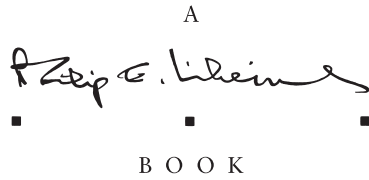


BEYOND THE METROPOLIS





The Philip E. Lilienthal imprint
honors special books
in commemoration of a man whose work
at University of California Press from 1954 to 1979
was marked by dedication to young authors
and to high standards in the field of Asian Studies.
Friends, family, authors, and foundations have together
endowed the Lilienthal Fund, which enables UC Press
to publish under this imprint selected books
in a way that reflects the taste and judgment
of a great and beloved editor.

*The publisher gratefully acknowledges the generous support
of the following:*

*The Philip E. Lilienthal Asian Studies Endowment Fund
of the University of California Press Foundation, which was
established by a major gift from Sally Lilienthal*

*The Asian Studies Endowment Fund of the University of
California Press Foundation*

Beyond the Metropolis

STUDIES OF THE WEATHERHEAD EAST ASIAN
INSTITUTE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

*The Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute of Columbia
University were inaugurated in 1962 to bring to a wider public
the results of significant new research on modern and
contemporary East Asia.*

Beyond the Metropolis

SECOND CITIES AND MODERN LIFE
IN INTERWAR JAPAN

Louise Young



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY LOS ANGELES LONDON

University of California Press, one of the most distinguished university presses in the United States, enriches lives around the world by advancing scholarship in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Its activities are supported by the UC Press Foundation and by philanthropic contributions from individuals and institutions. For more information, visit www.ucpress.edu.

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

© 2013 by The Regents of the University of California

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Young, Louise, 1960-

Beyond the metropolis: second cities and modern life in interwar Japan / Louise Young.

p. cm. — (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-520-27520-1 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Urbanization—Japan—History—20th century. 2. Japan—Social conditions—1912–1945. 3. Japan—Civilization—20th century. 4. Japan—History—1912–1945. I. Title.

HT384.J3Y68 2013

307.760952—dc23

2012040341

Manufactured in the United States of America

22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

In keeping with a commitment to support environmentally responsible and sustainable printing practices, UC Press has printed this book on Rolland Enviro100, a 100% post-consumer fiber paper that is FSC certified, deinked, processed chlorine-free, and manufactured with renewable biogas energy. It is acid-free and EcoLogo certified.

*In memory of
Rebecca Conrad Young*

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments xi

PART ONE CONTEXTS

Introduction: Urbanism and Japanese Modern 3

1 • World War One and the City Idea 15

PART TWO GEO-POWER AND URBAN-CENTRISM

2 • The Ideology of the Metropolis 37

3 • Colonizing the Country 83

PART THREE MODERN TIMES AND THE CITY IDEA

4 • The Past in the Present 141

5 • The Cult of the New 188

Epilogue: Urbanism and Twentieth-Century Japan 240

Notes 259

Bibliography 287

Index 297

This page intentionally left blank

ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS

1. Japanese railway map, 1906 87
2. Japanese roads, ca. 1800 89
3. Okayama, 1906 94
4. Sapporo and suburbs, ca. 1925 119

TABLE

- Vehicular statistics for Okayama Prefecture 104

This page intentionally left blank

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Among the great pleasures of doing research in Japan are the friends one accumulates along the way. This study took me to four cities and introduced me to wonderful communities of local historians and archivists in each. By remarkable good fortune, I embarked on my research around the centennial of the incorporation of most of Japan's second cities in the 1889 administrative reforms that established the "city, town, village" system. This meant that many municipal governments were engaged in production of centennial histories. With the characteristic generosity that greets foreign researchers, local archivists opened their collections to me and shared materials they had gathered for their own works-in-progress. They also offered their wisdom, insights, and local knowledge. Without their gracious collaboration, I could never have done this study; I acknowledge this debt with heartfelt gratitude.

In Sapporo, Aiuchi Masako and Aiuchi Toshikazu opened their home to me and introduced me to their extensive network of local historians. Yamada Hirotaka made numerous key introductions to local study groups. The Sapporo Municipal History Office extended a warm welcome and generously allowed me access to the materials their history group had assembled to write the superb *New History of Sapporo*. I benefited from the assistance of Endō Tatsuhiko at the Hokkaido Prefectural Archives, and at the Sapporo Municipal History Office, from Enomoto Yōsuke, Hayashi Mikitada, Ishida Takehiko, and Konno Yukari. Special thanks are due Nishida Hideko and Takagi Hiroshi, who both spent hours of their time with me. In Niigata, Furumaya Tadao and Yoshii Ken'ichi were both generous and helpful, as was Minami Ken'ichi. Itō Sukeyuki at the Niigata City Archives provided good company and good advice in equal measure. In Okayama, Sakamoto Jūji gave

