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**Modernity at Home: The Body, Taste and Middle-class Lives in Japan,  
1890-1939**

**By:**

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# Summary

*Key words:* modernity, home, *shumi*, Romanticism, leisurisation

This study explores the subtle relationship between middle-class lives and domestic architecture in modern Japan. I revisit the fifty-year period, 1890-1939, when Japan saw the rise of mass production and mass media, focusing on changing attitudes towards the body, space and family relations from a social-anthropological viewpoint. My particular interest is the duality of taste. There was the public taste being widely circulated and objectified as a prevailing floor arrangement of a house, whilst ordinary people personalised it through economic practices and appropriated the interiors based on their own tastes. This study revolves around the shaping of the dual meanings of the term *shumi*. From the late 1900s onward, an active involvement in *shumi* (recreations) was increasingly recognised as a vehicle which enabled people to internalise a good *shumi* (taste) in the private sphere. This conceptualisation stood on an adherence to Romanticism and new awareness of personal expressions including clothing and furnishing as mirrors of individuality. In other words, the Japanese were motivated to become 'individuals' through the refinement of *shumi* in both taste and recreation. A growing number of the middle classes were keen to consume recreational activities, and their constructed subjectivity began to play a key role in 'leisurising' domestic spaces to achieve the Romanticised ideal of 'home' in an era of capitalism. This study examines the advice manuals, women's press, publicity of private homebuilders and old questionnaires surveying uses of

rooms of middle-class dwellings, to demonstrate the homogeneity as well as multiplicity in terms of how domestic and 'leisured' spaces were perceived. I believe that the coexistence of various perspectives towards the built forms echoed differences in needs, preferences and tastes and was the quality discerned as modernity.

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# Abbreviations

AAJ	Architectural Association of Japan
AIJ	Architectural Institution of Japan
DLIA	Daily Life Improvement Alliance
HAPA	Home Appliance Promotion Association
HRE	Housing Reform Exhibition
OHR	Organisation for Housing Reform

# Glossary

*Chigaidana* an alcove historically made in a guest room called *zashiki*. It consists of a pair of wooden shelves with different heights (see figure 1.17). Some ornaments including ink stones, writing brushes and small food baskets were traditionally displayed in this setting when visitors were received. It is still seen in houses with Japanese-style rooms today, but sacredness and formality that used to be perceived are rarely emphasised.

*Engawa* a boarded floor running along the large opening of an orthodox detached house (see figure 1.18). It is considered that this floor was an originally décor serving as a threshold which psychologically separated the inside from the outside of a building. It began to be designed as a corridor and multi-functional space in a period on which this study focuses, being mostly sealed by glass doors.

*Hibachi* a portable heater used until oil, gas and electricity became available for indoor heating (see figure 1.3). Heated charcoals were placed on this device which was a vessel and box containing ashes.

*Ie* (system) an institution which ordered the ways for succession as well as family businesses of merchants, artisans and farmers in pre-industrial times. It presumed children's inheritance of properties and licenced trades from parents, and family's full inclusion in production and services. This system of

family was expected to be sustained through marriage between households at the same rank.

*Kamado* a traditional cooking stove powered by charcoals and firewood, and fitted to heat a pot and rice kettle (see figure 3.3)

*Kyōiku* a transmission of the body of knowledge through systematic and authorised ways. This term is translated into ‘education’ in English, but includes a subtle nuance which implies a process of bringing children up to be ‘individuals’ by instructing them in codes of conducts.

*Samurai* a warrior and member of the highest caste ruling a feudal regime before the 1868 Restoration

*Shichirin* a small charcoal stove suited to heat a small amount of food and boil water (see figure 3.3)

*Tokonoma* an alcove paired with the *chigaidana* and set on the garden side of the *zashiki* (see figure 1.17). It is made up of a raised floor conventionally decorated with ornamental adornments including incense burners, candlesticks and flower vases. A hanging scroll is usually placed on the wall of this setting. As well as the *chigaidana*, the *tokonoma* was considered to be an item necessary for ceremonial reception, but it is recognised as the archetype of the décor of the Japanese-style interior today.

*Zashiki* a guest room filled with *tatami* mats. It was furnished with the *tokonoma* and *chigaidana*, historically consisting of one and more interconnected rooms sited along the *engawa* with a view of the garden. Nowadays, the term *zashiki* is mostly used to refer to a *tatami* guest room or a room with the *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* for nonspecific purposes.

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# Introduction

“I possess no specialized knowledge of architecture,” states Jun’ichiro Tanizaki in his aesthetic critique – *In Praise of Shadows* – which describes the ancient inclination towards a shaded interior in traditional Japanese buildings of frame construction and deep eaves that “throw a shadow on the earth”.<sup>1</sup> “The quality that we call beauty,” he believes, “must always grow from the realities of life.”<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, he concludes, the Japanese in pre-modern times were “forced to live in dark rooms,” and “presently came to discover beauty in shadows.”<sup>3</sup>

His nostalgia for such a unique appreciation of the qualities of light in traditional housing is implicitly expressed in his novel *The Makioka Sisters*, which describes middle-class life in the inter-war years in Japan. In the novel, Sachiko Makioka reacts to the impending loss of her eldest sister’s dwelling, which is the family’s townhouse built in the old Osaka fashion:

At first it must have been used as a villa to which elderly Makiokas might retire, or in which junior branches of the family might live. Not long before his death, Sachiko’s father had moved his family there from Semba; it had become the fashion for merchant families to have residences away from their shops. The younger sisters had therefore not lived in the house long. They had often visited relatives there even when they were young, however, and it was there that their father had died. They were deeply attached to the old place. Sachiko sensed that much of her sister’s love for Osaka was in fact love for the house, and for all her amusement at these old-fashioned ways, she felt a twinge of pain herself – she would no longer be able to go back to the old family house. She had often enough joined Yukiko and Taeko [her other sisters] in complaining about it – surely there was no darker and more unhygienic house in the world, and they could not understand what

made their sister live there, and they felt thoroughly depressed after no more than three days there – and yet a deep, indefinable sorrow came over Sachiko at the news. To lose the Osaka house would be to lose her very roots.<sup>4</sup>

Tanizaki indicates that, at least, the middle classes in the 1920s and 1930s were less inclined towards the sombre indoor atmosphere in which their ancestors nonetheless found a sense of beauty. I consider that this implies a change of both attitude towards space – encompassing the body and everyday life – and taste – governing judgements on the quality of material relations. That which the Japanese discerned, altered in the course of the early twentieth century, from the cosmological world of matter to modernity.

This research explores the subtle relationship between the changing perception, taste, and domestic architecture of urban middle-class households, with a particular interest in the cultural shift in personal experience, family relations, and the imagery of the ‘everyday’ in modern Japan. It focuses on the period 1890-1939, when Japan saw economic and industrial success fuelled by war, urbanisation, the emergence of the middle class, the increase in women’s access to the labour market and to knowledge, and the rise of print media and journalism. Life and society in this fifty-year period were distinct from the period directly following the Restoration of 1868, when Japan adopted a nation-state system.<sup>5</sup> The Japanese-Sino War of 1894-5 bore the fruits of post-1868 policies to increase the wealth and military powers of the nation. Industries based on technology were largely set up in the ten years to the outbreak of the Japanese-Russo War of 1904-1905.<sup>6</sup> Increased investments were made into new businesses and urban infrastructure, encouraging technological advances and providing an outlet for the affluent to channel their private funds.<sup>7</sup> The second half of the decade to 1900 witnessed, as a result, the opening of electrical power plants and the expansion of a telephone network.<sup>8</sup> A bubble economy followed, led by the First World War, with a rise in various engineering and science-based works.<sup>9</sup> Whereas the lives of ordinary people during the 1870s and 1880s were closely linked to the national targets to catch up with the West, in the next half century these were rooted in capitalism.

Industrialisation accelerated urban growth. The enhancement of industrial and economic power had a huge impact in demographic movement across the country, mostly doubling the population in urban areas.<sup>10</sup> In Osaka, for example, the number of people tripled from approximately one million in the 1910s to three million in the 1930s.<sup>11</sup> This urban centralisation encouraged a growing demand for resources and commodities, enhancing the nationwide distribution system and altering retailing practices and the traditional ways of purchasing goods. Shops were no longer places for private negotiations and exchange and the customary role played by street vendors going from door to door was reduced. Instead, shops, and particularly department stores, acted as emporiums with an array of displays through which people interacted directly with material goods.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the practice of eating out was increasingly popular as restaurants, café and ready-prepared food became widely available.<sup>13</sup> These changes in ways of consuming had much to do with the emerging trend of a geographical separation of work and house.

The growth of Japanese cities was also the cause of increased pollution, congestion and urban degeneration. Recurrent pestilences, for example, killed large numbers of urban residents from 1877 onward, and urged the Japanese elite to launch the removal of sources of infection through reconstruction of urban centres and improvements to water supplies and drainage.<sup>14</sup> Attempts to cure this urban degeneration, a product of *laissez-faire* economics, became the basis for developments leading to the first national laws on the quality of built form in Japan: the 1919 City Planning Act and Building Act.<sup>15</sup> Scientific and medical discourses focussed attention on the concept of rationality, affecting the ways in which the elite monitored and understood the relationship between the body and space.

As historian of architecture Hiroyuki Suzuki points out, one distinction between pre-modern and modern societies was the popularisation of suburban dwelling.<sup>16</sup> Expanding railway services from the late 1870s illuminated the juxtaposition of unwholesome urban centres and their hygienically salubrious outskirts, turning these into popular holiday destinations.<sup>17</sup> A new connectedness to the periphery, powered by railway developments, allowed urban residents to move to the edge of city suburban

sites. This trend of decentralisation had something to do with the spread of a new custom of homeownership; the idea of it *per se* had never existed within the traditional practices of commerce which presumed the transaction of land properties through marriage and succession. Railway businesses were vital to increasing living-working separation and the building of suburbia, facilitating access to brand-new residential quarters, through station stops along the rail.<sup>18</sup>

The main beneficiaries of the proliferation of commodities and the new housing market were the middle classes. To be distinguished from well-to-do merchants and farmers at the middling positions of a pre-1868 society, white-collar workers were often labelled as the 'new' middle class. These were officials, professors, teachers and clerks, significantly better off than blue-collar workers, who, by the 1920s, represented approximately 7-8% of the total population.<sup>19</sup> It is estimated that this figure varied according to area, because many white-collar jobs were centralised in the larger cities. In fact, 21.4% of the working population of Tokyo were engaged in office works and public services in 1920.<sup>20</sup> The old-new middle classes were as yet undifferentiated at a personal level, with a shared ancestry in the traditional ruling castes (*samurai*) or better-off townsmen like the elderly Makiokas.<sup>21</sup> Whatever their origin, this study focuses particularly on the 'urban' life in which many of them now engaged.

As a socio-economic group they were arguably diverse. For example, the average starting salaries for a police officer, banker and government official were ¥45, ¥60-80 and ¥75 in the inter-war years, while those at the same ranks as the chancellor of Tokyo Imperial University enjoyed generous monthly wages of ¥517-583.<sup>22</sup> Their wide income spectrum notwithstanding, this 'cultural' group was equally identified by their familistic view of daily life. Historian Hiroshi Minami discusses that their satisfaction was found in spending leisure time with family as well as in fulfilling material needs.<sup>23</sup> The middle classes were neither statistical nor given categories of people. But, according to Minami, the self-awareness of being 'middle classes' made them distinct and was associated with an emotional attachment to happy family life and to 'home'.<sup>24</sup>

Children and women particularly underwent a significant change in their day-to-day experiences. Boys and girls were increasingly disconnected from the traditional household industry, particularly as public schooling, created in 1872, became available and altered adults' attitudes towards the role of education. The fact that the rate of elementary school attendance reached 96% by 1905 means that most of the younger population were more or less included mandatorily in the 'public' sphere.<sup>25</sup>

Women's direct engagement in life outside the household also ceased to be novel.<sup>26</sup> They were customarily embedded in the household industry without a clear-cut distinction between business and domestic chores, but its decline, due to the rise of mass production and children's inclusion in 'public' life through schooling, began to affect the course of their lives. By the 1890s, the workshops of light industry were dominated by female rather than male labour.<sup>27</sup> Such a dramatic transformation led educators and home economists to remodel ideal womanhood, targeting the female population in households rich enough not to need their incomes. In the imagination of the elites, married women were portrayed as domesticated, but intelligent and knowledgeable, and this model of gendered roles eventually became a source of identity for the middle-class woman.<sup>28</sup>

Implying such a Romanticised view of women, the advice manuals and women's press which this study initially explores served to project ways members of the family managed and enjoyed their 'private' lives. Journalism that furthered this end was rapidly developed as these periodicals proved to be widely recognised and commercially successful. Between 1912 and 1925, the volume of advertising copy in newspapers increased more than six times.<sup>29</sup> Women's reading acted not only as a medium for the transmission of a medley of writings spanning current topics, novels, commentaries and practical advice on cooking, furnishing, clothing, upbringing, and so on.<sup>30</sup> It also facilitated interactive dialogues between the advisors in dwelling and their mostly middle-class audience through readers' letters and design competitions in kitchens, furniture and house plans.<sup>31</sup> While imagining a veiled 'private' sphere, the experts and middle-class readers exchanged views on how to arrange domestic spaces in response to needs, preferences and aesthetic senses.

The underlying question in a conventional architectural history of the urban middle-class houses in this turbulent period was how domestic architecture was transformed from the flexible, open-plan layout of the Japanese traditional dwelling into a new programmatic design. When addressed, the approach espoused is rooted in a concern with where new forms of floor arrangements were morphologically derived from, ascribing changes in spatial configurations to Western material cultures, ideology and science. In his pioneering work comparing house plans with architectural discourse, Kimura associates the layout of rooms tailored to users and functions with Western architectural practices particularly in terms of consideration of the alien notions of individualism and privacy.<sup>32</sup> His way of understanding spatial relations is championed by feminist sociologists Nishikawa and Ochiai, perhaps because it allows them to conceptualise the conditions of a woman's place in the house.<sup>33</sup> A focus of Aoki's meticulous inquiry is on rationality, arguing that demands for efficient, manageable housekeeping had the effect of systematising the organisation of domestic spaces, which were still similar to pre-modern architecture in fittings, finished with traditional straw mats called *tatami* nonetheless.<sup>34</sup> Miyazaki underlines the impact of sanitary science on the experts' advice and proposals in planning and site arrangement.<sup>35</sup> Yet, these cause-effect analyses are projects to relate domestic architecture with metaphysical reasons, and often include stretched and unreasonable interpretations. They are not necessarily designed to illustrate the materiality of body-space relationships and to examine how the novel concepts of individuality, privacy, rationality and cleanliness were perceived and indigenised. The main target of the *oeuvre* of Japanese architectural historians' research has been to seek certain factors modifying architectural features of a house outside of the body and mind.

Some studies put much emphasis on roles played by mass media in exciting the imagination of ordinary people and sharing visions of the everyday in a post-traditional society. Kubo's interest is in architecture in the women's press of the period. By reviewing a range of articles on how to use, furnish and arrange domestic spaces, she indicates that public discussion facilitated by the middle-class periodicals was vital in shaping the imagery of

family life and ways for programmatic designs.<sup>36</sup> Cultural historian Sand explores the emergence of ‘middle-classness’, making a link between the Western ideological influence of domesticity and gendered compositions which affected material cultures and designed objects including furniture and houses.<sup>37</sup>

Many explanations from approaches embraced by cultural studies, however, focus less on the discontinuity of the system of value and are made in reference to closeness and distance from *our* values.<sup>38</sup> As Douglas argues, a modern sense of pollution is a system of classification based on the knowledge of sanitary science which gives ways for rational justification, and deeply underpins aesthetic sensitivity.<sup>39</sup> It differs substantially from ritual purification in pre-industrial times, as bodily expressions of symbolic meanings whereby the discipline and hierarchy of traditional society were sustained.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the conventional way of interpretation is likely to endlessly justify a modern bias against traditional social practices and rituals, particularly in family relations, which were fully redefined through modernisation. The lived experiences and feelings of ordinary people in dwellings at that time are not contextually described in this way.

Current works with an interest in the socio-cultural perspective which contemporary Japanese have had on houses refer to the epistemological change caused by modernisation at a personal level, aiming to unravel its impact on the cultural orientation of the modern Japanese toward domestic life. Ozaki and Lewis outline the complex transformation of a sense of boundaries between the inside and the outside of a house in a historical context.<sup>41</sup> They analyse a phenomenological interaction of a constructed system of dichotomous ordering in cleanliness and privacy with ways of spatial demarcation in modern architectural planning. In Ronald’s inquiry on institutional conditions and economic practices of the contemporary Japanese family, it is taken for granted that the meaning of a space with traditional-style interior was altered by the emergence of a family-centred conception which replaced its former symbolic message.<sup>42</sup> Still, their search for the uniqueness of domestic activities of the Japanese family is rooted implicitly in a cause-effect approach which morphologically connects the past with the present. An intricate process by which dwellings metamorphosed in

a subtle response to changes of the Japanese *per se* is seldom discussed in the scholarship on the Japanese house and home.

The channels through which an environment inducing a sense of modernity is made are not simple, but rather complicated, however. Hilde Heynen's examination of the influential works and commentaries associated with modernist culture presumes a clear-cut distinction between two types of modernity: one, whose condition is ambitiously predicted and carved by architects in a subjective way; another constituted through transactions of material goods and services within an overarching capitalist system.<sup>43</sup> The conventional architectural history on the development of programmatic and functional design does not explore the differences between these definitions, because they are apt to treat modernity as the clash of the Western and traditional cultures. Anthropologist Daniel Miller derives a motivation for exploring the relationship between material cultures and consumption from his interest in a gap "between the subjects of public concern, political rhetoric or academic debate, and the experiences of everyday life."<sup>44</sup> *Modernity at Home*, too, is made to dissolve the confusion of two forms of body-space interaction that I have felt since my university days. One is the legitimised forms of control of the built environment regulated through legal arrangements as well as the employment of didactic instructions on how a building and human habitation *should* be. The other is the ways in which ordinary people react and appropriate material objects that embrace their daily routines. This study is thus not an endeavour to examine the built forms and their settings autonomously; rather it verbalises the consequences of how the practices of both design experts and the middle classes at large were borne out in orchestrating places for living.

I shed light on the transformation of taste that, as implied earlier, led to varied preferences concerning the nature of spatial and material conditions. The attitudes towards the body, social relations and house are pivotal in the entire discourse of this project, to illuminate the dynamism of ways people ordered and interpreted family and domestic spaces in line with certain aesthetic standards. Clammer's theory on contemporary Japanese society is meaningful here, in that the "aestheticization of life" is one of the routes by which the Japanese experience and discern modernity, distinct, in



comparison with Western modernism.<sup>45</sup> This suggests that the consideration of taste in Japanese architectural history is a means to survey two mutually intertwining streams: the epistemological construction of the modern system of aesthetic value, and the theoretical and practical developments of manners in which built forms were shaped and created. My project is designed to consider six questions concerning both academic and non-academic ‘actors’, who proposed, internalised and expressed *their* tastes. How was the downturn in traditional household industry and the growth in modern institutions epistemologically powerful in life, family and dwelling? How did the idea of domesticity alternatively affect middle-class taste and material cultures at ‘home’? How were the increasing awareness of rationality and the image of ‘home’ intertwined and objectified in the form of prevailing programmatic designs? How did taste facilitate commercial housing activities? How did the interplay of taste-makers and middle-class consumers reinforce their tastes and affect the conditions of material life? How did middle-class families appropriate their programmatically designed houses in practice?

### **Methodology and the approach to taste and modernity**

I approach modernity and elements that arouse it, employing scholarship on modern subjectivity, taste and self-identity in the field of social anthropology. Modernisation, according to Foucault, was a process by which a human being was classified and differentiated from others by social and biological features of the body in reference to the rational ordering of things.<sup>46</sup> Consideration on how to access fortune as well as labour elucidates what distinguished industrial from pre-industrial societies. Whilst a modern body is conceptually autonomous and selective within the institutions of nation-states, lives in the feudal age were largely predetermined. Douglas argues that, in pre-modern times, sumptuary laws and marriage among families of the same castes were central to mechanisms for the distribution of wealth.<sup>47</sup> These non-marketable systems of rationing were intrinsically exclusive, setting up a hierarchal structure of society through licencing goods,

properties and rights of business, which were transferred to the next generation of equal caste.<sup>48</sup> There were traditional faiths and a morality that instructed codes of behaviour, and thereby ensured people's full inclusion in production.<sup>49</sup> Within the house, as Bayly illustrates, all members of the household had interrelated roles in transactions miscellaneously involving both trades and domestic chores, and in the same cycle of life, worked together.<sup>50</sup> The expansion of bureaucratic and industrial organisations that preceded the birth of a capitalist and modern society led to the appearance of alternative social forces including mass production and the provision of public schooling to secure material possessions, status and identity. Traditional 'paths' together walked by parents and children then began to cease serving as mirrors of a certain future, and courses of life became distinctively separated, unrenewable, and diverse. In other words, there was an internal upheaval inside the house, which was likely to interrupt the prevailing view of domestic architecture.

As the traditional household industry was gradually interrupted in this way, mass media began to act as an alternative channel allowing people who were conceptually partitioned off to know how they ought to live. As White's pioneering work on the history of women's magazines explains, the women's press, which thrived through industrialisation, served to deliver up articles giving tips and hints on home management and on holiday plans that housewives in the same income bracket could afford to do.<sup>51</sup> These messages fuelled by the commercial activities of manufacturers and the service industry propagated the circulation of material cultures. Adrian Forty shows that design was employed to mould products and spaces whereby the ever-shifting imageries of daily life made sense.<sup>52</sup> It is assumed that, in a post-traditional world, the visibility of everyday experience through design signals not only a commercial but a didactic message. Designed objects, according to Baudrillard, are embodiments of functions determined by particular principles, regulating the relationship between man and environment.<sup>53</sup> These are expressed as styles and fashions, whose constitutive role is to echo self-image.<sup>54</sup> Products as signs of signified ideas and patterns of behaviour are continually altered and transmitted not only by means of mass

communication but also through displays of real objects in outlets, department stores and exhibitions.<sup>55</sup>

From this viewpoint, there is an assumption that choosing style is made through acts of consuming not as mere socioeconomic engagements in the market but as more meaningful cultural activities. Consumption is recognised, in the field of material culture studies, as a means to constitute ensembles of commodities whereby individuals ensure their own images of selves and of the every day.<sup>56</sup> Shopping is however not necessarily seen as a practice of fulfilling and negotiating personal desires; rather, consumers' choices are largely affected by considerations on others, on what their partners and families need and prefer, and on how their friends, neighbours and colleagues think of them.<sup>57</sup> As Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley discuss, the purchasing of household goods is part of the "moral economy" through which each unit of household manages and domesticates available resources following certain standards and values concerned with specific histories and social behaviours, interests, goals and gendered roles shared by its members.<sup>58</sup> This involves a range of activities to appropriate items based on a household's own aesthetic principles and behavioural paradigm.<sup>59</sup> The décor and composition of furniture, for example, reflect the imagination of inhabitants, and are the results of their endeavours to settle themselves in domestic spaces that appropriate and interiorise the narratives of their everyday life.<sup>60</sup> The process of appropriation leads eventually to the public definition of a household's taste, enabling them to gain a sense of satisfaction.<sup>61</sup> Ordinary houses as 'chosen' and 'personalised' objects which this study defines are thus considered to be results of consumers' choices and the manifestation of their tastes.

Taste is generally perceived as the fundamental basis upon which an individual relies for judgements of quality and of what is good or ill. There are two critical analyses, by Veblen and Bourdieu, on the underlying principles behind aesthetic judgements in a modern world. Veblen's study on the 'leisure class' reveals that socially instructed manners of consumption were given to this emerging group of better-off people as a means of refining their taste in line with the Romantic vision.<sup>62</sup> The trend described by Veblen allowed the 'leisure class' to enjoy and consume the feeling of luxury through

material possessions that had nothing to do with the lives of the labouring population.<sup>63</sup> As Bourdieu demonstrates, a prism of modern consumer culture splits consumers into class-like groups as segments of the social spectrum according to a variation in taste, ascribed to differences in professional and educational backgrounds.<sup>64</sup> Both influential works implied that tastes *per se* are rooted in certain standards didactically given by sectors ruling knowledge.<sup>65</sup> This subjective world of taste enhances material well-being, and *vice versa*. According to Slater's critique, Hegel, Marx and Simmel agree with the point that all developments of a post-traditional society are led by a "dialectical relation between the increasing differentiation of the objective world" and "increasing refinement and discrimination in tastes, needs and experiences."<sup>66</sup>

I would emphasise here that, in the debates outlined above, taste incorporates two concepts implying a cultural inclination for something on the one hand, and indicating a person's ability to distinguish and appreciate subjective criteria of beauty and appropriateness on the other. Arguably, self-reliance is a distinctively 'modern' practice through which the religious and supernatural ideas that supported the *raison d'être* of feudalism began to lose the moral authority to grant people ethical and aesthetic standards.<sup>67</sup> As "the individual stands out," Nietzsche claims, he "is obliged to have recourse to his own law-giving, his own arts and artifices for self-preservation, self-elevation, and self-deliverance."<sup>68</sup> Thus it could be said that anthropology's point of view is embedded implicitly in an attitude toward self.

If self-awareness is pivotal in the experience of modernity, a modern man encounters the self and group identity. Self-identity is constituted and sustained through a process in which daily routines are appropriated within what Giddens explains as a "locale."<sup>69</sup> It is an imaginary place as a reflection of how an individual ideally acts and behaves.<sup>70</sup> This time-space framework has a narrative structure containing a backdrop to which it leads an individual.<sup>71</sup> In a post-traditional world, such a 'designed' and selective course of life is seen and classified as 'lifestyle'.<sup>72</sup> A locale is didactic and autobiographical, serving as a source of ontological security that provides reasonable and effective solutions to all sorts of challenges facing atomistic agents of a modern society.<sup>73</sup> Whilst this conceptualisation of the dynamic

interaction between internal and external worlds elucidates the appearance of a person's subjectivity and self-identity, Bourdieu's *habitus* is valuable in clarifying how the ethos of a group and community is retained, manifested and internalised. The *habitus* is a cultural and social milieu projecting the characteristics of rituals, attitudes, aspirations, tastes, moral standards and notions of sexuality, which are coherently shared and sympathised with among the people it surrounds.<sup>74</sup> This condition assumes a certain genre stemming from its aesthetic homogeneity and is distinctive according to dispositions of society, class and family.<sup>75</sup> Bearing the concepts of locale and *habitus* in mind, I will approach a middle-class home as an objectified form of lifestyle and ontological security and as the place in which members of the family sought their identity through appropriation.

Prior to the Japanese, Victorian England confronted epistemological questions about the systematic reordering of social practices and rituals in response to industrialisation and the pressure of urban growth. They associated moral and environmental hazards in cities with disorderliness in the traditional modes of life that were not much concerned with discrimination between labour and leisure; men and women; public and private, and so on.<sup>76</sup> Their aversion to ambiguity was increasingly aroused, as their perceptions became more rational in space, class and gender.<sup>77</sup> Middle-class adherence to domesticity was meanwhile fuelled by their rise in economic power, and the attempt to reference the aristocracy as well as a return to Evangelical perspectives through systematic interpretation.<sup>78</sup> These social conditions reinforced a conceptual dichotomy between the public world as chaos and 'home' as a sanctuary, advocating the domestication of middle class women and the role of recreational activities.<sup>79</sup> On the one hand, within the house women were expected to be involved in accomplishments including music and reading for self-cultivation. On the other, leisure pursuits conducted by the father, mother and children together were expected to have the effect of emotionally strengthening kinship bonds, and at-home was becoming popular as a substitute to coarse public entertainments.<sup>80</sup> Domestic spaces were intended to serve not only as private domains used exclusively for dwelling but also as the public display of sophistication.<sup>81</sup> As the roles played by different sexes and generations were

distinctively articulated, the 'home' for enjoyment began to make sense particularly for the *nouveaux riches* who had sought their own *habitus* through hedonistic consumption.<sup>82</sup>

The material relations of the English middle classes from the early-Victorian years onward were affected substantially by their home cultures. The temporal and spatial segregation that became their source of comfort and security was crucial in domestic architecture as abodes of pleasure.<sup>83</sup> A purposeful design was the hallmark of a well-ordered arrangement that, by protecting dwellers from the eyes of servants and guests, guaranteed them against the invasion of privacy.<sup>84</sup> Each room rigidly divided by walls and corridors comprised a specific set of furniture whereby domestic life *per se* allowed members of the household to secure their class and gender identity. The drawing room, for example, was characterised by feminine quality, containing a piano, music stand, easy chairs, and tables with tea utensils, which all were designed to facilitate women's accomplishments and sociability.<sup>85</sup> The middle-class endeavours to seek their individualities through day-to-day material choices presumed a process by which all sorts of personal expressions through dressing, furnishing and decorating the interior were set up based on their creativity. By the mid-century, the distastefulness of results of this expression was becoming acute. As Cohen argues, an increasing number of the efforts to refine popular taste were seen after the Great Exhibition in 1851, championing Ruskin's assumption that a high aesthetic standard bespeaks the virtue of modesty.<sup>86</sup> Thousands of the visual images of stylish furniture and 'ideal homes' elaborated by industrial designers and architects were vigorously circulated through exhibitions as well as print media that became cheaper in this period.<sup>87</sup> By the 1870s and 1880s, the Victorians' priority was no longer given to their religious faith but to more rational and moralistic motivations signified by designed objects and enshrined repeatedly by journalism, such as airiness, brightness, cleanliness, healthiness and salubrity.<sup>88</sup> The turn-of-the-twentieth-century sentiment among the middle-class Britons was perhaps broadly similar to a feeling which, thirty years later, life in the suburbs of Osaka evoked: that was of *modernity at home*.

But, attention must be paid to the fact that, in pre-1868 Japan, there was neither a historically religious background raising an awareness of individuality, nor the existence of political and financial institutions that could lead seamlessly to capitalism. Modern Japan was an embodiment of the elites' imagination affected largely by Occidental civilisation and a product of their endeavours to enlighten ordinary people and to indigenise social institutions and code of conducts derived from the West in its unique cultural context.<sup>89</sup> Emphasis on self-awareness and the subjectivity of the individual was also intentionally made as part of this project, aimed at improving popular taste in a post-Russo-Japanese-War society. Again, a social-anthropological approach to modernity presumes the Western notion of self. As Clammer points out, the Western social theories are not applicable without careful consideration of local differences in how the self is managed and moulded by unique institutions of a society.<sup>90</sup> Lash and Friedman, however, indicate that social anthropology can extend its application to observations of various types of modernity, such as “modernity without the hyper-individualism of the Occident,” or one “based entirely on consumption of Western goods while entirely ignorant of production.”<sup>91</sup> What I study through this project is perhaps modernity stemming from a consumer culture without the hyper-individualism. My attention to consumption in middle-class housing is indeed reconcilable with Clammer's analysis, albeit of a contemporary Japanese society. He suggests that class in the Japanese context is less strategic in terms of social mobility than Bourdieu's theory of *Distinction* presumes; rather, it could be understood as a “field of practices” constituted by certain patterns of consumption.<sup>92</sup> A role of a taste-maker is thus considered to be crucial in framing this “field of practices.” I believe that self, class and identity that the Western theorists postulate and describe are still effective models, not as social theory, but in approaching and understanding the world of modernity.

A socio-anthropological view of architecture has been developed in research held in various disciplines, and applied to the examination of modernity as personal experience. Initially, Rapoport suggests an epistemologically analytical approach to understanding built form, which involves a focus on the power of consumption and roles played by users'

perceptions integrating them with an environment in an imaginative rather than symbolic way.<sup>93</sup> The early application of an anthropological perspective was a result of the pioneering works of Irene Cieraad and her colleagues in elucidating the enigma of 'home', allowing them to describe the triad of meaning, imagery and practices of domesticity, gendered roles and public-private segregation.<sup>94</sup> Adams approaches the Victorians' perceptions of middle-class houses in the late-nineteenth century, examining how the design of domestic architecture and its impact on their lives was viewed and understood in the medical and feminists' discourses on health and motherhood.<sup>95</sup>

In recent years, an increasing number of historians' efforts to approach the materiality of domestic lives of the English at home have been made in the field of social anthropology and material-culture studies.<sup>96</sup> These are responses to a question of the stereotyped Victorian image of the everyday linked powerfully with compartmentalised spaces of their dwellings, which are generally read as embodiments of the relationship between men and women; parents and children; family and servants. For example, by interpreting household inventories, Ponsonby attempts to describe how furniture and fixtures were used and embedded in the relationship between interiors and changing domestic practices over late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>97</sup> The lived and 'hidden' experiences of Victorian families in middle-class houses are explored through Hamlett's meticulous survey which employs a wide range of sources including advice manuals, sale catalogues, autobiographies, diaries and oral-history manuscripts.<sup>98</sup> In this way, she illustrates actual manners in which children, fathers and mothers appropriated domestic spaces and were involved in family life behind closed doors.

Although the subjects of them are the contemporary material life and family, the anthropological studies in the field of Japanese house and home demonstrate critical insights into consumption and appropriation as cultural practices which have much to do with consequences of modernisation in epistemological terms. Ronald ascribes the prevailing patterns of household economy with the consumer culture of the inter-war years, in which a growing number of the middle classes enhanced their social-cultural status



through constructing their non-business and consumption-oriented households.<sup>99</sup> By observing on-going projects of interior decoration of sampled families, Daniels's ethnographical survey shows the gulf between an Orientalised understanding of the feature of a Japanese house connected largely with the unity and harmony of pre-modernity and the dynamic of objectification of identity through their aesthetic practices in furnishing.<sup>100</sup> In the same way, she illuminates a modern meaning of the garden as a "doing garden," which differs from a "viewing garden" as part of a symbolic setting of a pre-modern dwelling.<sup>101</sup> Yet, there is little historical research to demonstrate a complex interplay of perceptions, practices and designed spaces which are simply reduced to either causes or effects in the binary thinking of conventional methods for history of architecture and material culture.

I assume two reasons why this triad is rarely underlined in a discussion relating to domestic architecture of modern Japan. One is that causes of the morphological transformation of the interior tend to be sought without delicate phenomenological consideration in terms of *whose* perceptions and practices, and to *how* they affected both the design and uses of domestic spaces. In this respect, Teasley's work is exceptional. By examining the women's press published during the 1920s, she discovers "architectural consumers": the middle-class readers who learnt appropriate conditions as well as the taste of domestic environment prescribed by the experts through reading and ultimately consuming.<sup>102</sup> Residents of houses are not conventionally treated as active agents – individuals – who are supposed to appropriate their surroundings in 'subjective' ways, however. Another perhaps stems from the stance of Japanese academic circles which seldom value a re-examination of sources as well as objects of research already explored by other scholars. Therefore, this study has been conducted and achieved within English-speaking academia. It focuses particularly on the duality which the interior began to encompass in a period when modernity became realised by 'modern men' and women: designed spaces as mirrors of changes in perceptions and images of self, family and the everyday; ones as platforms where residents struggled to personalise and pursue their self- and class-identity. In short, I aim to describe this fuzzy, unceasingly

mutable nature of 'home' in a modernising process, looking at taste from a social-anthropological point of view.

## **Research methods and sources**

As previously described, this study encompasses six thematic inquiries integrally related to the complex power of taste in shaping the programmatic design of the house, and modernity as experience. The first three chapters explore the period from the 1890s to 1923, the year of the Greater Tokyo Earthquake. The views and ideas held by educators, home economists, architects, cultural elites and ordinary people transported through print media are analysed to show how attitudes towards domestic life were altered and how tastes became crucial in the arrangement of domestic spaces. 14 guides to home management published in this period are used to examine images of new types of people and of family life behind discourses of women's readings. These publications are much to do with the elites' attempts to suggest ideal housewifery, covering broad topics, such as principles of domestic chores, childcare and hygiene maintenance, manners of reception, ways to hire maids and to spend leisure time, and even how the family ought to be. The sampled textbooks and manuals include the written works of the leading female home economists Utako Shimoda and Hamako Tsukamoto, and are digitised and openly accessible in the archives of the National Diet Library, Tokyo.<sup>103</sup>

If the advice books targeted readers who wanted to know how to manage life, an increasing number of women's magazines are considered to have served as meeting places for commentators and their wider audience. The main components of *Women's Companion* (*Fujin no tomo*), which this study reviews, were articles on issues of the day, literary pages, the readers' column and tips and hints on cooking, family budgeting, child-rearing, clothing, furnishing and housing.<sup>104</sup> *Women's Companion* was created by Motoko Hani, the Christian educator and journalist, in 1908, and her intention – a search for new lifestyles – was likely to affect its content and taste, targeting women of the urban middle classes.<sup>105</sup> It is difficult to know

in detail the circulation of this genre of publication at that time, but Kubo estimates that the first issue of *Women's Companion* was less than 3,000, and increased dramatically to over 120,000 in next forty years.<sup>106</sup> In addition to this, I explore *The Ladies' Graphic* (*Fujin gahō*) with another taste, which, according to Sand, was “upper-class-oriented.”<sup>107</sup> Since its launch in 1905, various commentators including experts in home management and architects have provided opinions, suggestions and general knowledge for its readers. It played a role as a mirror of ideal home management, reporting the private lives of the elites' families. Both magazines have continued to be in print now. Some manuals and *Women's Companion* have been analysed by architectural historians including Aoki, Kubo and Miyazaki, but their studies focus only on (and extract debates on) housing for their interests in where purpose designs came from. This way of interpretation was likely to neglect an integral part of the relationships between the body, everyday life and space, and to overlook a different system of value from *ours*. I thus extend the scope of observation to all kinds of professional and non-professional voices relating to lifestyle, with careful attention to how ideas behind them were distinct from the traditional norms.

An understanding of the thoughts and proposals of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century architects is deepened through the use of the monthly journal of the Architectural Institute of Japan (AIJ): *Architectural Magazine* (*Kenchiku zasshi*). The AIJ periodical, issued from 1886 to present, has been widely referenced and recognised as the most credible source, allowing historians to explore intellectual discourses in chronological order. This study does not draw on a conventional cause-effect approach involving a search for reasons why the morphology of houses was as they were. Rather, *Architectural Magazine* is read to explicate the logic and tastes behind the imagination and creativity of its visionaries.

Chapter 1 discusses how the elites' view of individuality changed the perception of people and affected middle-class needs and consideration of architects in term of the designs of houses. The 1890s was the turning point in the traditional household industry which ordered morality, the code of behaviour and family system. This study starts its inquiry from the description of the breakdown of a symbolic relationship between domestic

rituals embedded in family business and the conventional design of a dwelling. The new image of daily routines behind advice of the experts on efficient housework is examined to reveal how everyday lives of member of the family were restructured; how psychological effects caused by contacts of the 'modern' body with others and spaces were conceptually understood. Then, I argue architectural responses to these epistemological changes by exploring architects' discussions in houses of ordinary people and initial efforts to create purpose designs. The goal of the opening chapter is to imply that dwellings as designed objects became subject to individual choices through the modernising process.

Chapter 2 illustrates the relationship between an awareness of taste, family and material relations in the period, 1905-1919, evolving around the exploration of the double meanings of the term *shumi*: 'taste' and 'recreation'. *Shumi* was semantically made as the cultural elites, influenced by Romanticism, translated the Western word 'taste'. The advocators of *shumi* attempted to seek a remedy for a state of cultural decadence in a post-Russo-Japanese-War society, believing that the personal effort to cultivate an aesthetic sense led collectively to a revival of the Japanese arts and beauty.<sup>108</sup> In their view, an active involvement in *shumi* (recreation) was a vehicle whereby an individual refined an eye for the beautiful and expressed self.<sup>109</sup> After this cultural campaign, there had been, on the one hand, a growing number of exhortations to engage in leisure pursuits on the private side; this trend synchronised with the spread of the conception of 'home', on the other.<sup>110</sup> As Fuess's study on the ideal fatherhood argues, a new paternal duty was increasingly highlighted in this period: the provision of recreational activities intended to arouse a sense of family togetherness.<sup>111</sup> The second chapter begins with the examination of these cultural advocators' accounts by revisiting their magazine *Shumi* briefly. This periodical, created by notable dramatist Shōyō Tsubouchi and his colleagues, and issued from 1906 to 1910, aimed to demonstrate ways to appreciate a range of art works in line with their Romantic tastes. The popularity of their writings with the general public is unknown, but Jinno argues that their cultural campaign through various channels had an effect of generalising the term *shumi* in mass media.<sup>112</sup> This inquiry allows me to illuminate a non-native, novel idea behind their

accounts that everyday practices including clothing, furnishing and housing are the appearance of individual subjectivity and the public definition of self.

After reviewing the intellectual discourses of the advocates of *shumi*, I will return to the advice manuals and women's periodicals, and disclose the logic that the educators and home economists began to use to call for the notion of 'home', which was, in their view, full of recreational activities as a mechanism to bring the whole family together. *Modernity at Home* argues the impact of the conceptualisation of domesticating leisure on meanings of the settings of the house and even of nature and suburban land, suggesting the concept of 'leisurisation'. The last part of Chapter 2 indicates how the quest for *shumi* in both taste and recreation affected a personal experience and family life at 'home' in practice.

Chapter 3 examines the paralleled images of rationality by focusing on tastes behind public discussions as part of the Housing Reform Movement, which was, I consider, fuelled by the new attitude linking the state of material life with personality and the psychological conditions of people. The Movement, which architectural historians acknowledge in the 1910s and early 1920s, is viewed as a social ethos to seek rational forms of domestic spaces whereby daily rounds and patterns of behaviour could be efficient and streamlined.<sup>113</sup> First, this study outlines sources of the imagination in a new system for the kitchen, through the interpretation of experts' commentaries, proposals, and results of the design competitions involving an exchange of personal visions from amateurs. This inquiry intends to show how the elites' adherence to Western material cultures of dwelling was largely justified through the application of scientific knowledge.

The main concern of Chapter 3 is the emergence of a prevailing purpose design called the "interior-corridor plan," which is considered to be a distillation of the 'modern' concepts of privacy, efficiency and hygiene. This study reviews the experts' advice on domestic arrangement and award-winning floor plans proposed by middle-class readers of the women's magazines, demonstrating how scientific debates on dwelling was harnessed by the image of 'home' encapsulating the Romanticised taste in day-to-day practices. If the interior-corridor plan was a result of the crystallisation of the public *shumi* (taste), the architects' creation of houses designed to make life

rational in the era of the Movement were the pursuits for their own preferences and *shumi*. The exploration of the advice books, women's press and *Architectural Magazine* will end with the architects' absence in the shaping of the interior-corridor plan, showing *their* interpretation of 'home' as well as of family togetherness. Their images were antithetical to narratives behind the interior-corridor plan which intricately ordered and mingled changing morality and the Romantic vision of family relations.

The suburbs of Osaka are the focus of the last three chapters which aim to approach the dualism between tastes as things made by producers through advertising and designing, and ones as personal standards which justified and facilitated consumers' choices and appropriation. The fourth and fifth chapters explore the several commercial enterprises of an Osaka-based railway company: Hankyu Corporation, which started train services in 1910.<sup>114</sup> Hankyu was created by Ichizō Kobayashi, an entrepreneur who pioneered the expansion of a train network linking cities with peripheries, providing new housing demand in areas along its rails. His business spanned leisure, department store industries and even the development of home electric appliances, targeting train users and implicitly middle-class residences of the Hankyu's estates. This study considers that Hankyu, like a retailer, acted as a cultural advisor, negotiating and interacting closely with its clientele through its non-experimental, for-profit and practical transactions of dwelling.<sup>115</sup>

Chapter 4 reviews Hankyu's suburban development in the 1910s, and illustrates the ways in which it was involved in the popularisation of leisure and of homeownership. I aim to illuminate a role of *shumi* – in both taste and recreation – in its publicity, analysing a monthly magazine *Sanyō-suitai*, published between 1913 and 1917, advertising brochures, placards and housing catalogues. First, by examining Kobayashi's view of the suburbs, I illuminate a cultural role played by Hankyu as a taste-maker in shaping the imagery of suburban life full of family gatherings and leisure experiences. Second, floor plans of houses and amenities of its estates built in the 1910s are interpreted to examine how Hankyu 'leisurised' spaces in response to tastes, culturally and commercially, shared with its clientele. The goal of the

fourth chapter is to consider the effects of *shumi* on Hankyu's ventures, the design of its dwellings and whole estate, and the life in suburban Osaka.

My interest in Chapter 5 is the relationship between the public *shumi* and design works of Hankyu involving the making of lifestyles in the inter-war years. I look into Hankyu's production of electrical appliances as well as its construction of suburban estates. The sources I use in the first part of this chapter are not only its publications: free newspaper *Hanshin-maichō shinbun* issued from 1924 to 1928, but the scope of the investigation is extended to the periodical of the Home Appliance Promotion Association (HAPA): *Electricity for Home (Katei no denki)* published between 1924 and 1943. Hankyu was one of members of the HAPA, created in 1924, and with manufacturers, electric power companies and local governments, attempted to stimulate demands for the use of electric power machineries on the private side. The examination of the advertising columns of *Hanshin-maichō shinbun* and discussions of the HAPA enables me to demonstrate a gap between slightly different images underlying two approaches: the building of model houses and home electrification in post-war Osaka, both stemmed from the quest for improved domestic life, which was heightened through the Housing Reform Movement. Next, the details of interior-corridor plans of Hankyu dwellings and site planning of its suburban estates are explored to reveal how it dealt with the public *shumi* through 'styling' patterns of family life. For this inquiry, I revisit thirteen kinds of its housing catalogues of five estates built over the 1920s and 1930s and its in-house newsletter (*Hankyu shahō*) which conveyed voices of its architects working for suburban development. *Hankyu shahō* was issued merely for its employers, but some volumes during this period are available at Amagasaki Municipal Archives.<sup>116</sup> The interpretation of Hankyu's works for commercial purposes will end with discussion on ways in which lifestyles were informed and signified in for-profit manufacturing and housing activities.

