Modernizing Through Tradition:
Kyoto's Development in the Meiji Period

Maria Marangos
Category: Undergraduate
Fordham University – College at Lincoln Center
Phone number: (917)945-4087
E-mail: venusfueri@gmail.com
Address: 78-21 21st Avenue Jackson Heights, NY 11370

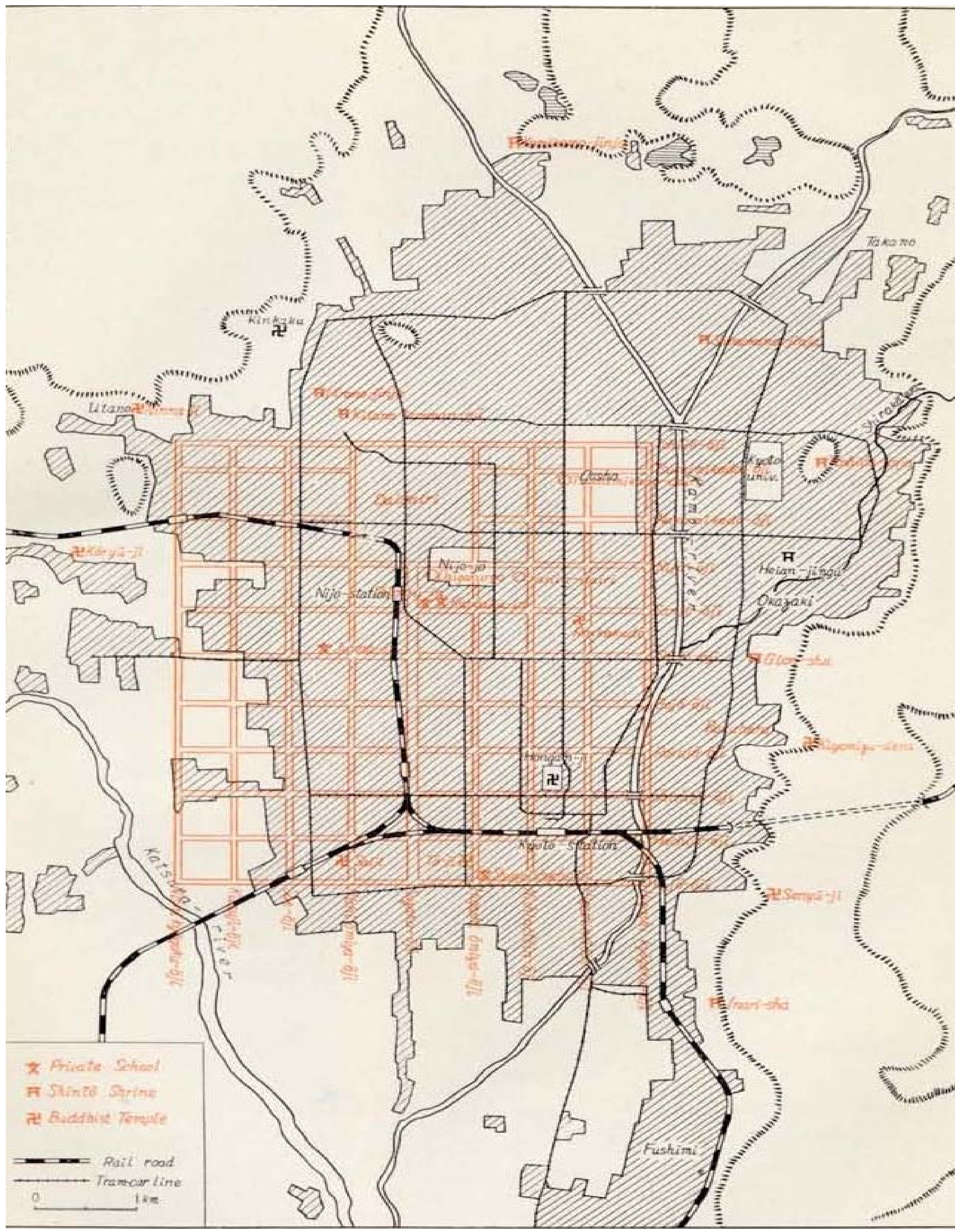

Figure 1. Pre-1591 Map of Kyoto (in orange) superimposed on a modern map of the city.

From *Kyoto: The Old Capital of Japan, 794-1869.*

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"Kyoto's industry is Kyoto." [1]

On 22 October 1895, the streets of Kyoto were filled with a common sight: a procession of people, typical for the multitude of festivals that highlighted a local citizen's calendar. What made this procession unique was that it consisted of people in costume from the various periods of Japanese history. It was part of the *Jidai Matsuri*, or Festival of Ages, an event that celebrated Kyoto's eleven-hundred year history as the former imperial capital of Japan.

This festival would not have occurred had it not been for the traumatic events that took place shortly after the Meiji Restoration. When the seat of Japan's government returned to the emperor during the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the capital also changed from Tokyo to Kyoto. When the capital shifted back to Tokyo, many believed that Kyoto "would become a second Nara, a museum of antiquities" and left behind to become a mere fragment of memory. [2] However, this was not Kyoto's fate. Unlike Nara, which was known mainly for its role as the first imperial capital, Kyoto did not allow itself to completely regale itself to Tokyo's shadow.

When a city or a country undergoes a rapid change that alters or destroys social norms that were once the fabric of everyday life, it often looks to the past in order to reestablish continuity and provide stability. Beginning in 1868 and climaxing in 1895, the disruptive changes brought on by the restoration and the departure of the emperor such as the gradual decay of the city and the loss of its identity as the imperial capital were abated with initiatives in education, the local economy and technology with simultaneous reinvention and the adaptation

[1] Dalby, Liza. *Geisha*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. p. 25.
[2] Plutschow, Herbert E. *Introducing Kyoto*. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1972. p. 48.

of the past. To some extent then, Kyoto's leaders consciously invented tradition, a process of formalization and ritualization that refers to the past through constant repetition, and used to legitimize and support the creation of new initiatives, festivals, etc.[3]

Under an energetic local government, Kyoto transformed itself into a city that not only looked to the future but kept strong ties with its history. During the early decades of the Meiji period, the national government held a tight fist over the newly-forged prefectures, which replaced the old domains that were abolished in 1871. The national government appointed local governors, and allowed little leeway for actual self-governance at the local level.[4] In spite of the presence of centralized control, Nagatani Nobuatsu and Makimura Masanao, a member of the Peers School and a former Chōshu samurai, respectively, and two of Kyoto's first appointed mayors from 1868 to 1881 helped acquire a gift of ¥150,000 from the court as a parting gift and used it to fund the first round of developments in education and the economy.[5] In the late 1880s, Kyoto was governed by appointee Kitagaki Kunio, a staunch supporter of the imperial faction during the Restoration. Although he had little previous access to Western technology, his application of the phrase "Western Science Oriental Ethics" at the local level via his patronage for the Lake Biwa Canal expressed his devotion and support for the city.

In Japan, the term "modernization" meant the adaptation of Western ideas and technology. This was taken one step further in Kyoto, with initiatives to protect traditional industries and reestablish itself as the place in Japan for the preservation of traditional culture in a modern setting. One of the main reasons behind the support for the adaptation of western ideas

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[3] Hobsawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. p. 2.
[4] "Local Government in Asia and the Pacific: A Comparative Study. Country Paper: Japan." *United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific*. 5 May 2006. <http://www.unescap.org/huset/lgstudy/country/japan/japan.html#evolve>.
[5] Conant, Ellen. *Nihonga*. St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1995. p. 18-19.

and technology was to preserve the city's history at the same time. What made Kyoto's development as a "modern city" unique was that it went through a dual-modernization process of westernization and preservation.

This took place in three phases between the years 1868 and 1895. The first and second phases – survival and expansion – involved "westernization" and occurred in the 1870s and 1880s, respectively. The initiatives that took place in the 1870s were small and were intended to help Kyoto get through its early shock, and assist in undertaking larger projects, which occurred in the 1880s. The municipal developments that transpired during these two decades kept connections with the past, but it was in the 1890s when preservation and tradition climaxed with the culmination of the *Jidai Matsuri*, or Festival of Ages, and the opening of the Heian Jingu Shrine, a copy of the Great Palace Enclosure from 794.

Kyoto's growth involved striking a balance with its past as the imperial city, and finding a source of legitimacy for itself without an emperor residing in the Imperial palace. Government leaders were able to create stability between municipal improvements such as the Lake Biwa Canal, the school districts and the reorganization of the traditional industries with events such as the exhibitions of the 1870s, the Fourth National Industrial Exposition, and the Festival of Ages – which not only presented Kyoto to the world, but also served as a constant reminder of Kyoto's place in Japan. These were examples of the reproduction of culture; the events were in a new guise and redesigned to meet the needs of the current time period, taking examples from the past.[6] Therefore, Kyoto would not become a forgotten relic.