me excellent research tips and a stack of his wonderful books on the local social movement; Arima Nobutsune, Ōta Ken'ichi, and Kandachi Harushige were all great resources. In Kanazawa Motoyasu Hiroshi at the Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of History provided a treasure trove of materials from the museum archives and a memorable architectural tour of the hidden history of modern Kanazawa. Chiku Kakugyō and Hashimoto Tetsuya also generously shared their knowledge of local history; and Kamura Kōsaku offered guidance at the Ishikawa Prefectural Library. My apologies to anyone I inadvertently omitted from this list because of a failure of memory or record keeping. I am extraordinarily grateful for the opportunity to have met the wonderful communities of local historians in what I have come to think of as “my four cities” and for their generous assistance in my research.

This book was begun while I worked at New York University and completed after I moved to the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Both institutions provided generous financial support: at NYU through a Freeman Foundation grant and the Research Challenge Fund; at the UW through the Graduate School, the Vilas Foundation, and the Institute for Research in Humanities. Colleagues at both schools have shaped my thinking about cities and urban culture. At NYU I benefited in particular from conversations with Ada Ferrer, Manu Goswami, Harry Harootunian, Walter Johnson, Rebecca Karl, Yanni Kotsonis, and Joanna Waley-Cohen. At the UW-Madison, David Lehene, Richard Miller, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, Jim Raymo, Steve Ridgely, Ben Singer, Steve Stern, and Sarah Thal read portions of the work in progress and provided excellent feedback.

Financial support for research in Japan came from the Social Science Research Council, the National Endowment for Humanities, and the Fulbright Foundation, where Itō Jinko and Iwata Mizuho offered both timely assistance and good humor. I offer my thanks to Hasebe Hiroshi and the staff at Seikei University Center for Asia and Pacific Studies for providing accommodation and an institutional affiliation during one of my research visits, and to Barbara Satō for arranging the whole visit. I also benefited from a semester in residence at the Kyoto University Institute for Research in Humanities, which Yamamuro Shin'ichi helped set up, and where he and Kagotani Naoto, Mizuno Naoki, Takagi Hiroshi, and Yamamoto Yūzo provided a congenial intellectual community.

Other friends and colleagues whose critical support is gratefully acknowledged include Kim Brandt, Geoffrey Chambers, John Dower, Eguchi Keiichi, Jim Fujii, Laura Hein, Igarashi Takeshi, Mark Jones, Naitō

Sachiko, Naitō Tsuneiji, Nishimura Shigeo, Nishimura Takako, Okabe Makio, Okamoto Kōichi, John Ratté, Lou Ratté, Jordan Sand, Barbara Satō, and Satō Kazuki.

Melissa Dale, Ken Kawashima, Kimiko Osawa, Rebecca Shearier, and Ayako Yoshimura provided research assistance at different stages of the project. I wish to also thank the wonderful editorial staff at University of California Press, including Niels Hooper and Kim Hogeland, as well as Daniel Rivero at the Weatherhead Institute.

Nan Enstad, Carol Gluck, Andrew Gordon, Crawford Young, and an anonymous reader from UC Press read the entire manuscript at the penultimate stage. Their comments were invaluable in helping me tighten and refine the central argument.

A special debt is owed my mother, Rebecca Young, whose irrepressible enthusiasm for all things urban and whose keen appreciation for the aesthetics of interwar culture provided inspiration for this project. My work on *Beyond the Metropolis* coincided with her ten-year battle with cancer; her grace and courage sustained me, always. I dedicate this book to her memory with love and admiration.

This page intentionally left blank

PART ONE

—————

Contexts

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

URBANISM AND JAPANESE MODERN

THE AGE OF THE CITY

In Japan, the interwar period (1918–37) constituted a time of intensive reflection on what it meant to be “modern.” At a moment of rapid urbanization, as expanding city populations remade the social and physical landscapes of their communities, the Japanese began to link modernity with the urban experience. Popular referents for the neologism *modan*—jazz music, bobbed hair, cafés, automobiles, and multistory buildings—all conveyed the sense that what characterized the “modern” was the novel phenomenology of city life. In an outpouring of commentary, urbanites invented new categories to describe the changes they were experiencing in their everyday life. This new consciousness of the modern tried to make sense of the ways that the economic growth of the teens and twenties dramatically altered urban modes of production and consumption. To chroniclers of the new age, transformation of their built environment into a futurescape of paved roads and electric streetlamps, the rise of “social problems” like labor strikes and unsightly slums, and a mass consumer culture linked to the baseball field and the movie palace, all stood out as defining modernity. The city, in short, assumed the face of “modern Japan.”