The final chapter discloses the domestic lives of families living in the areas along Hankyu's network in the mid-1930s. It re-examines the questionnaires surveyed by Uzō Nishiyama, the former professor of architecture at Kyoto University. His name is repeatedly invoked in the field of architectural planning in Japan, and the heritage I use for this study are

parts of data collected in his unique, experimental surveys of dwellings conducted twice in 1935 and 1936.<sup>117</sup> The motive for such a direct way to investigate was his question of how people really settled everyday lives in domestic spaces. His concern was the multi-functionality of the prevailing interior filled with *tatami* mats that could be used for sitting and bedding. As his questionnaires show, uses of rooms even with purpose designs were complex and diverse. He believed that this intricacy should be dissolved.<sup>118</sup> His actual intention lying behind the survey was to verify that residents used different rooms for different purposes particularly in the daytime and night. The outcome of his quantitative analysis was hoped to be applied in suggesting a new arrangement of a house to abolish the complexity of uses of domestic spaces.<sup>119</sup> Sampled students attending three high schools in Osaka were respondents of the questionnaires which remarkably requested of them to draw floor plans of their houses. They were asked to answer various questions: the size of family and the occupation of the father; the kind of furniture and fixtures they used; how each room was named amongst the family; where they had meals; which room each member of the family and servant used as a bedroom.<sup>120</sup> He received 915 returns from the students through the two-year project, and examined 565 questionnaires (68 samples collected in 1935 and 497 from the 1936 survey), which were of detached houses, valid for his purpose.<sup>121</sup>

I found 92 responses completed and clearly decipherable from the questionnaires of the 1936 survey (see Appendix). 251 surveyed samples are still available at Nishiyama Memorial Library established to celebrate and keep his legacy. As Nishiyama refers to, families of the high school students who contributed to his investigation were generally categorised as middle classes by floor areas of their dwellings.<sup>122</sup> The addresses given by the students have enabled me to identify and revisit 92 samples describing houses in the suburbia accessible by Hankyu from central Osaka. His questionnaires were primarily designed to visualise and quantify phenomena he wanted to know; still the relationship between domestic spaces and patterns of daily routines which these powerful sources display could be considered as a fragment of everyday choices and aesthetic judgements of the inter-war middle classes.



I evaluate how members of the families appropriated their houses mostly with purpose designs signifying public *shumi* (taste) through their own personal *shumi*; how they sought self- and class-identity through embodying their *habitus* and locales. First, this study sketches a fragment of suburban middle-class families in the inter-war years, describing organisations of the sample households, floor plans of their houses including the interior-corridor plan, and their material possessions. Second, by analysing ways the families of the students dealt with and created spaces for guests, children and maids, it illuminates how the experts' advice on domestic arrangement was internalised; how the sense of individuality and of privacy was understood and sustained. The last issue of this study is the reality of 'leisurisation' at home. Domesticated forms of leisure are explored through the examination of where sample families arranged items for recreational activities. I believe that this investigation allows me to illustrate a vacillation between the designed spaces as embodiments of public *shumi* (taste) and the results of their appropriation as an appearance of their personal *shumi*. That is because *shumi* (recreation), according to the advocators of *shumi*, is a cultural mechanism for driving individual subjectivity and for self-expression.

It is not evident that the experiences of the middle-class families in Osaka suburbs were fully representative of the modernity that all Japanese underwent before the Second World War, however. *Modernity at Home* cannot avoid this kind of limitation, due to its involvement in the case studies focusing on a particular area and sociocultural groups. It could be thought that, on the one hand, suburban dwellers, like the fictional Makioka family, enjoyed a sense of urbanity as well as an abundance of commodities that allowed them to choose their own ways of life. Hashizume demonstrates that, in particular, the entrepreneurship cherished by its history as a mercantile city enabled Osaka and its environs to advance 'modernism' during the inter-war years.<sup>123</sup> Some well-to-do farmers, albeit not poor, might still continue to follow a course of life on which their ancestors did, on the other. Beyond these, class differences must be profound. Most of the labouring population could not afford to live in dwellings that were large enough to have purpose designs. Yet, the focus on 'middle-classness' is valued for its insight into the

world of taste, which was, through day-to-day consumption facilitated by taste-makers, collectively exchanged and manifested by this cultural group of ‘modern men and women’.

To summarise, this study demonstrates the dynamic interaction between the objectification of the constructed image of ‘home’ through shaping purpose designs of houses, and ways middle-class families envisaged and set up their domestic lives. It is achieved through the exploration of tastes as cultural drivers which differentiate attitudes of people. This study focuses on two types of tastes. One was of a particular socio-cultural group: the middle classes, determining economic patterns as well as aesthetic practices of them, which were spread and exchanged in forms of lifestyles and designed objects including houses. Another was a basis of individual choices and preferences, and governed ways for appropriation of commodities and spaces. I ascribe the state of being ‘modern’ to the diversity of perceptions caused by the variety of tastes. The examination of *shumi* – in both taste and recreation – is thus pivotal in this study which approaches modernity as the quality being discerned in various and ‘individualised’ ways. Social anthropology offers a critical perspective of the everyday in a process of tuning Japan into a consumer society, allowing me to grasp and identify an epistemological change behind voices and suggestions of educators, home economists, architects, cultural elites, and ordinary people. The empirical analysis of the old questionnaires used by Uzō Nishiyama makes this study distinct, disclosing how ‘individuals’ experienced modernity in the mid-1930s. I believe that this study can contribute in a small way to the conceptualisation of the relationship between architecture, the built environment and capitalism. Finally, I am responsible for the translation of all quotations from Japanese sources, except passages from Jun’ichiro Tanizaki’s works.

## Notes

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2. *Ibid.*, 30-1.
3. *Ibid.*, 31.
4. Jun'ichiro Tanizaki, *The Makioka Sisters*, trans. Edward G. Seidensticker (London: David Campbell, 1993), 91.
5. Hiroshi Minami et al., *Taishō bunka* (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 1965), 6.
6. Toshiaki Ōkubo et al., *Meiji Nihon no kaika: Zusetsu Nihon no rekishi*, 15 (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1976), 188.
7. Minami et al., *Taishō bunka*, 21-6.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Toshiaki Ōkubo et al., *Taishō demokurashi: Nihon rekishi shirizu*, 20 (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 1967), 40.
10. Ōkubo et al., *Taishō demokurashi*, 80.
11. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau: Osaka toshi jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 315, 325.
12. Minami et al., *Taishō bunka*, 253.
13. *Ibid.*, 161.
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18. Atsushi Katagi, “Kindai Nihon no kōgai jyūtakuchi,” in *Kindai Nihon no kōgai jyūtakuchi* ed. Atsushi Katagi, Yōetsu Fujiya and Yukihiro Kadono (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2006), 17-25.
19. Minami et al., *Taishō bunka*, 170, 183.
20. *Ibid.*, 197.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Hirosuke Mikano ed., *Senka kakudai, hakyoku no jidai: Shōwa 11nen - Shōwa 20nen* (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1987), 166-7; Osamu Tanaka ed., *Kurai sesō, kyōkō no jidai: Shōwa gannen - Shōwa 10nen* (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1987), 166-7.
23. Minami et al., *Taishō bunka*, 217.

24. Ibid.
25. Ministry of Education, *Gakusei hyakunen shi* (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1975), 295-6.
26. Minami et al., *Taishō bunka*, 256.
27. Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail L. Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 153.
28. Minami et al., *Taishō bunka*, 171.
29. Ibid., 129-30.
30. Kazuyo Kubo, *Jyoseizasshi ni sumaidukuri wo manabu: Taishō demokurashi ki wo chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 2005), 26-7.
31. Ibid., 20-21, 195-6.
32. Norikuni Kimura, "Taishō jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to ima-chūshingata jyūtaku yōshiki no seiritsu," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Engineering, Hokkaido University* 18 (1958): 45-149; Norikuni Kimura, "Meiji jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to nakarōkagata jyūtakuyōshiki no seiritsu," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Engineering, Hokkaido University* 21 (1959): 51-149.
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35. Nobuyuki Miyazaki and Masao Aoki, "Meiji 10 nendai no wagakuni jyūtaku no eiseimen wo kairyō suru keikakuronjyō no kokoromi," *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering* 458 (1994): 43-52; Nobuyuki Miyazaki and Masao Aoki, "Meiji 20 nendai no wagakuni no kaseikyōiku bunya ni okeru jyūtaku no eiseimen wo kairyō suru keikakuronjyō no kokoromi ni tsuite," *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering* 467 (1995): 61-70; Nobuyuki Miyazaki and Masao Aoki, "Meiji 30, 40 nendai no wagakuni ni okeru kazoku kyoshitsu no nanmen haichi wo meguru keikakuronjyō no kokoromi ni tsuite," *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering* 467 (1996): 111-20; Nobuyuki Miyazaki, Masao Aoki and Takakazu Tomokiyo, "Taishō shoki no wagakuni ni okeru kazokuhon'i keikakuron no seiritsu ni tsuite," *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering* 496 (1997): 65-72; Nobuyuki Miyazaki, Masao Aoki and Takakazu Tomokiyo, "Meiji 10, 20 nendai ni teiji sareta kazoku kyoshitsu nanmen haichi no keikaku konkyo ni tsuite," *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering* 518 (1999): 81-8.
36. Kubo, *Jyoseizasshi ni sumaidukuri wo manabu*.
37. Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).
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39. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 35, 73; see also Elizabeth Shove, *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience: The Social Organization of Normality* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).
  40. *Ibid.*, 3-4.
  41. Ritsuko Ozaki and John Rees Lewis, "Boundaries and the meaning of social space: a study of Japanese house plans," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006): 91-104.
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  44. Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 6-7.
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  55. Shunya Yoshimi, "Kindai kūkan toshite no hyakkaten," in *Toshi no kūkan toshi noshintai*, ed. Shunya Yoshimi (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 1996), 137-64; Shunya Yoshimi, *Hakurankai no seijigaku: manazashi no kindai* (Tokyo: Chūkōshinsho, 1998), 145-78; Deborah S. Ryan, "'All the World and Her Husband': the Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition 1908-39," in *All the World and Her Husband: Women in Twentieth-Century Consumption Culture*, eds. Maggie Andrews and Mary M. Talbot (London: Cassell, 2000), 10-22.

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70. *Ibid.*
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72. *Ibid.*, 81.
73. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society*, 124; Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, 36-9.

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  112. Jinno, *Shumi no tanjyō*, 10.
  113. Masatomo Yamaguchi, “Seikatsukaizen Dōmeikai wo kaidoku suru,” in *Daidokoro no hyakunen*, ed. Japan Society of Lifology (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 1999), 138-165.
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  121. *Ibid.*
  122. *Ibid.*

123. Shinya Hashizume, *Modan toshi no tanjyō: Osaka no machi Tokyo no machi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakōbunkan, 2003); Shinya Hashizume, *Modanizumu no Nippon* (Tokyo: Kadokawasensho, 2006); see also Hanshinkan Modernism Exhibition Committee, *Hanshinkan Modernism: Rokkō sanroku ni hanahiraita bunka, Meiji makki shōwa 15 nen no kiseki* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1997).

# 1. Compartmentalisation of Life, Family and Dwelling, 1890-1914

“Boatmen and shippers,” noticed a commentator in the early 1910s, “have been bewildered by the school system.”<sup>1</sup> In *Women’s Companion*, he voiced his opinion that, by compelling them to send children over the age of six to elementary school, it deprived their heirs of a certain age for apprenticeship. This kind of commentary was part of the usual criticism of public education, blaming what it taught students for the lack of practicability. “To make them have interests in their family business,” asserted he, “successors of merchants and farmers, too, are expected to start vocational training when they are still young.”<sup>2</sup>

From the 1890s onward, industrialisation and the growing modern institutions began to undermine the tradition of household industry. Its decline was not necessarily ascribed to economic pressure from the rise of mass production, but to the institutional impasses of its system *per se*. As the commentator implied, the spread of formal education made the established way for succession as well as for learning skills and expertise uncertain. This meant a crisis for the traditional system of family called *ie*, because assured roles and profits by a licenced business served to bind members of the household. What he observed was indeed the vacillation between the *ie* system and other social mechanisms in the production and cultural reproduction of people. Behind it there was a crash of two ambivalent images of human nature. If the *ie* system assumed children to be merely gears or cogs embedded in transactions of the family business, the modern schooling

was a systematic means to give young people a voice inside and outside of the house.

*Modernity at Home* begins with the exploration of this upheaval within the house. First the relationship between the *ie* system and architecture is outlined, to contrast the difference in social patterns in pre-industrial and modern times. Second, by viewing experts' advice on housekeeping and upbringing, I demonstrate how a new code of behaviour began to redefine the family, its members, particularly a woman and children, and the ways in which it dealt with its surroundings and others. Finally the opening chapter examines the intellectual discourses on houses of ordinary people, linking this epistemological change with initial demands for the purposeful design of dwellings.

### **Pre-modernity on the wane**

Family histories of middle-class families with a merchant ancestry, like the Makiokas, normally demonstrated succession down the male line of the first-born boys of merchants destined as heirs to the family business and a family tradition.<sup>3</sup> Marriage was an alliance arranged between families of the same rank, thereby protecting and sustaining their privileges of dealing with licenced transactions.<sup>4</sup> Under the *ie* system, there was no clear-cut boundary between the trade and domestic affairs, and a father's responsibility was diverse, ranging from control of the family's livelihood to management of the household.<sup>5</sup>

Within this production-oriented organisation, headed by the father, married women focused on concerns inside the house although it was considered respectable that the wives of landowning townsmen and farmers did not get directly involved in cooking, washing or cleaning. Such physical labour was instead carried out by live-in maids.<sup>6</sup> Female children were expected to grow up to facilitate and assist the works of their fathers, employees and servants, while others and grandmothers played a key role in their upbringing.<sup>7</sup> To differentiate from women of the lower castes, importance was put on the acquisition of literary skills and accomplishments



Figure 1.1  
Domestic spaces of a townsman's house (S. Nozawa, 1 June 2013)

including the arts of tea ceremony and flower arrangement.<sup>8</sup> Some wealthy tradesmen and farmers had two types of servants according to the kind of housework. One was devoted to the master as a charwoman, and another called *kami-jyochū* worked closely with a mistress in organising family affairs.<sup>9</sup> Girls with a marriage approaching often served the well-to-do families as *kami-jyochū*, to master a set of etiquette and formalities connected to the house.<sup>10</sup>

The reproducibility of life as townsmen had much to do with their daily routines. All members of the household were embedded in a regular pattern of every day production and domestic chores, and the works of all were integral and wholly interconnected. The open-plan arrangement of their houses indeed presumed the communalisation of time and the synchronisation of ritual (figure 1.1). An austere simplicity typified the interior of the pre-modern dwelling, filled with traditional straw mats called *tatami*. This unique floor covering was designed for sitting, lying and every other posture, allowing dwellers to use domestic spaces in various ways. It

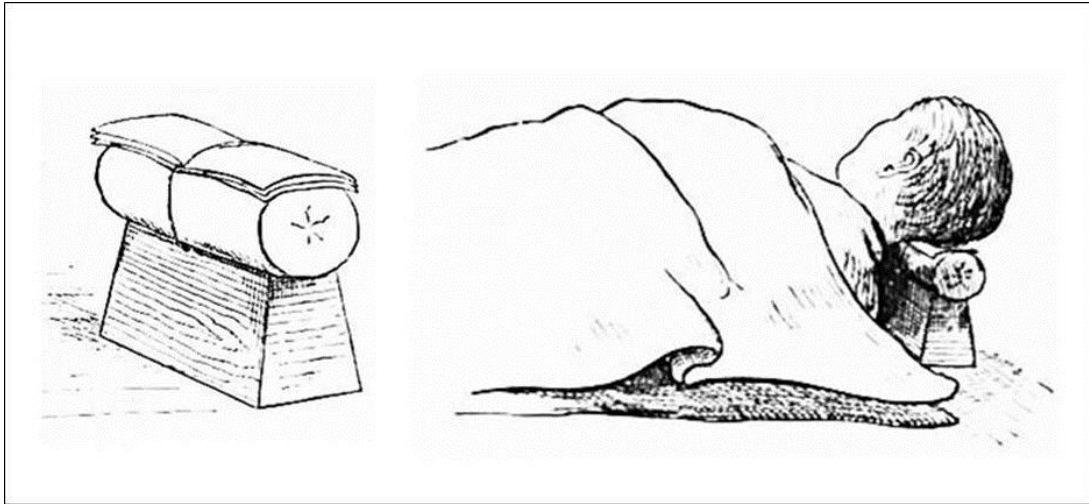


Figure 1.2  
Bedding (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 211-2) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

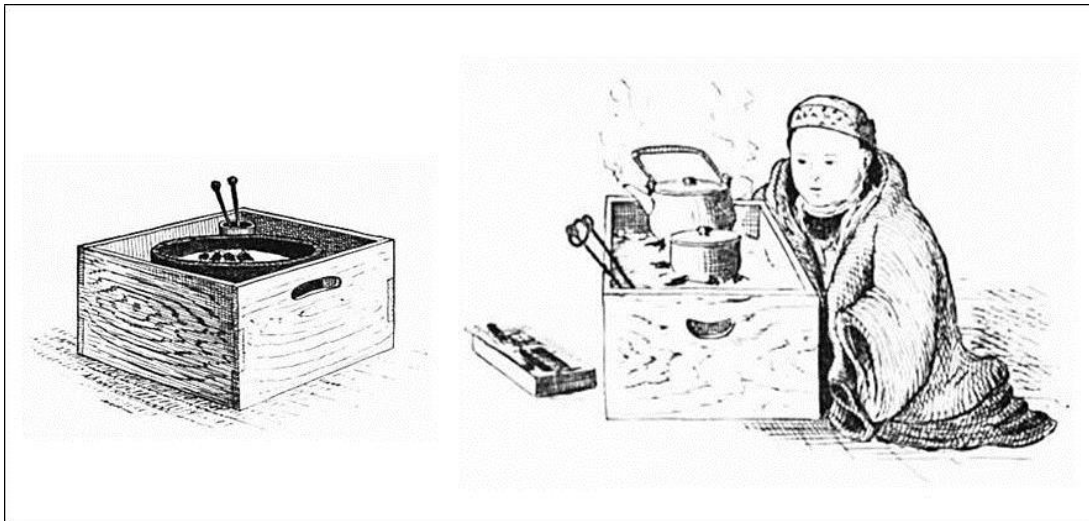


Figure 1.3  
*Hibachi* (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 215-6) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

was highly standardised, serving functionally as a measurement module in architecture.<sup>11</sup> Each rectangular mat had a long side which was twice the length of the short one. For example, a *tatami* in Kyoto and its environs, including Osaka, was 1.824 m<sup>2</sup> in size.<sup>12</sup> Few partitions and fixtures within the interior conveyed information on how to inhabit the house, and instead movable furniture, including dinner trays and beddings, were used at specified times for example, for dining and sleeping (figure 1.2). These were usually stowed in closets built in to the house.<sup>13</sup> In winter, a portable heating device called *hibachi* played an essential role in houses without an equipped



Figure 1.4  
View from the front room of a townsman's house (S. Nozawa, 1 June 2013)

heating system like a fireplace. This contained a small vessel filled with ashes and heated charcoals and was used with a thick thermal cloth serving as a night garment to help dwellers keep warm (figure 1.3).<sup>14</sup> An inherited routine regulated the occurrences, patterns and spaces of the everyday, through which these sets of movable items constantly made *places* where members of the family and servants ought to be.

Whatever the size, which varied by locality, the general characteristics of settlements for merchants and artisans were an array of narrow frontages and long property depths running perpendicular to the street. A house of a landowning merchant normally had a strip of raised floor with *tatamis* along an earthen passage running from the front to rear. Its *tatami* floor contained three areas roughly divided by sliding doors (figure 1.4).<sup>15</sup> In late-eighteenth-century Kyoto, the raised floor of this type of landowning-class townhouse averaged approximately 20-25 *tatamis* or 36.5-45.6 m<sup>2</sup> in size.<sup>16</sup> The front room facing the street was pivotal for trade and production. The merchant-seller used it as a shop by opening sliding doors and a pair of folding shutters

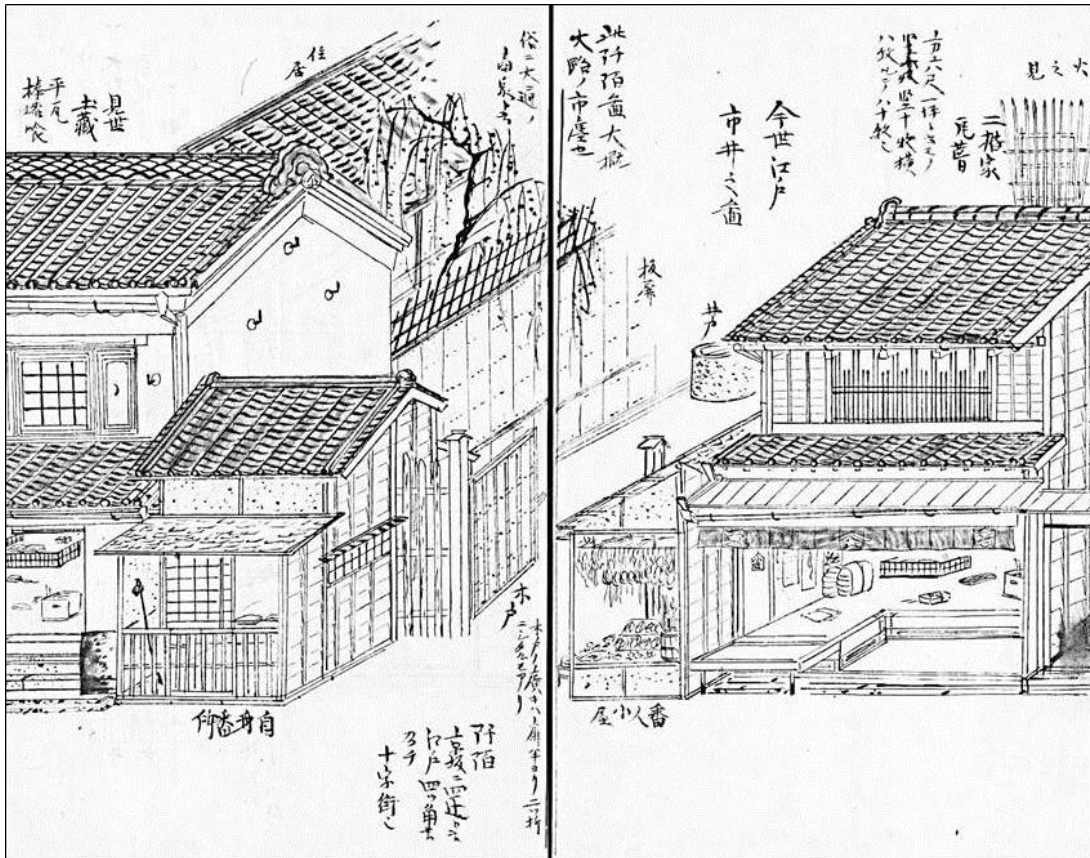


Figure 1.5  
 Shop space of a townsman's house (M. Kitagawa, *Morisada mankō* [Vol. 3], c. 1840, 35) National Diet Library, Tokyo

that covered the front up during the night (figure 1.5).<sup>17</sup> The lower shutter became a stand for display and timber lattices fitted into this opening to bring light into the front room.<sup>18</sup> These screens had originally been used by retired merchants to convert their shops into permanent living spaces, but they became popular amongst wholesale traders, money-lenders and so on, who received visitors in private rather than conducting business ‘over the counter’ (figure 1.6).<sup>19</sup> This room was also used by the live-in clerks and servants of retailers for sleeping (furnished with *tatami* space), unlike the front room of a craftsman’s dwelling which had an exposed earth floor equipped with tools for manufacturing.<sup>20</sup>

The earthen passage called *tōriniwa* which the Makioka sisters repudiated for its dimness had a semi-open roof and was unpanelled. The provided access to the rear, to a storage and to the privy in the backyard, and was functionally undecorated. In fact, the *tōriniwa* came with a cooking stove fuelled by charcoal and firewood, a well and water trough, and was an





Figure 1.6  
Exterior of a townsman's house (S. Nozawa, 7 June 2013)



Figure 1.7  
*Tōriniwa* (S. Nozawa, 1 June 2013)

area where servants spent all day on preparing meals and washing clothes.<sup>21</sup> Smoke from the stove was exhausted through a skylight and high window (figure 1.7).<sup>22</sup> As well as lighting the *tōriniwa*, these served to cast light into the *tatami*-room in the middle of the house.<sup>23</sup> The custom of leaving open the wooden doors which divided the *tatami* rooms from the earthen floored service space was not only for lighting but also for serving food.<sup>24</sup> The central room between acted as a dining area, bringing the whole family, clerks and servants together.<sup>25</sup> Unlike the *tōriniwa*, it was finished with ornamentation. In cold regions, ceiling panels and shutters to screen it from traffic on the *tōriniwa* were largely omitted.<sup>26</sup> Instead, this space being converted into a dining room was open and floor boarded and included a sunken hearth.<sup>27</sup> At mealtimes the clerks and servants were able to enter the space, but otherwise only the spouse was customarily licenced to continue to occupy the room at other times.<sup>28</sup> Its openness enabled her to receive callers and to coordinate the sewing, cleaning and other tasks assisting the work of her husband.

By custom, the back room was defined as a living space for the merchant and his wife, or for their elderly relatives. An impression of depth here was reinforced by a fixed wall along the *tōriniwa*, giving a sense of isolation from the practical world.<sup>29</sup> This might also be connected with a perceived value of the space spiritually: this was the solemnest and stateliest room used sporadically for reception and ceremonial gatherings.<sup>30</sup> In houses where the attic had enough space to create a furnished room, a guest room was often made just above it.<sup>31</sup> Whichever the floor, the sumptuary laws developed a 'hidden' architectural practice where the costly interior décor for occasions with formality was concealed in the most recessed areas from the street.<sup>32</sup> The upstairs room to the front served as a store and bedroom for the live-in clerks.<sup>33</sup> In Kyoto and its adjacent regions, latticework covered openings to the first floor to avoid 'looking down on' people at higher ranks of the caste.<sup>34</sup> In other words, the domestic rituals of townsmen as well as feudalism shaped the uniform design of the exterior of their dwellings.

This household-based society was deeply rooted in polytheistic cosmologies mixing up indigenous animistic worships within the Shinto and Buddhist faiths. This spiritual world of order determined seasonal events and business customs. For example, Osaka tradesmen closed their shops for the

summer festivals of the shrines held in every July.<sup>35</sup> Their gratitude to gods and nature spirits was expressed by sprinkling the entrances of their houses with water, thereby ‘purifying’ paths leading to the shrines.<sup>36</sup> A major housecleaning was part of sacred rites at the end of the year, making them busy with preparation for New Year.<sup>37</sup> This practice has lost the doctrinal system of justification behind it; nevertheless actions of it *per se* are familiar with the Japanese nowadays. As Douglas indicates, rituals for purification in pre-industrial times were “used as analogies for expressing a general value of the social order.”<sup>38</sup> In maintaining architectural patterns of housing as ways for representation of hierarchy in human relations, the summer watering also had the practical effect of circulating cool air through the *tōriniwa*.<sup>39</sup> The end-of-year cleansing also presumed a reasonable goal, enabling dwellers to sweep away the accumulation of soot built up through the use of a *hibachi* and cooking stove.<sup>40</sup>

If architecture was an indexical expression of institutions, the *fin-de-siècle* façades on streets of urban centres began to exhibit what was happening inside. An increasing number of tradesmen’s dwellings became masked by lattices, suggesting that they no longer operated business as usual.<sup>41</sup> Mass-production industries created a great deal of salaried jobs, luring the labouring population upon which the traditional household industry also relied. Just as the critic at the beginning of this chapter voiced their regret for boatmen and shippers, almost all school-age children became ‘educated’ by teachers early in the twentieth century. The new social climates forced some merchants and artisans to move their trades away from home to expand or to alter their course of business *per se*. Others started settling their families in the peripheries of the cities, continuing to deal with the transactions in their ‘old’ houses.<sup>42</sup> In this respect, the gradual disappearance of the open-plan arrangements of these houses was ascribed to the withdrawal from the *ie* system. This decline of pre-modernity unfastened members of the household from the dwelling, and the father and children gradually harnessed by growing ‘public’ spheres were consequently separated most of the day. Wherever they lived, it also affected the lives of married women whose husbands earned enough money to cover living expenses of

the whole families. In the houses without the bustle of household industry, they began to ‘wait’ for the husbands and children to come back.

### **Redefinition of life**

Fears aroused by the breakdown of the *ie* system led the elites to rediscover women as guardians to maintain and reincarnate families as institutions.<sup>43</sup> The growth in women’s publications including advice manuals and periodicals targeting middle-class readers was a direct response to the changing nature of family relations. These readings were full of new ways of housekeeping suggested by home economists and educators, reshaping the role of housewifery. An increasing number of their attempts to set up schools for women’s post-compulsory education also had much to do with this trend.<sup>44</sup> A girl’s high school was designed to make middle-class daughters more industrious in housework, offering various curriculums on how to manage domestic affairs which were likely to be deindustrialised.<sup>45</sup> The Ministry of Education endorsed their nongovernmental efforts to establish such practical education for the particular gender groups, and began to set up girl’s high schools throughout the country in 1899.<sup>46</sup> A view voiced by the education minister: “Good Wife, Wise Mother” was perhaps the generalised image of modern wifehood held by the experts and national elites at that time.

In the imagination of these experts, the completion of domestic chores was women’s life mission. According to leading female home economist Utako Shimoda, housework was “a calling which ladies must discharge throughout their lives.”<sup>47</sup> In his *Home Economics*, Hikohachi Yamazaki also argued the duties of housewives, asserting that they “are responsible for keeping up with all housework in order.”<sup>48</sup> Much advice in the women’s press insisted that the inherent characters of females: gentleness, sincerity and affectionateness made it possible for them to methodically operate a broad range of domestic affairs. A manual co-authored by Tsuneko Hoshi and Yoshiko Nakajima stressed the superiority of the female’s ability to handle day-to-day activities:

Affable and mild-mannered natures ladies have are suitable for looking after the elderlies and children. Humble and scrupulous attitudes they have are adequate to manage the family budget, to care for the sick, and to deal with burdensome chores in clothing and cooking. In fact, their dedicated and patient characters undoubtedly enable them to work out a number of housework given to them.<sup>49</sup>

The elites' interpretation of conjugal relationship did no longer presume the interconnectedness of labour and chores in the *ie*, but draw a sharp distinction between them along gender lines. It was taken for granted that a male partner spent much time outside of the house directly involved in economic and political life. The female partner was meanwhile expected to deal entirely with domestic affairs all day. This dichotomy transformed a married woman from an adjunct of the economic household system into a player with more domestic autonomy. To shed light on the women's jurisdiction within the house, an analogy to the ministers' power of the country was repeatedly appearing in the advice literature. Chikukō Nishikōri, the author of *A Textbook of Household Management* and the female educator, explained that "the Emperor is to the ministers being entrusted with state affairs what the father is to the mother being put in charge of domestic affairs."<sup>50</sup> Following this logic, a principal of a girl's high school Osamu Miyata explained the changing women's responsibility in *Women's Companion*:

Mistresses in the past ... had only to follow their customs on budgeting, due to their fixed and stable incomes. Wherever the rank, wives in our day have to manage everything: expenditures and savings within the extents of the salaries their husbands receive. ... Thus, a housewife adequate for a modern society is expected to have splendid dignity as if she were the prime minister. Within the house, she is responsible for family finances as the Exchequer; she becomes the education minister in nurturing and educating; relationships with neighbours must be dealt with as the foreign minister; she plays a key role in hygiene maintenance as the Home Secretary; conflicts among family members are addressed as the Minister for Justice. Her duties within the house have become wider and more responsible than before.<sup>51</sup>

The middle-class women were however unlikely to be overwhelmed by the number of 'professionalised' qualifications of "Good Wife, Wise Mother." That was because, as previously illustrated, all members of the family were

more or less engaged in housework inseparable from business under the *ie* system. Mistresses of better-off families employed and relied largely upon live-in maids in cooking, washing and cleaning, and were thus far from all kinds of physical labours. By the late-nineteen century, shopping was rarely embedded in a wife's routine. Instead, daily necessities and miscellaneous goods were supplied by door-to-door peddlers from streets.<sup>52</sup> With little attention to recipe and menus, a mistress and maids customarily served a small repertoire of meals.<sup>53</sup> In contrast to such entrenched rituals, the alternative manners of housewifery as envisioned by the elites were much more active and selective. With an increasing number of social expectations as defined by Miyata imposed upon the middle-class wives, there was a pressure to make appropriate social choices. Motoko Hani's article *How to alter clothing, food and housing of the middle-class families* was a response to 'difficulties' they confronted:

If you spend a lot of time on cleaning and sewing, you would run out of time to buy fresh cooking ingredients [in stores]. Even though you know food stuffs are available at cheap price in shops a bit far from your house, street vendors would continue to make you lazy. In this way, you make the same choices over and over again; dishes you cook are becoming poor in variety. Finally you would be trapped in a vicious circle for paying less attention to the quality of food. ... By shortening the time for cleaning and sewing, you are expected to take much time to consider about what your family eat, and to enrich a variety of recipes more seriously. I highly encourage you to serve more delicious dinner to your husband.<sup>54</sup>

Thus, the competence to handle domestic chores in an efficient way was viewed as an indispensable requisite for the ideal woman. Discipline and orderliness must be secured through which sets of daily routine were controlled by timekeeping (figure 1.8). The strict ordering of time in domestic routine was considered to be a moral principle.<sup>55</sup> Not a father but mistress became responsible for allocating herself, children and maids to particular tasks and studies, and all of them were required to be punctual and industrious in the daytime. Exhibiting a sample daily-weekly timetable, *A Guide to Housekeeping* by Shinsaku Kanzawa suggested how to manage times for cleaning, washing, sewing, calling and bathing regularly.<sup>56</sup> The growing importance of women's domestic autonomy can also be interpreted



Figure 1.8  
 “A day of a young wife: A case of Dr Miyake’s wife” (*Fujin no tomo*, June 1911, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

(1) After cleaning with a maid in the morning, (2) I have usually read about half an hour. (3) A peddler’s cry makes me start thinking about a dinner, (4) and I am doing the laundry in the garden by noon.

from the appearance of an increasing awareness of the equality between men and women. To Christian social reformers, marking off women's jurisdiction over domestic affairs was a means to enable the female population to counterbalance the prevailing patriarchy crystallised by the Meiji Civil Code of 1898.<sup>57</sup> The Code was censured for its recognition of the excessive rights of the head of family to control the family assets, properties of his spouse and even her social contracts including the approval of marriage.<sup>58</sup> The proposed institution that gave fathers and mothers their own socially acknowledged tasks was thought as a mechanism through which married women would be ideally equalised before God.<sup>59</sup> Thus, the feminists and Christian reformers who were tackling the institutional barrier to the equal right of female agreed with the imagery of "Good Wife, Wise Mother." Indeed, they fully understood that the empowerment of women inevitably accompanied by a sort of professional training made it possible for them to be recognised as the 'individuals' eligible for full inclusion in the modern state.<sup>60</sup> Passages of Kanzawa's manual explicitly prove a view generally held by the elites who underlined the division of the roles played by the two sexes:

In the law [of family circle] it is recognised that a man is working outside, whilst a woman is staying in the house to do. Male's duties [to earn money] are essential [for family life]; female's roles [to cope with domestic chores] are also equally crucial. The efforts made by the both sexes would set up their families. Thus, there is no hierarchy between the two different kinds of responsibilities which they deal with separately. With much attention and dignity, housewives should be consciously aware of their domestic authorities.<sup>61</sup>

In other words, the redefinition of housewifery meant that an unprecedented ethical underpinning of Japanese society – individualism – was simultaneously disseminated into the house.

The imagery of childhood was also affected substantially by this Western ideology. In the discourses of the home economists and educators, how to initiate younger members of the family into occupational skills, wisdom and expertise no longer mattered. The elites instead placed much importance on how to foster their spirit of independence within the house. The term "education (*kyōiku*)" in their mouths then contained much wider meanings than a merely systematic means of knowledge transmission. It



implied a civilising message, ranging from academic training at school to a sort of acculturation that, by teaching children codes of conduct, brought them up to be ‘individuals’. “Education (*kyōiku*),” Hoshi and Nakajima argued in the child-rearing section of their housekeeping manual, “is aimed at cultivating moral character inevitable for being a member of a [modern] society as well as at providing a body of knowledge necessary for an individualised way of life.”<sup>62</sup> Upbringing and supervising youngsters were thus conceptually included in the whole process of *kyōiku*. In the elite’s view, moral ‘education’ in early life was intended to be launched by parents (figure 1.9).

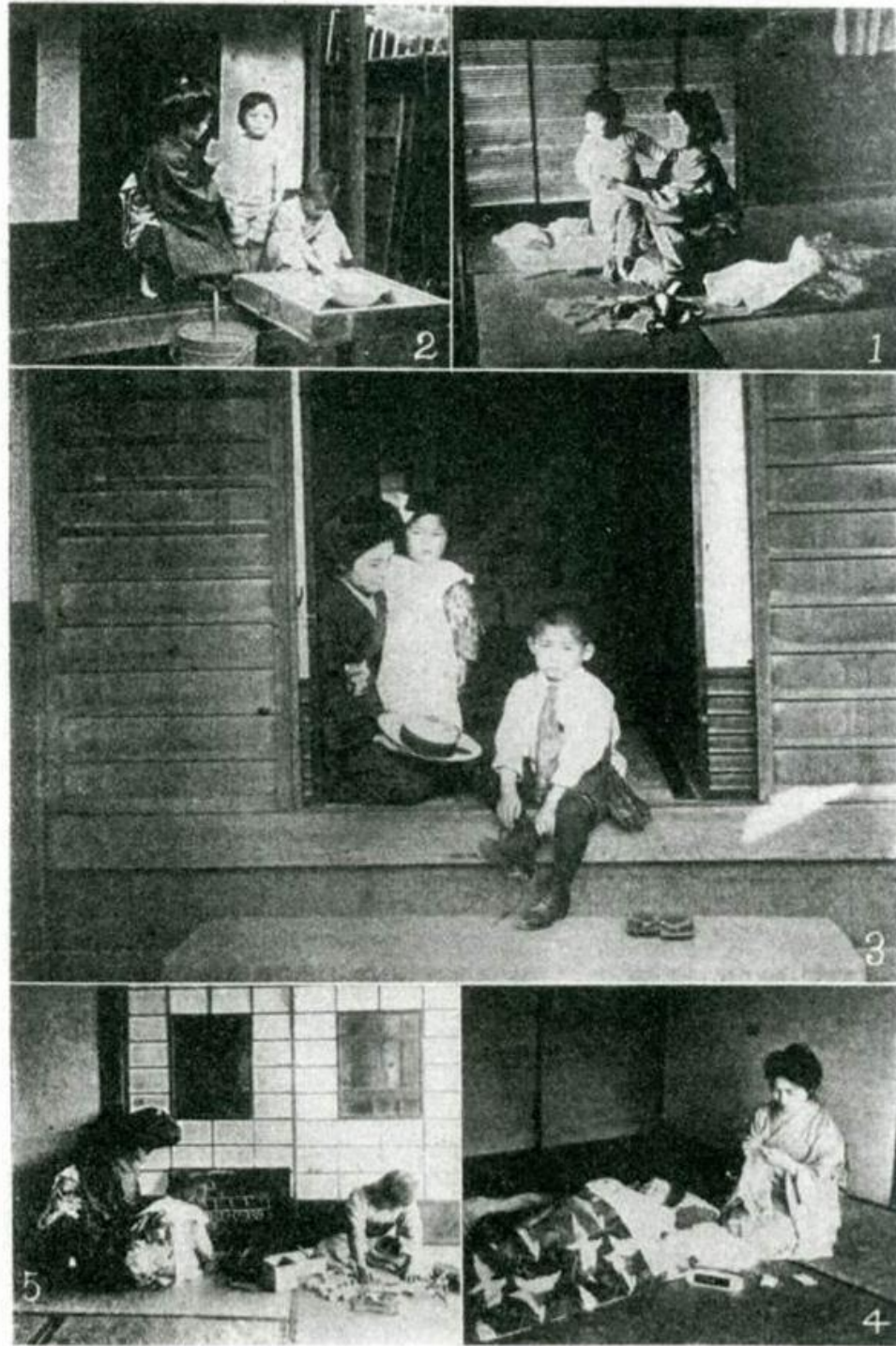
A growing awareness of individualism and individuality put emphasis on quality of surroundings within the world of juveniles. Explicit in the experts’ accounts was the assumption that infants were intrinsically immaculate and unpolluted, and there was a new idea that the greater part of personality was constructed through day-to-day interactions with external environments. Hence caring for the relationship between children and their surroundings was central to moral improvement which was part of the responsibilities particularly of mothers.<sup>63</sup> They were expected to be involved in child-rearing, maintaining proximity to their sons and daughters. Children’s demeanours were viewed as the mirrors of mothers’ attitudes towards them. According to female home economist Takako Kaetsu:

[Children’s] abilities to mature spiritual well-being, to pursue self-development, and to stand up for themselves, all of them are fairly affected by their mothers. The mothers’ states of minds contribute much to their physiological conditions; the mothers’ characters have direct influences on their personality buildings.<sup>64</sup>

Eitaro Ōnishi, the author of *How to Manage Your House*, was also alert to the magnitude of parental influence in etiquette: “If your children behave rudely outside, [not they but] you would be blamed for your discourtesy.”<sup>65</sup>

The kind of people and materials surrounding children accordingly become subject to monitoring and modification. The experts persistently warned that hiring housemaids with different upbringings would be a channel on which vice, wickedness and impurity were brought into the family. A careful choice of servants was markedly stressed to prevent children from

若き母親の一日 (醫學士某氏夫人)



(1) 機織よく起きる。きものを着かへさせる。(2) 顔洗ひ、冷水摩擦。(3) 食事がすむと、兄は幼稚園へ、かあさん、行つて  
 来ます。(4) 静かな午前を、妹はお晝寝、可愛い寝顔を見ながら編物をする。(5) やがて目をさます。幼稚園からも歸つて  
 来る。暫く二人でおとなしく遊ぶ。黒板に汽車の繪をかいて見せる。

Figure 1.9  
 "A day of a young mother" (*Fujin no tomo*, July 1911, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

(1) First I make my children change their clothes (2) and wash their faces in the morning. (3) The boy is going to a kindergarten after a breakfast, (4) and I start sewing along my daughter having a nap. (5) She is waiting her brother for coming back to play with.

“having an aptitude to vice,” as Shimoda feared.<sup>66</sup> Whilst providing toys was recommended as a response to children’s natural desire to play, colours, shapes and functions of what they saw and handed were meticulously prescribed with considerations concerning possible psychological impact. Hoshi and Nakajima conceived that “playing with toys is a source of amusement, whose process is essential for development of senses.”<sup>67</sup> Advice from Nishikōri was meanwhile “to choose an aesthetically-balanced toy with respect to its form, colouration and sound effect.”<sup>68</sup> It could be considered that, beneath the eyes of the elites, the traditional open-plan dwelling that was designed for interconnected manners of every day was full of risk and danger to the raising of ‘individuals’.

The home economists and educators perceived the house as a place to prepare for attending school. They insisted that an actual framework for child-rearing within the house could be attained by being consistent with the ethos of formal education. In her textbook *Home Economics in Practice*, Hamako Tsukamoto exhorted its readers “to bring up your boys and girls to have a great respect for teachers.”<sup>69</sup> An adherence to its ways for “education (*kyōiku*)” in a broader sense was underlined in many commentaries like Nishikōri’s below, to maximise the social benefit of the public schooling:

It is not until the close association between teachers and parents is effectively enhanced that the goal of the public education would be achieved at all. Hence the guideline as well as rules of the school should be fully appreciated even within the house. Meanwhile, teachers are responsible for taking a close look at students’ family situations, to share the same educational principles together.<sup>70</sup>

A dwelling of ordinary people at that time had a completely different arrangement from that of the school, however. According to Giddens’s discourse on the modern school, youngsters were expected to perform a structured routine moulded by a particular set of purpose-built spaces and so to acquire the self-governing ability to constitute the framework of their lives.<sup>71</sup> One which school-age children began to bring back to their houses was perhaps a compartmentalised daily routine.