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[6] Vlastos, Stephen, ed. *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. p. 2.

The Physical Landscape: Part One (1585-1868)

Before I begin with the changed in Kyoto after the emperor's departure, I will first describe the physical landscape in which the city found itself in on the eve of the Meiji Restoration. Up until 1585, Kyoto lay in ashes as one of the lasting consequences of the Sengoku Period, when warlords fought one another in bids to seize control of Japan.[7] Furthermore, the city had more than its fair share of fires, as most of its buildings were made of wood. When Oda Nobunaga wrested power for himself amongst the battling warlords, he began to organize reconstruction of the city; it was Toyotomi Hideyoshi that expanded the reconstruction projects. In addition to establishing ostentatious temples, Hideyoshi enacted more practical projects, such as redrawing the city boundaries, replacing wooden bridges with ones that had stone supports, restoring larger temples, and building smaller temples in the foothills of the city designed for the city's defense.[8]

It is important to begin a general overview of Kyoto's map with Hideyoshi's reconstruction projects because they still had a profound effect on city planning. Until the Hōei fire in 28 April 1708, Kyoto's layout and general design had few, if little alterations.[9] Although fires destroyed large segments of the city, what should be considered is that the foundations of Hideyoshi's rebuilding of the city in 1591 took root. After a conflagration, the city "was always rebuilt on practically the same lines" well up to the start of the Meiji period.[10]

What the rebuilding of Kyoto meant after Hideyoshi up until the Meiji period in one respect was that the streets kept their uniform size. Figure 3, a map of Kyoto in the middle of the nineteenth century (before 1868) demonstrates the omnipresence of the design that Hideyoshi

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[7] Sengoku is translated as "Warring States."
[8] Dougill, John. *Kyoto: A Cultural History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p. 113.
[9] Posonby-Fane, p. 404. On p. 236, he provides the same date for the event, but the year is 1705. It is unclear as to which is the correct year of the Hōei fire.
[10] Posonby-Fane, p. 236.

planted.[11] Before Hideyoshi's reconstruction of the city, there were two types of streets: *ōji* and *kōji*, which are "large roads" and "small streets," respectively, and are designated as such according to their width.[12] Fighting in the *ōji* during the Sengoku period was relatively easy, as the wide streets allowed for the proliferation of close-range combat using swords and bows. Under Hideyoshi's reconstruction plan, however, all new roads were of uniform width, regardless of their North-South or East-West orientation.

Another change that is prevalent in both pre-Meiji and Meiji period maps is the shift of the Daidairi, or the Great Palace Enclosure. Hideyoshi did not rebuild the enclosure as part of his massive building projects; rather, he laid for the foundation of the current Imperial Palace, or the Gōsho. According to Figure 1, where a basic street map of pre-1591 Kyoto is superimposed upon a modern map, one can see a gradual shift of the city towards the Northeast, if one takes the Gōsho as the new central point of the map, with the palace compound along the northern edge.

With the rise in tensions between the shogunate and rival groups in the years running up to 1868, Kyoto became battlefield for power after centuries of relative political and military silence. Signs were posted all over the city, giving local citizens a sense of how Kyoto rapidly shifted from a dormant, aristocratic enclave to a hornet's nest buzzing with political – and later military – rumblings. According to Beasley, "these public displays criticized the Bakufu for its dealings with foreigners, the Court for its subservience to Edo, [and] the officials for accepting bribes and approving "disgracing" policies."[13]

In 1864, conflict between the shogunal and imperial factions escalated with the Battle of Hamaguri Gate on the western side of the Imperial Palace. Although it lasted several hours, the ensuing battle between Chōshu – one of the main supporters for the Imperial faction – and the

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[11] Figures 3 through 5 are in the Appendix following this paper.
[12] Posonby-Fane, p. 232.
[13] Beasley, W.G. *The Meiji Restoration*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973. p. 292.

shogunate started a fire that ravaged the streets of Kyoto. An eyewitness described the following scene:

> "Both sides fired till the bullets fell thick as rain drops […] Suddenly the heavens and earth shook and trembled, and the noise was loud enough to burst in one's ears […] fierce flames rose up, as if the whole universe were on fire […]Lying prostrate here and there were men who had fallen down wounded, and the roads were full of headless corpses. It was a sight revolting to the eyes."[14]

As in the Sengoku Period, Kyoto found itself in the crossfire and suffered drastic consequences; the fire that resulted from the Battle of Hamaguri Gate lasted for three days and approximately 27,500 homes and 250 temples were destroyed.[15] Before the battle, small incidents that took place between the rival groups did not engulf the entire city, but Hamaguri Gate changed all that. Kyoto, not Edo was the battleground for power and the starting point for the civil war between the Imperial and Shogunal factions which ended in 1869.

After the restoration, the countless numbers of *samurai* and *daimyo* that were arriving in Kyoto necessitated a rebuilding of the city, which made Kyoto feel "jubilant."[16] Nevertheless, a controversial debate concerning the location of the capital ensued, which lead to the eventual shift of the emperor to Tokyo. Kyoto citizens flocked to the shrines for divine intervention, while local officials worried about the prospect of mass protests.[17] Except for brief visits, political conditions in Tokyo – such as the arrival of Western legations and instabilities in the northeast – prevented the return of the Emperor until 1887.

Survival (1868-1883)

With the emperor newly installed in Tokyo, Meiji oligarchs began to tackle the many issues presented to them. The government – in addition to the Japanese populace – was

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[14] Ichihara, M. *Official Guidebook to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures*. Nara: Meishinsha, 1895. p. 52.
[15] Akamatsu, *Meiji 1868.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1972. p. 180.
[16] Conant, *Nihonga*, p. 18.
[17] Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World*, p. 188.

fascinated by the strength and magnanimity of the West. During this period, the term *bunmei kaika* coined by Fukuzawa Yukichi, a prominent writer, was in vogue.[18] The developments that took place in Kyoto were not wholly isolated events, but rather influenced by the initial awe and frenzy that was spreading throughout Japan over anything Western, which was considered "civilized."

One facet of *bunmei kaika* allowed for the creation of an education system, promoting national unity which would assist in assuaging diplomatic vulnerability, as Iwakura Tomomi purported.[19] The government quickly recognized its vulnerability to the Western powers that were encroaching on their shores, and resolved that the country needed to be united in order to prevent the West from exploiting Japan any further.

In February 1869 a "provincial directive" was the one of the first decrees made by the Meiji government to call for the creation of elementary schools.[20] This document recommended that local governments teach basic skills such as reading and writing in addition to morality, but it did not specifically outline a nationwide system. At first, the general focus of education was on fostering loyalty and *kokutai*.[21] However, 1870 marked the rejection of these nativist principles, as *bunmei kaika* began to flourish; education took on a Western structure, consisting of reading, writing and arithmetic, in addition to lessons on civil morality.[22]

According to Gluck, the Japanese education system was ""progressive" in the 1870s, "conservative" in the early 1880s, and "statist" […] in the late 1880s."[23] Using Kyoto as my local lens, I will examine the "progressive" aspect, and demonstrate how the initiatives

[18] The term is translated as "Civilization and Enlightenment." McClain, John. *Japan: A Modern History*. p. 177.
[19] Platt, Brian. *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004. p. 103-104.
[20] Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985. p. 104.
[21] According to John McClain, the emperor had a politico-religious role, and the idea of *kokutai* was to foster allegiance to this duality that the emperor embodied for the sake of the country's welfare. See McClain, *Japan: A Modern History*, p. A27.
[22] Platt, Brian. *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004. p. 103-104.
[23] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, p. 103.

surrounding the creation of Kyoto's own primary school system contributed to the development of the city.

The first elementary school opened on 21 May 1869; all 64 school districts opened with at least one elementary school three years before the Meiji government adopted Western models of education in 1872.[24] Although the creation of the system was initiated by Kyoto's mayors, it was the statesman Kido Takayoshi who pushed for a system such as this, in hope that what was to be created in Kyoto on the local level could expand onto the national level.[25] Thus, the Kyoto school system served as a structural paradigm for the country.

It is possible Kyoto was to some extent a launchpad for an educational directive because the region was not embroiled in any remnants of conflicts that were akin to those going on in Northern Japan between imperial and the remaining fragments of the shogunate. Furthermore, as the imperial capital, Kyoto was once the center of traditional Confucian and Shinto learning. Although Confucian and Shinto principles were long abandoned in the name of *bunmei kaika*, one cannot deny that there was a strong tradition of an established education system in the city.