How were ideas about modernity produced and circulated? What were their material and ideological effects? To answer these questions, this book looks at both the subjective consciousness and the social structures of “the modern.” Though humanities fields differ in their understanding of this term, historians tend to conceive of modernity as a tale of two revolutions: the political, social, cultural, and economic transformations that attended the advent of the nation-state, and the emergence of industrial capitalism.

The time line of these twin revolutions varied widely throughout the world, as did their particular form; for Japan, the forced opening of the country to the global market in 1853 and the overturning of the feudal regime in the Meiji Restoration of 1868 inaugurated a series of administrative reforms and social changes that ushered in modern times. In the initial phase of this process, industrial capitalism took root through a host of state policies designed to create a national economy capable of securing Japan's independence from the threat of western imperialism. At this moment the nation occupied center stage in Japanese economic thinking, reflected in the popular endorsement of state policies to promote a "rich country, strong military" (*fukoku kyōhei*) and to "encourage production, promote industry" (*shokusan kōgyō*). Throughout the 1870s and 1880s state financial and technical assistance helped to direct private investments into textiles, shipping, and railroads—industries identified as critical to national economic security. The cumulative impact of these policies was to weave together economy and nation: capitalist development served national concerns.

The preeminent symbols of "civilization" to emerge from these years were the emperor and the railroad.¹ Associating the "new Japan" with constitutional monarchy and a national rail grid, such images created an iconography of nationalism for the modern age. But by the early decades of the twentieth century the logics that grounded the identification of modernity as a national project began to change. Ushering in a period of accelerated economic and social change, the economic boom of World War One broadened and deepened Japan's industrial revolution. In the new wave of public and private investments triggered by the war boom, the focus of development expanded into regions and localities. Investments in communications infrastructure added a regional network to the national rail grid built up in the 1880s and 1890s. Factories making consumer products for a domestic market multiplied; a thriving service sector began to anchor urban and regional economies. Prefectural and municipal governments encouraged regional economic development through industrial expositions, the promotion of the tourist industry, local branding, and a variety of other strategies. The cumulative impact of these initiatives amounted to a second phase in the industrial revolution, as provincial development became one of capitalism's new frontiers.

All this brought a new level of engagement with urban centers, which were at once the staging ground and the agents of much of this activity. Rapid expansion of factory production created regional labor markets, and these drew migrants from the surrounding countryside to work the new shop

floors. Factory growth generated unprecedented wealth for a new breed of managers and entrepreneurs, whose leadership in civic organizations and political life enlarged the scope of municipal ambition. Municipalities invested in electricity, roads, telephone lines, and other city services to accommodate their burgeoning populations. They extended communication networks to encompass an expanding zone of suburban development. In all these ways the age of the city signaled both a new importance for the urban economy and a new scope of operations for municipal government.

It also became a vehicle for the rising power of a new middle class of professionals and intellectuals within urban society and politics. Growth of white collar employment in factories and local government, the proliferation of public and private networks of city services, and the expansion of urban commerce and culture industries all swelled the ranks of the new middle class, which grew from an estimated 4 percent of the population in 1915 to 12 percent in 1925. Since these figures reflected national averages, one can assume the percentage was higher in cities.² Though numerically the middle class constituted a small fraction of urban society, it nevertheless exerted enormous influence over municipal politics and administration, key cultural institutions such as the press and higher education, and business organizations. Commentary on the Taishō democracy movement by scholars such as the famous Tokyo University political scientist Yoshino Sakuzō and the eminent Kyoto University sociologist Yoneda Shōtarō vested great expectations in the leadership of the new middle class. Standing at the vanguard of a host of progressive political and social movements, intellectuals and technocrats would lead Japan into a bright and better future.³ As these observers noted, the new middle class cast an oversize shadow on the cities of interwar Japan.

At the same time, city growth altered existing social arrangements and generated new ways both of dividing people and, conversely, of bringing them together. Modern institutional structures such as the higher educational system and the publishing industry privileged cities and urban dwellers over the countryside economically and culturally; within cities they helped constitute hierarchies of class. They also produced an ideology of urban-centrism—the idea that modern cities possessed a kind of manifest destiny to expand their territory, power, and resources. Urban-centrism celebrated urban growth and measured the value of cities in terms of their size. It portrayed urban expansion as the diffusion of progress and modernity to the countryside and justified the resulting disparities in the distribution of power and resources. This process did not displace the nation but rather

upstaged it, for now urban centers seemed to present the most pressing problems, the most dramatic changes, the most alluring possibilities. The Japanese discovered the city.

They were not alone in this discovery. Indeed, the early twentieth century was a global moment for urban growth, as an international fixation with cities in mass culture, philosophy, literature, and the arts attested. From Baltimore to Moscow, from Paris to Buenos Aires, from Tianjin to Dakar—cities became the staging ground for wide-ranging social, cultural, economic, and political transformations. As in Japan, the rise of social problems, the formation of a consumer marketplace, the proliferation of streetcars and streetcar suburbs, and the cascade of investments in urban development reinvented the city as both sociospatial form and set of ideas. Throughout the world, discourses on social change associated the city with modernity and the future.

