merchants loaded agricultural products onto riverboats, which travelled—five times a year—along with Yitong River to Liao River 遼河 and arrived at the port city Yingkou 營口 in southern Manchuria. The rivers froze in winter and merchants used horse carriages to transport their goods to the Tongjiangkou 通江口 until the thaw. The 1911 Dongsansheng map also shows winding roads in Inner Town and the scheduled Trading Zone, which

63 Kobayashi Hideo, Manshu no reikishi, 18.

64 Xu, Dongsansheng Zhenglue, Vol.10, 5.

developed organically and formed blind alleys and irregular blocks in between main roads.

The Earliest Urban Center: Downtown of Inner Town and Southwest Xiling Area

The *Map of Changchun Streets and Trading Zone*, from the 1912 *Atlas of Jilin Province* (hereafter: the 1912 *jieshi* map) was one of the earliest and the most important maps of Changchun because it presented an unprecedentedly detailed account of Inner Town, the early planning and development of Trading Zone, and the original transportation network connecting SMRC settlement, Trading Zone, and Inner Town. It also illustrates several urban features of Changchun that disappeared in later developments: first, canals and rivers functioned as natural borders separating each community from one another: the first canal, *toudao-gou*, separated SMRC settlement from Kuangchengzi settlement, and the second canal, *erdao-gou*, separated Trading Zone and SMRC settlement. Second, SMRC settlement was built upon extant roads extended from Trading Zone, which were erased later (Figure 1.16 added later) This was evidence of Japanese construction tied to the Chinese exiting town. Third, it displayed a square plan comprising straight and diagonal avenues in the eastern part of Trading Zone, which was not carried out fully. Last and most important, the lower left part of the map showed a detailed depiction of a large area outside of Shuangqiao gate and South gate.

In the 1912 *jieshi* map, major buildings—marked as red dots—such as the government office *Changchun-fu*, the foreign consulates, commerce association and police station, were clustered on Third and Fourth streets of the Chinese town. The Association of Merchants, *shanghui* 商會, the Japanese Consulate, Russo-Chinese Bank, and the tax bureau stood along West Third Street, which extended out Shuangqiao gate
turning into Xiling Street, *Xiling Dajie* 西嶺大街 (Figure 1.17). The Russian Consulate and the Third Division Army were located on Daxingling Street between Shuangqiao Gate and West Gate. The map also marked the roads, connecting alleys, and buildings in great detail in the southwest area, which consisted of several villages (Wuhu-tun 五虎屯, Yihe-tun 義和屯, and Zhujia Dayuan 朱家大院), outside of Shuangqiao Gate and Southern Gate. It is important to raise the question: why would Russia choose a seemingly remote area for its consulate, and why would the cartographers depict a countryside neighborhood in detail?

The answers to these questions lie in a close examination of records in the CCXZ and *Things of Changchun*. Most merchants in Changchun were agriculture dealers running grain depots, *liangzhan* 糧棧. They collected agricultural products from local farmers, such as sorghum and soybeans, and transported them to other provinces for sale. These agriculture dealers were usually large family-owned businesses that provided various services for the farmers who came to the town, from board and lodging, to retail shops, and from money exchange to insurance. Businesses belonged to the same families and their relatives—money exchange shops, hostels, and retail shops—usually lined up on the same street.

For these merchants, transportation and access to major financial institutions were the most important factors for their shop locations. As the 1912 *shijie* map shows, the administrative and commercial buildings, in particular banks of various countries were

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66 The Chinese names for these services are *zhan* 棟, *huozhan* 貨舖, *qianpu* 錢舖, and *diandang* 典當.

67 Izumi Chōshun Jijō, 87.
clustered on Third Street in Inner Town. West Third Street and its extension outside Shuangqiao Gate—Daxiling Street between Shuangqiao Gate and West Gate—were the most prosperous areas before the opening of Trading Zone because broad streets were easy for carriage transportation and access to southern provinces. Many shops, oil mills, and hostels were positioned here, among which were the eight largest grain depots. As a result, the nearby neighborhoods became major residential areas for these merchants, who preferred close proximity to the transportation route. The village of Zhu’s Family, Zhujia Dayuan, located outside of South gate, was one of the most populated neighborhoods because it was close to both the Yitong river and the road leading to the southwestern part of the city. The prosperity of carriage transportation resulted in the weekly opening of a horse market outside of South gate.

As described above, the original urban center of Changchun at the turn of the twentieth century was the intersection of the Grand Avenue and Third Street within Inner Town, where administration and commercial buildings were gathered, as well as the southwest area where agriculture goods shops were clustered. The urban development of Changchun, therefore, was not even: the economy of the southwest area flourished owing to the convenient land and water transportation. People and buildings were concentrated in this area. Shops, hostels, oil mills, and residential houses gathered along the road, which explained the necessity for the cartographer to depict the road connections and houses of the area in great detail. The Russian consulate and bank, therefore, chose prime locations in the most prosperous area in Changchun.
In fact, the detailed depiction of the southwest area was included only in the early maps produced in the 1910s. The area was excluded in maps produced after 1920. If one compares the 1912 *shijie* map with the 1913 SMRC map, one sees the formation of the earliest urban center in Changchun, represented by clusters of shops and institutions that gathered in Inner Town, southwest county, and the main road connecting SMRC settlement and trading zone (Figure 1.18). This is different from Koshizawa’s and Sewell’s arguments that Changchun was originally a railway outpost.

Furthermore, the 1912 hand-drawn color map (Figure 1.12) made by the Japanese Consulate in Changchun also verified the location of the original urban center. The Japanese Consulate began to collect information on Changchun from 1909 and their 1912 report included a map that filled the Kuanchengzi, the SMRC and the Chinese districts in three colors. The 1912 hand-colored map showed two locations for the Japanese Consulate—the old one in the middle of the Chinese town since 1909 and the newly scheduled site near the border of the SMRC settlement. It was unique as clusters of square blocks were marked all over the map, which represented gatherings of residential houses. Clusters of houses were scattered along the canal, Yitong River, and major roads, which suggested the importance of and dependence on water and land transportation in Changchun. In particular, houses were crowded outside of the West gate and Northwest Gate, where roads led to other provinces, and outside of the South Gate and Southwest Gate, where roads led to other provinces, and outside of the South Gate and Southwest

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68 The maps that depicted the area in detail are: The 1912 map in *Things in Changchun*, The 1913 SMRC English map, the 1912 and 1914 maps produced by the Japanese Consulate in Changchun.

69 The 1913 SMRC English map resembled the spatial layout of the 1912 *shijie* map. Based on the location of the Japanese Consulate, which was still located in the middle of the Chinese town, the 1913 map was produced prior to 1912.
Gate near the Yitong River. The distribution of houses, therefore, provided visual evidence to the economic prosperity in the southwest area of Changchun.

**Russian Kuanchengzi Settlement**

The 1911 *Dongsansheng* map marked two railroads: one was from the Russian Kuanchengzi station, and the other one was a field railway, *keiben tetsudō* 軽便鉄道 built by SMRC to transport goods from the Russian station to Yitong River. Kuanchengzi settlement was established in 1898 as a third-rank settlement among forty railway settlements established by CER Company in Manchuria. Located on the midway of the railroad from Harbin to Dalian, it occupied a rectangular area of 5.53km² north to the Chinese town in the erdao-gou area. Like other imperialist powers in China at the time, Russia maintained exclusive rights over land and property within the settlement, which made it a de facto colony. The settlement never fully developed into a big Russian community such as Harbin or into a commercial metropolis like Dalian.

The number of Russian immigrants in the settlement—most of whom were railway company employees and merchants—fluctuated due to unsettled political circumstances. For example, Russian immigrants fled back to Russia during the Russo-Japanese War and later flooded into northern Manchuria after the Russian Revolution in 1917, which marked the downfall of imperial Russia.\(^7\) The return of railway operations to China in 1920, however, resulted in many Russian immigrants returning home. By 1922, there were 763 Russians (458 men and 305 women) living in Kuanchengzi.

\(^7\) For a brief account of the influence of the Revolution on CER development, See David Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*. 
settlement as well as Chinese and Japanese residents.⁷¹ Russian residents also lived in the Chinese town.⁷²

Maps made by the Chinese and Japanese before 1932 rarely contained any detailed depictions of the Russian settlement. For example, the 1911 Dongsansheng map only marked the border and few dots; the 1912 jieshi map and the 1913 SMRC English map excluded the Russian settlement, and the 1912 Chōshun map only showed the railway connecting with the Japanese train station. The 1912 hand-drawn map by the Japanese Consulate drew several clusters of buildings together with the train station within the Russian settlement. The later 1914 map by the Japanese consulate contained more information such as the layout of the streets and rectangular blocks of buildings (Figure1.19). Due to the lack of visual materials, we can only partially reconstruct the urban development of the Kuanchengzi settlement based on the examination of photos, maps, contemporary texts, extant buildings, and street layout today.

A brief examination of the development of the Russian CER Company in the late nineteenth century is necessary to understand Kuanchengzi settlement. In 1860, the Qing government concluded the Second Opium War (1856–1860) with three treaties signed respectively with the British, French, and Russian Governments in Beijing. Among many rights granted by these treaties—referred as the Convention of Peking—the Qing government ceded outer Manchuria (nowadays the southeast corner of Siberia) to Russia and opened up several cities in Manchuria as trade ports, including Changchun. This

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⁷¹ There were also Japanese residents living within the Russian settlement running laundry shops and brothels.

⁷² There were Russian residents running the movie theatre in the center of Inner Town, Wu, “19-seiki matsu kara 19200-nendai no chōshun,” 27.
prompted Russia to plan a shortcut to its ambitious Trans-Siberia Railways that was over 6,000-mile long: the construction of the 1,700 mile-long China Eastern Railway begun in 1896 to reach Vladivostok via northern Manchuria, which had not been accessible by train before then. The project was carried out rapidly owing to the low cost of Chinese labor from the central northern China.\(^{73}\) The T-shape railways extended to southern Manchuria connecting Harbin, the trade hub of northern Manchuria, to Port Arthur, Lushun, and Dalian, the only ice-free deep-water port in southern Manchuria.

Russia expanded its sphere of influences along the railways, establishing a series of railway settlements in Manchuria for military depots and immigrant communities. Further, as historian Tan observes, the combination of railway management and operation of Russo-Chinese banks along railroads and in various Chinese cities was Russia’s major financial income and thus served as the power engine for Russia’s colonial expansion in Manchuria.\(^{74}\) Its move was closely watched by imperial powers both in the West and East and eventually triggered the Russo–Japanese War.

The CER railways established a vast transportation and trade network that swept across the entire Euro-Asia continent and the Pacific. It provided a shortcut to the Trans-Siberian Railway: goods from Europe and inner Russia were transported to the Asian markets in much shorter time via Dalian instead of Vladivostok, the original terminal of the Trans-Siberian Railway. CER Company implemented discounted cargo fares to attract more customers. The railways connected the market in Manchuria with the international one, whose rise and fall affected the local price fluctuation: agricultural

\(^{73}\) Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*, 2–19.

\(^{74}\) Tan, *Zhongdong tielu*, 60–67.
products, flour, and tealeaves were transported from Manchuria to Europe. Russian rubles also became one of the major currencies circulated in the area. In this way, the railways transformed the self-sufficient economy of Manchuria into an international, capital-based one. Reciprocally, the economy of Manchuria also influenced other financial entities.  

Kuanchengzi station was located at the center of CER network in Manchuria, connecting the northern and southern sections of the CER railroads. Its construction and management, however, was not a smooth process. The rapid expansion of railroads occupied land originally owned by local Chinese farmers, who in turn destroyed railroads and settlement buildings for revenge. Such tension reached a peak during the 1900 Boxer Rebellion—a nationwide anti-imperialist uprising initiated by local Chinese peasants, who were reported killing missionaries and setting fires to train stations, and eventually led to the breakdown of the Qing dynasty. Kuanchengzi station was also burned down. After Russian troops suppressed the uprising, the train station was rebuilt and opened in 1901 and was fully in operation in 1903 (Figure 1.20).

The design of the station incorporated Chinese elements: the one-story, brick and wood building featured a long rectangular plan and a large gabled roof supported by a row of beams. The gabled roof with high ridges, deep eaves, and the long curve of the supporting beams resembled features of a Chinese temple. The exterior looked eclectic, as the Asian features mixed with the Western elements, including corner stones and large,

75 Ibid., 56–59.

76 For a list of the incidents, see Ibid., 165.

open windows. Moreover, the cross pattern of the wooden blocks in the diamond shape with pointed tips on the gable wall derived from traditional residential houses in Siberia. Kuanchengzi station, therefore, displayed an eclectic design mixing vernacular Russian designs with exotic oriental renderings of a Chinese tradition. The style of the train station underwent changes through time corresponding to the contemporary architectural trends. Two gabled gateways and dormers were later added to the roof; layered bricks replaced pavilion towers, which reduced the oriental flavor but maintained a dynamic roofline. In the 1920s, the train station underwent a major renovation, which removed a large part of the roof and added a façade that featured a round pediment and shallow relief-like slabs (Figure 1.21).

The 1914 consulate map showed a grid layout of street blocks expanding from the south of the station. Parts of the original street layout and several buildings are extant today. The community was divided into three areas based on their functions: the station area including garrisons, storages and platforms, the residential area including CER dormitories, schools, churches, and residential houses, and the commercial area of factories and shops. Two main streets extended from the station, the Qiulin and Bashan streets. Several brick houses were scattered around, which shared common stylistic features with the train station, including the brick crow-stepped patterns and wooden cross pattern on the sidewall (Figure 1.22). At the southern end of the streets was a large rectangular block consisting of a South camp, a North camp, and a general officer camp, which were built for the Russian troops stationed there as a military reinforcement after the Boxer’s Rebellion. Although no residential neighborhoods were marked clearly on
the map, statistics show that over 700 Chinese—more than the Russians—and 18 Japanese lived in Kuanchengzi settlement.\textsuperscript{78}

During the relatively peaceful time from 1900 to 1903, the local economy enjoyed a brief period of prosperity: major public and private buildings were constructed. In 1903, CER Company built CER Club south of the station (Figure 1.23). The two-story building of a creamy yellowish color had a magnificent, symmetrical façade dotted with an upper row of arched windows and a lower row of narrow, elongated windows. The arched entrance with a projecting porch of gabled arch windows above was flanked by two towers—a medieval touch. The building had a hipped tin roof, with a spire on one side. It echoed the contemporary Russian eclectic revival of Byzantine style and applied neo-classical vocabulary. It was built with advanced technology for the time: the cement façade and tin roof. Trees were planted around the building that created an elegant and private atmosphere suitable for its function as a salon for high-ranking CER employees and officers’ social gatherings and events. Soon after completion, the building became a high-profile landmark building representing Russia’s power in Changchun.

The Changchun branch of the Russo-Chinese Bank was open in 1900 in Kuanchengzi settlement. In 1906, it was relocated to West Third Street in Inner Town: the headquarters was a two-story, brick and wooden building with large arched windows and two towers (Figure 1.24). The large windows and the color contrast between walls and brick moldings create a light, bright outlook different from other Russo-Chinese Bank branches, such as the Russo-Chinese Bank in Harbin, which featured a symmetrical neoclassical style with layers of rusticated masonry (Figure 1.25).

\textsuperscript{78} Izumi, \textit{Chōshun jijō}, 18.
A series of flour processing mills and shops were located in Kuanchengzi settlement, some of which were branches of Russian companies; others were co-operated by Chinese and Russian merchants. For example, in 1903, Russian engineer and merchant known as Subojin opened the earliest flourmill, which developed into the largest Russian-owned mill. Located to the northwest of the train station, the four-floor (one-floor basement) brick building was the tallest industrial building at the time (Figure 1.26).

As discussed above, the earliest buildings in the Kuanchengzi settlement displayed hybrid architectural styles. The train station, military camps, and CER’s dormitories shared common features with other CER settlements. There was no unified or ideological concern for the building designs, which blended a variety of elements of traditional Chinese temples, Russian vernacular architecture, and contemporary international architectural trend such as neoclassic and Byzantine Revival.

**Mapping the Transition of Power: Changing Functions of Former Russian Buildings**

Russia’s defeat in the Russo–Japanese War marked a significant change in the urban landscape of Manchuria. Russian immigrants retreated to northern Manchuria, leaving empty military camps, residential buildings, dormitories, and administration buildings, which were taken over by SMRC. The 1917 October Revolution further resulted in a tide of Russian Jewish refugees fleeing to Harbin, while military officers and railway employees returned to Russia. CER railroads were returned to Chinese
ownership. Russians sold off their businesses to Chinese merchants. How Russian buildings in Kuanchengzi were appropriated, modified, and used by the Japanese and Chinese populations for different functions throughout this unsettled time exemplified the adaptability of buildings and urban spaces in a semi-colonized society.

New owners continued to use the former Russian buildings for their own functions. For example, former CER headquarters was used as the iconic landmark building for SMRC (Figure 1.27). Subojin’s mill was transferred to his former Chinese employee Wang Jingshan (1876-1952) 萬景山, who changed the name to Yuchangyuan 裕昌源 and developed the flourmill into the largest one in the region by 1949. The building has been abandoned intact in its original location. In other cases, new owners appropriated vacant buildings—left by the Russians—for new purposes. The Russian military camp was reused by a Chinese primary school as its classroom (Figure 1.28). A teacher drew an anti-Japanese mural on its wall in 1927, which has been restored today. Later it was used as Shinkyō Municipal Library. The building is kept on a primary school campus. After 1920, many Japanese residents moved into former Russian houses of in the Kuanchengzi settlement, which was promoted as a relaxing suburb. The CER club was transformed into a high-class café, where the Japanese enjoyed afternoon tea after a walk on the nearby boulevards. The Russo-China bank closed down due to financial failure in 1929 and it has changed owners several times since then: it was used as the municipal library.

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79 In 1935, the Soviet government officially sold the CER to the colonial Manchurian government, and engineers were taken over into SMRC.

library and then changed into the office for the Supreme Council of Manchukuo from 1932 to 1945.

The fates of these buildings were typical for buildings left in Changchun as well as in other cities in Manchuria. Namely, despite their original builders and functions, they were rarely demolished but rather were appropriated for different purposes and changed owners throughout the twentieth century. This was common for buildings in colonies: where regimes did not demolish or erase all physical traces of previous rulers, but instead continued to use buildings for the pragmatic purposes (as did the Communist Party after 1945). What the new owners did was to invent a visual and textual narrative for the building appropriate to each regime’s ideology. The physical symbol of one ideology was transformed into an embodiment of another by a meticulous construction of visual narratives. For example, few Japanese and Chinese people know that SMRC headquarters had a Russian origin. When Japanese postcards, tourist pamphlets, and films representing SMRC headquarters and the Supreme Council of Manchukuo were published and disseminated, none of the descriptions mentioned the buildings’ Russian origins. Rather, the foreign building was juxtaposed with other modern buildings for SMRC and Manchukuo, as examples of modern architectural style in Manchuria. This representational strategy created a delusion that the building with a Japanese-character plaque was another accomplishment of the Japanese’ construction of modern Manchuria.

**Japanese SMRC Settlement: Chinese Merchants’ Neighborhood**

Japan’s development of SMRC settlement adopted a pattern like that of the Russian one: SMRC railroads developed in tandem with the expansion of Yokohama Specie Bank branches in Chinese cities. Before the establishment of the settlement,
Japanese merchants lived in the area around the Mengjiatun Station 孟家屯, south of the Changchun downtown. SMRC managed to place their settlement, a rectangular block, in-between Kuanchengzi settlement and Trading Zone. Like Kuanchengzi, the Japanese settlement expanded from the train station. From the semicircular rotary in front of the train station (later referred as the central plaza), five roads extended out radially to the East, West, South, Southeast and Southwest (Figure 1.29).

The central south-running avenue divided the rectangular settlement into two symmetrical sections: the west side was built with government offices, schools, and SMRC facilities, and the east side was crowded with restaurants, shops and banks. Two circular plazas (West and East Plazas) were positioned at the halfway point of diagonal-running roads, forming an isosceles triangle with the station plaza as its apex. The area near the southern border of the settlement was later developed into two parks, which took advantage of natural hilly terrain and an existing stream.

The plan of the settlement caused a clash between the planner and the administrator. Japanese engineer Katō Yonokichi (1867–1933) 加藤与之吉, claimed that his design incorporated the Russian precedent—circular plazas with radiating avenues (Dalian)—and the contemporary urban planning trend of rectangular block unit. His plan, however, received a harsh critique from Gotō Shinpei (1857–1929) 後藤新平, the first president of SMRC. Gotō considered the plan a mere copy of Western cities not applicable to local needs because the proposed width of main roads in Changchun was

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81 “Nanman hokusentan no chōshun: jūnenkan ni ika ni hattatsu seshi ka,” Manshū nichinichi shinbun, October 31, 1917. Newspaper Archive, Research Institute For Economics, Kobe University.
too narrow for the heavy traffic flow of cargo carriages. Gotō further considered Katō’s restriction on the entry of horse carriages to the city to be absurd because most trade relied on carriage transportation. Katō, on the other hand, insisted that the width of the first-rank roads, 27 meters, was reasonable based on references from earlier Russian designs for roads in Dalian and Harbin. He also defended the ban arguing that loaded carriages destroyed roads and that the ban was necessary for maintaining clean streets, functional roads, and development of modern transportation. Katō added that it was important not to consider the local conditions: “it is as stupid to ask the (Japanese) residents to follow the Chinese rules if they are stupid.” In the end, however, Gotō insisted on setting the width of first-rank roads at 36 meters, and Katō was dispatched to Europe to study city planning.

The episode reflects a conflict between proposal in theory and execution in practice, characteristic of the planning and construction of Changchun throughout time. It also shows the limitation of the autonomy of city planners, who struggled to maintain the integrity of ideal plans in vain. In fact, the urban landscape in Japanese colonial cities was the outcome of a dialectical relationship between theory and practice, planners and administrative officials, international trends and local concerns. Rather than conceptual designs, the major factor that determined the layout of SMRC settlement was pragmatism.

82 See Katō Yonokichi’s memoir, Katō Yonokichi and Katō Tadao, Karei Ikō, (Tadao Katō, 1937).

83 The episode was mentioned by Koshizawa as the architect’s ideal vision of Changchun, see Koshizawa, Manshuko shuto, 78.

84 Later historians’ arguments that wide roads were evidence for Japanese aim to build an ideal city in Manchuria were ahistorical.
Koshizawa praises the zoning of neighborhoods and assumes that the grand construction of public buildings represents the rapid development of the SMRC settlement.\textsuperscript{85} However, early maps revealed that the urban development across the city was not even: the eastern and southern areas, where roads led to the trading zone, developed much faster: blocks were filled in with businesses and residential houses. In contrast, the western and northern areas, where public buildings were scattered, remained empty.

For example, the 1925 map of SMRC settlement, made by the Association of Japanese Merchants, \textit{Shō-Kōkai} 商工会, showed that stores were crowded along the diagonal avenue that led to the trading zone. The map shows names of businesses, most of which were export shops and hotels, within street blocks and listed their information and photos on the reverse side. Unlike the crowded shops in the southeast of SMRC settlement, the western part remained empty. Most of the shops were one or two-story wooden buildings with a cement flat façade similar to the style of “Billboard Architecture” \textit{kanban kenchiku} 看板建築 that appeared in Tokyo after the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923.\textsuperscript{86} The southeast corner of the settlement, originally designated as a vegetable garden, became the site for the Red Cross, which had over 3,000 Chinese, Japanese, and Russian employees. The western park was later developed into a fully equipped park, where small houses and villages originally located there were demolished.

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid, 85.

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Kanban kenchiku}, referred to wooden houses built in the downtown of Tokyo after the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake, which were one or two-story houses use as both residential house and shops. They had partitions placed in front of the houses as billboards for shops. For an introduction, see Fujimori Terunobu and Masuda Akihisa, \textit{Kanban kenchiku}, (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1999).
An important fact that Koshizawa has ignored in his discussion is that the prosperity of the SMRC settlement had a close relationship with the increasing Chinese population in the settlement. The 1912 statistics revealed that the Chinese population was far larger than the Japanese population in the SMRC settlement. In fact, the SMRC made great efforts to attract Chinese merchants: as previously mentioned, broad avenues were made suitable for horse carriages; SMRC provided discounted fares for cargo transportation to compete with CER; several blocks in the northeast corner of SMRC settlement along the two sides of the train station were designated as the neighborhoods, Toiya-chō, for Chinese agriculture dealers.

As a result, after the opening of SMRC station, Chinese agriculture dealers moved into the Toiya-chō neighborhood near the station, opening shop branches and storage and building shortcut roads to the train tracks. In 1909, Chinese merchants in SMRC settlement established the Association of Chinese Merchants in charge of operating the markets for the exchange of goods and money. Historian Ōno Taikan analyzed the activities of the Chinese merchants in SMRC settlements and pointed out that these merchants’ shops were mostly branches of the ones in the Inner Town and Trading Zone, which demonstrates the interdependence of Trading Zone and SMRC settlement.

Big family-oriented businesses also began to take shape: many branches were owned by the Niu Families and the Liu Family from Leting, Hebei, which had their

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87 Izumi, Chōshun jijō, 52.

88 “Nanman hokusentan no chōshun.”

89 Ōno, "Kenkyū nouto," 32-33.
residential community in Trading Zone.\textsuperscript{90} In order to accommodate the increasing Chinese population, Chinese merchants opened large hotels in front of the SMRC train station. The Hebei merchant Zu Xianting opened the Yuelai guesthouse （悦来客棧） (Figure 1.30) in 1913, a chain hotel in Fengtian and Harbin, which was the landmark building in front of the train station.\textsuperscript{91} Two other big guesthouses with Chinese owners, Longxing Guesthouse and Hongtai Guesthouse were also opened in the same neighborhood marking a prominent area in front of SMRC train station.

Furthermore, the 1913 SMRC English map marked the Japanese-run businesses outside of SMRC settlement that concentrated along the main avenue, \textit{dajie}, from SMRC settlement to Trading Zone and Inner Town, including a timber dealer, photo studio, laundry shop, and hotels. As the 1912 \textit{shijie} map and the 1913 SMRC map revealed, the Trading Zone and SMRC settlement maintained a close connection in the economy: Japanese merchants relied on the connection with the Chinese town to develop their businesses and SMRC relied on Chinese merchants for income generated from cargo transportation.

\textbf{Development of Trading Zone: Collaboration between the Chinese Government and Urban Elites}

In 1909, the Qing government issued the “Regulation for Opening the Shangbudi,” officially opening the trading zone in Changchun, which became one of the

\textsuperscript{90} Izumi, \textit{Chōshun Jijō}, 54.

\textsuperscript{91} It was one of the three largest hotels in Changchun. The other two were Fushun Hotel in the north plaza, and Risheng Hotel near the border of Trading zone and SMRC settlement. Originally built in 1905, it was burned down in 1913, and the new building was finished in 1913.
eleven trading zones in Jilin province. As the Japanese took away land originally scheduled for Trading Zone, the Qing government designated an area of 5.39km² in between SMRC settlement and Inner Town. East-West streets were numbered from one to seven from the northern gate of Inner Town to SMRC settlement. The Administrative Office for Jilin and Changchun District, Ji Chang Dao Yin Gongshu 吉長道尹公署, was the highest administrative department in Changchun. Originally named the Southeast Area Defense Administration, it was open in 1908 in a rented building on Fourth Street in Inner Town. In 1909 the second mayor Yan Shiqing (1873 – 1929) 颜世清, relocated the office to the northern border of Trading Zone as a counterforce to SMRC settlement and began the construction of the new administrative building.

The building complex of the new Administrative Office occupied an area of 2,500 square meters, consisting of an entry hallway, main hall, back hall and four residential houses for officials (Figure 1.31). Once completed, the building complex’s large scale and arrangement of columns created a solemn, grand effect that attracted viewers from a far distance (Figure 1.32). The entry hallway, main hall, and back hall were located on a west-east axis. A wooden corridor connected the main hall with the back hall. The entry hallway was a solid brick structure with a square plan and a façade divided into three sections: round and square columns framing a round window, wide moldings, a top arch.

92 The other trading zones in Jilin were located in Fengtian, Andong, Dadonggou, Tielinxian, Tongjiangxian, Fakuting, Xinminfu, Fenghuangcheng, Liaoyangzhou, Jilinfu. Their maps were also include in the Dongsansheng Zhenglue.

93 The counting unit in Trading Zone is tiao 條, which was different from the counting unit, dao 道, in Inner Town.

94 The entry hallway, main hall and back hall, and one residential house remain exist today. However, the 2002 renovation project changed the original design.
with a semi-circle window opening and balustrade (Figure 1.33). Passing through the hallway one encountered the magnificent, brick, and wooden structure with columns surrounding its main room. It was the first building complex that one encountered when entering the Trading Zone from the SMRC settlement and thus embodied the power of the Qing government, and accentuated its authority.

The plan and style of the Administrative Office were distinctively different from other buildings in Changchun. The main hall with a surrounding passage with columns was considered one of the few examples in Manchuria of the “Veranda Colonial Style” \textit{wailang-shi} 外廊式, which was characterized by a columned veranda surrounding the main building to provide shade, and a transitional space between indoor and outdoor. Initially used for residential buildings in South Asia, the “Veranda Colonial Style” appeared in the late nineteenth century along with Westerners’ settlements in treaty ports of Japan and China. An example was the merchant Glover’s former house in Nagasaki (Figure 1.34). The structure was also called the “comprador’s style” in China to describe houses of Chinese brokers who worked for Western companies, and thus the style has been viewed as an embodiment of the foreign powers’ colonial expansions in China.\footnote{95 Coined by architectural historian Fujimori Terunobu in his research of Western Style buildings in modern China, Fujimori Terunobu and Zhang Fuhe, "Wailang yangshi: Zhongguo jindai jianzhu de yuandian," \textit{Jianzhu Xuebao}, no. 5 (October 1993): 33–38.}

Later the Qing government and Chinese entrepreneurs also favored the style, building government offices and companies with arched verandas.\footnote{96 The other examples were military administration offices in Beijing and Tianjin.}

The Administration Office was not the only government building in the “Veranda Colonial Style.” Completed in 1908, the Administration Office in Yanjin 延吉商埠局
also exemplified the Qing government’s adoption of the Veranda Style in Manchuria (Figure 1.35). The two-floor Yanji Office displayed an eclectic style: brick walls dotted with arched windows were surrounded by a veranda supported by thin beams and decorated in colors, which was similar to a cloister in a traditional Chinese garden. It also had a Chinese gable roof. Compared to the Yanji Office, the main hall of the Changchun Administration was less Chinese in flavor: its main brick building was surrounded and hidden from a colonnade of tall, square columns. The front entrance was a rectangular porch with six pairs of round slim columns supporting a pediment and balusters. The building also adopted Western techniques: the structural support used bearing walls instead of wooden bracket structure.

The building of Changchun Administration Office and Yanji Office represented the Qing government’s efforts to renovate the political and economic system to cope with the crisis brought about by Western colonial expansion into China. For example, Governor Xu, the author of Political Strategies of Three Northeastern Provinces was among the Chinese reformist officials who endeavored to establish a civilian administration in Manchuria by dividing the region into three provinces to develop the economy and to increase tax income. The Political Strategies of Three Northeastern Provinces recorded reform policies carried out in Manchuria, such as modernizing the military organization and developing public education. Forty-four primary education institutes with a total of 1,499 students were founded in Jilin province, which had a population of 469,823 in 57,423 family units. Most of the institutions of higher
education were located in the capital city Jilin, including professional schools, a business school, a teacher-training school, two women’s schools, and an architecture school.\textsuperscript{97}

It is important to emphasize that the late Qing coincided with the “Meiji Restoration” era, when Chinese elites were well aware of contemporary international politics and studied abroad to learn Western technology. In particular, due to geographical proximity, many Chinese students studied at Japanese universities, read Japanese translations of Western books, and considered the Meiji Restoration as a model.\textsuperscript{98} The government also sent students to study abroad. There were 25 students from Manchuria were sent to study in Tokyo and 1 student to Russia.\textsuperscript{99} Therefore, many Chinese officials in Changchun and Manchuria during the late Qing and Republic of China had experiences of studying in Japan and had knowledge of Japanese language and culture.

The late Qing government also promoted local political autonomy, which gave power to the local elites and upper-class merchants participating in local political affairs. During the transitional period from the imperial dynasty to the republic, the upper gentry class, \textit{xiangshen} 鄉紳, in Changchun actively participated in reforming the administration system and served as officials and consultants for the newly established bureaus of the

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\textsuperscript{97} Xu, \textit{Dongsansheng Zhenglue} 20-23.
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\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., 9. The Japanese schools were the Waseda University, Hirobun Gakuin, and Hōsei University.
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Republic of China. The Changchun Administration Office continued to be used by the
Republican government and stood at the center of political changes in Changchun.

The Trading Zone was developed by collaboration between the government and
local elites, many of whom were wealthy merchants. Local elite businessmen provided
funds for the development of infrastructure and they, in turn, enjoyed preferential
policies, such as reduction in taxes and access to prime shop locations. After its opening
in 1909, the Administration office first began renovating the major avenues, whose
muddy and dusty conditions were unfavorable to economic growth and were criticized
harshly by both the locals and foreign powers. The government asked shop owners to
repair the road connecting the main avenue with their own shops. In 1910, the
government raised enough money, two third of which came from the local Association of
Merchants, to begin renovation of the Grand Avenue, dajie 大街, that went through the
Trading Zone connecting the Inner town and the SMRC settlement. The renovation of the
northern section was completed in 1910. In autumn 1911, the Qing government and local
merchants co-founded Xingye 興業 company, located outside of the Northern gate, to
issue shares and take loans from the Yokohama Species Bank. In the same year, a power
station was built in the northeast corner of the Trading Zone, providing electricity to the
Trading Zone and Inner Town. By 1920, sixteen major avenues and thirty-four alleys
were built in the Trading Zone.

\[100\] CCXZ, 11–12.

\[101\] Shengjing Shibao, 1912.

The development of the Trading Zone was briefly interrupted in 1911 by a plague that broke out in northern China and quickly spread along the CER and SMRC railways with the movement of large numbers of laborers to Changchun.\textsuperscript{103} Within a few days, corpses were piled up along the railroad in the city. Mayor Yan was removed from office due to his ineffective policies, and Meng Xianyi became mayor in the middle of the crisis. Meng reacted quickly: he collaborated with the Russian and Japanese armies to conduct mandatory examinations and set up quarantines at each train station. Laborers who arrived at the train station were held in quarantine in guesthouses outside of the city until they were examined and cleared by doctors. Meng also worked with British, American, Russian, and Japanese experts to sterilize the area. The whole city was mobilized and international forces collaborated to fight the natural disaster. During the plague, several modern hospitals including the Red Cross, British and SMRC hospitals were established.