When Fukuzawa Yukichi stopped in Kyoto to observe its school system on a trip to Nakatsu, he noted that the "school system was inaugurated entirely on the initiative of Kyoto citizens and prefectural government."[26] As he wrote from the Hotel Matsuya in 1872, Fukuzawa could not help but express his joy at the status of the education system in Kyoto: "There will be no prefecture in the country which will not follow Kyoto's example […]. The education of people in schools established by the people has been my long-standing wish. Now I was able to see its actual realization on my visit to Kyoto."[27]

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[24] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, p. 105.
[25] Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890,* p. 113.
[26] Fukuzawa, Yukichi. *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education*. Translated by Eiichi Kiyōka. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1985. p. 73.
[27] Fukuzawa, *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education*, p. 78.

The system clearly echoed the tenets of *bunmei kaika*. One distinguishing characteristic of the Kyoto school system in the Meiji period was that it fostered a sense of unity and community amongst the people who strongly fought for the new system. The scheme was designed so that everyone from the highest official to a parent or even household with no children in the system played a role. Schools served as community centers where vaccinations took place, and were "stations for civil guards and meeting places where governmental orders would be explained to the populace."[28] Furthermore, each household was required to send one family member to the lectures held six times a month, and paid a yearly tax of 2 *bu* per year.[29]

The inauguration of an education system in Kyoto was one of the first ways in which the city began to distinguish itself apart from its previous history as the Emperor's home. It demonstrated early on that the city would attempt to move past the shock of the Emperor's departure, and develop a new identity, whilst keeping its ties to the past. Although Kyoto was no longer the political center, the success of the new education system that juxtaposed both basic skills and morality not only established precedent, but also sent a strong message early on in the Meiji period: though it is a city strongly associated with the past it can look to the future and succeed in doing so without losing hindsight. Granted, the national government was the first to call for a national primary school system. However, Kyoto was one of the first cities to take this decree and act on it successfully. Kyoto had been the center of education in Japan's past, and was doing so once again in a new way in the Meiji period.

[28] Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890,* p. 112.
[29] Fukuzawa, *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Education*, p. 75.

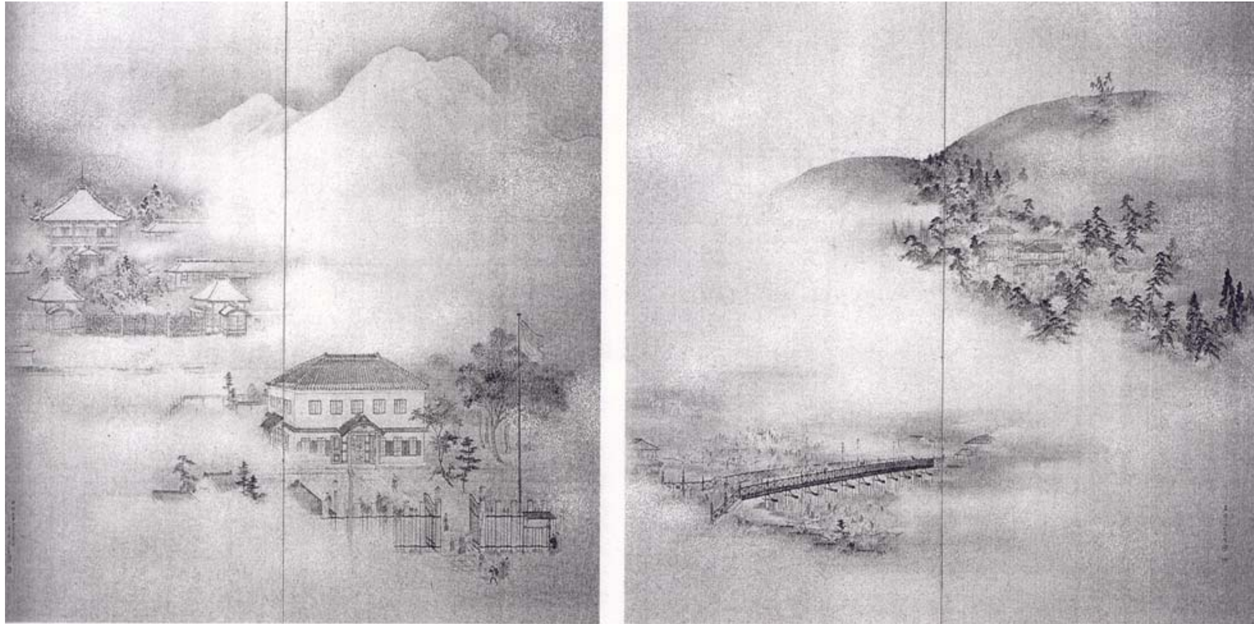

Figure 2. "New Celebrated Sites of Kyoto in Four Seasons" by Mori Kansai, 1873. From *Nihonga*.

The artist Mori Kansai – the son of a former petty samurai from the Chōshū region – expressed this sentiment with his painting "New Celebrated Sites of Kyoto in Four Seasons." On the second panel, he painted the Kyoto Prefecture Secondary School, an architectural hybrid of "European elements […], traditional design and construction.[30] The building was not ostentatious but rather part of the scenery, as if it were natural for a building with Western and Japanese elements to be seen on a city street. Kansai "treats [the building] as part of the ever-changing landscape of old Kyoto," symbolizing the fusion of the past and present that was taking place just shortly after the Restoration and expressing general appreciation for things Western, which was the present attitude at the time.

Like education, the revitalization of Kyoto's traditional industries reflected the tenets of *bunmei kaika*. Kyoto's traditional industries were stagnant after the restoration and it was crucial that they be revived so as to provide the funds needed for the city to move past its initial shock.[31] One of the most important facets of Kyoto's traditionally-based economy was the Nishijin

[30] Conant, *Nihonga*, p. 129.
[31] "Civil Engineering as Seen in Lake Biwa Canalization Project." *JGC Corporation*. 12 Nov. 2004. <http://www.jgc.co.jp/waza/a4_biwako/index.htm>.

district in the northwest part of Kyoto, which helped Kyoto reach a high point pre-1868 in the area of crafts, most especially in textiles for kimonos and the more elaborate obis. Before the Restoration, the district was the exemplary model for the "mercantile vigor" that was characteristic of the latter part of the Tokugawa period.[32] "Little-Kyoto's" proliferated throughout the country as branches of the major craft centers. These branches were most likely in provinces whose daimyo sent local artisans to Kyoto for training with the masters. The artisans were then expected to bring back their skills to the province.[33] After the restoration, many merchants left Kyoto to follow the Emperor – and more lucrative business opportunities – to Tokyo, which contributed to the anti-climactic feeling that permeated the city.

The reinvention of traditional industries such as Nishijin textiles was a microcosm of Kyoto's reinvention of itself as a city with a strong connection to the past, while at the same time adapting westernization. The revitalization of the Nishijin District was a prime example of how Kyoto officials were able to utilize characteristics of modernity – such as new industrial technology – in order to provide a solid foundation for its traditional economy to thrive and continue.

One-fifth of the monetary gift from the court was allocated specifically to the Nishijin District, signifying the importance of the district to Kyoto's economy and recovery.[34] Members of the Nishijin industry such as Tsuneshichi Sakura and Ihee Inoue went to France in order to learn about Western weaving techniques and imported Jacquard looms from Lyon, France.[35] Furthermore, the quality of the dyes and other materials were increased in order to enhance the value of the fabric and restore prestige to the faltering industry.[36] The fabric became more

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[32] Dougill, *Kyoto: A Cultural History,* p. 165.
[33] ibid.
[34] "The History of Nishijin Weaving." *Nishijin Textile Industrial Association*. 8 Mar 2005. <http://www.nishijin.or.jp/eng/history/history.htm>.
[35] ibid.
[36] Conant, *Nihonga*, p. 19.

affordable; as the Jacquard looms were employed in place of traditional handmade techniques; the creation of the fabric became more efficient and less labor-intensive, which in turn reduced the hours needed to make one piece of cloth. As a result, profits from the machine-made fabric helped keep the more exclusive, hand-woven textiles in production. Thus, the Nishijin industry did not lose out completely to technology, but rather the new technology helped sustain the traditional methods of weaving, whilst creating a profit.

Statistics dictating the number of looms in production demonstrate the success of Nobuatsu's and Makimura's initiatives. According to the Nishijin Textile Industrial Association, there were about 7,000 looms in an area of 1.6 kilometers during the early part of the 17th century, when both samurai in addition to court nobles acquired a taste for the exclusive fabric. However, as the Tokugawa period wore on, the industry began to suffer due to famine[37] and an increased demand for cheaply made fabric grew.[38] By 1781, there were approximately 2500 looms; this figure increased to 7,839 looms in 1877, which is approximately a 213% increase in production.[39] By 1895, there were about 34,000 weavers in the district making approximately ¥10 million.[40]

The next area of interest that Kyoto's local government took was slightly different than the previous administrative projects. Kyoto had a long tradition of public displays and was the location for the first type of exhibitions – of calligraphy and pictorial art – held in the eighteenth century.[41] The exhibitions and festivals occurring in Kyoto during the early to mid-Meiji period were examples of new "customs" that connected the modern with the past; by using prior festivals as a paradigm, it provided a sense of familiarity amidst the differences that were present due to the need to change the festivals into exhibitions, or create a completely new festival.