In fact, many features of the advice literature focused much on how to awake children to a sense of self-reliance and personal care that was

internalised and repeatedly reinforced in the school (figure 1.10 and 11). Some of them were practical examples displayed by upper- and middle-class women like Mrs Nishimaki, one of the main contributors of *Women's Companion* in its embryonic period. In her *The Everyday Lives of My Children*, she reported her persistent efforts to inspire her children to comply with the strict principle of daily life: waking up early, keeping things in order, studying after school, and so on.<sup>72</sup> The wife of a professor of medicine, Mrs Kato had encouraged her three children to take their initiatives in putting their garments and school uniforms in their chests of drawers and managing the sets of bedding within their rooms.<sup>73</sup> In this way, her daughter “began to tie her hair up on her own at the age of eleven,” and she was thus so delighted at “one less thing to worry about in the busy morning.”<sup>74</sup> She had given pocket money to her sons and daughter regularly in reminding them the importance of saving and careful consideration on how to use it:

I want to allow my children to buy what they want freely because pocket money is not given just to set aside. But I have always urged them to avoid using it up to get something with which they might get bored soon. I would persuade them to choose the most beneficial ways of using their money. As a result, the boys have found interest in a bicycle and a phonograph cylinder, and my daughter has usually bought her hair accessories for daily use.<sup>75</sup>

It is possible to consider that the school system was the centre of a disturbance in a changing social structure. Whilst it undermined routes to vocational training and succession in the family business, the elites wanted houses with children to have new roles as places of “education (*kyōiku*).” As if they were classrooms, the realms of family life were expected to facilitate children’s involvement in individualised daily routines that they learnt at school. If they were treated as individuals, physical and psychological environments should be re-designed to seal and compartmentalise their lives. The fact that the offspring became conceptually more immaculate and innocent implied a protective nature of planning and house design in the future.

Meanwhile, the end-of-the-century structural change in production and education caused a servant shortage among the middle classes, calling for alteration of the master-servant relationship. A decline in the number of



Figure 1.10  
 “A day of a girl (in the morning)” (*Fujin no tomo*, August 1911, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

(1) Watering is a daily task of the sisters in every morning. (2) They are dressing themselves, (3) and going to the school with the neighbourhood children. (4) After school they have always talked to their mother about what they learnt there.

少 女 の 一 日

(6)いつものやうに、三十分のおさらひが済むと、(7)姉妹三人、きものをきかへて、おばさんの家へ遊びに行く。(8)夕方歸つて、お膳立てのお手つだひ。一家團樂、樂しき夕飯の後は、お話ししたり、唱歌をうたつり、(9)八時半には、きものを叠んで、ヨボンを外して、とうさま、かあさま、おやすみなさいと挨拶して、罪なき平和の眠りに入る。



Figure 1.11  
 “A day of a girl (in the afternoon)” (*Fujin no tomo*, August 1911, frontispiece)  
 National Diet Library, Tokyo

(6) The sisters study half an hour every day in the house (7) before going out to see their aunt. (8) They are coming back to have a dinner with the whole family, (9) and going to beds by half past eight in the evening.

servants was associated with the growth of mass production, creating thousands of opportunities to be salaried free agents.<sup>76</sup> Being live-in maids was not so attractive for young women who were no longer better off than their predecessors. The custom of sending female children with a marriage approaching to the houses of prestigious merchants as *kami-jyochū* was also disappearing. To receive premarital instructions, middle-class daughters began to attend an increasing number of girl's high schools instead of going to other *ie*. During this transformation, the hierarchal relationship of wife and live-in maids became that of employer and employees under social contracts.

As a result, a discord between the stereotyped expectation of the quality of maids and the new type of hired help became acute. A solution suggested by the experts was to reform employers' ways of thinking. In fact, ladies who still treated live-in maids with arrogance were sharply blamed for their feudalistic attitudes. "Some of you may intend to use housemaids like slaves," criticised Tsukamoto, "but that is nonsense. The principle of equality must be applied not only for you and your husband but also for them as the same human beings."<sup>77</sup> Then, the home economists and educators exhorted middle-class wives to be generous and loving to servants (figure 1.12). Yamazaki reprimanded those who abused their authorities, reminding them that "high esteem and respectful affection make maids serve faithfully."<sup>78</sup> Kanzawa explicated the vicissitudes of the wife-maid relationship in a contemporary society, to persuade the readers of his advice manual to recognise housemaids as individuals:

Some with money employ, whilst others without money are employed. But there is no status difference between them, which is apparently light and shade [at this moment]. The rich might possibly become penniless and hired by someone. Meanwhile, the poor would have a good chance to work their ways up and take on servants in the future. Such an employer-employee relationship has ever shifted. Indeed, those being hired are by no means of low position.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, the employment of maids began to entail a need for enhancement of skills in staff management. The women's press conveyed a number of tips and hints on it, instructing how to choose potential live-in maids; how to sign contracts with them; how to give their payments and



Figure 1.12

Mrs Kato working with a maid (*Fujin no tomo*, October 1911, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

extra bonuses; how to praise them for their diligence, and so on. Among other things, attention should be paid to the early stage of recruitment. It was considered that mistresses had to acquaint newcomers with their own ‘rules’ of family affairs by demonstrating the desirable patterns of housework at first hand. Since “each family has its own preference in etiquette,” urged Nishikōri, “you should familiarise new maids with ways in which your family does things: [for example,] how to look after the elderlies and children; how to clean the rooms; how to arrange recipes.”<sup>80</sup> At the same time, the experts warned that a slack discipline and lack of control in the house allows servants to show rebellious attitudes towards their masters. Shimoda exhorted ladies to display the excellent role models as ideal housekeepers through active engagements with a range of housework in a favourable manner.<sup>81</sup> “As a result,” she added, “your maids begin to respect your politeness and attempt to follow the same way as you do.”<sup>82</sup>

Along with the discovery of sensitivity to others, the search for productivity through master-servant cooperation had something to do with the emergence of a new consent between them. Maids’ labour was hoped to



be routinised under the system of timekeeping as everyday lives of members of the family were ordered in the same way.<sup>83</sup> The commentators' assumption that free time must be regularly given to live-in maids was rooted implicitly in the idea of management that rest and ease made their work more efficient and methodical.<sup>84</sup> Little advice on how to treat them in out-of-hours was seen in the women's press, but Tsukamoto's textbook praised a case in which a mistress of a better-off family never interrupted free activities of a maid after dinner.<sup>85</sup> This indicated that the transition from the conventional master-subordinate relationship to employer-employee one made the experts find a new rule of etiquette between mistresses, or kinship members of the family, and servants – that was privacy.

Furthermore, this unprecedented ethical issue altered the elites' attitudes towards the relationship between family and others, conceptually altering the customary practice of paying calls. Callers customarily visited friends, relatives and neighbours without any appointments. Hosts nevertheless treated even unexpected visitors with refreshment, drink and dinner generously.<sup>86</sup> Such an unscheduled visit was likely to clash with family routines now much more ordered by the rule of timekeeping. Advice in the women's literature urged readers to call between lunch and dinner times, in which hosts were supposed to be relatively free. In her manual, Takako Kaetsu defined 1-5pm as agreeable hours for calling, warning that "you must decline to visit in early morning, evening and mealtimes."<sup>87</sup> To avoid disrupting routines of the family of a host, callers were expected not to take much time for visit. "If a host is not really familiar with you," Shimoda exhorted, "don't stay for a long time."<sup>88</sup> Advice of Kaetsu was, too, that "as you finish something you want, it would make more sense for you to go back immediately."<sup>89</sup>

It could be considered that these instructions for ways to interact with others were rooted in their changing perceptions towards the self and family relations. In their view, each member of the family, servants and guests were no longer embedded in and labelled by the *ie* system and feudalism. Instead, a person was de-communalised and individualised, and expected to constitute self by internalising an environment appropriate to their age, sex, and social status. Productivity, timekeeping and privacy became alternative

ways for people to become atomised at all levels of society including inside the house. The *fin de siècle* circumstances marked married women out for coordinators named “Good Wife, Wise Mother” within their houses. Middle-class women were in particular guided to acquire the self- and personnel-management skills necessary for efficient housekeeping and hiring employees. Perhaps, they, as parents, became sharply aware of the difference between what *they* were and their children, who were, through compulsory education had morphed into individuals. As industrialisation and bureaucratisation began to mould the public spheres, the family as an institution became an independent world involving a compartmentalised everyday.

### **Compartmentalisation and domestic architecture**

The critique of domestic architecture echoed the search for a new way of life in a post-*ie* society, and was at first expressed by social commentators. They claimed that the usual design of a house was becoming inconvenient, implying the need for alteration of building practices.<sup>90</sup> For example, novelist Rohan Kōda’s call for housing reform played a vital role in attracting architects’ attention to dwellings of ordinary people.<sup>91</sup> His focus was particularly on the betterment of “the nature of the relationship between houses and people.”<sup>92</sup> He remarked, in his article *Dwelling* of 1897, that the emerging trend of cutting off a shop and office from a dwelling was practically agreeable to contemporary life.<sup>93</sup> In his view, this allowed dwellers to have more peaceable domestic environments and to enjoy a sense of ease.<sup>94</sup> He believed that the typical *ie* house form would be undone, and “the land of beauty for refuge” was in turn necessary.<sup>95</sup>

Such discussion through non-architectural journalism made architects go beyond their limited field of work. Initially, they showed little interest in housing, focusing entirely on the design of public facilities including government agencies, factories and banks in the formative period of Japanese architectural education starting from 1877.<sup>96</sup> Building activities for ordinary people were conventionally undertaken by the conservative

profession of carpentry that handled and bequeathed its traditional skills and expertise from generation to generation through the *ie* system. The indifference of college-trained architects toward everyday life stemmed from their sense of mission. They believed that their academic knowledge and competence were expected to be devoted to the demonstration of Japan's national power as well as the building of a 'nation-state'.<sup>97</sup> An increasing attention to dwelling as 'architecture' led to direct criticism of the older tradition of wisdom and competence transmitted through apprenticeship and the cultural reproduction of built form and style. In their view, carpentry was slow to move, and heavily reliant upon learned experience. Instead, architects systematically applying science and a theoretical understanding of things, would make more positive changes, and were better able to manage the latest transformation of life and society. Shigetsura Shiga, the professor of architecture at Tokyo Institute of Technology, was proud of architects' talents for modernity, asserting that "a result of the application of laws of beauty" and "scientific basis" was "not surpassed by a product of experience."<sup>98</sup>

Architects pointed their fingers of blame not only at the long, narrow townhouse recalled by Kōda's accounts. Their condemnation was also directed toward the urban detached house with spacious garden, which still continued to meet the ruling-caste rituals of a pre-1868 society. This style of building *per se* was a sign of high prestige before the Restoration, housing the family of a warrior called *samurai* (figure 1.13). As well as other types of house, it had an open-plan arrangement, and was designed for rulers' services involving reception. The floor space of a dwelling of this caste was hierarchically diverse, but a 45-*tatami* residence sketched by American zoologist Edward Morse in late-nineteenth-century Tokyo was thought to be typical of a relatively lower-ranked *samurai* house (figure 1.14).<sup>99</sup>

This orthodox detached house was an embodiment of "blue-blooded psyche" for which Shiga criticised its design.<sup>100</sup> It was fairly distinguished by an imposing vestibule, consisting of *tatami*-mat spaces serving as a hall, waiting room and guest rooms. The array of them was a backdrop of ceremonial reception, and this feature was uniform, unaffected by rank.<sup>101</sup> The feudal culture allowed only the master and honoured guest to go through

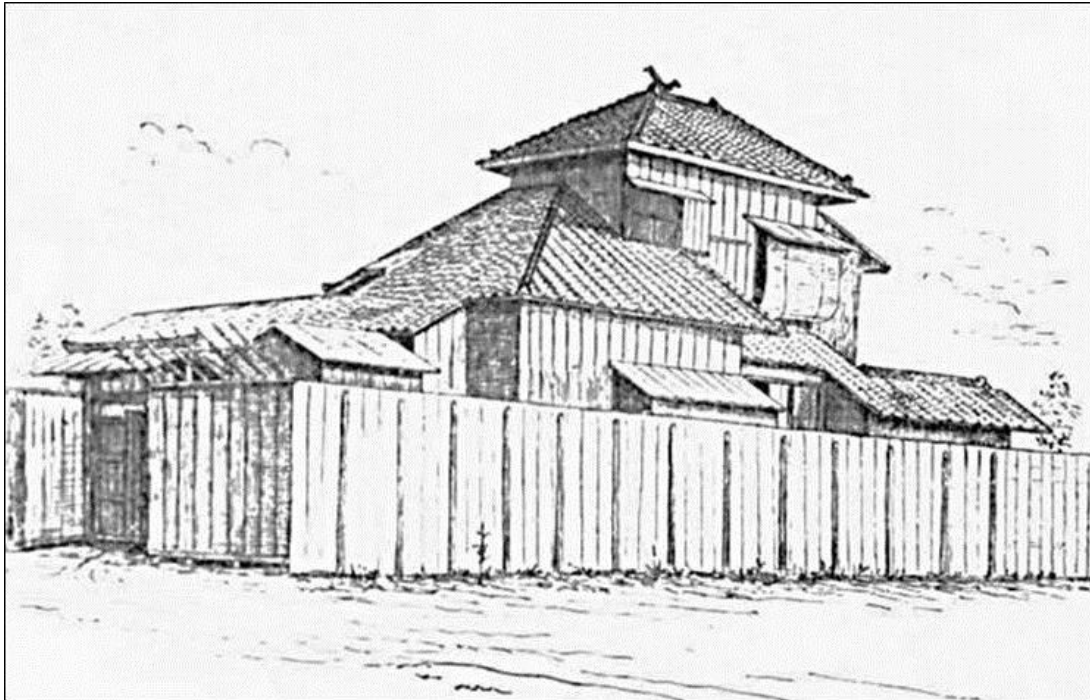


Figure 1.13  
 Exterior of an orthodox detached house (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 54) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

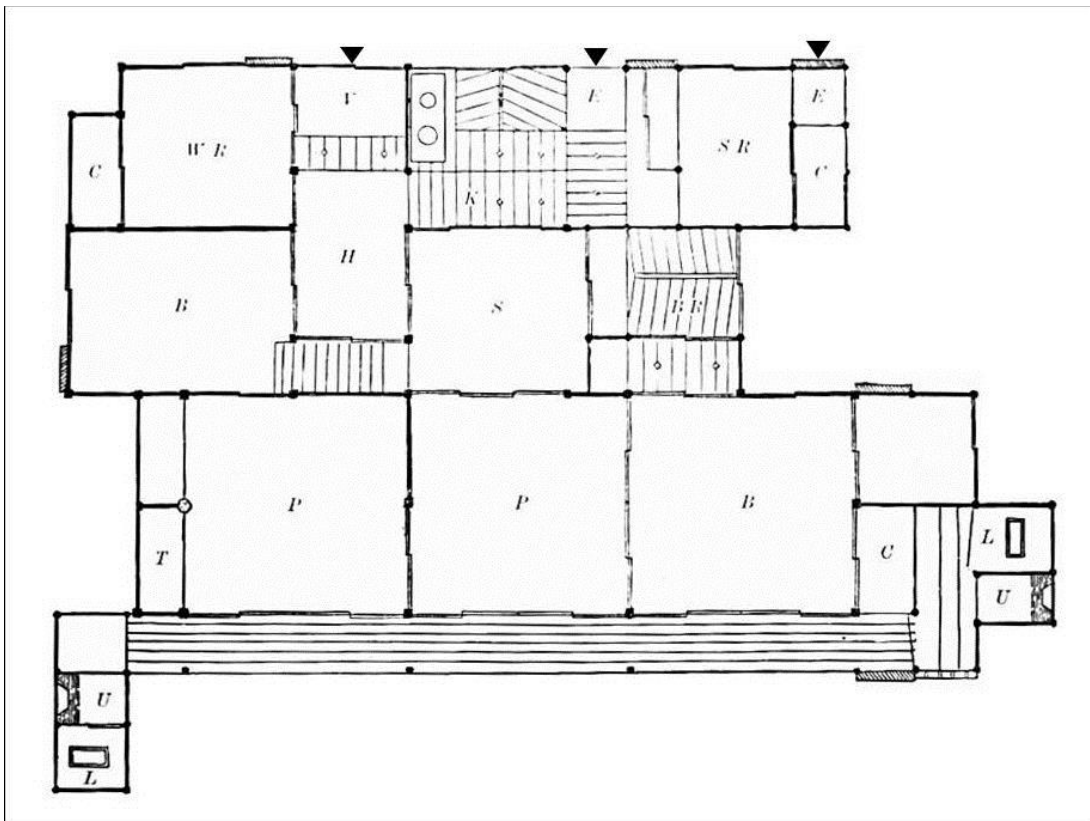


Figure 1.14  
 Plan of an orthodox detached house (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 116) (B: bedroom; BR: bathroom; C: closet; E: side entrance; H: hall; K: kitchen; P: *zashiki*; SR: servants' room; T: *tokonoma*; U and L: toilet; V: vestibule; WR: waiting room) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

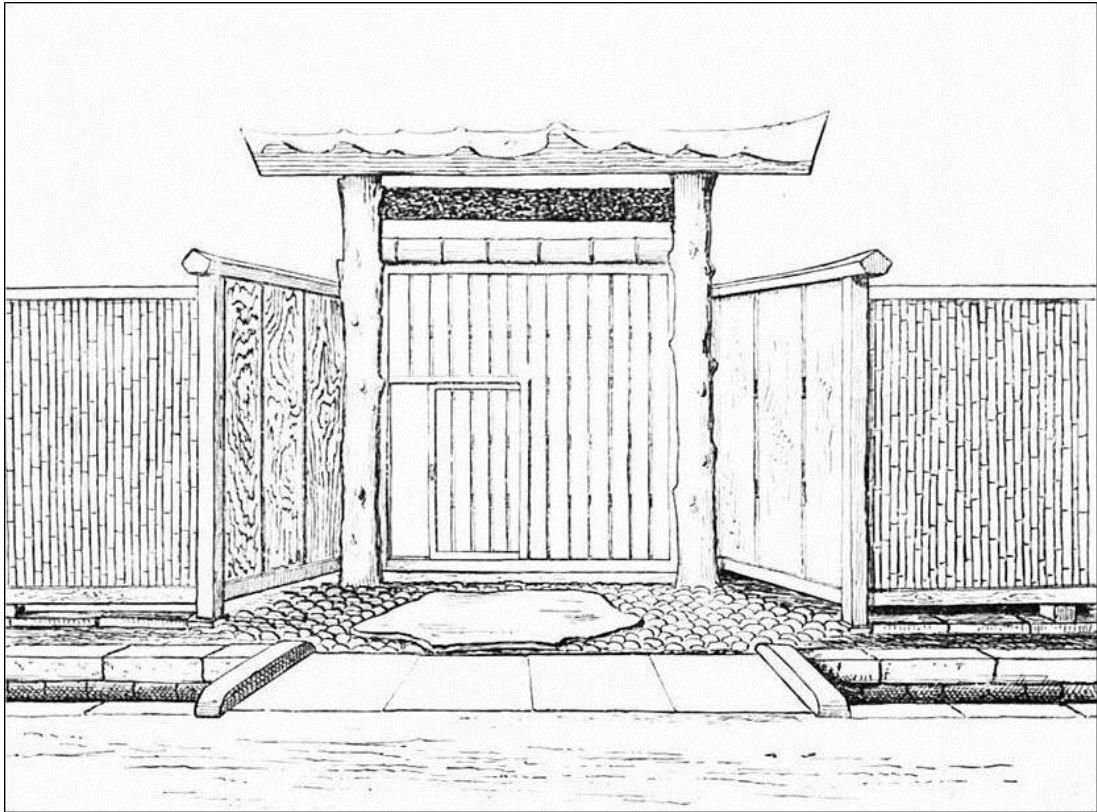


Figure 1.15  
Gate of an orthodox detached house (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 258) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

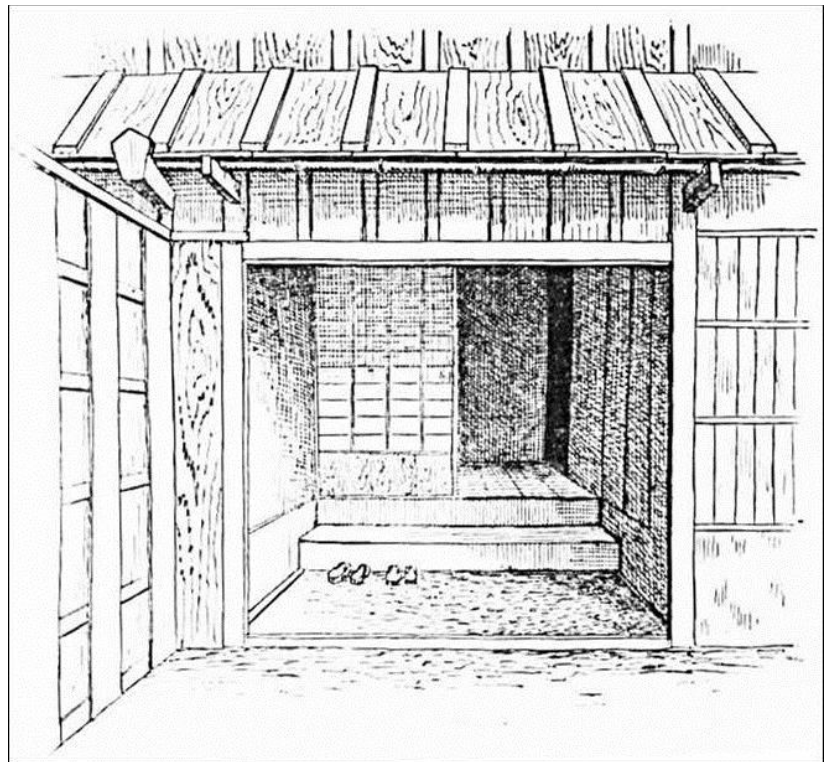


Figure 1.16  
Vestibule of an orthodox detached house (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 236) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

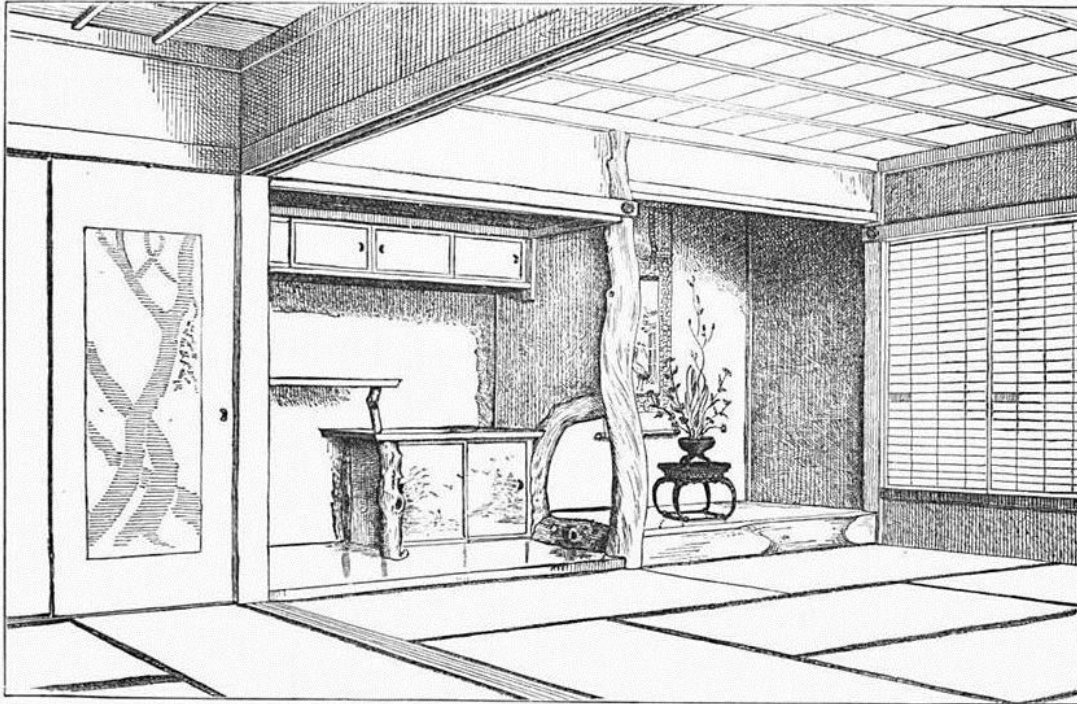


Figure 1.17  
*Chigaidana* (left) and *Tokonoma* (right) (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 109) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

the vestibule and hall (figure 1.15). Other members of the family, servants and even some callers lower in rank ritually got inside the house from different doors. The entrance with its level change was deeply bound up with the perpetual cultural habit of taking shoes off before stepping on to the raised floor (figure 1.16). All rooms were interconnected and separable only by sliding paper screens, but the two rooms called *zashiki* along the garden were symbolically exceptional. A larger room of the pair of *zashiki* came with recessed fixtures: a *tokonoma* and *chigaidana*, which were indigenously perceived as sacred items (figure 1.17). This set of alcoves dictated hierarchical manners of action and seating order, thereby projecting the feudalistic structure of power in the whole domestic space.<sup>102</sup> Whatever the purpose, the term *zashiki* latterly meant a room with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana*; otherwise, it was used as a synonym of a *tatami* room for reception. The garden adjoining the *zashiki* was also a sheer manifestation of symbolism. Its *raison d'être* was to be acknowledged by guests, with them enjoying its refined horticulture from the *zashiki*.<sup>103</sup> A boarded floor called *engawa* running along the large opening was practically used by guests for access to the toilet adjoining the guest rooms, but was originally constituted

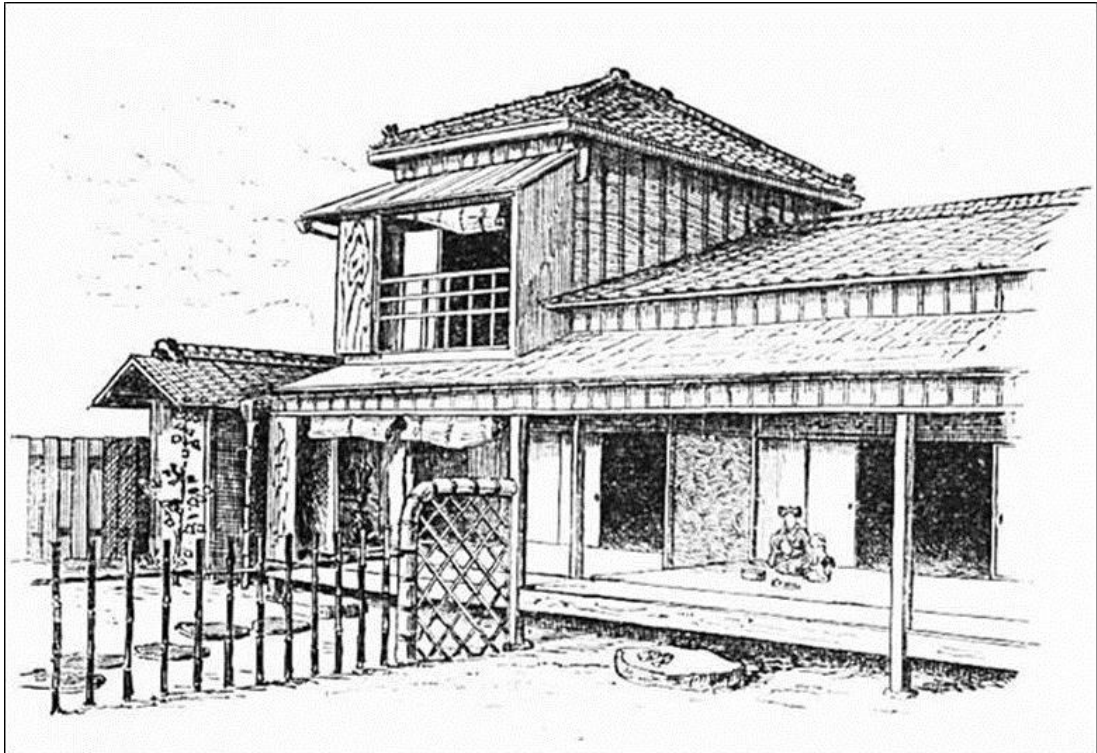


Figure 1.18  
View from the garden of an orthodox detached house (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 55) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

as part of the reception protocol: a psychological threshold dividing the inside from outside of the house (figure 1.18).<sup>104</sup>

Architects' attack on ambiguity in conventional domestic architecture was a reaction caused by the loss of "blue-blooded psyche" *per se*. Without the formality of the *samurai* rites, the symbolic décor lost its primary role in circulating power for control of the body and space. In other words, the regime change made the domestic spaces more purposeless and more ambiguous. As Shiga clarified, it was assumed that the typical design of a house forced dwellers "to keep a sense of hierarchy" and "to control themselves with too much sensitivity" to other members of the family.<sup>105</sup> Architects then had a strong conviction that, unless the function of each room was articulated, more inconvenience would be incurred in the clash of lifestyle resulting from uncertainty.<sup>106</sup> Shiga's insight was presumably grounded upon disorder arising from increasingly compartmentalised members of the family continuing to live in the orthodox open plan house. Thus, he suggested that the use of fixed walls like those in Western

architecture enhanced the common decency to be secret as well as segregation.<sup>107</sup>

Shiga was not alone in expressing fault with indigenous housing forms. Professor of Tokyo Imperial University, Yasushi Tsukamoto, also envisioned a compartmentalised form of domestic architecture, suggesting possible accidents caused by the use of open-plan spaces in contemporary ways:

A [*tatami*-mat] room serving multi-functionally as a guest room, dining room and bed room is apparently expedient. But that is a little bit too much. ... The action of everyday life in a modernised country is becoming more complex, and patterns of behaviour are not always streamlined. For the sake of happiness and harmony, I think one room should be designed to be distinct and devoted to the only single purpose.<sup>108</sup>

The structural imbalance between an accelerating separation of family life and the well-established system of flexible arrangement was indicated by Kenkichi Yahashi, the building construction officer: “The style of traditional architecture as such does not matter. But its arrangement and the framework of the whole building become awkward [for us to live].”<sup>109</sup>

It could be said that the flexible arrangement of a traditional dwelling was a mere fossil of a mirror-like relationship between invisible sets of rituals and visible settings of architecture. But, if each member of the family became compartmentalised in line with cultured rituals, most of the practical problems of an orthodox detached house were associated with indoor traffic. Under the rules of formality, the guest rooms were not expected to be used for any practical purposes.<sup>110</sup> In the house illustrated by Morse, this confined the scope of daily activities in areas being spatially interrupted by rooms for ceremonial reception. Apart from *tatami* spaces, the kitchen is considered to have been open at mealtimes. It consisted of a scullery with an earthen space along the service entrance, and a raised, boarded floor that could be converted into a dining room by the use of dinner trays.<sup>111</sup> Some argue that the conventions espoused by a family with ancestors of *samurai* allowed only the father to have dinner in a *tatami* room, which Morse perceived as a ‘sitting room’, or as a ‘bedroom’ facing the garden.<sup>112</sup> If this bedroom was exclusively of the father, the other members of the family would have slept in a room adjoining the hall and waiting room. Whatever the occupations of



their forefathers were, a compartmentalised family began to find it difficult to reach their toilet next to the garden-side bedroom when the *zashiki* was in use. Then, a mistress and servants served tea and food from the kitchen by opening sliding doors and cutting across the sitting room. In short, with the daily routines of each member of the family becoming increasingly differentiated in the use of time and space, the domestic spaces of the orthodox house was better suited to the older notion of communalised family relations.

This systemic flaw of domestic architecture was largely attributed to a lack of passages in the orthodox house. As the compartmentalisation of daily routines made the system of family life more intricate, much advice in housing began to propose to arrange interior corridors and take advantage of the *engawa* as a passage.<sup>113</sup> “The interior of typical architecture of Japan is extremely immature,” Tsukamoto claimed, “because, in many cases, it forces [us] to pass through one room to go to another.”<sup>114</sup> He articulated his view that the making of spaces for traffic generated through daily routines by means of corridors and *engawa* was “part of the [critical] issues in housing reform.”<sup>115</sup> The absence of passages also affected a degree of mobility in moving between the kitchen and guest rooms for serving refreshments and dinner. Shiga’s speech to AIJ members – arguably most of them male architects – attracted further attention to women’s housework within the house. “What I do wish you would emphasise in designing a house,” he said, “is the fact that, whilst her husband is supposed to take off to work all day, a housewife devotes much time on staying in the house.”<sup>116</sup> Suggesting that the workload of a housewife and damage to her body should be minimised, he exhorted them “to make spaces whereby she could work out everything in an efficient way.”<sup>117</sup> His awareness of the concept of gendered role reflected a new interest in the feminisation of domestic rituals.

In fact, initial responses to a compartmentalised everyday life seen in architectural expressions that encapsulated changing perceptions towards people *per se*. For example, the floor plans designed by Sōtaro Okamoto were of residences for his clients who were presumably wealthy, exhibited in his AIJ lecture in July 1898 (figure 1.19).<sup>118</sup> His works as results of “positive dialogue with clients” no longer contained spaces for working. The

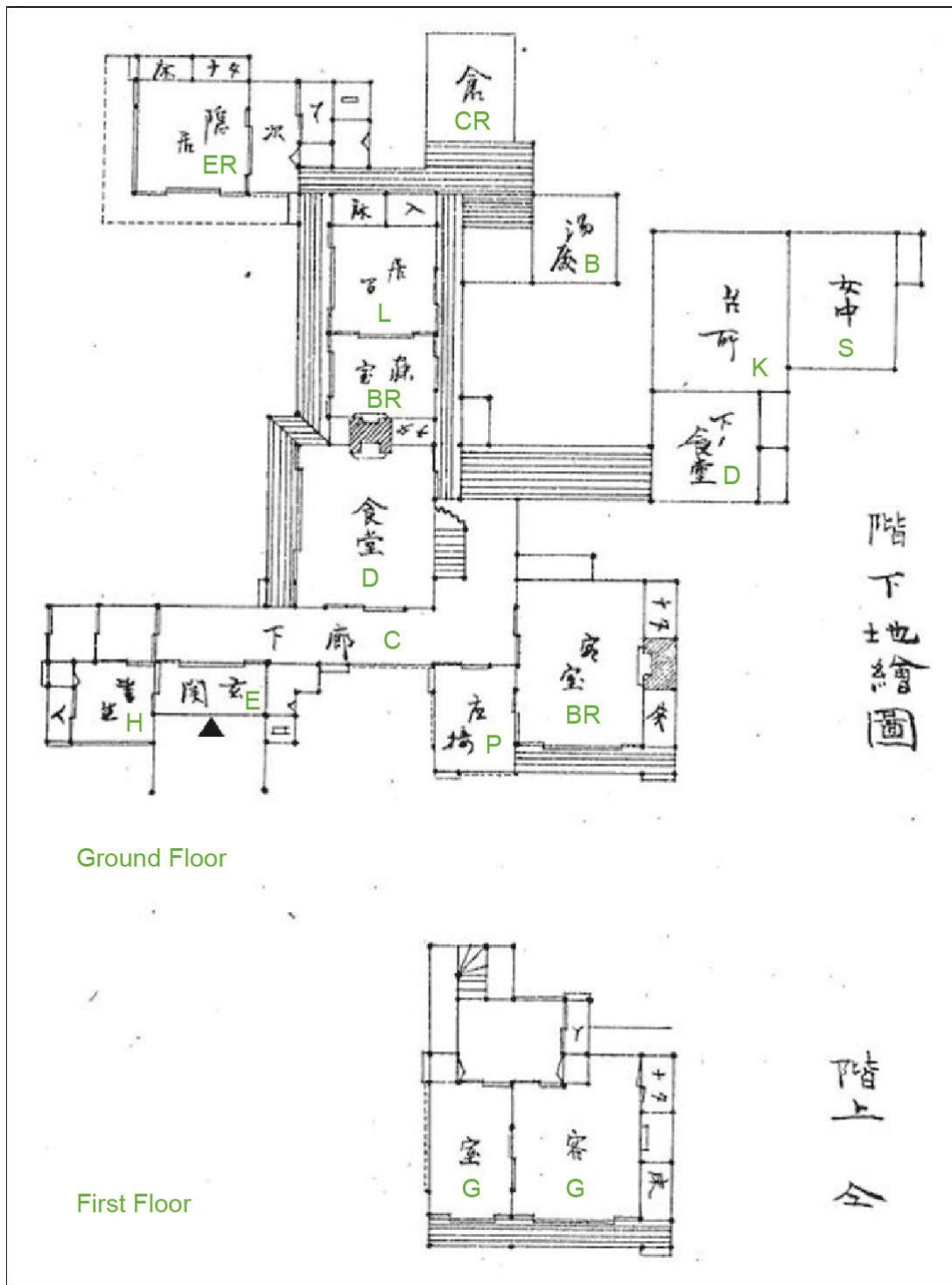
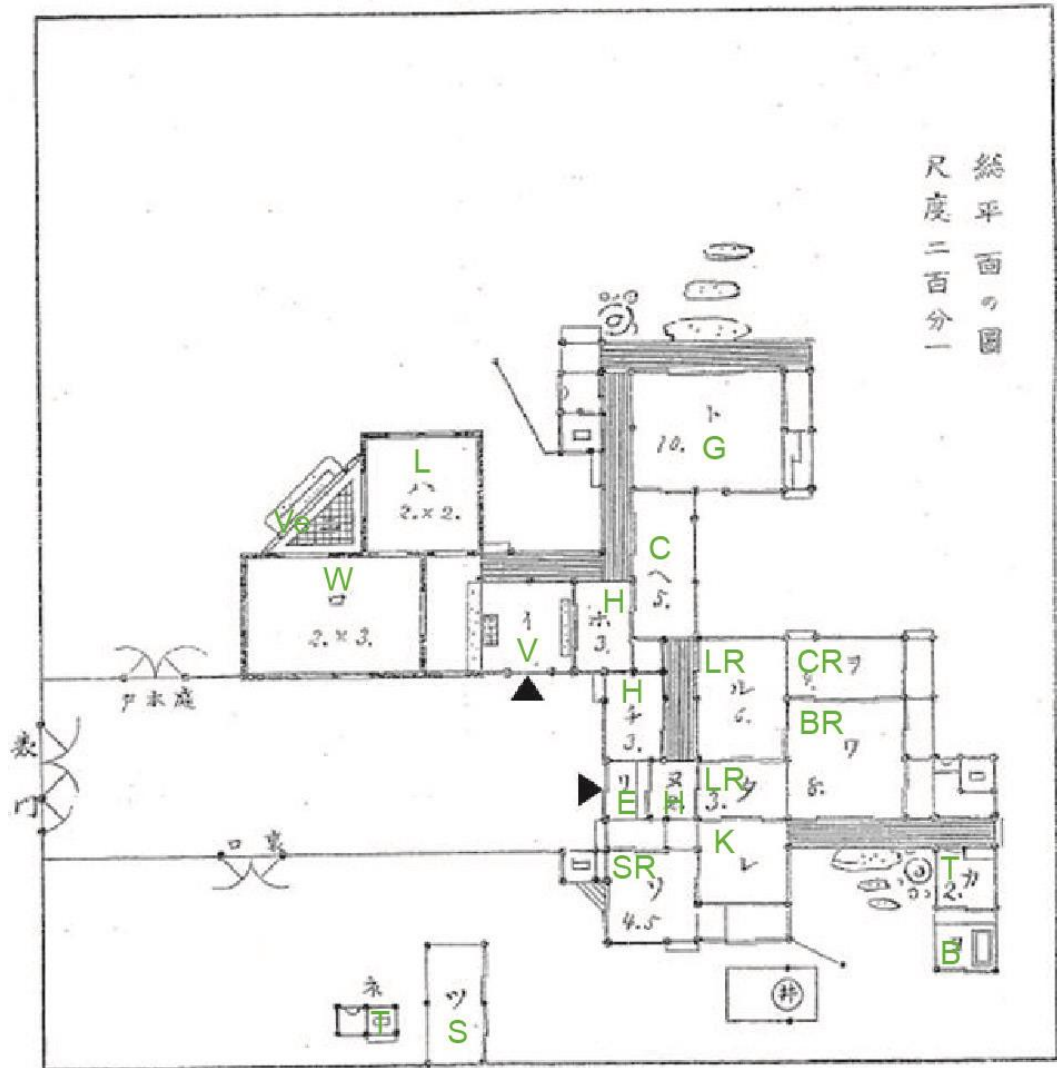
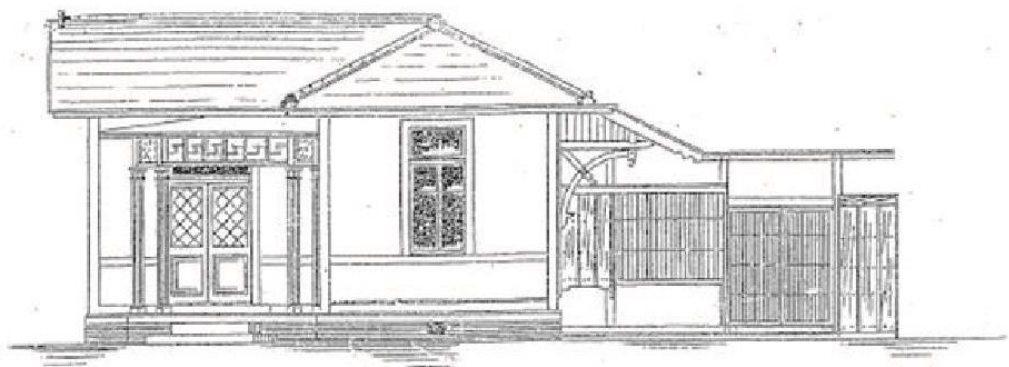


Figure 1.19  
 Sōtarō Okamoto's plan (B: bathroom; BR: bedroom; C: corridor; CR: closet room; D: dining room; E: entrance; ER: elderly's room; G: guest room; H: houseboys' room; K: kitchen; L: living room; S: servants' room) (*Kenchiku zasshi*, 25 October 1898, 308) Architectural Institute of Japan Library, Tokyo



Floor Plan



Western-style Parlour

Figure 1.20

Kuichi Kitada's plan (B: bathroom; BR: bedroom; C: corridor; CR: closet room; E: entrance; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: library; LR: living room; S: shed; SR: servants' room; T: toilet; V: vestibule; Ve: veranda; W: Western-style parlour) (*Kenchiku zasshi*, 25 December 1898, 378) Architectural Institute of Japan Library, Tokyo

application of floored passages made a substantial difference in domestic arrangement, allowing him to transform *tatami*-mat rooms into more bespoke spaces. An abrupt shift in daily routine, which had perhaps affected his professional life, led him “to catch up with the latest trends in custom and manner.”<sup>119</sup> It is possible to consider that the appearance of his purpose design was part of the dawn of domestic architectural ‘planning’.

Kuichi Kitada’s plan was a product of his attempt to cope with a cultural conjuncture, often called “dual-mode life,” fuelled by the juxtaposition of traditional material cultures and new practices of a compartmentalised human society (figure 1.20).<sup>120</sup> By the late nineteenth century, it was taken for granted that the ‘public’ life involving the use of chairs and desks and business conducted wearing Western-style dress. Within the ‘private’ sphere, the prevailing customs of wearing traditional outfits, sitting down on *tatami*-floors and setting up movable tables for dining were still alive. This caused a mismatch between callers with Western suits and dresses and the *tatami*-mat interior without furniture for seating. Kitada’s solution was to add a Western-style parlour next to the entrance.<sup>121</sup> He raised an epistemological question with such a discrepancy, blaming an ingrained habit of “entering a Western-style residence in taking off shoes.”<sup>122</sup> Thus, he sought practical means in which functions behind both Japanese and Western material cultures mixed up by “dual-mode life” were equally achieved under the same roof. In fact, the inter-war period saw the proliferation of such a floored space for reception with exotic flavour, but, despite his intention, it was mostly treated as another shoes-off room.<sup>123</sup>

His proposal swept away obscurities left by the traditional *ie* system and *samurai* practices. As well as Okamoto’s plans, it contained rooms roughly grouped according to the kind of activities, employing interior corridors that made each apartment relatively independent. Compared with an open-plan arrangement of an orthodox house, the plans simultaneously suggested by the two architects were characterised by more functionalised spaces suited to all single purposes in everyday life. Their drawings are not detailed enough to fully evoke how daily rounds in these dwellings could be; nevertheless, Okamoto and Kitada arguably associated domestic architecture with compartmentalised family life. But an “eclectic house,” the name of the

works of both architects, is fairly misleading, and has led architectural historians to argue the aesthetic, or evolutionary, rather than functional values of their achievements. Why were such anatomic, non-artistic efforts qualified as “eclectic”? Chances are that, to architects in those days, compartmentalisation *per se* was something *modern*, a new cultural phenomenon surrounding their lives after an encounter with the West. “The land of beauty for refuge” was likely to be incarnated in the forms of purpose design that got rid of spaces for work, as Okamoto and Kitada initiated in their architectural schemes.