Meng’s success in fighting the plague through his skillful negotiation with British, American, Japanese and Russian experts earned him a good reputation. Born in Hebei, he served as the governor of Changchun from 1911 to 1915, a crucial transition period, as the Republic of China was established in 1912. Meng played a significant role in the rapid development of the Trading Zone during his term of office, by maintaining a collaborative relationship with local merchants and a delicate balance among the Japanese and Russian powers.\textsuperscript{104} His personal diaries, recently discovered and published,


\textsuperscript{104} Chen, “Meng Xianyi and Early Changchun Modernization,” 2009.
contain personal correspondence and records of his daily activities—public and private—from 1911 to 1924. They provide valuable information about the nuanced and complicated dynamics of Changchun’s politics, economy, and social classes.\(^{105}\)

Under Meng’s administration, the economy of the Trading Zone grew fast. Chinese merchants relocated their shops or opened new branches. Foreign companies also opened new branches, such as the Singer Sewing Company and Yokohama Species Bank. Meng also ordered the relocation of brothels from the Inner Town to the Trading Zone, aiming to attract more foreign customers and to stimulate the economy in turn. The 1912 Consulate map and 1912 jieshi map show an uneven urban development of the Trading Zone: land close to the Inner Town (area along the northern gate and the northwest Mahao gate) was filled up first, but the northern part of the Trading Zone remained empty land. The site of the new Japanese Consulate was remote, close to graveyards. Schools and a block marked as Lively Quarter, Renao-jie 热闹街, were all outside of the city wall of the Inner Town (Figure 1.36).\(^{106}\) The 1913 SMRC map also showed that the square road plan proposed by the 1912 shijie map was not executed as one saw the winding roads and a mosque located near the center of the Trading Zone.

The 1912 Chōshun map showed an improvement of the infrastructure in the Inner Town and Trading Zone: roads were straightened and institutions such as the police

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\(^{105}\) His personal correspondence with local elites, socializing activities with Japanese and Russian politicians and merchants and struggles to balance the conflicts among them reflected his efforts to maintain a delicate balance among the Chinese, Japanese and Russian. The original hand-written version was located in National Library of China in Beijing, and a book version was republished in 2016. Meng Xianyi and Peng Guozhong, *Meng Xianyi Riji* (Nanjing: Fenghuang Publish, 2016). For his biography, see National Library of China, *Zhonghua lishi renwu zhuanji* vol.80 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2003).

\(^{106}\) *Shengjing Newspaper*, June 29, 1911.
station, school, post office, banks and power plant were completed. It also marked two markets in the Inner Town and the Trading Zone, the Chang’an Market and Trading Zone market (Figure 1.37). The Trading Zone market was built in 1912, when merchants gathered money to build a new market modeled on ones in Beijing and Tianjin. Its opening represented the government’s regulation of commercial activities: merchants were only allowed to sell meats in the markets rather than on the streets. The markets attracted many customers and many shops, suggesting the rise of a new urban center.

By late 1912, improved infrastructure, modern companies, service and recreational boosted the prosperity of the Trading Zone. On 1913 land price rocketed; stores, banks, and brothels were relocated or newly opened; the Japanese SMRC settlement was planning an entertainment district like the Lively Quarter; new schools were opened and several Chinese-operated newspapers were established. The thriving economy of the trading zone promoted the hotel business: the Zhonghua Hotel 中華旅館 was opened on Third Street san-malu 三馬路. The hotel, with its exterior and interior designed in the Western-style, rendered both glass-window carriages and automobiles, Chinese and Japanese phone lines, and Western-style beds and traditional Chinese heated brick platform bed kang. According to the county annual: shops in the Living Quarter crowed in the narrow winding alleys, stalls, and stands selling various goods were visited

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107 Shengjing Newspaper, April 2, 1912.

108 It declined after the fire incident in 1920s, which completely burned it down and in 1927 the government rebuilt it, with 39 multi-floor buildings, 230 small houses and one theater. CCXZ, 135.

109 Shengjing Newspaper, May 1, 1913.

110 Shengjing Newspaper, August 13, 1913.
by crowds that filled the street, and the theatre and teahouses were full throughout the night.

Seasonal events were also held in the Trading Zone. In 1912 May, to celebrate the foundation of the Republic of China, Meng ordered the construction of an electric gateway, *paifang*牌坊 made of 296 light bulbs in the Pingkang-li平康里 entertainment quarter. In order to promote knowledge of the newly founded Republic of China, Meng ordered temporary lecture halls to be set up in the markets and theatres of invited scholars to lecture on the modern political system. In 1914, at the same time as the construction of the parks in SMRC settlement, Meng proposed to build a public park in the trading zone. Completed in 1915, the park became a venue for parties of local elites.

The economic development of Trading Zone also brought working and educational opportunities for women. For example, the Singer Company, with its building on the third street in the trading zone, published recruitment ads in the Shengjing Newspaper, organized training schools for girls, and held exhibitions in the Chōshun-za theatre (Figure 1.38) in the SMRC settlement to display women employee’s works and invited women “from various classes” to visit.

The rivalry among the Chinese, Japanese, and Russian stimulated the development of Changchun, as each country was concerned about criticism from the others. Alliances between the local government and business entrepreneurs, together with international collaboration and competition modernized Changchun in the early 1910s

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111 *Shengjing Newspaper*, May 2, 1912. Pingkang-li seems to be a common name for the entertainment quarter in Manchurian cities. Fengtian also had a Pingkang-li in the center of its downtown.

112 For recruitments and training schools, see *Shengjing Shibao*, November 26, 1912 and January 26, 1913. For exhibition, see 1913 October 26.
and 1920s. The first decades of the twentieth century witnessed a steady growth of the Chinese capital in Changchun. Benefiting from political policies they participated to draw up, Chinese merchants were gradually able to purchase back land and businesses originally sold to the Japanese.

A comparison of maps in the 1910s and 1920s reveals that the economy in the Trading Zone flourished into the 1920s, with its continuing urban expansion from the south to the north and east. Roads were straightened and connected, land was occupied, and more buildings were built. Roads and plazas were planned to connect to the newly built train station on the Jichang Railway 吉長鐵路 connecting Changchun and Jilin.

Located outside of the northern gate of the Inner Town (Figure 1.39), the entertainment quarter Pingkang-li 平康里, where brothels, restaurants and theatres were clustered and thrived, became the downtown center in the 1920s. Teahouses, Chayuan 茶園—a combination of theatre and brothel—were at the center of the economic, social, and political dynamics in the trading zone. Shengjing Daily reported intense competition among various teahouses, which invited popular opera singers from Shanghai and Beijing for performances and relied on famous singers and dancers to promote the business. The most popular teahouse was the Spring Swallow Teahouse, Yanchun Chayuan 燕春茶園, which always invited famous actresses from Fengtian or Northern China, and its daily performances were detailed by the local newspaper. It successfully beat its rival, Meeting Fairies Teahouse, Huixian Chayuan 會仙茶園 in the Chinese Town.

The teahouses became the barometer of the economy of the trading zone. They were not merely commercial spaces, but were spaces with multiple functions. They were staged social and political receptions and banquets for Chinese businessmen and officials.
They were also the centers for international communications and cultural activities: when
Japanese army lieutenant Shirase Nobu (1861–1946) 白瀬隆, visited Changchun, he
showed a documentary film of him leading the Japanese Antarctic Expedition of 1910-
1912 at the Magic Dragon Teahouse Shenlong Chayuan 神龙茶园, and attracted a large
crowd of spectators (Figure 1.40). Teahouses also were hotbeds of social unrest: fights
among soldiers and policemen constantly broke out and became headlines in newspapers.
Begun in the late 1920s, Shengjing Shibao repeatedly reported on rampant gambling and
opium abuse in the Trading Zone. The teahouses also generated hygienic concerns, most
notoriously syphilis: every hospital in the SMRC settlement advertised their expertise in
treating syphilis.

The Shifting Urban Centers and Mixed Living Spaces

The construction and operation of the train station and railroads changed the
dynamics of the regional economy as well as its urban space. Agricultural goods were
transported much faster and in large volumes by train to Dalian via the SMRC railroads,
to Europe via the CER railroads, and to Jilin via the Jichang railroads. The CER, SMRC
and Jichang railways competed for business by reducing the ticket fares and tax rates in
the early twentieth century. The increasing demand for railway transportation led to the
result that roads connected to the Changchun train station were renovated and a new
urban center was formed. The original urban center, the southwest of Changchun, where
grain depots and shops were gathered close to land and river transportation, declined as

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113 Shengjing Shibao, August 12, 1913. Shirase gave lectures about the expedition
in Manchuria and Colonial Korea. The documentary was Japanese Antarctic Expedition,
in the film collection in the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo. For his biography
and Japanese Antarctic Expedition, see Chūetsu Satō, Nankyoku ni tatta Karafuto ainu
shops were closed down or relocated to the areas near the train stations. The urban center shifted from the southwest area to that of the north near the train station. Chinese merchants played an important role in the formation and development of the new urban center, where agriculture dealers relocated their shops, opened new branches, and stored their goods. Rather than the general assumption that each railway settlement thrived separately, these settlements’ connections with the Trading Zone and the Inner Town were crucial for their economic prosperity. In particular, the northern section of the original city wall was demolished in the 1920s because of road renovation. After that, the Trading Zone and the Inner Town were integrated into one space.

Like other major cities in Manchuria, Changchun was diverse and international: shops operated by Chinese, Japanese, and Russians stood along the Grand Avenue connected to the SMRC settlement and Inner Town. Japanese and Russian merchants opened stores in the Inner Town and the Trading Zone. Chinese merchants hired foreign nationals to work for their business. For example, Wang’s mill hired Russian engineers, and British and American experts worked for the construction of the Chinese power station. Although diminished, the Russian atmosphere in Changchun was still strong compared to Dalian and Fengtian. For example, the Changchun branch of the Russian department store, Churin Company (秋林 in Chinese), opened in the Kuanchengzi settlement in the 1920s. It quickly became a trendy landmark until taken by the Japanese in the late 1930s.

Different ethnic communities shared living and working space within each neighborhood. In addition to Russian and Japanese residents, Koreans also lived in the city. The Anglican Church, Russian Consulate, and British hospital were located within
the Trading Zone. A walk along the Grand Avenue would mesmerize the viewer with the diversity of architectural styles: the curvy gable tower of the Mosques faced the Russian Consulate, which was next to the Chinese Confucius temple and the grand steeple on the Catholic Church (Figure 1.41). The juxtaposition of various religious institutions suggested a relatively tolerant atmosphere. City residents also enjoyed the international atmosphere of daily life. The writer Mei Niang, 梅娘, (1920-2013), a Changchun native, recalled her childhood on West Third Street near the Catholic Church, watching “a shining sewing machine from Singer’s display window next door and the central steeple of the Catholic Church.” 

Visitors to Changchun recorded their memories of shopping in the Churin Department Store for fur goods, encountering the Russian cart drivers, Russian policemen on the CER trains, as well as the Russian homeless. The city also featured a large transient population: many farmers fled inner China or came to work in Manchuria during their off-season breaks.

The development of the Trading Zone further consolidated the status of the Inner Town as the financial center: the construction of major roads and destruction of the city walls connected the Inner Town closely with the Trading Zone. The area at the intersection of the 3rd street and Grand avenue in the Inner Town remained prosperous: the price of land rocketed and buildings originally located in the area were forced to

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move away. Foreign and Chinese banks—Yokohama Specie Bank, Bank of Communication, Bank of Chinese Branch, Colonial Bank—and Chinese Post Office were gathered at the intersection of the Northern Ave and Third Street (Figure 1.42) within the Inner Town. The formation of a financial center was a result of multiple currencies that circulated and were used in the area. The 1922 map documents that Chinese banks outnumbered the two Japanese banks and Russian banks, which indicates the strong development of local Chinese private capital, making the total number of banks in the area over ten. The financial center suggested a significant change of the economic structure from the trade of grocery goods to investment and speculation.

Beneath the surface of thriving Trading Zone was the formation of a grey zone that avoided the political control of the Chinese, the Japanese or the Russians. Marked as Sanbuguan 三不管, the area was located between the Kuanchengzi settlement and Japanese train station. The area, said to be the meeting point and residence for gangsters, homeless, and gamblers, first appear in 1912, expanded further in 1913, and caused problems in public order in the 1920s.117

Planning of the New Capital: Zoning and “Civic Center”

In 1931, the Kwantung Army staged the Mukden Incident, occupied Fengtian, and seized military control of Manchuria. In 1932, Japan installed the puppet Manchukuo government under Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Qing dynasty. Changchun was designated as the new capital, Shinkyo 新京, on March 14, 1932. The urban planning and construction of the capital were reported through a variety of media. In particular, photos

116 The 1913 Shengjing Newspaper mentioned several times about skyrocketing rents.

117 Shengjing Shibao, 1912 August 18 and 1913 June 5.
of the newly built public buildings and large plazas depicted the metropolis as modern, idealistic and future-oriented (Figure 1.43).

Koshizawa Akira detailed the process of planning the new capital. Before the establishment of Manchukuo, a committee of nineteen members including twelve from the Special Affairs of Kwangtung army (Kantōgun tokumu-bu), three from the Construction Bureau (Kokuto kensetsu-gu), and four from the SMRC Economy Research Department (Mantetsu keizai chōsa-kai) was founded in 1931. The proposal by the Construction Bureau was approved in January 1933 and the “Regulation of the Construction and Planning of the Capital” (Kokuto kensetu keikaku-hō 国都建設計画法) was issued in April 1933. The new plan proposed a city with a total area of more than 200km². The first round of construction—a five-year plan from 1932 to 1936—covered an area of 100km² including a new town of 79km² located to the southwest of the original city (Figure 1.44).\(^{118}\) As the series of the urban plans show, the newly designed capital featured broad avenues that radiated from the train station, extended to the southern area, and connected in circular plazas. The city was divided into different zones according to their functions: the political, commercial, residential and industrial districts were separated by green spaces. The city was designed to provide living space for a population of 500,000 people in the future, a goal never achieved.\(^ {119}\)

During the planning process, the Manchurian Architecture Journal (Manshū Kenchiku Kyōkai Zasshi) collected architects’ opinions and suggestions for the design of the plan and for public architecture of the new capital in a special issue published in June

\(^ {118}\) Koshizawa, Shokuminchi manshū no toshi keikaku, 74-75.

\(^ {119}\) Ibid., 75.
The journal posed a series of ten questions addressing legal regulations, zoning, architectural style, landmark buildings, a civic center, parks, and transportation. Architects’ published responses reflected a mixed reception of the new plan. On the one hand, they supported Japan’s geopolitical expansion and were excited about the opportunity to design policies and regulations to make an ideal and modern capital. On the other hand, however, they were concerned with the extant urban structure and social situation of Changchun, and worried about the strong economic power of the Chinese, the role of existing populations, and extent to which urban development might obstruct the execution of the plan as a whole. The paradox reflected the gap between policy makers and architects. For example, the president of the Manchurian Architecture Association Onogi expressed surprise at the news of choosing Changchun as the new capital and questioned whether Changchun was a good choice because it was not “a virgin land” without any foreign influences. According to him, the vibrant economy and “anti-Japanese” boycotts in the Trading Zone and Inner Town hindered the expansion of Japanese power.

Architects shared Onogi’s concerns and considered zoning an effective means to separate spaces between the Japanese and Chinese. For example, Yumoto Zaburō, the board member of the Association, took Shanghai as a reference, which imposed different architectural regulations in the Chinese and foreign concession quarters. He proposed to

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120 Manshū kenchiku zasshi, Vol.12 No.6, 1932 June.

121 The ten questions concerned regulation, supervision, zoning, architectural style, landmark buildings, civic center, parks, transportation and parking, recreation centers, housing, heating, coal pollution, resources, lighting and military facilities.

122 Manshū kenchiku zasshi, Vol.12, No.6, 3-4.
divide the new capital into three zones with different architectural regulations: the new town, the SMRC settlement, and the old town including the Trading Zone and Inner Town. He also proposed that the new town as the political center and a high-class residential area, and the SMRC settlement as the hub of commerce, industry and transportation. The old town, as he put it clearly, should be the quarter for entertainment and lower-class houses.

As a result, Yumoto advocated that strict urban regulations be applied to the new town, which guided the construction of grand public architecture, broad avenues, and large public parks. For the SMRC settlement, he suggested relatively loose regulations for the development of the economy and construction of small parks for citizens’ recreation activities. For lower-class people who lived in the old town, Yumoto stated, renovation should be applied only to maintain sanitary standards; facilities for opium consumption, gambling and brothels should be gathered in this zone.123 As Yumoto’s view demonstrates, Japanese architects were keen to realize that separate zoning was an effective means to create a hierarchical society with gaps in living standards between the Japanese and Chinese, by regulating their living space and types of buildings.

For the political district, architects focused on the design of a “civic center,” consisting of administrative buildings, a central plaza and parks, in order to transform Changchun into architectural propaganda for Manchukuo. Onogi’s plan placed the “civic center” in the center of the new capital, connected with the commercial, residential and

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123 Ibid., 4-7.
industrial zones in its four directions (Figure 1.45).\textsuperscript{124} Named “administration zone,” Gyōsei chiiki 行政地域, it was a cylinder block: administration buildings surrounded the central Diet building, forming a symmetrical, rectangular block together with the national bank, stock exchange, National Memorial Hall, and Civil Hall. A semi-circular belt of parks, where trees, flowerbeds, and fountains were set up, separated the administration zone from the State Guest House, International Club, Temple, Museum, and Library. Although varied in the shape of the plaza and the type of the building, plans by Onogi and other architects for the civic center all emphasized Changchun’s iconic function as a political embodiment of the newly established Manchukuo State. In this way, broad avenues, grand plazas and grand government buildings became architectural propaganda, showcasing the power and advanced nature of the new authority.\textsuperscript{125} Different from Gotō’s purpose for designing broad avenues in the SMRC settlement, which was to provide convenience for carriage transportation, architects determined the width of avenues in Shinkyō based on ideological theories. In addition, architects also proposed to build memorial towers and halls in the central plaza to further enhance the symbolic function of the city.\textsuperscript{126}

Architects also spoke of the style for public architecture representing the political identity of Manchukuo in very general terms. They promoted a mixture of Western and local Chinese, or “Oriental” styles, without articulating any specific characteristics. For

\textsuperscript{124} The cylinder shape was most closely to the finished plan. Another was Yamabe Tsuyoshi’s Eccentric Round, Ibid., 50-51.

\textsuperscript{125} Scholars were quick picking up the architectural propaganda signs, such as Nishizawa and Sewell.

\textsuperscript{126} See Ueki Shige’s “Manshūkoku shin shuto kensetsu keikaku ni tuite” in Manshū kenchiku zasshi, Vol.12, No.6, 15-16.
example, Oka Ooji, the vice president of Manchuria Architecture Association, advocated
the new style for the public buildings in Shinkyo as a synthesis of an ethnical “taste,”
*shumi*趣味, and modern technology. Although he did not give any specific stylistic
references, Oka proposed a combination of “Oriental Taste,” including some Japanese or
Korean elements, and modern technology.\(^{127}\) Similarly, he argued that instead of
imitating Western geometric gardens, parks in Shinkyo should also reflect an “Oriental
Taste” *Tōyō shumi* 東洋趣味, incorporating natural landscapes into designs. For him,
parks in Shinkyo should combine a modern interpretation of the traditional garden
elements, namely, streams and artificial mountains, and application of local materials.\(^{128}\)
Like Oka, many architects considered a synthesis of Western and Oriental styles to reflect
the experimental nature of Manchukuo—a combination of Western science and Oriental
“mentalities.”\(^{129}\)

**Imbalances of Space and Representation**

The urban plan of Shinkyo intentionally created imbalances between the living
environments of the Japanese and non-Japanese residents. While the new area designated
for the Japanese urbanites was spacious with clear zoning and green space, the original
living quarters were left out and made into ghettos. By 1931, the Chinese population in
Changchun reached 100,000 in total, and was the dominant ethnicity in both the SMRC
settlement and Kuanchengzi settlement.\(^{130}\) This fact demands special attention as when

\(^{127}\) Oka Ooji, Ibid., 12.

\(^{128}\) Ibid., 13-14.

\(^{129}\) See Ibid., 17.

\(^{130}\) 1929 Research Report of the Japanese Consulate in Changchun.
scholars have argued for the new plan’s contribution to the urban development of the city in the postwar era, they have ignored how the original urban city, where over eighty percent of the population resided, was affected by the new plan. In fact, the originally most densely populated area of $31\text{km}^2$, consisting of the SMRC settlement, the Trading Zone, the Russian Kuanchengzi settlement and the Inner Town, was completely left out of the new plan. While the construction of new roads, a sewage system, buildings and parks were commissioned for the newly designed southern area, no policies were adopted to improve the urban environment of the “old town,” where the Chinese, Russian, Korean and some lower-class Japanese lived. A 1941 map of Shinkyō shows the old town (Figure 1.46)—marked in light yellow—with winding roads, narrow alleys, and houses crowded within irregular blocks. The Chinese population living within the old town tripled to 360,000 in 1941. Despite rapid population growth, the old town was overcrowded. Some overpopulated areas with opium facilities became slums. In the late 1930s, the Japanese installed a pleasure quarter for brothels, kanrakugai 歌樂街 in the southwest corner of the old town. The pleasure quarter had long been criticized by Japanese architects as problematic space that spread disease, caused social disorder, and lowered morals, further transformed the old town into a disordered, chaotic space.

The urban planning and visual representation of the newly designated capital shifted the urban center of Changchun. As time went by, the gap in the urban environment and standards of living between Japanese and non-Japanese increased. However, abundant visual representations of the new capital deliberately covered up the gap and further manipulated the man-made discrepancy into a “neutral” contrast between the modern colonizer and pre-modern colonized. In particular, as Chapter Three will
show, the development of tourist industry in Manchuria created a variety of visual materials, which constructed a double-layered urban space. The tourist bus routes overlapped with the newly developed area. The proliferation and dissemination of tourist pamphlets and postcards of Shinkyō as well as the booming city bus tours transformed the capital into a propaganda theatrical space produced for mass consumption.
Chapter Two
Constructing a Modern Living Space: Development of Residential Houses and Everyday Space in Dalian, 1921–1930

Japanese scholars have considered their building activities in colonial Manchuria since the end of the nineteenth century to be a realization of their utopian vision of modernity, which could not be achieved in Japan. In particular, scholars have discussed Japanese architects’ invention and application of new technologies that were not used in their homeland. These studies, however, are limited in space and time: they have focused mainly on the time period after 1932—the establishment of Manchukuo—and on state architecture and designs for public space.

This chapter shifts the focus to the construction of residential spaces in Manchuria before 1932. I examine Japanese architects’ designs of and writing on private houses published in the Journal of Manchurian Architecture Association (hereafter JMAA), and I analyze their proposals for architectural exhibitions, including the Architectural Exhibition of Daily Life Reform in 1921, the Housing Exhibition in 1927, and the Tenth Anniversary Architectural Exhibition in 1930. Comparing designs and concepts with their contemporary Japanese designs, I reveal how these Japanese architects in the early twentieth century constructed the discourse of colonial life and dwelling in Manchuria within the context of cultural exchange and architectural interaction between Japan and Manchuria. Furthermore, my study reveals that Japanese architects’ designs for the interior of residential houses in Manchuria changed from a chair-centered Western-style to a synthesis of Japanese and Western elements, and then to a return of purely Japanese

style with tatami mats. I argue that the change in style reflects the architects’ shifting perceptions of everyday life and social class in Manchuria during the first half of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{132}

**Dalian in 1905: Mixed Chinese, Japanese, and Russian Spaces**

When the first generation of Japanese architects arrived in Dalian, the gateway to Manchuria after the Russo–Japanese War, they encountered a mixture of living spaces: former Russian buildings, houses of the local Chinese, and temporary houses of the Japanese settlers.

After the Russo–Japanese war, SMRC took over the public buildings left by the Russians and renovated them into offices, hotels, and dormitories. The living conditions, however, were far from comfortable or attractive. The famous Japanese novelist Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916), who visited Manchuria in 1909 upon the SMRC’s invitation, described the new town as an ominous, quiet place with a mixture of empty Russian buildings, shabby Japanese restaurants, and Chinese houses.\textsuperscript{133} For example, he described a visit to a SMRC dormitory, previously a Russian hospital, in Dalian, which the locals called a haunted house (Figure 2.1). Sōseki meticulously juxtaposed his descriptions of the gray brick façade, the narrow, dark hallways, empty kitchen and rooms with the horrifying local legends about the building from the Russo–Japanese war.

Meanwhile, the majority of Chinese houses were huts built of mud bricks and thatched roofs with *anpera* アンペラ (soft rush) sheets placed in the interior (Figure 2.2). Characterized by its interior material, the *anpera* hut was a common building type for

\textsuperscript{132} I focus on the private houses in Dalian because all the private houses discussed in the JMAA journals from 1920 to 1932 were located exclusively in Dalian.

\textsuperscript{133} Sōseki Natsume, “Mankan Tokoro Dokoro,” Asahi Newspaper, 1921/10/21-12/30.
Chinese laborers throughout China.\textsuperscript{134} It was also the major house type occupied by the earliest Japanese settlers in Manchuria, who either rented houses from Chinese locals or built their own houses with mud bricks or wood. The Japanese settlers took advantage of the Kwangtung Army’s policy, which rented newly occupied land in Dalian at low prices to attract investments; thus, they acquired enormous holdings of land to sublet in small pieces to Japanese new comers. Houses made of wood or mud bricks took up more than ninety percent of Japanese residential houses and divided large street blocks into narrow alleys and barrack slums. Japanese merchants also built shops—temporary wooden houses with stucco façades imitating Western styles.\textsuperscript{135} The Japanese residential quarter, consisting of unpainted Japanese houses of irregular heights with wood sidings, quickly increased in number like “bamboo shoots after the spring rain.”\textsuperscript{136}

In addition to the anpera huts, Japanese architects also observed upper-class Chinese houses. Oguro Ryūtarō 小黒龍太郎 introduced the spatial configuration of local Chinese houses with photos and plans.\textsuperscript{137} Based on his research on houses in northern China and his visits to certain houses in Jinzhou 金州, Oguro described the plan of a “typical” Chinese house and its several variations. According to him, the plan of a

\textsuperscript{134} Newspapers reported on anpera houses seen in Shanghai suburbs.

\textsuperscript{135} An example that Takaoka gave was the Tanshū-kan building, located in Nishikōen-chō in Dalian. However, no photo of this particular building has been found. According to Takaoka’s description, the style of this kind of house was eclectic, as the structure was wooden traditional, with the façade imitating the Western.


Chinese house consisted of a main room, zhengfang 正房, facing the south and flanked by two side rooms, xiangfang 廊房. The front gate, damen 大門, faced the main room, in front of which a brick screen wall, yingbi 影壁, was placed to block the view from outside. At the two sides of the front gate were gate rooms, menfang 門房, used as servant quarters or reception rooms (Figure 2.3). The basic plan had several variations, where the main room faced other directions. The plan of a bigger house added a second gate, ermen 二門, that separated the gate and servant room from the owners’ room, forming a courtyard between the two gates. Large houses, as Oguro observed, had symmetrical rooms (erfang 二房) next to the second gate and at the two sides of the courtyard. The main room was for the master of the house and his wife, and the side rooms were for their family members. The kitchen was in the side room in the courtyard. A colonnade was set surrounding the main building, creating a transitional space between the interior and exterior. The main room was divided into rooms of even numbers based on the scale of the family (Figure 2.4). The simplest plan was a rectangular block of three rooms, two of which were placed in symmetry flanking the central hall. The owner took the right and his wife took the left. A heating brick bed, kang 火炕, was placed in each room near or opposed to the window side. For a five-room main building, a hallway was added to connect the building with outside, and rooms were connected with each other.\textsuperscript{138}

In addition to plans, Oguro described in great detail the construction and material foundations, walls, ceilings, roofs, and bricks. In particular, he introduced many muntin patterns called kumiko 組, which in his opinion were the most representative architectural

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid, 80-82.
expression of a Chinese house, as they had thousands of variations and reflected superb woodcraft skills (Figure 2.5). Moreover, Oguro paid close attention to the class differences reflected in the plans, structure, and decoration of the buildings, noting that “lower classes and laborers only lived in simple thatched huts.” Together with plans and photos of elite houses in Jinzhou, Oguro provided the first systematic account of local Chinese houses for the Japanese architects in Manchuria and paid attention to nuances in the spatial configurations of different social classes.

Dislocation, Relocation, and Regulation of the Japanese Living Spaces: DMAO Code No. 11 and Ōsaka Pleasure Quarter

Japanese settlers’ temporary houses, however, concerned Japanese authorities, who criticized their low quality as a humiliation for imperial Japan. The prosperous, spontaneous building scene conflicted with the interests of the colonial government of Japan (Kantō-fu 関東庁), who competed with Russia in urban planning and construction.

One of the major tasks of the first Japanese architects in Manchuria, who worked for the Kwantung Army, was to regulate residential spaces. Fresh graduates from the University of Tokyo, Maeda Matsuoto (1880–1944) 前田松韻 and his engineer classmate Kuratsuka Yoshio 倉塚良夫 (1879–1942) were hired by the Dalian Military and Administration Office, Dairen Gunseisho 大連軍政署 (hereafter DMAO) in 1905. Founded in 1904, DMAO was the first government organization that carried out building activities. Maeda and Kuratsuka were assigned two tasks: first, to measure and divide

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139 Ibid, 83.

140 Maeda first worked as technicians, gishi, for the Kwangtung army: he was sent to Manchuria to build military storage structures in 1904. Nishizawa, “Kantō totokufu no kenchiku,” 118–19.
newly acquired land from Russia for sale or rental; and second, to regulate current building activities. In 1905, Maeda, Kuratuka and Sasaki Seigō, chief of the construction at DMAO, drafted DMAO Code No. 11, “Temporary Rules and Regulations on Houses in Dalian,” *Dairenshi Kaoku Kenchiku Torishimari kari Kisoku* 連市家屋建築取締仮規則, which provided regulations for residential houses in Dalian.

Divided into six sections, Code No. 11 categorized current buildings in Dalian and detailed their building standards. The code divided current houses in Dalian into two categories based on construction material and height: temporary buildings lower than two floors, in wood, brick, or stone; and permanent buildings in brick, concrete, and iron frameworks. It listed the requirements of the floor area ratio, height, structure, material, and hygiene for each type. The minimum height of temporary buildings was determined at 3.6 meters, whereas the permanent ones were no lower than 9.1 meters (approximately three floors) when facing major avenues and 4.5 meters otherwise. The floor area ratio was set at no less than thirty percent and no front gardens were allowed for buildings facing major avenues or along the railroads, which aimed to prevent dividing land into pieces for resale within one block. The code also emphasized the use of incombustible materials and the insertion of incombustible structures within wooden structures.

In postwar Japan, historian Ōhashi Yūji has interpreted the code as a forerunner of contemporary urban regulation and policy, emphasizing how advanced it was in the pursuit of sanitation, beauty, and the prevention of fires. However, we need to situate the seemingly idealistic urban policy within its specific historical context. As Nishizawa

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points out, the code represented a totalizing view of buildings in Dalian and promoted large brick buildings in Western styles to replace small wooden houses. Houses categorized as temporary had to be renovated to meet standards; otherwise they would be demolished by DMAO. In fact, Code No. 11 launched a crackdown on the temporary one-floor anpera houses built by the Japanese settlers on small pieces of land. The code also required submission of a full set of the plan, cross-section drawing, and elevation drawing, of any proposed building to DMAO for approval before construction. This suppressed commoners’ improvised building activities, which relied on local workers’ experience, and only allowed wealthy individuals or companies to build multi-story buildings.

The order met strong opposition: building registration records show a significant increase of “temporary” houses, while there were only six “permanent” buildings in the two years after the code was issued. There were even more mud-brick and wooden houses built without registrations. The strong opposition to the code eventually resulted in a revision in 1910, which lowered the standard height of the building, simplified the documents submitted for building application, and narrowed the targets for demolition. In other words, the most revolutionary regulations were not executed in reality. Code No. 11 reflects a conflict of interest between the policy-making elite architects and grassroots Japanese settlers. The nuance of social class is central to understanding the dynamic building activities and living space of Japanese residents in

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143 Ibid. 253–255.
colonial Manchuria, which is examined in Chapter Four.

Among the first generation of Japanese settlers, real estate speculators were the top tax contributors; restaurants and hotels also mushroomed to serve the Kwangtung Army. The majority of restaurants were also de facto brothels with opium service, as reported in a variety of newspapers at the time. These brothel–restaurants were scattered among residential houses, which also looked similar to the anpera huts their exterior and interior. The thriving brothel businesses were problematic for the Japanese Kwantung Army in both ideology and hygiene. As a result, the DMAO Code also relocated brothels to a new neighborhood, Ōsakachō 逢坂町, far removed from the center of downtown to the south near the mountain, forming the yūkaku 遊郭 “pleasure quarter.” The Chinese communities originally located in this neighborhood were forcefully relocated to the area Xiaogangzi 小崗子, which later developed into the largest Chinese community in Dalian, where theaters and brothels targeting Chinese customers emerged.

New buildings of two and three floors were built with a façade in Western styles and entrances at the back (Figure 2.6). Some buildings also had Japanese tile roofs. A postcard of the neighborhood showed two types of brothels: those with iron lattices on the first floor and Western-façade ones faced the traditional Japanese houses. In his discussion of the legal regulation of prostitution in Dalian, Takemura Tamio compared the area to the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter during the Edo period and pointed out the

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For example, the Fukuoka Daily described that increasing numbers of brothels were built in the early 1905, under the disguise of restaurant operations.
similarity: prostitutes were separated by lattices, through which clients peeked. The area, although located in the remote south, became prosperous because of the thriving business at brothels. It was introduced as a famous spot in a book of brothels in Japanese colonies and featured in various postcards. The business deteriorated after the People’s Republic of China banned brothels. Some buildings have remained today and have become houses for low-income residents.

**SMRC Dormitories and Renovation of Former Russian Buildings**

The first SMRC dormitories were all renovated buildings of the CER Company (Figure 2.7). The architect Onogi Takaharu 小野木孝治(1872–1933), who transferred to SMRC from Taiwan in 1907, described his experience of renovating former Russian buildings as a process of leaning about ways to suit the local natural environment.