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[37] "The History of Nishijin Weaving." *Nishijin Textile Industrial Association*.
[38] Ropke, Ian M. *Historical Dictionary of Osaka and Kyoto*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1999. p. 208.
[39] Dougill, *Kyoto: A Cultural History*, p. 166.
[40] Ichihara, *Official Guidebook to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures*. p.197.
[41] Kornicki, P.F. "Public Display and Changing Values: Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors." *Monumenta Nipponica* 49:2 (1994): 167-196. p. 172.

The *Japan Weekly Mail* described exhibitions as one of two "institutions particularly calculated to diffuse general knowledge and information among all classes of people."[42] This was certainly true in Kyoto's case; the 1872 exhibition and those that followed were designed to market Kyoto as a city that still held on to is past and legitimized itself as the imperial city without the Emperor in residence. In the nineteenth century, exhibitions became more commercialized and were a chance to not only show a country's history, but to share knowledge and promote industry on an international scale.

The foundation for the 1872 exhibition was laid in 1871. It was the brainchild of three wealthy merchants and gained the support of Makimura, who saw the motley collection of curiosities as the chance for Kyoto to make its contribution to the wealth of knowledge displayed about Japan and continue to contribute to Kyoto's status as a bastion of traditional culture in a modern, Westernized setting.

There were only three sections – Chinese, Japanese and Western, with Western being the smallest – and gathered a crowd of about 12,000 people over the thirty-two day period.[43] Even though the number of attendees was miniscule compared to exhibitions held later in Tokyo, the 1871 exhibition lead to the creation of the Kyoto Exhibition Company, which planned the first of the many Kyoto expositions to be held biannually from then on.

The 1872 exhibition was a juggernaut compared to the small fair held the previous year. Over 40,000 Japanese nationals and 770 foreigners attended.[44] It was significant because the 1872 Exhibition was the first time that foreigners that were not part of any Western legations allowed into the capital without passports. This was the chance for Kyoto to show itself to more than official dignitaries, and thus gain more exposure.

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[42] "Museums and Exhibitions in Japan." *Japan Weekly Mail*. 24 April 1880. p. 523.
[43] Kornicki, "Public Display and Changing Values: Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors", p. 190.
[44] Conant, *Nihonga*, p. 19.

Many of the foreign visitors were impressed by how Kyoto had been transformed in the space of only a few years. Previous opinion concerning Kyoto was one of cursory acknowledgment of its prior status as the imperial capital, but focused more on the decapitated state of the city. For example, in March 1868, shortly after the restoration, A.B. Mitford, Second Secretary of the Legation from England, described Kyoto's state:

> "Throughout the whole place there seems not to be a stirring edifice of any kind. There are, […] some fine and ancient temples, but these do not stand out. […] If the bird's-eye view of Kyoto is disappointing I think the closer view is still more so, for in this latter you are not reminded of the beautiful surrounding scenery. The streets are clean […] but there is nothing grand […]. The bridges that cross the mountain torrent are often mere planks, rotten and full of holes […] I missed the somber impressive portals of the Daimyo's mansions in Edo, to which the members of the Mikado's court are as St. John's Wood to Stafford House."[45]

Here, Mitford does concede to the fact that Kyoto does have temples and other edifices that are worth seeing, but gives the overall impression that it is not worthwhile for a person to visit Kyoto, as he sees the city as mediocre and falling apart.

The exuberance surrounding the changes of the city altered this opinion. Upon attending the 1872 Exhibition, a visitor wrote in *The Far East* that Kyoto is a city that should not be missed and that no one who visited the exhibition halls "went away disappointed."[46] There were not at many foreigners as anticipated, but those that did attend demonstrated a growing interest in the city. Over the next several decades, the number of British tourists in Kyoto slowly increased.[47] There were two reasons for the increase of tourism: firstly, Japan became the next destination for visitors, and secondly, Kyoto's status as an arbiter of traditional culture and a place with Western conveniences made the city a curious place to visit. By capturing the eye of

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[45] Cortazzi, Hugh. *Victorians in Japan*. London: Athlone, 1987. p. 181.
[46] Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan*, p. 190.
[47] Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan*, p. 191.

the West, foreigners were drawn to a city that was aware of its traditional beauty amidst material change.

In addition to the growth of exhibitions, geisha – one of the most recognizable images of Kyoto – also took part in the increasing energy that Kyoto was feeling in the early 1870s. Due to their close ties with the government as entertainers and mistresses, several of the geisha picked up and left the capital as well, in order to follow their patrons and keep their careers.

Geisha contributed with the creation of the *Miyako Odori*, or the Cherry Dances, which took place amongst the myriad of exhibitions. In Pontochō, the geisha gave their dances the propitious name of *Miyako no Nigiwai* – Prosperity in Kyoto. With the creation of the dances, geisha too, alongside everyday citizens and the members of government, did their own part in bringing Kyoto to its former – if not the same – prosperity. In addition to representing the "traditional Japan" by showing off the talents of geisha, the dances changed the way that geisha were viewed. Geisha were no longer private entertainers; they gained a public face and became a "promoter of local color, a star."[48]

The displays of art and the dances performed by geisha were accompanied by samples of work from Kyoto's traditional industries, which were set alongside their contemporary counterparts. By 1877, the organization of the Nishijin industry transpired with the Nishijin Textile Group; furthermore, many Kyoto craftsmen were the recipients of many prizes at the First Domestic Industrial Exposition held in Tokyo in 1877. The prizes awarded to the Kyoto craftsmen were confirmation of how Makimura's attempts at reorganizing Kyoto's traditional economy succeeded.

With the 1877 Exhibition, Kyoto's industry spread beyond the Kyoto city limits. Prior to the First Domestic Industrial Exhibition, only those who visited the biannual exhibitions in Kyoto

[48] Dalby, *Geisha*, p. 63.

were exposed to the fine works of art that Kyoto produced. As a result of the 1877 Exhibition, Kyoto carved a niche for itself on a national and global scale and established its "position as a center of arts, purveyor to the court and producer of quality merchandise" while at the same time using imported techniques.[49]

The influx of people from within Japan and abroad necessitated a need for recreational districts. There was still a dark cloud hovering over the city; the problem for Kyoto lay in the fact that many of its citizens – including bureaucrats, geisha and merchants – had left the city and the energy that thrived during its period of turmoil and rejuvenation before and after the restoration disappeared. The exhibitions assisted in abating this loss, but they were only held biannually; something permanent was needed in order to keep the energy thriving no matter what time of year.

In order to resolve this, Makimura first set out to create an "amusement center" near the Kamo River in 1872.[50] Located on the far eastern side of the city, the area was notorious for its plethora of street performers, kabuki theaters and houses of pleasure that were set outside the imperial city limits during the Tokugawa period, since the area's inhabitants were considered social outcasts.

The area was long associated with temples, thus giving it the name *teramachi*, or "temple town" street. In the sixteenth century, Toyotomi Hideyoshi ordered temples to line this street in order to better defend the city; later on, the temples served as places to stage events that correlated with various festivals. The presence of the temples provided continuity and a constant connection with the area's historical significance. It was a constant reminder to the visitor that even though the area was now a place of gaiety, there was still an air of seriousness – attributed

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[49] ibid.
[50] Plutschow, Herbert E. *Historical Kyoto: With Illustrations and Guide Maps*, p. 175.

to the area's history as a place for worship and retreat – that long preceded the kabuki theaters and that should not be overlooked.

The incorporation of the area into the city not only provided the artists with a stronger foothold in society, but also indicated that there was indeed a change in the air, even if it meant incorporating what was once considered low professions into the social order for the betterment of the city as a whole. The area around the Kamo River, first known as Shinkyōgoku Street and later renamed Kawaramachi – "Dry Riverbed Town" – Street, became one of the liveliest areas in Kyoto and represented another success for Makimura.[51] By 1877, Kawaramachi Street was firmly established as a not only an entertainment district, but also a business district; there was a variety of business and entertainment centers ranging from archery houses of all sizes, different types of restaurants and several assorted types of theaters, providing the visitor with an endless amount of entertainment that he or she would never get tired of.[52]

Another source of recreation was the recently forged Imperial Park. One of the hallmarks of Kyoto's preservation, the Imperial Park preserved several key buildings belonging to the former Imperial Palace; these were now open to the public. In effect, this made the Imperial Park a living museum, one that contributed to the displays of Kyoto's heritage, and thus made the city itself a display as well.

