Building Construction in Southern Sakhalin During the Japanese Colonial Period (1905-1945)

- Buildings, Architects, Contractors and Construction sections of Government Offices -

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PREFACE

The purpose of this article is to focus on building construction done by Japanese administrative offices on the Island of Sakhalin south of latitude 50 degrees north. The period dealt with in this article is the time when southern Sakhalin was colonized by Japan between 1905 and 1945. That period is defined as "the Japanese colonial period" in this article.

In the area of modern Japanese architectural history, although little is known about building construction on Sakhalin except for the information in our reports,¹ there are numerous studies dealing with other Japanese colonies in the first half of the 20th century. For example, the former Manchuria, the Korean peninsula and Taiwan² have been dealt with in other studies. Such a delay in the studies of this area has been caused by severe restrictions on travel to Sakhalin and by the scattered location of unfiled handwritten material stored in libraries and archives all over Japan.

However, the circumstances surrounding studies on Sakhalin have improved for the better. For example, a comparative relaxation of travel restrictions and improvements in the reference material situation have been seen lately. Thus, we have been conducting studies since 1995, and have already published 11 papers in scholarly journals of the Architectural Institute

¹ Although Igor Samarin, Director of the Sakhalin Regional Museum, has been doing research on the remaining Japanese ruins existing in various places in Sakhalin, his studies did not include reference materials in Japan.

² For example, Akira Koshizawa, "Manshukoku no toshikeikaku ni kansuru rekishiteki kenkyu" [A Historical Studies on Urban Planning in Manchuria]. Dissertation (Tokyo University, 1977); Akira Koshizawa, *Manshukoku-no-shutokeikaku [Capital City planning of Manchukuo*] (Tokyo, 1989); Yasuhiko Nishizawa, "20 Seiki zenhan no Chugoku Touhoku Chihou niokeru nihonjin no kenchiku katudo ni kansuru kenkyu" [A Study on Building Construction by the Japanese During the First Half of the 20th Century. Dissertation (Tokyo University, 1993); Yuzo Kato, *Asia no toshi to kenchiku [Asian Cities and Buildings*] (Tokyo, 1986); Terunobu Fujimori and Wan Tan, *A Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840-1945* (Tokyo, 1996), and others.

of Japan (AIJ) and its Hokkaido branch.³ This article is based on a review of these papers and includes substantial revisions. We hope that the people of Sakhalin will become familiar with our studies and become more interested in the architecture from the Japanese period. One important point is that proposals for friendship associations and links between Sakhalin and Hokkaido made in November, 1998, refer to the "investigation, study, repair and preservation of buildings and ruins in southern Sakhalin dating from the Japanese period." According to our survey in 1996 and 1997, probably over 100 Japanese buildings are still extant in various locations around Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Korsakov and Kholmsk.⁴ However, most of them are damaged and have not been adequately evaluated. Therefore, historical research is required to conduct a legitimate evaluation. In addition, it is essential to devise appropriate protective measures, but this is beyond the scope of this article.

This article consists of three sections. In the first section, we outline administrative building construction and details of Sakhalin society before the Japanese colonial period. In the second section, we deal with the first urban construction at Korsakov (the former Odomari), the capital relocation to Toyohara (the former Vladimirovka, Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk today), the first construction at Toyohara, the two architects, Yasushi Tamura and Kozo Yukawa and the contractor Yoneshichi Endo. In the third section we deal

^{3 1)} Haruyuki Iriki et al., The Activity of Ito-Gumi, a Contractor, in Sakhalin and Korea - A Study of Contractors in Hokkaido before World War II (1)-, AIJ Hokkaido Chapter No.68 (1995.3), pp.625-628; 2) Hiroshi Itani et al., Historical Buildings in Sakhalin under the Japanese Rule (1905-45) (1) Odomari (Korsakov), AIJ Hokkaido Chapter No.69 (1996.3), pp.637-640; 3) Manabu Takahashi et al., Historical Buildings in Sakhalin under the Japanese Rule (1905-45) (2) Toyohara (Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk), AIJ Hokkaido Chapter No.69 (1996.3), pp.641-644; 4) Hiroshi Itani et al., Historical Buildings in Sakhalin under the Japanese Rule (1905-45) (1) Odomari (Korsakov), Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting Architectural Institute of Japan (Kinki), F-2 (1996.9), pp.41-42; 5) Manabu Takahashi et al., Historical Buildings in Sakhalin under the Japanese Rule (1905-45) (2) Toyohara (Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk), Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting Architectural Institute of Japan (Kinki), F-2 (1996.9), pp.43-44; 6) Hiroshi Itani et al., The Serious Development and Building Sections During 1905 and 1915 in Southern Sakhalin by the Three Japanese Bureaus, AIJ Hokkaido Chapter No.70 (1997.3), pp.649-652; 7) Report on Survey of Buildings in South Sakhalin During 1905 and 1945, AIJ J. Technol. Des. No.5 (1997.12), pp.257-262; 8) Hiroshi Itani et al., A Study on Contractors in South Sakhalin During 1905 and 1945, AIJ Hokkaido Chapter No.71 (1998.3); 9) Manabu Takahashi et al., A Study on Works of Buildings in South Sakhalin based on "Karafuto Nichi-nichi Shinbun" (1927-1938), AIJ Hokkaido Chapter No.71 (1998.3); 10) A Study on Contractors in South Sakhalin During 1905 and 1945, Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting Architectural Institute of Japan (Kyushu), F-2 (1998.9), pp.337-338; 11) Hiroshi Itani et al., A Study on Architect Yoshio Kaizuka (1900-1974) and His Works, AIJ Hokkaido Chapter No.72 (1999.3).

⁴ Refers to our article, 7) Report on Survey of Buildings in South Sakhalin During 1905 and 1945, pp.257-262

with large scale building construction at Toyohara from 1929 to 1931, centering on the career of the architect Yoshio Kaizuka and his work.

This article uses Japanese names used in colonial days for each geographic designation and building name for the sake of convenience, but as occasion arises, each Russian name existing today is shown between parentheses.

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1-1. Outline of Administrative Building Construction

During the Japanese colonial period, southern Sakhalin had three official governmental divisions: the Headquarters of the Karafuto Guards (1905-1913), the Civil Administration of Karafuto (1905.8.28-1907.3.31), and the Karafuto-Cho [the local government of Karafuto](1907.4.1-1947.11.23). We deal chiefly with these construction sections and their members and activities. In the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, dispite the urgent necessities, the Civil Administration could not construct sufficient office buildings and officers' housing. The main reason for this situation was that the Civil Administration was a provisional government under the control of the Karafuto Guards and did not have a sufficient budget. According to the Civil Administration's budget for fiscal 1906,5 only several buildings and structures were built in Korsakov: namely, the House of Detention, the Hospital, the Lighthouse, the Fisheries Experimental Station at Rakuma (the completion date was in or after 1907), and some official residences. The provisional government was short-lived and constructed few buildings, so it is not necessary to examine building construction of the Civil Administration at any length. Rather, we will describe the first urban construction at Odomari (Korsakov).

On April 1, 1907, the Karafuto-Cho was established at Korsakov. It had greater and more extensive authority than other domestic prefectural governments and was responsible for administering rail roads, postal services, and financial matters. Obviously, the government needed many buildings. In addition, it was decided that the Karafuto-Cho would be relocated to New Vladimirovka and that the new capital Vladimirovka would be built near the southernmost part of old Vladimirovka. That decision resulted in large-scale construction and engineering work at the new capital which was named Toyohara and later renamed Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

The Karafuto Guards also needed to build offices, barracks and officers housing for their own two battalions. Those buildings had been built at Toyohara between 1907 and 1909. Thus, the buildings for the Karafuto Guards and Karafuto-Cho at Toyohara probably were built simultaneously, for the construction at Toyohara had almost finished by the end of 1909. The architect

⁵ Nichirosenso niyoru senryochi shisei ikken Karafuto no bu [Report on Policy Measures in Occupied Territory after the Russo-Japanese War (Karafuto)] (Korsakov, 1906).

who played a central role in the first construction at Toyohara was Yasushi Tamura (1878-1942). Kozo Yukawa (1853-1915) was one of the most important architects involved in early construction boom in southern Sakhalin. His achievements were indispensable for modern building construction during the Meiji Era. We will focus on these two architects in the next section.

Twenty years later, around 1929, large scale building construction by the Karafuto-Cho was begun again. Several ferro-concrete administrative buildings were built at Toyohara and Konuma (Novo-Aleksandrovsk today). The second construction period at Toyohara, however, had almost finished by 1931, and the construction section of the Karafuto-Cho almost never erected new ferro-concrete buildings after 1940 except for the new Karafuto-Cho building built in 1945.

The most remarkable architect in the construction section of the Karafuto-Cho after 1930 was undoubtedly Yoshio Kaizuka, who designed representative buildings in the Japanese colonial period: the Museum of the Karafuto-Cho (used by the Sakhalin Regional Museum today), and the Central Industrial Laboratory of the Karafuto-Cho (used by the Russian Academy of Sciences at Novo-Aleksandrovsk today) and others. That he was a lesser-known architect is not important. What matters is rather that his constructions were the most sophisticated of all Sakhalin's buildings. We will deal with Yoshio Kaizuka in more detail in the third section.