Japanese architects first inserted a layer of tatami flooring at a height of thirty to fifty centimeters onto the original floor to match the height of the windows, resulting in proportions atypical of traditional tatami rooms. Second, they broadened the width of the original windows or added new openings to the brick walls for ventilation. However, such renovations faced great challenges in the harsh winter, as many of them—designed to increase ventilation and create more open space—actually exposed the houses to the cold. It was then that the Japanese architects realized the Russian features they considered as useless extras—the Russian stove, double-layer doors, and windows—protected

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147 Ibid, 24–25
houses from severe, windy winter. Moreover, several buildings also caught fire because of the residents’ lack of experience with using chimneys.

The key benefit of the Russian plan, as Onogi observed, was that it effectively prevented the loss of heat generated by the pechika (Russian stove) to the outside. First, a Russian house’s plan was designed to protect the house from the cold, and, therefore, rather than an open plan, space was divided and fragmented: two or three rooms were generally placed next to the main room, each of which had a door, blocking direct contact between the main room and the outside (Figure 2.8). In this way, the heat generated from the interior stove would not escape easily, and the house would be kept warm in the winter. Second, the chimney in the kitchen installed several pipes within the wall, which aimed to absorb the heat generated from cooking stoves. Ventilation was also different: fresh air would first go through the stove to be warmed before it was circulated to the entire room. In other words, in a Russian house, the direct contact between the outside and the interior was avoided by many means, which was the opposite of the Japanese house.  

In his analysis of former Russian houses, Onogi pointed out that many local Chinese elements were incorporated in the structures. Although the façade was Western in style, designed by the foreign architects employed by the CER Company, the roof, ceiling and other structures were constructed mainly with traditional Chinese techniques. Most of the construction materials—bricks and Chinese cement—were

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149 Not all of the architects of the CER company were their own employees, because French architects were hired for the design for the semi-townhouses.
also local, given the difficulty in gathering enough building materials from afar. As Onogi observed, it was impossible to build a completely foreign house in the 1900s without the help of the locals for material, technique, and labor.

In addition to renovating former CER buildings, SMRC began to build dormitories. Ten years after Sōseki’s visit, SMRC completed the first large-scale, five-story concrete dormitory in 1909, Kantō-kan 関東館, located in the Satsuma-chō of Dalian, with 107 units for single employees (Figure 2.9). The December 1909 issue of *Kenchiku Zasshi* (Journal of Architecture and Building Science) also introduced another newly completed SMRC dormitory in Ōmi-chō 近江町 with two panoramic views of the urban environment (Figure 2.10). The two-floor brick building, with its roof made of iron sheets and painted red, was shaped in a long rectangle, which resembled the traditional Japanese residential house, nagaya 長屋. The plan included single rooms and family units (three to four rooms) for different ranks of employees. Russian stoves, pechika, were installed for winter heating, and the public space included a bathhouse, a spacious kitchen, and a dinning hall, for which Chinese cooks were hired. The text described the dormitory as built for the “Middle Class” employees of SMRC and praised its Western-style design as a new famous sight, meisho, which represented a modern, pleasant living style in Manchuria. The 1976 SMRC publication of a retrospective view of SMRC architecture and architects praised the dormitory’s design as a forerunner for designs of multi-floor apartment buildings later developed in Japan.

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151 Mantetsu kenchiku-kai, *Mantetsu no kenchiku to gijutsujin* (Mantetsu kenchiku-kai, 1976), 34, 118. There are slight differences in the introduction of the floor
However, the housing in Dalian during the 1910s developed slowly. The Dalian City Office’s statistics from 1914 showed a saturated market: more than one thousand units were left empty.\(^{152}\) In 1918, the end of the World War I stimulated the economic growth in Manchuria, and SMRC increased its recruitment from Japan, which caused a housing shortage in 1919. The need for quality living for the growing middle-class Japanese became urgent, but rentals costs skyrocketed so that the urban lower and middle classes could not afford to build new houses or to rent. Although the economic depression in the late 1920 hit the local economy and the population decreased, the housing problem remained unsolved: families still lived in crowded and unsanitary rental houses.\(^{153}\)

Kanda Yū’s introduction of four types of SMRC dormitories, published in the same issue, echoed Onogi’s descriptions of the Japanese architects’ gradual understanding of the merits of Russian designs.\(^{154}\) The first thirty SMRC dormitories, ranked the superior 特甲 class, were built in 1910 near the south mountain. Kanda likened the Japanese plans and brick walls adopted by these buildings to “a winter coat over a yukata,” as they were uncomfortable and poorly heated. Few improvements were seen in the built first-rank 甲 apartments built later in the new neighborhoods of Fushimi-
dai and Ōmi (Figure 2.11), which featured white painted walls and Japanese plans. Great improvements in heating were seen in the second-rank 乙 apartments (Figure 2.12): following Russian examples, Onogi and others used stairways instead of direct entrances to connect rooms to the outside, preventing cold air from directly entering a house, and they installed the Russian pechika for heating. It is important to note that models of these second-rank apartments built in Dalian were displayed at the Hokkaido Life Reform Exhibition as Reform house models. The fact that the Life Reform movement in Japan incorporated examples from colonies as their own role models demonstrates that the relationship between the architectural development in colonies and in Japan itself was not a one-sided exportation but a reciprocal interaction.

**Constructing a Middle-Class Living Space: The Founding of Association of Architects in Manchuria and the Architectural Exhibition of Daily Life Reform**

The Kwantung Army and SMRC’s ambitious projects in Manchuria in the early twentieth century attracted many Japanese engineers, technicians, government officials, and architects. In particular, Japanese technicians and architects in their twenties, who were not long out of school, were keen to start their independent careers, make lucrative incomes, and establish reputations. The increasing number of architects and engineers working for SMRC and Kwantung Army created the need to establish a professional association in Manchuria. Originally named the Tea-Leaf Association of SMRC, Mantetsu chaba-kai 満鉄茶葉会, the Association of Architecture in Manchuria 満洲建築協会 was founded in Dalian in 1920. The association, although led by architects from SMRC, invited Matsumuro Shigemitsu 松室重光 (1873–1973), the chief architect from the Kwantung Construction Bureau, to serve as its president. As Nishizawa points out,
the association resembled the Association of Architecture in western Japan 関西国際建築協会, which was founded in the previous year.\textsuperscript{155} The association had a clear ideological guide: in the manifesto, the deputy secretary Oka Oji 岡大路(?–1962) declared that the goal of the association was to promote architectural developments suitable for Japanese colonial policies in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{156}

The association served as a nexus of ideas and people related to the architectural profession in Manchuria, as it organized monthly meetings, lectures, and exhibitions. Its monthly magazine, \textit{Journal of Manchurian Architecture Association} 満洲建築協会雑誌 (changed to \textit{Journal of Manchurian Architecture} 満洲建築雑誌 in 1934), published from 1922 to 1944, was the most influential architectural magazine in the region. It published articles on a variety of subjects, such as history, technology, and architectural criticism, as well as special issues on social events and trends, all of which provided a rich source for the architectural development and social environment in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{157}

\textsuperscript{155} Nishizawa, \textit{Higashi Ajia no Nihonjin kenchikuka}, 45.

\textsuperscript{156} Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi Vol.1, No.1, 2. Oka Oji, a graduate from the Department of Architecture at the University of Tokyo, was one of the most powerful figures in Manchurian architectural world. He became a professor and later the president of the Southern Manchuria Industry School in 1922. In 1942, he became the chief director of the Manchuria Architecture Bureau. For a brief biography, see Oka Ōji, \textit{Ryōtōro Shishō} (Tokyo: Oka Oji, 1954).

\textsuperscript{157} From 1921 to 1944 September, JMAA published 285 issues of twenty-four volumes. Extant issues were located in the Japanese Architecture Association (Vol.4-5, 8, 10-20, 22, 24 (1,6, 8-9), the architecture library of Kyoto University (Vol.1 (1,3-5, 7-8), 2 (1-10), 3 (1,3,5-10), 6-13), Tokyo University, and Hokkaido University. The following eleven issues were missing: Vol.1 (6, 9-12), 2 (11-12), 3 (2,4,11-12). Japanese Architecture Association has digitalized the 181 issues online, see https://www.aij.or.jp/dal/senzen/mansyokenchiku.html.
On October 29, 1921, the nascent association held its first large exhibition, the Architectural Exhibition of Daily Life Reform, *seikatsu kaizen kenchiku tennran-kai*, 生活改善建築展覧会, at the newly completed Ōyama Dormitory of SMRC in Dalian (Figure 2.13). The five-day exhibition received high-profile publicity: it attracted a total of 33,000 Japanese visitors, more than a quarter of the Japanese population in Dalian at the time.\(^{158}\) The exhibition did not aim to appeal to the local Chinese, Russian, or other foreign populations. Rather, it exclusively targeted a Japanese audience, in particular, the elite urbanites from Japan newly arrived in Manchuria. The association’s magazine also dedicated a special issue to the exhibition, which published photos of the exhibition, submissions for the housing design competition, jury commentary, and other review articles on the Daily Life Reform.\(^{159}\)

The exhibition occupied all five floors of the concrete modern dormitory to display a variety of works, from clothes and food, to architectural models, paintings, and books. They were organized under three general themes: (1) Daily Life Reform, (2) Construction Materials and Structure, and (3) Designs and Reference Works.\(^{160}\) Each theme was further divided into specific sub-themes. For example, Daily Life Reform consisted of three sub-themes: Clothing, which displayed Western-style winter uniforms at girls’ schools in Dalian and Fushun (Figure 2.14); Food, which displayed recipes provided by the Yamato Hotel and the SMRC Hospital; and Dwelling, which displayed architectural models for the bedroom, living room, kitchen, and bathroom (Figure 2.15).

\(^{158}\) The journal did not provide the counting of the foreign visitors.

\(^{159}\) *Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi*, Vol.1 No.8, (1921).

Under the theme of Construction Materials and Structure, local construction manufactures in Manchuria displayed their products, such as tiles, electrical appliances, and gas stoves (Figure 2.16). The section of Designs and Reference Works was divided into two parts. The first part displayed winning entries from the competitions accompanying the exhibition, which called for designs for a residential house, interior and furniture design, and equipment. It also displayed paintings and craft works. The reference section displayed catalogs of architectural designs and paintings, books of history of architecture, and photo-books of buildings in Manchuria.

The main display space was allocated to the exhibition of construction materials and architectural models. Booths of construction materials occupied the space of the first, second and third floors. Electronic and gas equipment was located on the first floor. Models of kitchens and bathrooms were displayed on the second floor, and models of Western-style houses and furnishings took up parts of the third floor. The main office of administration was located on the second floor. The fourth floor mainly displayed food-related items; coffee shops and a lounge were also set here. The limited space under the roof of the fifth floor was divided among the central room, which was half occupied by paintings and crafts and half by construction materials (Figure 2.17), the room on the right by architectural designs, and the room on the left by clothing and other handmade accessories. Teashops and vendors selling sweets and snacks were located in the basement.

The title “Architectural Exhibition of Daily Life Reform” resembled the “Life Reform Architectural Exhibition” in Japan, and it also adopted the themes, ideas, and guidelines from the Japanese Life Reform Movement, *seikatsu kaizen undō* 生活改善運
which was initially proposed by the National Ministry of Education in 1919 and quickly became an influential and nationwide movement during the 1920s.\textsuperscript{161} The 1921 Exhibition in Dalian actively adopted the guidelines of the Life Reform Movement, displaying original works centering on the themes of food, clothing, and life reforms.

A brief examination of the development of the Daily Life Reform Movement in Japan clarifies the relationship between the two exhibitions. Appealing to a rising middle class in the city, the Committee of Daily Life Reform 生活改善同盟会, seikatsu kaizen dōmei-kai, proposed a reform of clothing, food, and dwellings to achieve a lifestyle suitable for modern urban life in Japan. From 1921 to 1928, the committee published a series of guidelines for the Daily Life Reform, which provided instructions for reforming lifestyle, clothing, and food of contemporary Japanese urbanites.\textsuperscript{162} Among these guidelines, instructions for improving housing were consistent throughout the 1920s. Three of the six guidelines published in the 1921 referred to houses and proposed a chair-centered interior, a plan based on family gathering, kazoku hon’i 家族本位, instead of guest catering, sekkyaku hon’i 接客本位, and an emphasis on hygiene and pragmatism instead of decoration in the design of structure and equipment for the house.\textsuperscript{163} These instructions established a series of irreconcilable antitheses between tatami and chairs,

\textsuperscript{161} See Jordan Sand, “House and Home in Modern Japan, 1880-1920’s” (Columbia University, 1996).


between family-oriented and guest-centered life, and between function and design. In other words, elements of traditional Japanese space—tatami mats, guest room (okuzashiki 奥座敷), and servant room—represented the antithesis of a modern, efficient life, which favored a Westernized lifestyle embodied in the spatial configuration of a Western-style house.

In fact, the movement was considered a solution to the dilemma posed by Westernization since the Meiji Restoration. Intellectuals complained of a “dual life,” nijū sekatsu 二重生活—adoption of Western style on the surface while keeping Japanese customs. Comics and newspapers sarcastically criticized the phenomenon of wearing Western-style clothes at public occasions but changing to yukata at home, and receiving guests in the Western-style reception room but sitting on tatami-floor to have meals with family. A full reform of the Japanese residential dwelling—the basic unit of everyday life—based on Western models would fundamentally transform the lifestyle of the middle class. The model house for the hygienic, practical, and simple lifestyle promoted by the committee was the bungalow house popular in the United States at the time, which was introduced into Japan as the “culture house” bunka jūtaku 文化住宅. This type of one- or two-story house featured a compact plan with usually no more than three bedrooms, a chair-based interior, and a large living–dinning room in the center. Appealing to a middle-class nuclear family, servant rooms and tatami mats were removed.\(^{164}\)

\(^{164}\) For a discussion of culture house, see Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2005).
It is important to point out that the 1921 Dalian exhibition was one of the earliest exhibitions promoting the Life Reform Movement in Japan and abroad.\footnote{Guidelines for the Life Reform Movement were published in 1921, and the famous Osaka Life Reform was held in 1922.} It was held before the Tokyo Peace Memorial Exhibition (1922) and the Osaka Life Reform House exhibition (1922), which were regarded as the earliest housing exhibitions promoting ideas of Life Reform in Japan, and their displays of the “cultural houses” were canonized into the embodiments for modern, Western life in the 1920s and 1930s. Predating these two exhibitions, the significance of the Life Reform Architecture Exhibition in Dalian lies in that, contrary to the general assumption that the development of architecture in the colonies lagged behind that in Japan in technique and concept, the case of Manchuria proved the reverse. Japanese architects explored and executed pioneering and experimental ideas of living space in Manchuria, making houses in Manchuria not an architectural receiver or response but a forerunner and anticipation of the modernization of housing in Japan. In fact, Japanese architects in Manchuria were aware of their colleagues and events in Japan: recruitment for submitting proposals to the Osaka exhibition and reports on the Osaka and Tokyo exhibitions appeared in the JMAA journal.\footnote{For example, see “Glimpses on the Peace Memorial Exposition,” \textit{Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi}, Vol.2 No.7 (1922).}

Japanese architects in Manchuria had eagerly participated in discussions of the Life Reform Movement. Before the exhibition, JMAA published a variety of articles discussing the social context, urban regulations, and architectural style related to the Life Reform Movement, as well as Japanese architects’ proposals for housing reform. For
example, it introduced architect Takeda Go’ichi’s (1872–1938) proposal for a small house of twenty-two tsubo (approximately 72.7 square meters) at the low cost of one thousand and five hundred yen, which featured a pre-assembled wooden frame, easy and quick to build, and interior designs to reduce the maid’s cleaning burden. Editors at JMAA favored Takeda’s proposal; in particular, the journal introduced another excerpt introducing Takeda’s design for his home kitchen, which aimed to improve the working efficiency by placing the sink in the middle of the room (Figure 2.18). In addition to introducing dwelling reform in Japan, the JMAA also included reports on low-income workers’ houses in the United States as a reference for building with economical methods.

Moreover, Japanese architects in Manchuria applied the concepts and ideas of Life Reform to the specific living environment of Manchuria. In one of the earliest articles on the dwelling reform in Manchuria, architect Munakata Shuichi (1893–1965) listed several unique conditions of the natural environment, living customs, and architectural regulations in Manchuria that were different from Japan. According to him, without constraints of traditions, people in the new settlement quickly adapted to new trends and life customs, wearing Western clothes and shoes. The harsh winter required using bricks and Russian stoves as construction materials and heating.

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167 Go’ichi Takeda, “1500en de dekiru 22tsubo no shinjūtaku,” Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi, Vol.1 No.3 (1921), 92.


equipment. The Japanese population living in Manchuria was wealthier than those living in Japan, and therefore, he argued they cared more about other people’s impressions. He also observed a paradox between the westernized lifestyle and the Japanese dwelling in Dalian: although occupants mostly wore Western clothes, most Japanese houses in Dalian still installed tatami mats within the brick building and placed stoves on tatami mats, which, according to Munakata, resulted in the accumulation of dust and exposed the house to the danger of fire during the winter.170

Architect Kuru Hirobun 久留弘文 agreed with Munakata’s view that a Japanese-style interior within brick houses was problematic, and he described such houses as “wearing the winter coat over a yukata.”171 In addition to the brick walls, double-layer window, and heating equipment such as the Russian stove, pechika, he also suggested deepening the foundation, setting windbreaks at the door, and adding a layer of earth to the ceiling to protect the house from wintry winds. Moreover, Kuru also pointed out another major problem of dwelling in Manchuria—dust, which was particularly severe in the winter when using coal for heating. According to him, the Japanese cleaning method of ventilating the dust to the outside did not sufficiently clear the sealed interiors in Manchuria of dust. Thus, Kuru proposed to redesign windows, entrance, and furnishings to “reduce the area where dust accumulated” and to choose smooth surfaces that were easy to clean. To that aim, he considered, the tatami mats and sliding doors, in paper or

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cloth, were extremely inconvenient because the bumpy texture absorbed too much dust, making them difficult to clean.\textsuperscript{172}

Japanese architects in Manchuria showed great interest in the reform of residential building following the instructions of the Life Reform Movement. The May 1921 issue of JMAA published the submission guidelines for the accompanying competition of the Dalian exhibition, which called for the design for a single-family house of one or two floors with a slot smaller than forty tsubo (132 square meters) in the city to embody the principles of life improvement. The submission required a layout of the site, an elevation and a plan of an “improved” house consisted of living room, kitchen, bathroom and other rooms.\textsuperscript{173} The submission guidelines resembled that of the Osaka Exhibition of Dwelling Reform, \textit{Jūtaku kaizō tenran-kai} 住宅改造展覧会, to be held the following year, which were also posted in the April issue of JMAA. Although the Osaka exhibition listed more detailed instructions, such as the patron’s family size, architectural style, and construction cost, the basic requirements of two exhibitions remained the same: the size of the house was less than thirty-five tsubo, and the main design concept was to embody “the ideas of life improvement.”\textsuperscript{174}

Out of nearly forty submissions for the Dalian exhibition, seven award-winning designs (first prize, second prize, two third prizes, and three special prizes) echoed the principles of the Life Reform movement in terms of spatial configuration, arrangement of equipment, and furnishing. Arai Yoshitsugu 荒井善次 from the Southern Manchurian

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., 22.

\textsuperscript{173} Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi, Vol.1 No.5 (1921), 85.

\textsuperscript{174} The submission call for the Osaka exhibition was published in the Vol.1 No.4 (1921), 85.
Industry School, *Nanmanshū kōgyō gakkō* 南滿州工業学校, won the first prize. He proposed a compact plan for a small family consisting of a couple with three children, without any maids (Figure 2.19). His square plan placed a reception room in the center, which was connected to the living room and the dinning room on the left, and to the bathroom and the kitchen in the back by the hallway, *rōka* 廻下. In this way, one did not need to go through the living room to reach the bathroom, which was typical of the plan for a traditional Japanese house. In the upstairs bedrooms, Arai placed a sofa bed to be used as a sofa in the daytime and a bed at night. In fact, all award-winning entries proposed the sofa bed as convertible furniture that represented an efficient lifestyle.

The SMRC architect Aoyama Kuni’ichi 青山邦一 won the second prize. His design also emphasized the interchangeability of space. In addition to the convertible bed, he separated the living room from the dining room by curtains and used built-in bookshelves and cupboards with sliding tables to maximize the flexibility of space (Figure 2.20). In particular, Aoyama proposed a series of reforms in the spatial layout and arrangement of equipment for the kitchen to improve labor and time efficiency: he opened a small window on the wall between the dining room and kitchen to transfer dishes, installed vegetable storage, and placed trash cans with caps under the sink. Aiming to improve the hygiene of the home, he proposed the use of reinforced concrete as the primary material for the sink and bathtub, and a full provision of gas, electricity, and flush toilet.

Represented by Arai and Aoyama, award-winning designs of Dalian exhibition shared a chair-based interior, large living room, flush toilet, electric kitchen equipment, and flush toilet.

175 For a full list of names of SMRC employees, see Nishizawa, “Kantō totokufu no kenchiku,” 117–26.
and convertible furniture. The architects revealed an obsession with efficiency, rationality, and a scientific approach: they believed the scientific design of the facilities and spatial arrangement would structure a domestic lifestyle suitable for modern society. Their idea of realizing an efficient, hygienic, and family-centered lifestyle through spatial configuration was best illustrated by a fictional dialogue between the owner of the house and the general public, imagined by the third-prize winner, SMRC architect Kimura Teijirō. In the dialogue, the owner explained to the curious public that the elimination of reception room, placement of a piano in the large living room, and installation of electric equipment in the kitchen and bathroom reflected his investments in family-centered activities in daily life.176

Moreover, these architects’ submissions for the Dalian exhibition also sought to address the problems of locality mentioned by Kuru and Munaka and offered solutions to protect the house from the bitterly cold climate. In addition to installing double-layered windows and orientating the house toward the south and west to capture more sunlight, submissions endeavored to maximize heat efficiency. Arai placed a Russian pechika on the first floor, which had an octagonal surface designed to increase the heating area. Aoyama proposed to insert insulation materials into walls for protection from cold and to add openings on the roof for ventilation. Rather than considering climate an obstacle, the severe winter was considered an opportunity to abandon plans that were completely reliant on tatami mats. Liberated from the burden of traditional spatial configuration and furniture, Japanese architects’ submissions to the Dalian exhibition experimented with

176 Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi, Vol.1 No.8 (1921), 102-105.
building “authentic” modern houses, which, as they claimed, would provide a positive reference for the future reform of residential dwelling in Japan.

The Japanese architects’ submissions explored the possibility of building an ideal house that satisfied both the precepts of the Life Reform Movement and the requirements of the natural environment of Manchuria. The committee of judges consisted of eight members from SMRC, the Kwangtung Army, and civil administration. Among them, the chief judge Matsumuro emphasized the design of the kitchen, which for him was the most important feature of a modern, reformed house as it represented the level of efficiency and hygiene of the entire structure.\footnote{Shigemitsu Matsumuro, “Kenshō kenchiku zuan oyobi tenrankai ippan kansō,” \textit{Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi}, Vol.1 No.8 (1921), 130-138.} In his view, making a compact plan with fewer rooms is easy, but it was far more difficult to design a clean and modern kitchen with limited space. In order to reduce the housewife’s workload and improve the efficiency of doing housework within a limited space, Matsumuro proposed a reform of the equipment and a reconfiguration of space. He advocated the use of modern equipment (such as a gas water heater), the rationalization of the housewife’s movement, and the design of easy-to-clean storage space. Moreover, the spatial relationship between the kitchen and the dining room was also important for the efficient utilization of space.

The architectural models of a Western-style house, kitchen, and bathroom displayed at the Dalian exhibition provided more direct guidelines and detailed instructions for building a modern house. For example, the Yamaha Company displayed an architectural model of a small Western-style house for a family of three, designed by
SMRC architect Ono Takeo 小野武雄. The plan marked each piece of furniture with numbers and names, and the photos of models for the bedroom and living room were published in a special issue in JMAA. The bedroom showed a set of desk and chair next to a foldable bed. In the living room were sofas, a tea table, side tables, a piano, and a convertible cabinet. The combination of the plan and models successfully visualized the modern lifestyle and emphasized its accessibility: visitors could simply order the same products from the Yamaha Company and enjoyed the full scale of modern life.

**Reforming a Modern Kitchen: Gendered Modernity**

Compared to the model of the Western-style house, the model of the kitchen and bathroom displayed by the Architectural Association in Manchuria impressed visitors with its detailed manuals and thorough consideration of efficiency improvement (Figure 2.21). Oyama Kan’ichi 尾山貫一 and Suzuki Masao 鈴木正雄 from the Southern Manchurian Industry School proposed the design of a “reform” kitchen for a middle-class family without maids. Targeting women audience, who made up more than forty percent of total visitors to the exhibition, Oyama and Suzuki provided wooden models, the plan and elevation drawings of the kitchen, and illustrated explanatory notes that listed every piece of equipment—from the gas water heater and the double-sided cabinet, to the scrubbing brush and rice container. Indeed, it could be viewed as a manual that one could follow to construct a modern kitchen.

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To begin with, Oyama and Suzuki emphasized that they consulted with several women and revised the plan several times after seeking their advice on cooking and housekeeping. Further, the current plan was a modification of the previously popular all Western-style kitchen, whose all-electric equipment and wall cabinets proved ill-suited to Japanese families. Contrary to other submissions, which communicated relatively abstract concepts, Oyama and Suzuki were specific and concrete: they drew elevations of the four sides, gave explanations for everything placed in the kitchen, and carefully noted the differences between the drawing and actual models.\(^{181}\)

They claimed that the most important point of a reformed kitchen in a middle-class house was to improve the hygienic level of the kitchen and efficiency of housekeeping in a small room (4.5 tatami mats) without the help of a maid. The fundamental equipment to achieve this goal was considered to be the gas water heater, which was more economical than the electronic one, and more efficient and cleaner than the use of coal. They placed the gas water heater in the corner of the kitchen with gas pipes extending through the kitchen to the bathroom next door (Figure 2.22) to supply hot water. Aiming for a practical guide, Oyama and Suzuki listed the approximate cost of gas usage and provided the name of the Tokyo Gas Company—which also participated in the exhibition—for future inquiries.

The second reform Oyama and Suzuki made was to place the working table and gas stove—of the same height parallel to each other—in the center of the room. The height, 69.69 cm (2-chi 3sun) was approximately the same as the standard working tables popular in Japan since the late Meiji period that were modified according to the average

\(^{181}\) Ibid., 70.
height of Japanese women. Oyama and Suzuki made full use of the working table as storage space—hanging cooking knifes and chopping board on the sides, and turning the space underneath the worktop into open shelves to store pots and frying pans. Oyama and Suzuki’s placement of the gas stove parallel to the working table was innovative at the time—as illustrated in contemporary textbooks of housekeeping, these two pieces of equipment were generally placed next to each other. The reason for this placement was to save more space and to create more efficient moving routes within the kitchen.

Oyama and Suzuki envisioned the housewife’s two routes in the kitchen as separated from each other: the route of preparing and cooking food and the route of serving food and returning dishes. For the route of preparing and cooking food, they placed the kitchenware shelf, the gas water heater, two kitchen sinks, and drainers in an L-shape along the walls next to the bathroom and the window. Vegetables, carried in from the back entrance, were first taken to the first sink, _ara-ari nagashi_ 荒洗流し, to be rinsed off of dirt, which was dumped into the trash can underneath the drainer, and then to the second sink for careful washing (Figure 2.23). Meanwhile, the route for taking rice from the built-in container to the second sink joined the route of preparing food without intersecting with the route of serving food. In this way, food was cleaned better, and the area of cooking and serving food was kept clean because there was no intersection of routes. In the other half of the kitchen was situated the route for serving food and returning dishes in between the cooking table, water sink, and the dining room.

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The earliest working counter was illustrated in the women’s magazine, _Fujin no tomo_, 1913 September, at around 69cm. The height gradually raised through the years. See Fumiyo Suzuki, Seizō Uchida, and Akira Yasuno, “Daidokoro ni okeru ritsudō-shiki dōnyū to chōri setsubi no saggyōmen no takasa ni tuite,” _Japanese Architecture Planning_ 78, no. 694 (2013): 2647–56.
In order to further smooth out the movement along the route, Oyama and Suzuki installed a serving cabinet at the entrance to the dining room (Figure 2.24), which, they explained, was a modification to the Western cabinet to suit the needs of Japanese family life. The Western prototype mentioned here was the Hoosier cabinet popular in U.S kitchens during the early twentieth century, which typically consisted of three parts: the top and bottom cabinets were joined by a middle part that could open as a sliding countertop.\textsuperscript{183} Oyama and Suzuki’s design resembled the Hoosier cabinet, also consisting of the upper and bottom cabinets, as well as the middle opening part. As the details of the plan show, what was unique was that the cabinet opened on two sides, to the kitchen and the dining room, allowing people to access the cabinet from either room. According to them, ingredients and food placed on the upper cabinet could be reached from the kitchen and the dining room. After washing kitchenware and utensils in the kitchen, one would store them in the top cupboard (which offered hooks for hanging coffee cups), to be reached from the dining room directly, which would save one time and energy from going back and forth between the two rooms. The middle opening part was marked as a hutch hacchi ハッチ, connected with the kitchen with a sliding countertop where dishes were placed (Figure 2.25). The sliding countertop was folded as the door to the cupboard of dishes underneath. In the dining room, a cabinet with a worktop of the same height with the cooking table connected with the hutch to receive dishes. In a thoughtful design, Oyama and Suzuki installed narrow slips, for the top cupboards on the side of the dining room, with stops at the one end to prevent vertically stored plates from rolling out. The

drawers underneath the worktop were for utensils, including knives, forks, and chopsticks, etc. Fruits, often served after a meal, were stored in the bottom cupboard. In their view, this open cabinet connecting the kitchen and living room was the highlight of an improved kitchen, as it greatly simplified the movement of the housewife, saved time and energy in housekeeping, and was therefore a great reform item of efficiency and convenience.

Oyama and Suzuki’s improved design was detail-oriented. For example, they set a rice container in the bottom of one built-in cabinet near the entrance. As the drawing illustrated, the rice container was rotatable. In the accompanying text, Oyama and Suzuki provided precise measurements of the size that could store 60 kg of rice (1hyō 俵), the angle at which the container would be easiest to tilt, and metal and wooden parts needed for the installment. Furthermore, realizing the place underneath the sink was difficult to clean, they intentionally left the space empty and added beams under the drain boards for hanging the cleaning cloths and bucket. The drain boards were also designed to be removable, which made them easier to clean. A shelf was placed near the window to hang the improved scouring brushes and cloths provided by the Association of Studies of Cultural Life, bunka seikatsu kenkyu-kai 文化生活研究会. From the housewife’s movement to the drain board, all details were illustrated meticulously, as Oyama and Suzuki aimed to provide a practical manual for female consumers, the majority of whom would be housewives of SMRC employees.

Furthermore, their kitchen design “reappeared” in the winning entries for the competition of the “Ideal Kitchen” in Japan. In 1922, as one issue for the monthly series

“Photos of Assorted Architecture,” publisher Kōyō-sha published the collection of winning entries for a competition of designing an ideal kitchen. Among the ten design entries, the plan by Igarashi Jūkichi from Fushun was almost identical to the one by Oyama and Suzuki, such as the arrangement of the furniture and equipment, the placement of two sinks, the mobile routes, and details of the furniture—the rotatable rice container and the serving cabinet with sliding countertops (Figure 2.26). Igarashi added more drawings of the total view of the kitchen (Figure 2.27), changed the positions of small tools, and provided his introductions as a fictional dialogue between the owner of the house and a female guest. However, when comparing drawings of the serving cabinet and sinks, it is obvious that Igarashi had seen and studied Oyama and Suzuki’s designs closely (Figure 2.28). Despite the apparent plagiarism, the inclusion of Igarashi’s work and the designs of two other architects from Manchuria as winning entries showed a close relationship between Japanese architects’ practice in Japan and Manchuria. In fact, the house design competition in Japan positively acknowledged the participation of Japanese architects in Manchuria, viewing their proposals as models for Japanese architects to learn from, and it acknowledged their contribution to the discourse of modern housing in Japan.

Laohutan Suburban Houses

The 1921 Life Reform exhibition marked the establishment of an elite Japanese community in Dalian, composed of government officials, SMRC employees, educators,

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and architects. It also reached its goal of establishing a public image of Japanese modern life in Manchuria, represented by the Western-style clothes and houses. The design competition and discussions published in the special journal contributed to the foundation of the discourse of Japanese modern housing in Manchuria. With the Manchurian yokan made of soybeans, the Western-style winter coats for girls’ school uniforms, and house plans with large living rooms, convertible beds, and local Russian stoves, the exhibition successfully displayed an “improved” lifestyle and living environment for the Japanese population in Manchuria.

The 1920s witnessed a fast growth of SMRC and the rapid expansion of its power in Manchuria: a large number of Japanese employees and their families came to live in the settlement cities along the SMRC railroads, which resulted in a construction boom. JMAA continued to publish articles that promoted discarding tatami mats and improving the heating equipment for residential housing in Manchuria.  

Architects and intellectual elites began to promote “suburban housing” kōgai jūtaku 郊外住宅 in the suburban beach area of southern Dalian, a contemporaneous phenomenon on the rise in Japan. The “suburban housing” trend promoted high-class residential communities developed in the suburbs, with resort facilities that were connected with the metropolis by commuter trains. Living in the southern suburb of


187 Similar cases of suburban housing can be seen in the Denen chōfu (Tokyo), and Ashiya (Kinki Region), see Atsushi Katagi, Yōetu Fujiya, and Yukihiro Kadoya, Kindai Nihon no Kōgai Jūtaku-chi (Tokyo: Kajima Publishing), 2000.
Dalian was considered to be the ideal lifestyle, and houses developed there resembled the models displayed at the 1921 Dalian exhibition.