However, the buildings and grounds had experienced their own period of decay, which led to their reincarnation as the Imperial Park. An article in the *Japan Weekly Mail* described the extent of the damage to the palace buildings: "The buildings are very old and dilapidated, the wood work being decayed, and the paintings upon the walls quite faded and dull."[53] Since the palace lost its main purpose, it was left to its own devices and subject to the elements.

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[51] ibid.
[52] "History of Shinkyogoku." *Shinkyogoku*. 26 Feb. 2005 <http://www.shinkyogoku.or.jp/history/history.htm>.
[53] "The Palace at Kyoto." *Japan Weekly Mail*. 10 April 1880. p. 464.

By the 1880s, "[m]ost of the buildings inside [were] removed so as to make a fine park traversed by roads open to all."[54] The design of the imperial park was similar to Western landscape architecture. For example, New York City created Central Park, which was open to the public and designed with wide, green spaces. Like Central Park, which underwent the addition of over 500,000 cubic tons of topsoil[55] in order to sustain the addition of trees, plants and other shrubs, "portions of the [Imperial] park have been planted with plum, peach, cherry, or pine trees […] together with ponds, lanterns and other adornments."[56] Likewise, the traverse roads that were part of the Imperial Park went beyond the gates, thus becoming part of the changing city landscape.[57]

At the same time, the remaining buildings in the Imperial Park and gateways were like exhibits in a museum.[58] Unlike a museum which opens and closes at specific times, the Imperial Park was a place where one had continuous access, regardless of the time. The alterations of the buildings in the park were such that the interior of the palaces could be seen from the outside; as a result, there was no escaping an Imperial presence as one walked through the park. Therefore, Kyoto was able to reinforce itself as a city with history and a connection to the Emperor without an emperor physically present. Guidebooks from the period strongly emphasized that one must visit the "Mikado's Palace – even a passing glance at the exterior is better than nothing."[59]

Expansion (1883-1890)

The 1870s were characterized by a frenzy of activity, similar to that experienced in the late 1860s when political and military action was taking place in Kyoto. However, the 1870s

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[54] Ichihara, *Official Guidebook to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures,* p. 75.
[55] "Central Park History: 1858-1878." 2005. *Central Park*. 20 Feb. 2005. <http://www.centralparknyc.org/thenandnow/cp-history/cphistory1858-1878>.
[56] Ichihara, *Official Guidebook to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures,* p. 75.
[57] *Japan Weekly Mail*, 10 April 1880, p. 464.
[58] *Japan Weekly Mail*, 24 April 1880, p. 523.
[59] Chamberlain, Basil Hall and Mason, W.B. *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*. London: Kelly & Walsh, 1894. p. 298.

marked a significant, but not complete break with the city's past. Before the municipal developments, Kyoto was slowly receding into a subordinate position, but its innovative take on modern development began to attract attention. In 1877 and again in 1883, Emperor Meiji, upon hearing of Kyoto's disrepair gave a personal monetary gift to the city and sent Iwakura down to Kyoto with a mission to restore the old capital. This was the first time that the national government interceded in Kyoto.

Iwakura had already submitted a proposal early in 1883; part of his plans was to "preserve the old palace maintaining the city on the scale of the old Heian-Kyō, and […] wished to make plans for its future prosperity."[60] By recreating modern Kyoto in the guise of Heian-Kyō, Iwakura intended for the city to be as it was at its height, as if calling upon the past to ensure the city's future. Now guaranteed national in addition to local support, Kyoto survived its first decade of the modern period, and now looked towards expansion in the 1880s.

There had been plans for a canal in Lake Biwa since the twelfth century but they were never carried out. People were concerned because they feared that the canal would have devastating effects, such as losing salmon and the evaporation of the lake, for example.[61] However, a canal was crucial for Kyoto: it would help in the constant development of Kyoto's traditional industries and in fire prevention and eventually provide access to the sea for an otherwise landlocked city. It was also the chance for Japan as a whole to demonstrate its prowess and success at Westernization. In the early years of the Meiji period, the Japanese hired Westerners to assist in engineering projects. This was to change with the Lake Biwa Canal; only Japanese were allowed to work on the canal, which signaled a shift in operations.

The national government chose Kyoto for its convenient topography – it was surrounded on three sides by mountains and Lake Biwa and was on a fertile plain – but it was a significant

[60] Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World,* p. 799.
[61] Van Gastersen, Louis A. "East Meets West: Lake Biwa Canal, Kyoto, Japan." *Terra et Aqua* 84 (2001). p. 6.

choice.[62] For a city that was hardly called "modern" to be the birthplace of modern civil engineering in Japan attests to the determination of men like Kitagaki Kunio and Makimura to make Kyoto known for its modern developments alongside preservation of its history, and ultimately Japan's history as well.

Plans began to fall in place during 1884. Kitagaki Kunio, who was appointed the mayor of Kyoto in 1881, organized the project. He was determined to apply the "Imperial Slogan "Western Technology Oriental Ethics" at the local level in order to assist in the myriad of changes that were designed specifically to prevent Kyoto from falling into decay.[63] However, there was general negativity about the project. Western engineers such as Johann Dereke, an advisor for the Department of the Interior, opposed the canal, citing the failure of the St. Gotardo tunnel in Switzerland – the paradigm for "modern European civil engineering" – and comparing it to the proposed Aisaka mountain tunnel which was needed for the canal.[64] Thus, any large-scale project involving tunnels was considered faulty and to be avoided at all costs. In addition, many considered the scientific level that the Japanese reached up to this point as mediocre, inadequate to deal with a project of this complexity and size.[65]

However, Kitagaki and the Japanese engineer Tanabe Sakurō fought to get the canal project started and won that battle in 1885. In a larger context, the decisions made in accordance to the building of the canal, reflect a modification in attitudes throughout Japan. Recall that in the 1870s, *bunmei kaika* and anything Western was all the rage; now in the 1880s, a gathering backlash came to a head. Japan slowly began to attempt to make its own assertions in decision and policy-making without Western influence.

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[62] Pedlar, Neil. "Sakuro Tanabe & Japan's First Hydroelectric Project." 2001. *Neil's Home Page*. 29 Feb. 2005. <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/neilpedlar/jihist.htm>.
[63] Pedlar, "Sakuro Tanabe & Japan's First Hydroelectric Project." *Neil's Home Page*.
[64] "Civil Engineering as Seen in Lake Biwa Canalization Project." *JGC Corporation*.
[65] "Added to the Canal Project, the First Hydroelectric Power Station Was Completed in 1891." 2004. *Kyoto City Web*. 12 Nov. 2004. <http:// www.city.kyoto.jp/koho/eng/historical /first/03.html>.

With Tanabe, the Lake Biwa Canal was more than a canal designed to bring water down into Kyoto. Tanabe utilized both Western and Japanese technology when building the canal, demonstrating that one did not always need the most modern of technologies. Tanabe only turned to Western methods and tools if traditional methods were unable to work; the lack of western-style tow paths and the digging of the Aisaka Mountain tunnel by hand echoes the developing reluctance to immediately swallow anything that was labeled "Western." According to Tanabe, "laborers were […] 'unable to manage' modern tools," but this proved to be advantageous when the project passed the crucial first step of digging tunnels in the mountain.[66] The project was designed to advance the city and its surrounding areas, but the juxtaposition of traditional methods amongst the abundance of western technology prevented the project from failing, as the tunnel in Switzerland had.

In the midst of the development of the canal, Tanabe visited America in 1888 and witnessed the first hydro-electric power plant in Colorado. He then proposed the addition of a hydro-electric plant to the canal. This eventually became the Keage Hydraulic Power Plant; completed in 1891, it was the first in Japan used for public purposes.[67] It allowed Kyoto to be the first city to have electricity and eventually develop other amenities such as the tram and telephone poles as well as the street lights by 1895.[68] The irony here is that one would assume that all of the latest innovations and technologies would go to the capital first; especially since Japan needed to modernize swiftly and prove that it was civilized to the West in order to renegotiate the Unequal Treaties. However, the opportunity presented itself in Kyoto, and Tanabe took the initiative. The canal was completed in 1890, one year and four months ahead of schedule. On 1 April 1890, a

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[66] Finn, Dallas. *Meiji Revisited: The Sites of Victorian Japan*. New York: Weatherhill, 1995. p. 151.
[67] Finn, *Meiji Revisited: The Sites of Victorian Japan*, p. 152.
[68] Sorensen, André. The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to 21st Century. New York: Routledge, 2002. p. 74.

religious ceremony was held to bless the canal and on 9 April, the Imperial family and distinguished members of the government attended the opening of the canal.[69]

Celebration (1890-1895)

The celebrations held in honor of the canal's opening marked a significant turning point in Kyoto's development. The 1890s was a period of commemoration and celebration in Kyoto, a time when past traditions were conspicuously altered in order to serve new purposes. The culmination of this was the 1895 Festival of Ages, a procession of people dressed in period costume, which celebrated Kyoto's history as the capital for over a millennium.