1-2. Before the Japanese Colonial Period

First of all, Sakhalin's social conditions which influenced building construction before the Japanese colonial period are worth mentioning.⁶

Since the middle of the 19th century there were several disputes between Russia and Japan over Sakhalin's sovereignty. For a certain time, both nations lived through a period of "zakkyo" [co-existence] without determining who had won political control of Sakhalin Island. Toshiyuki Akizuki has examined such relationships between Russia and Japan in full detail. Akizuki has illustrated that Russia wanted to occupy Sakhalin to assure an overseas route from Amur to the Pacific Ocean. Because of this limited purpose, Russia was not interested in the development of Sakhalin throughout the 19th century.

⁶ The Information about Sakhalin before the Japanese colonial Period is taken from Hidemichi Yoshida, *Sekai no kinketsu Karafuto an'nai [An Introduction of Karafuto as a "Gold Mine"]* (Tokyo, 1904), and Hikouemon Matsumoto, *Karafuto oyobi Kamchatskaya [Karafuto and Kamchatskaya]* (Tokyo, 1905).

⁷ Toshiyuki Akizuki, Nichiro kankei to Sakhalin To [The Relationship between Russia and Japan Regarding Sakhalin Island] (Tokyo, 1994), pp.61-72.

⁸ Ibid.

In 1875, the Treaty for the Exchange of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands was ratified by Russia and Japan. As a result, Russia took possession of Sakhalin and used it as a penal colony for major criminals. In 1890, the eminent Russian writer Chekhov visited Sakhalin and wrote *Sakhalin Island*, which gives a detail description of Sakhalin's society in those days.

The penal colony of Sakhalin was, needless to say, an underdeveloped area. In 1899, Sakhalin's population of 31,884 included 21,667 prisoners (65.9%).⁹ The penal colony prisoners had developed small villages in various locations on Sakhalin.

Southern Sakhalin had only one city, Korsakov, at that time. Korsakov had about 500 people, the Japanese Consulate and a small Japanese colony in the valley called Kushun Kotan. That Japanese colony derived from the "Karafuto Basho," a fishery outpost and trading post for trade between indigenous peoples and Japanese on Sakhalin, founded in 1790. That is to say, Korsakov was the oldest Japanese colony. This town, however, was almost destroyed by fire during the Russo-Japanese War. Traffic networks between villages were intentionally undeveloped for security purposes. So were harbors. Consequently, at the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, Japan had to construct not only new towns and buildings but also all sorts of infrastructure: roads, harbors, bridges, railroads, waterworks and electrical supply lines etc.

2. The First Construction Boom (1907-1909) and Its Architects

2-1. The First Urban Construction at Korsakov

At first, we will deal briefly with the Russo-Japanese War in Sakhalin and the aftermath of urban construction at Korsakov.

Shinobu Oe expressed the view that toward the close of the war, in June 1905, Japan planned to occupy Sakhalin to gain an advantage in the coming peace treaty with Russia. He also stated that Japan has never occupied or made any inroads upon any other Russian territory since the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. This viewpoint gives us valuable information which sheds light on the character of construction in the first decade of the colonial period. In particular, since the Japanese purpose in occupying Sakhalin was not the possession of Sakhalin itself, Japan had no plan regarding the colonial administration of Sakhalin after the Russo-Japanese War. Inevitably, the staffs

⁹ Toa Dobun Kai, Karafuto oyobi Kita Enkaishu [Karafuto and Northern Maritime Provinces] (Tokyo, 1905), pp.25-26.

¹⁰ Sadayoshi Nishitsuru, *Shinsen Odomari shi [The New Edition of Odomari's History]* (Toyohara, July 15, 1939), p.23.

¹¹ Shinobu Oe, Heishitachi no Nichiro Senso [The Russo-Japanese War for Japanese Soldiers] (Tokyo, 1988), p.42.

of local governments (the Civil Administration and the Karafuto-Cho) had to learn by trial and error when building a colonial administration.¹²

In July, 1905, the Thirteenth Division of the Imperial Army of Japan was organized for the purpose of occupying Sakhalin and dispatched to the island. The Japanese Army occupied Korsakov on July 23 while Korsakov was set on fire by withdrawing Russian soldiers and, as we have noted, burned almost completely. Although the Japanese Army met strong resistance by the Russian Army at Vladimirovka, the entire Sakhalin was occupied by Japan on August 1.

Soon after that, the Headquarters of the Thirteenth Division established a military administration at Aleksandrovsk, the largest city in northern Sakhalin. At this point the Thirteenth Division probably was replaced by the new brigade Karafuto Guards. The Civil Administration was also established all at once. However, the Portsmouth Peace concluded between Russia and Japan on September 3 determined that northern Sakhalin would be returned to Russia and that Japanese offices had to be relocated in some other area in southern Sakhalin. Eventually, the Headquarters of the Karafuto Guards and the Civil Administration of Karafuto were established at Korsakov which had been mostly destroyed and contained only a few houses. Accordingly, the officials and administrators had to construct their own houses.

In addition, from August 1905, numerous Japanese people voyaged to Sakhalin to seek various advantages, such as fishery rights, the rights to land-ownership and other profits to be gained in the new territory. However, since land and housing readjustment was not finished by the Civil Administration at Korsakov, this influx of setters resulted in disordered and unauthorized building construction. Most of the immigrants began to build crude houses or shanties all over the town according to their individual personal discretion. The Civil Administration hurried land claim readjustment and issued an ordinance called "Tochi Kashitsuke Kisoku" [the Land Lease Ordinance] on September 3, 1905. Probably this regulation was worked out as a temporary measure by administrators who lacked any knowledge of building construction and city planning, and it was very different from standard Japanese ordinances and later methods of land division and allotment in southern Sakhalin. Nevertheless, this was the first urban planning ordinance in southern Sakhalin during the Japanese colonial period.

This ordinance stated mainly that immigrants who wanted to reside permanently could lease a piece of land (a 105 *tsubo* area) according to priority, and that the settlers had to start the construction of their own buildings within 30 days. Following these two conditions, the Civil Administration set out to hasten preparations for winter housing for immigrants and to con-

^{12 &}quot;Nichirosenso niyoru senryochi shisei ikken Karafuto no bu" states that "hyakuji sousetsu" [everything needs to be established].

¹³ Nichirosenso niyoru senryochi shisei ikken Karafuto no bu.

struct the new city in an organized way. Although this measure did not bear fruit immediately,¹⁴ the feature of Korsakov began to improve gradually.

According to *Shinsen Odomari shi* [the History of Odomari - New Edition], the main urban area of Korsakov had been developed and laid out by the Civil Administration by 1908. As a result, the general appearance of Korsakov became that of a huge horseshoe surrounding a coastal terrace called "Kaguraoka." It is important to note that the unique urban form of Korsakov was made by the urban planning carried out in the early Japanese colonial period.

2-2. Army Architect Yasushi Tamura and His Work



Fig. 1. Yasushi Tamura (1878-1942)

Yasushi Tamura (Fig. 1) was one of the most important architects in the Japanese colonial period. In all probability, Tamura was the key person involved in all official building construction during the early colonial period since he was the only architect who worked concurrently on construction projects for both the Karafuto Guards and the Karafuto-Cho and, in addition, many buildings in those days were similar in their architectural style. In particular, the Official Residence for the Commander of the Karafuto Guards (Fig. 2) had obvious similarities to the Official Residence for the Governor General of the Karafuto-Cho (Fig. 3).

Yasushi Tamura¹⁵ was born in Tokyo on October 24, 1878. His obituary states that the Tamura family was of noble blood with an ancient lineage. In fact, his cousin, Yoshiaki Tamura, held the title of viscount.

Tamura graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in July, 1905. As soon as he graduated, he entered the army and was promptly dispatched to Sakhalin as an assistant engineer on August 11, 1905. At this time, he was ordered to support and direct construction of Army buildings under the supervision of the construction chief (probably an accountant), and to research some aspects regarding establishing "permanent building" styles in southern Sakhalin in the future. In particular, he had to research and elaborate: 1) an outline

¹⁴ For example, Hunami town area (southern Korsakov today) was called "Ikadamachi" [Raft Town] because barracks of immigrants looked like a bunch of small rafts, according to "Shinsen Odomari shi," p.195.

¹⁵ The information related to Tamura's career can be obtained largely from *Teikoku Daigaku Shusshin Meikan* [Who's Who of Graduates from Tokyo Imperial University] and Tamura's obituary in *Journal of Architecture and Building Science*.