The July 1922 issue of JMAA reported on the development of suburban houses in the Laohutan 虎灘 beach, south of Dalian. Founded in 1920, the Dalian Suburban Development Company Dairen kōgai tochi kabushiki kaisha 大連郊外土地株式会社 aimed to develop the Laohutan area into a middle-class community consisting of cultural houses for six hundred family units, together with facilities for education and recreation, including a school, hospital, and social clubs. The city rail was built to connect the suburban community with the downtown area, as well the Hoshigaura resort and amusement park further south. Targeting the middle class, these small two-floor houses resembled the “cultural house” promoted in Japan, featuring a compact plan with the dining and living rooms in the Western style on the first floor and Japanese-style rooms on the second. The introduction by the company echoed the rhetoric of the promotion for suburban housing in Japan—in order to live a healthy, improved life, the dwelling should be located far from chaotic and polluted city. Moreover, the company emphasized that by promoting the healthy, modern lifestyle, these suburban houses would contribute to the social reform and development of Dalian. The prime location of houses in Laohutan—situated in between the mountain and sea—made them ideal for middle-class families who searched for permanent residence in Dalian. In order to

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emphasize affordability, the introduction listed various installment payment plans and highlighted that the costs would be the same as renting apartments.\textsuperscript{189}

The first phase of the development in \textit{Laohutan} included ninety houses. The JMAA issue introduced several of them with the plan and exterior photos. The cover page of the issue was a photo of a house in the German style, with steep gable roof painted in blue and walls in a light creamy color (Figure 2.29). It was designed by architects Kuru and Munataka, who described the house as a typical example of the “culture house.”\textsuperscript{190} According to Munataka, the highlight of the plan was the living and dining rooms, which best illustrated their focus on the family gathering (Figure 2.30). He used sliding doors between the living room and dining room to create an open, flexible space as the central stage for family activities. The reception room only took a corner of the large space, and sofa chairs in the living room were intended for family members. Placing the bookshelves and piano in the living room further suited the needs for family recreation. In order to protect the house from harsh winter, Munataka designed a sunroom in the south and attached a terrace to the living room with large windows to receive as much light as possible. In the summer, the windows on both sides could be opened to improve ventilation, and in the winter large windows would create a warm and bright space beneficial for children’s health. Munataka and Kuru envisioned the second floor as completely private; therefore, they placed the bathroom on the same floor for the family’s convenience.

\textsuperscript{189} Dalian Suburban House Development Company, “Dalian no kōgai jūtaku ni tuite,” \textit{Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi} 2, No.7 (1922), 41–45.

\textsuperscript{190} Shūichi Munataka, “Bunkateki kibun no nōkō na ie” Ibid, 68–70.
Unlike Munataka and Kuru’s house, houses in Laohutan featured in the JMAA had much smaller plans, and rooms were rather undefined in function. Plans of these houses were rather irregular: a narrow hallway was installed to connect rooms of various sizes, including the maid’s room (Figure 2.31). For larger houses, bedrooms were Japanese tatami-mat rooms and dining rooms were in the Western style. Smaller houses usually had two Japanese-style rooms. The text and the photos emphasized the houses’ exterior (white walls and red painted roof) and superior natural surroundings.

Houses in Laotutan featured in the journal exemplified that, echoing the trend of suburban housing development in Japan, modern house development in Dalian promoted the combination of suburban location and the prototype of “culture house.” Their spatial configuration of the house revealed the gap between the architects’ ideal concept and the construction reality. Rather than a complete modernization of the living space, as suggested by proposals at the 1921 Life Reform Dalian exhibition, the “modern” houses in Dalian catered to the residents’ life habits and practical needs, both offering tatami rooms and maid’s room and providing Russian stoves in each room. The complete westernization of the interior was not achieved and remained at the conceptual level, while large sunrooms were only installed in few model houses.

**Interior Designs: Synthesis of Western, Japanese, and Chinese Elements**

The dichotomy between Japanese and Western dwellings motivated Japanese architects to reevaluate traditional Japanese material (wood) and structure (post-and-lintel frame) and to experiment with bringing together two systems. Foreign architects working in Japan then also participated in these experiments. For example, Antonin Raymond (1888–1976) sought to integrate Western and Japanese elements in plan, material, and
furniture. Architectural historian Ken Oshima pointed out that Raymond’s Hamao house (1927) exemplified the successful integration of two systems, as the architect applied a uniform unit of measure, kyō-ma, to both tatami rooms and Western living rooms, used natural wood for furnishings, and invented a dual system of traditional Japanese sliding screens and accordion-folding glass panels.\textsuperscript{191} A series of residential designs by Japanese architect Horiguchi Sutemi (1895-1984), such as the Shiensō house (1926) and the Sōshōkyo houses (1927), expressed the architect’s thorough synthesis of both Japanese and Western architectural traditions. He achieved this goal by creating Western furnishings in traditional Japanese proportions and incorporating architectural motifs that looked both familiar and foreign. For example, his placement of round windows reminded one of both designs by Le Corbusier and Japanese teahouse architecture. He also designed low armchairs that resembled traditional Japanese floor cushions, zabuton (Figure 2.32).\textsuperscript{192} Like Horiguchi, Endō Arata elevated the height of the tatami room, placing people sitting in the tatami room at the same eye level with people sitting on the sofa in the living room (Figure 2.32).

Japanese architects also experimented with incorporating Japanese elements into house designs in Manchuria. First adopting a completely Western interior, and then dividing house designs into Western style for public space and Japanese style for private space, Japanese architects endeavored to create a more nuanced balance between Japanese and Western elements in order to improve the living experience and to meet the

\textsuperscript{191} Ken Tadashi Oshima, \textit{International Architecture in Interwar Japan} (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 78–89. For the Horiguchi House, see 85–88.

needs of the natural environment in Manchuria. Regarding the use of tatami mats, in contrast with the harshly disapproving voice of others early on, Kai Hisako from the Dalian Women High School pointed out practical advantages of using tatami mats in Manchuria: although difficult to clean, the soft texture of tatami mats were more comfortable, warmer in the winter, and cost less than other flooring materials. Kai also emphasized that tatami mats suited the Japanese taste, *shumi* 趣味, to which she attached importance for improving life quality in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{193} As exemplified by the issue of tatami mats, Japanese architects continually endeavored to solve the problem of the “double life” embodied in the division of Western and Japanese styles in the living space.

Suburban housing was the highlight of the latest housing reform. In addition to introducing suburban housing styles in the United States,\textsuperscript{194} JMAA continued to highlight the development of suburban housing in Dalian, introducing newly built individual houses with photos and texts. Four issues from late 1924 to 1925 featured a series of houses recently built in suburban Dalian. Compared to earlier houses in Laotutan, these houses had a higher budget, larger plans, and more rooms. More importantly, instead of economical concern, the descriptions focused on how the designs catered to various personal tastes. For example, the August 1924 issue introduced K’s house (Figure 2.33),

\textsuperscript{193} Kai Hisako, “Manshū ni okeru Jūtaku Kairyō ni kansuru shiken” *Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi* 2, No.10 (1922), 11–16.

\textsuperscript{194} Takeo Ono, “Beikoku no kōgai jūtaku to sono yōshiki” (The Suburban Houses and Style in the United States), *Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi* 3, No.1–6. (1923).
located in the Hibarigaoka area 雲雀ヶ丘 in Laohutan, characterizing the architect’s self-designed interior as a fusion of Western, Japanese, and Chinese styles.195

Although no images of the interior were shown except the plan, the author described the site, plan, and rooms in great detail, from the color of the wall paint to the material for the floor and the table clock in the dining room. Surrounded by the windbreak fences and gardens was a rectangular block consisting of the living room, study, tearoom, terrace, and greenhouse on the first floor, and one bedroom on the second floor (Figure 2.34). The architect’s personal preference of Japanese culture was revealed in the plan and interior design. A tea room, used for the wife and children, was attached to the dining room, which had elevated tatami-mat flooring and a hearth placed in the middle. The openings, ranma, between the usual Japanese nageshi beams were removed and replaced with windows adjusted to the eye level of those sitting on the tatami mats. For the Western-style study and living room, the architect installed nageshi beams and a Japanese closet, with fusuma doors made of Chinese silk. Rather than blindly following the trend of Western structure and furnishing, the text pointed out, the architect’s personalized designs showed a genuine consideration for improving family-centered life. The text also openly addressed the problem of the house in structure and design. For example, the bathroom, kitchen, and storage lacked light. The heating system was not sufficient and the toilet was not a flush one. The small Western-style bedroom under the gable room bore the common problem of ventilation in that it was too hot in the summer and too cold in the winter. Regardless of the problems, the text praised the house as a

195 The author used an alias name M.S., which could be the initial character of Munataka Shūichi. “Kōgai Jūtaku meguri,” Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi, No8 (1924) 30–32.
prime example of balancing the needs of the local environment, cultural improvements, and personal taste.

In the following three issues, the author introduced three houses, K’s House in Bunka-dai (Figure 2.35), O’s House in Heiwa-dai (Figure 2.36), and his own house in Hibarigaoka (Figure 2.37) in the similar manner—with exterior photos, plans, and extremely detailed descriptions. Although different in spatial configuration and style, these houses all revealed distinctive cultural tastes as well as the owners’ needs for a family-centered space. For example, the one-floor K’s house in Bunka-dai featured three large rooms in a row facing south, which could be opened to a large space for the couple and their six children to gather (Figure 2.38). The author described O’s House in Heiwa-dai as a modified bungalow catering to the owner’s needs and taste. In particular, he praised the elegant taste of the wallpaper in the living room that the couple bought from Harbin and applied by themselves. The author highlighted the placement of the living/dining room of his own house, whose plan was titled by 45 degrees in relation to its site. Facing the south, the living/dining room occupied the prime location of the entire house, which, for him, aimed to provide a bright and warm common space (Figure 2.39). The terrace above the dining room on the second floor was also the architect’s special design for receiving more light. In the author’s opinion, these house designs integrated the owner’s personal taste and practical needs, making it a further development from the cultural houses built earlier in the Laotutan suburb because they did not merely imitate the prototype or blindly adopt popular styles.

Following the construction boom in the 1920s, JMAA expanded in scale, increasing the budget to add more pages and insert more frontispiece illustrations to
introduce new public buildings and private houses.\textsuperscript{196} The January 1926 issue, the first after the budget increase, featured the newly completed SMRC Employee Club in Fengtian, designed by SMRC’s architecture department (Figure 2.40), and former SMRC architect Yokoi Kensuke’s (1870-1942) 横井謙介 self-designed home in Dalian (Figure 2.41).\textsuperscript{197} Although the journal had introduced several private houses before,\textsuperscript{198} Yokoi’s house was special because it was the first one designed by the architect himself, thus faithfully reflecting his original design concept.\textsuperscript{199} Titled “Words of Praise by Oneself,” Yokoi’s text described his design intention for the house as “a house for the children” and explained characteristics of the interior that he considered to be an ideal house.\textsuperscript{200} It is worth noting that instead of a completely Western-style interior, as the earlier Life Reform Housing exhibition promoted, Yokoi advocated an eclectic interior mixing Western and Japanese elements.

First, Yokoi envisioned the reception room as a place not only to be used for receiving the guests but also as his study room and as the family’s living room (Figure 2.42). In order to create an informal atmosphere, he—claiming to have taken inspiration

\textsuperscript{196} The increase of budget and expanding pages were mentioned in “Editor’s word,” \textit{Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi} No.1 (1926).

\textsuperscript{197} The house was continually used as residential houses until it was demolished in 2000.

\textsuperscript{198} Several special issues on housing were published during the 1920s, including the \textit{Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi} No.7 (1922), which was a special issue on the current suburban houses in Dalian.

\textsuperscript{199} Yokoi worked in the SMRC architecture department until 1920, when he opened his independent firm co-running with Onogi and Ichida, and in 1930 after Onogi left, his worked as free architect until passed away in Dalian in 1942.

\textsuperscript{200} Kensuke Yokoi, “\textit{Jiga Jisan},” \textit{Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi} No.1, 71–74.
from the “inglenook,” or ingurenuku as he marked it—in stalled a huge, arched stone fireplace, richly decorated with sculpture and floral carvings, in the center and placing two armchairs next to it to foster relaxed and intimate communication. He separated the Western-style dining room and living room with a curtain (Figure 2.43), just like Aoyama’s submission for the 1921 exhibition competition, which was also intended to increase the flexibility of the space: he expected the children to play in the large open space consisted of the dining and living rooms.

Most of the rooms were decorated in Western style—with a bed, chairs, and desks (Figure 2.44)—and followed the principle of hygiene and efficiency. For example, the kitchen was tiled, and Yokoi designed a series of hanging kitchen cabinets with glass doors to store away kitchenware from dust. At the southern side of the living room, he installed an elevated tatami platform, tatamishiki like a low bench (Figure 2.45). One could use it as a sofa or add a zabuton cushion and sit in the Japanese style, kneeling down in the seiza position. According to Yokoi, the reason for incorporating a reformed version of the traditional tatami mat was to balance the westernized living environment and Japanese habits. Yokoi argued that it was impossible for Japanese people to abandon the kimono completely at home both because of its practicality and because of Japanese aesthetic taste, and therefore, one should learn how to mesh the two styles in harmony.

Yokoi’s eclectic design re-invented traditional Japanese elements to make them suitable for the local environment and the generally westernized interior. It echoed the

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201 Yokoi did not mention which specific “inglenook” he referred, but only emphasized the cozy, and intimate atmosphere of this interior. The author was not able to locate any published sources then on this type of room in Japan.

202 Yokoi “jiga jizan,” 72–73.
shift in the discussions on the style of Japanese houses in Manchuria, changing from a complete Western style to a re-incorporation of traditional Japanese elements such as tatami mats and sliding doors to increase living comfort and cater to personal tastes.

In June 1926, JMAA published another special issue on residential houses (Figure 2.46), which included photos of seven houses recently built in suburban Dalian and thirteen articles by experts on specific topics of house design, from selecting the site to furnishing the interior, from the installation of the heating system to the flush toilet. It also included reference pictures of plans and exterior photos of twenty actually built houses. In effect, the issue could be used as a manual and catalog for building one’s own house. In his article on new house trends, Mr. Haruo observed several developments of housing design by integrating both Japanese and Western elements to cater to the local environment.203 The first task, he argued, was to continually increase the flexibility of the room function. Taking the design of the hallway as an example, he did not approve of the removal of the hallway, as is done in a Western house, so that the entrance was directly connected with the living room. The reason was that Japanese people needed a transition space to receive guests who visited without appointments in advance.204 The hallway in Manchuria also served as a windbreak, directly blocking the cold air entering the interior. Instead of the traditional Japanese hallway in the size of three tatami mats, one should design a relatively spacious area and place the bench and side table, or install windows, to create a comfortable and convenient space. He further argued that foldable furniture

\[203\] Haruo, “Arashii Ie no Kangaekata” (Ideas of the New Home), Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi 6 No.6, 90–99. The name only listed as katakana.

\[204\] For discussions on the spatial configuration of the entrance hallway and the Japanese guest reception habits, see Sand, “House and Home in Modern Japan,” in particular the first chapter.
was the key to create rooms of multiple functions, such as a foldable dining table and foldable beds in a small house (Figure 2.47). Moreover, Haruo recommended a regular plan (rectangular being the best) with a few large rooms, large windows, and less passage space for more efficient use of space. He did not oppose the inclusion of tatami-mat rooms and a maid’s room, as the earlier Life Reform movement did. In fact, most of the houses selected in the issue had Japanese rooms and a maid’s room. They reflected the new trend, adopting regular plans with interlocked room surrounding the living/dining room in the center, installing terrace or sunroom for more sunlight, and connecting the dining room with the living room, or the bedroom with the study room to form one open space.

The experiment with new ideas regarding the plan and interior design was also seen in the Housing Exhibition, held at the new YMCA building in Dalian from March 31 to April 4 in 1927. In the five rooms, it displayed designs of residential houses in photo plates and catalogs, models of culture house, plans and photos of current houses, construction materials, and furniture (Figure 2.48).\textsuperscript{205} Compared to the 1921 Life Reform Housing Exhibition, the major contribution of the 1927 exhibition came from several individual architectural firms active in Dalian. The catalogs for model houses and interiors were taken from the U.S. examples and actual buildings in Dalian. Shops presented more diverse products such as tablecloths and Chinese-motif decorative tiles. Active participation of individual architectural firms, diversity of housing examples and plates, and variety of companies producing construction materials reflected the development of a mature local housing market.

\textsuperscript{205} Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi 7 No.4.
As revealed in the June 1926 issue of JMAA, residential housing in Dalian became more expensive over time: houses in the Western style—with multiple floors and rooms, modern heating facilities, and large gardens—were built on large sites in suburban Dalian. The development benefited from the economic prosperity in Dalian as an international metropolis. Several architect firms were founded in Dalian. In addition to the Japanese-commissioned houses built by the Japanese architects, Chinese clients and foreign architects also built high-grade houses in Dalian. For example, JMAA introduced O’s House with French mansard roof, built by German architect Waren, and a Chinese elite’s house commissioned by the Onogi & Yokoi Architectural Firm (Figure 2.49). It is interesting to note that both houses had tatami rooms on the second floor and designed an open space consisting of a living room and a sunroom on the first floor. Although there were no interior photos of O’s house, photos of the Chinese elite’s house showed an eclectic interior design: the architect installed Ionic columns in the reception hall (Figure 2.50) while mixing traditional Chinese window patterns with Japanese-style closet and tatami flooring in the design of the bedroom (Figure 2.51). It also had a guest room in the Japanese style from floor to ceiling as well as an alcove and sliding fusuma doors (Figure 2.52).

As more Japanese families moved to Dalian, a revival of Japanese culture and tradition was seen in the architectural designs. For example, the Fengtian Woman High School building included a tatami-mat classroom with an alcove or tokoro-ma for Japanese culture classes (Figure 2.53). The prime example of traditional Japanese

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206 I was not able to identify the German architect, whose name was spelled by the journal as wāren ワーレン. He built several houses in Laohutan for the wealthy Japanese customers featured in JMAA. For O’s house, see Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi 7 No.5 (1927). For the Chinese elite’s house, see Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi 8 No.1(1928).
architecture, the tearoom, also appeared in the catalog of architectural exhibitions. The first and perhaps the only Japanese tearoom in Manchuria was constructed in 1926 (Figure 2.54). Named Yoshi-an (The Reed Hermit), the tearoom was located in the Taishan area in the southern suburb of Dalian, designed and constructed by ceramicist Komori Shinobu 小森忍 (1889–1962). Komori was the owner of the pottery shop Tōgadō 陶雅堂, a major Chinese-style tile maker in Manchuria. Attached to the main house, the tearoom consisted of a garden, the waiting area, the preparation space or mizuya, and the space for conducting the tea ceremony with an alcove (Figure 2.55). Its design was quite unique in technology and style because of the owner’s intention to incorporate Japanese and Chinese tastes while adapting to the local environment. Therefore, the building was made of local bricks for cold protection, the walls were decorated with self-made tiles, and the hearth was electric. In particular, instead of installing tatami mats, the author installed stools and tatami-mat tables in the form of the ryūrei 立礼 (Figure 2.56). The introduction of the tearoom, published in JMAA, described that the inspiration originated from the tearoom Dosoku-an 土足庵 in Osaka, where guests did not need to take off shoes to have tea. The author claimed to experiment with a new reform of Japanese tea ceremony based on personal taste and local context. He used self-made artistic tiles everywhere as construction materials and

207 Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi 8 No.3 (1928).


209 Ibid, 11.
decoration. For example, he applied tiles that imitated wooden basketwork to the wall (Figure 2.57), made tile stools that have auspicious Chinese patterns (Figure 2.58), and hung a calligraphy frame made of decorative tiles (Figure 2.59).

The building of Yoshi-an in Dalian reflected the development of housing in Manchuria as cultural needs were addressed through adaption to individuality and international context. The tearoom as a genre also appeared in the housing catalog displayed in the architectural exhibition. Moreover, separate Japanese rooms, marked as *nihon-zashiki* 日本座敷 in the plan, were featured positively in residential houses and promoted by magazines and exhibitions.

One of the earliest houses with independent Japanese rooms that JMAA featured was K’s House designed by the Munataka firm (Figure 2.60).\(^{210}\) The house featured a rectangular, spacious plan, including the dining room, living room, reception room, and maid’s room connected by a long hallway on the first floor, and bedrooms and Japanese-style rooms on the second floor. The plan of the first floor shared common characteristics such as having the dining room and living room connected as an open space and installing a sunroom next to the reception room. The reception room, living room, and dining room were all decorated in Western style, with fireplaces and round-arched windows (Figure 2.61). The distinctive difference was Munataka’s design of a Japanese room with alcove and veranda *engawa* on the second floor (Figure 2.62). Tatami-mat floors, alcove, *tokoro-ma*, shelf, *chigai-dana*, and the decorative transom *ranma* presented a traditional Japanese *zashiki*. The *engawa* area facing the south functioned

\(^{210}\) *Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi* 9 No.3.
similarly as the sunroom on the first floor, inviting more sunlight and preserving more heat during the brief sunlight hours in winter.

Just as with Munataka’s K house, the spatial configuration of Japanese houses in Dalian in the late 1920s and early 1930s represented a successful synthesis of Western, Japanese, and local elements into one integrated space. Moreover, the Japanese-style room zashiki reentered into residential houses. Most of the houses featured in JMAA from 1930s included a zashiki in the plan and photos of the Japanese-style room. The furnishing and different arrangement of the Japanese-style room became the highlight of the introduction of the Japanese room (Figure 2.63).

As examined above, Japanese architects’ designs of residential housing in Manchuria evolved through various stage in 1920s, from strong oppositions to the inclusion of any Japanese elements in the beginning, to the integration and renovation of Japanese architectural elements for an eclectic interior, and finally to a positive adoption of Japanese-style rooms in residential houses in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

**Other References: Modernization of Residential Space in China**

It remains unclear whether during the development of the modern house in Manchuria, Japanese architects noted their contemporary Chinese architects’ efforts of modernizing residential housing in China. As recent studies reveal, modernization of living space by incorporating Western elements into one’s own tradition did not happened exclusively in Japan. Housing as a tangible form of modernity underwent reforms in modern China: in fact, it was one of the subjects of debate for the state and professionals to anchor their ideas of modernity. As historian Yan Wencheng reveals, modernization of Chinese residential space took place in theory and practice in the early
twentieth century, as represented in Chinese architects’ debates in architectural journals and experiments with building modern apartments in Shanghai and renovating traditional alley *lilong* neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{211}

Yan points out that the New Culture Movement, which began in urban cities in the late 1910s and quickly dominated the popular discourse of intellectuals, emphasized the newly rising nuclear family unit, the role of women in modern society, and the construction of a modern house for the new life style. The model of housing reform also took from residential architecture in the United States, in particular the bungalow house. Architects opposed the traditional courtyard house and proposed a new house form inspired by the American bungalow plan. Their designs also featured a compact, interlocked plan, which connected the living room with the dining room, as well as promoted the goal of creating a hygienic, comfortable, and convenient living environment for a nuclear family.\textsuperscript{212}

It was hard to imagine that the Japanese architects were unaware of the ongoing Chinese modernization at all, as the exchange journal list of JMAA included the Chinese architectural journal *Yingzao Xueshe* 營造學社. Japanese architects in Manchuria also constantly traveled in China, visiting major cities, conducting on-site research, and publishing their reports on traditional Chinese houses, foreign powers’ public buildings (e.g., schools and hospitals), and Chinese modern apartments.\textsuperscript{213} For example, Fukuoka


\textsuperscript{212} Ibid, 44–45.

\textsuperscript{213} For example, see Asada Shigeo, “Hashi kenchiku zakan,” *Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi* 5 No.2 (1925): 62–68. Ichi Ōizumi, “Kitashina ni jūtaku bekken,” *Manshū*
Sō’ichirō published his research trip to several cities in China, providing a detailed illustrated account on various daily space—such as apartments, hotels, markets, and theatres—construction material, and roof structure in both cities and the countryside (Figure 2.64). The product catalog and journal articles also featured the incorporation of Chinese-motif patterns into the exterior and interior furnishing of Japanese houses in Manchuria.

**Commercial Apartments after 1930s**

Dalian initiated a municipal housing project in 1922. With a budget of 370,000 jinyuan for the first year and 157,500 jinyuan each year from 1923 to 1926, the city planned to build apartments of four ranks for 260 family units. A total of 190 units—the first phase of the construction project beginning in 1922—were built in the suburban *tanjia-tun* 諭家屯 area, which occupied a site of 3,200 ping (approximately 10,560 m²). The plan of the *tanjia-tun* site (Figure 2.65) showed four blocks: three buildings of the first rank, four buildings of the second rank, nine buildings of the third rank, five buildings of the fourth rank, one single dormitory building, a sport ground, and a bathhouse. All the buildings were two-floor houses for families except the dormitory. The house of the first rank had three rooms (3, 4, and 6-jō) on the second floor and a large 8-

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215 The author used the Chinese measurement unit *ping* instead of the Japanese equivalent word *tsubo* as to keep the original word published in the article. The use of Chinese measurement units was not consistent: sometimes it mixed with the Japanese measurement units as seen in the paragraph below. The author followed the original character. The site for the second phase was still under negotiation.
jō room on the first floor, together with the kitchen, bathroom, storage, and hallway (Figure 2.66). Houses of lower ranks had fewer and smaller rooms and did not have bathrooms. The third-rank type had nine buildings, which had apartments of two rooms of 4-jō and 6-jō on the second floor and one room of 4.5-jō, the kitchen, and storage on the first floor. They were considered reasonable for a middle-class family to afford.

The municipal housing project suggested a shift in the construction direction from single dormitory to family apartments, reflecting a change in the demographic composition of their clients. Rather than temporary residents who left for Manchuria without families, the possibility of settling down in Manchuria emerged. However, unlike the reform of modern housing promoted by Japanese architects in architectural journals, these houses still had door openings on the first floor and their layouts still used the Japanese measurement of jō.

Beginning in 1930, Japanese architects shifted their focus from single residential houses to large-scale commercial apartments in Manchuria. The Tenth Anniversary Architecture Exhibition (September 24–28, 1930) marked the watershed for the historical turn (Figure 2.67). To celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Association of Architecture in Manchuria, the exhibition was a grand social event for architects in the city. The five-day exhibition displayed a variety of building types as well as a broad range of products, including photographs of buildings, models of furniture, construction materials, and crafts produced in Manchuria and domestic Japan. The accompanying competition called for submissions for a large-scale apartment–shop complex, with the first floor functioning as shops and upper floors as apartments.

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216 Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi 10 No.10 (1930).
The winning entries proposed a five-story concrete building, with first-floor shops and compact apartment rooms on top that were furnished with convertible beds and built-in kitchen sinks (Figure 2.68). The geometrical façade, rows of horizontal windows, and the rooftop terrace clearly spoke of conceptual influences from Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius, who emphasized the industrial, mechanical aspect of modern living. The jury committee members were not quite satisfied with the submissions, as none of them solved the problem of providing separate entrances for shops and apartments. Nevertheless, they expected the abstract designs to point to a conceptual direction for the development of commercial apartments in Dalian to accommodate the fast-growing population. However, unlike the 1921 exhibition, the designs in the 1930 exhibition remained on paper. Commercial apartments built in Dalian in 1931 and later were three-floor concrete buildings with apartments furnished in the Japanese style (Figure 2.69). The reentry of Japanese closets, oshiire, and tatami mats in the interior marked the discrepancy between architects’ design ideals and architectural practices (Figure 2.70).

After the establishment of Manchukuo State in 1932, JMAA focused mainly on the urban planning and public architecture in the newly designated capital Changchun. From the mid-1930s to 1945, a shortage of housing appeared in major cities in Manchuria: even SMRC employees had to live in overcrowded dormitories or rent low-quality apartments from local Chinese.\footnote{Makino Masaki, “Shinkō ni okeru jūtakunan no jisō,” Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi 20 No.1(1940): 7–10. Manshū Kenchiku Zasshi 20 No.2(1940); 54–59.} The government-led public housing projects, however, achieved little effects in resolving the problem.\footnote{Hirayama Takeshi, “Manshū bōsan kabushiki kaisha no jūtaku juyō jigyō,” Asia Economy 53 No.5 (2012): 55–90.} Instead of focusing on the
development of a diverse, nuanced, and international living space, the fast-growing tourism and construction of public architecture created an image of Japanese living space in Manchuria consisted of Western public buildings, spacious SMRC apartments, and cultural houses.
Chapter Three
Touring the Space of Manchuria:
Development of Tourism and Its Visual Representation in Manchuria, 1905–1940

From 1932 to 1945, Manchukuo played a critical role in the formation, development, and collapse of the Japanese empire in its economic development, political and military expansion, mobilization of people and materials, and cultural production.\textsuperscript{219} During this period, government, companies, institutions, and individuals produced innumerable photos, stamps, postcards, posters, and films that constructed an image of colonial Manchuria as a modern, utopian country representing the political propaganda of a “prosperous paradise” Ōdō rakudo 王道楽土 and “multietnic harmony” Gozoku kyōwa 五族協和 (Figure 3.1). These visual materials profoundly influenced the historical reconstruction and public reception of colonial Manchuria from the 1930s into postwar Japan.

In this chapter, I examine these visual materials from a different perspective. I deploy a conceptual framework of imperial tourism to illuminate the intertwining relationships between space, visual representation, and politics of Manchuria during the first half of the twentieth century. Imperial tourism is central to the formation and maintenance of Japanese empire in concept and practice. As historian Kate McDonald puts it, colonial tourism was “one manifestation of the spatial politics of the empire,” as these tours mediated the experience of incorporating colonized land into imperial

\textsuperscript{219} See Louise Young, \textit{Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism} (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1998).
Recent historical studies reveal that imperial/colonial tourism served as a convergence site of imperial ideology and capitalist needs and created the identity of imperial subjects for the Japanese in prewar and interwar periods by affirming boundaries of the empire. Based on my analysis of abundant visual materials related to tourism in Manchuria, I argue that mass tourism played an underestimated but pivotal role in the production, circulation, and consumption of visual materials related to Manchuria that has been underestimated. My examination contributes to the studies of imperial tourism and visual representation of Manchuria by illuminating the changing image of Manchuria as a result of the development of tourism and revealing a constant tension between the image and text, between the collective and individual representation of Manchuria.

**Current Scholarship on Visual Propaganda of Manchukuo: Postcards, Paintings, and Photography**

Scholars have recognized the ideological configuration and political propaganda embedded in the visual representation of colonial Manchuria. Historian Kishi Toshihiko examined the colonial Manchukuo government’s media policies and production of postcards, stamps, leaflets, and posters for numerous ceremonial events. He argues that

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221 See Kenneth J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire’s 2,600th Anniversary* (Cornell University Press, 2010). The most comprehensive historical examination of Japanese development of tourism is the study by Gao Yuan 高媛, who is a historian of modern East Asian cultural history at Komazawa University, Japan. She has contributed to the field greatly through her dissertation, articles, and books, as well presentations in Japanese, English, and Chinese. The author uses Gao's Chinese name and English spelling in this dissertation. The Japanese pronunciation of her name is kō en. The most recent English study was by McDonald, *Placing Empire.*
these events promoted and circulated the propaganda of the colonial regime.\textsuperscript{222} His investigations revealed the Japanese government’s censorship and strict control over the visual production of Manchukuo. For example, one celebratory poster for the foundation of Manchukuo, published by the Department of Information of State Council, featured a girl with a Chinese hairstyle and dressed in a Chinese dress \textit{qipao}, posing in front of modern buildings with tilted gable roofs (Figure 3.2). The color of her dress—bright yellow with collars in blue, red, white, and black—represented the national flag of Manchuria on the modern buildings in the background, and the girl, therefore, became an embodiment of the Manchurian subject. Kishi tracked down the original photograph for the poster in the Fuji photography collection and identified the model of “Miss Manchuria” as a young Japanese girl.\textsuperscript{223}

The case of “Manchurian Girl” exemplified the Japanese government’s deliberate manipulation of visual production and the discrepancy between visual representation and reality. The Japanese government and SMRC also devoted great efforts to appeal to local Chinese, incorporating Chinese characters and adopting traditional Chinese art forms. For example, SMRC bought traditional new-year woodblock prints (Figure 3.3) from Tianjin and hired Chinese workers to carve the propaganda phrases, in Chinese characters, onto original designs and added their own logos.\textsuperscript{224}

\textsuperscript{222} Toshihiko Kishi, \textit{Manshūkoku no bijuaru media: Posutā, ehagaki, kitte} (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010).

\textsuperscript{223} Ibid., 83–84.

\textsuperscript{224} This point was brought to my attention by art historian Xu Chengrui, an expert on Chinese new-year woodblock prints. See Miyama Ryō, “Nihon senryōka no mokuhan katudō,” in \textit{A History of Chinese Woodcut Movement during the Anti-Japanese War}
Art historian Chiba Kei examined Japanese artists’ artworks depicting Manchuria, which were displayed in official exhibitions, kanten 官展, from 1907 to 1940. Comparing artists’ writing with their paintings, Chiba argues that despite their claim of free expression, Japanese artists self-censored their works to depict Manchuria in accordance with imperialist ideologies. For example, in a painting titled “Manchuria,” painter Tsuji Hisashi (1884–1974) depicted horse carriages on a vast field, where a rainbow appeared in the background (Figure 3.4). Chiba considered Tsuji’s pastoral rendering of Manchuria an echo of political propaganda, which cultivated the landscape of Manchuria into a “promising land,” yakusoku no tochi 約束の土地. Furthermore, Chiba argues that the continent, tairiku 大陸, was represented by figures of Chinese women who were tamed and conquered by Japanese men.

Chiba also traced artists’ changing perceptions of Manchuria from the 1910s to 1940s, which shifted from a virgin land to a harmonious multiethnic state. After the establishment of Manchukuo State in 1932, artists used direct political slogans as titles and their styles deviated from pictorial realism to avant-garde media. For example, Tsuruta Gorō (1890–1969) created a collage, placing a row of figures as symbols for the slogan “Harmony of Multiple Ethnic Groups”—Tibetan monks from Chengde, Mongolian shepherds, young women in Chinese dresses, and male workers—in

(Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2007). For visual products in similar styles, see the database on posters of Manchukuo State at Kyoto University.


226 Ibid. 29-31
front of streets of Shinkyō, with the recently competed government building in the background (Figure 3.5). The title, Kōmin shūtoku, referred to the Manchukuo reign period, Kōtoku, which further highlighted the painting’s function as visual propaganda. Analyzing their diaries, Chiba pointed out that artists avoided visual representations of the violence or danger they witnessed in Manchuria.227

The most powerful medium for depicting Manchuria was photography. Not only were professional photographers and reporters sent to Manchuria, representations of private businesses and individual tourists also recorded the landscapes, people, and customs of Manchuria with their cameras.228 First published in September 1933 by SMRC’s public relations department as a bi-monthly graphic magazine, Manshū Graph (Pictorial Manchuria) was published monthly from August 1935 to January 1944. During its eleven years of publication, the color and bilingual versions of Manshū Graph were the most influential and wildly circulated photography magazines focusing on Manchuria that were available in Japan and its colonies at the time. As art historian Kari Shepherdson-Scott points out, Manshū Graph functioned as a powerful engine for producing public knowledge of Manchuria, a valuable public relations tool for promoting SMRC’s corporate image, and a conduit through which the Japanese middle class

227 Ibid. 33–36.

228 As a result, there were countless visual materials of Manchuria. In particular, in recent years there has been an increase in online databases of visual materials as well as new discoveries of private collections. For a historical account of development of modern photography in Manchuria, including famous photographers’ activities, institutions, regulating system, as well as influences of contemporary art trends and propaganda, see Takeba Jō, Ikyō No Modanizumu: Manshu Shashin Zenshi (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, 2017).
mediated the experience of modernity. Its photos covered a variety of topics of the new state, from politics and economy to culture and urban planning, which created an image of Manchuria as a unique harmonious combination of an advanced, industrial urban society and a timeless, pastoral, rural community. The ultra-modern image was composed of modern buildings, broad avenues, and thriving urban culture, appealing to domestic Japanese visitors. The rural image, on the other hand, featured endless land and pastoral scenery, aiming to attract rural Japanese immigrants.