Prior to the inaugural procession, the Heian Jingu Shrine was built, and the Fourth National Industrial Exposition took place. It was no coincidence that these three events took place during the years of 1894-1895; the year 794 A.D. was known as the year when Emperor Kanmu moved the capital from Nara to Kyoto, and 1894 was the eleven-hundredth anniversary of Kyoto's founding.[70] The fact that the Exposition and the Festival of Ages were held close together shows that the city was able to make material progress and keep its heritage at the same time.

The celebrations began with the construction of the Heian Jingu Shrine. In May 1892, a committee was formed with the directive to determine the course of action concerning Kyoto's 1100th Anniversary.[71] The shrine was needed for the Festival of Ages; without a shrine, there would be no place to worship and thus no source of legitimacy for the festival. It would be no more than a parade; however, the shrine ties this new festival to a proud history of established Shinto festivals and allowed no one to contest the novelty of the new shrine and procession.

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[69] Finn, *Meiji Revisited: The Sites of Victorian Japan*, p. 152.
[70] "History." 2000. *Heian Jingu Shrine*. 8 April 2005. <http://www.heianjingu.or.jp /english/0101.html>.
[71] Posonby-Fane, 390.

On 3 September 1893, there was an inaugural ceremony for the start of the building of the Shrine, which was completed on 1 March 1895.[72] The Shrine was a conspicuous copy of the Daidairi, the old imperial palace compound that Hideyoshi did not rebuild during the course of his program of reconstruction in 1591. There are several buildings within the compound of the Shrine, but the one that was most important was the Chōdō-in, the main edifice in the former Daidairi.

One would think that the location of the new shrine would be on the old site of the Daidairi, as the Daidairi's footprint would further legitimize the creation of the new shrine. However, this was not the case. The old site of the Daidairi in Sembon Marutamachi was deemed inappropriate, and the shrine was placed east of the Kamo River in Okazaki-machi.[73] For the sake of convenience, the shrine was regaled to a novelty with a fragment of connection to the past for the purpose of attempting to legitimize a new tradition.

Events such as the *Jidai Matsuri* and the rites for the Heian Jingu Shrine on the anniversary of Kyoto's founding were known collectively as the *Kyōtō Sentōsai*. It not only celebrated Kyoto's history, but afforded local Shinto priests the opportunity to gain favor – and funding – from the state.[74] In the early 1870s, the national government called upon the Shinto clergy to create some form of religious doctrine, shortly after it split Shinto and Buddhism, and began to support Shinto. This effort, known as the Great Promulgation Campaign, was nothing save a disaster; it led the state to appropriate funds only for those shrines that were designated Ise, Imperial, or National. According to Hardacre, the years between 1880 and 1905 were a time of

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[72] ibid.

[73] See Figure 1 for the overlapping maps of Kyoto from the Heian and the modern periods for the location of the Daidairi and the Heian Jingu Shrine.

[74] Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto and the State, 1868-1988.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. p. 105.

"declining state support" for those shrines not designated as such.[75] The *Sentōsai* was part of a coordinated effort for local shrines along the parade routes to return to the center, and to take part in a national celebration, in hopes that the local shrines will gain favor from the Emperor and the national government, and consequently, funding. The *Sentōsai* was a success for both the city as a celebration, and the shrines as a demonstration of fluid organization; however, any partiality that was obtained in October 1895 was lost in an 1897 scandal involving Shinto priests and the ceremonies for the thirtieth anniversary of the former Emperor Kōmei's death.

The fact that the shrine not only deified Emperor Kanmu, but also made him the patron of the city allows the creation of the shrine to parallel the development of State Shinto. The Japanese imperial line is seen as one unbroken entity; consequently, Emperor Meiji is a direct descendent of Emperor Kanmu. At the same time that the shrine was completed, Japan was in the midst of the Sino-Japanese War, it first major international conflict since the Meiji Restoration. Although events such as the Fourth National Industrial Exposition were subject to cancellation, there were calls to continue with the festivities.[76]

Held shortly after the opening of the Heian Jingu Shrine, the Fourth National Industrial Exposition was an event that exhibited and demonstrated the latest in technology and industry. It had previously been held in Tokyo, in spite of the fact that an 1877 ordinance decreed that the exposition be in different parts of Japan "in order to encourage the development of agriculture, arts and commerce."[77] The choice of Kyoto as the first host outside of Tokyo was a milestone, and an indicator of the growth that the city successfully undertook. According to Ichihara, each of the previous three exhibitions

> "has shown marked advance over its predecessor, […] so there is good reason that the fourth Exhibition soon to be opened in the old capital, rich in historic

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[75] Hardacre, Shinto and the State, p. 22.
[76] "Mr. Kaneko on the 4th Domestic Exhibition." *The Japan Weekly Mail.* 12 January 1895: 40.
[77] Ichihara, *Official Guidebook to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures*, p. 53.

> associations and noted places […] will attain even greater success that has been realized hitherto."[78]

Additionally, a "Historical Exhibition" was held at the same time, as part of the annual Kyoto Exhibition.[79] The purpose of the historical exhibition was twofold. It was designed to display items from the Enrakyu era and to serve as a prologue to the Festival of Ages in the following months. The display was similar to the procession of costumed people symbolizing the various periods of Japanese history; but the historical exhibition was more concrete, displaying original artifacts rather than copies.

Like the Fourth National Industrial Exposition, the Festival of Ages was a success. Lafcadio Hearn, an essayist who eventually settled in Japan, was duly impressed with the entire experience. The "crowd was good-natured and merry" in spite of being pushed onto an already overcrowded train to Kyoto.[80] The streets were decorated with "new lantern posts […] national flags and sprigs of pine above each [door] entrance."[81] In addition, Hearn makes note of "little festival medals made of nickel" that were sold as a reminder of the event, much like the saucers that were handed out at the opening of the Heian Jingu Shrine several months earlier.[82]

By celebrating the "deeds of the sovereign" through this festival, Kyoto's status as the imperial capital without an emperor actually in residence was legitimized.[83] The festival celebrating the emperor and the imperial line must be held in Kyoto not only because Emperor Kanmu found Kyoto, but also if it were in Tokyo where the emperor currently resides, the festival's connection to the past and the foundation that it builds upon would be irrelevant. Thus, the festival would lose its legitimacy, since Kyoto was the home of the Emperor for over a thousand years, whereas the Emperor had only recently moved to Tokyo.

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[78] ibid.
[79] Ichihara, *Official Guidebook to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures*, p. 62.
[80] Bayrd, Edwin. *Kyoto*. New York: Newsweek, 1974. p. 143.
[81] ibid.
[82] ibid.
[83] Ichihara, *Official Guidebook to Kyoto and the Allied Prefectures*, p. 56.

The Physical Landscape: Part II (1868-1895)

When one examines Kyoto's spatial attributes after the Restoration, the effect is quite dramatic. First, one should notice the general orientation of the maps; pre-modern maps were most likely to place the Imperial Palace at the northernmost part of the map, in order to adhere to the traditional cosmology of a city which was borrowed from the Chinese. Secondly, there are clusters of Imperial residences surrounding the Gōsho in Figure 3; these buildings, in addition to Nijō Castle and few temples and shrines were the only places of note. By 1881 – towards the end of the first phase of development between 1868 and 1895 – there is a marked change; on the eastern part of Figure 4, there is the Shichijo Rail Station – later Kyoto Rail Station – built in 1877.[84] Although it was not until 1883 when the first rail ties were put down for the national Tokyo-Kyoto trunk line, a local route was put down in 1876 with the Omiya Station.[85]

If one compares Figure 3 – the mid-nineteenth century map – with that of Figure 5 – the 1896 map – he or she would notice that there is a sharp difference in the northwest part of the map. Where the Gōsho and its surrounding clusters of various Imperial residences were in Figure 3, are clear, open spaces in Figure 5. Figure 4 – 1881 – is somewhat more illustrative, with trees inside the borders of the Imperial Palace, which was undergoing its transformation into the Imperial Park. Upon closer examination of the 1881 Imperial Palace, one can see that there are a few remnants of Imperial residences still remaining within the walls.

North of the Kamo River (as these maps are on a horizontal axis) one can chart the trend of expansion within the city into the surrounding foothills. In Figure 3, there is little settlement east of the river; by 1896, there is increasing detail within the area, which possibly suggests that there were more buildings and more people.