Fig. 2. The Official residence for the Commander of the Karafuto-Guards (1908)

plan of suitable building styles; 2) heating methods for barracks and offices; 3) winter lighting methods; 4) methods of supplying water; 5) variety, price and availability of wooden building materials; and 6) appropriate wooden building materials and methods of supplying them.¹⁶

Alhough his reports based on this research have been lost, it is clear that the results of his re-

search were reflected in the buildings he constructed in Sakhalin. The construction of temporary barracks under his command between 1905 and 1906 provides an example. These were built not in the Russian log cabin style but according to standard design specifications of the Imperial Army of Japan.¹⁷

Numerous clapboard buildings with decorative wooden pillars, beams and other ornamental features were built as administrative buildings in those

days. That architectural style is called "stick style." The Karafuto-Cho building and headquarters of the Karafuto Guards are notable examples. Such stick style buildings were surely connected with architect Tamura for he was the only architect, as we have seen, who was concerned with all these buildings as chief designer. We suppose that Yasushi Tamura might have



Fig. 3. The Official Residence of the Governor General of the Karafuto-Cho (a. 1908)

¹⁶ The Army Ministry, Meiji Sanjushichihachinen Sen'eki Rikugunseishi [The History of Military Administration During the Russo-Japanese War], no date, Vol.VI, Canto ii, Chapter 12 Buildings, pp.750-751.

¹⁷ However, it is believed that the Commander of the Karafuto Guards wanted to build barracks in the Russian log cabin style. In this Commander's report to the Army's General Staff Department, he stated that Russian log houses had great potential as an architectural

thought that the stick style was a new architectural style suitable for southern Sakhalin. Actually, the stick style buildings give an impression of simplicity and elegance and serve as symbols of a newly developed Sakhalin.

When looking at as many photo collections from those days as possible, it is evident that quite a large number of stick style buildings were built all over southern Sakhalin throughout the Japanese colonial period. It is clear that this style, promoted by Yasushi Tamura, was the most popular architectural style during the period. Assumably, the reason the stick-style was promoted was that it was a simple and economical way to symbolize the authority of the Japanese government, as well as the ceaseless development of southern Sakhalin.

Tamura's main works in southern Sakhalin are the buildings cited below¹⁸:

1) The Headquarters of the Karafuto Guards:

This was a two-story stick style building with a central tower. According to contract agreements kept by the contractor Ito-Gumi, it was completed on November 30, 1907, and cost 30,214 yen. The contractor was Kametaro Ito. Later, it was used as the Karafuto Court House from about 1912 and was extant until the 1940s.

- 2) The Official Residence for the Commander of the Karafuto Guards (Fig. 2): This was a two-story building with plastered walls and two asymmetric pediments, the first floor of this building was brick structure but the second floor was timber structure. According to the contract agreements kept by Ito-Gumi, it was completed on October 31, 1908, at a cost of 43,451 yen. The contractor was Kametaro Ito. Later, the building was used as the Karafuto-Cho Museum until 1935. After 1935, it was used as an office for the Toyohara Military Police. This building still exists surrounded by apartment houses in Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk and is used by the Legal Affairs Bureau of the Russian Army. This is one of the most important buildings in southern Sakhalin because it is the only one existing from the Meiji Era.
- 3) The Eiju Byoin [an army hospital established at a permanent military facility]: This was a one-story building and was probably a brick structure, judging from an old picture taken around the time of the completion date. According to the Ito-Gumi's contract agreements, it was finished on October 31, 1908 and cost 122,474 yen, the highest cost for any of Tamura's buildings as far as we know. This is probably due to medical equipment or annex build-

style to be used in the future because they had been developed and improved by Russian people over a long period of time. Tamura, though, thought that Russian log cabins were inappropriate for some reason. True, Russian log cabins were unfamiliar to all Japanese architects and construction workers in those days, but Tamura might have been able to direct his staff to build in the Russian log cabin style if he had thought that log houses were suitable for barracks.

¹⁸ We show data related to construction costs, indicating the scale and grade of each building.

ings (official residences for medical staff and others). The contractor was Kametaro Ito.

4) The Meteorological Observatory of the Karafuto Guards at Korsakov (Fig. 4):



Fig. 4. The Meteorological Observatory of the Karafuto Guards (1907)

This was a one-story stick style building. According to Karafuto Nichinichi Shimbun, February 27, 1931, it was completed on December 26, 1907, and cost 6,200 yen. The Karafuto-Cho inherited the weather station the Karafuto from Guards. The contractor was probably Kametaro Ito, because the contractor Ito-Gumi has kept an old picture taken at the completion date. This

building had become a partly three-story and reinforced concrete building after four periods of additional construction in 1921, 1922, 1926 and 1930. It was standing at least until the 1940s.

5) The Karafuto-Cho Office Building (Fig. 5):

This was a two-story stick style building. It was probably built by August 1908, because the Karafuto-Cho had moved to Toyohara on August 23, 1908. It was built according to an Hshaped plan and had a steep hipped roof with half-round dormer windows. The Karafuto-Cho building was rebuilt and extended almost every year, and was used until the 1940s. A new build-

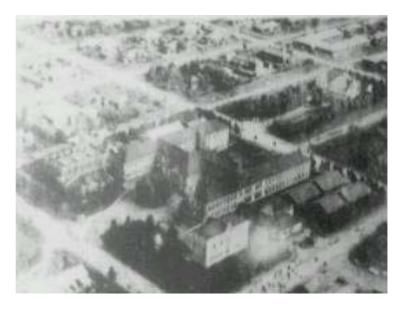


Fig. 5. The Karafuto-Cho Office Building (a. 1908)

ing was constructed in 1945 and the old one was probably destroyed at that time. The new building will be considered later.

It is noteworthy that this building had its north entrance as the main one even though its south entrance faced one of the largest street in Toyohara,

"Jinja Dori" (Kommunisticheskii Prospect today). The reason for this was that the Headquarters of the Karafuto Guards was located north of the Karafuto-Cho. This shows that the Karafuto-Cho attached the highest importance to its relationship with the Karafuto Guards because the Guards obviously had gained ascendancy over the Karafuto-Cho. Moreover, apparently "Jinja Dori" was not the main street in those days. In the early colonial period, Toyohara's main street was the "Maoka Dori" (Sakhalinskii Prospect today) facing the Karafuto Guards Headquarters. This is an interesting example of how building directions can indicate a city's power structure.

6) The Official Residence of the Governor General of the Karafuto-Cho (Fig. 3): This was a two-story stick style building. This building, as we noted at the beginning of this section, resembled the Official Residence for the Commander of the Karafuto Guards. (Compare Figures 2 and 3.) In particular, the two asymmetric pediments and the window placement on the facade were almost the same. It is obvious that Yasushi Tamura and the two construction sections under his supervision used common drawings and specifications for these buildings. In any case, Yasushi Tamura was undoubtedly the most important architect working for these construction sections.

Since there is a beautiful avenue of white birches at the site of this residence, it was beloved by the people of Toyohara and was called "Shirakaba Goten" [The House of the White Birches]. It was surely existent until the end of World War II but has not survived to this day.

7) The Toyohara County Courthouse (Fig. 6):

This was a one-story stick style building which had a remarkable curved roof. It was located west of the Karafuto-Cho and probably was completed by 1908, for the Toyohara County Courthouse began to function on August 23, 1908 simultaneously with the Karafuto-Cho. Probably it was contracted by Kametaro Ito or his subcontractor Yoneshichi Endo since the Ito-Gumi took a photo at the com-

1943.



Fig. 6. The Toyohara Country Courthouse (a. 1908) pletion date. It was confirmed that this building was existing until the 1940s by a photo in Karafuto yoran [The Official Manual of Karafuto] published in

8) The Toyohara Post Office (Fig. 7):

This was a two-story stick style building. Probably it was contracted by Kametaro Ito or his subcontractor Yoneshichi Endo because Ito-Gumi took a photo at the completion date with the comment "Meiji 41.11gatsu" [November, 1908]. It was located on the corner of "Odori" and "Jinja Dori" and was one of Toyohara's symbols. In 1921, however,

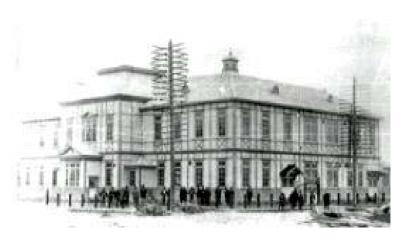


Fig. 7. The Toyohara Post Office (1908)

it burned down and a new office was built on the same site in 1931.

To sum up the major characteristics of these buildings, all buildings except for the Meteorological Observatory were built at Toyohara between 1907 and 1909, and most of them were stick style buildings except for the Commander's Residence and the Eiju-Byoin. Furthermore, all buildings were contracted by Kametaro Ito and his subcontractor Yoneshichi Endo. Many similarities these buildings had are explained by the fact that they were designed by the same architect and constructed by the same contractor, with few exceptions.

After finishing plans for these buildings, Tamura was transferred to Tokyo on June 30, 1908, and was assigned to the Temporary Army Building Headquarters to build the Headquarters of the Palace Guard Division.¹⁹ This building was completed in 1912, and is still standing and designated an important cultural property. It is now serving as the Crafts Gallery of the Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo. The renovation report published in 1978 stated that the designer of the building was assumably the army architect Yasushi Tamura.