Fuchikami Hakuyō 淵上白陽 (1889–1960), perhaps the most influential Japanese photographer active in Manchuria, first visited Manchuria in 1927. He later became the chief editor of the Manshū Graph, the head of SMRC’s publicity department, and the founder of the Manchuria Photographic Artists Association, Manshū Shashin Sakka Kyōkai (hereafter: MSSK). As scholars have pointed out, Fuchikami’s and MSSK members’ photos depicting rural empty land, smiling faces of Chinese farmers and Japanese rural settlers, as well as Chinese labors and powerful machines in abstract forms, idealized the land and people in Manchuria as a fusion of rural pastoralism and industrial capitalism. Their preferences for creating a strong visual impact through bold compositions and angles were inspired by the photography of the Soviet constructivist

229 For a brief introduction of the magazine, see Kari Shepherdson-Scott, “Utopia/Dystopia: Japan’s Image of the Manchurian Ideal” (PhD diss., Duke University, 2012), 46–50.

school, such as El Lissitzky, Alexander Rodchenko, and the Soviet propaganda magazine *USSR in Construction* (1930–1941), which SMRC public relations experts and MSSK photographers thoroughly studied.\(^{231}\)

Published in *Manshū Grafu*, Fuchikami’s photos rendered the rural people and landscapes in Manchuria as a picturesque, agricultural utopia.\(^{232}\) In his photo of a farmer cultivating the land (Figure 3.6), Fuchikami cropped the photo, used a soft focus, and blurred the background to achieve the picturesque quality. He anesthetized figures of both Chinese farmers and Japanese rural immigrants by creating a strong light–shadow contrast and applying sidelong angles without revealing details (Figure 3.7). Art historian Philip Charrier characterizes the picturesque quality in Fuchikami’s portraits as “synecdochic”—rather than referring to any specific time and space, individual figures were depicted as embodiments of a pastoral, mythical tradition.\(^{233}\) Indeed, Fuchikami’s romanticized rendering of the rural landscape and life in Manchuria concealed the gap between the rich and poor, and the tenuous relationship between land and people at the time, as described in Japanese rural settlers’ accounts published in postwar Japan.

Fuchikami and MSSK members also produced a large number of photos depicting machines and Chinese workers in Manchuria. As illustrated in his famous work “A Crane and Coolie” *kureen to kuri* (Figure 3.8), Fuchikami compressed the space with an unusual, low angle to emphasize the power of machinery with enlarged parts of the crane.

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\(^{231}\) For a discussion of the USSR and its style, see Charrier, 177–179, and Shepherdson-Scott, “Utopia/Dystopia,” 50–56.

\(^{232}\) See Culver, *Glorify the Empire*, 113–119.

His composition and application of light–shadow contrast transformed the Chinese laborer into an abstract, aesthetic form. Furthermore, as art historian Annika Culver astutely observes, Fuchikami and MSSK members represented the Chinese laborer as an “orderly, rational workforce” under the management of SMRC and the Manchukuo State, exemplified in illustrations of the orderly dormitories and working tables (Figure 3.9). Photos depicting the leisure and life of poor Chinese people were treated as visual evidence for the propaganda of Manchukuo State, which claimed to work toward liberation from other Chinese warlords.

**Imperial/Colonial Tourism as Representational Framework**

The existence of countless postcards, photos, and posters, provided by private companies and individuals, raises an important question for the study of visual representation of Manchuria, as it is impossible to grasp a comprehensive understanding through the conventional archaeological approach by analyzing every single photo and postcard in detail. Therefore, it is essential to construct an overarching framework to characterize the subject matters, visual forms, and distributions of these visual materials.

It is important to notice that the majority of these visual materials were souvenirs from trips to Manchuria, such as travel guides and pamphlets, bus and train schedules, postcards of famous local sceneries, and commemorative stamp sets of tour routes. Visual products related to tourism in Manchuria in the early twentieth century presented an encyclopedic display of Manchuria and enabled Japanese viewers to experience

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234 Culver, 113–119.

235 Ibid., 115.
Manchuria as both exotic (an alien land and culture) and familiar (similar transportation and tour content with domestic trips).

Recent studies have emphasized the significance of tourism in understanding the relationship between imperial empires and local colonies in East Asia during the twentieth century. In the words of historian Kenneth J. Ruoff, tourism encompasses many aspects of modernity, including “nationalism, mass consumerism, the expansion of political participation, industrialization in the form of a transportation infrastructure, global integration, and in the case of tours of the colonies, imperialism.”236 The development of colonial/imperial tourism played a significant role in shaping the public reception of Manchuria in Japan during the first half of the twentieth century. An examination of the visual representation of tourism in Manchuria illustrates the characteristics and changes in the constructed image of Manchuria.

**Beginning of Modern Tourism in Manchuria: Rosetta Liner Tour in 1906**

Modern tourism originated in tandem with Japan’s territorial expansion from the beginning of the twentieth century. The first Japanese group tour abroad, which was organized by the newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* in 1906 in the second year after the Russo–Japanese War, was to Manchuria. In the same year, the Japanese Ministry of Education began to organize field trips for high school students and teachers nationwide to visit Korea and Manchuria as part of their education programs. As historian Gao Yuan points out, these collective tours to Manchuria transformed the image of Manchuria, in the

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236 Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith*, 145.
minds of those living in Japan, from a major battlefield of the Russo–Japanese War to a tourist destination.\textsuperscript{237}

The first group tour to Manchuria took place in the summer of 1906, when the entire country was enveloped in the celebration of Japan’s victory in the Russo–Japanese war (1904–1905). Named the “Rosetta Liner Tour Around Manchuria and Korea” \textit{Rosetta mankan junyū} ろせった満韓巡遊, it was Japan’s first large-scale overseas group tour.\textsuperscript{238} The newspaper \textit{Asahi Shimbun} in Tokyo and Osaka organized the tour; their advertisements in newspapers attracted 374 passengers, including entrepreneurs, artists, educators, and students. Together with the \textit{Asahi Shimbun} photography team and crew, the total number of people on board reached five hundred. Departing from Yokohama on July 25, 1905, the tour spanned one month to allow participants to visit major Japanese settlements in the Korean Peninsula (Pusan, Keijō, Incheon, and Pyongyang) and southern Manchuria (Dalian and Fengtian) before returning to Japan from Lushun (Port Arthur, Ryōjun in Japanese) on August 25, 1906 (Figure 3.10). The Japanese Kwantung Army provided support for the tour, holding lectures, receptions, and welcome parties for passengers at each local stop.

The trip was featured prominently in newspapers: more than seventy reports featuring the journey, landscapes, local customs, and episodes from the voyage were published in \textit{Asahi Shimbun} before and after the tour. The photo album “Photos of Rosetta Liner Tour Around Manchuria and Korea” was published in October 1906 and...


\textsuperscript{238} For a historical account of the origin of Japanese tours abroad, see Ariyama Teruo, \textit{Kaigai kankō ryokō no tanjō} (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001).
consisted of around one hundred and fifty photos taken by the *Asahi* photography team.\textsuperscript{239} The book *Asahi Liner Tour Around Manchuria and Korea*, with information for travel accommodations and passengers’ travel accounts, was published in December and was republished because of its popularity.

Before the voyage, an *Asahi* article (published on July 14, 1906) outlined four themes of this trip: first, to visit the battlefield sites of the Russo–Japanese War; second, to inspect the sites of Japanese rising industry and construction; third, to tour the landscape of the continent; and last, to foster an interest, *shumi* 趣味, in marine affairs, as Japan is a maritime country.\textsuperscript{240} These four goals stated the imperialist ideology of Meiji Japan: taken immediately after Japan’s victory of the Russo–Japanese War, the trip enabled the Japanese people to witness the expanding territory of its rising empire and to experience the new political relationship established with its neighbor countries. The route also reflected this political goal: it only encompassed the Korean Peninsula and southern Manchuria, where the Japanese took rights of building railways and settlements from the Russians. The tour did not include northern Manchuria, which remained in Russia’s control.

The photo album provided a vivid recapitulation of the tour. Its 238 pages organized photos with captions in the order trip itinerary, showing departures from harbors, activities on board, landscapes, and visitors’ activities in Korea and Manchuria. To represent the four goals mentioned above, the album selected photos depicting the battlefields of the Russo–Japanese War in Lüshun (Figure. 3.11), mines and train stations

\textsuperscript{239} Photography Team of Asahi Shimbun, *Rosetta mankan junyū kinen shashin-jō* (Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, 1906).

\textsuperscript{240} Osaka Morning Asahi Newspaper, 1906/7/14, Morning Paper.
in southern Manchuria (Figure 3.12), imperial tombs and the North Pagoda in Fengtian, the ocean liner (Figure 3.13), gentlemen playing games on board, and reception parties at local stops.

A close examination of the subject matter and visual composition of the album presents Manchuria as a memorial site for the Russo–Japanese War, a virgin land full of investment opportunities, and a visual allegory of dynastic decline, all of which visualized a Japanese imperial ideology.

There were commonalities in the representations of Manchuria and those of Korea. For example, photos of the Gyeongbokgung Palace (Figure 3.14) and Changdeokgung Palace in Keijō, the imperial tomb in Pyongyang, the North Mausoleum, and the North Pagoda in Fengtian presented similar visual compositions. Taken from a distance, these photos showed the dilapidated circumstances of these buildings—abandoned in ruin and overgrown with weeds. These photos were rendered as visual allegories of the deterioration of China’s Qing dynasty and Korea’s Choson dynasty.

The album established a visual contrast between the colonizer and the colonized, most conspicuously in a juxtaposition of two photos on the same page, one depicting the street of Japanese settlers’ buildings and the other the Korean living quarter in Incheon (Figure 3.15). The photo above, titled “Japanese Settlement Streets,” shows Western-style, two-floor buildings lining up along a paved road. The bottom one, titled “Korean Primitive Village,” shows Korean men standing barefoot in front of thatched houses. The disparity between the orderly paved roads versus chaotic earthy paths, the tidy Japanese gentlemen versus unsanitary Korean locals, and modern buildings and traditional households delivered a strong message: advanced colonizers brought civilization and
modernity to backward colonial subjects. Travelers’ accounts published in Asahi also revealed their contempt for the unclean, uncivilized living conditions of the local Korean people.

Of significant note is that the album distinguished the representations of women in the colonies from those of men. The photo chosen to represent the tourists’ arrival at the Pusan port was captioned “Entering Pusan-Kisaeng’s Dance on the Deck” (Figure 3.16). The camera captured the moment when a crowd of Japanese males in suits and Fedora hats surrounded two Kisaeng girls in traditional Korean costumes in the center and gazed at their performances. Documented as the Japanese passengers’ first encounter with the foreign frontier, these entertainers embodied the exotic experiences in a frontier. In fact, later travel accounts and images constructed the image of women in Korea and Manchuria almost exclusively based on prostitutes and entertainers who were fantasized as sexual and exotic. It also reflected the fact that Korea and Manchuria were major sites for the sex industry in prewar Japan: guidebooks and travelogues provided extensive details of famous prostitutes and brothels in each city. In this way, women in colonies were rendered as symbols of the exotic and sexualized colonial experience.241

While Korea was represented as a declining and backward country, Manchuria was depicted as an empty, rural land with nothing but raw resources in photos of fields, mines, and train stations built by the Japanese. The photo collection deliberately excluded representations of any urban cities there. A vast field of sorghum was selected as the

241 The author uses the word colony because, although Korea was officially annexed by Japan in 1910 and Manchuria was never an official colony of Japan, writings of Japanese writers, journalists, and politicians at the time referred to these two regions in words and phrases such as “colonial policies” shokumin seisaku 植民政策, and “explore the colonies” takushoku 拓殖, which indicated that the public perception of these two regions as colonies was at least promoted as fait accompli.
representative landscape of the city Fengtian, the heavily populated political center for Chinese. For Dalian, where Russian and other international imperial powers shaped a Western-style cityscape, the photo selected showed a small park as the background for the reception party. These selective photos provoked viewers’ imagination, offering what seemed to be an empty land full of opportunities waiting for exploitation and investments.

Different from the representation of Korea, photos of Manchuria display sprawling fields, where local farmers at work were rendered as background figures. These photos were juxtaposed with photos of battlefields in Manchuria, as well as photos of Japanese industrial construction, such as mines and train stations, for which the Japanese visitors expressed great interest as possible investments. The album and its photos initiated a long process of visually constructing Manchuria as a memorial site for the Russo–Japanese War and as a lucrative mine for natural resources.

However, what was excluded from the representation of Manchuria was worth investigation. A photo of the Western Park (Figure 3.17) was selected as the representation of the Japanese visits in Dalian. In the photo, Japanese visitors gathered in the park, suggested by trees and lawns, for the welcome party held by the Kwantung Army. In this photo, the Dalian locale was depicted as an obscure, rural background, which was far different from what the city looked like in 1905. Before the end of the Russo–Japanese War, Dalian was the central hub of the China Eastern Railway in Manchuria—the Russians named the city as Dalniy (Дальний), designed the street layout, and built the CER headquarters and other administration buildings (Figure 3.18).242 After

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the end of the Russo–Japanese war, the Japanese took over the land of Dalian as well as the Russian buildings. SMRC architects renovated many Russian administrative buildings into apartments and dormitories for Japanese officials and staff.\(^{243}\) Despite Russia’s strong influences in the urban environment of Dalian, representation of Russian people and their buildings was absent in the album. Similarly, in addition to the ancient palace and mausoleum, a sorghum field was selected as the representative image of the city Fengtian (Figure 3.19), then most populated political, commercial, and urban center in northeast China.

As examined above, through carefully selected visual materials, the *Rosetta* album constructed an image of Manchuria as a land of battlefields, sorghum fields, empty and rural, while excluding depictions of any urban area nor the holdings of other political powers, such as China and imperial Russia. These visual strategies served the political agenda imbedded in tours taken after the Russo–Japanese War, which Gao characterized as to “experience the superior power of the new empire, to mark the sphere of influence for the new rising empire, and to understand their new role as imperial subjects.”\(^ {244}\)

The album also emphasized the leisure quality of the trip, including photos of the luxurious interior of the ocean liner, modern laundry facilities, and games on the deck (Figure 3.20). These photos promoted a modern comfortable means for travel that appealed to the upper class at the time. In fact, the dimension of high-end leisure has been an important aspect in the fabrication of the imagery of Manchuria: the proliferation of


\(^{244}\) See Gao, “Kankō no seijigaku," (Tokyo University, 2005).
photos of express trains, high-class hotels, and spring resorts largely influenced the public perception of Manchuria in prewar and postwar Japan. Furthermore, the expensive ticket of sixty yen, approximately a government office worker’s monthly salary, as well as various social gathering held before and after the trips indicated that the Rosetta tour functioned as a social salon for the upper class. Therefore, the album included group photos of the passengers, who dressed in suits and uniforms and were also potential buyers of the album.

Among photos depicting the scenery of Korea and Manchuria and Japanese men dressed in suits, uniforms, and Fedora hats, one photo was particularly unexpected for viewers. Titled “Mr. Saito’s Lecture,” the photo showed men in loosely tied yukata with exposed chests sitting and walking around everywhere (Figure 3.21). At first sight, one could not find the lecturer Mr. Saito, whose underexposed figure was hidden in the shadowy background and was blocked by people sitting in front of the camera. Although not intentionally made, the camera flash exposed the men in the foreground as the most focused, lighted area, which dominated the entire composition. They sat casually, with their backs toward the lecturer and stared indifferently at the camera. Lacking symmetrical composition and balanced lighting, the camera captured a chaotic, undesirable moment of daily life in the voyage.

The awkwardness of this candid shot made it incompatible alongside other photos, which had stable compositions and clear focus; it was also the only time when Japanese men were photographed in yukata in this album. The reason for the inclusion of the photo might be that Mr. Saito was an important figure and no other photos of him from the tour were available. Given the large number of photographers on board, it is possible that
there were similar photos documenting men in *yukata*, but those were excluded. The photo album seemed to select photos depicting Japanese men in suits and Fedora hats as models of Westernized manners and lifestyles. As the juxtaposition of Japanese settlers’ street with Korean huts illustrates, the album aimed to construct a spatial allegory of the orderly, hygienic space as modernization and civilization, and a contrast between the Western clothing and traditional dress. Therefore, the exposure of the chaotic daily space and men in traditional Japanese clothes undermined the consistency of this visual narrative.

The Rosetta tour established a standard framework for the group tours to Manchuria in terms of the organization and destination. Later tours, arranged by the Kwantung Army and SMRC (established in 1907), continued to visit war memorials, industrial developments, and local cultural landmarks in Manchuria. They also emphasized the leisure aspect of the tour, using comfortable means for transportation and accommodation, such as luxurious ocean liners and hotels. The album’s distant views of rural landscapes, battlefields, industrial sites, and close-up shots of transportation vehicles created a stark contrast between the urban and rural, modern industry and traditional agriculture, which became the modus operandi for the representation of tours to Manchuria in the late Meiji and early Taisho periods.

**Students’ Field Trips to Manchuria**

In the same year as the Rosetta Liner trip, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Army co-organized field trips for high school students and teachers to visit Manchuria as patriotic education. Prefecture governments provided financially subsidies for travel expenses, and the Kwantung Army provided accommodation and
transportation. The tours drew a total of 3,694 high school students and teachers, selected from over 10,000 applications nationwide.\textsuperscript{245} Similar to the Rosetta trip, the Kwantung Army arranged a three-week tour to visit battlefields of Russo–Japanese War (Lüshun, Fengtian, Liaoying, and Jinzhou), industrial sites and trade centers (Tieling and Yingkou), and primary schools (Dalian and Lüshun) within Manchuria. The longest stay was in Dalian, for eight days.

The newspaper \textit{Asahi Shimbun} declared that these tours would prepare students to better understand their role as imperial subjects of the new empire by allowing them to acquire firsthand experience and knowledge of the Russo–Japanese battlefields and Japan’s expansion in Asia. The Kwantung army claimed to have treated students and teachers in the same way as soldiers in order to create a realistic experience of military life. However, as accounts by teachers, students, and commentators reveal, the gap between their expectations and experience was significant: students were reported to be transported in cargo trains and slept in military camps, which resulted in sickness and even death. They were also disappointed with the Kwantung Army’s indifferent treatments and rude attitudes. A teacher’s observations, published in the newspaper \textit{Kobe yūshin nippō}, described the contrast in the Kwantung Army’s attitudes toward students and toward the Rosetta passengers who arrived in Incheon at the same time. While the officer welcomed the Rosetta tour warmly and attended to their needs carefully, the teachers and students, on the other hand, merely received basic instructions.\textsuperscript{246}

\textsuperscript{245} Song Anning, “Studies on the Field Trip of Teachers in Manchuria, 1906,” \textit{Bulletin of Graduate School of Human Development and Environment, Kobe University} 1, no. 2 (March 2008): 38–39.

\textsuperscript{246} Kobe Yūshin Nippō, No.7236. 1906.8.24.
Students’ accounts conveyed a strong loyalty to imperial ideology—they expressed contempt for local people and customs in Manchuria, describing their looks and behavior as dirty and barbaric, which were evidence of a backward country. Furthermore, their discriminatory gaze also projected onto the Japanese residents in Manchuria, in particular, the Japanese women. The majority of nearly three thousand Japanese women who lived in Dalian at the time were prostitutes working in Japanese-style restaurants called “teahouses” *chaya*. Students chastised these women for staining the image of the new empire. The discrimination against lower-class Japanese people in Manchuria, in particular, the Japanese female sex workers, continued through the first half of the twentieth century, which resulted in their absence from the visual representation of the Japanese Manchuria.

Different from the Rosetta trip, students and teachers described Dalian in detail during their longest stay of the entire visit in the city. Their accounts revealed the thriving commercial scene in the city and expressed being impressed by former Russian development in scale and growth.

Reviews of the field trip reflected a mixed attitude. As writer Munaka Itsurō pointed out, although teachers and students received support from the Japanese government, they were treated as a burden in Manchuria. On the one hand, newspapers highly praised the tour’s pedagogical role in cultivating patriotism in the students, who directly witnessed the territorial expansion of the new empire and the mighty power of

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247 The system of the business of brothels and prostitutes and its regulation is a fascinating topic that has been researched in recent years. See Osaka Sangyo University Research Institute of Industry, *Kairaku to kisei: Kindai ni okeru goraku no yukue* (Daitō: Research Institute of Industry, 1998), 57–100.

248 Song, 41.
the Japanese military. However, critics were skeptical about the effectiveness and the nature of the patriotic education. For example, compared to field trips to Europe, the tour to Manchuria, cautioned critic Morioka Kaku, failed to cultivate an upright spirit, but rather fueled militarist jingoism and greedy desire of speculating in business. Lacking examples in morality and discipline, in his words, the tour had negative effects on students’ education.

Comparing the visual and textual accounts of the student field trip and the Rosetta tour, one can see that the Rosetta album presented a selective image of the tour to Manchuria, which expressed an imperial ambition of expansion and emphasized the leisure quality of the tour. Students’ and teachers’ accounts were less sanguine and presented more nuanced perspectives and narratives that revealed the uncertain and dangerous circumstances for travelers to Manchuria. Their differences called for a reflection upon the purported unmediated mirror effect of the photograph.

**Individual Travelers after the Russo–Japanese War**

The Rosetta tour was not the first time for Japanese travelers to visit China in the modern era. Historian Joshua Fogel’s study of the Japanese travel literature on China after the Meiji restoration reveals that individual Japanese travelers visited their neighbor country as early as the end of the Edo period, and the travel reached a peak in the Taisho and early Showa periods. Reading these individuals’ travelogues, one can identify a

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249 Ibid. 43-44.

250 See Oliver Wendell Holmes’s theorization of mirror memory, in which he acknowledged that he too realized the tension between appearance and mirror memory.

sense of superiority as with the Rosetta tourists: their observations of what they interpreted as backward circumstances affirmed their own identities as imperial subjects of the modern empire.

However, the differences between individual travelers’ accounts and the Rosetta album are striking. Fogel’s analysis of individual cases shows that most of these Japanese travelers were sinologists, Kangaku scholars, and experts of Chinese language, literature, culture, and philosophy. They had long been interested in visiting China but were prevented by Seclusion policies: and therefore, when the opportunity arose, these Japanese academics were eager to “discover and understand a real China” and compare it with their bookish knowledge.\textsuperscript{252} However, their writings revealed their great disappointment with the disjunction between traditional and contemporary China, whose rich traditions of history, literature, and philosophy were shattered in upheavals since the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast, visitors of the Rosetta tour did not show particular interests in local cultures except exotic curiosities, nor did they care about the authenticity of landscapes. Instead, they considered the capacity to participate in the popular, luxurious tour as a symbol of their prestigious social status, and the tour was considered an opportunity for social networking. For example, after the tour, passengers held “alumni gatherings” in Kyoto for maple viewing and in Tokyo for cherry blossom.

Furthermore, individual Japanese travelers’ writings recorded their interactions with local Chinese scholars and intellectuals, who advocated for political reforms. Exemplified in Fogel’s discussions of Oka Senji’s trip in China, their interactions with Chinese intellectuals distinguished the tours in China from those to Europe because the

\textsuperscript{252} Ibid., 66-125.
former reaffirmed the cultural identity of Asia and the shared anxiety toward the West, a common ground for their understanding of modernity in Asia.\(^{253}\) The Rosetta visitors, on the other hand, focused on a different agenda. They showed no interests in communicating with local people other than buying local souvenirs. Instead of interacting with the locals to discover a new, “authentic” China different from their preconceived notions and to understand contemporary China in turmoil, as the individual Japanese travelers attempted, the Rosetta passengers were satisfied with the confirmation of what the Meiji government promoted about Manchuria—an empty land with rich natural resources.

Unlike the Rosetta visitors’ sanguine views of Manchuria, individual Japanese travelers showed ambivalence. Most of them chose only major cities, such as Beijing, Tianjing, Shanghai, and cities in the Yangtze Delta, for their month-long trips. For these *Kangaku* scholars, who immersed themselves in traditional Chinese literature and philosophy, Manchuria was a remote frontier without culture and tradition. Their accounts, therefore, rendered Manchuria as a remote frontier full of unknown, dangerous adventures, and multiethnic bandits, which was part of their selling points.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the majority of Japanese people acquired information on Manchuria from newspaper reports on the military expansion and publications on tours to Manchuria. In particular, photography was a potent tool for promoting Manchuria because of its seemingly unmediated mechanical structure. Largely influenced by Japan’s victory in the Russo–Japanese War, the visual composition and

selection of subject matter in the Rosetta album created a set image of Manchuria as a war memorial site, a rural empty land, and the package tour a potential leisure activity. This view built the foundation for the establishment of a public stereotype of Manchuria in the following years. Representational strategies of Manchuria and Korea paralleled what David Howell has termed “the geography of civilization”: The claim of advances achieved by modernization was mapped out in space; Manchuria’s and Korea’s positions in the process of modernization was determined by their proximity to Japan, the sole modern country in Asia. Together they were represented as primitive, chaotic spaces to be enlightened by modern colonization, with Korea as a declining civilization and Manchuria as an empty, no man’s land.

Accounts from student fieldtrips and individual travels, although tinted by the imperial ideology of the Meiji militarist government, presented a variety of experiences of Manchuria, rooted in the broader contexts of social class and education in Meiji Japan. These nuanced experiences called for a reflection upon the constructive nature of the photos in the Rosetta album. The gap between these accounts and those of the Rosetta tour indicated that Manchuria was not a popular destination for the majority of Japanese travelers, neither was it ready to accommodate a large number of group tours since it lacked convenient transportation and facilities. The Rosetta visitors’ sanguine attitudes, however, heralded characteristics of mass tourism, a new phenomenon associated with modernity and as McDonald puts it, “an attempt to stabilize and standardize

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understandings of place—to produce, in other words, a hegemonic socio-spatial order anchored in specific understandings of place.”

Development of Tourism in Manchuria in the 1910s and 1920s

Japan’s annexation of Korea in 1910 marked a watershed in the development of tourism in Korea and Manchuria. SMRC accelerated infrastructure development, opening more branch lines and hotels along the railroads. Concomitant with the turbulent period after the annexation was the rapid development of a transcontinental transportation network that connected Japan to China, and Japan to Manchuria and Russia via the Korean Peninsula, consisting of trains, ocean liners, and local carriages. Aiming to encouraging people to visit and settle in Manchuria, SMRC continually invited Japanese writers, journalists, and celebrities to visit through pre-arranged tours. In order to improve the low-quality accommodation, SMRC built the Western-style Yamato Hotels, located in Dalian, Fengtian, Changchun, Lushun, and Hoshigaura, the beach suburb of Dalian (Figure 3.23). Beginning in 1909, the Ministry of Railways started to sell discount tickets for tour packages of Japan, Manchuria, and Korea.

Professional travel agencies were established to organize tours within Manchuria. In 1912, the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB) was established in Dalian to facilitate travel to Manchuria for Western travelers. It was co-founded by a group of Japanese entrepreneurs,

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255 McDonald, Placing Empire, 5.

256 The Japan–Shanghai route on sea opened in 1908; in 1909 the Jingfeng Line connecting Beijing and Fengtian opened its operation. In 1910, SMRC railways were connected with CER railways. Then, Osaka Shōsen began to connect Japan to Manchuria through the route to Dalian. In 1911, SMRC connected railroads in Manchuria and Korea by building the bridge on the Yalu (Ammok) river and renovating tracks of the Anfeng Line. Thus, Japan was connected with Russia through Manchuria. This enabled SMRC to begin the around-the-world tour, selling a tour called “From Shinbashi to London.”
the Ministry of Transportation in Japan, the Kwantung Army, and the colonial
governments in Taiwan and Korea, which collaborated to provide a full package of
transcontinental services. In Japan, JTB opened branches in Tokyo, Osaka, and
Shimonoseki. In Manchuria, the JTB offices were located inside the Yamato Hotels in
Dalian, Fengtian, and Changchun, and the train station of Lushun. The company quickly
expanded to major cities in Japan and Manchuria, as well as New York City, London, and
Los Angeles. It remains the largest travel agency in Japan today. SMRC established the
Information Office of Korea and Manchuria, Sen-man annai-sho 鮮満案内所, in its
Tokyo headquarters in 1918. The office provided free information on the railway
timetables, transportation options, and scenic spots in Korea and Manchuria. It also
handled train tickets from Tokyo to these regions. In 1923 it opened branches in Osaka
and Shimonoseki. The Tokyo branch was reopened in the commercial downtown, where
huge posters and display windows attracted many potential customers.

JTB and the Information Office of Korea and Manchuria standardized the guided
tours in Manchuria, regulating the itinerary; providing discounted tickets for trains and
ships, and local hotels; and arranging tours for local scenic spots. Their organization of
the logistics, introductory texts on landscapes and customs, and productions and
circulations of postcards and posters mediated both the Western and Japanese people’s

257 It is interesting to notice that the current website does not mention the locale of
the foundation, but rather focuses on development in postwar Japan. For a history of
the development of the company, see JTB 100shūnen jigyō suishin iinkai, JTB gurūpu 100-

258 See Gao, “1920-nenndai ni okeru mantetsu no kankō senden: shokutaku gaka
mayama kōji no katsudō wo chūshin ni” (Tourism Promotion by The South Manchuria
Railway Company in the 1920s: Focusing on the Activities of Commissioned Painter,
experience of Manchuria in the Taisho and early Showa periods. Posters, postcards, and illustrations in tourist guidebooks published by JTB and the Information Office of Korea and Manchuria created an image of Manchuria different from that of the Meiji period, which paralleled the expansion of international capitalism and the rise of urbanism in the late 1910s and 1920s.

SMRC also hired professional painters to create PR posters and invited writers to report their experiences with these standardized tours. For example, painter Itō Junzō (伊藤順三) (1890–1939), commissioned by SMRC, designed a poster depicting bustling crowds and the chaotic scene at the Changchun station (Figure 3.24). Placing the SMRC train on the left and the CER train on the right, symmetrically framing the central platform, Itō created a fictional space to visualize Changchun’s function as a transfer hub. On the central platform, the painter depicted an international crowd consisting of Russian merchants dressed in fur, Chinese couples in traditional Manchurian outfits, and a Japanese businessman in a suit with his wife in kimono. The painter’s imagination rendered Changchun as a vibrant commercial center mixed with an international ambience attractive to Japanese visitors. Furthermore, historian Gao’s examination of the painter Mayama Kōji reveals the establishment of an assembly line of the production, display, and consumption of images of Manchuria—SMRC employed painters to visit Manchuria, held exhibitions for their artworks on Manchuria, and sold package tours at

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the exhibition venues.\footnote{Gao, “1920-nenndai ni okeru mantetsu,” 174–75.} Institutions journals, such as JTB’s Travel (tabi) and Plain (heigen) also featured images of Manchuria en route and at destinations.

“The Itinerary of Touring Manchuria and Choson” Mansen kankō ryotei 満鮮観光旅程 was originally published by SMRC in 1917 and was revised yearly to include updates.\footnote{The 1917 version and 1919 version were located in International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) in Kyoto, and the 1918 version was located in the Ritsumeikan University Library, which was also represented in the Series of Meiji Tourism in 2015. The 1920 version and the 1922 version were located in the Diet Library. For an introduction of the tourist guides published by SMRC, see Gao, “Kankō no seijigaku,” 95–107.} Its introduction stated the goal of providing several plans to visit as many interesting spots in Korea and Manchuria as possible in a short time, ranging from two to three weeks. Similarly, JTB also distributed the “Itinerary and Budget,” Ryotei to gaisan 旅程と概算, from 1920 to 1940, providing plans for tours in Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria.\footnote{For a historical account of the JTB pamphlets, see Arayama Masahiko, “Ryotei to hiyō gaisan ni miru tuirizumu kūkan,” Annual Review of the Institute for Advanced Social Research vol.8 (October 2012): 1–17.} These guidebooks provided day-by-day itineraries and detailed budgets for different packages. The tours followed two routes: from Shimonoseki one entered Manchuria via the Korean Peninsula by train, or via the port Dalian by sea (Figure 3.25). The package tours were popular and expanded quickly. The 1922 SMRC revision, as the title Sen-man-shi kankō ryotei 鮮滿支観光旅程 reveals, began to include Chinese cities in its longest tour, spanning one whole month, as well as trips to Harbin, the central hub of the Russian-controlled northern Manchuria. The 1923 JTB revision tripled the number
of pages of the first version to three hundred pages; it reached five hundred pages in 1929 and eventually more than one thousand pages in 1938.  

The guidebooks increasingly emphasized the visual representation of sites. The 1920 SMRC guidebook included four far-view photos: the port of Dalian, the memorial tower for the Russo–Japanese War in Lüshun (Figure 3.26), the resort beach Hoshigaura in Dalian, and the North Mausoleum in Fengtian (Figure 3.27). The 1922 version added photos of Japanese-operated farms and factories in Manchuria, and of urban structures and natural landscapes in Korea, such as the South Gate in Keijō and Mount Kumgang near Pyongyang.

Together with descriptions of things to do in each city, these tours showed a certain consistency with the Meiji tour. Tours included visits to Japanese settlements in Keijō, battlefields in Lüshun, mining sites in Fushun, and ancient palaces in Fengtian and Keijō. Tourists’ accounts attested to the routine of the trip and described listening to the tour guide’s speech on heroic episodes of the Russo–Japanese War in front of the memorial tower in Lüshun, feeling moved by the selfless sacrifice of imperial soldiers, and realizing the imperial responsibilities for protecting the blood shed in Manchuria.  

Different from the Meiji period, however, guidebooks and tours of Manchuria in the 1920s displayed an increasing interest in capitalism, urbanism, and what historian Kate MacDonald calls “cultural pluralism.” Rather than being confined to Japanese

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263 Ibid., 2.

264 For example, see the travel accounts of a group of journalists, who followed a standardized tour arranged by SMRC, Ikebe Hitoshi, Manchuria in Comics (Manga no manshū), (Osakaya-gō Shoten, 1927), 1–7.