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[84] "Forerunners in Kyoto's Industries/Industrial Forerunners in Kyoto. Kyoto Station." *Kyoto Media Station*. 11 May 2006. <http://www.joho-kyoto.or.jp/~wazaden/english/sakigake/024.html>.

[85] Ericson, Stephen J. *The Sound of the Whistle: Railroads and the State in Meiji Japan*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1996. p. 63.

The spread of the city east of the Kamo River lends itself to the following question – what of the effects of this expansion, and of the effect of the developments between 1868 and 1895? Kyoto is a city that was strongly steeped in tradition, and a railroad station, trams and a telegraph system (present by 1881, as indicated by the slanted dotted line in the map key of Figure 4) were not meant to coexist harmoniously with an austere Buddhist temple or traditional wooden homes. Although some would consider these attempts at modernization encroaching upon Kyoto's natural landscape, what should be remembered what that the natural – and traditional landscape – was preserved and/or altered in such as way that ensured continuity into the Meiji period. What is important here is to "not simply preserve tradition but to somehow add to it the element of creativity."[86] While all the modern conveniences made the city more attractive to foreigners, bolstered tourism and helped Kyoto's traditional economy, another key motive behind the enthusiasm for recreating Kyoto as a "modern" city with omnipresent reminders of its past is to add to its history – inventing modern traditions such as the *Jidai Matsuri* or reinvigorating a traditional industry with a modern facet, for example – in order to ensure that the city's heritage would not be forgotten amongst the seemingly contradictory streetlights and telegraph poles.

(A Preliminary) Epilogue: The Twentieth Century

Although Kyoto's transformation into a modern city climaxed in 1895, it did not mean that municipal developments and other initiatives sloughed off. In fact, the events of the early Meiji period resonated throughout the twentieth century. For example, in 1966, the Special Law for the Preservation of Historical Landscapes was passed, allocating sixty square kilometers as places of historical significance which in effect protects them from any damage due to the passage of time and any modern developments.[87] By 1994, the World Heritage division of UNESCO designated

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[86] Kinoshita, Hiroo. "New Challenges for City Planning in Kyoto: The Integration of Metropolitan Development and Conservation. *Regional Development Dialogue* 9:3 (Autumn 1988). p. 96.
[87] Karan, P.P. and Stapleton Kristin, eds. The Japanese City. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997. p. 153.

seventeen sites in and around Kyoto as cultural sites.[88] These designations were the long term results of the municipal developments, festivals and the other event previously described; had it not been for the determination of the local government and citizens and the success of these events and initiatives, Kyoto would have become a dilapidated city with little resources to preserve it.

Starting in 1983, local politicians concerned themselves with the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Kyoto, which was to occur in 1994.[89] A dedicatory project was designed to "serve as a source of energy for the citizens of Kyoto to revitalize Kyoto in the twenty-first century."[90] This precisely reflects the actions taken in the mid-nineteenth century; whereas the government in the 1870s moved to prepare Kyoto for the onset of modernity, the government in the 1980s wanted to prepare Kyoto for the twenty-first century. Both events were indicators of change; and in both instances, the past was referred to in order to provide a foundation for the future. Thus, the occurrences of the mid-Meiji period bequeathed precedent and a legacy for twentieth-century Kyoto, which continuously resonated into the new millennium.

At the behest of Mayor Imagawa, the World Conference of Historical Cities convened for the first time in 1987, in response to the slow decay as a result of modern advancements in the twentieth century, and issued the Kyoto Declaration:

> "The advances made by cities [...] have been accompanied by a great many practical contradictions, which [...] have grown more complex [...]. In particular, in historical cities [...] there is a [...] trends towards the destruction of [...] historical and cultural properties in the name of modernization and development."[91]

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[88] "World Heritage." *Kyoto Prefecture Web Site*. 19 April 2005. <http://www.pref.kyoto.jp/intro/trad/isan/isan_e.html.>
[89] Gotoda, Teruo. *The Local Politics of Kyoto*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. p. 123.
[90] ibid.
[91] "Kyoto Declaration." 1994. *World Conference of Historical Cities*. 20 April 2005. <http://www.city.kyoto.jp/somu/kokusai /lhcs/eng/archives01.htm#1st>.

This statement reflected the trend that was prevalent in "historical" cities, one that tended to demolish a particular property of historical or cultural significance in the name of modernization. According to Kinoshita Hiroo, the Vice Mayor for Kyoto during the late 1980s, a city plan should have certain "urban images," the most important being a "city that is in harmony with its historic natural features."[92] In this statement, Kinoshita means the natural, physical landscape, but this can be applied to city planning that coexists with traditional buildings, or historic districts.

At this point, initiatives designed to preserve history and "tradition" spread beyond city limits and onto the global stage, with Kyoto at the helm. In addition to the Kyoto Declaration, the "League of Historical Cities" was created in 1994, the same year as the UNESCO designations and the twelve-hundredth anniversary of Kyoto's founding, in order to work across national borders in order to preserve cities with significant historical significance. Again, this was an echo of the Meiji legacy; it was not coincidental but a carefully chosen time to enhance the effect of the events taking place. Thus, Kyoto found a niche for itself in the global arena not as a capital city, but as a harbinger of tradition, history and heritage, creating stability within a continuously changing world. In doing so, it reinvented itself as a distinctly modern variant of the urban experience.

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[92] Kinoshita, "New Challenges for City Planning in Kyoto: The Integration of Metropolitan Development and Conservation," p. 95.

Appendix: Maps[93]

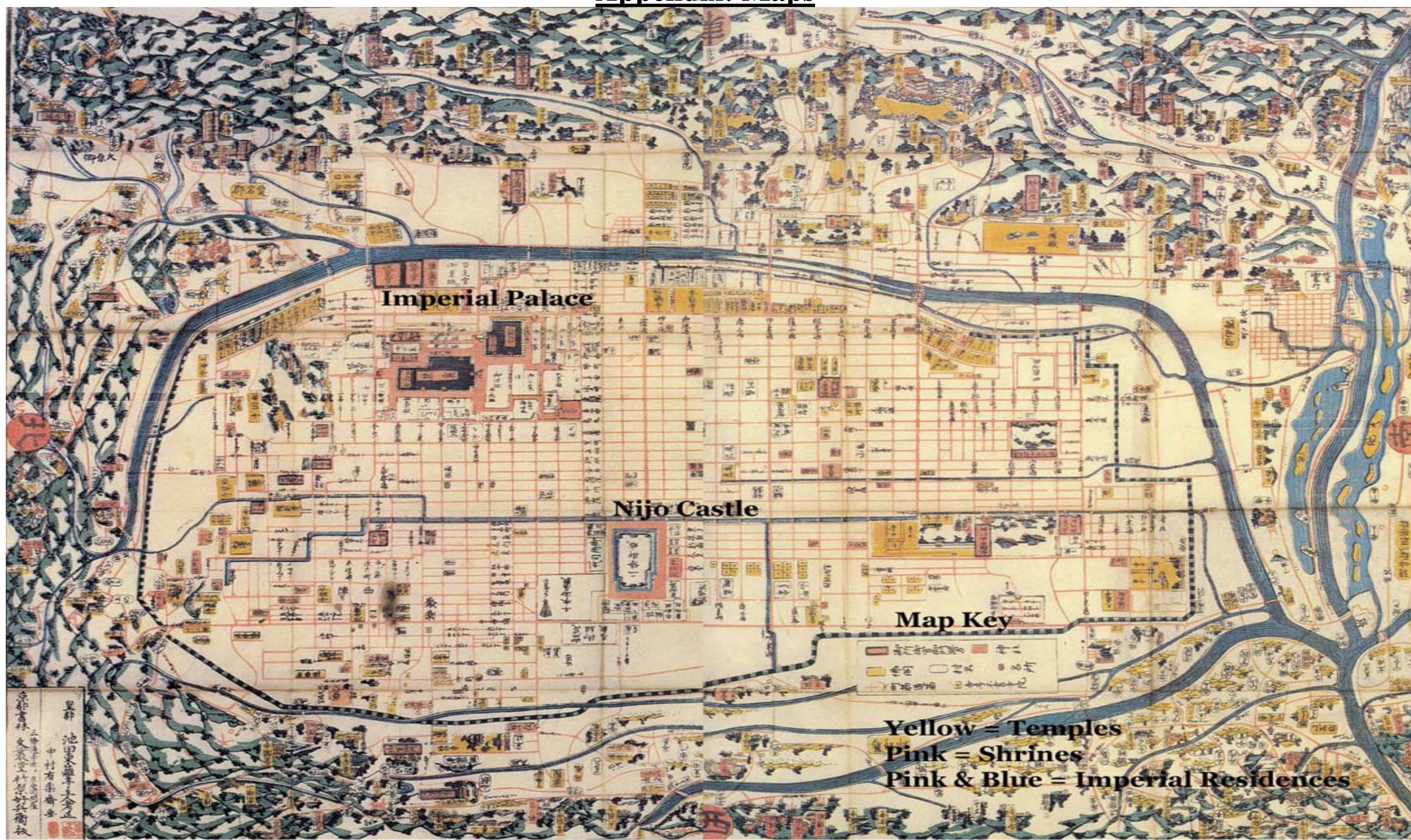

Figure 3. Mid-nineteenth century map of Kyoto. From *Isles of Gold.*

[93]Cortazzi, Hugh. *Isles of Gold.* New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1992. p. 128-129 (Figure 3) and "Japanese Historical Maps from the East Asian Library, UC Berkeley." *David Rumsey Historical Map Collection*. 1 April 2006. <http://www.davidrumsey.com/japan>. (Figures 4 and 5).