In 1920, Tamura retired from the army and began to strike out for opening his own architectural office at Shibuya, Tokyo, where he died in 1942. His work as a civilian architect is unknown, but it is clear that he took an important part in the prewar Architectural Institute of Japan.²⁰

¹⁹ Journal of Architecture and Building Science, AIJ (July, 1908), pp.43-44

²⁰ Tamura's career in association with the AIJ is indicated below: 1910.2.-1911.3. Member of committee for establishing guidelines for construction contractor agreements, 1916.6.-1917.1. Member of AIJ's construction commission regulations, 1917.1.-1918.12. "Jogi-in" [Councillor of the AIJ], 1922.3.-1924.2. Member of panel for nominating full members, and 1923.2.-1934.2. "Jochi-in" [Councillor of the AIJ, equal to "Jogi-in"].

Though Tamura was one of the important architects in modern Japan, his achievements have been neglected. To remedy this situation, however, we will have to look more carefully at his career after his retirement from the army.

2-3. The Relocation of the Capital at Toyohara

On January 31, 1906, as a result of a conference of executive officers of both the Karafuto Guards and the Civil Administration, two very important decisions were made: the relocation of the capital from Korsakov to New Vladimirovka and railway construction between Korsakov and Vladimirovka.²¹

Much prior to this decision Vladimirovka became seen both as a central militarily strategic point and a suitable area for development in southern Sakhalin. In his *Sakhalin Island* Chekhov remarked that this village (Vladimirovka) had value as same as all villages in northern Sakhalin. However, Vladimirovka was still undeveloped at the beginning of the Japanese colonial period. Japanese officers at that time noted that Vladimirovka's situation would improve markedly with the construction of a railway line to Korsakov.

In the spring of 1906, the development of New Vladimirovka was started at a point "1000 meters south of the northernmost point of Old Vladimirovka Village."22 The military base of the Karafuto Guards was located at the site of "the Russian Hospital under construction." New Vladimirovka city was divided in an orderly way by cutting the east and west sides into 13 equal sections and the north and south sides into 14. Features of the city are listed below: 1) One land lot was 60 square ken (about 108 meters). This 60 square ken land lot was the standard unit of a modern Japanese city. For example, the foreign concession in Yokohama and Sapporo also conformed to the same scale; 2) Each land lot was separated by an 8 ken (about 14.4 meters) northsouth alley way, and both sides were cut into 20 equal sections again. As a result, one land lot contained 40 "house lots"; 3) The main street width was 15 ken (about 27 meters). The east-west main street next to which the Karafuto Guards Headquarters was located was called "Maoka-Dori." The northsouth main street which was called "Odori" contained a large number of stores and functioned as the business center; 4) The ordinary street width was 10 ken (about 18 meters).

These standards were based on the "Regulations for Apportioning Farm Land," which was introduced to Sakhalin by Takajiro Minami,²³ an associate professor at Sapporo Agricultural College (Hokkaido University today). He came to Sakhalin as a specially appointed staff member of the Civil Administration to establish an agricultural system on Sakhalin. In Hokkaido, those

²¹ Nichirosenso niyoru senryochi shisei ikken Karafuto no bu.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

regulations had been introduced from the United States by Shosuke Sato, a professor of Sapporo Agricultural College, beginning in the late 1880s. Most of the agricultural land in Hokkaido was divided into 300 square *ken* (about 2400 meter) units.²⁴ Because Sakhalin's executive staff gave high priority to agricultural policies, they decided to follow the example probed in Hokkaido; the agricultural land in southern Sakhalin was divided in the same manner. By looking at a map of Sakhalin today, we can find vestiges of Japanese farm land borders. The urban construction standards of New Vladimirovka were included in the comprehensive agricultural policy planning.

On December 1, 1906, a light railway between Korsakov and New Vladimirovka was opened and the construction of the new government area was started. The main buildings referred to in the preceding section were built during this period. In addition to them, many official residences and barracks were planned to be built there. On August 23, 1908, New Vladimirovka was renamed Toyohara, to which the Karafuto-Cho was removed. It was decided that August 23 would be observed as a holiday in southern Sakhalin, designated the Shisei-Kinenbi [City's Day]. The contemporaries thought that the future of the new capital Toyohara was promising. However, since 1910, the Karafuto Guards' numbers were reduced gradually and all of its troops had been removed by the end of 1913. As it turned out, Toyohara was declining at least temporarily and its population was decreasing. However, immediately after a large pulp plant built by Oji, a top paper mill, was constructed near the empty Karafuto Guards military complex, Toyohara became prosperous again.²⁵ Thereafter Toyohara grew steadily. Around 1942, Toyohara had a population of 37,160 people with 7,237 households.²⁶

Toyohara was a typical Japanese city with 60 square *ken* lots and, as was the case with other towns built in the Japanese colonial period, followed the aforementioned "Regulations for Apportioning Farm Land" as in Hokkaido.

2-4. Architect Kozo Yukawa and His Work

On November 30, 1908, Kozo Yukawa (Fig. 8)²⁷ came to Sakhalin as the successor to Yasushi Tamura. From that time, he was an architect for the Karafuto-Cho until November, 1911. Unlike Tamura, Kozo Yukawa had no

²⁴ Yozo Ueda, "Toward a New Country Planning for the Hokkaido Region: Country Life Area Study Concerning Its Formative, Structuring and Changing Process." Dissertation (Hokkaido University, 1991), pp.11-12, and 117-174.

²⁵ Taisuke Sakamoto, *Karafuto no Toyohara [Karafuto's Toyohara City]* (Toyohara, 1922), pp.28-29.

²⁶ Hokkaido Prefecture, Senzen-ni-okeru Karafuto-no-gaikyo [Outline of Karafuto before World War II] (Hokkaido, 1962), p.35.

²⁷ His biography can be known from *Ko seiin Yukawa Kozo kun shoden* [A Brief Biography of Kozo Yukawa: The Deceased Full Member of the AIJ]. This was his obituary in *Journal of Architecture and Building Science* when he died. (We will abbreviate this obituary's title to *Shoden*.)



Fig. 8. Kozo Yukawa (1853-1915)

academic qualifications and was a selfmade engineer. However, his previous career as a simple draftsman did not lessen the significance of his achievements; before Sakhalin he had participated in the construction of numerous significant Japanese buildings in the Meiji Era and he had assisted four of the foremost architects of his time.

The following is a description of Yukawa's career based on the *Shoden*. On March 1, 1853, he was born in Azabu, Edo (the present Tokyo). The *Shoden* mentions that his family lived in a kind of run-down neighborhood "Riketsu" [the den of a raccoon dog] and that he was a person without any education.

In 1873, according to the *Shoden*, he entered the Doboku-Ryo [the construction section of the Finance Minis-

try]. Probably he was hired as a temporary employee because the "Shokuin-roku" [the Directory of Government Officials in Japan] of 1873 did not list his name. His name is first listed in the "Shokuinroku" of 1876 as "9 to gite ho" [9th grade practical engineer], when he worked under the direction of Alfred Chastel de Boinville (1849-?), one of the famous "oyatoi" architects in those days. Probably Yukawa learned architecture from Boinville, whom he served as a draftsman. According to the *Shoden*, Yukawa was connected with three of Boinville's works: "Shihei Ryo" [Bureau of Engraving and Printing] built on December 24, 1876; "Tora-no-mon Kogaku-ryo Daigakko" [the Engineering College at Tora-no-mon] built on June 20, 1877; and "Kuichigai-mon mae no Ekkensho" [the Imperial Chamber Hall at Akasaka in front of the Kuichigai Gate] (unfinished construction). These structures were representative of early Meiji Era buildings but they were destroyed in the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923.²⁹

After Boinville's departure from Japan, Yukawa served under Josiah Conder (1852-1910), who was one of the most important architects in modern Japan. He was a professor of architecture at Tokyo Imperial University and designed over 100 buildings in Japan in his lifetime.

^{28 &}quot;Oyatoi" means western specialists who came to Japan to teach or work as consultants.

²⁹ Saburo Horikoshi, Meijishoki no yohukenchiku [Western Style Buildings in the Early Meiji Era] (Tokyo, 1929), pp.177-178.

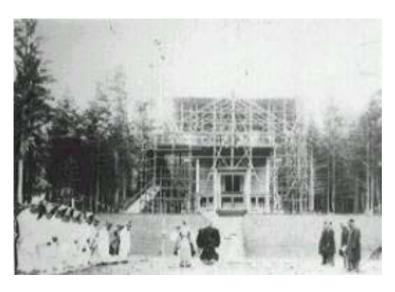


Fig. 9. The Karafuto-Jinja (1911)

Thus, Kozo Yukawa was already a very experienced engineer when he came to the Karafuto-Cho in November, 1908.³⁰ However, since the Japanese construction industry had already become somewhat education-obsessed, it was a very rare case that engineers without formal education, like Yukawa, could be nominated to chief architect for one construction sec-

tion.31 Therefore, his preferment indicated how excellent he was recognized.