265 MacDonald, Placing Empire, 85–102.
settlements as was done in the early Meiji tour, these standardized tours promoted diverse urban experiences in city tours in Manchuria. They highlighted visits to the Russian and Chinese streets in Dalian, Fengtian, Harbin and Changchun, and encapsulated each city with a distinctive feature. For example, Fengtian was promoted by promising the experience of an authentic Chinese ambience: tourists visited former imperial palaces, tombs, and markets in walled Chinese city, where traditional Chinese shops lined up with houses in black tiles and white walls. These tours noted the strong contrast between traditional Chinese-style houses and the Western-style office of the warlord Zhang Zuolin, the de facto regional ruler (Figure 3.28). Harbin, the central hub for Russian-controlled Manchuria and the largest expat community for Russians and Jews since 1898, was included in the 1922 SMRC guidebook. It was promoted as a city to experience authentic Russian life and culture: tourists toured the Russian communities and walked on the central Kitaiskaya street, where they were mesmerized by shop signboards written in Russian characters, peddled pavement, sausage booths, and Russian women draped in fur (Figure 3.29).

The crown jewel for the Manchurian tour was Dalian, which became the largest expat community for the Japanese in the years after Japan took over the city from the Russians and changed the CER headquarters into their own SMRC building. Postcards, illustrations, and photos “rediscovered” this port city as the “Entryway of the Continent” tairiku no genkanguchi 大陸の玄関. Dalian became a central stage for displaying

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266 Ikebe, Manchuria in Comics, 17–19.

267 For a detailed examination of the development of Harbin under Russian’s development, see Wolff, To the Harbin Station.

Japan’s imperial power and a prime model for Japan’s construction of a modern, commercial, and cultural metropolis. Photos included in the guidebooks illustrated the city as a convergent site of thriving international commerce and high-profile modern lifestyle. For example, photos of the grand plaza were accompanied with travelers’ accounts of enjoying cocktail parties and a panoramic view of the grand plaza from the balcony of the luxurious Yamato hotel (Figure 3.30).

Women continued to be the subject of exoticization for Japanese tourists’ experiences of colonial modernity. Tourists repeatedly reported on dinners at fancy Chinese restaurants in Fengtian, where female Chinese entertainers, in traditional Chinese dresses and wearing short hair, performed music and songs (Figure 3.31). Their descriptions of Harbin were highlighted by visits to Russian dance halls at night, where they were amazed by the Russian dancers’ blond hair, bold dresses, and alluring performances (Figure 3.32). In fact, the exotic and erotic experiences in the colonies were an important component of these tours. An SMRC poster (Figure 3.33) featured a short-haired female entertainer, who held a feather fan in hand and dressed in a reformed Chinese dress heavily decorated in pseudo-traditional patterns, posing in front of a picturesque pastoral scene of the continent.

It is important to trace the inclusion of Changchun into the package tour. It first appeared as a stop in a fourteen-day tour in Manchuria. Visitors were scheduled to visit the Russian Kuanchengzi settlement, the Chinese inner city, and the Japanese settlement during its one-day stay. Echoing Itō’s poster, visitors observed Russians’ ubiquitous influences in Changchun: they sketched Russian cart drivers and Russian policemen on the streets (Figure 3.34). In addition to Russian influences, travelers were also impressed
with the station plaza, packed with hotel managers and Chinese laborers who fled from inner North China (Figure 3.35). Compared to other cities, Changchun was less entertaining for Japanese tourists—as poet Ōmachi Keigetu (1869-1925) commented, “there was nothing to see.”269 The situation changed later, when Changchun was designated as the new capital of the Manchukuo State: new tourist attractions were developed whereas the strong Russian influence was completely erased.

However, in the late 1910s and 1920s, only upper-class elites could afford tours to Korea and Manchuria, whereas the majority of Japanese people perceived Manchuria through accounts and visual materials related to tourism. Most travel accounts followed the standardized tours that described similar scenery, events, and experiences of the tour. Photos depicting panoramic views of streets, modern buildings, and leisure-oriented activities during their tours constructed the public image of Manchuria under Japan’s imperial development as a converging site of thriving urbanism, capitalism, and modernity.270

The Japanese interest in constructing a modern, urban image for Manchuria paralleled the historical shift in the Japanese society at the same time. The 1910s witnessed rapid urbanization, a rising middle class, and the birth of mass culture in major Japanese cities, which profoundly transformed the society in every aspect. A new, thriving urban culture was formed, which was crystallized in the proliferation of mass


270 Japan was not the first country to constructed a public image of Manchuria through the visual representation of tourism. As a CER photo albums reveal, Russian CER employed similar visual strategies to construct an image of Manchuria as a rural, uncivilized land waiting for Russian’s imperial development.
media, popularization of new spaces such as cafes and departments, and the development of suburban communities. Concomitant with transformations in space and society, tourism also developed quickly in domestic Japan: transportation companies and JTB organized short trips to leisure resorts near large cities or educational tours to historical cities. Resort and tourist hotels were established around Japan, which promoted leisure consumption, and were paired with transportation companies to accommodate package tours. Visual products related to tourism in Japan also featured scenic landscapes and modern streets.

Tours to Manchuria paralleled those in Japan and focused mainly on the urban cities of Manchuria, while the vast rural region, depicted as picturesque, pastoral farmland, was considered dangerous because of rampant bandits. For example, when the archaeologist Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953) conducted field research in rural Manchuria, his team was always accompanied by the Kwantung Army soldiers and local armed guards. Tourists recorded their gossip about bandits’ exploits in the area between the Japanese settlement and the walled Chinese city in Fengtian.

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271 For a general historical account of the transformation in the Taisho period and characterization of the society and culture, see Takemura Tamio, Taishō Bunka : Teikoku No Yūtopia : Sekaishi No Tenkanki to Taishū Shōhi Shakai No Keisei (Tōkyō: Sangensha, 2010). For discussion of relationship between urbanism and culture, also see Louise Young, Beyond the Metropolis : Second Cities and Modern Life in Interwar Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

272 For discussions on the development of tourism in domestic Japan, see chapter two “Imperial Heritage Tourism” in Ruoff, Imperial Japan at Its Zenith, 82–105. For a discussion on the tourist buses as new leisure activities, see chapter 2 in Shinya Hashizume, Modanizumu No Nippon (Tōkyō: Hatsubaimoto Kadokawa Shoten, 2006).

Some individual travelers purposely deviated from arranged routes and explored remote regions of Manchuria, and their accounts, although tinted with literary exaggerations aiming for a fresh and strange experience, gave a glimpse at a rural Manchuria quite different from the imagery of postcards and posters. For example, Japanese poets Fukaya Shōtō and Furukaya Tekifū embarked on a special adventure in 1918. They decided to cross the rural regions of Manchuria and Mongolia, relying only on begging (kojiki 乞食) for food and accommodations along the road. Their account claimed to reveal the huge gap between lives in urban cities and rural Manchuria, between impressions of tourists and residents, and between the constructed image and the “reality” of Manchuria.\(^{274}\)

First, Fukaya and Furukaya, well versed in traditional Chinese poetry, were deeply shocked with the level of illiteracy of the rural Chinese people. They tried to communicate with the locals by writing Chinese characters (bitan), and found that only school teachers could read and write some Chinese characters. The two poets relied on Japanese military depots to ask for free food and places to stay. Their vivid descriptions of the frustration, fear, and anxiety when they stayed in Chinese hostels and were caught escaping without payments, were entertaining and informative about the local administrative system.\(^{275}\) In addition to comments on rural Chinese people, the authors also recorded their interviews with the local Japanese residents. For example, Fukaya talked with a government official, who warned him of a true Manchuria different from


\(^{275}\) Ibid.24.
the Japanese positive imagination. The two poets observed that most so-called Japanese doctors were frauds who gave false diagnoses by relying on nothing but a medical dictionary, that pharmacies were disguised opium traders, and that Japanese restaurants were in fact brothels. By the end of their difficult journey, the authors displayed pessimism, asserting that Manchuria—although seen as a gold mine in the eyes of investors, a romantic frontier for novelists, and a modern leisure land for elite tourists—was a land that the Japanese absolutely had no knowledge about.

As examined above, Japanese people’s image of Manchuria in the 1910s and 1920s was split between the city and the countryside: the urban Manchuria was characterized with a diversity of cultures and ethnics, whereas the countryside was either omitted or romanticized in literary and visual accounts.

Mass Tourism after 1932: Bus Tours in Shinkyō

The founding of Manchukuo in 1932 marked a new era for the development of Japanese imperial tourism. The Kwantung Army’s unilateral control of Manchuria ensured safety for tours in remote regions. Fourteen Japanese and Chinese institutions and companies co-signed the “Connecting Transportation Agreement,” creating a transcontinental transportation network to stimulate the development of tourism in East Asia. Statistics of the Mitui O.S.K Lines, which operated the route between Osaka and Dalian, showed that the number of passengers increased significantly after 1932 and reached its peak in 1943. By 1940, tourists had a variety of options to travel to

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276 Ibid., 50–70.

277 The fourteen members were the Ministry of Railways, Korea Railway Bureau, Taiwan Ministry of Transportation, SMRC, Huabei Transportation, Huazhong Railway, Osaka Shosen, Nihon Yusen, Tō-A Kaiun, Dalian Shichuan, Nihon-kai Sichuan, Dainippon Airlines, Manshū Airlines, and China Airlines.
Manchuria: by train, steamship, or airplane. Daily flights from Tokyo to the new capital, Shinkyō, took approximately nine hours in total via Fukuoka and Seoul. Within Manchuria, the Asia Express train (ajia-gō あじあ号), a luxurious passenger express train operated in 1934, took only eight hours from Dalian to Shinkyō (Figure 3.36).

Tourism after 1932 featured three characteristics. First, it emphasized the leisure and resort qualities of the tours. The increasing emphasis on the leisure quality of tours in Manchuria emerged in the 1920s, marked by writer Tayama Katai’s 田山花袋 (1872–1930) influential novel Leisure Travel in Manchuria and Korea (Mansen no gyōraku 満鮮の行楽), which officially identified the tour to Manchuria as a leisure one.\(^{278}\) In the 1930s, the improved safety and rapid development of transportation changed the image of Manchuria dramatically from an adventurous tour of the remote frontier to a fast, comfortable, leisure tour ready for mass consumption. Stays in suburban hot springs were included in the package tours as signature leisure activities in Manchuria (Figure 3.37).

Second, tours in Manchuria undertook a pedagogical function to introduce the newly founded nation to domestic and international audiences and created new spectacles attractive for Japanese tourists.

The establishment of Manchukuo also witnessed a plethora of visual production. Historian Kashiwagi Hiroshi astutely points out that postcards played a crucial role in directing and framing the tourists’ gaze. Visitors easily transposed postcards’ perspectives into their own observations, and their visits therefore confirmed the

\(^{278}\) Tayama Katai, Mansen no gyōraku (Osakaya-ō Shoten, 1924).
impressions formed by the postcards.\textsuperscript{279} In the case of Manchuria, abundant postcards and posters presented an appealing land consisting of pastoral farmland, war memorials, vibrant urban cities, and suburban resorts. Japanese tourists, in turn, consolidated their impressions during the tour of a space specifically staged for their experience and memory.

Initiated shortly after the establishment of the Manchukuo State, city bus tours quickly became the most popular and influential way to see Manchuria. Tourist buses, with guides on board, were available in the six major cities: Dalian, Harbin, Shinkyō, Fengtian, Lūshun, and Fushun (Figure 3.38). They operated on a fixed route of four to six hours. The content of the tour was consistent with those in the 1920s, while adding memorial sites for the recent Manchurian Incident and other military events. For example, the tour in Lūshun mainly focused on memorial sites of the Russo–Japanese War: tourists visited remains of the cannons, military camps, and war memorials (Figure 3.39). The Dalian tour continued to visit the grand plaza, Dalian port, Chinese market, Hekisan-sō (the Japanese-owned Chinese workers’ dormitory), and an oil factory. The Fengtian tour visited North Mausoleum and Pagoda while adding memorial sites for the Manchurian Incident (Figure 3.40). Photos in the bus guides maintained a picturesque view of urban Manchuria.

On March 14, 1932, a new image for Changchun, the new capital of Manchukuo, was fabricated. Shinkyō was featured in photos, postcards, posters, and films as a metropolis with two distinctive characteristics: grand urban planning with clear zoning, and modern buildings of large scale, both of which, as introductions and captions claimed,

\textsuperscript{279} Kashiwagi Hiroshi, \textit{Shōzō no naka no kenryoku: Kindai nihon no gurafizumu o yomu} (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1987), 3.
were evidence of an ideal realization of modernity and the legitimation of Japanese control. Taken from a lower angle with a wide-angle lens, government buildings in these photos looked enormous and thus perfectly delivered a sense of authority (Figure 3.41). For example, in one card, the façades of two major public buildings filled up the entire frame while close-up views cut off the building from its surrounding. Captions of the postcards described these buildings as “Grand Modern Buildings,” Dōdo to naru modan na biru, without specification of any styles, which made them a visual symbol of modernity. Panoramic views of the central plaza and avenues radiating in every direction created an abstract urban aesthetics that shifted visitors’ attention from scattered buildings to the plaza in its entirety (Figure 3.42). In this way, the cityscape of Shinkyō was understood in terms of a national future.

Such impressions were further reinforced by a bus tour in the new capital, the most popular mode of transportation for Japanese tourists, because their packed schedules allowed only one night’s stay (Figure 3.43). Twice a day, the three-and-half-hour bus tour began from the plaza in front of the train station. The bus, with a guide on board, would take passengers to sixteen scenic spots and allow passengers to get off and take photos at six stops (Figure 3.44). The first stop was the Shinkyō Shrine on the main avenue that extended from the station plaza (Figure 3.45), followed by the Kanjō battle memorial, located in the former Russian Kuanchengzi settlement. Then the bus drove to the Manchu Emperor Pu Yi’s temporary palace, the former Administration Bureau of the Trading Zone, and two other war memorials located in the south and west of the city.

The bus mainly followed the new avenues planned and constructed after 1932. Tourists saw enormous concrete buildings lining up along shining asphalt avenues from
their windows (Figure 3.46). The avenue with the most grandeur was the Shuntian Ave, where government offices topped Chinese gable roofs and lined up along the avenue leading to a site chosen as the new imperial place for the Manchu emperor. The guide introduced names of the ministry office buildings and emphasized their modern looks when the bus passed by. The enormous scale of each building reinforced the impression gained from widely circulated postcards. Tourists’ collective memory of Shinkyō, therefore, was a composite image imposed by various war memorials, Japanese shrines, broad avenues, and the façades of grand buildings. Furthermore, the tour was permeated with ideological education. Various travelers’ accounts recalled the guides’ propaganda emphasizing the sacrifice of Japanese soldiers at various sites. Together with a full set of commercial products including souvenirs, photo albums, postcards and stamps, the featured war memorials became spatial marks of collective memories.

As examined above, abundant visual materials created an appealing visual representation of Shinkyō for Japanese tourists and affirmed their impressions in seeing the buildings and urban space during their visits. The cycle of postcards and bus tours, therefore, established a “spectacular space” exclusively customized for Japanese tourists, who experienced it from bus windows and the guides’ ideology-loaded speeches. Therefore, the public memory of space of Shinkyō, consisting of picturesque views from bus tours, was not only influenced by the Japanese authority’s promotion of political propaganda but was also largely shaped by the commercial development of tourism.

What had been deliberately excluded from the photos, postcards, posters, and guidebooks is all worth investigating. First, all visual materials were censored by the Kwantung Army, who ensured the content of representation was in accord with the
propaganda of a harmonious land of five ethnic groups. As a result, images of Russian cartage drivers and homeless people were excluded. Also excluded from maps and postcards were pleasure quarters in the Chinese town where brothels gathered and the notorious “no man’s land” area, san-bu-guan 三不管, an outlaws’ hideout located between the Russian and Japanese train stations.²⁸⁰

The convenience and comfort of the speedy bus tour created a distorted image of an urban Shinkyō that one could navigate quickly and smoothly. Postcards with close-up frames of buildings obscured their isolations from the surroundings. Great distances between bus stops, empty land, and narrow alleys behind grand façades where residents encountered every day were not represented in any postcards. For example, the site marked as the new imperial palace at the end of the Shuntian remained unfinished until 1945. The 1941 map also showed the central Datong plaza with empty land. The empty space was incorporated into panoramic views to provoke viewers’ imagination of empty land as an allegory of the potentials of a promising future.

It is worth noting that the scale of Shinkyō was out of proportion. In fact, even with continual development by the Chinese Communist Party after 1945, the original planning framework was still dotted with empty lots, and buildings were scattered along main avenues until the 1990s. With scarce public transportation, getting around the city was extremely inconvenient. It was not a pedestrian-friendly city: extremely broad avenues required vehicles to move around. This was also the case, if not worse, in the 1930s and 1940s. In this way, streets in Shinkyō were transformed into a theatrical space for tourists at the cost of the convenience for residents in daily life.

²⁸⁰ The area was first mentioned in Shengjing Shibao, 1912/8/13.
A postcard, titled “Crowded China Town,” in a set of postcards of “Great Hsin-King” represents a Japanese tourist’s encounter with Chinese living quarters (Figure 3.47). It was taken at the intersection of the Grand Ave and the south of the Nihonbashi bridge in the Chinese town, the former border between the Japanese settlement and the Chinese trading zone. The bus ran along the same street, where tourists observed the Chinese living quarters from bus windows with the guide’s commentary. Depicting banners in Chinese characters hung in front of these neoclassical-style façades and shops lining the main street with traffic of pedestrians and carts, the photo created an image of a prosperous Chinese town. This image was affirmed by Japanese tourists on the bus tours. Based on her view from the bus window, a female student wrote: “Although it is only ten o’clock in the morning, the street was crowded without space to stand, and carts and bicycles were mixed together with automobiles.”

Hidden beneath the image of a “busy, lively urban space,” the inner town was overcrowded and suffered from deteriorating living conditions. As examined in the previous chapter, the first Capital Construction Plan (1932–1937) expanded the city in the southeast area but left out the original city, including the inner town, the trading zone, and the Japanese settlement, where eighty percent of the entire population lived. The Chinese population that remained in the old neighborhoods tripled three times from 1932 to 1942. The government did not apply any urban policies to renovate roads, develop infrastructure, or improve overcrowded living condition. In fact, the representation of the Chinese population and their living space was restricted to shops and pedestrian traffic on

\[\text{281 From the diary of a fourth-year female student of the Nara Women School in her 1939 field trip to Manchuria and Korea. Internet access at http://www.nara-wu.ac.jp/nensi/96.htm.}\]
major commercial streets. Tour buses did not make stops in the Chinese towns, which limited and regulated Japanese tourists’ encounter with local Chinese people and space. In summary, the representation of Shinkyō as an urban spectacle consisting of grand urban plan, landmark buildings, and tourist buses glossed over the unbalanced spatial configuration of a fractured, discriminatory colonial society.

**Kuwabara Kineo’s Photographic Labyrinth in Manchuria**

In 1940, a group of six Japanese photographers, among whom were Hamaya Hiroshi 濱谷浩 (1915–1999) and Kuwabara Kineo 桑原甲子雄 (1913–2007), visited Manchuria for a month upon invitation by SMRC’s PR department. Departing from Shimonoseki to Pusan and taking the train to Fengtian, the group followed a tight schedule in visiting a mixture of urban and rural regions. They visited metropolises such as Fengtian, Shinkyō, and Dalian; Japanese agricultural settlements in northern Manchuria; and Romanov village, a Russian settlement near rural Mudanjiang. At each stop, they were served local specialty food, the most exotic of which were the dairy products provided in the Romanov village. Their photographs of the trip were published in *Manshū Graph* and exhibited at the Shiroki-ya Department store in Nihonbashi, titled “Exhibition of the Photography Team’s Report of Manchuria Today.”

Only one of the photos Kuwabara took was selected by the *Manshū Graph*, which depicted an old man under a Tibetan pagoda (Figure 3.48) looking down at the camera.

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282 They visited Fengtian, Shinkyō, Jilin, Harbin, Sungari, Kiamusze (Miyagi settlement), Mudanjiang (the Russian Romanov Settlement), Ning-an, Fushun, and Dalian and returned to Japan from Lüshun.
He published photos from the Manchuria trip in *Manshū shōwa jūgenen* (1974)\(^{283}\) and later in the album *Shiteki shōwa shi II: Manchū kikō to Tokyo sengo hen* (2013).\(^{284}\) It is particularly striking if one examines photos in these later albums, unpublished at the time, as they revealed a nuanced perspective that deviated from the mainstream representation.

Many of his photos of Manchuria echoed the political propaganda and popular tourist representation at the time. For example, his portrait of two young Russian girls at a shop in Harbin (Figure 3.49), as well as other shots of Russian people, resembled exotic tourist shots of urban Russian Harbin. His photos of Japanese settlers in Sentō village corresponded to the political rhetoric of Japanese settlers as happy, brave pioneers cultivating the pastoral land and guarding the empire’s territory, such as the portrait of a Japanese man holding a gun (Figure 3.50), and a photo of a family at the dinner table (Figure 3.51).\(^{285}\)

However, many photos revealed a dissonance between collective rhetoric and individual experience. Using small light cameras Leica III and a Rolleiflex Standard with two Leica lenses (Summar 50 mm and Elmar 35 mm), Kuwabara captured many portraits of local Chinese people on Konica films.\(^{286}\) Kuwabara intentionally tilted the horizontal line or cut off the frame to create an unstable composition, as one would find in an

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\(^{285}\) For an examination of the Japanese photographers’ idealization of Japanese rural settlers in Manchuria, see Culver, *Glorify the Empire*, 120–32.

\(^{286}\) Kuwabara explained the usage of the Leica camera was because of its light weight made it easy to carry around to capture transient moments and people without causing their concerns.
amateur’s random snapshot. Different from his fellow photographers, Kuwabara took photos of Chinese people representing a variety of identities, such as intellectuals, merchants, farmers, prostitutes, children, and traditional entertainers. These close-up portraits, sometimes off-center, indicated a close distance between his camera and his subjects as if he accidentally bumped into their private space. In one of his photos, a group of Chinese men stood in front of brick buildings staring at something out of the picture frame (Figure 3.52). Their statuesque gestures and gazes caused the viewers to wonder what they were looking at: could it be something astonishing, as a kid in front covered her mouth to stifle a gasp of surprise. It could also be nothing, as two other men continued their conversations indifferently. The photographer created a tension by capturing the men’s serious, solemn facial expressions, gazes, and their static postures. Who and what were they looking at? Why did they not move? Without answering the viewer’s curious questions, Kuwabara transformed the photo, a seemingly random moment of daily life, into a subtle drama of tension, suspension, and mystery.

The photo could also be interpreted as a visual allegory of his personal experience of an incomprehensible China. Kuwabara recalled his excitement about the trip to Manchuria because it was his first time stepping out of Japan, and his was astonished to find that Chinese people looked the same as the Japanese. When an old Chinese lady asked him for directions at the Fengtian station, Kuwabara recalled, he was completely petrified. In fact, the sense of disorientation and a fascination with unexpected compositions and details threaded his photos of Chinese people and streets, where he wandered in markets and back alleys (Figure 3.53), or took a panoramic view from the

\[287\] Ibid., 294–295.
city walls. The way that Kuwabara captured lower-class people was decidedly different from Fuchikami’s, who focused on abstract forms of the Chinese laborers, as exemplified in “A Crane and Coolie.” Kuwabara’s camera lens focused on Chinese people’s vivid facial expressions, dramatic body gestures, and direct eye contacts (Figure 3.54), which expressed a confrontational energy.

Kuwabara was also interested in the converging space of various ethnic groups. Some of these photos delivered an upfront message about political dominance and social hierarchy (Figure 3.55), whereas others were subtle and ambiguous. For example, he photographed the Korean people who were rarely represented anywhere else in their neighborhood in Fengtian. He also captured the moment when a street cart full of Chinese and Japanese people passed by a rickshaw with a female Korean passenger (Figure 3.56). In Jilin, he took a photo of a group of Chinese women talking on the front yard while a Japanese housewife took in the wash on the rooftop (Figure 3.57). He seemed interested in searching for a bizarre juxtaposition of Japanese signboards within non-Japanese contexts: for example, a photo of two Korean people in conversation were situated next to a signboard written in Japanese characters soliciting potential Japanese soldiers (Figure 3.58), and a photo of a Chinese man in a palm-bark raincoat standing underneath a signboard, half of which was cut off from the frame, written in Japanese characters selling Russian beers (Figure 3.59). The overwhelming, scattered, and puzzle-like information and details imbedded in his seemingly uncanny shots deliberately

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288 For recent studies on oral history have provided a literary account of the Korean lives in cities in prewar and interwar Manchuria, see Unsuk Cheong, Chūgoku tōhoku shōwa o aruku: Enpen chōshun, shinyō, dairen, kankokujin ga mita kyūmanshū (Walking through the Showa Period in Northeast China: Koreans’ Accounts of Manchuria in Yanbian, Changchun, Shenyang and Dalian), (Tokyo: Toyō Keizai INC, 2011).
refracted the fractured, multiethnic, and complicated social circumstances of urban Manchuria.

His photos of Shinkyō highlighted the tension of his work with the generic tourist representation. On the one hand, his panoramic shot of the broad Datong Avenue and grand buildings resembled a postcard (Figure 3.60). On the other hand, however, he shifted the viewer’s focus to individual residents and their relationships to their urban environment. For example, his photo of the Diet Building focused on a young officer and his smile (Figure 3.61). In the caption, he wrote: “Out of all the snobbish military officers who attempted to teach lessons, I remembered this young officer, who was exceptionally kind. His wife was a painter.” In this way, the photo became a personal portrait rather than a tourist souvenir.

His lens searched for an awkward relationship between human figures and grand buildings in Manchuria. For example, instead of the entity of a building, he cropped the frame to focus on the sunbathing homeless people (Figure 3.62). Placing the blurry grand Supreme Court remotely on a tilted horizon, Kuwabara’s camera focused on a group of Japanese women and children, in the middle, walking across the muddy ground (Figure 3.63). At the right side of the photo was a paved road extending to the Supreme Court in the far distance, where a man in black, whose features were hard to discern, stood still. The out-of-proportion scale of the capital in the photo highlighted the striking contrast between small figures and the vast, empty environment. It also indicated the inconvenience of the daily life and emptiness of grand urban planning. Similar to other photos, Kuwabara meticulously captured an ostensibly random moment with thought-

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289 Kuwabara, Shiteki shōwa shi II, 51.
provoking details: an elegant Japanese woman dressed in *kimono* holding a parasol, young girls in Western dresses, and a man on the paved road. Where were these women heading and for what? Was the man Chinese or Japanese? Why was the man standing there and what was he staring at? These unanswered questions offered a haunting charm for the viewer and transformed the photo into a prism of the phantasmic reality of Manchuria.

It would be naïve to ignore the power of Kuwabara’s photographic process, a process that gained accescess to private space and took shots of local people free of official permission. The power of imperial subjects, as Charrier puts it, “was the power to own and wield a camera, to safely travel to the site of photographic production, to make photographic subjects of complete strangers, and to control the manipulation, presentation, and circulation of the captured images.” However, Kuwabara’s camera showed a kaleidoscope of people, places, and events inside the Chinese living space that none of tourist postcards attended to.

Furthermore, his meticulous rendering of a plethora of interesting details under the disguise of snapshots provoked the viewer to be absorbed into the locals’ narratives. In his close-up shots of a flea market (Figure 3.64) in Dalian and a bookstall in Shinkyō (Figure 3.65), Kuwabara focused on the relationship between the seller and customer. In the former photo, one buyer’s oversized umbrella, a large dresser behind the seated seller in the center, and a customer in light color at the right side formed a triangular frame that stabilized the chaotic scene. The customers looked at clothes with rapt attention. Likewise, in the latter photo, the customer seemed to be immersed in reading, and the

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owner watched him carefully in silence. The intense concentration was best illustrated in Kuwabara’s photo of a temporary photo studio set up at the market (Figure 3.66). Standing behind the Chinese photographer who stooped over the camera, Kuwabara captured a scene that presented a stage of the modern world, the center of which was a young man with a hat, dressed neatly, sitting cross-legged with his hands overlapped on the lap, and staring at the camera with rapt attention. The young man’s thoughtful pose and facial expression against the background canvas, painted with Western palaces and upturned eaves of traditional Chinese pavilion, delivered a fascinating message: this was a man who embraced modern techniques and was interested in the modern world. Kuwabara was amazed by the Chinese photographer’s setting and described it with great interest, detailing the white curtains used to adjust lighting, changeable background canvas, and sample photos on the shelf as well as on his camera box.\(^{291}\)

As examined above, Kuwabara’s large, close-up portraits of Chinese people with various professions were distinct from those of Manchurian farmers or workers depicted by propaganda or tourism. As critic Iizawa Kōtarō observes, Kuwabara’s camera treated the landscape and people in Manchuria in a similar manner as his earlier documentation of prewar downtown Tokyo, shitamachi, in visual composition and subject matter.\(^{292}\) In both Tokyo and cities of Manchuria, Kuwabara’s camera focused on the endless urban labyrinths made of low houses, narrow alleys, and poor people. Indeed, Kuwabara’s photos were consistent in his interest in the lower-class people’s life stories, fascination with signboard characters, and a deliberate construction of amateur-like composition

\(^{291}\) Kuwabara, *Shiteki shōwa shi* II, 147.

through prewar Tokyo, interwar Manchuria, and postwar Tokyo. His photo of signboards at the street corner of Shinjuku (Figure 3.67) in the 1950s reminded the viewer of those in Manchurian cities.

Although mostly unpublished at the time, Kuwabara’s photographic memory of Manchuria provided a salient example of the consistency and contradictory relationship between individual experiences and mainstream propaganda and tourism during one’s encounter with Manchuria in space. Kuwabara’s photos, unlike those documenting the spectacular outlook of the metropolis, gave a glimpse of the labyrinthine space shared by multiple ethnic groups of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Russian people. In this way, his photos visualized the discrepancy between the space in reality and visual representation, and the spatial experiences between residents and tourists.

**Manchuria: The Prism of Refracted Realities**

During the first half of the twentieth century, most Japanese people encountered Manchuria through consumption of visual media or mass tourism. The visual representation of Manchuria changed from an adventurous, remote frontier to a safe, comfortable theme park of modernity. This historical shift was the result of changes in Japanese colonial policies, the social condition in Japan, and, most importantly, the development of imperial tourism in Manchuria. Tourism in the Meiji period complemented the political propaganda by arranging visits to sites that facilitated ideological education and incorporating photos of shrines and war memorials into the visual repertoire of tours. The photo album of the Rosetta tour in the Meiji period visualized imperial expansion into a new territory and the political relations between Japan and its neighbors. In the Taisho era, tour pamphlets and travelogue illustrations
witnessed the Japanese fascinations with international, urban landscapes in Manchuria, which paralleled the thriving urban culture in domestic Japan, and the rise of a middle-class that embraced international tastes.

By the 1940s, mass tourism and the proliferation of visual representation of Manchuria successfully transformed Manchuria into a theme park consisting of urban metropolises, suburban leisure resorts, and pastoral farmlands. Bus tours in Shinkyō, together with postcards, travel guidebooks, and other visual materials, created a “spectacular metropolitan space” featuring broad avenues, modern buildings, and huge plazas. It glossed over multiple fractured layers of daily life space in Manchuria. This fabricated image affirmed the understanding of Shinkyō as a utopian metropolis planned and built from an empty wilderness field by the hands of hardworking Japanese, an image that has remained influential to this day.

Many tourists hopped on the bus, took photos at each site, purchased postcards with ceremonial stamps, and bought souvenirs from department stores listed on the back of the guidebooks. Aerial photos of the plaza and panoramic views of streets transformed Shinkyō into an abstract space, and bus tour that ferried passengers around to look at buildings without entering further flattened the space. Their tourist experiences formed a collective experience of the Manchurian space, which was a selective, constructed, and artificial one. Lost in representation were the spatial experiences of multiple ethnic residents, who became victims of a tourist’s gaze. Individual accounts, such as Kuwabara

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293 For an example of reconstructing tours to Manchuria from a nostalgic perspective, see Kawamura Minato, *Manshū tetsudō maboroshi ryōkō* (Tokyo: Bungei shunjū, 2002). The most recent architectural studies that shared the nostalgic and romantic view based on the visual materials, see Maruta Yōji, see *Kōya ni shutugen shita toshi: Manshū Shimizu-gumi no sokuseki* (Fukuoka: Kaika Shobō, 2015).
Kineo’s photography, although in their own way still partial or selective, presented a nuanced, tensioned relationship with mainstream narratives, which had long been ignored and misunderstood.
Chapter Four

Conflicts and Ambivalence: Interactions among Japanese Architects, Japanese Contractors, and Chinese Workers

People involved in the architectural activities in Manchuria occupied a pyramidal structure. On the top were Japanese architects and engineers who graduated from prestigious Japanese universities and worked for the Kwantung Army, SMRC, or the Construction Bureau of Manchukuo. The second tier comprised Japanese contractors who competed for commissions from architects, acquired labor and material required for the construction, and mediated relationships between architects and workers. Under the Japanese contractors were Japanese workers, who were trained in the traditional Japanese apprentice system. The base of the pyramid was made up of Chinese workers, who were instructed by Japanese workers on Japanese building methods and on usage of Japanese tools.

The pyramidal structure of architectural activities paralleled the demographic hierarchy of the colonial society, where a small Japanese population ruled an enormous number of people of other ethnic groups. Scholars have examined the mechanics of architectural activities in Manchuria from a top-down perspective, focusing on the colonial government’s policies and regulations, as well as the establishment of a network of Japanese architects in colonies. They argue that building regulations and architectural organizations established a rational, modern order from an empty, chaotic

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294 In the late 1920s and 1930s, there were also individual architects who opened their own architectural firms in Manchuria, but they either were former employees of or had strong ties with these three institutions.

environment. However, how regulations were carried out and how architects’ projects were executed in reality remain unclear. An examination of the dynamics among Japanese architects, Japanese contractors, Japanese workers, and Chinese workers can illuminate how the colonial rule functioned and was challenged in the local context.

In this chapter, I first reconstruct an overview of the first twenty years of the building context for Japanese architects and contractors’ activities in Manchuria. Historical studies of the lives of the first generation of Japanese settlers in Manchuria shed light on the local context for the earliest Japanese construction in Manchuria. My examination reveals that Japanese architectural development at the turn of the twentieth century in Manchuria featured conflicting interests between the government and individuals under the surface of what appeared to be booming progress. Second, based on recent historical studies on the labor management of Chinese workers in colonial Manchuria, I re-examine Japanese architects’ and contractors’ responses to the issue of labor shortage at construction sites and argue that in contrast with the popular picture of a standardized, regulated visual representation of Chinese workers as “coolies” was a manifestation of an unresolved dilemma between ethnicity and social stratum embedded in the social hierarchy of colonial Manchuria.