What this opening chapter illustrates was the disappearance of “fast-frozen relations,” as Marx illustrates, from every day, family institution and architecture.<sup>124</sup> “Constant revolutionizing of production” and the spread of formal education led to “uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions” within the *ie* system “with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and options.”<sup>125</sup> The voices of home economists and educators that began to flood a post-*ie* society were the accumulation of every single effort to seek an alternative body-time-space triad. Their advice presumed more sensitive personhood than the interconnected body of pre-industrial times, and productivity, privacy and all kinds of ‘management’ began to regulate and monitor every action of people along lines of age, gender and social status. As Marx implies, such elites’ creativity in remodelling social practices was directly embraced by the middle classes who could afford to put them into effect.<sup>126</sup> This paradigm shift led architects to start looking at the dwellings of ordinary people. The purpose design of a house, created by Okamoto and Kitada, for example, was a subtle response to the compartmentalisation of life, replacing the open-plan tradition shaped by the *ie* system as well as the *samurai* rituals. Domestic architecture was no longer a symbolic manifestation which dictated how to live, but, as the works of both of the above architects indicated, customised to suit personal needs and choices on how they *wanted* to live. In the eyes of individuals, informed through *kyōiku* and journalism, spaces for living became selective, exchangeable, and subject to the exercise of their subjective judgement, as consumers and free agents.

## Notes

1. Gunji Mukai, "Sekkyokuteki no kuhū wo yōsu," *Fujin no tomo*, February 1912, 24-25.
2. Ibid.
3. A detailed explanation on male primogeniture is made by Tsubouchi' research concerning life of the ruling-class families headed by warriors called *samurai*. See Yoshihiro Tsubouchi, "Bushi no ko no shōrai: Tokuyama hanshi no baai," in *Tokugawa Nihon no raifu kōsu: Rekishi jinkōgaku tonō taiwa*, ed. Emiko Ochiai (Kyoto: Minervashobō, 2006), 376-85.
4. See Mary Douglas, "Primitive Rationing: A Study in Controlled Exchange," in *Themes in Economic Anthropology*, ed. Raymond Firth (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967), 132-3. She explains an effect of licencing in marriage of a pre-industrial society.
5. Emiko Ochiai, *Kindai kazoku to feminism* (Tokyo: Keisoshobō, 1989), 11.
6. Ibid.
7. Reiko Hayashi, *Edo kamigata no ōdana to chōka jyosei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakōbunkan, 2001), 288-9.
8. Ibid., 284-7.
9. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau: Osaka toshi jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 279-80.
10. Ibid.
11. Akira Naitō, *Edo to Edojyō* (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 1966), 193-202.
12. There were some local varieties in the size of *tatami* (c.f. Naitō, *Edo to Edojyō*, 198). Since this research focuses on Osaka houses through the case studies, a *tatami* is converted at 1.824 m<sup>2</sup> to its equivalent in metric system.
13. Edward S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* (Rutland: Tuttl, 1972), 196.
14. Ibid., 119, 216.
15. Kakichi Suzuki et al., *Nihon no minka dai 6 kan: Chōka* (Tokyo: Gakushūkenkyūsha, 1980), 145.
16. Susumu Hyūga, "Machi to machiya no kōzō," in *Kyoto machibure no kenkyū*, ed. Kyoto Machibure Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1996), 395-408.
17. Suzuki, *Nihon no minka dai 6 kan*, 179-80.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 179-81.
20. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 281; Yasushi Yoshida et al., *Nihon no minka dai 5 kan: Chōka* (Tokyo: Gakushūkenkyūsha, 1980), 132.
21. Uzō Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2* (1973), Private edition, 5; Suzuki, *Nihon no minka dai 6 kan*, 177.
22. Suzuki, *Nihon no minka dai 6 kan*, 178.

23. Ibid., 177.
24. Ibid.
25. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Iinkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 279.
26. Suzuki, *Nihon no minka dai 6 kan*, 178.
27. Yoshida, *Nihon no minka dai 5 kan*, 177.
28. Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 4; Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Iinkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 279.
29. Yoshida, *Nihon no minka dai 5 kan*, 177.
30. Atsushi Ueda and Atsuo Tsuchiya, *Machiya: Kyōdōkenkyū* (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 1975), 78.
31. Suzuki, *Nihon no minka dai 6 kan*, 183-4.
32. Susumu Hyūga, *Kinsei Kyoto no machi machiya machiyadaiku* (Kyoto: Shibunkakushuppan, 1998), 31.
33. Ibid., 142.
34. Suzuki, *Nihon no minka dai 6 kan*, 182; Hyūga, *Kinsei Kyoto no machi machiya machiyadaiku*, 39.
35. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Iinkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 283.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., 284.
38. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 3.
39. Ueda and Tsuchiya, *Machiya: Kyōdōkenkyū*, 97.
40. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Iinkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 284.
41. Ueda and Tsuchiya, *Machiya: Kyōdōkenkyū*, 374-6.
42. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Iinkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 287-8.
43. Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail L. Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 156-7.
44. Ibid., 158.
45. A girl's high school targeted female children aged 12-17. Boys of the same age were eligible for attending a high school which focused on more academic trainings.
46. Ibid.
47. Utako Shimoda, *Kaseigaku jyō* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1893), 1.
48. Hikohachi Yamazaki, *Shinpen kaseigaku jyō* (Tokyo: Nagasakibunshodō, 1894), 10.
49. Tsuneko Hoshi and Yoshiko Nakajima, *Kajikyōtei jyō* (Tokyo: Rokumeikan, 1903), 3.

50. Chikukō Nishikōri, *Futsū kajikyōkasho* (Tokyo: Doubunkan, 1900), 2-3.
51. Osamu Miyata, "Kindai no katei ga yōkyū suru shufu," *Fujin no tomo*, January 1911, 7-9.
52. Ochiai, *Kindai kazoku to feminism*, 12.
53. Ibid. In addition, it is assumed that three meals at regular times became popular from the late-nineteenth century onward. The number of dinner in pre-industrial times was basically twice, but still depended on areas and occupations. A custom of snacking between meals was also seen in this period. See Shun'ichi Majima, "Minka doma to daidoko: Meiji 20 (1887) nen no yōsan nōka wo chūshin ni," in *Daidokoro no hyakunen*, ed. Japan Society of Lifology (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 1999), 51.
54. Motoko Hani, "Chūryū no ishokujū ha kaku aratametashi," *Fujin no tomo*, April 1912, 63-4.
55. According to Leonore Davidoff, punctuality became a moral code of conduct in English middle-class families during the 1830s and 1840s, in which Victorians and their social habits kept pace with the rapid growth of its machine age. Please see her *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973).
56. Shinsaku Kanzawa, *Kasei no shiori* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1894), 22-3.
57. Barbara Molony, "Women's Rights and the Japanese State, 1880-1925," in *Public Spheres, Private Lives in Modern Japan, 1600-1950*, ed. Gail L. Bernstein et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 246; Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 22.
58. Kathleen S. Uno, "The Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'?", in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 299.
59. Molony, "Women's Rights and the Japanese State, 1880-1925," 246.
60. Ibid., 228.
61. Kanzawa, *Kasei no shiori*, 10.
62. Tsuneko Hoshi and Yoshiko Nakajima, *Kajikyōtei ge* (Tokyo: Rokumeikan, 1903), 68.
63. Utako Shimoda, *Kaseigaku ge* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1893), 223.
64. Takako Kaetsu, *Kaseigaku kōwa* (Tokyo: Doubunkan, 1908), 256.
65. Eitaro Ōnishi, *Jyoshi kaseigaku: kan'i tekiō ichimei ie no osamekata* (Osaka: Eitaro Ōnishi, 1894), 43.
66. Shimoda, *Kaseigaku ge*, 222.
67. Hoshi and Nakajima, *Kajikyōtei ge*, 85.
68. Nishikōri, *Futsū kajikyōkasho*, 141.
69. Hamako Tsukamoto, *Jissen kaseigaku kōgi* (Tokyo: Sanbunsha, 1906), 312.
70. Nishikōri, *Futsū kajikyōkasho*, 142.
71. Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity, 1985), 135.



72. Tomiko Nishimaki, "Watakushidomo no kodomo no seikatsu," *Fujin no tomo*, March 1910, 105-7.
73. Tsuneko Kato, "Wagaya no kodomobeya," *Fujin no tomo*, March 1911, 60-1.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., 62.
76. Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," 153.
77. Tsukamoto, *Jissen kaseigaku kōgi*, 29.
78. Yamazaki, *Shinpen kaseigaku jyō*, 16.
79. Kanzawa, *Kasei no shiori*, 149.
80. Nishikōri, *Futsū kajikyōkasho*, 121.
81. Shimoda, *Kaseigaku ge*, 252.
82. Ibid.
83. Tsukamoto, *Jissen kaseigaku kōgi*, 31-2.
84. Kanzawa, *Kasei no shiori*, 152-3.
85. Tsukamoto, *Jissen kaseigaku kōgi*, 32-3.
86. Masao Aoki, Toshie Oka and Yoshihiro Suzuki, *Nakarōka no jyūtaku: Meiji Taishō Shōwa no kurashi wo madori ni yomu* (Tokyo: Sumai-no-toshokan-shuppanyoku, 2009), 42.
87. Takako Kaetsu, *Kaseigaku kōwa* (Tokyo: Doubunkan, 1908), 330.
88. Shimoda, *Kaseigaku ge*, 139.
89. Kaetsu, *Kaseigaku kōwa*, 330.
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91. Yasushi Tsukamoto, "Kako san nenkan nihon ni okeru kenchiku danron no hihyō," *Kenchiku zasshi*, February 25, 1903, 40; Shigetsura Shiga, "Sumai: Kairyō no hōshin ni tsuite [Vol. 4]," *Kenchiku zasshi*, September 25, 1903, 402.
92. Rohan Kōda, "Kaoku," in *Rohan zenshū dai 11 kan*, ed. Rohan Kōda (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1930), 924.
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95. Ibid., 927.
96. Seizō Uchida, *Nihon no kindai jyūtaku* (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 1993), 27-8.
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98. Shigetsura Shiga, "Sumai: Kairyō no hōshin ni tsuite [Vol. 1]," *Kenchiku zasshi*, February 25, 1903, 37.
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100. Shigetsura Shiga, "Sumai: Kairyō no hōshin ni tsuite [Vol. 3]," *Kenchiku zasshi*, July 25, 1903, 288.
101. Kōji Nishikawa, *Nihon toshishi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Nihonhōsōshuppankyōkai, 1972), 235.
102. Hirai, *Nihon jyūtaku no rekishi*, 165.
103. Makoto Suzuki et al., *Nihon no minka dai 7 kan: Chōka* (Tokyo: Gakushūkenkyūsha, 1981), 155.
104. Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2*, 117.
105. Shigetsura Shiga, "Sumai: Kairyō no hōshin ni tsuite [Vol. 2]," *Kenchiku zasshi*, April 25, 1903, 124.
106. Kimura, "Meiji jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to nakarōkagata jyūtakuyōshiki no seiritsu," 117-21.
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108. Yasushi Tsukamoto, "Sumai no hanashi," *Kenchiku zasshi*, July 25, 1903, 294.
109. Kenkichi Yahashi, "Honpō ni okeru kaokukairyōdan," *Kenchiku zasshi*, November 25, 1903, 506.
110. Aoki, Oka and Suzuki, *Nakarōka no jyūtaku*, 28.
111. Majima, "Minka doma to daidoko," 52-3.
112. Seizō Uchida, "Dainingu kicchin (DK) tanjyō zenshi: Wagakuni senzenki no jyūtaku ni mirareru daidokoro to shokuji no ba no ittaika no katei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu," in *Daidokoro no hyakunen*, ed. Japan Society of Lifology (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 1999), 222; Jyunko Nakahara, "Toshi katei no eiyo to shokuji," in *Taishō ki no katei seikatsu*, ed. Yasuhiko Yuzawa (Tokyo: Kuresushuppan, 2008), 128-9.
113. Kimura, "Meiji jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to nakarōkagata jyūtakuyōshiki no seiritsu," 123-5.
114. Tsukamoto, "Sumai no hanashi," 293.
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117. Ibid.
118. Sōtaro Okamoto, "Wayō secchū sumai no chiezu ni tsuite," *Kenchiku zasshi*, October 25, 1898, 306-10.
119. Ibid., 306.
120. Kazuyo Kubo, *Jyosei zasshi ni sumaidukuri wo manabu: Taishō demokurashi ki wo chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 2005), 164.
121. Kuichi Kitada, "Wayō secchū sumai," *Kenchiku zasshi*, December 25, 1898, 376-9.
122. Ibid., 378.
123. Kimura, "Meiji jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to nakarōkagata jyūtakuyōshiki no seiritsu," 102; Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2*, 105.
124. Karl Marx, "The Communist Manifesto," in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, ed. David McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 224; See also

Victor Buchli, *An Anthropology of Architecture* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 35.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid., 225.

## 2. Quest for *Shumi* (Taste): Leisure and Pleasure of Family at Home, 1905-1918

In “A home of my friend with refined *shumi*,” contributed to a 1918 edition *Women’s Companion*, one reader reminisced about an episode four years earlier when she visited the house of her friend, Mrs K.<sup>1</sup> Immediately she and her friend got to the house in the countryside, they were warmly welcomed by Mrs K in the front garden. She was impressed by the ordered nature of the garden that “inferred *shumi* which the dwellers of this house had,” and “enjoyed a pleasant feeling of relaxation” with light refreshments, a bath and talking to Mrs K’s husband, “as if we stayed in our relatives’ houses.”<sup>2</sup> In the ten days of their visit, they learnt recipes never tried before and methods for arranging flower beds and vegetable gardens. In the meantime, she began to notice the appearance of wisdom and sophistication of Mrs K’s family in various ways; for example, “an improvisatory poem was noted by someone in a blackboard of the kitchen” and “torn paper screens were patched up by decorative ornaments,” and so on.<sup>3</sup> What she experienced, in “hearing old stories of Mrs K’s mother in lighting a garden lantern” and in “singing hymns together along with accompaniments by the husband on the organ,” concluded she, “all are some kind of education of *shumi* for us who had completely different upbringings.”<sup>4</sup>

*Shumi* in her understanding is a Japanese translation of ‘taste’. It sustains and accounts for a judgement of appropriateness, presuming the ability to discern what is acceptable or uncomfortable in quality and refinement based on certain aesthetic standards. This conception bespeaks individuality as well as self-reliance, and was imported by some writers and

artists in the second half of the 1900s.<sup>5</sup> Inspired by Romanticism, they ascribed the stagnation of domestic arts to capitalism without *shumi* after the Russo-Japanese War, associating arts appreciation with *shumi* of viewers *per se*, implying active involvement in leisure pursuits enabled them to refine their *shumi* as well as manners for aesthetic expression.<sup>6</sup> The Japanese began to speak of their hobbies and leisure activities as outward expression of their tastes, and the term *shumi* eventually evolved into its current double meaning of ‘taste’ and ‘recreation’.<sup>7</sup> It is thus that Mrs K’s visitor reflected her own *shumi* (taste) in the relationship between *shumi* (recreation) and family life of Mrs K. But, why *could* she recognise Mrs K’s lifestyle as being of refined *shumi*? What facets or criteria made her judge this so? How was the rhetoric of *shumi* shaped through the discourses on family and ‘home’?

Chapter 2 discusses the cultural impact of *shumi* on perceptions of personal expression, private life, family and dwelling. First I argue how the conceptualisation of *shumi* affected views of personal experience, examining the magazine *Shumi*, a periodical published between 1906 and 1910. This aimed to offer ways of appreciating various art works, and was championed by Shōyō Tsubouchi, the dramatist and first ever Japanese to complete the translation of all works of William Shakespeare. Second, discourses in the advice manuals and women’s press are explored, to reveal the relationship between the awareness of *shumi* and experts’ attempts to shape a clear vision of the private sphere within the house. This entailed advice on how to domesticate *shumi* (recreation), and I illustrate, by suggesting the concept of ‘leisurisation’, its effect on the ways in which spaces were interpreted and arranged. In the last part of this chapter, I examine fragments of actual responses to the quest for *shumi*, reviewing the Japanese elites’ accounts on conditions of domesticated leisure.

To convey its subtle nuance, the term *shumi* is mostly used without English translation. It basically means ‘taste’, but could be read as ‘recreation’ in some cases. Given that the term *shumi* in this period was often semiotically unclear depending on its cultural context, I have used my judgement to translate it into both ‘taste’ and ‘recreation’ under my ‘modernised’ eyes.

## Awareness of *shumi*

The quest for *shumi* began with an aesthetic critique of art and literature. The advocates of *shumi* became sensitive to a sharp contrast between material and psychosocial well-being, observing that while post-war society enjoyed an increasing number of commodities and infrastructures that made life better, material abundance did not create a new art scene. They were in fact disappointed that “a new art as representative of a new Japan has not arrived.”<sup>8</sup> Aesthetic concerns raised by them were not only about the nature of arts but about how people appreciated art works. Their appeal for “urgent action to conserve” the conventional arts stemmed from their view that a traditional sense of sophistication was in decline, and that this produced cultural stagnation.<sup>9</sup> Beyond this crisis, they still had hopes to make a new epoch in contemporary arts, curing the decay of the social norm of beauty. “The Restoration is now complete for the development of material capital,” argued Shōyō Tsubouchi, “and the cultural restoration is in turn breaking out.”<sup>10</sup> In “the midst of turbulent times,” he believed that alternative *shumi* would be set up and become “the basis for judgements in quality, distinguishing good from bad.”<sup>11</sup> Implicit in his account was the assumption that *shumi* was not predetermined but selective and manipulable. This was evident in his call for preparation on the ‘private’ side “for the rupture in all sorts of cultural things: religion, morality, literature, art, and so on.”<sup>12</sup>

These advocates of *shumi* attributed the chaos of aesthetic standards to a disregard for conventional morality as shaped by the feudal system and the ever-increasing competition led by capitalism.<sup>13</sup> As previously stated, production of a pre-industrial society was inherited and sustained through non-marketable channels including sumptuary laws and marriage between families of the same rank. A set of ethical principles was designed to order everyday practices embedded in the licenced business of each household. It however became inadequate in controlling undisguised rivalry under the new business culture of *laissez-faire*. This, in their view, painfully affected all forms of human expression. Sazanami Iwaya, the writer of children’s stories, inferred the transformation of value system in clothing:

We used to be proud of modest appearance. We usually chose simple and quiet jackets; linings and undergarments were instead tastefully refined. By contrast, fashionable coats have been preferred nowadays, so that decorations of them could be exposed. ... Some might think such a trend vulgar, but it must be an inevitable response to a current competitive society.<sup>14</sup>

One of the chief editors of their periodical, Suiin Nishimoto, also questioned the ethos of the period, in which “economic achievement is highly praised as if it were the only, ultimate goal of contemporary life.”<sup>15</sup> His hope was anchored in the cultivation of *shumi* for diverting the new social climate where people were measured only by material possession. “Great success in life is considered to be equal to the fulfilment of material desire,” claimed he, “but the enrichment of *shumi* also leads to acquisition of great treasure in human life.”<sup>16</sup>

The consequence of the refinement of personal *shumi* was meanwhile predicted. They assumed that it rebuilt a pyramid-like structure within which individuals are discriminately recognised by their kind of *shumi*. Iwaya added exclusiveness arising from the comparability of it: “*Shumi* is competence whereby people are measurable in humanities. Humans and animals are distinguished by the presence of it. The distinction between civilisation and savageness also depends on superiority and inferiority of it.”<sup>17</sup> This cultural hierarchy would be governed and justified by ever-shifting majority *shumi*, they perhaps conceived. “The victory of writers comes true,” Doppo Kunikida, the Romantic novelist and poet, ambitiously grasped the role of his occupation, “as their *shumi* attracts the general public and makes it adapt to theirs.”<sup>18</sup> The target of the advocators of *shumi* can be seen in this context, with their aesthetic campaign aimed at instilling in the populace their *shumi* in line with Romanticism.

People, according to them, were anonymous and compartmentalised: industrialisation and the expansion of cities had apparently turned urban dwellers into atomic agents of society. But, their instructions on the role of *shumi* in human relations insinuated that, in practice, a good many of the urban population hardly knew manners for self-expression and social etiquette. *Shumi*, they believed, was the powerful tool to secure face-to-face

interactions, enabling individuals to mediate between themselves and others in subjective ways.<sup>19</sup> Thereby, ubiquitous social and cultural groups with the same *shumi* were voluntarily constituted and became milieus where individuals sustained their self-identity. In Nishimoto's view, "*shumi* is the constitution of a person's unique system of value."<sup>20</sup> A difference in *shumi* was thus closely related to a variation in the class and characters of people.<sup>21</sup> Kunikida explained human reaction to a range of *shumi*, illustrating everyday life involving contact with others. Whilst he defined a friendship as a result of which people were united by their common *shumi*, a risk of trouble caused by discrepancy in *shumi* was also referred to.<sup>22</sup> According to him, "the main source of heartbreak is mostly attributed to a clash in *shumi*."<sup>23</sup>

A focus on *shumi* had an effect of blurring a boundary between arts, literature and the personal expressions of ordinary people in one advocator's critique. Iwaya's commentary illustrated how *shumi* acted on the quality of life that people valued and appreciated:

Gorgeous and expensive clothes one wears in a distasteful way seem to me nothing other than poor-looking shabbiness. I have often witnessed many tragedies that wives known as bad cooks serve amazingly terrible dinner flavoured with an excessive amount of salty soy sauce. When I meet these people, I have always felt sorry and wanted to encourage them to make a great effort to improve their *shumi*. ... Clothing, food and housing are essential part of our lives. These are therefore the most responsive objects projecting our *shumi*. A human community taking full advantage of *shumi* in clothing, food and housing is eligible for being recognised as a civilised society.<sup>24</sup>

In his view, clothes, cooking ingredients and houses shaping daily rounds were equal to musical instruments and costumes in art practices. Moreover, it was thought that *shumi* served as a kind of scheme to regulate and narrate ways people used and appropriated them at any level. In other words, the domain of the arts was viewed as an extension of everyday life. To the advocators, otherwise everyday things were more practical forms of arts and literature.

Criticism of the school system, as illustrated in Chapter 1, was central to the debates of the elites including the advocators, but their position was slightly different to the more common public discussion about a lack of pre-vocational training. Their argument was more spiritual, focusing on how to



refine the aesthetic senses that compartmentalised people had. Nishimoto thus blamed school teachers for their attitudes towards knowledge. Although language teachers “have repeatedly taught grammar and idioms,” argued he, “ways to appreciate Western literature have never been dealt with” in classrooms.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the term ‘education (*kyōiku*)’ in the imagination of the advocates, as well as that of home economists and educators, was not conceptually limited to knowledge transfer at school. They believed, rather, that an effective means for cultivating *shumi* was self-entertainment outside of schoolrooms, as evidenced by the civilising purpose of their publication aimed at “offering up ideal readings and entertainment to the family.”<sup>26</sup> They sought constructive enjoyment for the enrichment of personal *shumi* in active recreations entailing relaxation and refuge for body and soul, as Nishimoto clarified.<sup>27</sup> Under the politics of *shumi*, compartmentalised people were expected to internalise ‘legitimated’ *shumi* through individual activities of leisure, shaping their own circles for identity formation.

This conceptualisation of pleasure and refinement presumed subjective experience, and was thus novel and in sharp contrast to prevailing manners for entertainment. In fact, ways to spend and consume days-off were conventionally being *entertained* in theatres of traditional plays and comic storytelling, and being *healed* through visits to shrines and temples.<sup>28</sup> All forms of free-time activities were passive and stereotyped. The rites of arranging music lessons for girls with marriage approaching were seen particularly among relatively better-off families, but such practices *per se* were signs of nobility in pre-industrial times.<sup>29</sup> In this respect, recreations that the advocates imagined were more obviously creative and selective, and could be recognised as different types of leisure pursuits. Perhaps, that was why the term *shumi* began to mean not only ‘taste’ but also *active* ‘recreation’ in contemporary Japanese. In other words, the dual meanings of *shumi* originate from the ends-means relationship of a self-entertaining mechanism of the individual’s own invention. Beside this transformation of rhetoric, their critique of arts went beyond theatres and museum, suggesting that absorption in *shumi* (recreation) on the private side was essential for aesthetic reform. It remarkably entailed a new vision of the house, which was previously epistemologically purposeless (as the opening chapter discussed).

Their appeal for cultivating and romanticising *shumi* (taste) was likely to have an impact on re-shaping the image of the house, no longer for business but for domesticating leisure.

### **Home with pleasure and *shumi***

Fears of materialism led home economists and educators to agree with the discourses of the cultural elites. To coincide with an aesthetic campaign held by the advocates of *shumi*, the sudden appearance and popularisation of the term *shumi* were seen in advice manuals and women's press.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps, this word was viewed as a reasonable, perfect phrase to express hope and anxiety in the mind of the experts in home management. As well as the advocates, they realised the necessity of spiritual richness and redemption from fierce competition. Motomichi Miwada, the principal of a girl's high school, lamented over heartless economic contests that "weigh so heavily on our minds."<sup>31</sup> In her advice book *Home*, Utako Shimoda also argued:

People have [currently] become more cunning and egocentric. In being little reluctant to drive others into a corner, they are merely think of themselves, and concerned with their own personal profits and fortunes. The pursuit of personal greed has made a sense of honour and probity absolutely worthless.<sup>32</sup>

The experts attributed the cause of this seemingly selfish society to the absence of normative ethics for compartmentalised life. Masako Miwada, the foster mother of Motomichi Miwada and the founder of a higher educational institute for women, raised a classic yet new question: "What is hope in life? Hope keeps us alive and to seek happiness. So, what is happiness?"<sup>33</sup> Her logic to censure egocentrism and a lack of consideration for others was analogous with the advocates' theory of *shumi*. Both judged the invisible psychological orientation toward self and materials by visible information, assuming that personal expression was a consequence of personality and *shumi*. Her criticism on materialism explicitly showed this way of reasoning:

A materialistically-oriented family with immense wealth competes to invest lavishly in expensive plants and settings for their garden, and

makes a boast of the beauty and gorgeousness of it. The garden is massively filled with hundreds of bizarre stones, and the taste of such meretricious ornamentation evokes something unearthly and supernatural. The building is also palatial and sumptuously decorated; whilst its residents wear so many flashy dresses, and enjoy excellent food and drink from the sea and mountain. The populace would envy such a pageant of grandeur. But, is it the nature of an ideal family?<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps, things that made the elites look at *shumi* were new social phenomena they had never experienced before: vogue and fashion. Implicit in the accounts of home economists and educators was the belief that an avaricious pattern of middle-class consumption had something to do with the ever-shifting popular styles that whetted their voracious appetites, and *vice versa*. Featuring comments from child psychologist Heizaburō Takashima on the relationship between *shumi* and fashion, *The Ladies' Graphic* of 1911 attempted to remind readers of where they got carried away. According to him, one type of *shumi* “is not permanent, recognised over a period of time and finally disappearing at some point. This is called a trend and fashion. Thus, these are also forms of *shumi*, temporary favoured manners of doing something.”<sup>35</sup> If the floating nature of the vogue was viewed as an element of collusion between the pursuit of self-interests and materialism, the experts’ challenge was to divert the middle-class population from the unpardonable indulgence of their material desires. In other words, their countermove was to make an alternative ethical, tasteful framework to correct the vulgar ostentation of the *nouveau riches*, as well as to control upward mobility fuelled by the growth in personal income.

In the experts’ view, one destination of the flow of economic capital was ideally a house, but their discourses brought strict definition and precision in differentiating between family relations as connections of kinship and a dwelling as a mere shelter to house and protect them. This was probably needed to dispel the stereotype of “fast-frozen relations” between rituals and domestic spaces, as noted previously. Mr Miwada therefore suggested a new family structure by employing the term *katei* that was used by the elites to differentiate them from production-oriented households under the *ie* system:

*Katei* is immaterial and incorporeal, on the one hand; a house has a stable and tangible form, on the other. Within the house, life involving [attempts to make] a close family atmosphere leads to spiritual, formless paradise. This formless paradise is one that we called *katei*.<sup>36</sup>

His definition of *katei* underlined closeness and emotional ties among members of the family, thereby illuminating the subtle nuance of this word which was intended to mean *modern* family.<sup>37</sup> This conceptual dissociation of family from a dwelling also had an effect of telling the *nouveau arrivée* that *katei* as the unit of psychologically united people could not be easily made only through material possessions.

Wherever the origin of *katei* was, a reference to the concept of ‘home’ made this novel idea more concrete and romanticised. By this time, the term ‘home’ had already been known through debates among Christian social reformers, implying a segregated domain from the unexpected public world.<sup>38</sup> As well as Miwada’s explanation of *katei*, Manjirō Ōmori, the author of *Shumi of Katei*, clearly made sure that ‘home’ did not necessarily refer to a dwelling *per se*, but to a cultural milieu “in which a sense of belonging was emotionally raised.”<sup>39</sup> This way to interpret ‘home’ echoed his priority which was in terms of self-identity. Shimoda defined *katei* as “a circle for rest and ease in your life,” associating it with everyday life of an English family.<sup>40</sup> Whilst *shumi* became part of the knowledge of the Japanese, commentaries of the home economists and educators began to champion the dichotomy like that espoused by the Ruskinians: the public realm involving economic contests at a hectic pace; the private sphere for refuge and for pleasure, serving as an oasis after work, and on weekends. With exemplary models of home in Western nations, this conceptual classification helped the experts to rediscover the *raison d’être* of the family system, and to mould a cultural mechanism that allowed the *nouveau riches* to find their own place.

A moral, religious inquiry to make a compartmentalised family function well was also within the scope of their examinations. It was conceived that “a father, mother, brother and sister are not grouped by material factors, but [have] merely relations in spiritual terms,” as Shimoda argued; that emotional ties among them were powered by selfless love and affection.<sup>41</sup> The re-modelling of the image of family in line with the concept of

home meant that alien rules for personal connection harnessed by Christianity were grafted onto conventional human relationships rooted doctrinally in Buddhism and Confucianism. If the Western thought of equality which underlay a haven of domesticity was enforced among members of the family, this difference from indigenous belief about seniority would cause an epistemological crisis within the house. Mrs Miwada pointed out that the Christian terms of endearment were basically incompatible with deep-rooted social practices espoused by the Japanese, albeit morphologically similar. According to her, Christians believed that love makes all men equal, but “the Confucian doctrine of benevolence marries philanthropy with reason. It is thus intrinsically characterised by order and hierarchy.”<sup>42</sup> In Ōmori’s accounts, more importance was meanwhile given to the universality of affections: “the preciousness of devotion is unexceptionally taught in all religions: misdirected charity in Confucianism, tender mercy in Buddhism, and the sprite of compassion in Christianity.”<sup>43</sup> Mr Miwada discussed the similarity between things which the Bibles defined as fraternity and ways for perfect virtue advocated in the Confucian principles, suggesting that the practices of these “would lead to the ideal life within *katei*.”<sup>44</sup> In other words, how to love and care for other members of the family was a crucial issue in the path to the indigenisation of *home*.

If love was requisite to domesticity, the whole family was hoped to share the same *shumi*. In an experts’ view, a particular *shumi* was the basic underpinning of a certain psychological attitude toward morality and goodness, which brought sympathetic understanding among members of the family. As explained in Chapter 1, a conceptual shift of human nature, from an interconnected body to sensitive being, drew the experts’ attention to the quality of an environment encompassing people, especially children. From their feminised perspective of domestic affairs, “with deep consideration,” a married woman was “expected to adopt an appropriate *shumi* for her family,” as Mrs Miwada urged.<sup>45</sup> By telling her readers the personal life of Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy, her advice book illustrated a danger of a *laissez-faire* approach to *shumi* which members of the family had:

Despite his vegetarianism, he has never compelled his family to adopt it, letting them follow their own preferences. Hence, an extraordinary

spectacle is seen in his dining room. Whilst he is eating a bite of radish, his wife sitting next to him is cramming meats into her mouth. ... The dining table of this family is not harmonious; the different kind of food is served to each with the different kind of *shumi*. That could not be said as being of an enjoyable family at all.<sup>46</sup>

It was assumed that, but for the same source of pleasure and satisfaction, mutual understanding would notarise even between kin.

As taste for home was becoming acute, the home economists and educators began to discuss how to amuse the self and members of the family within the house. The women's press provided a middle-class audience with a spate of articles concerning *shumi* in praise of domesticated leisure. These commentaries were aimed first at a refinement of personal expression of housewives being influential in the ethos of home, suggesting that the pursuit of acknowledged recreations made it possible for them to internalise good *shumi*. In the *Women's Companion* of 1912, Kōtaro Takamura, the sculptor and poet, exhorted readers to find their own hobbies, arguing the relationship between *shumi* and the power of recreation:

I find it difficult to give a precise definition of *shumi*, but so-called 'stylish people' could be recognised as those with enriched *shumi*. [They maintain stability in] preferences of cloth, food and housing, patterns of behaviour, attitudes towards a society and notion of life, which are uniformly reasonable, unconfused, unrestricted and peaceful. ... The rules of etiquette of tea ceremony and flower arrangement are manners which systematically imbue [our minds] with an acknowledged *shumi*. Thus, masters of the hearts of these practices have grasped and internalised a refined *shumi*.<sup>47</sup>

On the other side of the coin, domesticated leisure was expected to play a pivotal role in attracting and bringing compartmentalised members of the family together. "A growing importance of the public life that split up a family has [currently] turned a house into a space merely for sleeping and getting together at mealtimes," Ryūkichirō Endo warned in *The Ladies' Graphic*.<sup>48</sup> He, the author of *Shumi of Life*, assumed that a house "could not evoke a sense of togetherness without amusement."<sup>49</sup> A split, compartmentalised family was urged to have a shared *shumi*, in both taste and recreation, whereby a feeling of relaxation and spiritual connections among it were enhanced and synchronised within the house. The kind of

*shumi* (recreations) which Mrs Miwada recognised as being commendable were music, painting and composing poetry, for example.<sup>50</sup> Implying the effect of “exerting an aesthetically positive influence on children’s characters,” she asserted that “graceful music played by a lady would make a happy family circle.”<sup>51</sup> The solution to moral questions verbalised by the concept of *shumi* was finally found in the pleasure of domesticating leisure. This was designed to correct a range of epistemological issues that were visually examined: vulgarity, egoism, materialism and a lack of unity in a compartmentalised family. Home, or *katei*, was the resultant product of the politics of *shumi* that attempted to lead the middle classes to look at non-material paradises: family gatherings.

### **Family life and ‘leisurisation’**

Meals presumed regular times for food to be served, and were accordingly likely to be occasions involving a ‘happy family circle’. But, if a traditional habit of eating was still in action, it had nothing to do with any element of relaxation. According to cultural historian Kazuko Koizumi, pre-modern dining was extremely ceremonious, a mere process by which a hierarchy of people in the same room was visually confirmed by the kind of food, tableware and order of seating according to caste.<sup>52</sup> Thus, the home economists and educators attempted to re-interpret the meaning of gathering *per se*. A family meal, Mr Miwada believed, should be more “jovial, merry and comfortable,” allowing members of the family “to forget entirely about the pressure of work through heart-to-heart talk.”<sup>53</sup> It was assumed that a spur to attract the whole family towards the dining room was tasty food; that a range of delicious meals with good nutrition made it possible not only to maintain their health but also to elicit sheer pleasure from them.<sup>54</sup> In the experts’ opinion, a married woman had authority to handle all housework, serving as a custodian and home manager. A belief that an atmosphere at mealtimes was the appearance of woman’s competence added a space for dining to feminine quality.<sup>55</sup>



Figure 2.1  
 Chatting after dinner (*Fujin no tomo*, August 1916, 26) National Diet  
 Library, Tokyo

*“After an excellent dinner, the whole family starts chatting on every Sunday. The father’s talk seems to be more interesting for Hanako than the debate of the oldest son. Because she is too young to give something to talk, she has always sung songs in front of us.”*

A postprandial chat was highly recommended to enhance emotional ties among members of the family (figure 2.1).<sup>56</sup> Desirable topics were considered the personal experiences of each member. Ōmori’s advice was that “the parents and grandparents must be delighted to hear from the boys and girls about what they learn at school,” suggesting that “old stories and talks based on actual experiences of the adults make children happy.”<sup>57</sup> Reading was then viewed as a means to enrich conversations in a family circle.<sup>58</sup> There was an assumption that the act of reading *per se* was a source of enjoyment on the private side. In fact, as previously argued, the advocates of *shumi* were involved in publication for provision of home entertainment.





Figure 2.2  
Reading with family (*Fujin no tomo*, March 1912, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

The experts did not necessarily envisage that each member of the family was reading alone. Instead, a search for media to unite a compartmentalised family led them to conceive reading books aloud in company of the whole family as wholesome recreations (figure 2.2).<sup>59</sup>

Various amusements, ranging from Western leisure pursuits to conventional practical arts like the tea ceremony and flower arranging were entirely re-examined in this context. Among other things, music was *per excellence*, praised for its peaceful and graceful nature. The experts' inclination to associate gentility and tenderness which they found in music with femininity was perhaps rooted in gender identity, as the previous chapter demonstrated, which they classified.<sup>60</sup> Women were in particular exhorted to play musical instruments as accomplishments adequate to refinement of *shumi* as well as to the making of a harmonious family circle. According to Ōmori, nature is full of sounds which ancestors perceived as something spiritual.<sup>61</sup> People being musically talented were thus "capable of discerning the beauty of nature," he claimed.<sup>62</sup> A traditional stringed instrument called *koto* was popular among women of high lineage from pre-

いさ下添申御とた見て告廣の「友之人婦」は節の文注御

# ンガルオ・ノアピ



(目次の六)

**營業種目**

- 一、松本自動ピアノ 六百五十拾圓
- 一、松本ピアノ 自貳百貳拾五圓  
五百五十拾圓迄
- 一、松本オルガン 十八圓以上  
貳百貳拾圓迄
- 一、獨逸オットピアノノ會社一手販賣店
- 一、獨逸ホルマイピアノノ會社一手販賣店
- 一、獨逸イバハピアノノ會社一手販賣店
- 一、佛國ウルマンピアノノ會社一手販賣店
- 一、獨逸イルムラピアノノ會社一手販賣店

ハモニカ(獨逸ホリナリ)會社特製(貳拾五錢以上  
貳圓五拾錢以上)

手風琴(同上) 三圓八十錢以上  
七圓四錢以上

ヴァキオリン(内外各種) 三圓五十錢以上  
百五十圓迄

英、米、獨版樂書、廿錢樂譜

唯一唱月刊樂譜 一冊五錢五  
一冊三錢五  
一冊二錢五  
一冊一錢五

東京琴振 五〇五三一 社會資合器樂本松 座銀京東 四丁目

Figure 2.3 Advertisement of piano and organ (*Fujin no tomo*, October 1914, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

industrial times, and still acknowledged as a fashionable accomplishment for girls.<sup>63</sup> Along with it, Occidental musical instruments including the piano and violin began to lure middle-class families with exotic sounds (figure 2.3). The timbre of a piano, as Mr Miwada referred to, was “a sound of peace.”<sup>64</sup> He then hoped that such a keyboard instrument would be more widespread for the sake of the harmony of family.<sup>65</sup> In the experts’ view, music was central to



Figure 2.4  
Music at home (Ōmori, *Katei no shumi*, 177) National Diet Library, Tokyo

a happy family circle, allowing parents and children to sing a song together and to reinforce a sense of belonging to their home (figure 2.4).<sup>66</sup>

The women's press serving as a showcase for middle-class readers often disclosed how elites enjoyed leisure time involving musical entertainment with their families. For example, an evening ritual of

Sazanami Iwaya, one of the advocators of *shumi*, was described by his wife in *The Ladies' Graphic* of 1915:

My husband is going out all day, and the boys and girls are sent to school and kindergarten. Thus, the time for us to enjoy a gathering of the whole family is usually after dinner. This is for a brief moment until the children are going to bed; nevertheless it is indeed full of life. Along with accompaniments by the oldest sister on the piano, the others are singing songs and dancing in concert.<sup>67</sup>

Mrs Hasegawa raised three children with her husband, an academic, making them take a variety of music lessons. The boy went to violin classes; one daughter played a *koto*; the other was a singer of traditional Japanese ballads.<sup>68</sup> She was very much looking forward to Saturday evening when a weekly family concert was held by the children's band.<sup>69</sup> "Whatever their talents might be," considered she, "the important thing in home entertainment is to bring the whole family together for playing without worrying about anything."<sup>70</sup> Then she gave tips and hints on how to make a happy family circle:

For full enjoyment of home entertainment, it is necessary to find a favourite hobby that could be ideally shared by all members of the family. Thankfully we have the same *shumi*. It enables us to enjoy gathering with family [for music] at home. In this way, we live entirely in a relaxed, merry and pleasant atmosphere. We don't necessarily need to seek leisure outside.<sup>71</sup>

Calls for new amenities with homely *shumi* had something to do with a demand for domesticated leisure. The faith that aesthetic sensitivity was shaped through day-to-day interactions with an environment made the elite look towards material artefacts encompassing everyday life in more acute and critical ways. Endo discussed, for example, that physical settings around daily life were hoped to be designed to express a happy family circle with *shumi* in both taste and recreation.<sup>72</sup> In response to this kind of critique, the women's periodicals began to instruct readers on how to make a room like a salon. It was envisioned as a sitting-dining room that could be used for meals, relaxation and the housework of a wife, and the experts named this space exclusively for family *chanoma*.<sup>73</sup> The term *chanoma* was historically used to refer to a space for dining in Edo (lately Tokyo) and its environs, but now

began to eliminate the image of business and service.<sup>74</sup> As already illustrated, there had been a trend to seek a purpose design among experts in housing. Housewives were not realistically expected to modify their houses *per se*, but advice of the women's press shed light on practical ways for furnishing whereby a *tatami*-mat room could be physically more specialised for particular purposes. A description voiced by home economist Takako Kaetsu filled "a space for family gathering" called "*chanoma*" and "wife's room" with a range of furniture: "A large table should be situated at the centre, thereby allowing all members of the family to drink tea, read newspapers, chat and play something together. If it was covered by a white cloth, it could be used for family dinner."<sup>75</sup>

When she outlined her after-supper hours, Nobuko Imura, one of the chief contributors to *Women's Companion*, outlined how these also evolved around items used for leisure in the *chanoma*:

A brazier is placed at the corner, and ready to heat water filled with an iron kettle. After taking a nice, refreshing bath, my husband, children, all of us are sitting around it [and drinking tea]. Then we enjoy amusing conversations in a couple of hours.<sup>76</sup>

In this way, the experts attempted to demonstrate how to 'leisurise' domestic spaces that were conventionally designed to suit the production-oriented life of a household.

The new role of meals as part of domesticated leisure also affected material cultures of dining. Traditionally, members of a household had their own trays for eating.<sup>77</sup> As a family meal was recognised as a sign of affection, a degree of love became judged by posture in the dining room. In other words, the symbolic hierarchy of the dinner tray that could be used by only one person began to reinforce the 'compartmentalised' nature of family (figure 2.5). As historian Koizumi points out, a single large table called *chabudai* was a modern invention, allowing all members of the family to sit around it all at once (figure 2.6).<sup>78</sup> The *chabudai* no longer physically separate them or constituted any symbolism of hierarchy. It was intended to bring closeness and equality, and to be functionally utilised for leisure, as Kaetsu's commentary suggested. According to Koizumi, the *chabudai* began to set up



Figure 2.5  
Pre-modern meal and dinner trays (S. Ihara, *Nippon eitaigura* [Vol. 2], 1688, 19) National Diet Library, Tokyo

a happy family circle among urban middle classes from this period, and by the mid-1930s, became a requisite for their sitting-dining rooms: *chanoma*.<sup>79</sup>

If a family, like that of Mrs Hasegawa, hoped to pursue musical performance at home, attempts to domesticate leisure would raise a practical issue: how to treat bulky keyboard musical instruments within a moderate middle-class house. A piano and organ were heavy and yet portable. Although they could be parts of fixtures of the *tatami* interior, it was possible to put them away as a *koto* and violin (figure 2.7). The use of a Western-style parlour was perhaps another option to solve this problem. It had an



Figure 2.6  
Family dinner and *chabudai* (Ōmori, *Katei no shumi*, 160) National Diet Library, Tokyo

exceptionally floored space and set of tables and chairs, and wits expected use was to receive callers with Western-style garments, as discussed previously. In terms of *shumi*, this exotic space would suit keyboard musical instruments that crystallised foreign material cultures (figure 2.8). But a piano in the parlour was likely to play a more suggestive role than functionally intended, as the public definition of family's *shumi*. The popularity of Western-style parlours was unknown; nevertheless articles about how to decorate it were seen in the women's magazines of the period. One was by Mrs Sakurada, the spouse of the auditing officer of the Bank of Japan, listing all items necessary for the ideal parlour: "three small tables for tea utensils, a bookshelf, a chiffonier, a piano or organ, a stand for a flower vase, a picture frame or hanging scroll, a hand-warmer in winter, a folding fan in summer," and so on.<sup>80</sup> Despite a room for reception, the kind of the décors including a piano and organ evoked the drawing room of the Victorian lady. It could be considered that, while expressing their *shumi* for



Figure 2.7  
Musical performance in a *tatami* room (*Fujin no tomo*, February 1913, 36) National Diet Library, Tokyo



Figure 2.8  
Western-style parlour and piano (Yamada, *Ie no tatekata*, 1935) National Diet Library, Tokyo



respectability's sake, the Western-style parlour might possibly also be an arena for leisure activities of members of the family.