However, the administrative building construction at Toyohara, as we have noted, was almost finished by 1908. For that reason, Yukawa's career in Sakhalin consisted of only two buildings at Toyohara. One was the "Karafuto Jinja" [Shinto Shrine in Karafuto] (Fig. 9) built on August 23, 1944, and another was a distillery at Toyohara (Fig. 10) built in 1944.

The contemporaries looked to the "Karafuto Jinja" as a new symbol of colonized Sakhalin. *Karafuto Nichinichi Shimbun* [Karafuto Daily News] made detailed reports on construction progress up to the completion date. Accord-

ing to *Kita Nihon Shim-bun* [Northern Japan Newspaper], of August 23, 1911, although the construction section of the Karafuto-Cho had completed to design this shrine by about the summer of 1942, the design was suddenly changed to another design by a famous architect Chuta Ito (1867-1954), follow-

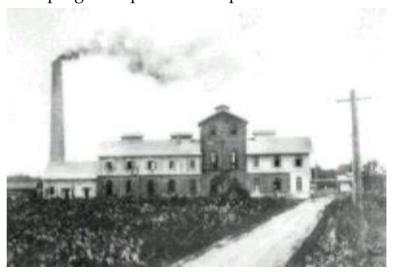


Fig. 10. The Distillery of Toyohara (1911)

³⁰ Yukawa was connected with many important buildings in Japan, for example, the "Shihosho" [the Ministry of Justice] Office Building built in 1885, the Tokyo High Court built in 1894, the Central Office of Yokohama Shokin Bank built in 1904, and the "Togu-Gosho" [Crown Prince's Palace, the State Guesthouse today] built in 1908.

³¹ Toru Hatsuta, Shokunintachi no seiyokenchiku [Western Style Buildings by Assistant Architects] (Tokyo, 1997), p.46.

ing appeals from the Tokyo Branch Office of the Karafuto-Cho. Chuta Ito was an authority on traditional Japanese buildings in those days and almost all shrines in Japanese colonies had been designed by him. On that account, he also might have wanted to design the "Karafuto Jinja" and to become the designer of all Japanese colonial shrines, or the Karafuto-Cho might have hoped to have a design by a prestigious architect.

Although the "Karafuto Jinja" was designed by Chuta Ito, his design was no more than a schematic drawing on a scale of one to two hundred. Hence, an engineer, Hikojiro Yoshikawa, had to make a business trip to Tokyo to confirm the details of the design.³²

Based on evidence from pictures taken in those days, the "Karafuto Jinja" was a typical small-schale shrine, i.e. "3 ken sha" [shrines whose facades consist of 4 columns, creating 3 sections between the columns]. Even so, colonists in southern Sakhalin until the end of World War II were attached to this building. Though this shrine was supposed to be rebuilt in the 1940s, we do not have exact information about the new shrine.

Thus, the construction of the first "Karafuto Jinja" was practically taken over by the architect Yukawa; he had been promoted to chief architect for the "Karafuto Jinja" construction according to *Karafuto Nichinichi shimbun* of May 23, 1910. Other engineers were Hikojiro Yoshikawa, Soichiro Soda and Sosuke Sato. It was widely accepted that the contractor for this project should be a representative professional in this field in southern Sakhalin, so Yoneshichi Endo was selected. That is to say, he had already become the most prestigious contractor in Sakhalin as a result of his experiences as Kametaro's subcontractor.

The distillery at Toyohara was a factory making charcoal from wood, terebic oil and ethyl acetates by the hydrolysis of wood in a vacuum. The Karafuto-Cho considered how to utilize forest resources in Sakhalin effectively and came to the conclusion that dry distillation was the most promising industry. According to *Karafuto Nichinichi shimbun* of July 22, 1910, the Karafuto-Cho dicided that the building site would be located on the banks of the Kiyokawa River, which flowed through the northern suburbs of Toyohara. At the end of September, the design stage was almost finished and construction began. However, the schematic plan was made by a German company named "Maier," which was the producer of distillation equipment and machinery.³³ The reason for this was that the designer of the distillery required expertise in order to install the factory equipment safely. Obviously, Yukawa and his construction section were involved in making a detailed design and construction documents.

The contractors for the distillery project were Yoneshichi Endo and the major domestic construction company, Okura-Gumi, which had contracted

³² Kita Nihon Shimbun [the Northern Japan Press], August 23, 1911.

³³ Karafuto Nichinichi Shimbun [The Sakhalin Daily News], October 1, 1910.

with the "Maier" company. In particular, Okura-Gumi contracted to transport and install the distillation equipment and to build a distillation room using fire resistant bricks.³⁴ Yoneshichi Endo had contracted for the other work, the so-called "zatsu koji" [miscellaneous work]. Soon after beginning operation, the distillery was sold to Okura-Gumi, and was operative until about 1920.³⁵ The ruined building was standing until the 1940s.

In 1911, the main buildings for the Karafuto-Cho were all constructed by the time of the completion of the distillery project. The construction section of the Karafuto-Cho was abolished for budget cut on November, 1910 and the construction staff were shifted to the civil engineering section.³⁶ Furthermore, Kozo Yukawa was given a leave of absence from work in November, 1911 but it was a de facto dismissal. After resigning from the Karafuto-Cho, Yukawa was given the Imperial Award Bonus again because of his achievements in the "Karafuto Jinja" construction project.

Yukawa died on June 23, 1915. *Journal of Architecture and Building Science* published in July, 1915, paid tribute to his memory using his picture at the beginning of the journal. This was the aforementioned *Shoden*.

Though Yukawa has so far been relatively unknown, it is of great importance to recognize engineers like him. Undoubtedly, there are other numerous "anonymous engineers" making many contributions to modern Japanese architectural development.

2-5. Other Engineers

First, three government engineers working for the Karafuto Guards between 1905 and 1908 deserve mentioning: Kazusuke Kumai, Motojiro Shimizu and Tsunesuke Suzuki. Kumai and Shimizu had belonged to the Seventh Division of the Army at Asahikawa. Most likely they participated in the construction of barracks and offices at Asahikawa from 1898 and were dispatched to Sakhalin because of their experience at Asahikawa. Tsunesuke Suzuki graduated from the "Tokyo Kote Gakko" [the Tokyo Technical School] in 1904.

On the other hand, the information on engineers working for the Civil Administration comes from *Membership List of the Architectural Institute of Japan and Journal of Architecture and Building Science* from 1905 to 1912. Tsutomu Hashimoto, Husajiro Iwata, Kyotaro Iwamoto, Masamichi Igarashi and Yoshijiro Hasegawa were five engineers who collaborated with the Civil Administration.

Tsutomu Hashimoto was the architect Tamura's junior colleague and worked on a short-term contract with the Civil Administration. As soon as he graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1906, he supposedly came to

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ The Karafuto-Cho, Sanjuu nenkan no omoide wo kataru [Roundtable Talk on Thirty Years of Sakhalin Life] (Toyohara, 1935), pp.87-89

³⁶ Ibid.

Sakhalin but returned to Tokyo as early as the beginning of 1907. In all probability he hardly ever worked on construction projects on Sakhalin. Husajiro Iwata sent an article on Russian log cabins in southern Sakhalin titled "Nanbu Karafuto shoken" to *Journal of Architecture and Building Science* of January, 1906. His report contains valuable information about the earliest days of Toyohara.

The information upon the Karafuto-Cho stuff engineers can be procured from the aforementioned "Shokuinroku," *Journal of Architecture and Building Science* and *Karafuto Nichinichi Shimbun* from 1907 to 1912. We can identify seven engineers from the Karafuto-Cho: Kenjiro Igawa, Suezo Iwaki, Soichiro Soda, Toichiro Ohara, Sosuke Sato, Hikojiro Yoshikawa and Yoshizo (or Ryozo?) Sasaki. According to "Shokuinroku," all of them except Hikojiro Yoshikawa had resigned by 1911, and Yoshikawa remained only two years more. The reason for this was that the Karafuto-Cho had increased construction staff temporarily due to the 40th imperial proclamation issued in 1907, which permitted to increase the staff by fifty-six in the area of construction (buildings, civil engineering and railroads) until March 31, 1909.

2-6. Contractors in Southern Sakhalin

To overcome the underdevelopment of Sakhalin at the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, a huge amount of public investment was made by the government. This, in turn, induced quite a few young contractors to immigrate to Sakhalin to benefit from the construction boom.

In a book titled *Karafuto kigyoka no shishin* [Guidelines for Business Entrepreneurs on Sakhalin] biographies of 64 successful contractors were outlined, 31 of them stayed in Sakhalin from 1905 to 1908, the first three years of the colonial period, and 57 of them were in their twenties or thirties when they came to Sakhalin. Some of them could gain financial and social success in southern Sakhalin. Among them, the contractor Yoneshichi Endo (1875-1934) is the most notable example.