**First Generation of Japanese Architects and Japanese Contractors**

Nishizawa has traced the careers of Japanese architects who worked for the Kwantung Army, SMRC, and Construction Bureau of Manchukuo State during the first half of the twentieth century.²⁹⁶ He characterized the first generation of these Japanese

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architects as having an elite education background and relying on the support of the military. For example, the first Japanese architects, Maeda Matsuō (1880–1944) 前田松韻, Okada Tokitarō (1859–1926) 岡田時太郎, and Ikeda Kentarō 池田賢太郎 all worked as technicians, *gishi*, for the Kwangtung Army.\(^{297}\) A fresh graduate from the University of Tokyo, Maeda was sent to Manchuria to build military storage structures in 1904. He was hired together with his classmate, engineer Kuratsuka Yoshio 倉塚良夫 (1879–1942) by the Dalian Military and Administration Office, *Dairen Gunseisho* 大連軍政署 (hereafter DMAO) in 1905. Founded in 1904, DMAO was the first government organization that conducted building activities.

As the chief architect, Maeda was in charge of renovating buildings left by the Russians into Japanese government offices. For example, his team renovated a former Russian military camp building, adding a new entrance façade to make it the Kwantung High Court (Figure 4.1). His most famous work was the Civic Administration Office, *Dairen Minseisho* 大連民政署, completed in 1908 (Figure 4.2). It was the earliest Japanese public building constructed after the war and its location on the grand plaza, the heart of downtown Dalian, made it a landmark for Japanese rule. In order to express the “magnificent grandeur” as requested by Sekiya Teizaburō (1875–1950), the head of the *Minseisho*, Maeda designed a façade with medieval features such as Gothic towers, which were inspired by the Hamburg City Hall and Brussels Town Hall. As Nishizawa’s discussion of Sekiya’s and Maeda’s arguments and revisions of the façade design reveals, it is evident that from the beginning Japanese officials considered architecture a potent symbol for political authority and the choice of Western style as their justification for

\(^{297}\) Nishizawa, “Kantō totokufu no kenchiku,” 118–19.
advanced rule. \(^{298}\)

The University of Tokyo occupied the center of the architects’ network as graduates from its Department of Architecture dominated major posts within the Kwangtung Army and later the Construction Bureau in Manchuria. The central figure was Onogi Takaharu 小野木孝治 (1872–1932), who transferred to Manchuria from Taiwan in 1907 working as the first chief of the SMRC Construction Bureau.\(^{299}\) After Onogi retired in 1923 and opened his own architectural firm, Sano Toshikata 佐野利器 (1880–1956), an expert on antiseismic studies and professor at the University of Tokyo, took over the position and played an important role in recruiting Todai graduated architects to work in Manchuria.\(^{300}\)

Japanese contractors, doboku-ukeoissha 土木請負者, arrived in Manchuria much earlier than Japanese architects. The earliest appearance of Japanese contractors could be traced back to the end of the nineteenth century, when they worked on building projects for the CER Company.\(^{301}\) In 1899, Japanese intelligence officer Ishimitsu Makiyo 石光真清 (1868–1942) was dispatched to the border region between Russia and China, where he took photos of Russian military facilities under the disguise as the owner of a photo studio.\(^{302}\) His diaries recorded his encounter with several Japanese contractors from

\(^{298}\) Ibid., 120-21.

\(^{299}\) Nishizawa, *Umi o watatta kenchikuka*, 52-76.

\(^{300}\) Ibid. 112-118.

\(^{301}\) Ibid. 146–147.

Kumamoto and Hiroshima, who were in charge of the construction of the Mudan River Bridge and Suifenhe Tunnel for the CER railway, and boasted that they were the crucial “pillars” in the construction of Russian railways.\(^{303}\)

These Japanese contractors competed with Russian contractors to receive commissions from Russian engineers and worked as intermediaries between Russian engineers/architects and Chinese workers. They spoke basic Chinese, Russian, and a Russo–Chinese mixed dialect, which had developed for communication between Russian engineers and Chinese workers.\(^ {304}\) Nishizawa argues that these early Japanese contractors left Manchuria when it became the main battlefield during the Russo–Japanese War, and therefore, they left little influence on later Japanese contractors. However, he does not provide further evidence to support the argument. In fact, some of Japanese contractors stayed throughout the war and continued to work in Manchuria and North China.\(^ {305}\)

Japanese contractors were among the earliest Japanese settlers in Manchuria. In his meticulous examination of Japanese entrepreneurs’ economic activities in Dalian during the first half of the twentieth century, historian Yanagisawa Asobu groups these entrepreneurs into three main categories: the exclusive military suppliers (goshōnin); employees dispatched by companies in Japan and other colonies; and individual

\(^{303}\) Ibid. 163. Nishizawa also records the episode, see Nishizawa, *Umi o watatta kenchikuka*, 147.

\(^{304}\) The CER Company did not leave many documents about these Japanese contractors, but they did record their rivals, the Russian private contractors. For a detailed account, see Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*, 31–32.

\(^{305}\) For example, see historian Yanagisawa Asobe’s account of Japanese settlers’ activities in the late nineteenth century, Asobu Yanagisawa, *Nihonjin No Shokuminchi Keiken: Dairen Nihonjin Shōkōgyōsha No Rekishi* (Tōkyō: Aoki Shoten, 1999), 48.
adventurers (including outlaws and homeless).\textsuperscript{306} Taking advantage of the Kwangtung Army’s policy and connections, these settlers considered Manchuria a gold mine in which to make a fortune overnight and then return to Japan. Real estate speculators were the top tax contributors among all business in Dalian. Restaurants and hotels also mushroomed: among the thirty top taxpayers in Dalian were six hotels owners and three restaurants owners. The opportunistic businesses were characterized by high mobility and vulnerability to government policies and the economy. After the blooming economy hit depression in 1908, none of hotels and restaurants were among the top taxpayers in 1909.\textsuperscript{307}

As a result, early Japanese settlers created an image of adventurous speculators. For example, Kawakami Kenza, a son of a Shinto priest in Saga, provides a good example of the fluidity and speculative nature of the entrepreneurs. In 1885 he opened a grocery store, zakka-sho, in Vladivostok, where he also promoted Shinto. From 1898 to 1904, he worked as a contractor for Russian construction projects in Lüshun while he also recruited Chinese workers for the Kwangtung Army. Because of his connection with the military, his investment in real estate gained great success, and he was recorded as a rising celebrity in Dalian.\textsuperscript{308} Morikami Uhe from Kumamoto went to America and to colonial Korea, and then arrived in Dalian in 1906 after his failures in previous places.

\textsuperscript{306} Ibid. 44–47.

\textsuperscript{307} Ibid. 36–37

He then opened a billiard house and worked at the same time as a contractor in Liaoyang. In 1911, his commission with the Standard Oil Company failed and he fled to Dalian at night with debts left behind. There he began many businesses such as recycling, exchange, and lottery retail, etc.  

The Kwantung Army lifted the travel ban to Manchuria in 1905. A year later there were already five registered contractors among the total of seventy-one Japanese residents in Dalian. In reality, there were more contractors because many merchants also undertook building projects as their sidelines. The influx of Japanese immigrants resulted in a building boom, whose focus shifted to southern Manchuria, in particular, to Dalian, the location of the headquarters for Kwantung Army and for SMRC. These Japanese contractors were versatile: they imported construction materials, recruited Chinese workers, and competed for commissions from the Kwantung Army and SMRC through their personal connections. Many merchants also took building projects as a sideline to profit from the building boom until 1908, when the economic depression forced many contractors to switch to more profitable industries.

**Chaotic Japanese Construction Scene in 1910s: the Ōmi Scandal**


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309 Ibid. 59.


engineering in 1894 and was sent to build bridges and parapets in Dalian, Taiwan, Tianjin, and Hokkaido.\(^{312}\) His experiences of building military works paved the way for his later contractor career in Manchuria. In his memoir, Takaoka divided the first generation of Japanese contractors in Manchuria into four categories based on their origins—Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and northern China—and claimed that they considered Manchuria “a wild field where gold was falling [from the sky].”\(^{313}\)

Lacking professional training and sufficient funding, Japanese contractors built a large number of temporary barrack wooden houses with stucco facades imitating Western styles. They were constantly criticized by Japanese architects for their low-quality work and lack of morality. The tenuous relationship between the Japanese architects and contractors was exemplified in Takaoka’s account of indifferent treatments by SMRC architects. He writes, “every single time before knocking on the office door I needed to fight with the fear of seeing everyone’s impatient face, and even worse, still obtaining no work.”\(^ {314}\) His career thrived after he finally secured an SMRC commission to renovate the expansion of the VIP room at Lushun train station, which was received well.

As Takaoka recalls, the years 1910 and 1911 were the peak of fierce competition among contractors, many of whom went bankrupt and absconded to avoid debts.\(^ {315}\) The most famous bankruptcy of contractors at the time happened during the construction of

\(^{312}\) For a biography of Takaoka, see Nishizawa, *Umi o watatta kenchikuka*, 158–63. See also his own account in Takaoka, “Kaiko Mandan,” 48.

\(^{313}\) Ibid., 49.

\(^{314}\) Ibid., 52.

\(^{315}\) Ibid. 53.
SMRC’s first dormitory in the Ōmi neighborhood in Dalian in 1908, which was labeled the “Ōmi Scandal” among architects and contractors at the time. The contractor Chiba Kiyoji and his primary investor Harima Kannosuke claimed bankruptcy and fled the city in the middle of construction. Chiba’s creditors faced financial loss and an unfinished project that required tremendous funds to complete. They negotiated with SMRC, and eventually the two parties reached an agreement: the creditors would work for SMRC to return the unpaid deposit and SMRC commissioned the Yamaba company to complete the project.316 The budget of over 60,000 yen brought great profit to the Yamaba company, making it the tenth top tax contributor after the completion of the dormitory in 1909.317

The Ōmi incident exemplified the vulnerability of the payment system at the time, which was a combination of bidding by contractors and a prepaid deposit to contractors. This system resulted in severe competition among contractors who tried to bid lower than others, and it required complete reliance on contractors to acquire materials and laborers throughout the project. As Takaoka points out, although theoretically the competitive system was meant to motivate contractors to produce high-quality work to raise their reputation, in reality contractors reduced cost by using low-quality materials and

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316 SMRC, aiming to resume construction as soon as possible, proposed two solutions. One was to cease the current construction and based on the degree of completion, refund creditors if there was money left from the reduction from the deposit SMRC prepaid to the Chiba-gumi. The other option was to pay creditors the entire amount if they continued the construction. For a detailed account of the incident, see Yanagisawa, *Nihonjin no shokuminchi keiken*, 51-53.

317 Ibid. 36.
lowering labor wages. The bidding system, therefore, caused wage disputes and the corruption of army officials, who accepted bribes to grant commissions.

SMRC took lessons from the Ōmi incident and began to regulate the chaotic market. It reversed the prepaid system: contractors paid deposits as a guarantee for the completion of their work. In 1911, SMRC further appointed forty-seven contractors to exclusively receive its commissions, and divided them into different ranks to award commissions accordingly. However, the bidding system continued throughout years and contractors struggled to cut budgets by various methods, the most important of which was to lower the labor cost.

**Budget Control: Management of Chinese Workers**

The management of Chinese workers was a key element of Japanese contractors’ successful budget control. The contractors relied heavily on an enormous number of Chinese workers at cheap cost to keep their budgets low. A Chinese worker’s average monthly wage was between thirty to fifty cents, qian, less than one-fifth of a Japanese worker’s monthly wage, which averaged two dollars, yuan. Japanese contractors collaborated with Chinese brokers to recruit Chinese workers, who worked under Japanese workers’ instructions. The tension and interaction among Japanese architects, Japanese contractors, Japanese workers, and Chinese workers determined the course of Japanese architectural development in Manchuria. Japanese architects’ and contractors’ conflicting understandings of the labor issue also represented an internal paradox of

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318 Takaoka, “Kaiko Mandan,” 52.
319 Ibid. 53.
320 For a complete list of the names of Japanese contractors, see Nishizawa, *Umi o watatta nihonjin kenchikuka*, 148.
Japanese architectural activities in Manchuria. Namely, Japanese architects’ anxieties toward the Chinese workers’ assimilation and their attempts to regulate the labor management system were incompatible with their reliance on an autonomous labor market of Chinese workers, the fundamental engine of Japanese architectural development in Manchuria.

Recent studies have revealed the crucial role that labor-management played in Japan’s expansion in Manchuria. SMRC’s fast growth in Manchuria was not solely because of its large investments and experienced employees, but was mainly because of a successful mobilization of a large amount of low-cost Chinese labor.321 A brief review of the social conditions of Chinese workers, therefore, is essential to understanding Japan’s construction in Manchuria. In fact, realizing the significance of Chinese laborers in colonial development in Manchuria, CER’s research department and SMRC’s economy research department, newspapers, and several institutions assembled statistics, conducted field research, and reported on the working and living conditions of Chinese laborers beginning at the end of the nineteenth century.322

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322 The early research was carried out by CER’s and SMRC’s research departments, while publications on the Chinese workers significantly increased in the 1920s. For example, see Manmōsangyō kenkyūkai, *Manshū sangyōgai yori mitaru shina no kuryoku* (Dairen: Manshū keizai jihōsha, 1920). Miyamoto Tsūji, *Manshū kōgyō rōdō jijō* (Dairen: Minamimanshū tetsudō kabushiki gaisha shomubu chōsaka, 1925). Minamimanshū tetsudō kabushiki gaisha sōshaishitsu jinjika, *Manshū Ni Okeru Rōdō Undō Narabini Rōdō Sōgi* (Dairen: Minamimanshu tetsudo kabushiki gaisha, 1929). Minamimanshū tetsudō kabushiki gaisha keizai chōsakai, *Manshū No Kūri* (Dairen: Manshū bunka kyōkai, 1933).
The massive flow of the Chinese transient populations to Manchuria from North China was one of the most influential phenomena in the first half of the twentieth century. Since the end of the nineteenth century, natural disasters, economic depression, and unsettling political environments in North China motivated agricultural workers to move to Manchuria for work during their off-peak seasons. The majority of immigrants were from overpopulated Shandong and Zhili in North China: the population in Shandong was nine times denser than Manchuria. Farmers left their hometowns to look for temporary and seasonal jobs during the winter break and the time between March to May in the lunar calendar.323

Recruited by Chinese compradors, the workers were shipped to Yingkou, Port Arthur, Dalian, and Vladivostok, and worked on CER’s construction sites of railroads and related industries. According to the Harbin Research Department of SMRC, from 1887 to 1891, Chinese immigrants to CER increased to around 1,500,000 people per year. The total number of Chinese immigrants moving to and fro was estimated to have reached 5,700,000 in 1908, 8,000,000 in 1914, 9,000,000 in 1919, and amounted to 10,300,000 in 1925.324 The actual number might have been even higher and is impossible to calculate accurately: Chinese workers were crowded in the lower deck of small ships.

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323 Minamimanshū tetsudō kabushiki gaisha keizai chōsakai, Manshū No Kūri, 14–15.

324 The Boxer Uprising in 1900 briefly interrupted the massive move of Chinese immigrants, which resumed quickly after it was pacified. After the incident, however, most of Chinese workers were recruited directly from Zhili, because it cost less and was less politically complicated for transporting the Chinese to an open port. In 1902 there were 814 boatloads from Zhili, which shipped 81,598 coolies to the Port Arthur, 25,717 to Dal’nii, and 23,983 to Vladivostok. For an examination of Chinese workers’ contribution to the CER railroads, see Wolff, To the Harbin Station, 1–35.
without food or space to sleep, and they suffered from illness and a high death rate on the road (Figure 4.3). These Chinese laborers constituted seventy to ninety percent of the entire labor force for CER. As historian David Wolff astutely points out, the enormous number of Chinese laborers at extremely low cost was the key to the fast development of CER, whose largest infrastructure project expanded over 28,000 miles over thirty years. The Chinese workers cost merely one-eighth of their Russian peers. Russian engineers also considered Chinese workers more tolerant and diligent than the alcoholic Russian workers.325

Chinese immigrants entered Manchuria through five thresholds: by boat from Dalian, Yingkou, and Andong, by rail from Fengtian, or on foot along the Fengtian-Shandong Railway Line. The expansion of railroads in Manchuria expedited people’s movements, and the government of Republic China also promoted temporary and seasonal immigrations reducing railway fares and issuing government permission.326 In the 1910s and early 1920s, under the warlord Zhang Zuolin’s strong military control and economic development, the region of Manchuria presented a thriving economic environment. The politically stable environment and rapid growth of international trade stood in contrast with the economic depression in North China, and improving conditions further attracted more immigrants.327

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325 Ibid., 9.

326 Minamimanshū tetsudō kabushiki gaisha keizai chōsakai, Manshū No Kūrī, 4.

327 For a detailed account, in particular about the relationship among Zhang, Russian and Japanese, see chapter one in Ronald Stanley Suleski, Civil Government in Warlord China: Tradition, Modernization and Manchuria (New York: P. Lang, 2002), 19–41.
Similar to CER, SMRC also relied on Chinese workers to complete large construction projects at low cost. There were mainly four types of the labor: mine workers, construction workers, dock workers, and servants. Half of the Chinese laborers worked on construction sites, and they contributed to the building boom in Manchuria. Research reports gave a vivid account of risky adventures of these Chinese immigrants, who carried futon and willow food containers as they walked toward inner Manchuria (Figure 4.4). For example, Japanese journalist Ozawa Moichi interviewed a homeless family in front of the SMRC Hospital in Fengtian. The family took the train from Shangdong and stayed in guesthouses while eating prepared food all along the way. They relied on the connection with people from their hometown, Tongxianghui 同鄉會, to introduce working opportunities and accommodation. While waiting for contact, the family ran out of money and ended up staying on the streets and begging in order to afford the guesthouse in the Chinese neighborhood, Xiaogangzi 小崗子, in Dalian.328

There were seven to eight labor markets in Dalian, which opened daily at six o’clock. Walls of free laborers surrounded recruiters for jobs.329 The majority of Chinese workers were recruited in their local towns before coming the Manchuria. Based on personal and familial connections, Chinese brokers recruited and managed Chinese workers through the batou, 把頭 system, which was similar to the traditional Japanese “oyakata” system. It constituted a pyramid structure of control, with layers of brokers in

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328 Ozawa Moichi, Santō Hinanmin Kijitsu (Mantetsu rijin keizai chōsa i’inkai, 1928).
329 Minamimanshū tetsudō kabushiki gaisha keizai chōsakai, Manshū No Kūri, 38.
addition to the clerk and cook. The head broker of a *batou* system worked as the negotiator between Japanese contractors and workers, the manager of workers on site, and the supplier for workers’ accommodation, food, and wages. The most important assistant of the head broker was the clerk in charge of finance. An average *batou* system managed around two hundred workers in total: under the head broker were two or three sub-level brokers, each of whom managed fourteen or fifteen workers.

The Chinese transient workers in Manchuria constituted one of the most popular subjects for image repositories of Manchuria. Japanese visitors were impressed by the scale of the mobile population and considered them an authentic representation of “local” Chinese. One of the earliest influential accounts of Chinese labors came from Sōseki’s *Mankan tokorodokoro*. During his visit to the oil mills in Dalian, Sōseki meticulously described how Chinese workers loaded bags of soybeans into machines, stepped on them to press oil, and carried bags to storage during the production process. His detailed, montage-like, and sensational descriptions of Chinese laborers’ half-naked and sweating bodies, silent yet powerful movements, and the bizarre mix of smells within the factories created a vivid image of the Chinese “coolies” *kūrī* クーリー, a term used by the Japanese for Chinese laborers during the first half of the twentieth century. Sōseki also established the connection between the strong bodies of Chinese workers and their spirit of diligence and endurance, which for him was representative of the temperament of the

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Chinese.

In the 1910s and 1920s, Japanese tourists visited the Dalian port, construction sites of mines, and dormitories of Chinese workers on tours arranged by SMRC. The Japanese travelers’ encounters with Chinese workers were divided into two parts: at work and in private life. Like in Sōseki’s experiences, the former was completed during visits to the Dalian port. Photos, postcards, and travelers’ accounts depicted Chinese workers carrying packages of soybeans on the Dalian dock (Figure 4.5), which confirmed Sōseki’s impression of Chinese workers’ physical strength, as well as Chinese diligence and endurance. The latter was realized by a visit to the Chinese workers’ dormitory, Hekisansō 碧山荘, where travelers’ sketches depicted Chinese workers smoking cigarettes, drinking at the table, and playing with birdcages (Figure 4.6). An article in Keijō Daily in 1917 also reported on how Chinese workers received hot food after work and expressed their gratitude for the accommodations by yelling “no need for money” to the Japanese owner.332 These depictions consolidated the image of Chinese workers’ leisure time as slow-paced, relaxed, and content. Together they established the image of an “indigenous” Chinese as strong, enduring, obedient, and easy to please.

Hekisansō was a popular spot for Japanese tourists. It was originally founded by Aioi Yoshitarō 相生由太郎 (1867–1930), a former employee of SMRC, as a shelter camp, shūyō-jo 収容所, for Chinese workers in Dalian in 1909. It quickly developed into the largest labor-management company in Dalian and was incorporated into Fuchang Chinese Worker Company (Figure 4.7), a monopoly established by SMRC in 1926 for

Located in the southeast of the Dalian Dock, it hosted more than 10,000 Chinese workers, the largest number in Dalian (Figure 4.8). The pamphlet of the dormitory included a bird’s-eye view sketch, photos of the facilities and workers, and texts describing labor management and workers’ life in the dormitory. Together with the tourist postcards (Figure 4.9), these visual materials rendered the dormitory as a symbol for the ideal and scientific management of Chinese laborers.

The spatial layout of the dormitory emphasized centralized management of Chinese labor. The bird’s-eye view sketch displayed the large scale of the site, which extended to a nearby mountain (Figure 4.10). It consisted of more than ninety dormitory buildings—fifty one-floor buildings and forty-two two-floor buildings, which lined up along two main roads. A new site of dormitories was added to the east of the original rectangular site. At the end of long rows of dormitory buildings was an area for religious, social and recreational facilities, including the Chinese master workers’ meeting hall, Buddhist temple, cemetery, and theater. A public bathhouse was built in the center of the site in 1928, together with an administrative office and sanatorium. Grocery stores were placed on the side of the dormitory buildings. Master workers’ dormitories and family dormitories were separate from single dormitories on the adjacent site. The Japanese manager’s house was placed near the front gate (Figure 4.11), a remote location far from the dormitories.

Photos of the dormitory community emphasized a spacious, disciplined view from outside (Figure 4.12), while none of them depicted any dormitory interiors. The pamphlet

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333 For an account of Aioi and his company, see Katō Kiyofumi and Shinozaki Yoshirō, Manshū to Aioi Yoshitarō: Aioi Yoshitarō (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2012).

gave a simple description of the interior space of a single dormitory, a rectangular room with the size of three-ken (540cm) by eight-ken (1,440cm). Two rows of bed stoves, kang 炕, were placed parallel to the longer side and divided by a central aisle. There was no articulation of each occupant’s space, as the bed stove was a platform without individual partition. The image and text constituted a “normal” life for a Chinese worker, illustrating the space for their meals (Figure 4.13), religion (Figure 4.14), entertainment (Figure 4.15) and medical care (Figure 4.16).

Photos and postcards of the dormitory were continually used for promoting the propaganda of Japan’s benevolent colonial control up to the 1940s. For example, as art historian Annika Culver details in her accounts of the propaganda photography of Manchukuo, Fuchikami and Japanese photographers used cropped compositions and a strong contrast of light and shadows to represented Chinese coolies as enlarged hero figures.335 In Manshu Graph, a photographic collage of Hekisansō dormitory was juxtaposed with Fuchikami’s artistic photos of the Chinese workers, which constituted the Japanese idealized perception of a harmonious relationship between Chinese workers and Japanese employers. However, scholars have noticed the gap between the images and reality, pointing out that contrary to the representation, Chinese workers suffered from diseases and a high death rate because of the overcrowded living environment, low-quality food, and lack of health care.336

What has not been portrayed in the images was the hierarchical structure of

335 See Culver, Glorify the Empire, 100–133.

336 See Wang, Manshūkoku rōkōshi no kenkyū: Kahoku Chiku Karano Nyūman Rōkō, 265–85. Also see Matsubara Kazue, Dairen dansu hōru no yoru (Tokyo: Arechi Shuppansha, 1994).
multiple controls imposed by the collaboration of Chinese brokers and Japanese owners. Japanese contractors either participated in direct recruitment from North China or, most commonly, relied on local Chinese brokers, who maintained relatively autonomy in the recruitment and management of Chinese workers. Successful contractors, therefore, maintained a close relationship with their Chinese brokers and relied on a free labor market.

**Shortage of Japanese Workers on Construction Sites**

1920s Manchuria witnessed a surplus of architects from prestigious universities and technicians from local technology schools,\(^{337}\) and a shortage of Japanese workers. The first generation of Japanese workers came to Manchuria during or immediately after the Russo–Japanese War, working as intermediaries between Japanese contractors and Chinese workers. Generally, one Japanese worker instructed fifty or more Chinese workers at the site, teaching them how to use of Japanese tools and build with Japanese methods. They spoke some Chinese for communication and their wages were five times that of the Chinese workers.

By 1920s, the first generation of Japanese workers approached retirement, as the majority of them were over fifty years old. There was a lack of young Japanese workers who could take instructions from contractors and guide Chinese workers. Some of the Chinese workers gradually mastered Japanese techniques and languages and could take orders from Japanese contractors directly and instruct others while being paid lower wages than their Japanese counterparts. In the eyes of some Japanese contractors,

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\(^{337}\) See Shigemitsu Matsumuro, “Kenchiku Zakkan,” *Manchurian Architectural Journal* 8, no. 8 (August 1928): 14–20. In the article, he analyzed that there were over 200 graduates from universities, and counting provisional schools, the total would be over 1000 graduates per year.
Chinese workers overtook Japanese workers both in terms of quantity and quality.

Japanese architects, however, expressed concerns about the increasing number of Chinese workers. They worried that the dominance of Chinese workers on site would threaten the quality of commissions because of their ignorance of Japanese building methods. For instance, in his article on the education of Chinese workers, Hakuryū complained about Chinese workers’ poor work, such as repeatedly using the wrong proportion for water in the concrete mix or making mistakes when firing bricks. He also pointed out that although Chinese workers around Dalian adapted to the use of Japanese-style tools, those on provincial sites still mixed their own tools with Japanese ones.

The shortage of Japanese workers at the construction sites caused Japanese architects’ concerns in the late 1920s. In a 1928 article, architect Oka Ōji summarized two challenges that Japanese workers faced in Manchuria: they did not have the traditional apprentice system to maintain a stable supply for workers, and they had the extra burden of communicating with Chinese workers. Oka showed distrust for Chinese workers and emphasized the indispensable role of Japanese workers in construction projects as a guarantee for high work quality.

The questions that Oka raised led Manchurian Architectural Journal to dedicate a special issue to address them later that year. Titled “Issues Regarding the Cultivation of Chinese workers overtook Japanese workers both in terms of quantity and quality. Japanese architects, however, expressed concerns about the increasing number of Chinese workers. They worried that the dominance of Chinese workers on site would threaten the quality of commissions because of their ignorance of Japanese building methods. For instance, in his article on the education of Chinese workers, Hakuryū complained about Chinese workers’ poor work, such as repeatedly using the wrong proportion for water in the concrete mix or making mistakes when firing bricks. He also pointed out that although Chinese workers around Dalian adapted to the use of Japanese-style tools, those on provincial sites still mixed their own tools with Japanese ones.

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338 Hakuryū Sheng, “Manjin kenchiku jyūgyō in no kyōiku to shitō ni tsuite,” Manchurian Architectural Journal 16, no. 4 (April 1936): 49–50. It is not clearly from the Chinese character whether the person was named Bai Longsheng, or Mr. Hakuryū, because the journal has contributors who only listed their nicknames with sheng suggesting Mr.

Japanese Workers,” *Hōjin Shokkō Yōsei Mondai* 邦人職工養成問題, the special issue invited leading figures from the Kwangtung government, SMRC, industrial schools, constructions firms, and architects to contribute their insights on this issue. A total of thirty members, including Japanese architects (Matsumuro Shigemitsu, Oka, and Onogi), contractors (Sakakiya and Yamabe Hagane from the Okura Firm, Mita Kōsuke from the Mita firm), presidents of primary industry schools, and several city councilmen in Dalian contributed their ideas.

Their perspectives and proposals for the solution to the problem conflicted with each other in accordance with the advocates’ experience and interests. There were two groups of opposing opinions. The first group consisted of SMRC architects, entrepreneurs, government officials, and school presidents in Manchuria. They proposed two reasons for the shortage of Japanese workers: the profit-driven contractors’ moral turpitude and the deteriorating morality of contemporary society. They denounced Japanese contractors’ intention to cut costs by hiring Chinese workers with lower wages. They proposed to raise Japanese workers’ salaries to attract more Japanese people to the construction sites. Second, the architects, educators of industry schools, and some contractors drew attention to the recent trend of young people valuing intellectual work more than physical labor in contemporary society.

Politicians emphasized the importance of morality and urged architects to respect the value of work, which would raise the workers’ social status. They advocated a return

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341 For a complete list, see Ibid. 13.
to “the sacred sweat of labor.” Kojima Shōtarō from the Iizuka Construction echoed the politicians’ idea and proposed to cultivate the virtue to “consider labor as sacred.” They blamed the lack of morality of Japanese contractors, who favored Chinese workers for economic profit, and urged them to “make sacrifices [in economy] for the overall colonial development by the Japanese.”

The group of contractors, led by Yamabe and Sakakiya, gave a different set of reasons for the shortage of Japanese workers. They pointed out that it was a result of evolution of circumstances: Chinese workers with extremely low wages and longer working hours eliminated their rivals. They dismissed Japanese architects’ concerns that using Chinese labor would lower the quality of the construction projects. Instead, they claimed the building quality did not drop because Chinese workers had gradually mastered Japanese building knowledge and skills in recent years. Rather than blame the problem on Japanese contractors’ morality, Yamabe from the Ōkura firm accused SMRC and Kwantung Army’s bidding system for chasing Japanese workers out of Manchuria. Under this system, Japanese contractors, who offered the lowest bid, received the commission, which intensified competitions and forced contractors to minimize costs by using Chinese labor. Yamabe was bitter about the irony and criticized the hypocrisy in architects’ lofty slogan of “cultivating moral workers.”

342 Ibid. 2.

343 Ibid. 8. Proposed by Funada Yōsuke, the chief manager of the SMRC factory in the shahekou area.

344 Ibid. 7. Mentioned by Mita Kōsuke, who also proposed that Japanese contractors should take responsibilities of cultivating Chinese workers.

345 Ibid. 10–11.
The group of elite architects and officials proposed that the solution should be to create a stable working class with moderate wages, social status, and high morality to compete with and eventually substitute for Chinese labor. In order to achieve this, rather than taking Japanese immigrants, they argued it was time to cultivate “indigenous” Japanese construction workers by expanding industrial education in Manchuria. Presidents of current professional schools and primary schools proposed to establish new middle-level industry schools and to elevate current professional schools, kōgyō gakkō 工業学校, to the rank of universities, which would attract more young people. These newly established professional universities would cultivate young Japanese teenagers into committed and skilled workers who could endure physical labor. Kon Kagehiko, former president of the Southern Manchuria Industrial School, drafted a detailed proposal including a fellowship system, education program, textbooks, and location of the schools, etc.\(^{346}\)

Among the critical voices, the Japanese architect Matsumuro Shigemitsu 松室重光 (1873–1937) stood out. Differing from other architects and elites, Matsumuro agreed with the group of Japanese contractors that the attempt to cultivate a class of Japanese workers to compete with Chinese labors was impractical.\(^{347}\) His reasoning, however, was much bolder: he blamed the internal corruption within SMRC and Kwangtung Army for the fundamental problem.

Matsumuro’s harsh critique came from his background as both an insider and

\(^{346}\) Ibid. 18-20.

\(^{347}\) Ibid. 2.
outsider among the architects in Manchuria. Coming from the prestigious family of Matsuo Shrine in Kyoto, Matsumuro went to the Kyoto Imperial University to study architecture. After graduation, he first worked in the preservation department of the Construction Bureau, until he was sacked because of his subordinate’s corruption.\footnote{For a brief account of his life and architectural work, see Ishida Jun’ichirō and Nakagawa Osamu, “Matsumuro Shigemitsu no jiseki ni tuite: kenchiku rekishi kenchiku ishō,” Gakujutsu kōen kōgaishū, 59 (September 1984): 2671–72.} Later he joined the Construction Bureau of the Kwantung Government General as the chief architect in 1908. During his twenty-year residence in Manchuria, Matsumuro designed several major projects, the most famous of which was the City Hall in Dalian (Figure 4.17).\footnote{Nishizawa examined his activities at the Kwantung Government General in Nishizawa, “Kantō totokufu no kenchiku,”119–21.} His designs of these public projects bear similarities to his graduation design, which incorporated details of traditional design patterns for the decoration of the roof and exterior. Matsumuro returned to Japan in 1928.\footnote{The reasons for Matsumuro’s stepping down were not clear, although it was speculated that he was the victim of internal political struggles. He was replaced by Oka, who shared Matsumuro’s earlier positive attitudes regarding colonial architectural development but faithfully followed the colonial policies of SMRC and later those of the Manchukuo State.} He established his own firm in 1930 in Kyoto, working mainly for private corporations and designing residential houses. Despite his prolific writing output in Manchuria, he produced few writings after he returned to Japan.\footnote{This has led to a lack of examination of his writings in Manchuria, as research (Ishida and Nishizawa) has exclusively focused on his extant work.}

In addition to the architectural projects, Matsumuro also served as the first president of the Association of Manchurian Architecture, and he was an active
contributor for JMAA. Like other Japanese architects, he was ambitious and positive about the future of Japanese colonial development in Manchuria.\footnote{Matsumuro was one of the earliest advocators for an independent Manchuria in terms of politics and culture, see Matsumuro, “Shokuminchi wa yoroshiku dokuritsu shitaru bunka o kensetsu subeshi” \textit{Manchurian Architectural Journal} 4, no. 3 (March 1924). “Kokuto no kensetsu,” \textit{Manchurian Architectural Journal} 4, no. 6 (June 1924). On the architecture’s future development in relationship to the foundation of Manchukuo, “Manshūkoku shin shutono kensetsu,” \textit{Manchurian Architectural Journal} 12, no. 6 (June 1932).} His series of articles discussed architects’ responsibilities as social builders, who played a decisive role in establishing a Japan-led, colonial culture in Manchuria.\footnote{For an example, see Matsumuro Shigemitsu, “Kenchiku to shakai jigyō,” \textit{Manchurian Architectural Journal} 4, no. 10 (October 1924). Also Matsumuro, “Kenchiku kaizen no ichi kōan,” \textit{Manchurian Architectural Journal} 4, no. 2 (February 1924).} He argued that advanced technologies and modern architecture represented Japan’s leadership in Manchuria: the pursuit of modern architecture was an important component of Japan’s obligation in “modernizing” Manchuria.\footnote{For example, see Matsumuro, “Manshū kenchikugai no kakushin,” \textit{Manchurian Architectural Journal} 4, no. 5 (May 1924). Matsumuro, “Kenchiku no minshū kyō’iku,” \textit{Manchurian Architectural Journal} 4, no. 8 (August 1924).} His passionate discussions of architects’ responsibilities in relation to Japan’s colonial policies made him a representative voice among Japanese architects at the time.