Home was discovered in nature, too. Prior to the spread of the concept of *shumi*, capital with mobility had started an encroachment of the peripheries of the metropolis. This impetus to move outward was a product of collective displacement of life from urban centres, as was indicated in Chapter 1. The custom of holidays at a resort was from the West, and ceased to be novel by this time.<sup>81</sup> The suburbs became popular places for outings as part of a haphazard fashion. The pursuit of hedonistic consumption in the outskirts was justified by medical discourses that made them more scientifically valuable.<sup>82</sup> As the commentary of the elites became more lucidly romanticised, nature began to have an additional reputation for real beauty, innocence and authenticity through its pastoral *shumi*.<sup>83</sup> A regular walk, short excursion and vacation involving a visit to the countryside were hoped to be undertaken by a company of parents and children (figure 2.9 and 2.10). These were recognised as part of an aesthetic *kyōiku* to gratify the curiosities of boys and girls and to bring out the innate talents inherently given to them. In Ōmori's view, countryside was a school of *shumi* full of vegetation and wildlife as "teaching materials," and he urged middle-class parents to start an after-supper stroll which allowed them "to enjoy a spectacular sunset and pleasant moment with children."<sup>84</sup> Importance was then given to togetherness which days-off and holidays involving family gatherings entailed. Nobutsuna Sasaki was a poet, and perhaps a man of *shumi*, who enjoyed every summer at the seaside with his family. In *The Ladies' Graphic* of 1910, his wife, as a mother, reminisced about happiness which she felt through this family occasion:

My children enjoy observing flowers and shells with interest, and remember the names of them quickly. Rural life in summer months seems to be impressive for them. ... Watching a beautiful lurid sunset with the silhouette of Mt. Fuji over the sea, the boys and girls are making improvisatory poems for me. ... Summer must be the season for the youth. My husband is, albeit usually busy with his job, playing with our children as if he were one of them. I believe that the happiest people in the world are children beloved by parents and parents respected by children.<sup>85</sup>



Figure 2.9  
 “Picnic in autumn (1)” (*Fujin no tomo*, October 1911, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

(1) With lunch boxes in hand, (2) the mother and children are leaving the house (3) to go to the suburbs.

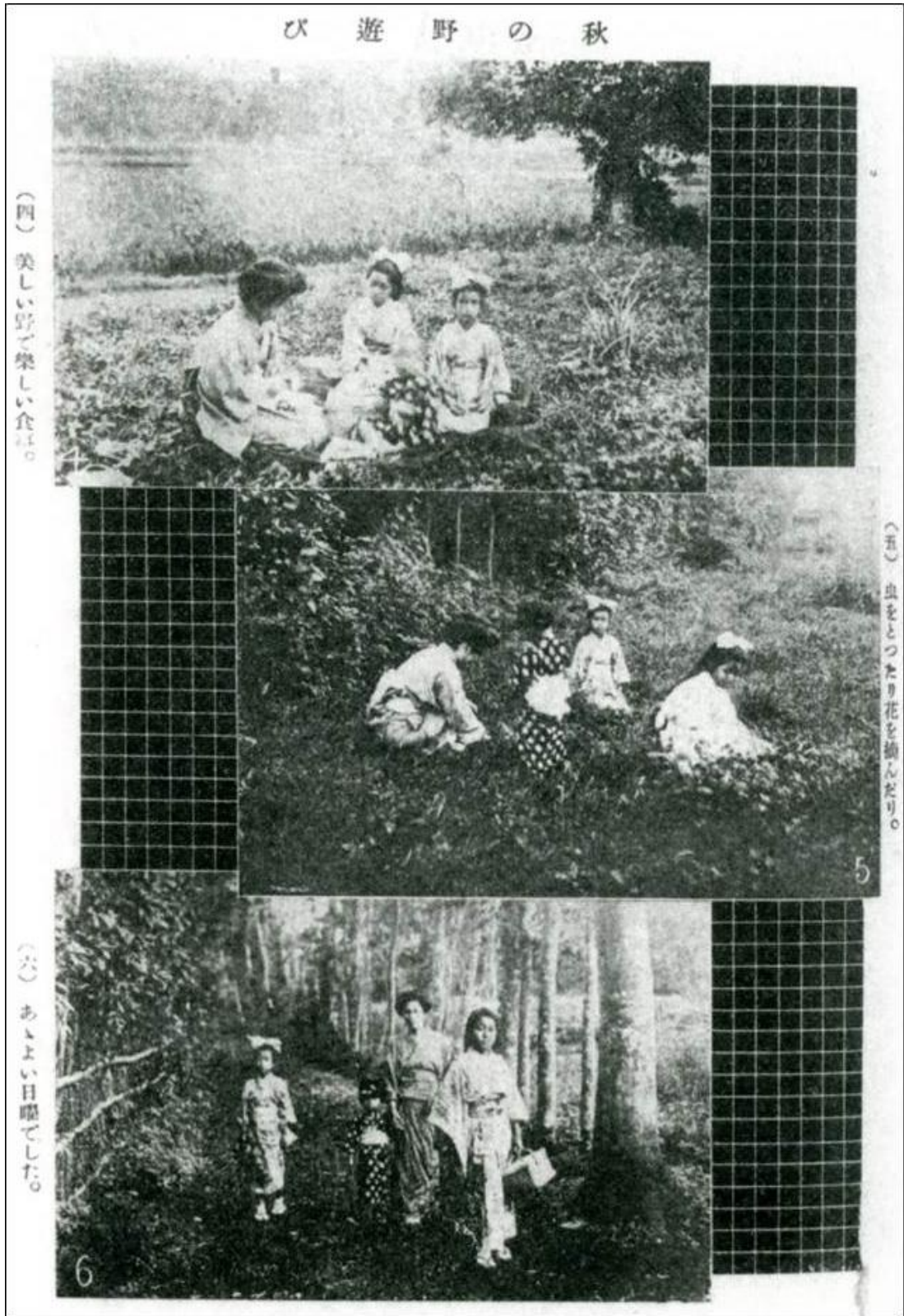


Figure 2.10  
 “Picnic in autumn (2)” (*Fujin no tomo*, October 1911, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

(4) Lunch with beautiful views in nature is amusing. (5) They have usually enjoyed collecting insects and gathering flowers. (6) See you Sunday.

From a romantic perspective, life in the countryside was the most reasonable way to live in close association with nature serving as a medium of communication among members of the family as well as an aesthetic modifier. A migration to the outskirts was beyond the imagination of townsmen in pre-industrial times, but the fantasy of rural life was no longer a pipe dream. Expanding railway networks made peripheral lands accessible, allowing urban dwellers to move out and settle their lives with *shumi* there. In this respect, the pastoral life of Mrs K was an achievable ideal of home, an embodiment of the power of *shumi* in aesthetic expression and family relations. Thus it could be thought that, despite her subjective impression, novelist Yaeko Nogami's sense for suburban life, expressed in *The Ladies' Graphic*, aroused sympathies of a middle-class audience:

I have got pleasure from many things around a new life in the suburbs: clean air, beautiful trees, a lot of gardeners' shops, and so on. ... [When my friends come to see me from a city] we have usually walked around small forests, grassland and old temples at the top of a hill. ... They enjoy looking around the blue sky and organised farm lands, saying "that feels good" and "I am so relaxing." ... A gardener can be a curious occupation for urban dwellers. There are many gardeners' shops around my home. The gardens of their shops are filled with lovely flowers and magnificent plants, thereby making the hedges charming and elegant. Perhaps, the Garden City is like this.<sup>86</sup>

When the anonymous author arrived at Mrs K's home, she had a glimpse of refined *shumi* in the garden arranged by her host. But a DIY idea of 'gardening' was not seen in the conventional attitudes towards an enclosed yard. As discussed in the foregoing chapter, it was a mere object of appreciation, intended to entertain guests with ordered greenery which not hosts but horticulturists landscaped and maintained. Contrasting with this accustomed, passive manner of feeling nature, a *modern* view held by the home economists and educators was rooted in their faith in the creativity of an individual. Real gratification, they believed, did not necessarily come from the garden *per se*, but could be achieved through involvement in 'gardening': cultivating soil and touching flowers, for example. Mizushima's study indicates, in addition, that the new culture of 'gardening' became recognised in conjunction with the spread of the concept of home.<sup>87</sup> In other words, a conceptual change from a dwelling for production to home for leisure



Figure 2.11  
Gardening (Ōmori, *Katei no shumi*, 191) National Diet Library, Tokyo

entailed the re-interpretation of the *raison d'être* of the garden. Beneath the eyes of the experts, it became the land for warm domesticity, and members of the family were expected to cultivate affections through expressing their cultivated *shumi* (figure 2.11). Mr Miwada assumed that “the beauty of nature” which they appreciate through keeping the private garden was a medium “to generate emotional connections unifying them.”<sup>88</sup> Flowers and vegetables which they grew together were metaphors for the fruits of loving. Ōmori’s advice valued their engagement in the cycle of vegetable growing: cultivating, sowing, watering, harvesting, cooking and eating.<sup>89</sup> In his view, this was not only a vehicle for family gatherings but also an “exceptionally good *shumi*” in both taste and recreation.<sup>90</sup>

As the quest for *shumi* transformed the garden as a product of symbolism into the realm of personal expression, ways to ‘leisurise’ it became diverse. Some might hope to use this familistic land as a playground rather than a flower bed and vegetable garden. Arguably that depended on families’



Figure 2.12  
Family of Akiko Yosano (centre) in the garden (*Fujin no tomo*, March 1914, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

*shumi*. In her article “Entertainment of my children,” Akiko Yosano, the feminist writer, set down her devotion as a mother of eleven children, relating it with her will to want the garden for them:

Boys and girls must be happy if a mother had enough time to play with. But I for one have been too busy to have time for my children. I feel sorry to be unable to do so. ... As I build a house for my family in the future, I would like to provide them with an outdoor play space. I keenly realise the necessity of this kind of amenity. It must be given to children with busy parents like me.<sup>91</sup>

Her accounts proved the experts’ intention of ‘leisurisation’ of the garden to evoke parents’ attachment to children at home (figure 2.12).

### **Quest for *shumi* and its consequences**

The aesthetic reform urged by the advocates of *shumi* was crucial in raising public awareness of the importance of cultural, non-profitable activities on

the private side. This trend was fuelled by political discourses evolving around the identification of leisure pursuits with personal *shumi*, as evidenced by the change in purposes of the public lectures held by the boards of education of local authorities. At first, the lectures aimed to gain understanding of the schooling system, offering entertainments to attract parents of school-age children.<sup>92</sup> As school attendance rates reached nearly 100%, the interests of the educational administrators shifted to the quality of the entertainments, albeit originally mere appurtenances of the lectures.<sup>93</sup> They began to perceive these kinds of leisure pursuits as indicators of civilisation, realising a lack of opportunities to engage in amusements with appropriate *shumi* outside of the realm of formal education. The lectures then ceased to be pedagogic at all, combining more informed speeches with recommended performances including music.<sup>94</sup> In this respect, the standardisation of programmes of the lectures, commissioned by the education minister in 1911, meant the government intervention in personality.<sup>95</sup> The results of such politics of *shumi* are indicated in a 1923 inquiry into how people used leisure time in Osaka. It illuminated ‘leisured’ private life embedded in various recreations including sports: the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, reading, playing musical instruments, painting, gardening, and so on.<sup>96</sup>

But middle-class leisure was still in question. As a similar survey conducted by Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education in 1916 suggested, the elites *still* continued to hope that pleasure through leisure activities should be pursued by the whole family.<sup>97</sup> The absence of family gatherings arose in response to a materialistic view held by some of the better-off recognising hobbies and recreations as tokens of their abilities to consume. Their pseudo-*shumi* in both taste and leisure was sharply condemned by commentators. In his critique of the essentiality of aesthetic sense in everyday life, agricultural economist Inazō Nitobe blamed amateur collectors of antiques without *shumi* for their weakness for “prices” rather than “beauty and fineness” of *objets d’art*.<sup>98</sup> As the chancellor of Tokyo School of Music, Motoichi Yuhara’s criticised “daughters’ music” in *The Ladies’ Graphic* of 1915.<sup>99</sup> He bewailed the fact that, despite the intentions of the cultural elites, most of people were apt to enjoy playing musical instruments alone in houses.<sup>100</sup> Whilst girls were

urged to acquire musical *shumi* for marriage meetings with gentlemen, “rarely is playing music done for amusement of family gatherings,” and he was most disappointed.<sup>101</sup> It could be thought that some relatively well-to-do families still viewed recreational activities in the same way as pre-modern accomplishments which served to set up symbolic expressions of material possessions.

Even elites sometimes exposed their unfamiliarity with leisure involving family gatherings. In a feature of *The Ladies' Graphic* on home entertainment, Mrs Maeda confessed against its topic that the old-fashioned motto of the family headed by a viscount, “Be Simple and Frugal,” made them “put little emphasis on amusement in the house.”<sup>102</sup> It was likewise for the Sumi family; “home entertainment does rarely matter,” Mrs Sumi told.<sup>103</sup> She was the mother of a large family including three girls and wife of an army officer who believed that daughters of military personnel must grow up to be modest.<sup>104</sup> This did not necessarily mean her stubborn refusal to domesticate leisure, but recreational activities were merely fruitless in constituting family gatherings. In fact, the trend toward *shumi* led her to exhort the second and third daughters to start taking piano lessons.<sup>105</sup> Then she was entirely amused by supper at which “the father is comfortably being healed by girls’ piano playing.”<sup>106</sup> Whatever the motive, every single pursuit of recreations was likely to have an effect of ‘leisuring’ private spheres.

In short, the birth of the concept of *shumi* entailed a conceptualisation of how individuals were related psychologically to others and to their surroundings. The accounts of the advocators of *shumi* presumed that personal expressions including ways to dress and to furnish the house were the public definition of personalities. The aesthetic question concerning the proliferation of *nouveau-riche* vulgarity led the advocators to suggest a remedy for lack of personal *shumi*: the pursuit of *shumi* (recreation) on the private side. They believed that the refinement of the public eye for beauty was essential in shaping the new arts as the public definition of *modern* Japan. Home economists and educators also followed the advocators’ dialectics, illuminating the emotional power of leisure to unify compartmentalised members of the family. In their argument, the narrative of ‘home’ served as a contextual logic to steer middle-class aspirations



towards family gatherings. The Romantic vision behind it played a pivotal role not only in highlighting togetherness, but also in judging appropriateness in home entertainments. This redefinition of the institution of the family began to have an impact on material relations in everyday life, turning a house for production into home encompassing a happy family circle. Even though acts of domesticating recreations were not necessarily aimed to form a company of parents and children, these pursuits of personal pleasure became more or less paths to the 'leisurisation' of dwelling. Such a discrepancy between the experts' view of the ideal home and realities was living proof that ordinary people attempted to appropriate domestic spaces based on their *shumi* – in both taste and recreation. In this respect, it could be said that creativity of individuals, the advocators assumed, was activated through the quest for *shumi*, as engines of appropriation.

## Notes

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3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Yuki Jinno, *Shumi no tanjō: Hyakkaten ga tsukutta teisuto* (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 1994), 10.
6. Jinno, *Shumi no tanjō*, 26.
7. Ibid., 13.
8. “Shumi hakkō no shushi,” *Shumi*, June 1906, front page.
9. Ibid.
10. Shōyō Tsubouchi, “Shumi,” *Shumi*, June 1906, 3-4.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Jinno, *Shumi no tanjō*, 23.
14. Sazanami Iwaya, “Shumi to keizai,” *Shumi*, July 1906, 2.
15. Suiin Nishimoto, “Shumi kyōiku,” *Shumi*, August 1906, 27.
16. Ibid.
17. Iwaya, “Shumi to keizai,” 1.
18. Doppo Kunikida, “Shumi ni tsuite,” *Shumi*, May 1907, 50.
19. Jinno, *Shumi no tanjō*, 11.
20. Nishimoto, “Shumi kyōiku,” 25.
21. Ibid.
22. Kunikida, “Shumi ni tsuite,” 50.
23. Ibid.
24. Iwaya, “Shumi to keizai,” 3.
25. Nishimoto, “Shumi kyōiku,” 26.
26. “Shumi hakkō no shushi,” front page.
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28. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau: Osaka toshi jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 282; Shinzō Ogi, *Edo Tōkyō gaku* (Tokyo, Toshishuppan, 2005), 115-8.
29. Reiko Hayashi, *Edo kamigata no ōdana to chōka jyosei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakōbunkan, 2001) 284-7; Michihumi Isoda, “Bakumatsu bushi no kakei to saimu, Tottori hanshi no bunseki,” in *Tokugawa Nihon no raifu kōsu, Rekishi Jinkōgaku tonō taiwa*, ed. Emiko Ochiai (Kyoto: Minervashobō, 2006), 434.
30. Jinno, *Shumi no tanjō*, 4.
31. Motomich Miwada, *Katei no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Hattorishoten, 1908), 7.

32. Utako Shimoda, *Katei* (Tokyo: Jitsugyō-no-nihonsha, 1915), 23.
33. Masako Miwada, *Shinkatei kun* (Tokyo, Hakubunkan, 1907), 2.
34. *Ibid.*, 189.
35. Heizaburō Takashima, “Shumi no shinri,” *Fujin gahō*, December 1911, 27.
36. Miwada, *Katei no kenkyū*, 30.
37. Kanae Mizushima, “Kindai ni okeru katei no seisei to henyō: Katei niwa warakudanran” (PhD diss., Nara Women’s University, 2009), 21-38.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Manjirō Ōmori, *Katei no shumi* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1909), 90.
40. Shimoda, *Katei*, 22.
41. *Ibid.*, 6.
42. Miwada, *Shinkatei kun*, 36-9.
43. Ōmori, *Katei no Shumi*, 119.
44. Miwada, *Katei no kenkyū*, 14.
45. Miwada, *Shinkatei kun*, 40.
46. *Ibid.*, 193.
47. Kōtaro Takamura, “Shumi toiu koto,” *Fujin no tomo*, January 1912, 77.
48. Ryūkichi Endo, “Seikatsu no shumi wo hattatsu seyo,” *Fujin gahō*, September 1913, 24.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Miwada, *Shinkatei kun*, 126.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Kazuko Koizumi, *Chabudai no Shōwa* (Tokyo: Kawadeshobōshinsha, 2002), 86-8.
53. Miwada, *Katei no kenkyū*, 161.
54. Ōmori, *Katei no Shumi*, 159-60.
55. Miwada, *Katei no kenkyū*, 158-62.
56. *Ibid.*, 169.
57. Ōmori, *Katei no Shumi*, 165.
58. It is considered that the cultures of commercial newssheets and spread of private elementary schools called *terakoya* raised a literacy rate in pre-industrial times. This continued to exert a positive impact on literacy level after the public schooling was established. Some estimate that about 40-50% of the male population were able to read in the 1870s. The literacy rate of females during the same years was considered to be around 15%, but large cities were likely to have a higher percentage of men and women who were literate. The illiterate rate of males aged 20 was 25.3% in 1905, and this figure decreased dramatically to just 3.4% by 1920. This means that reading as such was not a challenge especially for the middle classes in this period. See Yasuo Saito, “Shikiji nōryoku shikiji ritsu no rekishiteki suii: Nihon no keiken,” *Kokusai kyōiku kyōryoku ronshū* 15 (2012): 51-62.

59. Ōmori, *Katei no Shumi*, 170-4.
60. Miwada, *Katei no kenkyū*, 189.
61. Ōmori, *Katei no Shumi*, 179.
62. Ibid.
63. Hayashi, *Edo kamigata no ōdana to chōka jyosei*, 284-7; Isoda, “Bakumatsu bushi no kakei to saimu,” 434.
64. Miwada, *Katei no kenkyū*, 190-1.
65. Ibid.
66. Ōmori, *Katei no Shumi*, 179.
67. Yuko Iwaya, “Watakushidomo no goraku ha kodomo chūshin,” *Fujin gahō*, February 1915, 25.
68. Tomiko Hasegawa, “Ōunabara ni shizen wo aiteni,” *Fujin gahō*, February 1915, 29.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., 30.
71. Ibid.
72. Ryūkichi Endo, “Chūrūkaikyū no fujin,” *Fujin no tomo*, September 1912, 31.
73. Norikuni Kimura, “Taishō jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to ima-chūshingata jyūtaku yōshiki no seiritsu,” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Engineering, Hokkaido University* 18 (1958): 90-2; Kazuyo Kubo, *Jyoseizasshi ni sumaidukuri wo manabu: Taishō demokurashi ki wo chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 2005), 130-5.
74. Yasushi Yoshida et al., *Nihon no minka dai 5 kan: Chōka* (Tokyo: Gakushūkenkyūsha, 1980), 176; Shun’ichi Majima, “Minka doma to daidoko: Meiji 20 (1887) nen no yōsan nōka wo chūshin ni,” in *Daidokoro no hyakunen*, ed. Japan Society of Lifology (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 1999), 52.
75. Takako Kaetsu, “Kazoku no atsumarishi basho,” *Fujin no tomo*, October 1916, 80-1.
76. Nobuko Imura, “Shufu no heya no setsubi,” *Fujin no tomo*, October 1911, 93.
77. Koizumi, *Chabudai no Shōwa*, 86-8.
78. Ibid., 90-3.
79. Ibid.
80. Setsuya Sakurada, “Kyakuma shosai ima no seiri no shikata,” *Fujin gahō*, April 1918, 21.
81. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau: Osaka toshi jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 355-6.
82. Akira Yasuno, “Eisei ga michibiita kōgaiseikatsu,” in *Jyūtaku kenchiku bunken shūsei dai 8 kan*, ed. Seizō Uchida (Tokyo: Kashiwashobō, 2010), 257-94.

83. Motomichi Miwada, "Tokai seikatsu to denen seikatsu," *Fujin gahō*, April 1910, 10-3; Kenjorō Nakagawa, "Kōtō kyōiku wo ukeshi fujin to heibonnaru katei," *Fujin gahō*, July 1910, 9-10.
84. Ōmori, *Katei no Shumi*, 201-6.
85. Yukiko Sasaki, "Shochū to waga katei," *Fujin gahō*, August 1910, 33-4.
86. Yaeko Nogami, "Tanoshimi ōki kōgai seikatsu," *Fujin gahō*, July 1911, 52-4.
87. Kanae Mizushima, "Kindai ni okeru engei ryōiki heno danran no shintō: Jyogakuzasshi to engeisho no bunseki kara," *Journal of Japan Society of Home Economics* 59 (2008): 69-79.
88. Miwada, *Katei no kenkyū*, 192-3.
89. Ōmori, *Katei no Shumi*, 192.
90. Ibid.
91. Akiko Yosano, "Wagaya no kodomo no goraku," *Fujin no tomo*, July 1915, 29-31.
92. Takeo Matsuda, "Meiji ki ni okeru shakai kyōiku tsūzoku kyōiku gainen no kentō," *Research Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, Kyushu University* 2 (1999): 9-13.
93. Shirō Kurauchi, *Meiji makki shakai kyōiku kan no kenkyū: Tsūzoku kyōiku chōsa iinkai seiritsu ki* (Tokyo: Noma Kyōiku Kenkyūjyo, 1961), 85-136; Takao Ōkura, "Kyōiku jiron ni okeru tsūzoku kyōiku ron to shakai kyōiku ron," in *Kyōiku no tankyū*, ed. Iida Chōzō Kyōjyu Koki Kinen Ronbunshū Kankō Committee (Tokyo: Meiseishuppan, 1976), 123-41.
94. Takeo Matsuda, "Tsūzoku kyōiku no keikakuka to chiiki ni okeru tayō na tenkai," *Research Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, Kyushu University* 5 (2003): 46-9.
95. Matsuda, "Meiji ki ni okeru shakai kyōiku tsūzoku kyōiku gainen no kentō," 68-72.
96. City of Osaka, *Yoka seikatsu no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kōbundō, 1923), 239-342.
97. Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education, *Tsūzoku kyōiku tojin no shumi* (Tokyo: Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education, 1916), 10-11.
98. Inazo Nitobe, "Shumi ha nanigoto nimo," *Fujin gahō*, January 1917, 8.
99. Motoichi Yukawa, "Shū to tomoni tanoshimi ongaku," *Fujin gahō*, October 1915, 66.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Kiyoko Maeda, "Mukashi no kahū ni sokubaku sarete," *Fujin gahō*, February 1915, 24.
103. Kaneko Sumi, "Goraku no sukunai watakushidomo no katei," *Fujin gahō*, February 1915, 27.
104. Ibid., 26-7.
105. Ibid., 27.
106. Ibid.

### 3. Rationalisation and Romanticisation of Domestic Architecture, 1910-1923

This chapter illustrates how architectural practices were affected by the imagery of personhood, family and home, and the quest for *shumi*. It focuses mainly on a period of what Japanese historians of architecture have recognised as the “Housing Reform Movement,” from the early 1910s to 1923, when the Greater Tokyo Earthquake hit the capital.<sup>1</sup> The Movement is viewed as the fruits of the democratic nature of the period, which saw the rapid commercialisation of journalism and the arrival of a new literary trend.<sup>2</sup> A growing number of exhibitions sponsored by both public and private sectors began to deal with home, allowing visitors to feel and consider their future lives.<sup>3</sup> The women’s press was filled with a range of experts’ advice on how to furnish; how to decorate; how to build a house.<sup>4</sup> Print media acted as forums for constructive dialogue with an audience through readers’ letters and design competitions.<sup>5</sup> This study presumes that, beyond these dynamics of socio-cultural interaction, the public debates on domestic architecture was boosted by the internalisation of a phenomenological perspective, espoused by the advocates of *shumi*, which associated conditions of personal expressions with people’s states of mind. Journalism served to facilitate the Movement powered by a search for a public taste.<sup>6</sup>

The basic underpinning of the experts’ accounts was the faith that the relationship between the body and space should be rational. Jargon which they borrowed from the terminology of science and public health was persuasive, and used effectively as powerful weapons in criticising a fault of the cultured manners of living and housing. But their answers to

rationalising day-to-day activities were predetermined. They believed that their visions of life and architecture were embodiments of rational patterns of material relations. First, I examine their justification for rationalisation by reviewing the system of logic behind their writings on the design of the kitchen. Second, the development of the prevailing purpose design: the “interior-corridor plan” is explored, demonstrating how their reasoning for rationality legitimated the Romanticised view of the home narrative with its compartmentalised family relations. The last section of this chapter discusses the production of architecture and the realisation of a gap between architectural expressions of rationality and what ordinary people recognised as being rational.

### **Kitchen as a Hygeia**

Since starting to look at ordinary houses, architects’ appeal to the public had always evolved around an issue of physical posture. In their view, the custom of sitting down on a floor ingrained into domestic life was barbaric, and should be replaced by the use of chairs and tables with long legs.<sup>7</sup> They ascribed the spread of the new habit of taking a seat in the public spheres to rationality behind the design of Western furniture.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, the traditional dwelling style was tarred with the reputation of being illogical and unscientific.<sup>9</sup> The *tatami* dwelling continued to be common against their hope in practice, but their calls for rationality were not unrelated to the organisation of household. As discussed in Chapter 1, *modern* housework ordering a compartmentalised family was expected to be efficient and methodical. The essence of their faith thus echoed the future direction for remodelling domestic spaces, indicating that material objects encompassing the body should be designed to make patterns of behaviour systematic and streamlined.

Arguably, rhetoric to structuralise the relationship between the body and its surroundings partly came from sanitary science. The national and prefectural health services, created in 1874, dedicated their formative period to the prevention of the dreadful plague that had recurrently polluted urban

centres until the second half of 1900s.<sup>10</sup> Building regulations were enforced to disinfect cities, presuming sanitarians' view that the cause of life-threatening illness was attributed to foul living conditions.<sup>11</sup> Personal protection measures on how to maintain physical fitness and the sanitary state of a house were taught in schools as part of the battles against epidemics.<sup>12</sup> The textbooks and advice manuals suggested that a dry land with plenty of fresh air and sunshine was hygienically favourable for housing.<sup>13</sup> The medical discourses on sanitary dwelling were rooted in miasmatic explanations that related contagious diseases with injurious vapour called 'sewer gas' emanating from noxious materials.<sup>14</sup>

The development of germ theories elucidating the mechanism of infectious agents notwithstanding, the avoidance of exposure to air and materials perceived as being 'polluted' continued to be a rule for examining the quality of domestic architecture.<sup>15</sup> The eyes of health-conscious architects did not derive satisfaction from accustomed ways people got into contact with a floor.<sup>16</sup> Having studied architecture in America, Shigetsura Shiga was the professor known for his initiative in the critique of ordinary houses, feeling uncomfortable with Japanese-style dwelling. In his *pseudo*-scientific discourse, the custom of living *on* a floor was treated as an unhealthy habit that forced people to "breathe [poisonous] carbonic acid gas built upon" the ground.<sup>17</sup> His attack on established material relations was presumably an expedient to praise Western architecture as the perfection of rationality. But the cult of hygiene was nonetheless pivotal in re-configuring a system of value in ways to link the body with space.

A changing attitude toward the floor plane led to criticisms of the customary usage of the kitchen of an orthodox detached house and farmer's dwelling. As explained in the opening chapter, the kitchen of a *samurai* residence had dirt and planked floors (figure 3.1). The earthen-floored space served as a scullery and service entrance adjoining the street.<sup>18</sup> Receiving rice, vegetables and fish from street vendors, a mistress and maids were stooping to wash them in a trough placed on the ground. Water came from a well built in this area; otherwise a spout connected with one outside transported it.<sup>19</sup> Rinsed ingredients were then put on a chopping board, and women cooked them sitting down on the boarded floor (figure 3.2).<sup>20</sup> In the kitchen



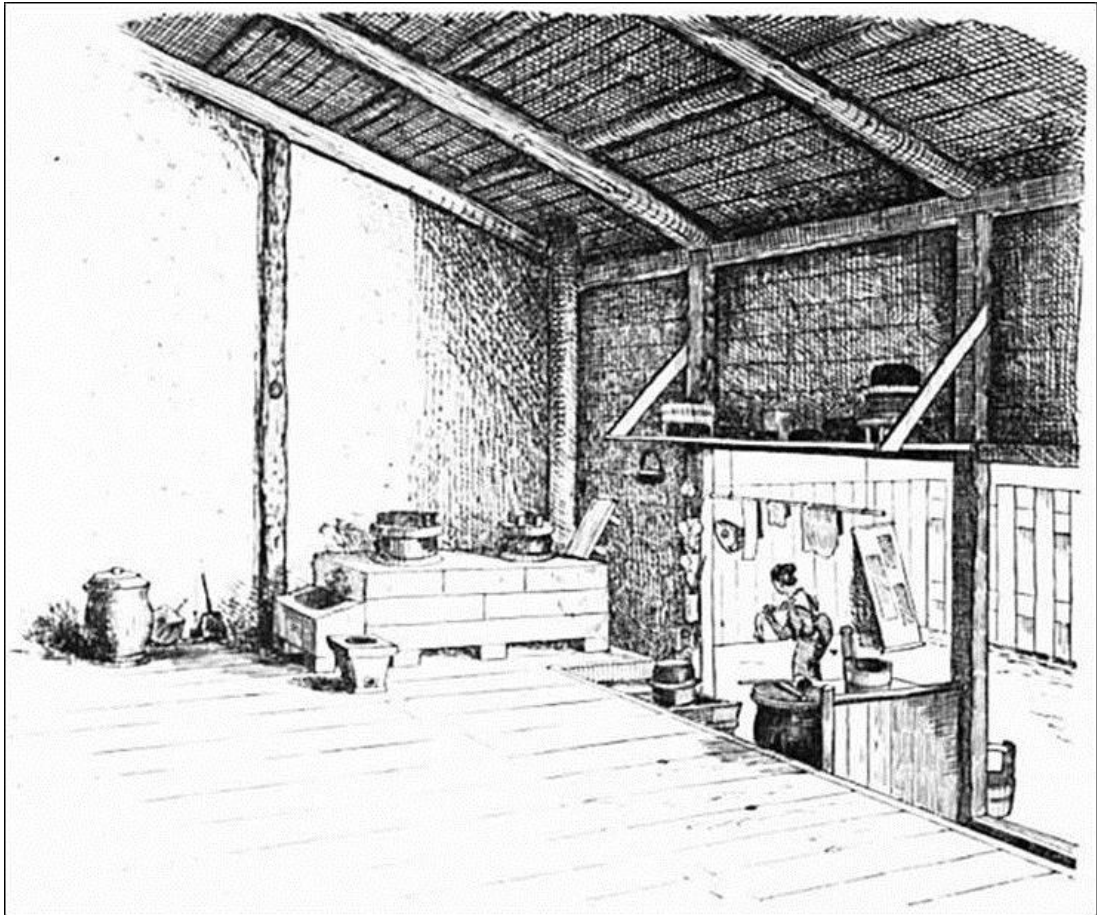


Figure 3.1  
Kitchen of an orthodox detached house (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 191) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

illustrated by Edward Morse, the floored space came with a cooking stove called *kamado*, heating a pot and rice kettle, and a small charcoal stove, *shichirin*, for some cooking and for boiling water (figure 3.3).<sup>21</sup> With dinner trays and eating utensils, it could be transformed into a dining area after cooking, as some ethnographical studies unveil.

Architects were not the only professions who wanted to do away with this cooking-eating process whereby dwellers were ‘crawling’ along the floor. The elites also began to imply a change in psychological reaction from this customary practice to an aversion to putting food on the floor.<sup>22</sup> If separation was the universal way to solve such an epistemological problem, the use of a cupboard would be the first step to keep tableware and cookware clear of the ‘polluted’ floor. Little furniture for storage was found in the pre-modern kitchen that contained a few fixtures including ledges and racks.<sup>23</sup> Most of cooking and eating utensils were simply stacked upon the raised floor. A



Figure 3.2  
Cooking while sitting (*Fujin no tomo*, June 1911, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

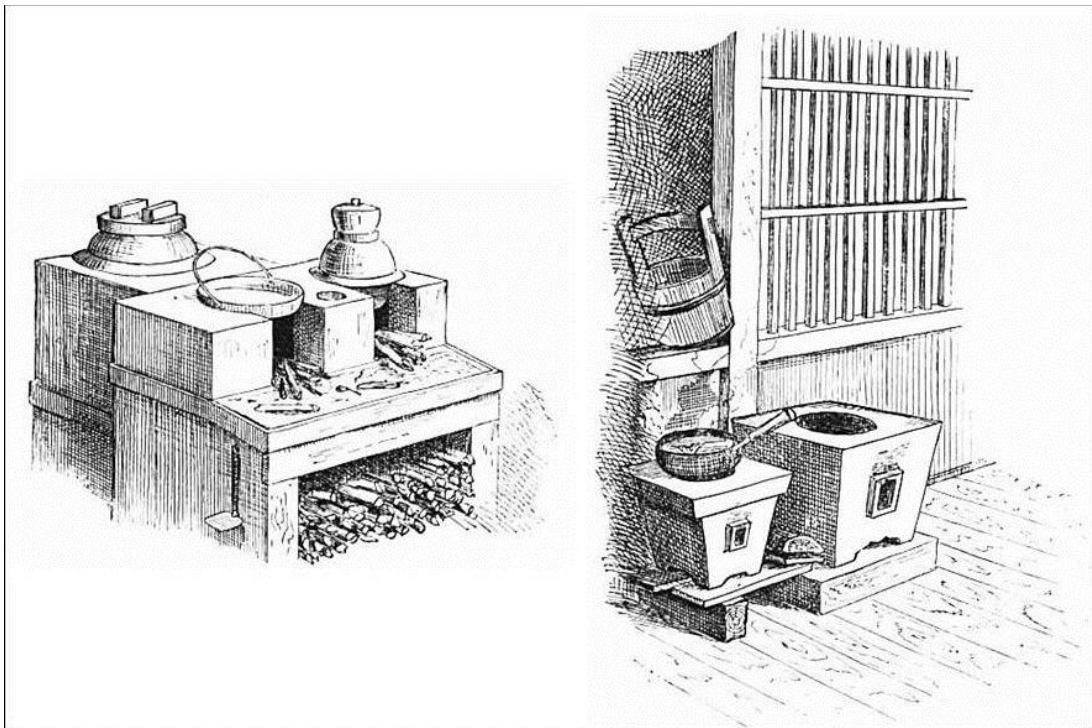


Figure 3.3  
*Kamado* (left) and *Shichirin* (right) (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 187, 191) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

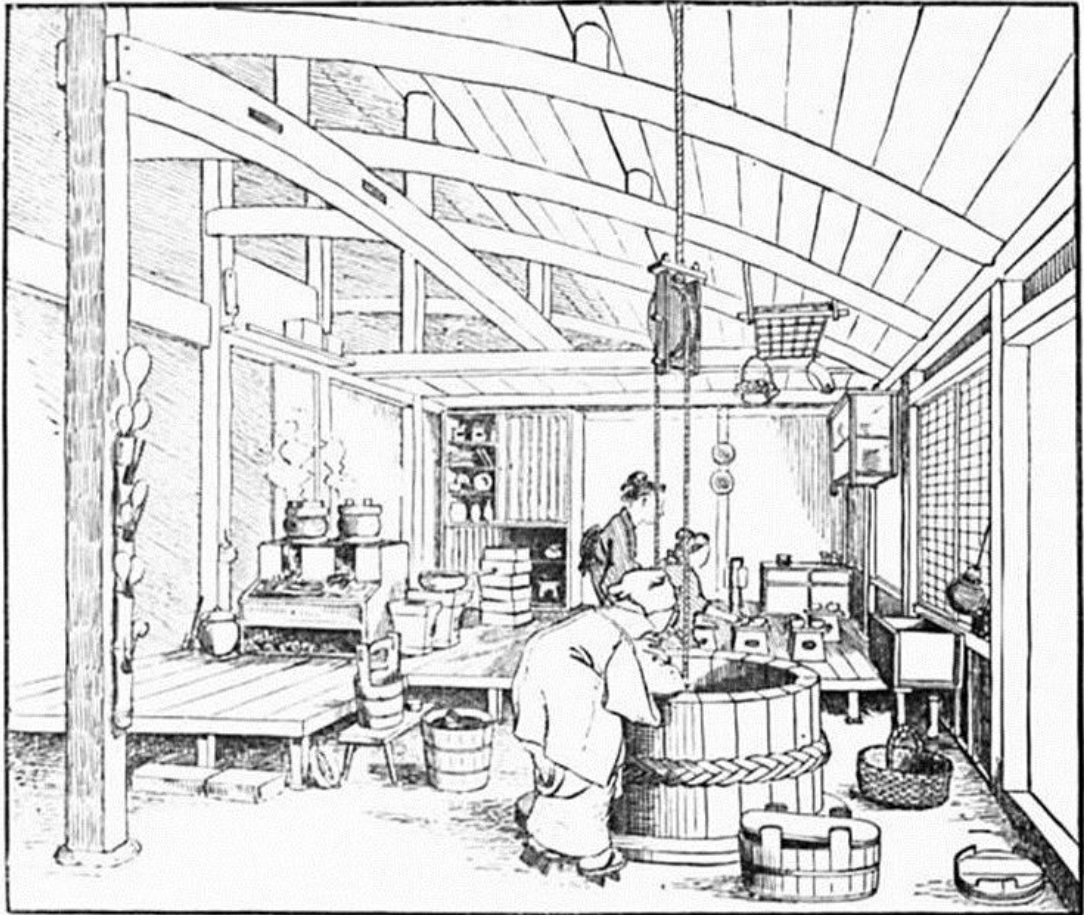


Figure 3.4  
Kitchen of a farmhouse with a cupboard (Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, 186) University of Toronto Libraries, Toronto

cupboard and sideboard were thus *modern* items popularised throughout a period on which this study focuses, altering manners in which the utensils were ordered and stored (figure 3.4).<sup>24</sup> The spread of them was also a channel for facilitating the realisation of the elites' vision: cooking while standing. In this respect, the appearance of furniture was a subtle response to their ideal of the rational use of vertical space in the kitchen. It could be thought that a growing awareness of the condition of being disordered and unsystematic *created* by the experts like home economists Tsukamoto was a starting point of redesigning the kitchen:

The kitchen [of an orthodox detached house] is excessively large; nevertheless, spaces around a trough are extraordinarily overfull, packed with pails, soy kegs, sake casks, *kamado*, *shichirin*, firewood, charcoals, plats, bowls, pots, rice cookers, mortar, and so on. That is why the improvement of it has currently become a serious matter of concern.<sup>25</sup>

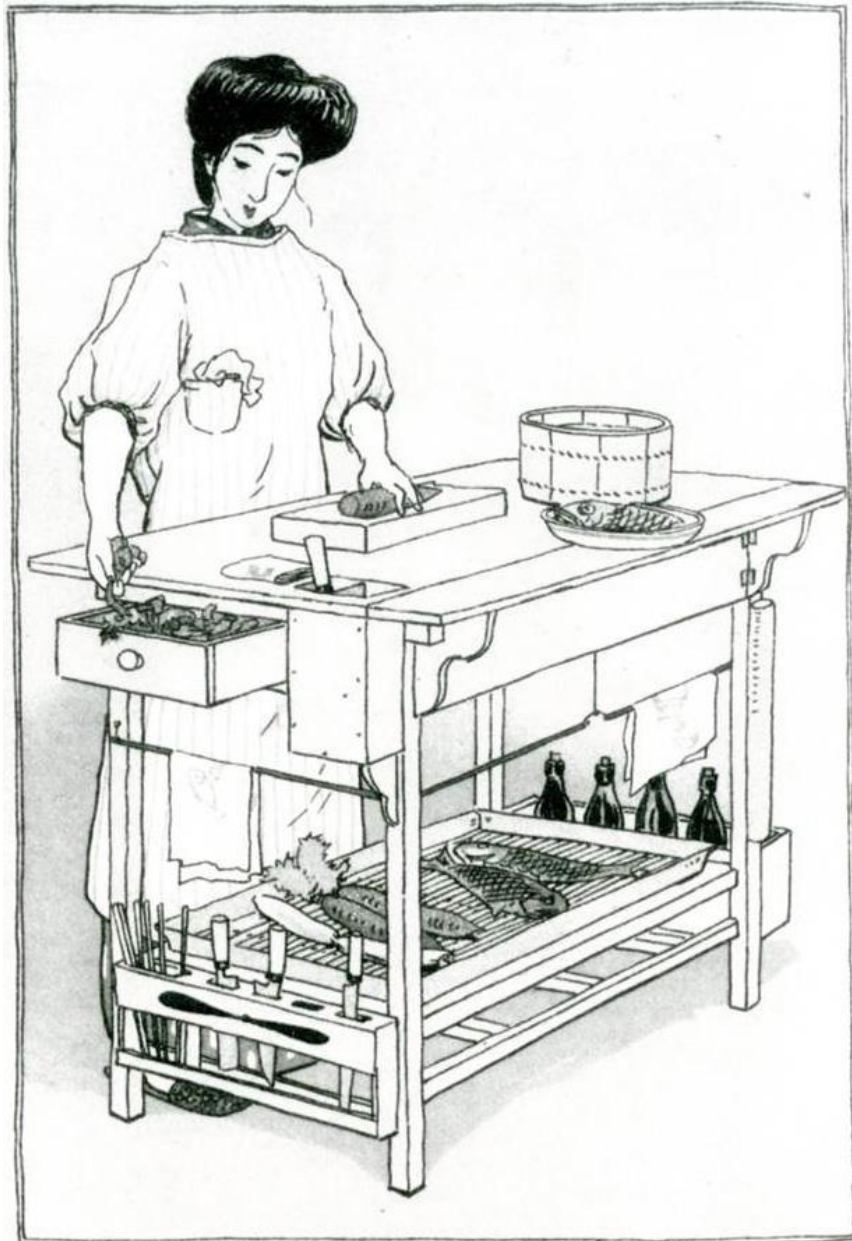


Figure 3.5  
Tatsuko Mizumachi's kitchen table (*Fujin no tomo*, October 1913,  
frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

Tsukamoto's perspective, voiced in her 1906 book, was proof that the elites had established a reasonable motive for modernising the design of the kitchen by the late 1900s.<sup>26</sup> Their image of a new system of the kitchen in turn became more incarnate from the next decade onward, in which the visibility of aesthetic quality was increasingly valuable as a result of the cultural campaign led by the advocates of *shumi*. For example, Tatsuko Mizumachi was the inventor of a kitchen table announced in *Women's Companion* of 1913 (figure 3.5).<sup>27</sup> It was an embodiment of the elites'