2-7. Contractor Yoneshichi Endo

Yoneshichi Endo (Fig. 11)³⁷ was one of the most prominent self-made men of Sakhalin in the Japanese colonial period. He created a kind of local financial grouping through profits from his construction business and attained a number of public appointments. People even phrased "Karafuto for Endo, and Endo for Karafuto."³⁸ Before coming to Sakhalin, however, he had been a typical subcontractor for Kametaro Ito.

Yoneshichi Endo was born in Urahama Village of Niigata Prefecture on March 5, 1875. The Endo family's profession had been that of building con-

³⁷ His biography was taken mainly from *Karafuto kigyoka no shishin* and the local magazine *Karafuto* (Toyohara, August 1923).

³⁸ Hokkaido Kensetsu Shimbun Sha, *Husetsu no hyakunen [A Century of Snowfall]* (Sapporo, 1970), pp.211-213.

tractor for generations. Young Yoneshichi was apprenticed to a "kodakumi" [carpenter]. He distinguished himself immediately and began to supervise building construction at Shibata in Niigata Prefecture. Later he moved to Abashiri in Hokkaido, where Yoneshichi gained experience as a contractor with his relative Kumakichi Endo's support. For example, he worked on constructing buildings for the "tondenhei" [military colonists] at Tokoro in January, 1897.

Subsequently, he aided in the construction of temporary barracks for the newly established Seventh Division of the Army at Asahikawa in 1898. During this period, his ability was noticed by one of the foremost contractors, Kametaro Ito, who would become Endo's lifelong collaborator. After finishing this construction, Yoneshichi Endo moved to Sakhalin in August, 1905.



Fig. 11. Yoneshichi Endo (1875-1935)

In those days, Kametaro Ito, as we have noted, had contracted for most of the construction commissioned by the Karafuto Guards and the Karafuto-Cho. Because of his success in Asahikawa, the opinion of the Karafuto-Guards was that Kametaro Ito was the most reliable contractor in Sakhalin. (The Karafuto Guards was one subdivision of the Seventh Division at Asahikawa.) Apparently, Yoneshichi Endo subcontracted a significant part of these government construction projects in Toyohara. This is confirmed by almost all the biografies of Endo. Another reason is that Endo had actually become a leading contractor in southern Sakhalin with Kametaro's support. Remarkably, Endo stated that he had a commendatory letter written by Kametaro Ito and had received an unconditional loan of up to 10,000 yen.

After the first construction period at Toyohara was finished, none of Ito's project on Sakhalin could be confirmed. On the other hand, Endo was still in Sakhalin and expanded his business. In addition, he always served the public interest and became the most prominent name in various economic schemes in southern Sakhalin. Let us list several of his public employments: Representative of the Toyohara Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Toyohara fire chief, President of the Karafuto Electric Power Corporation, and President of the Karafuto Steamboat Corporation, et al.

Kametaro Ito continued to support Endo by dispatching appropriate subcontractors and staff throughout the Japanese colonial period.³⁹ In his later years, Yoneshichi Endo was badly stricken with gout and left all public duties. When he died in 1935, a town funeral was held at Toyohara and, later, his statute was erected.⁴⁰ However, after World War II, the Soviet regime in Sakhalin immediately repressed the Endo financial grouping because it was seen to be antagonistic to communism. The achievements of Yoneshichi Endo in southern Sakhalin were almost forgotten.

To sum up, Yoneshichi Endo played an indispensable role in the development of southern Sakhalin, but his achievements passed into oblivion.

2-8. Other Contractors

We have already presented papers examining 64 contractors in southern Sakhalin during the Japanese colonial period, who can be categorized into three types: side contractors employed by the richer capitalists (e.g., Shuji Ohashi, Tokizo Sasaki and Saburo Iida), subsistence subcontractors without enough working capital (this category contains too many to enumerate), and domestic contractors under the patronage of major paper mill companies (e.g., Hideyoshi Fujii and Hikotaro Watanabe).

In the first category, Shuji Ohashi was the general executive for the largest wood mill in Sakhalin, for a timber merchant business and for a well-known confectioner named "Hogetsudo." Contracts for major construction projects could be given to famous contractors, such as Shuji Ohashi and Yoneshichi Endo because of the significant sum of guarantee money which contractors had to pay to employers before beginning construction. This was not affordable for smaller contractors. In the case of the Karafuto Guards, the amount of this guarantee money was set at 12 percent of the contract payment amount. Hikojiro Watanabe, a representative of the third category, contracted for projects with the Fuji Seishi Corporation at Shizuoka and Hokkaido.

3. The Second Construction Boom (1929-1931) and Its Architects

3-1. The Second Construction Period at Toyohara

From the end of the 1920s, the large scale building construction was initiated by the Karafuto-Cho in Toyohara. This construction rush was caused by three factors: exhaustion of administrative buildings, the need for new administrative offices, and temporary and massive budgets for building construction.

First, the buildings built during the first decade became too old to function efficiently. The Karafuto-Cho Office Building is a typical example. The

³⁹ To name but a few, Shigeru Ichikawa, Shinzo Nishimura, and Rikumatsu Yamaguchi were dispatched by Ito Kametaro during the 1920s.

⁴⁰ Karafuto Nichinichi Shimbun, September 30, 1934.

⁴¹ Contract Agreements kept by the Ito-Gumi Corporation.

Karafuto-Cho had 289 officials in 1907, but the number increased drastically to 2,537 in 1936 (including workers in branch offices).⁴² It can be assumed that other offices were also experiencing similar circumstances. Nevertheless, in spite of several rebuilding plans, the new building for the Karafuto-Cho could not be built until 1945 because of budget deficits.



Fig. 12. The Central Industrial Laboratory

Second, the Karafuto-Cho needed several new buildings. In 1929, for example, the Karafuto-Cho decided to build its Industrial Laboratory (Fig. 12) at Konuma (Novo-Aleksandrovsk today). This laboratory was aimed at researching the problems of agriculture, forestry, mining and manufacturing in Sakhalin. The district forestry offices were also estab-

lished in major towns except Toyohara: Odomari (Korsakov), Rutaka (Aniva), Honto (Nevelisk), Maoka (Kholmsk), Tomarioru (Tomari), Esutori (Ugolegorsk), Motodomari (Vostochnyi) and Shisuka (Polonaisk). Some of their completion dates have been identified to be in the same year, 1929.⁴³

Third, the Karafuto-Cho had provided an ample budget for their own construction section between 1927 and 1931 (see Table 1). The budget for building construction in 1928 was more than five times as much as the budget in the previous year. The civil engineering budget, on the other hand, remained almost unchanged.

Table 1. Comparative Chart of Budgets for Buildings and Civil Engineering⁴⁴

Year	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1930	1931
Buildings	553,690	332,645	369,057	375,629	2,022,350	1,633,605	1,362,329
Civil Eng.	696,926	767,095	691,545	701,650	690,580	704,130	619,530
Total	1,251,616	1,099,740	1,059,162	1,077,279	2,712,930	2,337,735	1,981,859

⁴² Zenkoku Karafuto Renmei, *Karafuto enkaku gyouseishi [The History of Karafuto and Its Governments]* (Tokyo, 1978), pp.363-364.

⁴³ Official Documents of the Karafuto-Cho, "Karafuto-cho yosan, Shouwa 11 nendo" [Documents Regarding the Budget of fiscal 1936], 1935, kept in the Hokkaido Prefectural Archives.

⁴⁴ The information regarding these budgets is taken from the Official Documents of the Karafuto-Cho, "Karafuto-cho tokubetsu kaikei sainyu saishutsu kakumoku meisaisho yotei keisansho" [specifications for all the Karafuto Cho's detailed budget plans] from fiscal 1924 and fiscal 1931.

To accommodate the increase in building construction, the Karafuto-Cho augmented their construction staff drastically from the late 1920s. Especially, it was important that two excellent official engineers, Sagae Ishii and Yoshio Kaizuka, accepted offers from the Karafuto-Cho. Additionally, the Karafuto-Cho employed new graduates from the Sapporo Municipal Technical School as assistant engineers in 1928, 1930 and 1931. During the second construction boom, several large buildings, such as the Karafuto-Cho Toyohara Hospital, the Toyohara Post Office, and the main buildings of the Karafuto-Cho Central Industrial Laboratory, were built.

The construction section had been a part of the Civil Engineering Section from November, 1911 to November, 1936, when the two sections were separated again. The new construction section was called "Eizen ka" [Repairs Division]. However, up to the end of World War II, this section could not construct many large scale buildings, with the exception of the Karafuto-Cho Museum and the new Karafuto-Cho Office Building.46 Yoshio Kaizuka, Gensaku Ashizaki, and Kinjiro Yanagisawa played important roles in the Karafuto-Cho's second construction period. Ashizaki designed the Karafuto-Cho Toyohara Hospital and Yanagisawa designed the Toyohara Post Office.47 Among them, Yoshio Kaizuka was one of the most important architects in southern Sakhalin.