This book centers its story on the age of the city in the interwar period, a global moment when the material and ideological structures that constitute “the city” took their characteristic modern shape. As elsewhere in the world, the foundation for much of this was laid in the late nineteenth century, when the spread of industrial capitalism and the nationalization of the masses transformed urban space. For Japan, the political lineaments of the modern city were created in the administrative reforms of 1889 that established the “city, town, village” (*shichōson*) system. The design of a national school system and railway grid provided institutional anchors for cities and connected them with one another. War booms accompanying the Sino-Japanese (1894–95) and Russo-Japanese (1904–5) Wars spurred the spread of urban-based factory production and modern industry, as well as new forms of wealth and poverty. The war booms also stimulated the growth of the publishing and newspaper industry, core elements in the cultural fabric of the modern city. In all these ways the rise of the modern urban form rested on the foundations of the Meiji city. Nevertheless, as the following pages will show, the World War One boom ushered in a new age of the city, accelerating urban expansion to an entirely different level of intensity.

THE VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES

Historians have overwhelmingly told this story from the vantage point of Tokyo, newly designated, in 1868, as the national capital of the empire of Japan. Standard narratives assume that from 1868 on, government and civic

leaders in Tokyo invented modern institutions and dispatched them to the provinces. They suggest, moreover, that the diffusion of Tokyo models created a dynamic of imitation that placed localities in a condition of perpetual catch-up with the capital. This is particularly true of interwar urban history, which portrays Tokyo as the center and most active site of the modernist social and cultural movement.⁴ In many ways the historiographic tendency toward Tokyo-centrism speaks to a deeper conviction about the homogenizing effects of modernization that shoehorns a wide world of experience into a single mold. However, a closer look at provincial cities challenges such beliefs. In fact, as scholars of regional studies have pointed out, cities outside the metropolis generated distinctive cultures of modernism that often referenced Tokyo models but also influenced new cultural and social forms in the metropolis.⁵ And contrary to assertions of homogenization, the history of different localities reveals enormous variation in modern urban forms. By centering the story on Japan's provincial cities, this study breaks apart the assumption that the metropolis can serve as the defining lens for a history of Japanese modernity.

In the history of Japanese urbanism in the teens, twenties, and thirties, much of the action took place outside Tokyo. Beyond the metropolis was the world of the provincial city—*chihō toshi*. Since it included all cities outside the “big six” major metropolitan centers (Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, Kobe, Kyoto, and Nagoya), the category of “local city” encompassed cities of a wide range of shapes and sizes.⁶ While the World War One boom fed the growth of the big six, equally striking was its impact on the small and medium city. In the regional turn of interwar Japan, local cities rose to prominence as centers of burgeoning regional economies. If the late nineteenth century was the age of the metropolis, the interwar years belonged to the city more generally.

This study focuses on second-tier cities, tracking the discourse on the modern in the four provincial cities of Sapporo, Kanazawa, Okayama, and Niigata.⁷ As prefectural capitals, these cities constituted the economic, political, and cultural centers of their respective regions. They were seats of municipal and prefectural government, centers of regional industry, and major transportation hubs. They held a concentration of institutions of higher learning and provided a platform for regional publishing. All four, like the metropolitan giants, grew at an enormous rate in the teens and twenties. Yet with populations in 1920 ranging from 50,000 to 150,000, they not only represented a scale of city different from that of the metropolis of Tokyo (with a population in 1920 of 3.3 million) but also maintained peripheral relationships with the capital of the Japanese empire.

- [download online The Call of the Wild \(Enriched Classics\) pdf, azw \(kindle\), epub, doc, mobi](#)
- [Drowned City: Hurricane Katrina and New Orleans pdf, azw \(kindle\), epub, doc, mobi](#)
- [download The Early Text of the New Testament for free](#)
- [download Top 10 Berlin \(DK Eyewitness Top 10 Travel Guides\) book](#)
- [download online Long Time No See](#)
- [Always in Pursuit: Fresh American Perspectives here](#)

- <http://crackingscience.org/?library/Dark-Matter--An-Introduction.pdf>
- <http://qolorea.com/library/Sexuality-and-Gender-in-the-Classical-World--Readings-and-Sources--Interpreting-Ancient-History-.pdf>
- <http://yachtwebsitedemo.com/books/An-Encyclopaedia-of-Myself.pdf>
- <http://honareavalmusic.com/?books/Top-10-Berlin--DK-Eyewitness-Top-10-Travel-Guides-.pdf>
- <http://aircon.servicessingaporecompany.com/?lib/Long-Time-No-See.pdf>
- <http://honareavalmusic.com/?books/The-Book-of-God.pdf>