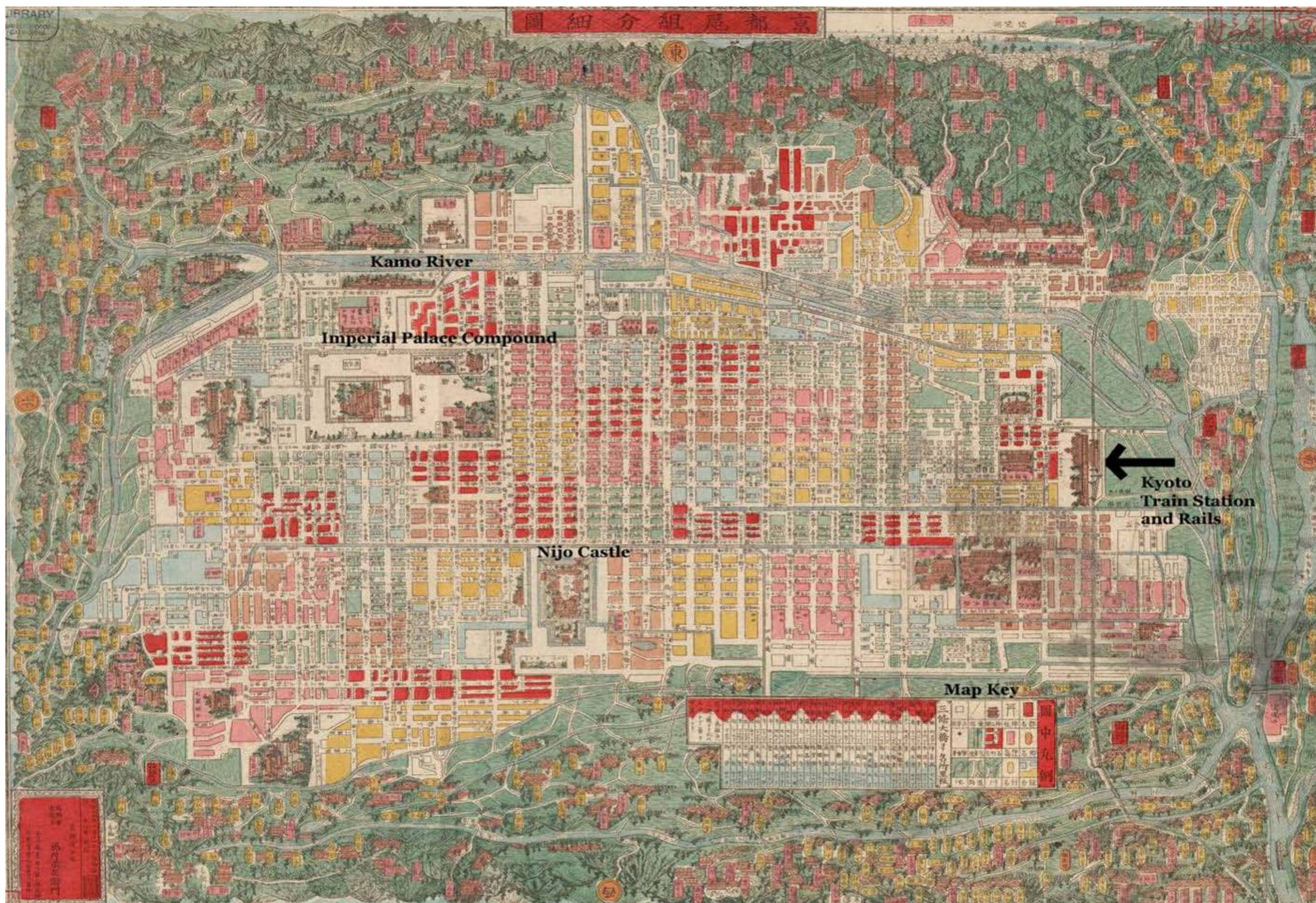

Figure 4. Map of Kyoto, 1881.

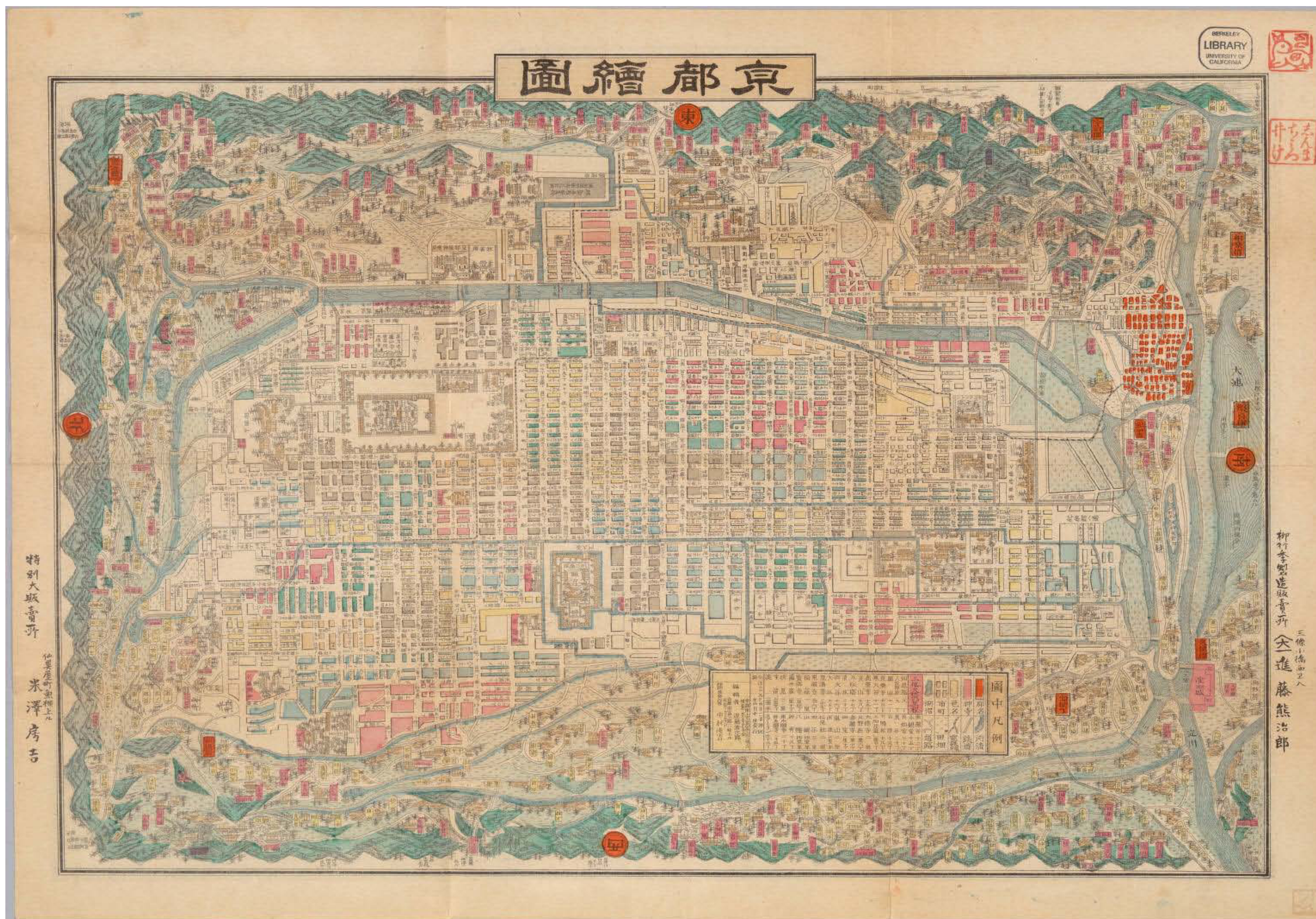

Figure 5. Map of Kyoto, 1896.

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