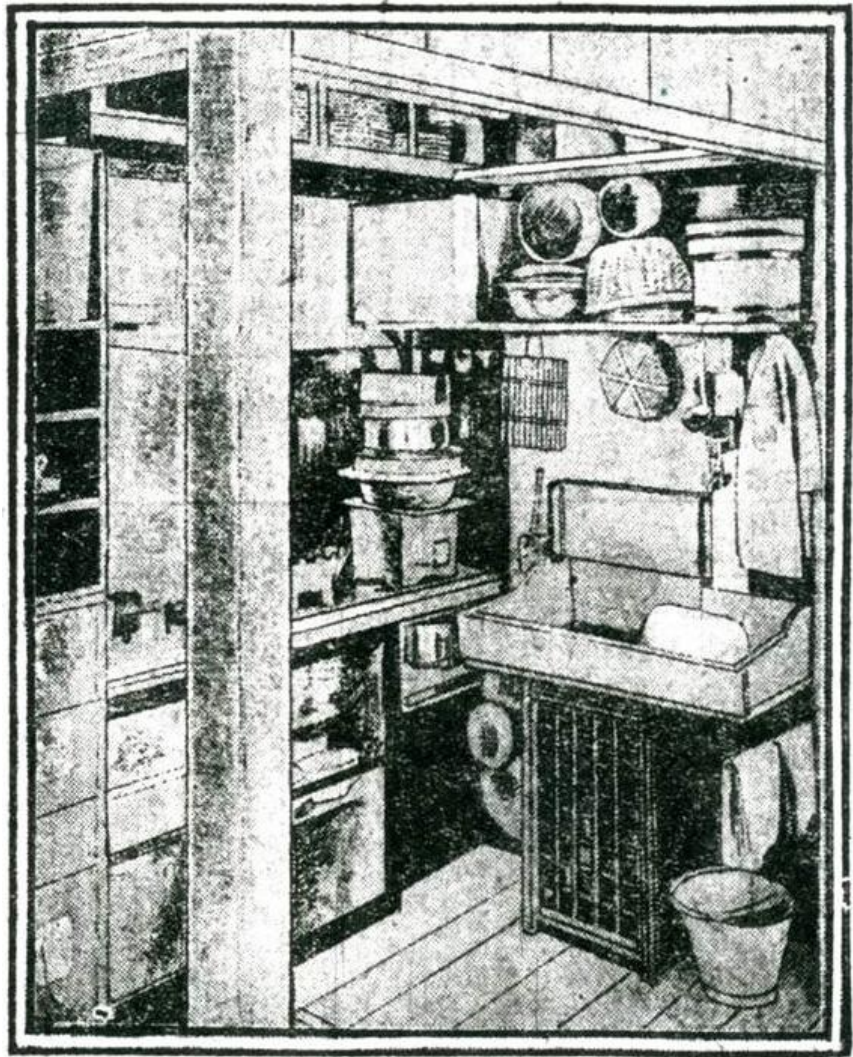


Figure 3.6  
Tsuneko Irisawa's "one-and-half *tatami*-mat-size kitchen"  
(*Kokumin shinbun*, 19 April 1915, 5) National Diet Library, Tokyo

imagination – cooking while standing, suggesting a particular set of upward and downward motion in a washing-cutting process of preparing meals.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps, her invention was not apparently unprecedented in the eyes of some readers, because cooking apparatuses in the *tōriniwa* of a tradesman's house conventionally bespoke standing posture in Kyoto and its environs.<sup>29</sup> But a view held by experts presumed complex conditions requiring efficiency, functionality and hygiene. Drawers and dustbin were consequently situated under the worktop coated with a zinc-iron alloy, thereby allowing the cook to minimise the amount of physical exertion in dealing with assorted utensils and food scraps and to keep it clean.<sup>30</sup>

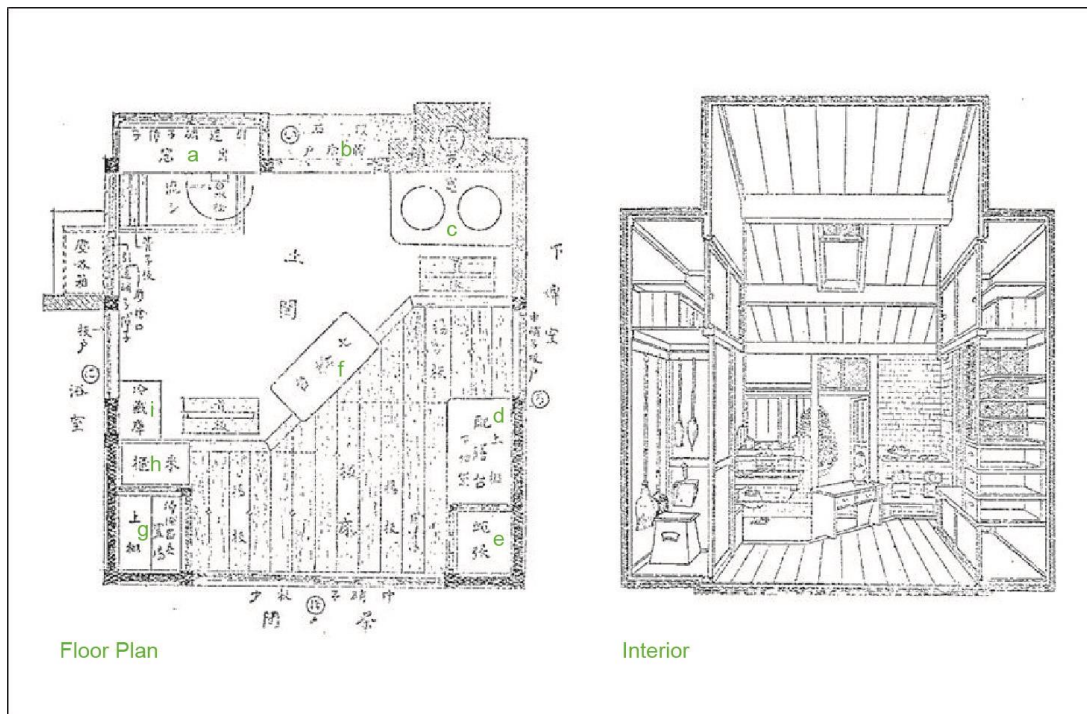


Figure 3.7  
Award-winning kitchen design in the 1915 competition held by Osaka Asahi Shinbun (a: bay window; b: service entrance; c: *kamado*; d: worktop; e: drawer; f: pedestal to set up *shichirin*; g: closet; h: rice chest; i: refrigerator) (*Kenchiku zasshi*, 27 December 1915, 360) Architectural Institute of Japan Library, Tokyo

Along with an array of displays of brand-new décors, an extremely small kitchen suggested by Tsuneko Irisawa intrigued visitors of the Home Exhibition, sponsored by Kokumin Shinbun (Newspaper), 1915 (figure 3.6).<sup>31</sup> This was named “one-and-half *tatami*-mat-size kitchen,” three-dimensionally integrating various components to cover the whole process of cooking.<sup>32</sup> Her design took up minimal space in contrast with that of the pre-modern kitchen whose general characters were spacious and furnitureless, and accordingly meant that the floor was no longer used for sitting and eating. Suzuko Misumi, the principal of a girl’s high school, championed the visualisation of rationality in this way, proposing to apply the Taylor system to the disposition of kitchen equipment.<sup>33</sup>

A design competition held by Osaka Asahi Shinbun to seek “the ideal kitchen of a middle-class house” meanwhile showed a perception gap between the experts and middle-class audience in the same year.<sup>34</sup> The award-winning models were products of contributors’ efforts to create ample closet spaces and arrange openings for sanitary needs, but still retained

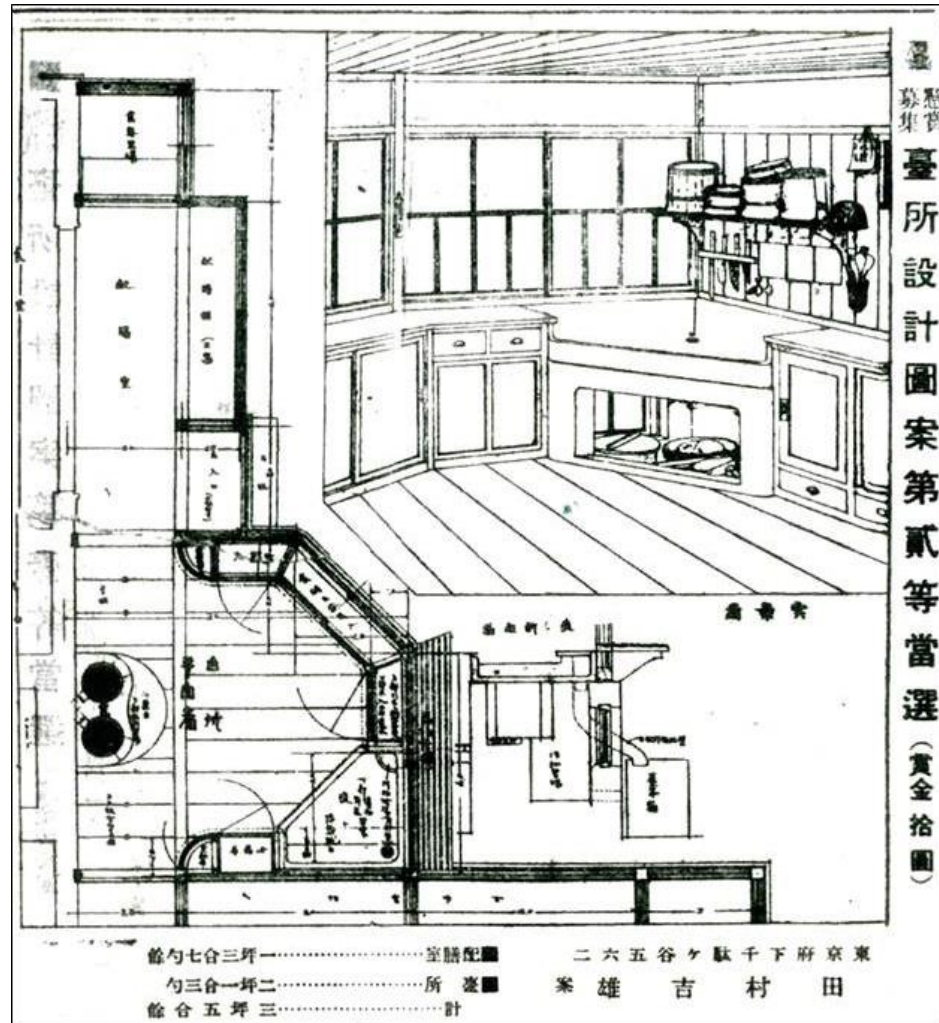


Figure 3.8  
Award-winning kitchen design in the 1918 competition held by OHR  
(*Jyūtaku*, May 1918, 14) National Diet Library, Tokyo

remnants of the orthodox kitchen in planning. For example, a plan characterised by a pedestal to set up a *shichirin* had an area of about 8.7 m<sup>2</sup>, consisting of earthen and raised floors which were nearly the same in size (figure 3.7).<sup>35</sup> Water and fire were designed to be confined to the hard-packed ground, and the exclusion of the worktop from this scullery-like space evoked a conventional procedure of preparing meals. The worktop drawn in the boarded floor was like a low table, which indicated that a cook was expected to cut ingredients and dish up while being seated on the floor. Perhaps, the contributors described conceptions of what they thought practicable and clean, with reference to their daily experiences in the use of the kitchen.

The designs of the kitchen proposed by readers of a periodical of the Organisation for Housing Reform (OHR), *Jyūtaku* (*The House*),

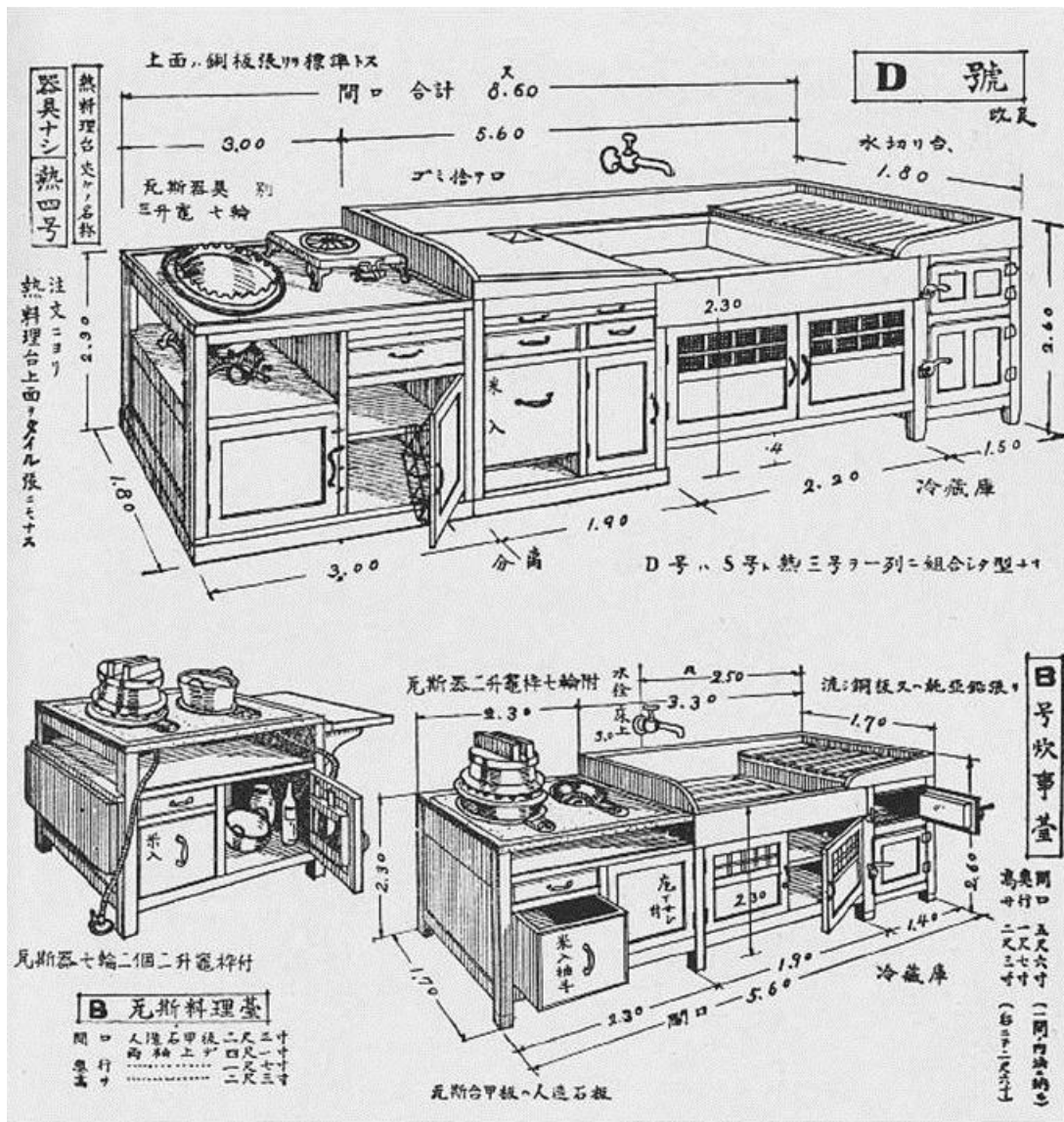


Figure 3.9  
Hiroyuki Suzuki's integrated kitchen system (*Kenchiku doboku shiryōshūran*, 1929, 514) National Diet Library, Tokyo

demonstrated their informed views derived from a good deal of pictures of Western-style architecture which it conveyed. The OHR, created by America-ya Corporation of a homebuilder, served as a meeting place for academics and professional architects who were keen to remodel dwellings of ordinary people.<sup>36</sup> *The House* hosted various competitions in architectural planning as a means to communicate and negotiate with its audience, which included a design contest focusing on the space of kitchen.<sup>37</sup> Winners' drawings of the ideal kitchens were exhibited in the issue of 1918, suggesting that sinks and countertops were equipped at the same height as free-standing cookers (figure 3.8).<sup>38</sup> Whilst such modern amenities were entirely grouped on the



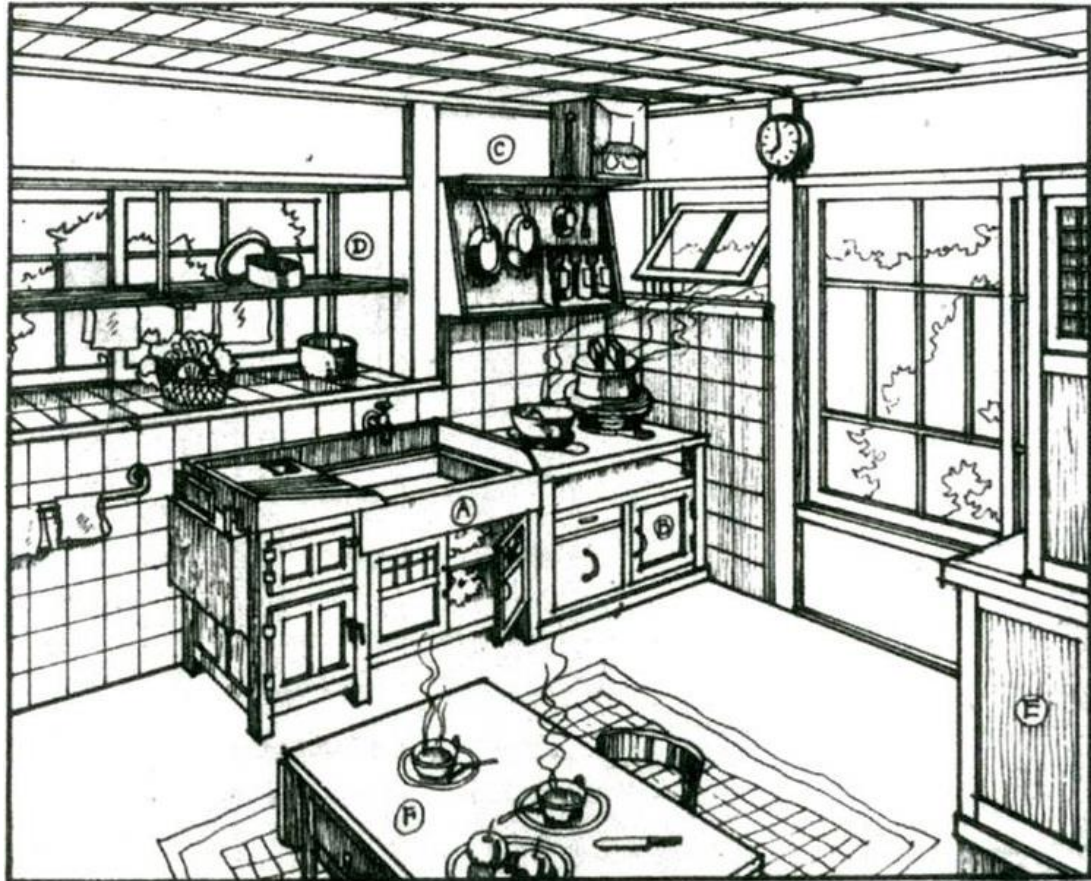


Figure 3.10  
Image of the kitchen with the apparatuses designed by Hiroyuki Suzuki (*Jyūtake*, February 1933, 101) National Diet Library, Tokyo

boarded floors, some proposals placed tiny spaces uncovered with planks along backdoors.<sup>39</sup> They were no longer intended to be used as sculleries, but culturally inevitable settings for taking shoes off.<sup>40</sup> This contest assumed a middle-class house with a dining room, indicating that contributors were not requested to consider eating in the kitchen.<sup>41</sup>

A device commercialised by Hiroyuki Suzuki was an integrated kitchen system as an ingenious response to intricate rules of productivity, cleanliness, and rationality. Trained at a polytechnic, he spent his early career as an architect and worked for the architectural firm of his father.<sup>42</sup> His inspiration for the development of the kitchen system was drawn from a dialogue with his American client through a design project.<sup>43</sup> In 1920, he launched his own business to invent a new form of kitchen like one generally used in the United States.<sup>44</sup> The typical model of his products for practical use consisted of four parts: a sink, worktop, draining board and pedestal to stand cookers, which were mostly separable according to the shape of

available space (figure 3.9 and 3.10).<sup>45</sup> It contained a drawer, rice chest, garbage box, refrigerator and every other space for storage, thereby preventing kitchen utensils and food scraps from being scattered over the floor.<sup>46</sup> The free-standing draining board introduced by him was expected to make users cease from a ritualised custom to dry up dishes with a cloth immediately after washing.<sup>47</sup> With remarkable attention, his kitchen units displayed at the Western-style model house of America-ya were luring crowds in the 1922 Tokyo Peace Commemoration Exhibition, which is explained later in this chapter.<sup>48</sup>

In general, the creativity of the experts was affected largely by their preoccupation with Western material cultures. Miasmatic treatments of subjects were the bases of their arts of persuasion to rationalise daily routine and to get rid of habits against their visions. One of the aims of this project was to justify a new practice of cooking while standing as part of a legitimate way to secure personal hygiene. The modern amenities like a cupboard and kitchen table mirrored the elites' view of work in a standing position, allowing ingredients, cooking utensils and tableware to be removed from the 'polluted' floor and stored in particular spaces. The three-dimensional use of the kitchen was believed to reduce movements in a process of preparing meals, and reference to Taylorism effectively illuminated this labour-saving effect. The outcome of a series of the design competitions was meanwhile proof that the elites' justification for rationalisation was not universal. Without the picture of a Western-style kitchen, it did not really enable ordinary people to visualise the same figure of the kitchen conceived by the elite. The reform of the design of the kitchen was in this respect the elites' project to enshrine *their* Hygeia.

### **Interior-corridor plan**

An increasing number of attempts to seek rationality in everyday life led to a strong impetus to make new purpose designed dwellings. As argued in the previous chapter, a house was viewed as a place for refuge and for enjoyment. Leisure experiences through meals, chatting and recreational activities at

'home' were expected to serve as mechanisms to unite compartmentalised members of the family. If they 'leisured' three meals in continuing to follow conventional ways to use an orthodox detached house like the one illustrated by Morse, a happy family circle would be set up in the kitchen or sitting room enclosed by other rooms. As the scientific virtues of brightness and airiness were discovered in the guest rooms with large openings, dinner in such an airtight area of the house became conceptually unhealthy and unreasonable. Physicians and sanitarians attacked this customary adherence to dwelling, and suggested that such living spaces should be exposed to sunshine and fresh air.<sup>49</sup> The general practice in Tokyo to arrange the *zashiki* (formal reception room) on the south front of the house was nonsense from their point of view.<sup>50</sup> They regarded a dwelling with the cultured disposition of rooms as a "business-oriented house," and the systemic fault in domestic architecture was accordingly attributed to ignorance of medical rules.<sup>51</sup>

The exposure of such a structural error justified the family's colonisation of the sunny side of the house.<sup>52</sup> In his article on how to arrange a rent house, Jitsunen Saji, a chief commentator of *The Ladies' Graphic*, exhorted readers to use south-facing rooms as "a *chanoma*, nursery and every other place in which members of the family spend much time."<sup>53</sup> More credence to this kind of advice against the traditions was given by an awareness of the breakdown of the *ie* system, which Nobusuke Hashiguchi, the founder of *America-ya*, explained in the *Women's Companion* of 1916:

The house used to be a building not only for dwelling but also traditionally for reception. Members of the family were settled in dark [enclosed] spaces beside guest rooms on the sunny side which had a view of the garden and was favourable [in hygienic terms]. Most of callers however have currently diverted their destinations to offices spatially distinguished from houses. They no longer need to visit there. Domestic architecture could be different from the past, and re-designed for the sake of convenience of family life.<sup>54</sup>

Family life gradually came to be considered foremost in 'planning', and "sunny rooms should be given to a happy family circle," he added.<sup>55</sup> In other words, sanitarily valuable spaces in the south were reinterpreted as arenas for family matters, since the priority of them was raised by the spread of the

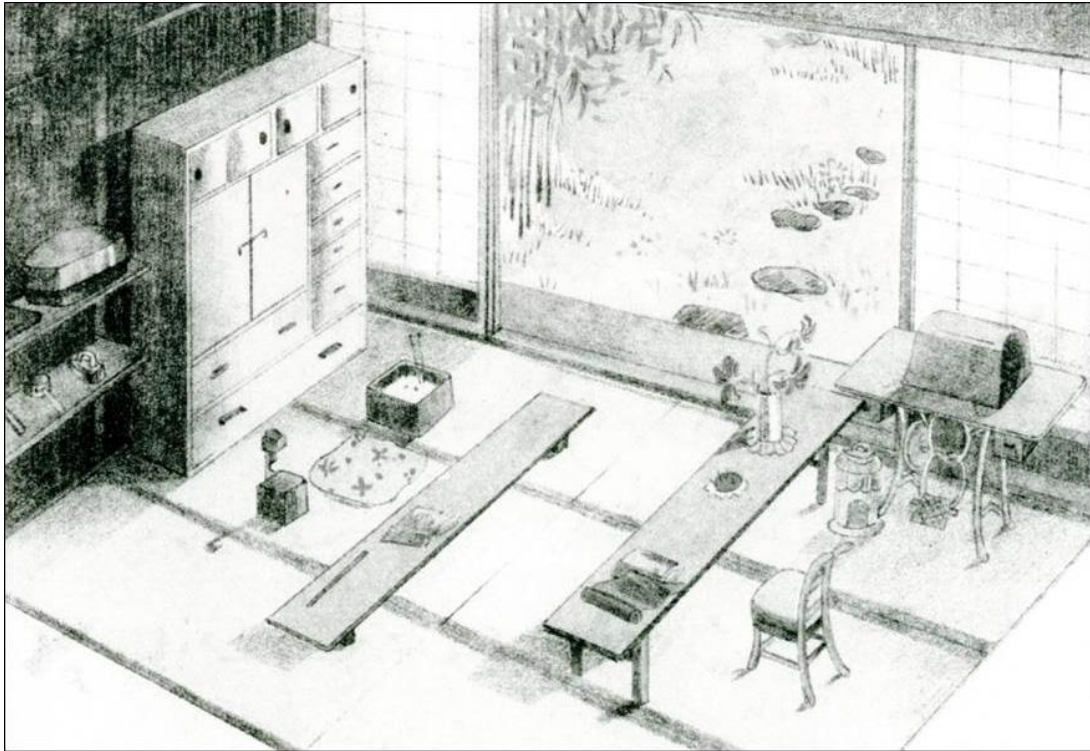


Figure 3.11  
 Example of a wife's room (*Fujin no tomo*, December 1912, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

Romantic view of home. Chūta Ito, the professor of architecture at Tokyo Imperial University, acknowledged this way to redefine and arrange domestic spaces as “family-oriented planning.”<sup>56</sup>

If the relationship between family and space was crucial in a purpose design, a house would be chiefly designed to facilitate women's housework that was expected to coordinate compartmentalised family. The women's press promoted discussions on how to make a room exclusively for activities of a housewife, explicating the kind and layout of furniture necessary for efficient housekeeping (figure 3.11).<sup>57</sup> But most houses of middle-class readers were not as commodious that they could create specific spaces which allowed wives to devote more time to domestic chores in practice.<sup>58</sup> As illustrated in chapter 2, the creation of the *chanoma* serving as a sitting-dining room was instead the most reasonable solution to the socio-cultural demands for the productivity of housework and for family gatherings. According to advice of Nobuko Imura, “wives' rooms are largely used as the *chanoma* in houses which consisted of five or six rooms in total.”<sup>59</sup> This multi-functional room was viewed as a junction of separated activities of

members of the family at times for meals and leisure.<sup>60</sup> In *The Ladies' Graphic* of 1916, educator Takako Kaetsu related the centrality of women's housework with the location of the *chanoma* at home: "A room for [chores undertaken by] a housewife, namely *chanoma*, must be spacious and ideally placed at the centre of the house. This makes activities of all members of the family more convenient."<sup>61</sup>

A new awareness of a link between family life and bright, well-ventilated spaces aroused by the family-oriented conception had a direct effect on an attitude toward rooms for reception. As Hashiguchi clarified, the *zashiki* was degraded by the change in channels of social intercourses in the elites' discourses. The privilege of guests to occupy hygienically good spaces with a view of the garden was omitted in debates on housing reform, as rooms for family were expected to be relocated on the south front of the house. The middle classes nonetheless continued to put emphasis on the custom of reception which was perhaps culturally stressed.<sup>62</sup> One of the options for securing a guest room within the 'home' was to install a Western-style parlour, as Chapter 1 explained. It was designed to lie alongside the entrance in many cases, containing foreign upright furniture on its boarded floor.<sup>63</sup> Callers' delicacy was enhanced by this spatial isolation from the main parts of the house, which prevented them from having a glimpse of private life.<sup>64</sup> For most of middle-class families who could not afford to have rooms exclusively for reading, this exotic space was likely to be valuable as a library.<sup>65</sup> In fact, a reader of *The Ladies' Graphic* decided to build an annexe equipped with Western furniture serving as "a parlour and library in one," because she "was asked by my husband many times to make a library" apart from the family's domain.<sup>66</sup>

The emergence of a Western-style parlour did not necessarily mean that the role played by a *tatami* guest room with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* wholly diminished. Rather, but for a variety of settings, manners to receive guests could not vary by their categories and purposes of their visits. Readers indicated that they used both Western- and Japanese-style guest rooms as the situation demanded. "Whilst a Western room suits occasions to receive callers, those being dressed in Western style and close friends," suggested Mrs Sakurada, "there is nothing like a Japanese room to receive the elderly,

sojourners and guests for dinner.”<sup>67</sup> A similar protocol was also seen in everyday life of Sazanami Iwaya, the writer of children’s stories, evoking a kind of hierarchy that made a difference in the use of spaces for reception:

Guests who are allowed to get in the [*tatami*] guest room or *zashiki* are the type of people [coming to see me and] to enjoy dinner and chatting with my family. Callers [waiting to see me] in the parlour [along the entrance] are relatively unfamiliar, those like people from a newspaper.<sup>68</sup>

The *zashiki* used to be central to the arrangement of an orthodox detached house, but the position of rooms for reception was no longer unquestioned and undisputed. A flood of advice on how to arrange a guest room *per se* was the appearance of this fluctuation caused by the search for ways to rationalise a house. If all rooms of a house were nestled along the south front, the whole family could benefit equally from sunshine in theory. Architect Minoru Kōda argued the distastefulness of its consequences in *The Ladies’ Graphic* of 1911, indicating that “a guest room does not necessarily need to face the south.”<sup>69</sup> In defying the stereotype of site arrangement, the experts attempted to seek an alternative spatial relationship between a guest room and garden. A means to legitimate a north-facing guest room was fairly made for practical reasons, but scientific explanations that justified it illuminated a new value led by relocation of the garden.<sup>70</sup> “Plants and vegetation follow the rising sun in the south,” thereby allowing “guests [in a north-facing room] to enjoy watching the surface of leaves and spray of garden trees,” Saji discussed.<sup>71</sup> Two-storey houses, gradually available, widened middle-class options for solving this guest-room issue, allowing them to separate public and private spheres for each floor.<sup>72</sup> As an architect, Manji Kasai’s commentary was based upon rules of separation. He demonstrated a model of arrangement: “The downstairs could be [floored and] used as a parlour and dining room fitted with tables and chairs, and the upstairs are [composed of] purely Japanese-style rooms serving as a bedroom, *zashiki*, living room, and so on.”<sup>73</sup> As individuals became aware of the concept of privacy, creation of a state in which the family was out of the public eye was pivotal in the essence of “family-oriented planning.” The

psychological configuration ordered by the need for privacy as well as the Romantic vision of family life railed scientific discourses in purpose design.

The discovery of ‘childhood’ as a product of individuality led the experts to seek actual forms of children’s places through the Movement. In their view illustrated in Chapter 1, children were sensitive creatures who inherently tried to internalise their surroundings as a means for building personalities. Everyday life was part of *kyōiku* for them, and the quality of people and material artefacts encompassing them was considered to be influential in their states of mind as well as spirits of independence. A room exclusively for younger members of the family was not commonly seen in this period, but the advice literature conveyed a range of tips and hints on how to create a children’s room.<sup>74</sup> As a child physiologist, Sōzō Kurahashi believed that activities of school-age children should be demarcated from those of other members of the family, to mature their sense of responsibility to personal care.<sup>75</sup> A nursery, he described in *The Ladies’ Graphic* of 1912, was “furnished with wardrobes and chests of drawers” whereby boys and girls regulated themselves in keeping things tidy (figure 3.12).<sup>76</sup> A copious amount of sunshine was essential for their health, having “a stimulating effect on their motion and motivation,” he discussed.<sup>77</sup>

The essence of the proposed design code of a room for children lay in the making of their sunny-side kingdom, but adults’ interventions in it were also expected. Implying that a wife’s room or *chanoma* was sited on the south front of the house, an article of home economist Hideko Inoue identified the ideal location of a nursery by closeness to parents’ domain as well as by sanitary conditions.<sup>78</sup> According to her advice, a “room adjoining an area where a housewife is” or “upstairs room” was beneficial to growth in children.<sup>79</sup> Proximity to adult members of the family was hoped to be maintained, as boys and girls were too young to take care of their own self. Infants should be under the supervision of mothers, and a room close to the most feminised spaces including the *chanoma* and dining room was recognised as a spot suitable for upbringing. In other words, a space serving as a playpen, as Kurahashi claimed, must be “protected by a mother’s domain.”<sup>80</sup>

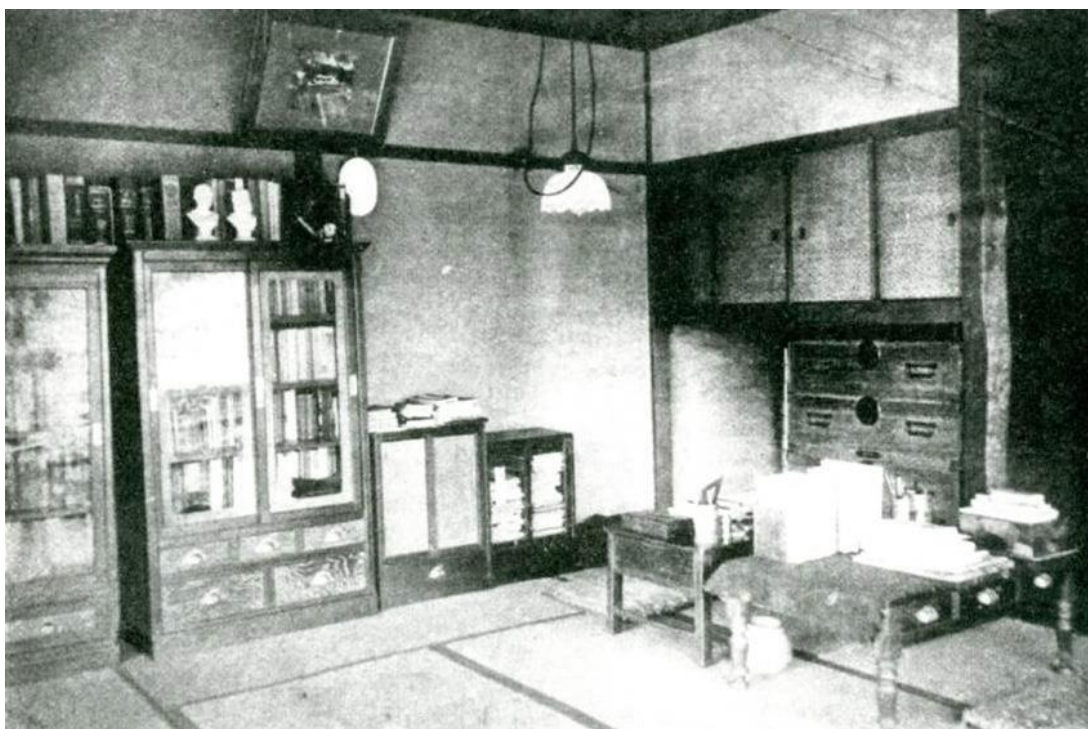


Figure 3.12  
Children's room of the house of Mrs Kato (*Fujin no tomo*, March 1911, frontispiece)  
National Diet Library, Tokyo

Not only stages of growth but also daily routines of the whole family made roles played by children's places diverse. A room often named 'study room' was a type of purpose space for their activities, and had something to do with the accustomed ways for sleeping. As historian Nishiyama argues, the custom to sleep in groups was associated with the *ie* system as well as the *samurai* rituals, but did not immediately cease nonetheless.<sup>81</sup> If members of the family still adhered to this practice, a study room would be literally distinct from spaces called 'bedroom' and 'playroom'. No advice from the experts indicated how to use a study room during the night, but youngsters were likely to move from it to other rooms for sleeping after studying. Perhaps, the habit of changing rooms according to purposes *per se* did not cause any breach with rules of separation. Moreover, to enhance the effect of the school system, a space for learning was expected to be assimilated to both physical and psychological environments of a classroom, as indicated previously (figure 3.13). Kurahashi thus urged mothers with little children to make a nursery more similar to a kindergarten by setting upright desks and chairs even in a *tatami* room.<sup>82</sup> "A study room," a commentary by a director



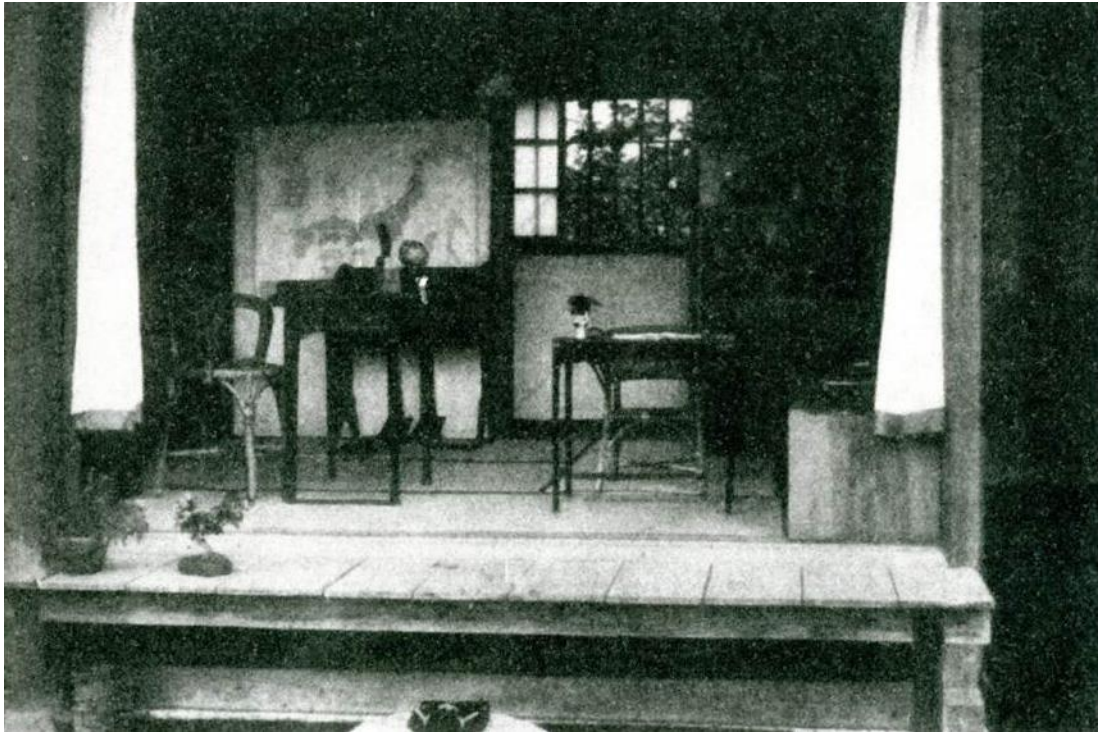


Figure 3.13  
Example of a study room (*Fujin no tomo*, October 1914, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

of a kindergarten also clarified, “comes with desks, bookshelves, specimen cases and maps” rather than “any interior decoration.”<sup>83</sup>

As well as the kitchen, a floor plan was equally a subject for design contests in this period. For example, *Women’s Companion* attempted to seek the design of a “comfortable house” through the competition earlier in 1914, and eighteen award-winning plans proposed by middle-class readers were eventually exhibited in the April issue. All of them were read as results of dealing with compartmentalised daily routines, and the productivity of housework and domestic hygiene were at the same time considered within the pole of Romanticised family relations. One was of the family of Mrs Sato with five children.<sup>84</sup> A good and steady income of her husband (an official) presumably allowed her to visualise a relatively commodious dwelling, which was compartmentalised by boarded interior corridors according to purpose (figure 3.14). Guest rooms with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* made up the east wing, accessible from the main entrance through the corridor without interrupting family’s domains. There was a drawing room named ‘wife’s room’ at the centre, and the six-*tatami* room next door was given to her two

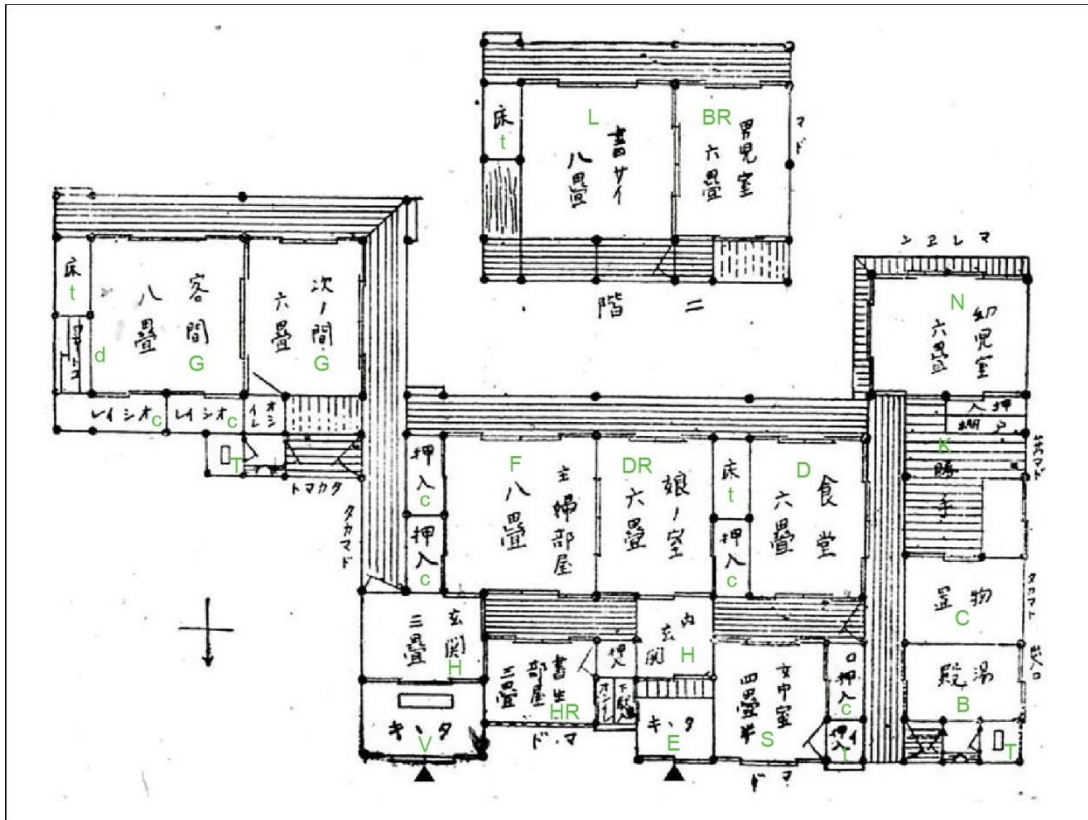


Figure 3.14  
 Mrs Sato's award-winning plan in the "comfortable house" competition (B: bathroom; BR: boys' room; C: closet room; D: dining room; DR: daughters' room; E: entrance; F: wife's room; G: guest room; H: hall; HR: houseboys' room; K: kitchen; L: Library; N: nursery; S: servants' room; T: toilet; V: vestibule; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (*Fujin no tomo*, April 1914, 78) National Diet Library, Tokyo

daughters aged 10 and 13. This arrangement of feminine rooms *en suite* roughly separated by sliding paper screens enabled parental supervision of the girls, evoking the design of a pair of *zashiki* in a *samurai* dwelling. She was supposedly eager to look after houseboys whose chamber was close to her room, but on the opposite side of the passage. The rooms for others: houseboys and maids were markedly segregated by the corridor running from east to west.

A view of what she considered to be rational made her draw up the dining room, kitchen and servants' room in the west wing. Her drawing of the kitchen consisted of a floored area and a small earthen space along the backdoor, and was still unclear in terms of how to use the floor. At least, the distinct dining room was a product of her imagination to cease from the custom of having meals in the kitchen. The spatial proximity of the kitchen to

the dining room was then considered to be a sign of her awareness of efficiency and productivity in the process of cooking and serving food. The *engawa* previously a fixture without practical function as discussed in Chapter 1, served as a psychological threshold between the inside and outside. But the boarded floors along the garden of this plan were interpreted as serviceable paths that enabled her and her maids to carry refreshment and drink to visitors in the east wing. If her husband reading in the library was imposed upon to supervise his 17- and 20-year-old sons, the upstairs rooms would be the masculine world. The spatial distinction in gender was articulated by difference in floor level. Similar to the downstairs feminine apartments, the father could mind the boys through paper screens. This drawing did not particularly refer to where bedrooms were, but she might intend that sets of bedding were spread on the *tatamis* of these intimate rooms after dinner.

The parental responsibility of which she was arguably aware to maintain family's health was expressed in this plan. All rooms for the kinship members were equally situated on the south front of the house. Presumably a view of the garden was available through glass doors covering the passages. The south-facing rooms had sliding doors of paper and glasses inside wooden frames along the corridors, thereby enabling the dwellers to adjust brightness and airiness. She gave the hygienically foremost room with six *tatamis* to her youngest daughter at age 5. The nursery was designed to fully absorb daylight and fresh air from south- and east-facing openings with wooden platforms. It was erected apart from the drawing room, but proximity to the mother was secured by the closeness to the kitchen. If this room was viewed as a playroom, the 5-year-old girl could be expected to move to the feminine apartments for sleeping with the older sisters or the mother together.