Matsumuro’s writing is crucial in understanding Japanese architects’ changing ideas of the architectural system in Manchuria. It is worth noting that he did not oppose Japan’s expansion in China—much to the contrary, he was always a strong advocate of Japan’s aggressive control of Manchuria. Matsumuro’s disappointment is representative of a group of Japanese architects who realized the hypocrisy beneath the aura of development. Their complaints were often related to their unfortunate failures during
internal political struggles.

Matsumuro considered the current discussion of labor shortage to have come too late and argued that the solution of establishing professional schools was hypocritical. He pointed out that the problem of labor shortage appeared a long time ago: from the beginning everyone acknowledged that the fast growth of Japan’s development in Manchuria relied on the supply of cheap Chinese labor, which undermined Japanese workers’ wages and status. However, no policies were made to protect Japanese workers’ rights because the government and entrepreneurs pursued maximum profit. According to Matsumuro, the Japanese government and SMRC showed a lack of responsibility and leadership, because they were not willing to change the bidding system or to impose regulations on minimum wage.

He further asserted that unless they rectified the corruption among government officials and corporations (SMRC), no fundamental solutions were possible. He expressed disappointments with the current situation—the hypocrisy of expanding the education system, the corruptions among government officials and SMRC, and the demoralized contractors exploiting Japanese workers. He lamented that the internal political struggles among compatriots, which excluded “good, responsible people” out of the management system, foreshadowed the elimination of Japanese workers and undermined the healthy development of colonial architecture in Manchuria. Matsumuro’s colleagues chose to be silent on his opinions.

Ishida Shigeru, the vice president of the Manchurian Architectural Association,

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355 Ibid., 3–4.
tried to balance the opposing sides in his concluding marks.\textsuperscript{356} He considered them as two sides of the same coin: the social trend of devaluing physical labor was an indirect cause, and the bidding system and contractors’ profit-driven actions were the direct causes for the shortage of Japanese workers.\textsuperscript{357} For solutions, Ishida called for a reformation of the bidding system to an improved version, in which architects and contractors would share responsibilities for commissions.\textsuperscript{358} He also approved the improvement of the working environment, the establishment of more professional schools, and the cultivation of Japanese workers’ skills and responsibilities.

In particular, Ishida emphasized the indispensable role of Japanese workers owing to his distrust of Chinese workers. He insisted that Japanese workers’ efficiency compensated for their high cost, and that while Chinese workers were inexpensive, they might actually cost more as a result of their low efficiency and waste of materials. He argued that current accomplishments were the results of Japanese workers’ constant guidance over the past twenty years. According to him, the advanced nature of Japanese culture generated Japanese workers’ advances in building techniques, and it was therefore important that the Japanese provided guidance in “every single aspect of construction.”\textsuperscript{359}

In order to prevent the funds from flowing into Chinese pockets, regardless of the cost of

\textsuperscript{356} “Hōjin Shokkō Yōsei Mondai,” \textit{Manshū kenchiku zasshi} 8, no. 10 (October 1928), 25–34.

\textsuperscript{357} Ibid. 27–28.

\textsuperscript{358} Ibid. 29.

\textsuperscript{359} Ibid. 32.
money and material, “we should hire as many Japanese workers as possible.”

The special issue on “Labor Education” offering opposing opinions reflects conflicting interests between Japanese architects and contractors. Even within the same profession, opinions were divided: some contractors promoted the cultivation of Japanese workers, and some architects opposed the education system. Comparing these two groups’ arguments, claims of the elite group of architects and educators were idealistic and paradoxical: on the one hand they called for respecting Japanese workers as practitioners of “scared labor.” On the other hand, as politician Kamo Teijirō proposed in his opening speech, the fundamental aim was to restore the hierarchy of pre-Meiji Japanese society, which contained an immobile lower class of service people. Their goals, therefore, were fundamentally opposite to the interests of Japanese contractors and workers, who, as their personal stories revealed, came to Manchuria for social mobility. Regardless of architects’ proposals for respecting sacred labor, the gap in the living and working conditions was significant between the architects and the workers. Japanese architects were well-paid and lived in spacious SMRC dormitories, whereas Japanese contractors and workers struggled to survive severe competition and an unstable economy. The tangible gap between the Japanese architects on the one hand, and the Japanese contractors and workers on the other, in terms of financial and social status, undoubtedly motivated people to pursue higher education at universities rather than manual labor.

Furthermore, as Ishida’s conclusion revealed, Japanese architects and government

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360 Ibid. 34.
361 Ibid. 1.
officials’ insistence on the use of Japanese workers reflected a fundamental ethnic anxiety with regard to maintaining their colonial control: they felt threatened that the large numbers of Chinese immigrants might assimilate or overpower the Japanese. The anxiety drove them to intentionally ignore pressing problems and to insist on their idealistic version of labor stratification.

Shortage of Chinese Workers on Construction Sites: A Dilemma Unsolved

While Japanese visitors were amazed at the Japanese centralized, rationalized, and disciplined control of Chinese workers at the Hekisansō dormitory, a shortage of Chinese labor appeared in the late 1920s and grew worse in 1930s because of combined factors from both the Chinese and Japanese sides. In the mid-1920s, the civil war between Zhang and the warlord Wu Peifu 吳佩孚 (1874–1939) caused severe inflation in the region and threw the thriving economy into chaos.\(^{362}\) It ended with Zhang’s total failure and, on his return to Fengtian in 1928, Zhang’s train car was bombed by a militant Japanese officer. This incident became the catalyst for aggressive Japanese military expansion in Manchuria and China. The “Huanggu-tun Incident” completely destabilized the political balance of the region and eventually threw all of Asia into turmoil for twenty years. Japanese Kwangtung Army seized Fengtian in 1931, established a puppet Manchuria state in 1932, and waged a total war with China beginning in 1937.

Political and economic chaos from the late 1920s discouraged Chinese immigrants from moving to Manchuria. Chinese farmers did not want to move to Manchuria because

\[^{362}\text{For a detailed account of the influence of the civil war on the economy, see the chapter 7 of Suleski, Civil Government in Warlord China.}\]
the extreme inflation undermined their income. After the foundation of Manchukuo State, the Kwangtung Army applied new immigration policies to limit the entry of Chinese immigrants from North China. They were concerned that the massive flow of immigrants threatened to blur the boundaries between the “Manchurians” and the Chinese, which would undo efforts to maintain ethnic separation. Furthermore, they expected that the vast land of Manchuria could absorb surplus labor from Japan. As a result, the Kwangtung Army imposed regulations including issuing passports and administering vaccinations at the entry ports of Manchuria, in order to control the number of the Chinese immigrants who entered the region.

The construction sites in Manchuria, therefore, faced a significant shortage of Chinese workers from 1934 onward. The labor shortage halted the construction that was booming in Manchuria, leaving many large projects unfinished. As historians have demonstrated, Japan’s failure in managing Chinese labor played a decisive role in the ultimate collapse of colonial control and development of the Manchukuo State. In the late 1930s, as a partial solution to the labor shortage in Manchuria, the Kwangtung Army began the mass importation of Japanese agricultural immigrants into Manchuria. The hastily implemented policy cost many lives of the first generation of Japanese agricultural

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immigrants, who were mobilized mainly from the northeast region of Japan. They were sent to northern Manchuria with little support in material and funds, and they suffered from extreme, deadly climate and unproductive land. The second round of Japanese agricultural immigrants were sent to Chinese agricultural villages, where they plundered fertile lands from Chinese farmers under the name of “trade.” Robbery of Chinese houses for food and money and the murder of the Chinese were also reported in Japanese records. These incidents intensified the ethnic conflicts between Chinese and Japanese and anticipated the Chinese revenge on the Japanese in 1945. The tenuous relationship between Japanese immigrants and land, as well as conflicts between Chinese and Japanese farmers was glossed over by the mass media’s promotion of the visual image of Japanese settlers as selfless, devoted pioneers fighting against the harsh environment.

**Individual Responses to Colonial Policies: The Case of Sakakiya Senjirō**

Before going to Manchuria, Japanese contractor Sakakiya Senjirō (1877–1968) worked for the Keifu (Keijō to Pusan) Railway construction in 1904 and, from 1906 to 1909, studied construction at the Tsukiji Worker School *Tsukiji kōshu gakkō*. He worked in Manchuria as a construction contractor and formed his own firm, Sakakiya-gumi, in 1921. His success made him the chair of the Association of Construction and Technology, *doboku gijyutsu kyōkai* 土木技術協会, in Manchuria and later the Chief

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367 See discussion of Fuchikami Hakuyō’s portraits of the Japanese settlers in Chapter Three.
Consultant for the Labor Bureau of Manchukuo State. His diaries from 1906 to 1946 detailed his firsthand experiences dealing with a variety of groups in his architectural practice in Manchuria, including army officers, government administrators, Japanese architects, contractors, Chinese brokers, and Chinese workers. Discussions of labor management and recruitment, such as politics, wages, and working conditions, recurred throughout the diaries, and this offers a glimpse into the development of the construction industry and influences of colonial policies on local architectural environment.

Analysis of Sakakiya’s diaries revealed Japanese contractors’ close ties to Chinese brokers. For example, Sakakiya collaborated with the Chinese brokers, the Cui brothers, to recruit Chinese workers. He praised their capabilities, which he claimed helped him to survive severe competitions among Japanese contractors. When a wage dispute between one Cui brother and Chinese workers escalated to a shooting that killed seven Chinese workers, Sakakiya helped hide the Cuis in the SMRC settlement, asked the Japanese consul to intervene, and threatened the Chinese police with calling in the Japanese Kwangtung Army. As a result, the Cuis were exempted from Chinese legal punishments.

As Sakakiya’s diaries claimed, none of the political, ideological, or ethnic concerns were more important than the pursuit of economic profit. As a shrewd

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370 Ibid., 184.
businessman, his judgment was purely based on the numbers, which preconditioned his interactions with local Chinese and Japanese as well as his attitudes toward the colonial policy. For him, the skillful Shangdong workers available at cheap cost were the best option for his business. Sakakiya’s idea of using as many Chinese workers as possible, however, conflicted with Japanese architects’ ideals about the system of architectural practitioners in Manchuria, a static hierarchy based on social class and ethnicity.

The problem of labor shortage in 1934 bothered Sakakiya, who became the Chief Consult for the Labor Bureau of Manchukuo State. He opposed Kwangtung Army’s regulation policies and their importation of Japanese immigrants to replace Chinese labor, because the Japanese workers were “much more expensive.”\(^\text{371}\) In his many conversations with military officers, Sakakiya advocated Japan’s aggressive military actions to fully control inner China in order to secure an abundant supply of the Chinese labors.\(^\text{372}\) The Kwantung Army drew compulsory labor from Chinese and Korean prisoners to work at Japanese factories and construction sites in order to rectify the labor shortage.\(^\text{373}\) Sakakiya, however, was not satisfied and constantly complained that workers either lacked skills or were too sick or too old to complete the physically demanding work.\(^\text{374}\)

Sakakiya’s case exemplified the architectural practitioner’ nuanced and ambivalent reception of colonial policies at the local level. His complaints reflected a fundamental conflict of interest between the colonial government and entrepreneurs: the

\(^{371}\) Ibid. 48–53.


\(^{373}\) Ibid. 321–360.

former attempted to separate “Manchurian” from the Chinese, whereas the latter’s success relied on the Chinese. Sakakiya’s politically naïve attitude continued after 1945, when he considered his experience working with Chinese workers a valuable asset for the Chinese regime.375

The pyramidal structure of architectural practitioners in Manchuria corresponded to the hierarchy of colonial society in Manchuria. Government officials, officers of Kwangtung Army, and employees of SMRC (architects) enjoyed political, economic, and cultural privileges, and their elite status guaranteed the access to various resources and a good quality of life regardless of the political environment. Below them were opportunistic Japanese contractors, whose success relied significantly on the Japanese elite class, and they were sensitive to political and economic changes. Japanese workers were seen as a class of mobility, who in some cases climbed within the hierarchy to the level of entrepreneurs and in rare case became social celebrities, while the unfortunate ones returned to Japan. Japanese agricultural immigrants and Chinese workers were at the bottom of the social pyramid: they struggled to survive the harsh natural, political, and economic conditions, which were ignored or distorted in their representation in mass media.

During the first half of the twentieth century in Manchuria, class weighed more than ethnic identity in determining one’s social and economic status and life quality. The romanticization of the working conditions and construction in Manchuria did not begin in postwar Japan but was rooted in the mainstream rhetoric back to the 1930s. Gaps in social classes and ethnic groups were disguised by propaganda, which created a mirage of

social equality and ethnic harmony through the manipulation of visual materials.
Epilogue

Overlapping Memories: Urban Manchuria after 1945

Postwar Japanese in Manchuria

At the Thirty-Sixth Monte Carlo Television Festival in 1996, the NHK drama “Son of the Earth” (Daichi no ko 大地の子), co-produced by Japan and China, won the Golden Nymph Award for best TV-series (Figure 5.1). Originally adapted from Yamazaki Toyoko’s 山崎豊子 (1924–2013) epic novel of the same title, the hit drama depicted the tumultuous life of the protagonist Lu Yixin 陸一心, one of thousands of Japanese war orphans left in Manchuria after 1945. The drama received critical acclaim and a high rating among the Japanese audience because of both the faithful reconstruction of the historical setting, which was achieved through large-scale location shooting in many cities of North China for more than half a year, and also the delicate depiction of the friendship between Japanese and Chinese people, which was accomplished by the meticulous acting of Chinese and Japanese actors and actresses. In particular, audiences were moved by the emotional bonds established between Lu and his Chinese foster father, which withstood various violent incidents during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution. The emotional crescendo reached its climax in the last episode,

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376 The number varies according to different definitions. The Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare (Kōseishō 厚生省) defined the Japanese children under thirteen years old at the end of the war as war orphans, and the number was between 3,000 and 5,000 people. See Mayumi Itoh, Japanese War Orphans in Manchuria: Forgotten Victims of World War II (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-2. For a study on the oral accounts of these war orphans, see Yeeshan Chan, Abandoned Japanese in Postwar Manchuria: The Lives of War Orphans and Wives in Two Countries (New York: Routledge, 2011). Chan’s book focused on the oral accounts of these survivors’ life stories in Japan.
when Lu responded to his Japanese father’s invitation to return to the homeland, “I am a son of the earth.”

The popular drama paralleled the boom of a revisit of history of Manchuria after a long hiatus in postwar Japan. After Japan’s defeat in 1945, the repatriation of more than one and a half million Japanese people from Manchuria was one of the most tragic events in the modern history of Japan.377 Their repatriation experiences varied tremendously according to their social class and geographical locations: the Kwantung Army officials and SMRC employees were prioritized for return to Japan, while rural settlers in remote frontiers were intentionally not informed and left to Soviet attack.378 City dwellers crowded into port cities in southern Manchuria and were stranded there selling property on the streets; rural settlers lost their lives while escaping to cities by foot. During a period of more than ten years after 1945, more than 500,000 former Japanese soldiers were sent to Soviet POW camps in Siberia, where about ten percent of them died there. Some Japanese technicians continued to work under the leadership of the KMT and later CCP for several years.379 Many Japanese civilians, in particular the elderly, children, and

377 There is a vast number of works in academic research, oral accounts, popular literature, and journalist works documenting these personal and collective experiences. See Mariko Tamanoi, Memory Maps: The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, c2009). For the earliest systematic collection of oral accounts, see Wakatsuki Yasuo, Sengo Hikiage no kiroku (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshinsha, 1991). Regarding the Chinese government’s role in the repatriation, the Chinese records provides a different perspective, see Huludao baiwan riqiao dagianfan (Repatriation of one million Japanese via Huludao) (Beijing: Wuzhou Chuanbo Chubanshe, 2005).

378 The fact was confirmed in various accounts by former Japanese residents, as well as historians’ examinations of the military documents, see Itoh, Japanese War Orphans in Manchuria, 17–19, 23-24.

379 For example, cinema directors of Manchuria Movie Association continued to work in the CCP’s film production studios. See Xiang Yang, “Shinchūgoku eiga no
women, were left in China. Forming the core of Yamazaki’s two-thousand page draft were survivors’ oral accounts of suffering atrocious treatment by Soviet soldiers, hiding in urban slums, struggling to survive hunger and disease, and being separated from families while waiting hopelessly for the repatriation ships. Most of the lives and stories of these Japanese people, however, were silenced, buried, and scattered forever.

**Manchuria in Postwar China**

After the collapse of Manchukuo in 1945, the region of Manchuria became a major battlefield in the civil war between Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang Party (KMT), supported by the United States, and Mao Zedong’s Chinese Communist Party (CCP), supported by the Soviets. From 1946 to 1948, the Northeast People’s Liberation Army, *Dongbei renmin jiefangjun* 東北人民解放軍, gained the upper hand and surrounded the KMT’s few strongholds in cities such as Changchun, Fengtian, Jinzhou, and the port Huludao 胡蘆島, where one and a half million Japanese people awaited repatriation. The People’s Liberation Army besieged Changchun from May to October in 1948, when the KMT commander Zheng Dongguo (1903–1991) officially surrendered. The five-month Siege of Changchun cost the lives of more than 300,000 civilians, two-thirds of the city population, most of whom were starved to death in the buffer zone between KMT

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381 Yamazaki Toyoko, “‘Daichi no ko’ to watashi no tatakai,” *Bungei Shunjū* 69, no. 6 (May 1991): 200-209.
checkpoints and CCP encirclements. The exact toll of civilian causalities remains unclear, the military accounts are contradictory, and historians’ debates of war responsibilities of sacrificing civilians to force surrender remain controversial. The newspapers at the time, such as the KMT’s Xijing Shibao 西京時報, and survivors’ accounts vividly described the misery of desperate civilians, including Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, who consumed tree bark out of hunger and struggled through the checkpoints.

382 The estimates vary from 160,000 to 560,000. It is difficult to obtain an accurate number because at the time Changchun had a large number of refugees from the countryside of northern Manchuria who escaped to the city to avoid Soviet attack. The KMT report claimed casualties of 160,000, which did not include the Japanese and Korean populations. The population before the siege was around 700,000 including 140,000 Japanese residents and after the siege it was down to around 150,000 people.

383 The KMT and the CCP continued to blame each other for the civilian slaughter: the CCP accused the KMT of stealing civilians’ food and the KMT accused the CCP of intentionally forbidding civilians to escape in order to force the KMT to surrender. In 1989, Chinese writer Zhang Zhenglong, for his journalist novel, interviewed former military officers including subordinates of commander Lin Biao (1907–1971) 林彪, who devised CCP’s strategy to prevent civilians from escaping from the city and to turn Changchun into a “dead city.” His book was quickly banned. Taiwanese writer and public intellectual Long Yingtai in her latest book also revisited the gruesome siege of Changchun and estimated the death toll of 560,000. Historian Frank Dikötter argues that the CCP’s decision of besiege was characteristic of the party’s inhumane terrorist nature, as it used the case of Changchun as to threaten the KMT in other cities, which resulted in the KMT’s surrender of Beijing in 1949. Zhenglong Zhang, Xue Bai Xue Hong (Beijing: Xin hua shu dian jing xiao, 1989). Frank Dikötter, The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution 1945-57 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). Yingtai Long, Da jiang da hai yi jiu si jiu (Taipei: Tian xia za zhi gu fen you xian gong si, 2010). Kewen Duan, Zhanfan zishu (Taipei: Shijie ribao she, 1978).

384 Xijing Ribao, 1948.10.15. There were several Japanese accounts of the siege. Historian Endō Homare was seven-years-old when the siege happened and she witnessed her two brothers die of starvations. See Endō Homare, Chāzu: Chūgoku Kenkoku No Zanka (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2012). The book was translated into English, see Homare Endō, Japanese Girl at the Siege of Changchun: How I Survived China’s Wartime Atrocity (Berkeley, California: Stone Bridge Press, 2016). Chinese people’s oral
During the two-year civil war, the KMT army transformed Changchun, the former Shinkyō, into an “unbroken” fortress: underground tunnels built by the Japanese Kwantung Army were strengthened and developed into a defense network, pillboxes and bunkers were built, and deep, wide trenches were dug around the city with rows of mines, traps, and barbed wire. In the Siege of Changchun, the KMT based its headquarter in the Central Bank on the Datong Plaza (Figure 5.3) and deployed its defense alongside the central Datong Avenue. The government buildings of Manchukuo were turned into fortifications, and the circle of defense expanded to the airport in the west and the suburb in the east. The KMT built five checkpoints on the bridges over the Yitong River, and railroads re-affirmed the geopolitical boundaries of Changchun (Figure 5.4), formed by local economic activities and colonial developments. During the siege, most of the factories, more than thirty percent of houses, and most water supplies were destroyed. Parks, plazas, and empty land were turned into unmarked graves. The former thriving trading zone became a popular black market, where possessions and furniture from Japanese houses were circulated. 385

The CCP’s People’s Republic of China continued building projects in Manchuria after 1949. State-run factories with living quarters and education facilities, danwei 单位, accounts were published in local newspapers, in particular the Changchun Wanbao 长春晚報.

385 Several Japanese accounts mentioned newly formed unmarked graveyards in suburbs in the northwest and southwest, present-day luyuan 绿园 district, as well as the Shuntian 順天 Park, the postcard mentioned in the first chapter. Kiyama Shōhei recalled his experiences of living in shelters and selling used clothes for a living in the trading zone of Changchun, which provided valuable information on the transformation of the urban space in the period immediately after Japan’s surrender. Kiyama Shōhei, “Chōshun ūmaro,” in Kiyama shōhei zenshū, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1969), 85–203. For his remarks on the Japanese unmarked graves near the former Southern Shinkyō Station, see 93–98, and his trading experiences in the trading zone, 105–120.
were laid out in major industrial cities such as Dalian, Shenyang 瀋陽 (former Fengtian), and Changchun. Former Manchukuo government buildings were continually used by the CCP’s government or reused as buildings of schools, hospitals, and other institutions. New public buildings were also erected. For example, from 1952 to 1962, a series of public buildings were erected in the urban center of Changchun, including university buildings, halls, and a municipal gymnasium (Figure 5.5), which filled up empty lots left by former Japanese institutions.

The booming construction scene, however, was disrupted in the storm of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). During the ten years of the destructive nationwide movement, violent clashes among armed Red Guard groups, wudou 武鬥, bombed buildings and destroyed urban streets. The urban centers of former Manchukuo cities, like other Chinese cities, were transformed into centers of bloodsheds, with avenues crowded with armed parades, parks and plazas piled up with new burial mounds, and public buildings expropriated as fighting headquarters. For example, the Chinese hotel Yuelai Kezhan in front of the Changchun train station was bombed to rubble in September 1967, and the newly constructed university building by Chinese architect Liu Hongdian (1904–1995) was scarred with bullets and blasts during the largest armed clash in the same year (Figure 5.6).

The buildings in Manchuria, therefore, witnessed over a century of tumultuous

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386 For an examination of the work unit, danwei in Dalian, see Hess, “From Colonial Jewel to Socialist Metropolis,” 325–367.

387 The local history of Cultural Revolution remain blurry and scattered, although many personal memoirs had been published online. For the accounts of Red Guards’ major armed fights in cities, including Changchun, see Huafu Huang, Hong Wei Bing Da Shi Dai (Hong Kong: Xianggang : Ming bao chu ban she you xian gong si, 2015).
history. When historians comment on how former Manchukuo public buildings visualized Japan’s utopian ideals based on urban maps and photos, they re-mythologized these buildings in a static, fragmented moment in the past. The revival of “historical” tourism for Japanese customers in the region after 1990s has reinforced the urban myth. Following routes first opened in the early 1930s, Japanese guided tours today visit the former Japanese residential community in suburb Dalian, military construction in Lushun, and former Manchukuo government buildings in Changchun, and these tours have resurrected a wave of nostalgic sentiments for the Japanese “good old days” in Manchuria. The nostalgic revision has neglected the buildings’ urban contexts, as well as how people of various social classes constantly transformed these buildings in various tumultuous historical periods. The highlights of these tours of former Shinkyō included a visit to the former Manchukuo Diet, which was reused as the teaching building of Norman Bethune University of Medical Science, with a statue of Mao installed in front (Figure 5.7). Curious Japanese tourists were guided through the hallway, shown the chrysanthemum crests on the ceiling and banisters, and offered reproductions of Shinkyō maps in the souvenir shop. Neither they nor the young medical students in white coats would realize that the building was a fortification for the KMT, with its basement connected to the underground tunnels during the civil war, or that the stairs, walls, banisters, and rooms were daily battlefields for gun fights during the Cultural

388 In particular, the nostalgic sentiments gained popularity among train amateurs who have been fascinated about the train traveling and express to Manchuria. For example, see Kawamura, Manshū tetsudō maboroshi.

389 Only the hallway and the first floor of the former Manchukuo Diet are open to public, as the building contains teaching and science experiment classrooms for medical school students.
Some of the hidden traces of various historical layers were reborn as urban legends that hunted the new urban layer added by the economic growth. For example, ghost stories were widespread about possible entrances to the never-confirmed underground tunnels or new apartment communities developed in areas of allegedly unmarked graves. In the case of Changchun, the renovation and expansion of city’s sewage system in 2006 uncovered a vast amount of human remains in the northwest suburb of the city, which confirmed the widely circulated urban rumors and revealed an ominous intersection of the old and new urban layers.

Although many buildings were destroyed or damaged in a series of wars and social unrest, there are still buildings constructed by the Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean communities scattered around in cities in present northeast China. How these buildings were used, transformed, and memorized in local contexts still needs further investigation. Recent studies on the oral history of former residents in Manchuria shed light on the living space of various social classes and ethnic groups, as well as their cross-border interactions. After their repatriation, rural settlers self-published their accounts of their lives as pioneers, a development that challenged the positive and romantic image established through prewar and wartime Japan. In the years that followed repartition, former urban dwellers in Manchuria have maintained social networks based on former

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390 Disguised as a medical student, the author was able to sneak into the basement to reach the entrance to the underground tunnels but was not able to explore further.

391 Chengshi wanbao 城市晚報, 2006.06.05.

392 For example, see Sawachi Hisae, Mō hitotsu no manshū (Tōkyō: Bungei Shunjū, 1982).
employment and alumni associations of schools and universities in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{393} They have held annual meetings, self-published periodicals, and collected archives and oral accounts to reconstruct their local environments in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{394} Their accounts, hand-drawn maps, and individual photos of buildings and neighborhoods suggest possibilities of dividing Japanese local communities with primary schools in the center (Figure 5.8). Recent collections of accounts of Chinese and Korean people’s living experiences in urban Manchuria during the Japanese occupation, civil war, and Cultural Revolution suggest possibilities for mapping out relationships among various social groups in everyday space.\textsuperscript{395}

Concomitant with the turbulent period of transformations of buildings into national monuments, fortifications, and graveyards, urban structures and layouts were demolished, reconstructed, and transformed. In Changchun’s case, the original railway overlapped with the current commuter train line, and the trading zone, dissected by the Grand Avenue, continued to be the most prosperous commercial center in the city until the 1990s. The new residential community, developed along the Yitong River on the site of the former brothel quarter, still adopted the original district name, \textit{Taoyuan} 桃源 (utopia), although with opposite intentions. Therefore, the mixture of transformation and

\textsuperscript{393} There are several online communities and organizations such as Kokusai Zenrin Kyōkai 国際善隣協会 which held conferences related to repatriation.

\textsuperscript{394} The number of attendants has declined significantly in recent years as survivors have passed away.

\textsuperscript{395} Historian Chon Unsuk collects Korean people’s memories of their living quarters in Changchun, Shenyang and Dalian, See Chon Unsuk, \textit{Chūgoku tōhokubu no shōwa o aruku : enpen chōshun shin’yō dairen kankokuin ga mita kyūmanshū} (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha, 2011). However, current accounts are still not enough to recover a full picture of the neighborhood.
continuity and their intertwining dialectics characterize the fragmented, fluid urban space of Manchuria during the twentieth century.
Conclusion

As historian Liu Jianhui 刘建辉 astutely observes, Japanese intellectuals’ thinking of Manchuria in postwar Japan have oscillated between reflections on wartime responsibility and nostalgic sentiments toward colonial construction. In particular, memoirs by former Manchukuo officials and high-ranking SMRC employees constructed a discourse that describes Japanese construction in Manchuria as an experimental, heroic practice that had positive effects on the development of Manchuria. For example, Kishi Nobusuke 岸信介 (1896–1987), the Japanese prime minister at the time and grandfather of the current prime minister Abe Shinzō, served as the vice president of Management and Administration Office, Sōmuchō 總務庁, of Manchukuo State, and he was an advocate of Manchukuo throughout his life. Their narratives showed ignorance of the history of Japanese occupation as well as of the experiences of the more than one million Japanese residents in Manchuria who struggled to survive at the end of the war.

The postwar visual representation of the Japanese experience in Manchuria also paralleled this narrative. For example, Fuchikami edited and published the photo album *Retrospectives of Manchuria (Manshū no kaisō満洲の回想)*, in which he displayed black-and-white photographs of landscapes, portraits, and urban scenes in Manchuria, along with texts, to represent “a utopia constructed by the Japanese conscience to be

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responsible to people in East Asia.” With a foreword written by Kishi, the album gained the support of former Manchukuo officials, high-ranking SMRC employees, and former Manshu Graph editors, who shared the nostalgic sentiment and the view that Manchukuo was Japanese “contribution” to the modernization of Asia. In particular, photos chosen for Changchun were similar to tourists’ souvenir postcards and photos, depicting broad avenues filled with tourist buses and Japanese women walking in kimono and western dresses against the backdrop of the Mitsui building (Kōtoku kaikan 康徳会館) in the background (Figure 5.2). However, these grand facades of government buildings and broad avenues communicated a very different meaning in the eyes of the survivors of the Siege of Changchun—they were associated with starving people, looted granaries inside the Mitsui building, and innumerable corpses piled up on major avenues within and outside of the city. In fact, rendering people and places in Manchukuo in black-and-white, as still lives and picturesque scenery, suppressed Japanese repatriates’ narratives and experiences, which ran parallel to their experiences of discrimination after their return to Japan.

This study reveals the forgotten layers of the economic, political, social, and cultural circumstances that influenced the urban and architectural developments in Manchuria during the early twentieth century. Like Calvino’s approach to Zaira, one needs to understand the “relationships between the measurements of its space and the

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398 Fuchigami Hakuyō, Manshū no Kaisō : mācho pao samowāru (Tōkyō: Keigadō, 1966).

399 Settlers’ memoirs contain accounts of Japanese countryside repatriates describing their experience of being unaccepted and forced to drift around to settle, see examples in Watanabe Masako, Manshū bunson imin no shōwashi: Zanryūsha nashi no hikiage ōtaken ōtsuru kaitakudan (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2011), 184–224.
events of its past”400 in colonial Manchuria with a focus on regional specificity and local exchange. My examination of the construction, perception, and representation of these buildings and urban spaces reveals that they were not “neutral” evidence of what Koshizawa and Nishizawa called the “objective progressiveness” of Japanese colonialism: the formation and transformation of urban landscapes in colonial Manchuria was the result of the diverse, and changing power dynamics between the different ethnicities, nationalities, classes, and genders. Furthermore, my examination of visual products of buildings and urban space related to tourism in Manchuria highlights the importance of reception theory of architecture. Thus, further investigation is necessary to shed light on how visual representations overpowered spatial configurations, influenced people’s perception of buildings and cities, and shaped the collective memory. The propaganda architecture was not limited to the façade style but also included the construction of spatial experiences.

This study raises several questions to the current scholarship of colonial architecture. First, one needs to pay special attention to the nuanced use of “local” archives. Japanese official archives kept in former colonies maintained the same structure and ideological perspectives with the ones contemporaneously composed in Japan and therefore, cannot be considered the locals’ genuine voices. Japanese individuals’ records, on the other hand, showed diverse viewpoints, interactions with the locals, and accesses to the Chinese materials. Thus, how one ought to distinguish the connection of these individuals’ accounts to the official ideology as well as their divergences from it becomes crucial in the use of archives. Second, my study points out the importance of situating the

400 Calvino, Invisible cities, 10.
discussion of modernism within the specific regional context of East Asia in the early twentieth century. Future studies should further explore the interactions between the Japanese modernist architects, who worked in Manchuria, and Chinese modernist architects, who also studied in Europe and practiced modern living in major Chinese cities. Specifically, did the Japanese architects consider Manchuria as a field with opportunities to communicate with Chinese modernist architects who also struggled with incorporating Western vocabularies within East Asian traditions? Questions such as this reject the assumption of a linear, progressive modernization from West to Japan and then to its colonies but open up discussions of multiple temporality of modernity.

The early twentieth century witnessed a fast growth of transportation network and vibrant cultural exchanges within East Asia in tandem with regional military clashes and political turbulence. Situated in two seemingly contradictory historical contexts and their dialectical relationship, this study belongs to a new trend of re-examinations of the development of colonialism, modernism, and regionalism in this region and explores how Japanese architects pursued modernist movements with a multiethnic, international context, revealed in their practice and theory, in their thinking and writing. Future scholarship should examine more closely how the Japanese architects’ building activities in Manchuria related to their pursuit of Modernism in Japan. Moreover, a deeper investigation of how the Japanese residents struggled with class when they dealt with the Japanese, Chinese, and other ethnic groups in Manchuria will shed light on the understanding of the locality of colonial rule. For example, Kuwabara’s photos of the Korean town in Fengtian, where Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese residents cohabited, needs further investigation to shed light on the previously unrepresented dimension of
colonial space.

Art historian George Kubler points out the power of artworks in providing material evidences that were missing in written sources and forgotten for ages, evidences that allow for the reconstruction of a historical time. The buildings constructed in Manchuria during the early twentieth century comprised narratives that compensated for the lack of archives and oral accounts. Together with people’s reception of them, they can reveal the nuanced texture of the past space and retell stories of silenced voices.

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Abbreviations

CCP: Chinese Communist Party
CCXZ: Changchun Xianzhi
JMAA: Journal of Manchuria Architectural Association
KMT: Kuomingtang
SMRC: Southern Manchuria Railway Company


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