Fig. 13. Yoshio Kaizuka (1900-1974)

3-2. Architect Yoshio Kaizuka and His Works

Yoshio Kaizuka⁴⁸ was born in Yokohama on January 23, 1900. Little is known about his family and childhood. According to his daughter Fumie, he

⁴⁵ Kiyoshi Kitamura, Yoshio Saiki, Takeo Ogino, Shintaro Hokin, Shin'ichi Kaneko and Satoshi Baba graduated from Sapporo Industrial High School according to Takeo Ogino and *The List of Graduates of Sapporo Industrial High School*.

⁴⁶ According to Takeo Ogino.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ The biographical information about Yoshio Kaizuka (Fig. 13) is taken from his curriculum vitae kept by the contractor Kato-Gumi at Yokohama where Yoshio Kaizuka was working in the postwar years. Some information comes from oral interviews with his children Noritaka Kaizuka and Fumie Ohmura and with Takeo Ogino, an engineer with the Karafuto-Cho. Information on Kaizuka's work was obtained from his private memoirs kept by his children.

had dreamed of being a naval architect, probably because his home town Yokohama was an international port city.

In 1914, Kaizuka graduated from Futsukaeda Primary Public High School at Yokohama and went on to Kanagawa Prefectural Technical School. He wished to study naval architecture at Waseda University, a very famous private university in Japan, but this desire was not realized.⁴⁹

In March of 1917, Kaizuka graduated from Kanagawa Prefecture Technical School with honors and perfect attendance. Soon after his graduation, he began working for one of the major contractors, Shimizu-Gumi in Yokohama. However, he left the company on July 25, 1918 for family reasons and began working for the Kanagawa Prefectural Government Office as an assistant engineer at a salary of 20 yen a month. On March, 1919, Kaizuka was promoted to engineer. In 1920, his salary was raised to 57 yen a month, although it was due to a change in wage rules.

On September 1, 1923, the Great Kanto Earthquake occurred and Yokohama was also damaged. Kaizuka was appointed as a Secretary of the Extraordinary Office for Post-Earthquake Restoration. While at the Kanagawa Prefectural Office, he worked on the three construction projects: Kagamachi Police Station at Yokohama (1927.4-1927.11), the Normal School at Kamakura (1925.8-1926.2), and Isogo Police Station at Yokohama (1924.7-1925.5).⁵⁰

Among these, the Normal School at Kamakura deserves to be noted for comparison with the Karafuto-Cho Museum (Fig. 14). In addition to these projects, possibly he worked on the Kanagawa Prefectural Government Office project, considering that he was the person designated to conduct the completion ceremony. It is well



Fig. 14. The Karafuto-Cho Museum (1937)

known that this building was constructed in the "Nihon Shumi" [Japonaiserie] style. Features of these two buildings are reflected in the Karafuto-Cho Museum which was also designed in this style.

The Normal School was a two-story, partly Japanese-style wooden building. Kaizuka's memoirs state that he was assigned to do "genba sekou zumen" [shop drawings] on this project. Also, it is notable that the schoolhouse was designed in the "wayo secchu" style [a blend of East and West] to preserve

⁴⁹ According to Fumie Ohmura.

⁵⁰ According to Kaizuka's memoirs.

the "scenic beauty near the Hachimangu Shrine," according to Kaizuka's memoirs. Interestingly enough, the construction site of the Karafuto-Cho Museum was owned by the "Karafuto Jinja" and the "Butokuden" [a kind of Japanese martial arts gym] built near in the Japanese style.⁵¹ This is probably the reason why the Karafuto-Cho Museum should have been built partly in the "Nihon Shumi" style. In addition, the facade of the Karafuto-Cho Museum was similar to that of the Kanagawa Prefectural Government Office: in particular, the areas of the upper scratch tiles and the lower artificial stone.

Judging from his memoirs, Kaizuka was not the chief designer of any buildings. He was assigned to do shop drawings, working designs, to design various building facilities, and to work as a foreman. According to his daughter Fumie, he could not be chief designer because there were many highly educated chief designers in the Kanagawa Prefectural Office.

In 1929, Kaizuka was asked to transfer to Sakhalin and work for the Karafuto-Cho. According to Fumie, he was promised be authorized to design and build freely and this is why he decided to accept the invitation. On April, 1929, he began working for the Karafuto-Cho. Just after his arrival, he set about designing the Karafuto-Cho Central Industrial Laboratory. This building was a three-story (partly four-story), reinforced concrete building built in the International style. Its completion date was in August, 1933. This building is still standing at Novo-Aleksandrovsk and used by the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Kaizuka's memoirs state that he had researched the most up-to-date laboratories all over Japan, and incorporated their best features in his own design. Most of the Japanese laboratories in those days were built in typical International style. This style was used by modernist architects as one of the most progressive ones, but Kaizuka's main concern was not with this. According to his memoirs, he aimed at establishing a suitable structure for cold regions with this building, and this technical aspect was given a higher priority than design. This building was actually Kaizuka's initial work, so probably this building's resemblance to a large ship reflected the dream of his youth to become a naval architect. Since almost all early International style buildings in Japan have been destroyed, this building is quite valuable.

The Central Industrial Laboratory's Greenhouse also was designed by Yoshio Kaizuka. It was a one-story, partly ferro-concrete building and is still standing despite being partly destroyed. Its completion date was in May of 1934. Kaizuka was aiming at designing an optimum structure for cold regions. This building's notable feature was its glassed-in walls which could be freely opened and closed using a mechanical operating system.

In February, 1934, before the construction of the Greenhouse was finished, Kaizuka began to design the Karafuto-Cho Annex Building (Fig. 15).

⁵¹ Ibid.



Fig. 15. The Karafuto-Cho Annex Building (1934)

This building was twostoried, made of reinforced concrete and had a heavy Spanish influence, which was prevalent among residential designs. The annex was designed to function as a convention house and had a large convention room on the first floor, an office on the ground floor and a cafeteria and a boiler room on the base-

ment. This building is also still existing in Iuzhno-Sakhalinsk, but it is not known how the buildings is used today.

The Karafuto-Cho Museum (Fig. 14) is one of the most famous and beloved buildings in Sakhalin. This building also is still in existence and used as the Sakhalin Regional Museum. As noted above, it was designed in the "Nihon Shumi" style which was very popular among museums and official buildings in Japan built in the late 1920s and 1930s. Built in 1937, the Karafuto-Cho Museum represents the late fashon of this style.

According to Kaizuka, this building was styled so that it should look like a traditional Japanese castle, with a blending of Japanese and Western elements. Moreover, the architect said that he had worked out an elaborate plan for the facade design. This was a rare case for him in that design had taken precedence over technical aspects.

Recently, official documents and drawings belonging to the Karafuto-Cho concerning construction during fiscal 1935 were found in the Hokkaido Prefectural Archives. Since all drawings were signed by Yoshio Kaizuka as the designer, it is indisputable that he had designed the museum. These documents also revealed that Kaneko, Mima, Akimoto and Negishi drew and copied these drawings as assistant engineers. Sagae Ishii, the chief architect of the construction section of the Karafuto-Cho, was the person who checked all drawings.

The main entrance, built in the Japanese style, was very distinctive and skylights to light up the exhibition room were characteristic of this building. In addition, all of the exhibition cases were designed by Kaizuka and some of them are still in use. Kaizuka's memoirs state that the walls of each exhibition room had cloth wallpaper applied to them for soundproofing. When viewing the photos taken at that time, it is clear that the walls of VIP room had cloth wallpaper with a traditional Japanese pattern. Though the wallpaper has been changed, the original one can possibly be traced when this building is repaired.

After finishing the construction of the museum, Kaizuka was asked to design several buildings by other offices. Southern Sakhalin in those days had very few planners, so Kaizuka had to undertake to the construction of various buildings. When he designed these buildings (except for the Karafuto-Cho), he was usually designated as a short-term contract architect. In this period, Kaizuka architected the Laboratory of Electrophysics for the Ministry of Education, the Toyohara Shrine, some of the post offices in Karafuto, and the Meteorological Agency building.

His last work in southern Sakhalin was the construction of the Karafuto-Cho Office Building. It was started in June, 1944. His memoirs mention that this building was five-storied, contained a basement and was built using a curtain wall system. The memoirs also state that the structural design was assigned to an outside planning office and Kaizuka was assigned to design detailed features, electrical and mechanical schemes, and to be foreman. Supposedly the first phase of construction was already finished by June, 1945.

In August of 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allies and many Japanese people returned to the home country. However, some of the Japanese could not return immediately. According to his daughter Fumie, Yoshio Kaizuka was one of them. While his family was able to return in August, 1945, Kaizuka was kept under house arrest to redraw the plans for official buildings which he had designed and built. Just before the end of the war most of the drawings in the Karafuto-Cho had been burned, so someone had to replace these drawings and Kaizuka was marked out for this work. It took two years to redraw all the plans. When he was permitted to return, his hair had turned gray. In July, 1947, Kaizuka arrived in Yokohama where his family was waiting for him.