The methodology of purpose design demonstrated by Mrs Sato presumed the separation of rooms according to the kind of activities by interior corridors. This manner of planning was seen in other award-winning proposals of the "comfortable house" competition. A smaller-size model suggested by Mrs Ito living in Osaka was of a one-story house for her five-member family including the elderly.<sup>85</sup> This plan was read as the appearance of her perception toward privacy (figure 3.15). The entrance, hall, guest room

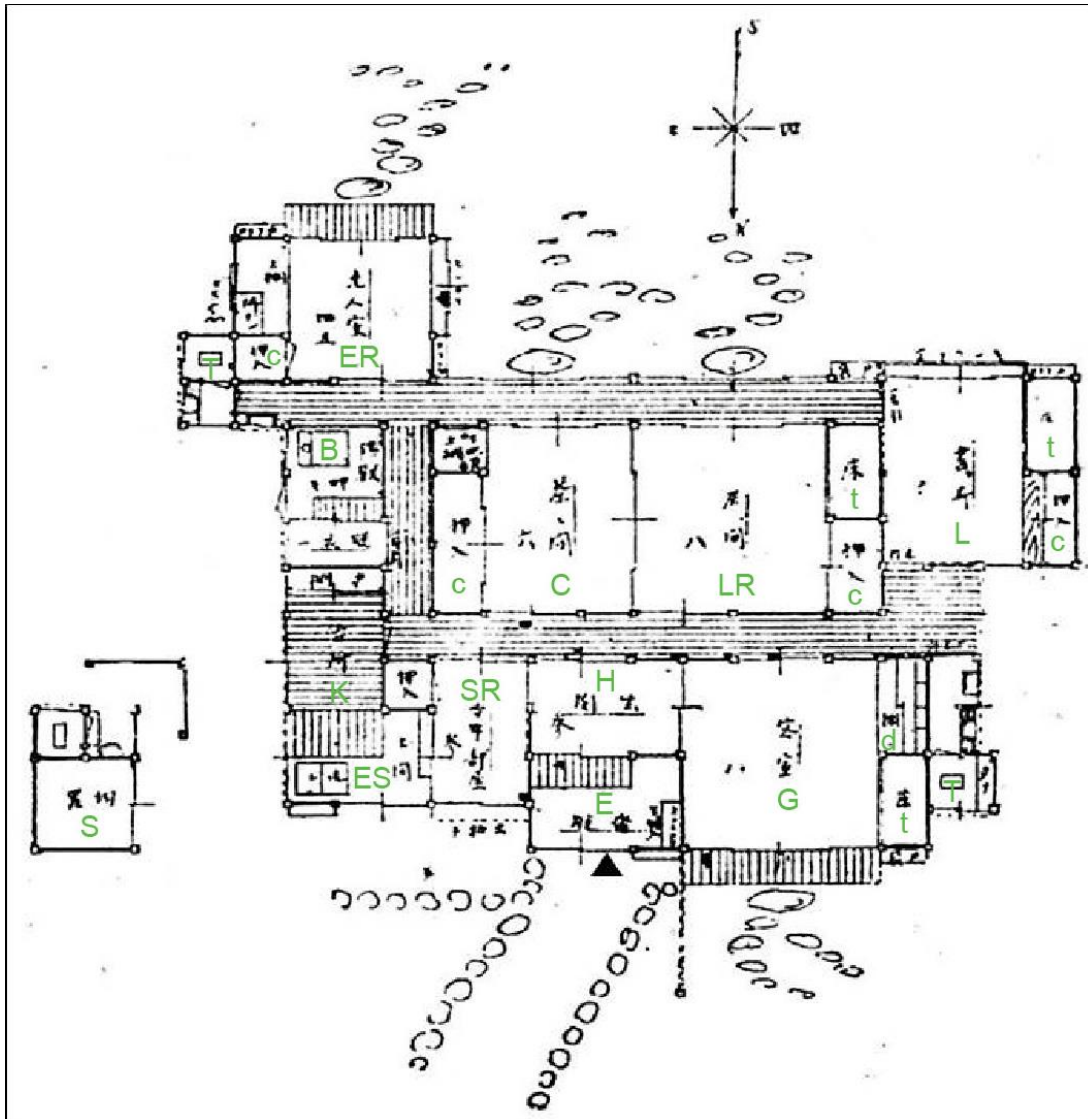


Figure 3.15  
 Mrs Ito's award-winning plan of the "comfortable house" competition (B: bathroom; C: *chanoma*; E: entrance; ER: elderly's room; ES: earthen space of the kitchen; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: library; LR: living room; S: shed; SR: servant's room; T: toilet; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (*Fujin no tomo*, April 1914, 69) National Diet Library, Tokyo

and servant room were grouped above the passage that served as a curtain veiling the 'private' life. After taking shoes off in the entrance containing earthen and raised floors, visitors were expected to enter the guest room from the hallway. Unless they used a toilet behind the room, an encounter with members of the family except a host was unlikely. A set of *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* made sure of the *raison d'être* of this eight-*tatami* room, and arrays of stepping stones extending from the *engawa* indicated the existence of the front garden on the north side. Unlike the design by Mrs Sato, this plan

did not come with a distinct side entrance, but a maid's daily routine was controllable by the layout around the servant's room. A maid of this house was supposed to get in from a backdoor of the kitchen. Even though she was allowed to go through the main entrance, her access involving the use of a doorway to the servant's quarter from the hall would be little noticed by the family. Mrs Ito's arrangement was indeed an elaboration to confine most traffic within the north part of the house.

A pair of six-, eight-*tatami* rooms lying at the centre evoked the *zashiki en suite*, but it was no longer designed for receiving guests. The position of the *chanoma* accorded faithfully with the experts' advice that productivity of housework should be facilitated by the centrality of this 'leisurised' space. Presumably Mrs Ito projected herself into the proposed *chanoma*, considering ways for attention to a maid working in the kitchen, and to the elderly's room. An earthen space linking a floored part of the kitchen with the servant's room was likely to serve as a scullery, but the boarded floor does not reveal anything about how it was supposed to be used. If she did not know or remember the custom of dining-in-the-kitchen, family gatherings in the *chanoma* would include regular meals.

Without exception, rooms for family were fairly south-facing. This echoed her adherence to principles of "family-oriented planning." As well as that of Mrs Sato's proposal, roles played by the boarded floor along the garden were functionally significant in dealing with traffic as a part of 'living' spaces. This *engawa* was designed to be sealed by supposedly glass doors on the side of the garden and sliding paper screens of each room, securing a family's route to a toilet behind the elderly's room. Alongside it, there was an eight-*tatami* space named 'living room' which did not indicate who it would be used by. Perhaps Mrs Ito conceived this room adjoining the *chanoma* to be used as a bedroom for her and the little children aged 1 and 3. The panel of the contest noticed the lack of a children's place, and recommended her to "let them play on the *engawa*" (figure 3.16).<sup>86</sup>

A detailed drawing of stepping stones illuminating the back garden was a mirror of her *modern* perception toward this enclosed nature. In her view, the garden on the sunny side was no longer arranged for reception as well as for expression of formality, but created as a continuum of the



Figure 3.16  
Children playing in the *engawa* (*Fujin no tomo*, December 1911, frontispiece)  
National Diet Library, Tokyo

domestic spaces. The imagery of ‘leisured’ home allowed her to remove an emotional wall previously recognised on the *engawa*. The stones extending from the elderly’s room, *chanoma* and living room explicitly demonstrated her rejection of such a traditional belief, making a link between the private spheres and garden for cultivating affections. In other words, the “comfortable house” competition tested how middle-class women interiorised the experts’ discourses which presumed a new insight into human nature and Romantic view of family relations. An amalgam of cultural contexts of domestic architecture and new body-space associations was diversely incarnated through the contest.

The disposition of rooms like the ones suggested by Mrs Sato and Ito was lately named “interior-corridor plan,” characterised by passages bisecting domestic spaces. Such functional corridors ordering daily routines were viewed as the hallmark of purpose design, as a means to solve the chaos caused by compartmentalisation of family life as well as changing attitudes towards human relations. The interior-corridor plan was a type to which the application of “family-oriented planning” led, and was widely accepted by the



Figure 3.17  
Front view of a Dōjyunkai house (*Jyūtaku*, April 1931, 4) National Diet Library, Tokyo

middle-class population particularly in the course of the inter-war period. This universal plan was officially crystallised in the aftermath of the Greater Tokyo Earthquake, 1st September 1923.<sup>87</sup> Dōjyunkai Association, a quasi-public enterprise funded by donations for earthquake victims, played a vital role in the standardisation of the plan. Created by the Home Ministry in 1924, it devoted the next eighteen years to the development of housing as part of the reconstruction of the metropolis. Its motto was ‘the utilisation of technological advances’ including the use of reinforced concrete in building middle-class flats.<sup>88</sup> Dōjyunkai debuted an estate consisting of detached houses for homeownership in 1928, targeting at relatively moderate-income families. In a decade, 524 dwellings for white-collar workers were designed to display “a cultural and rationalised paradigm of a decent house” (figure 3.17).<sup>89</sup> The design code espoused by Dōjyunkai was a distillation of architectural credos formed through the Movement. According to its publication *Ten-year History of Dōjyunkai* (1934), nine features listed below were common characteristics of its domestic architecture:

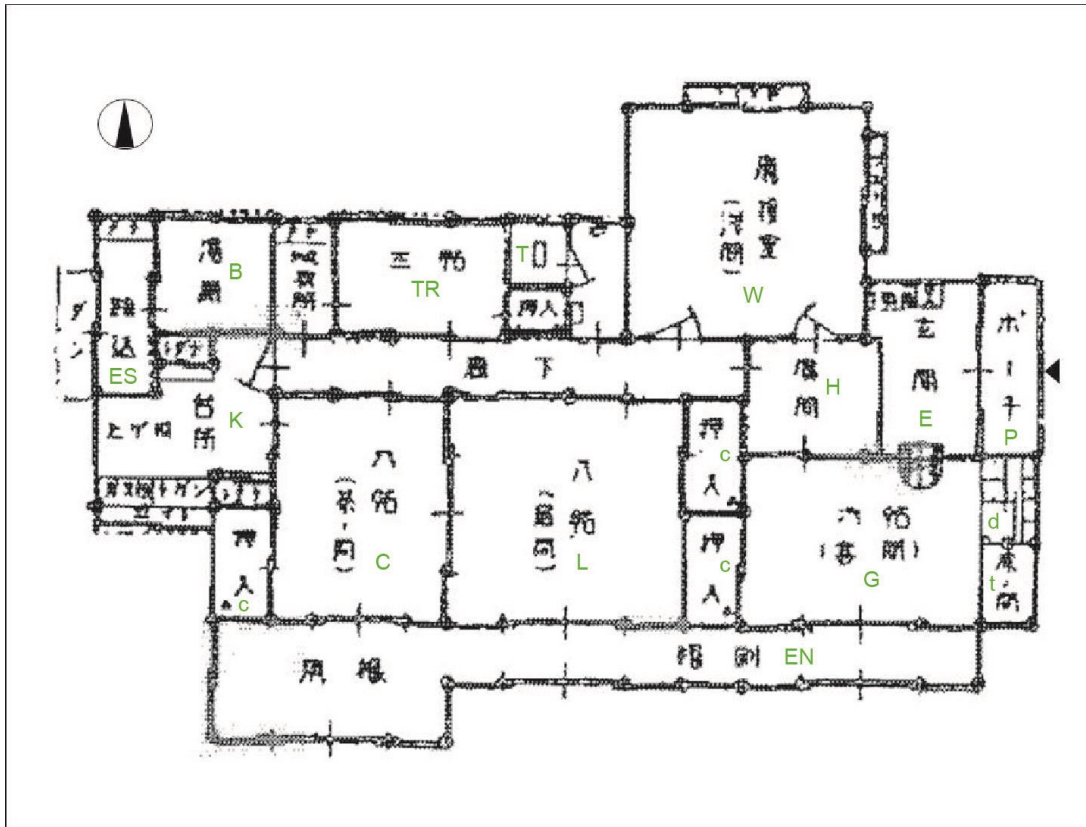


Figure 3.18

Plan B of a Dōjyunkai house (B: bathroom; C: *chanoma*; E: entrance; EN: *engawa*; ES: earthen space of the kitchen; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: living room; P: porch; T: toilet; TR: three-*tatami* room; W: western-style parlour; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Dōjyunkai, *Shōwa 5 nendo jigyō hōkoku*, 1931, 21)  
Library of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, Tokyo

1. A family-oriented [concept] is central to the planning which moves away from the typical design of a business-oriented house.
2. Each room is compartmentalised.
3. Flexibility is given to interconnected rooms that could be transformed into a single large chamber by removing sliding paper screens.
4. Built-in closets are equipped in all rooms, thereby allowing them to be unrestrictedly used.
5. Passages to the entrance, toilet and bathroom are accessible from all rooms.
6. Each room is designed to promote ventilation and sunny aspects.
7. An *engawa* (as a veranda) is made as a buffer of building-garden continuum, and intended to be used for family gatherings, child's activities, sunbathing, and so on.
8. Rooms are linked to each other according to functions.
9. With reference to current lifestyles, [domestic spaces are] chiefly Japanese-style rooms. Types of layouts are varied and distinct as much as possible.<sup>90</sup>



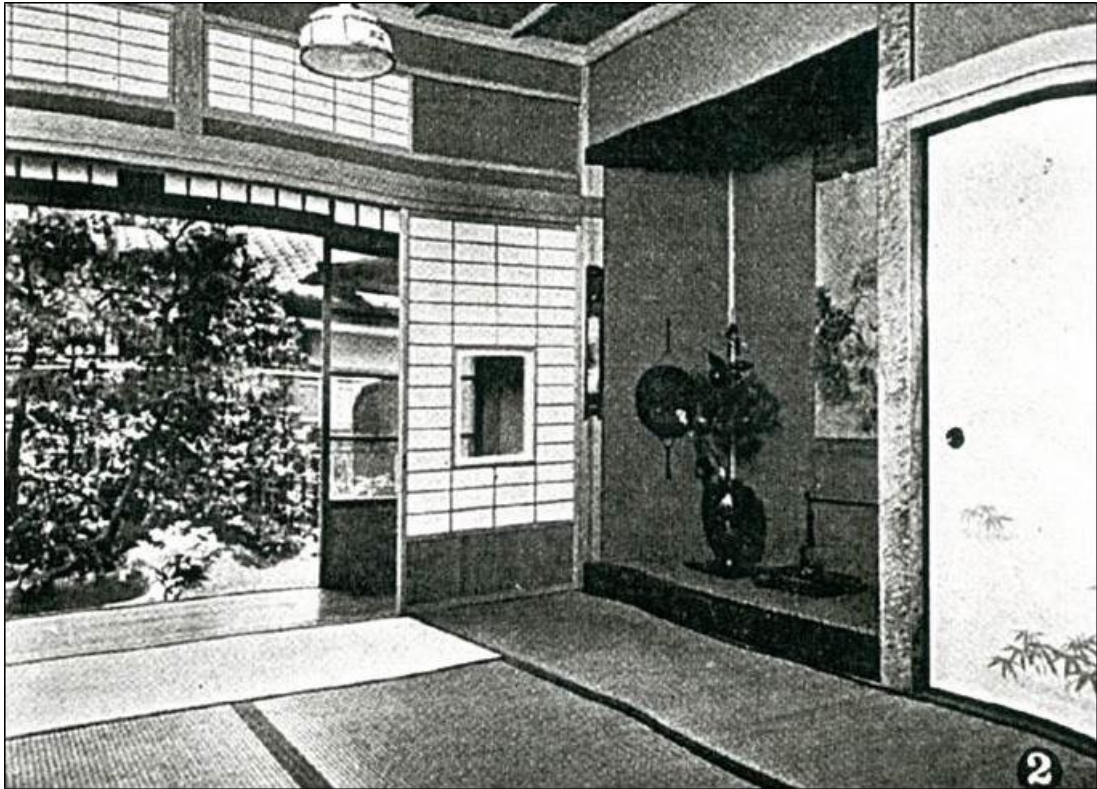


Figure 3.19  
 Guest room of a Dōjyunkai house with a view of the garden (Dōjyunkai, *Shōwa 9 nendo jigyō hōkoku*, 1935, frontispiece) Library of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, Tokyo

The nine principles of planning and design acknowledged by Dōjyunkai were general descriptions of a dwelling with interior-corridor plan. For example, a one-storey house named Plan B had an axis placing the entrance, hallway, passage and kitchen in a line (figure 3.18).<sup>91</sup> Destinations of guests taking shoes off in the entrance would be determined by the relationships with the host. Whilst the Western-style parlour facing the north was arranged for dealing with short visits, relatives and close friends were likely to be received in the six-*tatami* room on the south front (figure 3.19 and 3.20). As some historians argue, this room with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* presumed reception, but the closet implied that it could be turned into a bedroom during the night.<sup>92</sup> The interior corridor allowed a wife and maid to serve refreshments from the kitchen to the guest rooms without passing through any living space. Dwellers of this house were no longer worried about the disturbance of their domestic lives by reception, as had occurred in an orthodox dwelling with an open-plan arrangement. The

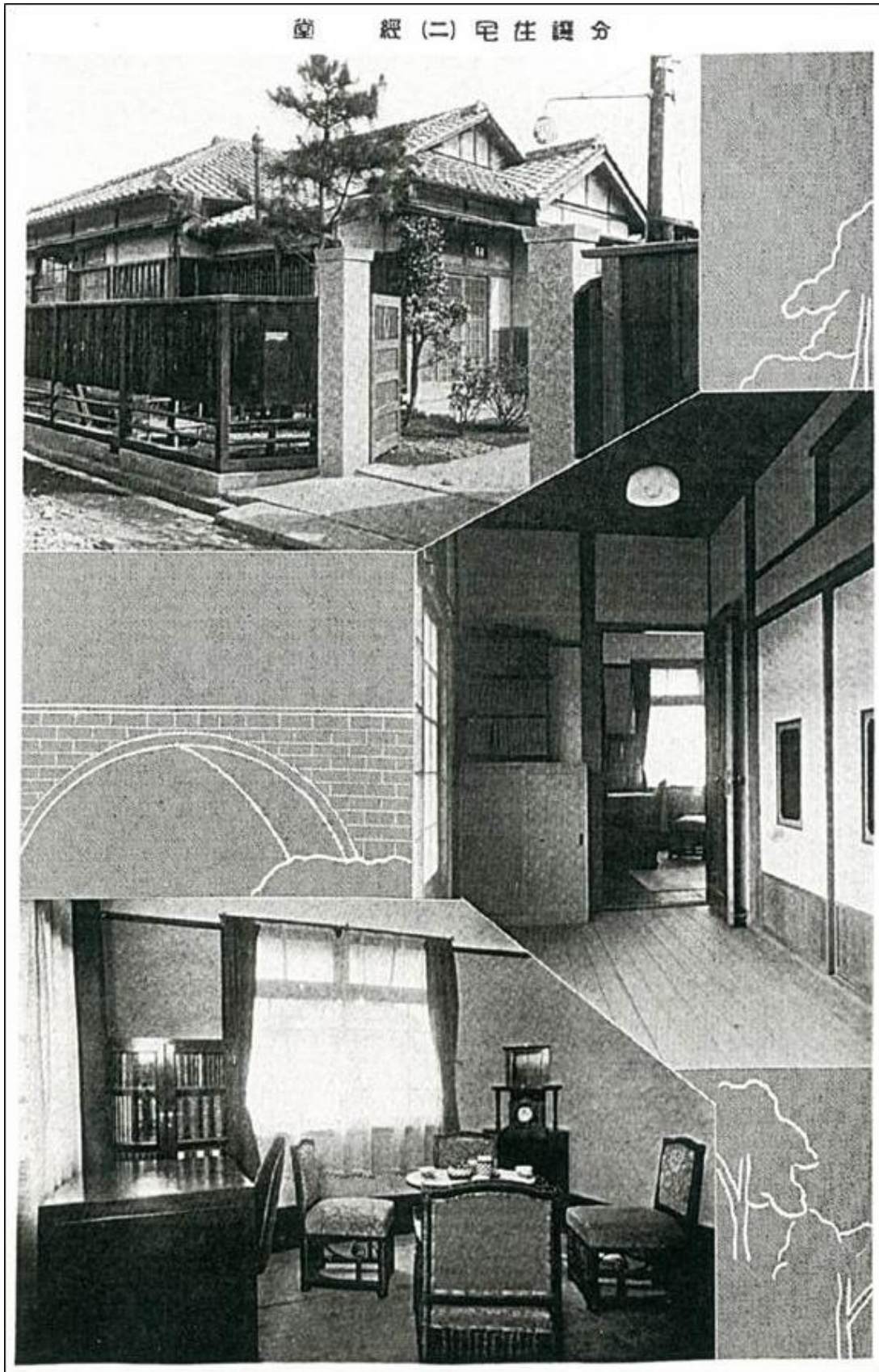


Figure 3.20  
Exterior (top), *engawa* (middle) and Western-style parlour of a Dōjyunkai house  
(Dōjyunkai, *Shōwa 5 nendo jigyō hōkoku*, 1931, frontispiece) Library of the Tokyo  
Institute for Municipal Research, Tokyo



Figure 3.21  
Kitchen of a Dōjyunkai house (Dōjyunkai, *Dōjyunkai to sono jigyō*, 1940, 13)  
Library of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, Tokyo

corridor played a crucial role in segregating the family's domain from the Western-style parlour and three-*tatami* maid's room. It was thus read as a border line dividing the private from public spheres; kinship members of the family from others.

The kitchen of a Dōjyunkai home was the best embodiment of what it defined as “a cultural and rationalised paradigm of a decent house” (figure 3.21). It was floored, coming with a cupboard, sink and pedestal to set up gas appliances along the wall with a bay window. This array of kitchen equipment presumed cooking while standing, and was designed to reduce the operating range of a wife and maid. Personal hygiene was secured by the window supplying the space for handling food with fresh air and sunshine which satisfied middle-class demands for cleanliness. The earthen space ceased to function as a scullery by the advent of the sink built in the floored area, but still sustained functional roles. It continued to be access to the service entrance, and charcoals and firewood were treated there to heat the bath along the kitchen.<sup>93</sup> The “well-ordered layout” of the kitchen, as

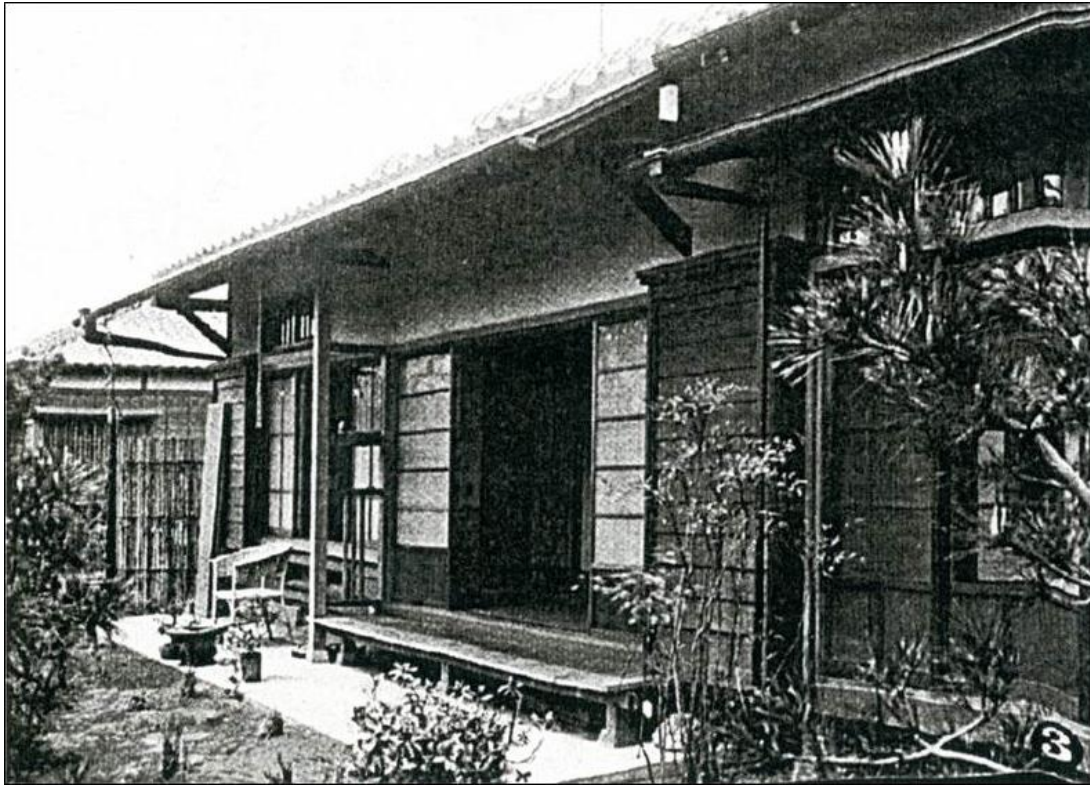


Figure 3.22  
View from the garden of a Dōjyunkai house (Dōjyunkai, *Shōwa 9 nendo jigyō hōkoku*, 1935, frontispiece) Library of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, Tokyo

Dōjyunkai proclaimed, was a testament to the quality of the amenities for the “productive work of a housewife.”<sup>94</sup>

Plan B did not offer any option of a room to have dinner except the *chanoma*. The connection of the kitchen with it was separable only by a sliding door, expecting that a mother was going back and forth between them at mealtimes. This six-*tatami* room on the sunny side of the house could be recognised as a room for family gatherings including meals, but such a ‘leisured’ image was evidently mirrored in the design of spaces adjoining it (figure 3.22). An ‘enlarged’ *engawa* in front of the *chanoma* evoked a review of Mrs Ito’s “comfortable house,” which advised her to take advantage of the *engawa*, full of daylight, as a children’s playroom. This unique setting of the Dōjyunkai home allowed the scope of leisure pursuits to be extended from the *chanoma* to the south front.<sup>95</sup> The living room was interconnected with the *chanoma*, and also made for the variety of ways depending primarily on family’s needs. Whilst this *en suite* apartment could be used for big parties and ceremonial occasions, two closets in the living room suggested that

bedding from them was likely to turn it into a bedroom.<sup>96</sup> The mother was supposed to be all day in the *chanoma*, and by opening the doors, to monitor and control behavioural and sanitary states of a maid and children. The logic behind this woman's centrality for supervision was remarkably analogous with Foucault's view of the Panopticon.

If the interior-corridor plan was an embodied form of formless human relations which the middle classes cherished, it could be understood as a material sublimation of 'home' and of the public taste in *modern* dwelling. Voices of the experts including architects were vital in intellectual discourses given to ordinary people, but roles played by them were binders rather than moulds in shaping the particular purpose design. The imagery of home encapsulated a unique set of moral and behavioural orders as illustrated in the previous chapters, and was a subject for rationalisation with the newly growing attention to family's health. This crystallisation went on in reference to the traditional design motifs, entailing the epistemological change in the meanings of spaces and settings. It indicated that readers of advice manuals and the women's press projected their Romanticised attitudes towards family life upon their *status quo* surrounding the orthodox design of interiors. In other words, they still continued to relate their changing tastes to an environment with *tatamis*, *engawa*, *tokonoma*, *chigaidana*, and so on.

### **Architects in the Movement**

Beside the birth of the interior-corridor plan, architects, influenced by the quest for *shumi*, began to seek *modern* architectural styles.<sup>97</sup> Chūta Ito was the architect who pronounced "family-oriented planning," and the central figure of the attempts to seek ways for the fineness of the built forms. "The style of architecture," he believed, "is a representation of the *shumi* which the general public has."<sup>98</sup> In the AIJ debate of 1910, he explicated the relationship between styles and *shumi*, indicating that a particular style of architecture was formed by the consensus of changing *shumi*.<sup>99</sup> Implicit in his argument was a wish that every single effort of an architect resulted collectively in the change and enhancement of public *shumi*.<sup>100</sup> His faith

stemmed from an awareness of limited roles played by the architectural profession in control of consequences of all construction activities.<sup>101</sup> In his view, architects were no longer the agents of building a nation, but skilled taste-makers. He thus hoped that they continued to engage in a great deal of creative works by making the most use of knowledge in subjective ways.<sup>102</sup>

The question of styles raised by architects implied their dissatisfaction with the *status quo*. As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, they perceived Western architecture as the genuine embodiment of rationality before the 1923 crisis. One of them was Jyunkichi Tanabe, chief architect of construction firm Shimizu Corporation, keen to propose a “universal house” suited to public *shumi* which determined intrinsic demands for dwelling, as well as to the character of Japanese climates.<sup>103</sup> His enthusiasm was for domestic architecture of the West-Australian house featured in Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.<sup>104</sup> With great attention to morphological similarities between the veranda and *engawa*, he focused particularly on the corridor whereby all rooms were clearly partitioned off according to the kind of activities (figure 3.23).<sup>105</sup> Its plan and settings, he considered, were favourable for Japan’s hot summer, and “likely to be applicable” in transforming an orthodox detached house into a *modern* dwelling with purpose design.<sup>106</sup>

Nobusuke Hashiguchi’s imagination was fuelled by what he underwent through his life in America. Having moved to Seattle in 1901, he served several families as a domestic servant, and later became an owner of a second-hand clothing shop.<sup>107</sup> American life in which he was closely involved was a source of inspiration for the next venture.<sup>108</sup> His return to Japan after eight years of foreign experiences was made for America-ya Corporation, starting with six prefabricated houses of the bungalow he brought back.<sup>109</sup> The bungalow “could fulfil Japanese’s taste” because it had “modest and simple design” conventionally preferred, he thought.<sup>110</sup> A type of the America-ya’s bungalow that *Women’s Companion* displayed was completely floored, a two-storey house showing a clear distinction between public and private domains (figure 3.24). The ground floor was a meeting place where face-to-face contacts with family and guests were brought. In his view, enjoyment of gatherings should not be confined within the dining room.

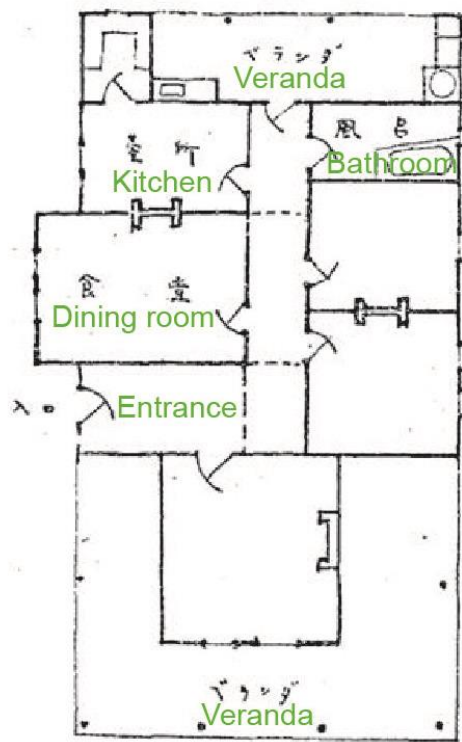
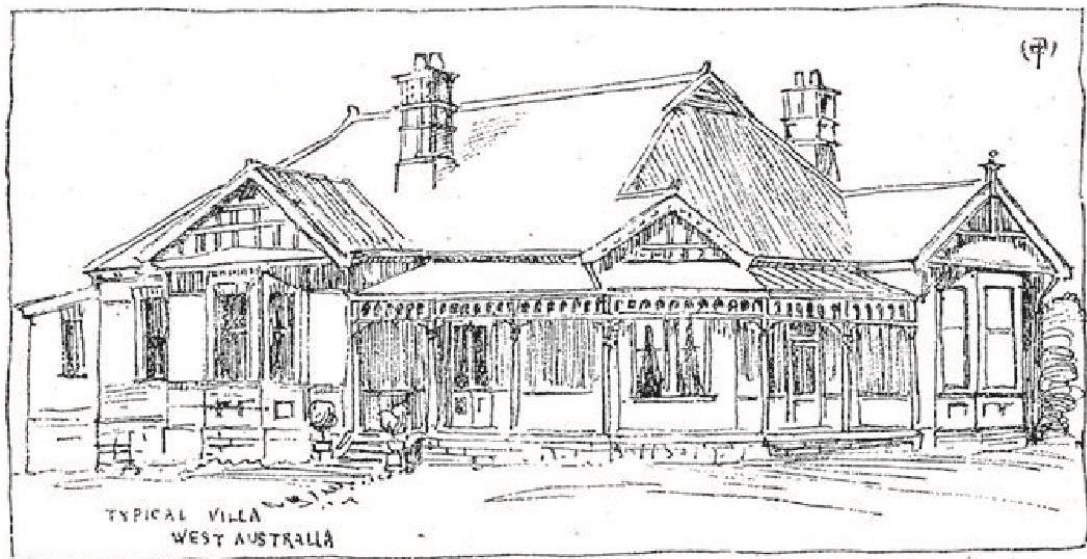
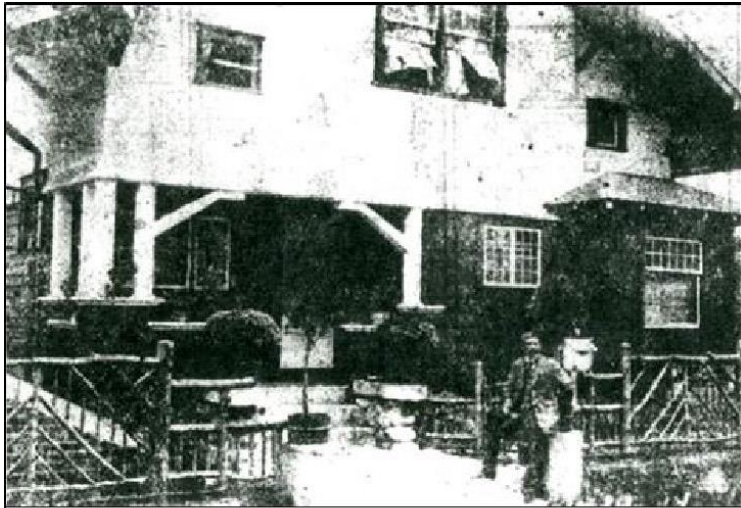


Figure 3.23  
 Jyunkichi Tanabe's drawing of a house in Western Australia (*Kenchiku zasshi*, 25 January 1908, 24, 28) Architectural Institute of Japan Library, Tokyo

Presumably he conceived occasions of 'at-home' in the West, suggesting that hosts and guests were mingled together through entertainments including music performances.<sup>111</sup> The guest room was thus expected to come with settings for leisure, and "a piano or organ is placed along the wall on the side of the doorway to the hall," he hoped.<sup>112</sup> By contrast, the quietness and solitude were secured upstairs. Three bedrooms on the first floor were the



Exterior



Ground Floor



First Floor

Figure 3.24  
 Exterior and floor plan of an America-ya's bungalow (B: bathroom; BR: bedroom; D: dining room; E: entrance; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; S: servant's room; T: toilet; c: closet) (*Fujin no tomo*, September 1911, 76-7) National Diet Library, Tokyo

essence of *modern* planning: separation, serving supposedly as living rooms for each member of the family. Perhaps, the admiration for Western architecture was a process of the spread of the public-private segregation by floor.





Figure 3.25  
 “Improvement of the kitchen facilities for housing reform” (poster exhibited in the Daily Life Improvement Exhibition, 1919) National Museum of Nature and Science, Tokyo

A sense of mission was aroused by a meeting with his client: Sumiko Misumi, the advocator of the application of Taylorism to housework.<sup>113</sup> With authorities on architecture including Shigetsura Shiga and Yasushi Tsukamoto, Hashiguchi created a voluntary association, the OHR, in 1916, aiming to increase public awareness of the rationalisation in dwelling.<sup>114</sup> Inspired by ideal-home magazines for a non-academic audience in the States, he began to issue *The House* as an OHR periodical, and to embark on various activities for appeal to the public: exhibitions, public lectures, design competitions, and so on.<sup>115</sup> As illustrated before, Hashiguchi in this way made a forum for the propositions of the *shumi* of life and architecture espoused by him and his associates, as well as for the exchange of opinions with users of houses.

The Ministry of Education, too, joined the Movement as part of *kyōiku*, although its motive for rationalising daily life was governed by national security interests in saving fuel for an emergency (figure 3.25).<sup>116</sup> In 1919, it held the Daily Life Improvement Exhibition, at which architects and home

economists demonstrated their personal views through models and drawings of a nursery, wife's room and Western-style dwelling called 'improved house', for example.<sup>117</sup> Their vision was based on the assumption that material objects made life more systematic. The showcase of the EIL gave impetus to the Ministry's official engagements with control of rituals, leading to the creation of an extra-governmental body: the Daily Life Improvement Alliance (DLIA).<sup>118</sup> The Housing Reform Committee was then appointed for a post-war inquiry into ideal lifestyle, and Hideko Inoue, Jyunkichi Tanabe and other notable members discussed how patterns of behaviour were altered *by* design.<sup>119</sup> In fact, the six credos stated by the Committee's report of 1920 for further dwelling did not evoke any 'narrative' that portrayed lived experiences of people within the house. The top-down approach to modernity at home diminished dynamic pictures of the everyday envisioned by each member of the Committee. As a result, the design codes endorsed by the Committee echoed some fragments of the imagery of life behind the interior-corridor plan, but still were nothing more than mere descriptions of Western material cultures that eventually recalled unfamiliar narratives about the reality of life:

1. Our dwelling should be gradually transformed [from the *tatami* style] and designed for the use of chairs [on a boarded floor].
2. A plan and interiors have to be arranged based on family-oriented rather than conventional business-oriented practices.
3. The structure of a building and fittings are hoped to be modest in decoration, and more hygienic and incombustible.
4. A garden customarily arranged for display is expected to have more practical roles in personal hygiene and prevention of damages by natural disasters.
5. Furniture must be sturdy and simple in line with [this] guideline for housing reform.
6. The construction of flats and garden cities are recommended according to conditions of living environments of metropolitan areas.<sup>120</sup>

A lack of recognition of normative domestic practices the Committee's principles was exposed in the Tokyo Peace Commemoration Exhibition held by the City of Tokyo for the promotion of post-war industry in 1922. The Culture Village, erected in a site in Ueno Park with 14 model houses, was the most brilliant attraction of the Exhibition, sponsored by AIJ.<sup>121</sup> It appealed in



Figure 3.26  
View of the Culture Village (postcard, 1922) Tokyo Metropolitan Library, Tokyo



Figure 3.27  
America-ya's model house in the Culture Village (postcard, 1922) Tokyo Metropolitan Library, Tokyo

its picturesque outlook, luring crowds into the houses in the AIJ's hope that they saw and experienced future lifestyles (figure 3.26). The 14 dwellings, designed by selected architects and well-known homebuilders including America-ya, mostly consisted of floored rooms, illustrating their own visions, albeit very Western, of the ideal home (figure 3.27).<sup>122</sup> One was displayed by DLIA as a result of adherence to the Committee's creed, and the purpose design of it showed a unique morphological feature shared by the other model houses (figure 3.28 and 3.29).<sup>123</sup> The visitors of the DLIA dwelling were probably intrigued by the large chamber named 'living room' placed at the centre, which was intended to serve as a hall and sitting room. This



Figure 3.28  
DLIA's model house in the Culture Village (postcard, 1922) Tokyo Metropolitan Library, Tokyo

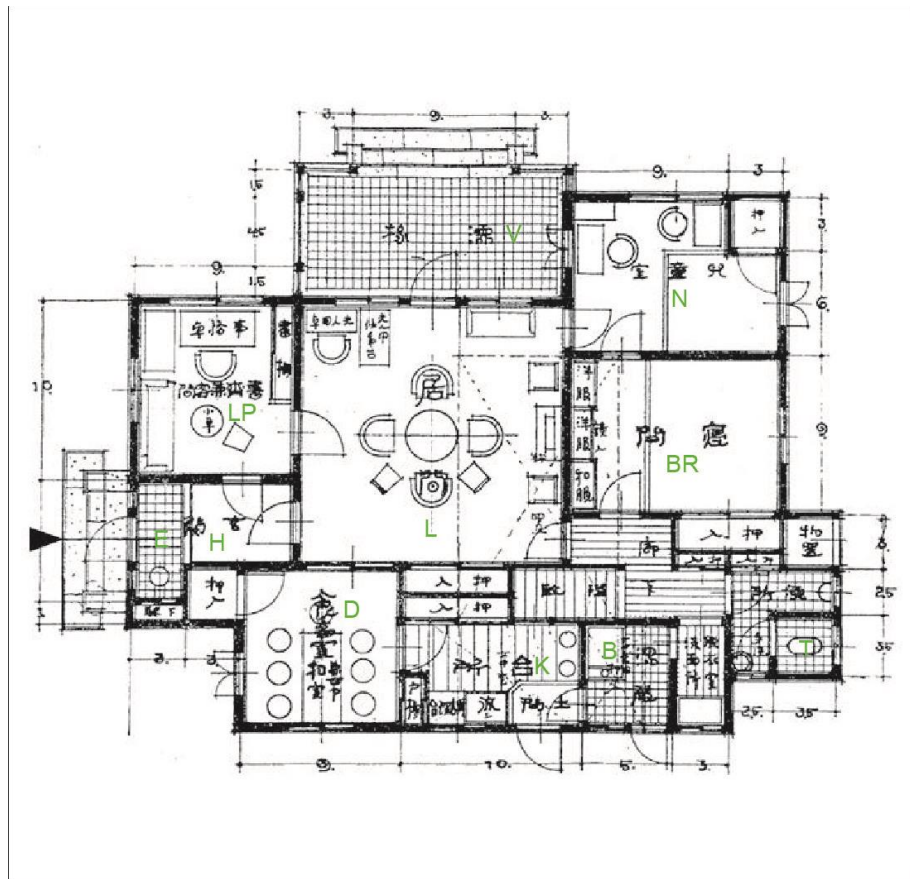


Figure 3.29  
Floor plan of the DLIA dwelling (B: bathroom; BR: bedroom; D: dining room; E: entrance; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: living room; LP: Library and parlour; N: nursery; T: toilet; V: veranda) (*Kenchiku zasshi*, 28 February 1922, 28) Architectural Institute of Japan Library, Tokyo

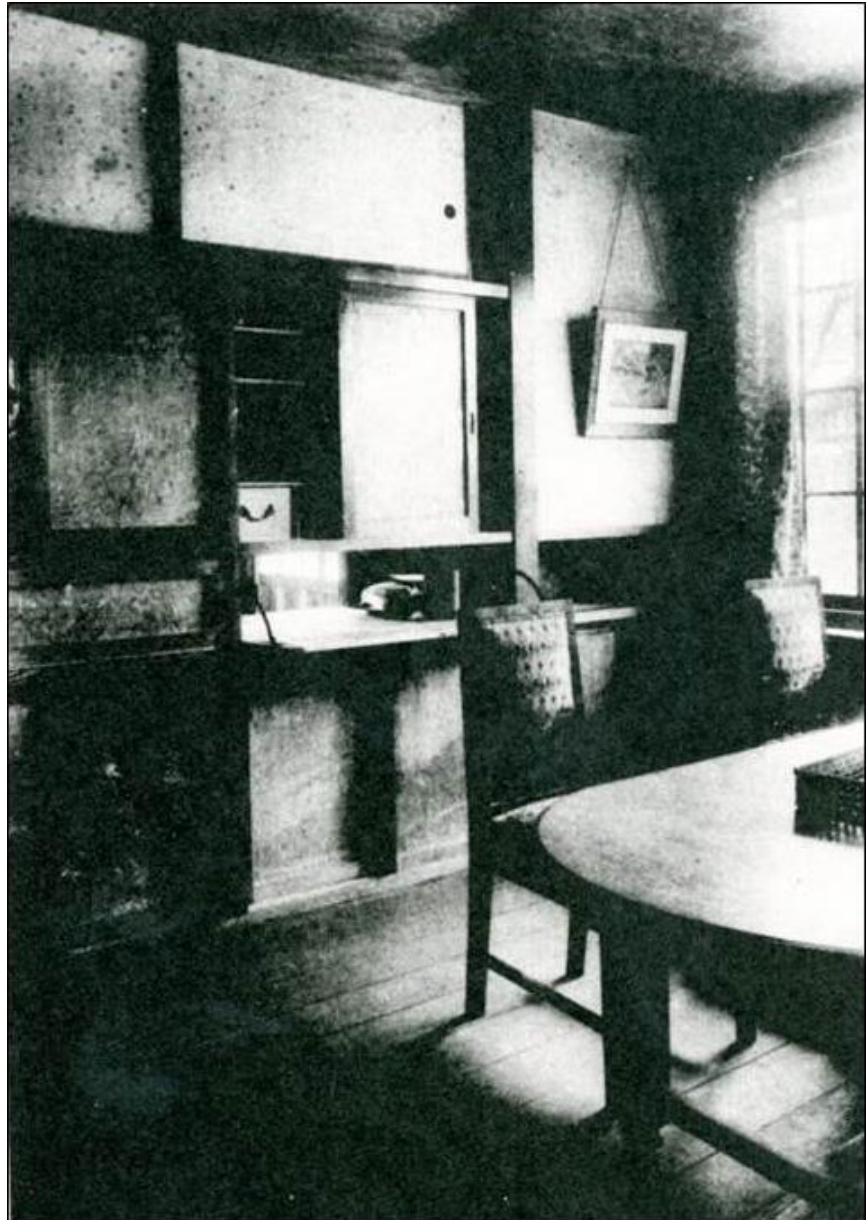


Figure 3.30  
Interior of a model house of the Culture Village designed by  
Kisaburō Kamito (Kōyōsha, *Bunka mura no kan'i jyūtaku*, 1922,  
37) National Diet Library, Tokyo

arrangement was read as the *literal* translation of ‘family-oriented planning’, and the parlour, bedroom, nursery, dining room and kitchen were sited around the living room as an embodiment of a ‘happy family circle’.