Since the Karafuto-Cho had already been abolished, Kaizuka lost his own salary and occupation. Unwilling to approach someone to ask for a job, it was very difficult for him to gain reemployment. Fortunately, however, in December, 1947, Kaizuka began to work for Kato-Gumi, a civil contractor in Yokohama. The president of Kato-Gumi had been one of his classmates in primary school. Although Kato-Gumi in those days only contracted for civil construction projects, a construction department was newly established for Kaizuka and he became head of this new department. He worked for Kato-Gumi until 1948 but he did not design buildings of the similar high degree of quality as those he did in Sakhalin.

In conclusion, though Yoshio Kaizuka was one of the anonymous architects in Japan, he was qualified enough to design outstanding buildings, such as the Karafuto-Cho Museum, in the 1930s and 1940s. His buildings are more attractive than other buildings in southern Sakhalin since he always relied upon the latest style, such as the International, "Nihon Shumi," and Spanish. His style reflects his careful research before designing. In addition, Kaizuka attached more importance to satisfying practical requirements than esthetic in spite of his genius for design. The Karafuto-Cho Museum is a notable ex-

ample. This building had an artistically designed exterior in the style of traditional Japanese castles as well as skylights and wallpaper to satisfy practical requirements of the Museum. In short, the allure of his work is its amalgamation of high practicability and great artistry.

3-3. Other Architects and Engineers

Other architects and engineers working for the Karafuto-Cho between 1929 and 1945 should be mentioned briefly. Sagae Ishii graduated from the Tokyo Industrial High School in 1921. As soon as he graduated, he began working for the construction section of the General Post Office. In April, 1929, he came to Sakhalin as an architect for the Karafuto-Cho. However, it is assumed that he did not design any buildings in southern Sakhalin. According to Takeo Ogino and Fumie Ohmura, he was assigned to do paperwork related to construction projects until the end of the war. After he returned to Japan, he lived in Tokyo until his death in 1975. 52

Another architect, Yoneji Sakae graduated from the Tokyo School of Art (today's Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music) in 1928. As soon as he graduated, he began working for the Karafuto-Cho. In 1941, however, he left the Karafuto-Cho and began to work for the Nihon Hassoden Corporation (today's Hokkaido Electric Power Corporation). In 1962, he opened his own architectural office in Sapporo. While at the Karafuto-Cho, he designed the Odomari Police Station in 1928, the Telephone Terminal Office at Shiritori in 1932, and the aforementioned "Butokuden" [Japanese martial arts gym] in 1936. He died on March 3, 1976.⁵³

Mikitaro Hayashi graduated from Southern Manchuria Industrial High School in 1926. Upon graduation, he immediately began to work for the Karafuto-Cho. While at the Karafuto-Cho, he designed the "Takushoku Gakko" [the School of Agriculture and Forestry] in 1936. According to Takeo Ogino, Mikitaro Hayashi was a talented contractor. After World War II, he ran his own business as a contractor in Ishikawa Prefecture.⁵⁴

CONCLUSION

We have outlined some aspects of building construction during the Japanese colonial period. Central to this topic is the fate of three architects: Yasushi Tamura, Kozo Yukawa and Yoshio Kaizuka. They have been almost anonymous in spite of their talent and achievements. They should be credited with influencing the construction of important administrative buildings in

⁵² The information on Sagae Ishii is taken from *List of Graduates of Tokyo Institute of Technology*.

⁵³ The information on Yoneji Sakae is taken from a collection book of his posthumous writings and drawings titled *Haru no Yuki* [Spring Snow](Sapporo, 1977), pp.197-208.

⁵⁴ The information on Mikitaro Hayashi is taken from his curriculum vitae kept by Hayashi-Gumi Corporation in Kusu City, Ishikawa Prefecture.

southern Sakhalin in spite of difficulties to solve such problems as structural design in a cold region like Sakhalin. In particular, the design of administrative buildings of the stick style should be attributed to Tamura, and these buildings greatly influenced the subsequent construction, creating a standard style for southern Sakhalin during the Japanese colonial period. Moreover, Kaizuka tried to design a "kanchi tekiou kenchiku" [habitable building style for cold regions] with the construction of new ferro-concrete administrative buildings and enriched Sakhalin's building design with contemporary styles, such as the International, Spanish, and "Japonaiserie."

There are two reasons for these architects' lack of recognition. First, their activities in Sakhalin have so far been unpublicized because of poor documentation. Another reason is that the conventional approach in the study of Japanese modern architectural history has been to focus only on famous architects and buildings in major cities and provinces. However, our research has shown that we need to study local architectural history in such remote areas as Sakhalin, so that we can unearth new aspects of architectural history.

Although the construction sections of the government offices were small-scale and, with the exception of Tamura, consisted mostly of young engineers without any strong academic background, early administrative buildings in southern Sakhalin could be designed by them without assistance from outside, famous architects. This means that ordinary, anonymous Japanese engineers in those days possessed sufficient ability to build the new city of Toyohara.

This paper focused on administrative buildings. Even within this confinement, one or another insufficiency of concrete examples might be remarked, for example, in regard to Yoneshichi Endo's contribution. Moreover, our subsequent studies of civil construction, such as paper mills, banks, shops, and residences, will enrich the findings presented here.

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OUTLINE OF BASIC REFERENCE SOURCES

1) "Riku Manmitsu Dainikki" [The confidential manuscripts and documents concerning the Russo-Japanese War filed by the Department of the Japanese Imperial Army General Staff]

These are kept by the Defense Agency's Military History Laboratory. These are the only official documents related to the Karafuto Guards and the most authentic historical sources about the process of public construction in those days.

2) "Nichirosenso niyoru senryochi shisei ikken Karafuto no bu" [Report on Policy Measures in the occupied territory after the Russo-Japanese War (Karafuto)]

This is kept by the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its compiler is supposed to be Yonosuke Suzuki, the proconsul of the Civil Administration on Karafuto. It is the only official manuscript to reveal administrative policy and construction work done by the Civil Administration.

3) Contract agreements and old photographs belonging to the Ito-Gumi Corporation, a representative contractor in Hokkaido

These are important historical sources because Kametaro Ito, the founder of Ito-Gumi, was the contractor for most of the building construction done by the Karafuto Guards.

4) Shokuinroku [The Directories of Government Officials throughout Japan]

These directories, which belong to the National Archives, have been published serially under the edition of the Printing Bureau of the Finance Ministry. They contain basic information about architects and engineers, especially during the Meiji Era. Unfortunately, only principal architects were listed, so *The Membership List of the Architectural Institute of Japan* is referred to for supplementing documentation.

5) Karafuto-Cho Shokuinroku [The Directories of the Local Karafuto-Cho Government]

These were published by the Karafuto-Cho every year but almost all volumes have been lost. Extant are those from 1930, 1934, 1935, 1938 and 1943, which are stored in various libraries and archives. They indicate changes in the construction and engineering staff working for the Karafuto-Cho. However, we could not identify individual architects and engineers without the Membership List of the Architectural Institute of Japan since all those working in the civil engineering and construction areas were lumped together in the Karafuto-Cho Shokuinroku.

6) Yoshio Kaizuka's Memoirs

This is one of the most important manuscripts concerning 1930s building construction. It is assumed that Kaizuka wrote it in the late 1960s or early 1970s. The important information on each of his buildings, for example, architectural features, requirements as a designer, the construction period and the supervisory staff is presented in this memoir.

7) Karafuto Nichinichi Shimbun [The Sakhalin Daily News]

This was a representative newspaper in the colonial period and is now kept by the Library of Hokkaido University; the extant papers were published between 1910 and 1942. Information concerning not only various aspects of daily life but also the construction of numerous buildings is taken mainly from this newspaper.

8) Interviews

Interviews are also used as supplementary evidence. Among others, interviews were conducted with Noritaka Kaizuka and Fumie Ohmura, the children of the architect Yoshio Kaizuka and with Takeo Ogino who worked for the construction section of the Karafuto-Cho from 1930 to 1945 as one of its engineers.

PICTURE REFERENCES

- Fig. 1) Journal of Architecture and Building Science, April 1942.
- Fig. 2) Kept by the Ito-Gumi Corporation.
- Fig. 3) ditto.
- Fig. 4) Karafuto-Cho shisei sanjunen-shi [History of the Thirteen Year Administration of the Karafuto-Cho], Karafuto-Cho, 1937.8.23.
- Fig. 5) Kept by the Ito-Gumi Corporation.
- Fig. 6) Ibid.
- Fig. 7) Ibid.
- Fig. 8) Journal of Architecture and Building Science, July 1915.
- Fig. 9) Kept by the Ito-Gumi Corporation.
- Fig. 10) Karafuto-Cho shisei sanjunen-shi, Karafuto-Cho, 1937.8.23.
- Fig. 11) Kept by the Ito-Gumi Corporation.
- Fig. 12) Karafuto yoran [The Official Manual of Karafuto] published in 1940.
- Fig. 13) Kept by Noritaka Kaizuka.
- Fig. 14) Karafuto yoran published in 1940.
- Fig. 15) Taken by Takeshi Koshino, 1996.