Furniture fitted in all model houses was likely to tell the visitors how designed spaces were expected to be used (figure 3.30). But this type of layout, defined by historian Kimura as “living-room-centred plan,” was unlikely to sympathise with the public *shumi* of daily life.<sup>124</sup> For example, the DLIA house presumed that dwellers passed through the living room from the

kitchen to serve refreshments to guests being received in the parlour. Further interruption was obviously incurred when guests needed to go to the other side of this centralised family area to relieve themselves. The hub-like disposition of the rooms was perhaps the most rational form of domestic architecture in theory, but it could be thought that this plan was not truly welcome by a middle-class audience, who still put emphasis on rigorous reception manners.

Moreover, if ease and comfort were commonly perceived in relation to a *tatami* that allowed people to sit on and lie upon it flexibly, a floored room with fittings that restricted uses was too stiff to enjoy time for leisure. Hence visitors to the DLIA house did not really understand how its living room could be used. The “living-room-centred plan” consequently ended as a mere experimental design, and was rarely employed over the inter-war years. This however did not necessarily mean that the Culture Village was less influential. Practically, people began to use the term ‘culture’ (*bunka*) when referring to something modern, or to what made people feel modernity.<sup>125</sup> The artistic guise of *Bunka mura* (Culture Village) extended the scope of the design of exteriors, demonstrating architects’ appreciation of Western architecture as well as technological advances. After the show, houses were diversely dressed up through the pursuit of ornamental qualities, which made the landscape of suburbia more decorative and colourful.<sup>126</sup> In this respect, Chūta Ito’s discourse on the relationship between styles and architects’ efforts were prophetic. Against their ambition, the purpose design of their works as a product of crystallising their *shumi* of life found no resonance in the public *shumi*. In the eyes of a middle-class audience, instead, the Culture Village was a catalogue of exchangeable exteriors as means like clothes to express personal *shumi* and self-identity. In other words, various types of the appearances suggested by architects *became* labelled styles whereby homeowners selectively defined and represented their own *shumi*.

To summarise, the Movement saw a juxtaposition of the two streams shaped by the architects’ and public *shumi* which were mysteriously intertwined. In the eyes of pre-1923 architects, Western material cultures were the ultimate consequences of the arts to enhance logicity and salubrity. The model houses of the *Bunka mura* were representative of their subjective

viewpoints, employing motifs and elements from Western architectural practices. Under the family-oriented concept, common ground for purpose design was shared with middle-class counterparts, but the designers' imaginations did not invent and agree with the interior-corridor plan. Rather, the creativity demonstrated by contributors to a series of design contests were rooted in their lived experiences, as well as in morality and institutions harnessed by the Romantic view of home. Therefore, rationality was respectively found within material artefacts which the architects and ordinary people dealt commonly with and internalised. The paralleled reasons and justification for rationalisation led to some contradictions, for example in terms of sensitivities to a floor, as discussed. Whilst the architects voiced a dislike of disorderliness, they discovered that, in close body-floor contacts caused by the custom of dwelling, the enjoyment of the *chanoma* presuming the direct use of *tatamis* for regular meals was practically accepted. These contrasting systems of value nonetheless no longer supposed the habit of eating in the kitchen in common. Beyond this, the Movement exposed a fetishistic view generally held by architects, who believed that architecture served to order and regulate people's lives. But for full appreciation of cultural contexts comprising the narrative and *shumi* behind everyday life, their faith was nothing more than 'fetishism'.

## Notes

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5. Ibid., 5-7, 29-30.
6. Hiroshi Minami et al., *Taishō bunka* (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 1965), 129-30.
7. Kimura, “Taishō jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to ima-chūshingata jyūtaku yōshiki no seiritsu,” 94-6; Norikuni Kimura, “Meiji jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to nakarōkagata jyūtakuyōshiki no seiritsu,” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Engineering, Hokkaido University* 21 (1959): 108-9; Asae Ozawa and Yoshiko Mizunuma, *Nihon jyūkyō shi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakōbunsha, 2006), 307; Masao Aoki, Toshie Oka and Yoshihiro Suzuki, *Nakarōka no jyūtaku: Meiji Taishō Shōwa no kurashi wo madori ni yomu* (Tokyo: Sumai-no-toshokan-shuppanyoku, 2009), 114-8.
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11. Kazuo Saito, “Meiji 19 nen seitei nagaya kaoku kenchikureiki no seiritsujjyō ni tsuite,” *Journal of the City Planning Institute of Japan* 17 (1982): 403-8; Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Iinkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau: Osaka toshi jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 299-300.
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  15. See Nancy Tomes, “The private side of public health: Sanitary science, domestic hygiene, and the germ theory, 1870-1900,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 64 (1990): 509-39.
  16. Kimura, “Meiji jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to nakarōkagata jyūtakuyōshiki no seiritsu,” 118; Aoki, Oka and Suzuki, *Nakarōka no jyūtaku*, 88-9.
  17. Shigetsura Shiga, “Sumai: Kairyō no hōshin ni tsuite [Vol. 1],” *Kenchiku zasshi*, February 25, 1903, 36.
  18. Edward S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* (Rutland: Tuttl, 1972), 188.
  19. *Ibid.*, 187.
  20. Masatomo Yamaguchi, “Daidokorogaku no hōhō: Kekkaron naishi kinōhō,” in *Daidokoro no hyakunen*, ed. Japan Society of Lifology (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 1999), 24-6.
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  26. See Kenkichi Yahashi, “Honpō ni okeru kaokukairyōdan,” *Kenchiku zasshi*, November 25, 1903, 515.
  27. Tatsuko Mizumachi, “Watashi no kufū shimashita ryōridai,” *Fujin no tomo*, October 1913, 169-72.
  28. Seizō Uchida, “Senzenki ni okeru kicchinsetto no seiritsu to tenkai: Suzuki-shiki kōtō daidokoro wo chūshin to shite,” in *Daidokoro no hyakunen*, ed. Japan Society of Lifology (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 1999), 205.
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  30. Uchida, “Senzenki ni okeru kicchinsetto no seiritsu to tenkai,” 205.
  31. Uchida, Ōkawa and Fujiya, *Zusetsu kindai nihon jyūtakushi*, 54.
  32. Reiko Machida, “Toshi jyūtaku ni okeru kajirōdō no jyūkūkanteki jyōken no hensen: Meiji kōki Taishō makki,” *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering* 363 (1986): 171.
  33. Uchida, “Jyūtaku kairyōkai no setsuritsu ni tsuite,” 200.

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36. Uchida, "Jyūtaku kairyōkai no setsuritsu ni tsuite," 199-206.
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42. Uchida, "Senzenki ni okeru kicchinsetto no seiritsu to tenkai," 188.
43. *Ibid.*, 194.
44. *Ibid.*, 188-92.
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46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, 198.
48. *Ibid.*, 189.
49. Miyazaki, Aoki and Tomokiyo, "Taishō shoki no wagakuni ni okeru kazokuhon'i keikakuron no seiritsu ni tsuite," 66.
50. Jitsunen Saji, "Kashiya wo kariru toki no chūi," *Fujin gahō*, December 1911, 56.
51. Chiyonosuke Yokote, "Mottomo kokoroyoi jyūkyō to yagu huton," *Fujin gahō*, June 1912, 46.
52. Kimura, "Taishō jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to ima-chūshingata jyūtaku yōshiki no seiritsu," 97; Kubo, *Jyoseizasshi ni sumaidukuri wo manabu*, 130-5.
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56. Chūta Ito, "Chūryū no jyūtaku ha ikani sekkei subekika," *Fujin no tomo*, August 1916, 24-5; see also Tsuneko Irisawa, "Kazoku hon'i no madori," *Fujin gahō*, October 1915, 24-6.
57. Kubo, *Jyoseizasshi ni sumaidukuri wo manabu*, 89.
58. Kimura, "Taishō jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to ima-chūshingata jyūtaku yōshiki no seiritsu," 91.

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61. Takako Kaetsu, "Kazoku no atsumarishi basho," *Fujin gahō*, October 1916, 80.
62. Aoki, Oka and Suzuki, *Nakarōka no jyūtaku*, 42.
63. *Ibid.*, 115-6.
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116. Uchida, *Nihon no kindai jyūtaku*, 93-5; Yamaguchi, “Seikatsukaizen Dōmeikai wo kaidoku suru,” 142.
117. Kimura, “Taishō jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to ima-chūshingata jyūtaku yōshiki no seiritsu,” 120-3.
118. Ibid., 132-34.
119. Ibid.
120. “Jyūtaku kaizen dōmeikai ni okeru jyūtaku kaizen no hōshin,” *Kenchiku zasshi*, January 31, 1920, 393-5.
121. Uchida, *Nihon no kindai jyūtaku*, 110-2.
122. Ibid., 112-8.
123. Ibid., 118-20.
124. Kimura, “Taishō jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to ima-chūshingata jyūtaku yōshiki no seiritsu,” 141-5.
125. Minami et al., *Taishō bunka*, 247-8.
126. Ibid.

## 4. *Shumi* in Action: Suburban Development of the Hankyu Corporation in its Formative Period

Well known for the colour of its maroon rolling stock, the Hankyu Corporation is a railway company in the industrial city of Osaka.<sup>1</sup> Hankyu's founder, Ichizō Kobayashi, was a railway tycoon with interests in housing development, the emerging leisure industry, department store retailing and the development of technologically innovative home electric appliances. His business activities chiefly targeted the expanding middle classes, and he established a business model centred on the role of the railway that was to transform the pattern of daily life and pave the way for other commercial competitors.<sup>2</sup> Thus in 1910, as central Osaka celebrated the opening of its new electrified railway, its periphery witnessed the arrival of the first inhabitants to a new residential quarter attached to Osaka by a station on the railway line. Designed by Hankyu, this exclusively residential community was named Ikeda-Muromachi and comprised the first suburban railway estate for private homeownership in Japan.

Chapter 4 explores Hankyu's engagement in leisure and housing industries in the 1910s, focusing on the role of taste in its suburban development. I examine how profit-driven activities of Hankyu, as a taste-maker, affected the image of suburban life and the design of its dwellings and estates. This study revisits its monthly magazine *Sanyō-suitai* and other publicity materials including advertising brochures and housing catalogues.<sup>3</sup> *Sanyō-suitai* was produced as marketing literature and issued from 1913 to 1917. It consisted of a broad range of articles: guides to the main sights of the areas along its railway network, advertisements of its estates and even short

novels which were designed to impress a middle-class audience with the appeal of the suburbs. Kobayashi is considered to have regularly contributed unauthored content to this periodical.<sup>4</sup> First, I disclose how Hankyu imagined and perceived life in the suburbs by interpreting commentaries and novellas published in *Sanyō-suitai*. Next, the relationship between Hankyu's vision of suburban dwelling and architectural practices is illuminated, through a comparison of its floor plans with the design guidance and patterns of domestic lives of suburbia illustrated in *Sanyō-suitai*. Finally, this chapter argues the relationship between taste, built forms and suburban dwelling.

### **Osaka and Hankyu as an aesthetic agent**

The period in which Hankyu started railway services to Minō and Takarazuka witnessed an urban deterioration in Osaka, led largely by its entrepreneurship (figure 4.1). Historically, it had played a role as a mercantile emporium, and this was the socio-cultural ground in inaugurating a new era of mass production. In the early 1880s there was the vigorous promotion of yarn-making along with the introduction of spinning machinery, and more technologically advanced industries, including steel works, shipbuilding, chemical and cement productions, were booming by the end of the decade.<sup>5</sup> As it enjoyed industrial success from the 1890s onward, the negative impacts of industrialisation began to undermine its urban environment. The promotion of mass production entailed the inflow of newcomers. The population in the period 1900 to 1911 increased dramatically from 0.95 million to 1.27 million.<sup>6</sup> Coal consumption per year rose likewise, doubling between 1897 and 1907, and the air surrounding this congested city became increasingly polluted.<sup>7</sup> The sobriquet – Venice of the East – previously applied to Osaka as a city full of water channels, was subsequently replaced by ‘Asian Manchester’.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, in a thirty-year period to 1907, there were thousands of deaths from recurrent epidemic diseases in the city. Cholera and the plague prevailed in back-to-back tenements into which large numbers of the labouring population were crammed.<sup>9</sup> Responding to this health and housing

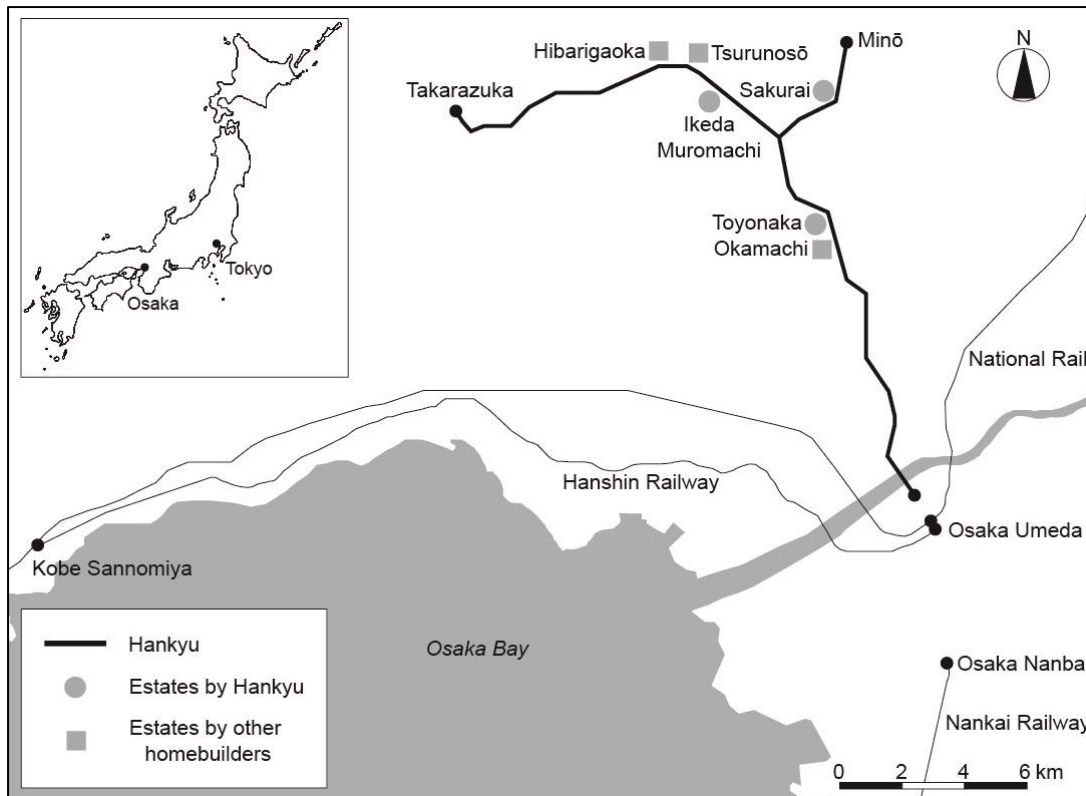


Figure 4.1  
Osaka and Hankyu's network in the 1910s

situation, the local authority began a cleansing operation in Osaka. Local by-laws on the structures of detached houses, wells and privies were enacted in the late 1880s, in line with miasmatic treatments that presumed the significance of fresh air and isolation from 'sewer gases'.<sup>10</sup> A series of pestilences that exposed the weakness of the urban building stock also led it to launch improvements in plumbing in the final decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Along with sanitary improvement works throughout the city centre, educational efforts had raised awareness of public health amongst urban residents, as illustrated in the previous chapter.

Osaka's growth led wealthier residents to look beyond the ever-enlarging urban boundary for a new suburban life. The national rail, open in 1874, had already connected peripheral lands stretching between Osaka and Kobe, but the south edge of Osaka was newly opened up by a private enterprise, the Nankai Railway, in 1885.<sup>12</sup> Extending the railway had the effect of blurring the administrative and perceptual borders of the city, and the steady colonisation of its outskirts was in direct response to overcrowding, pollution and poor dwellings. There was momentum in migration beyond the



metropolis with changes in both working and living conditions making the well-to-do leave town houses with workshops and stores to seek a healthier life in the suburbs.<sup>13</sup> This desire to move was also closely associated with the emergence of estate agents and a new custom of home ownership. For example, Gentarō Abe, who started selling residential plots in a small village on the way to Kobe in 1905, latterly became well-known as a real-estate mogul in Osaka and its environs.<sup>14</sup>

Initially, the spiderweb-like pattern of railway development enabled a growing number of health-conscious middle classes to enjoy the habit of leisure, turning the countryside into a site for consumption on days-off. Holiday haunts on beaches to the south were popularised by the opening of the Nankai, intriguing the urban rich with the promise of an uninfected, virginal sea.<sup>15</sup> Hanshin Electric Railway, established in 1905, discovered new holiday destinations. Beside its main business, Hanshin developed seaside resorts and amusement parks on its line running along the coast from Osaka to Kobe.<sup>16</sup> A trip to a summer retreat became one of the symbols of fulfilment in this period, and middle-class consumers were most willing to practice it.<sup>17</sup>

Ichizō Kobayashi followed this emerging trend of decentralised middle-class consumption. Hankyu's spa resort in Takarazuka, which he opened in 1911, became an alternative option for holidaying, offering a large communal marble bath and rented private bathrooms for family use.<sup>18</sup> The instant success of this venture led him to enlarge the facility for amusement, and in the next year a new building named Paradise was built adjacent to the spa.<sup>19</sup> The Paradise had a fairly exotic interior, consisting of a reception room, a restaurant of Western food and a recreation room with an array of equipment where visitors to the spa could relax after bathing.<sup>20</sup> The spa and Paradise were embodiments of Kobayashi's ideal of a recreation facility that enabled the family to spend the whole day-off on relaxation together.

Beside the success of this spa resort for families, he was proud of the hilly districts that Hankyu linked with central Osaka. In contrast with the waterfront resorts made accessible by his rivals, these were full of poetic beauty varied by the seasons he professed.<sup>21</sup> Promotionally, Hankyu's monthly magazine *Sanyō-suitai* (translated as Mountain Scenery and Waterscape) urged readers to admire the changing seasons and idyllic

landscape enjoyable in the areas along the Hankyu. It served as a month-by-month calendar giving a range of local information on traditional events and festivals held at temples and shrines, and the state of natural objects including seasonal flowers. Implicit in this publication, also, was that suburban environments did not serve just as amusements but also cultivated social refinement and this underlined Hankyu's commercial motives: the promotion of 'mountain scenery and waterscape' was rooted in Kobayashi's efforts to shape pastoral *shumi* (taste). His account of the custom of viewing the moonlight in mid-autumn illustrates this:

What you feel when viewing nature depends much on your sensitivity. Even though it looks gorgeous and gloomy, the moon *per se* does not have any function that arouses and determines human feelings. Your state of mind as well as subjective impression actually controls your source of enjoyment and depression.<sup>22</sup>

In this respect, his view of leisure differed from a conventional attitude towards entertainment. A pastime was customarily perceived as a means of being healed and amused, but the 'modern' concept of leisure, he endorsed, was more subjective, and conceptualised through attempts to make good *shumi* from the late-1900s onward. He agreed with the belief held by the advocators of *shumi*, as argued in Chapter 2, that refined *shumi* (taste) could be internalised through active engagement in appropriate *shumi* (recreations). Kobayashi's endeavours were thus made in reference to their quest for *shumi*, which lay implicitly in the non-indigenous value of individualism and a consciousness of the subjective behaviour of ordinary people. In fact, *Sanyō-suitai* aimed "to show you the peace of hills and waters, beauties of nature on Hankyu's network. It provides you with various articles on picturesque places with *shumi* and seasonal events for you to make a visit quite worthwhile."<sup>23</sup>

The magazine in addition called for poems, verses and paintings that described common sights encountered by the railway users (figure 4.2).<sup>24</sup> Their contributions to it were implicitly recognised as manifestations of their *shumi*, resultant products narrated from first-hand experience and sketched from nature in a subjective manner. In other words, Kobayashi set out to alter perceptions via this cultural exchange such that Hankyu 'leisurised' the



Figure 4.2  
Reader's painting in magazine *Sanyō-suitai* (October 1913, 1)  
Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

image of lands along its railways for business purposes and in doing so enriched the pastoral *shumi* in the everyday lives of those passengers and residents who rediscovered the beauty of the landscape through Hankyu's publication.

The scientific and medical discourses within *Sanyō-suitai* boosted Kobayashi's argument, informing readers about the degree of cleanness of air and water available in the outskirts of the city now made accessible by

Hankyu. Data repeatedly cited air quality and sampled well-water in many places including the areas along its network and central Osaka, to highlight the pureness of the railway suburbs.<sup>25</sup> This implied that trips to scenic spots and suburban dwelling were not only culturally but hygienically favourable.<sup>26</sup> The quality of lands for tourism and residential purposes were judged by miasmatic criteria, including dryness and purity of the atmosphere, and the presence of lush greenery.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps, Kobayashi's justification stemmed from what the experts in dwelling were reconceptualising, as the foregoing chapter argues: 'rationalising' the relationship between the body and space.

Hankyu's appeal was always grounded implicitly on dichotomy. All kinds of writings in *Sanyō-suitai*, whether commentaries, short novels and or advertisements, invoked a juxtaposition of degenerate, infected urban centres and wholesome, unpolluted suburbs. There were many fictional and non-fictional narratives of the everyday lives of those who moved to the lands newly accessible by train from central Osaka. These served to insinuate a connection between the nature of habitus and mental and physical well-being. In one story, for example, sickly children became healthier as their family left the city and settled into a new suburban life.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, the main characters of a short novel "The Sisters" were described living in different settings.<sup>29</sup> The elder married to a merchant of Osaka and living in the centre, suffering persistently from neurasthenia; another, a wife of a university professor, was, in contrast, a suburban dweller in good shape. The story concludes with the younger sister recommending a change of air for the elder, stressing how salubrious her suburban life was. In this respect, Hankyu's writings appeared didactic rather than commercial, suggesting that the body should be displaced from the chaotic city centre.

The term 'unhealthy' had a conceptually wider meaning to contemporary Japanese than as purely scientific vocabulary. In a view held by Kobayashi and most elites, the conditions of their living environment mirrored the dwellers' state of mind. The urban deterioration that Osaka experienced, he thought, was "a result of material greed," and his particular attention to the fitness of dwelling came from anxiety about its impact on the younger population.<sup>30</sup> The assumption behind his faith was a newly recognised awareness of the shaping of identity: it being conceived that

personality was constructed through day-to-day interaction with the external world in early life. In *Sanyō-suitai*, the same concern was voiced often by its correspondents: mothers living along the Hankyu who were extremely sensitive to urban social conditions such as red-light districts and sordid shopping streets, which were likely to harm their children in a moral aspect.<sup>31</sup> Their aversion to these corrupting influences made them abandon life in the centre, and for them the suburbs were the representation of healthy *shumi*, vital in the sound development of body and mind.

Such a dichotomic characterisation of the features of the city and its environs also had something to do with gender differences. The psychological descriptions of suburban life in the short novels of *Sanyō-suitai* were in many cases governed by the loneliness of women.<sup>32</sup> That was the projection of Kobayashi's insight into the effect of demographic change caused by suburbanisation. As living and working were no longer expected to coexist within the house, female members of the relatively rich family began to spend much time in an environment spatially dislocated from urban centres, where men worked most of the day. But his engagement in the decentralisation of women's lives was not a mere project to push them to the 'edge'. In his view, rather, the peripheries had a good deal of potential to allow them to develop their *shumi*. Young couples and female groups who were actively going out to fine, beauty spots, probably using the Hankyu, were vividly portrayed in many stories of *Sanyō-suitai*.<sup>33</sup> These scenes did not originate from a pre-industrial society where women were presences under the roof, embedded the whole day in the transaction of family business and domestic affairs. In the eyes of Kobayashi, the suburbs were places to release the latent talents of women.

The polarisation of urban and suburban characters led Kobayashi to envisage the notion of 'home' as a counter proposal to life in the polluted, distasteful and masculine environments of the city. He ascribed materialism to a lack of parental supervision of respectability, and his vision of 'modern' family was rooted in delivering moral instruction as part of *kyōiku* within a heaven of domesticity.<sup>34</sup> The Romantic vision of family life was underlined in advice of the experts in housekeeping and upbringing at that time. This implied a segregated domain from the unexpected public world and, in

theory, a sanctuary for refuge and for pleasure unlike the *ie* system where domestic life and business practices coincided. A mere emphasis on affection among members of the family, however, would not be powerful enough to persuade ordinary people to take it into practice. That was because, contrary to its rules of intimacy and togetherness within the house, suburbanisation, disconnecting private activities from social intercourses, intrinsically accelerated the compartmentalisation of daily routine according to gender and generational differences. Thus, the answer for Kobayashi was the same as that of the educators and home economists: a variety of *shumi* (recreations) were given not only as correctives of *shumi* (taste) as part of an implicit scheme of social cultivation, but also as shared pursuits to unite the whole family.

Kobayashi particularly promoted domestic gardening, the playing of musical instruments and sports. In his view, gardens totally lost much of their feudalistic symbolism as the elite discovered a kind of DIY attitude towards domestic settings as well as to modern family relations. Advice on ‘gardening’, which not only Hankyu but also other competitors in Osaka offered, was an accurate reflection of the semantic change; it was viewed as a set of means to enjoy togetherness through which the whole family got satisfaction and pleasure from an endeavour to tend the garden.<sup>35</sup> The instructions of *Sanyō-suitai* were diverse, covering both plantsmanship and garden design.<sup>36</sup> The habit of gardening was in this respect expected to serve as a moderniser to drive all members of the household to acquire pastoral and homely *shumi*. In a short story of *Sanyō-suitai* “My Garden,” one who devoted time off to gardening with his family was cheerfully depicted:

Even this amateurish garden is made up astonishingly by a bright moonlight and smoking mist of dawn. The coloured leaves, snow landscape, blooming flowers and vegetables from the kitchen garden, all are subject to the critique of my family. I am very proud of the fact that this soil has been nurtured without help of professional gardeners.<sup>37</sup>

Fears of the absence of a social basis for aesthetic experience extended to other activities and Kobayashi, in promoting these also expanded the scope of his business to the entertainment industry. He, as well as the



Figure 4.3  
Takarazuka Revue (Hanshin Kyūkō Dentetsu, *Hanshin kyūkō dentetsu 25 nenshi*, 1932, 3) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

advocators of *shumi*, saw few opportunities for children, learning piano, organ and violin in compulsory education, to gain exposure to Occidental music elsewhere.<sup>38</sup> A rich culture of traditional music persisted but this was customarily a channel for, in particular, higher caste women to express the nobility of their rank. Kobayashi presumably conceived that the exotic sounds emanating from Western musical instruments was not exclusive, but accessible to all as a novel genre of music to be consumed socially as a component of the new suburban ‘home’ lifestyle. From his albeit gendered viewpoint, “a lovely performance by daughters makes the post-prandial company of family calm and peaceful”<sup>39</sup> His idea to establish a girls’ operetta in 1914, the Takarazuka Revue, which continues today, was aimed initially at inculcating an Occidental aesthetic feeling.<sup>40</sup> Hankyu, by hiring musicians, vocal coaches and choreographers, trained twenty girls under fifteen to perform an opera, and in April 1914, debuted them on the stage of Hankyu’s spa resort in Takarazuka (figure 4.3).<sup>41</sup> Some of the plays they performed were indeed by Kobayashi.<sup>42</sup> Shōyō Tsubouchi, the dramatist and protagonist of *shumi*, championed his ambitious undertaking, arguing that “the cultivation of musical *shumi* of youngsters through girls’ operas is an appropriate step to develop a society’s *shumi*.”<sup>43</sup>



Figure 4.4  
 Events in summer (*Sanyō-suitai*, August 1914, 14) Ikeda  
 Bunko Library, Ikeda

Traditional Japanese physical exercises including martial arts and dancing basically meant indoor activities, and were not conducted for entertainment but for the pursuit of ideal codes of bodily exertion and athletic skill. Outdoor sports were in this respect something ‘modern’. The curiosity of the multitude was aroused by the coincidence of the participation of Japanese athletes in the Olympics for the first time, with the anchoring of baseball as a college sport and the sporting events of foreigners being openly



viewed and seductive.<sup>44</sup> Hankyu's development of Toyonaka Stadium was a direct response to this new quest for spectacle and healthy competitiveness. A full-scale ballpark, consisting of a large playing field with lawn and stands, was erected in 1913.<sup>45</sup> It hosted baseball competitions for the exchange of Japanese and American universities, and became the cradle of the High-School Baseball Tournament that has been held annually to date as a special attraction of summer in Japan.<sup>46</sup> It is possible to consider the Stadium as a medium that projected healthy contest for young people as part of the rhetoric surrounding the health giving benefits of the great suburban outdoors, and it embedded modern sports into the monthly events calendar structuring all kinds of recreational activities (figure 4.4). Kobayashi's goal in the business of Hankyu more widely engendered a reform of *shumi* (taste) through modelling *shumi* (recreations), sought as a measure against urban deterioration and the compartmentalisation of the daily routines of family life. All kinds of *shumi*, Hankyu discovered, could be attained in the outskirts of Osaka, involving a time-space conjunction of 'modern' leisure behaviours ordered by the seasons. These were to be given a cultural architecture in the design and landscaping of the suburbs.

### **Family, Leisure and House**

The proposed *shumi* – in both taste and recreation – that members of the family were urged to obtain were expected to make sense in Hankyu's estates. Its housing development was crucial to the establishment of Hankyu Corporation as a viable business in its early days. As a railway business it would remain undercapitalised and unattractive for potential investors, without the prospect of a growing population in areas accessible by the planned route.<sup>47</sup> Kobayashi's reference to *shumi* was in this respect pivotal in binding the different types of enterprises which spanned railway, leisure and housing industries, so that Hankyu gained the confidence of its stockholders.

Over the 1910s, three estates were built in compliance with its business plan. A site facing the tracks near Ikeda station, ten miles away from the terminal of central Osaka, was the first railway-company built suburbia.

Ikeda-Muromachi estate, created in June 1910, was laid out to accommodate two hundred households in an area of 91,000 m<sup>2</sup> equally subdivided in size.<sup>48</sup> A 330-square-meter plot came with a two-storey house consisting of five or six rooms.<sup>49</sup> And there was some variation among the houses with floor areas ranging from 66 to 99 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>50</sup> Plots sold for ¥2,500 and were payable on an instalment plan that was still novel at the time.<sup>51</sup> The main target for this residential real estate was the middle classes: doctors, academics, teachers, lawyers, bankers, artists and other better-off white-collar workers who began to settle their families at Ikeda.<sup>52</sup> About 18 hectares of land were designed for building lots the following year on former fruit farms close to a second station at Sakurai.<sup>53</sup> Sakurai estate, according to *Sanyō-suitai*, was “the most tasteful place in areas along the Hankyu due to its rustic and placid mood.”<sup>54</sup> Toyonaka, the third estate was on sale from 1914, offering varying site and floor areas to accommodate a range of demands.<sup>55</sup>

In the same period, these three residential estates stimulated other developments on the Hankyu network led by local construction firms and real estate agencies. In 1912, Okamachi Estate was established around Okamachi station, with land parcelled out to build brand-new residences.<sup>56</sup> Kobayashi extolled this rival estate which lured the well-to-do families with its perfection as a “gentlemen’s village,” not least because it promoted increased use of the new Hankyu line.<sup>57</sup> In his view, a pine grove enhancing the quiet appearance of the Okamachi was a manifestation of the refined taste that the residents had; “never ceased from having pastoral *shumi*,” he claimed, even though the future pressure for housing preferred “wiping out and turning it into firewood.”<sup>58</sup> Likewise, the entrepreneurship of local constructor Eitaro Kitada was fuelled by the power of railway connectedness to neighbouring cities and villages.<sup>59</sup> He opened Tsurunosō estate, a 13.2 hectare block reached from Noseguchi station, and, as an architect, created bespoke houses according to preferences of his clients from 1914 onward.<sup>60</sup> Two years later, the development of hilly sites around Hibarigaoka station, well known as the communities of the rich nowadays, was initiated by Gentarō Abe.<sup>61</sup>

Hankyu carried forward the construction of the estates in merchandising them. Its earlier promotions included the circulation of

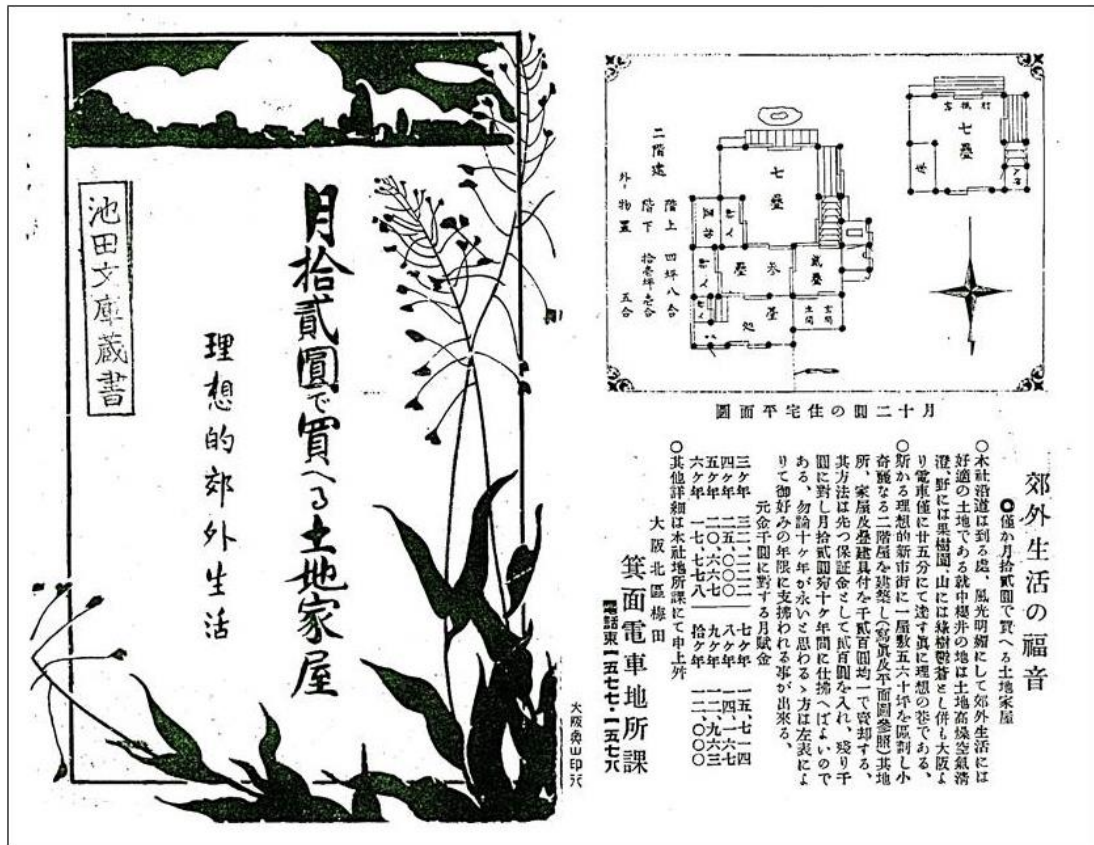


Figure 4.5  
Front (left) and back cover (right) of a brochure “A house for 12 yen a month: Ideal Suburban Life” (Minō Arima Electric Railway, c. 1910) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

brochures and advertising involving the use of placards. Plans and images of a sample house were printed in the brochures with an explanation of how its estates were environmentally favourable, and how an instalment plan offered by it was realistic and reasonable (figure 4.5).<sup>62</sup> The way of distributing these brochures is unknown, but this type of publicity was likely to have the effect of enabling a middle-class clientele to compare their old townhouses in central Osaka with detached houses available in its estates for the “ideal suburban life.”<sup>63</sup> The sale of properties of Ikeda-Muromachi and Sakurai estates employed advertising posters which displayed the site arrangement, characterised by gridded road networks, and floor plans of selected dwellings (figure 4.6).<sup>64</sup> The postformat blueprints were poster-like prints, whose purpose, likewise, is unrevealed. Perhaps Hankyu’s salespersons visited potential buyers with these powerful presentation materials for intriguing them with graphic illustrations of the estates. Reserved houses and lots were marked with red circles, and the blueprints were updated and used for

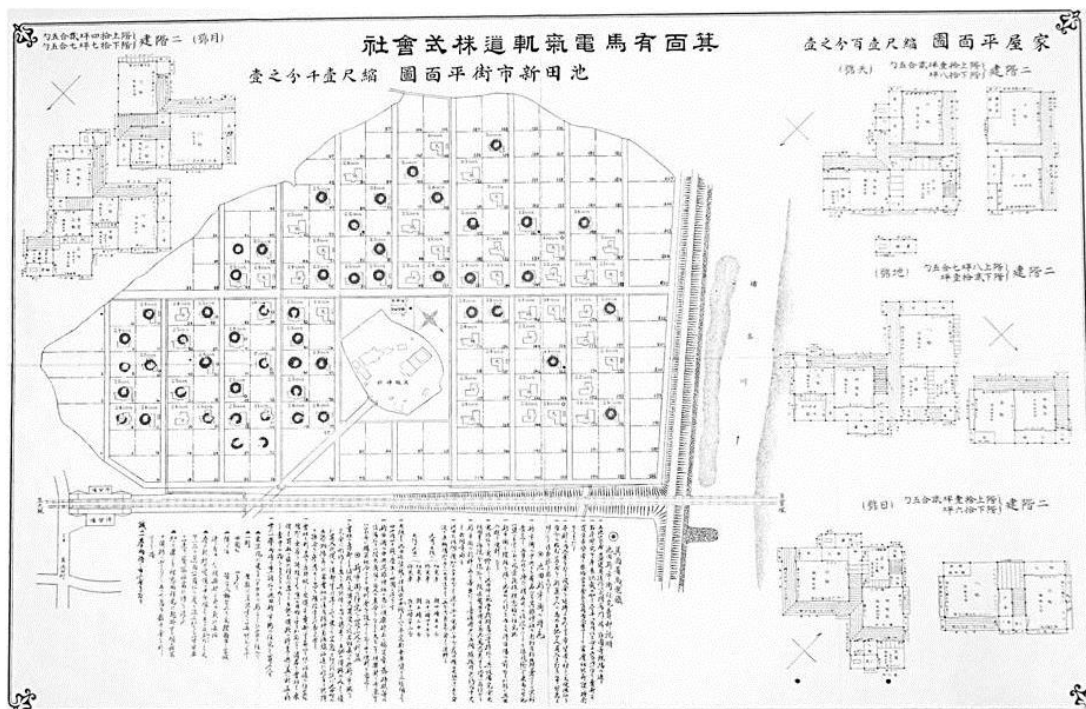


Figure 4.6  
Postformat blueprint of Ikeda-Muromachi estate (Minō Arima Electric Railway, c. 1910) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

further advertisement. An increasing number of red circles in the maps of the estates would drive those wishing to move out to conclusion of a contract. Whatever the detailed strategy of Hankyu's sales techniques was, houses of ordinary people became comparable, purchasable and exchangeable objects in this way.

The domestic architecture of Hankyu dwellings, as it proclaimed, echoed the rules of "family-oriented" planning.<sup>65</sup> A *tatami* space continued to be the general motif of the interior, but its arrangements and underlying meanings were distinct from those of orthodox townhouses still dominant in the urban centre. The prospective residents, mainly families of the 'new' middle classes, were wholly disconnected from the traditional pattern of life in the centre and from the *ie* system. A typical model of their daily rounds was that the father, mother and children were involved in different kinds of activities in different places most of the day. Unlike the business-oriented household of an old tradesman, their lives were no longer communalised amongst members of the family, rather compartmentalised. The "family-oriented" planning primarily meant the methodology for synchronising discrete milieus within which members of the family pursued their own

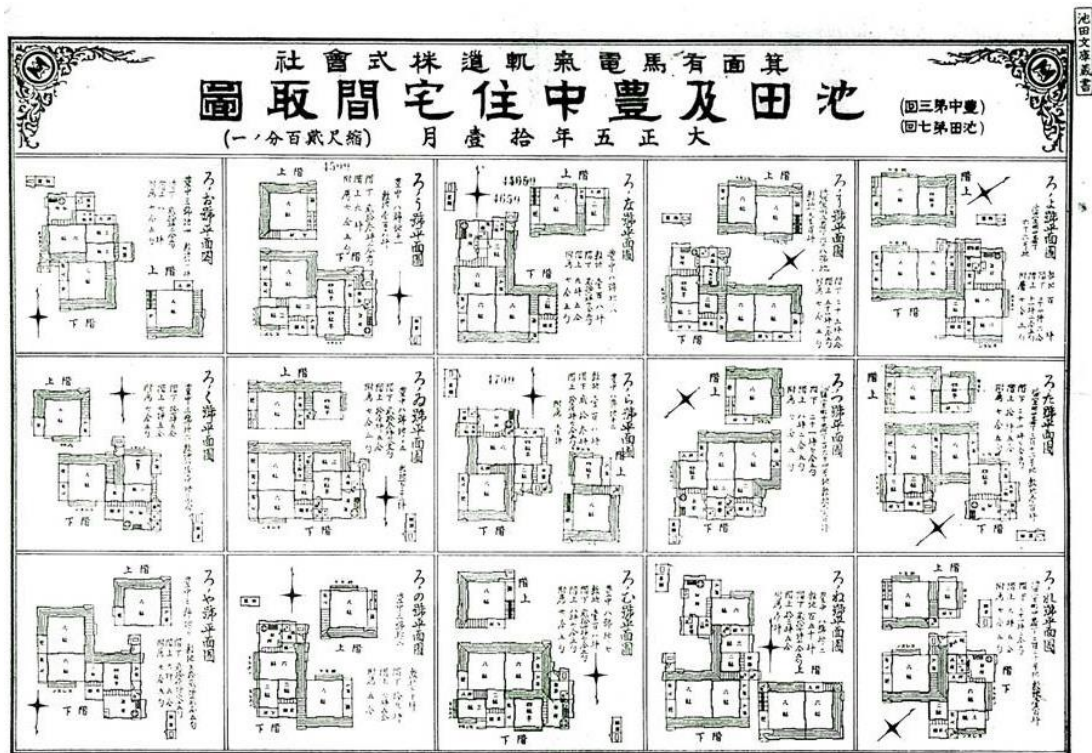


Figure 4.7  
Housing catalogue of Ikeda-Muromachi and Toyonaka estates (Minō Arima Electric Railway, 1916) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

personal interests separately under the same roof. Hankyu’s housing catalogues issued in the late 1910s show a variety of floor plans varied according to locations of corridors and dispositions of domestic spaces (figure 4.7).<sup>66</sup> Rooms of houses consisting of *tatamis* were merely referred to by their number. The catalogues did not specify their intended functions by name. These line-ups of dwellings were however products of delicate design considerations associated with various demands stemmed from a growing compartmentalisation of everyday life as well as with the context of sites. Passages from “My Home,” a novella in *Sanyō-suitai*, were shrewd reflections of a middle-class view that the use of domestic spaces became ‘selective’ according to more individualised needs:

When my family moved to the house [of a Hankyu’s estate], I made sure which room is for whom, so as not to bother each other. First I chose an eight-*tatami* floor next to the entrance as my bedroom. A small chamber adjoined the kitchen, and a maid was assigned to this four-and-half *tatami* space. My wife and children occupied six *tatamis* near the kitchen; this, at the same time, began to serve as the dining room at meals.<sup>67</sup>

If “My Home” presumed the centrality of housewifely and family gatherings at ‘home’, the six-*tatami* room in its story was a space like the *chanoma*, where compartmentalised members of the family came together in company to enjoy the peace and comfort of meals, chatting and recreational activities. In fact, a scene of dinner illustrated by another narrative of *Sanyō-suitai* no longer evoked formalised ways of dining by means of a set of dinner tray and eating utensils given to each member of the family. This implied that a middle-class audience felt empathy with scenes of less formal and more enjoyable meals around the modern invention *chabudai*, which became popular particularly among white-collar families twenty years later. After work, Jyūzō, the main character of the novella, was “sitting at the *chabudai*,” talking to his newly-married wife:

Wife: “Have you finished dinner on the way to the home?”

Jyūzō: “Yes, and you?”

Wife: “Not yet, because I’ve waited you for to come back. I was not so hungry and on top of that, I missed eating dinner with you.”

Actually he has dropped into a bierkeller with his colleagues and gorged himself with greasy food, beer and hard drink. But a request of his wife is absolute.

Jyūzō: “You must be starving then. All right, let’s start dinner from now on.”<sup>68</sup>

To Jyūzō, his home was one of two worlds where he travelled back and forth. The two dinners he faced were a metaphor for the emerging trend of a distinction between public and private spheres. To his wife, the meal was an opportunity for pleasure involving the company of the whole family and interactions around the *chabudai*.

The exercise of the “family-oriented” conception in design meant an adherence to the logical discourse of those experts in housing seeking rational forms of dwelling within a Romanticised view of family. Rooms serving as living spaces of Hankyu houses were ideally oriented to the south and southeast.<sup>69</sup> This way of planning was a reflection of the newly recognised ‘private’ life and growing awareness of public health. The commentaries of *Sanyō-suitai* implied that there was a close association between the circulation and spatial layout of a building and the onset of pulmonary tuberculosis with which, the magazine reported, nearly twelve per



Figure 4.8  
Garden of a Hankyu house (*Sanyō-suitai*, September 1914) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

cent of those living in the slum areas of Osaka were afflicted.<sup>70</sup> The south-facing plan was expected to promise improved ventilation and access to daylight for the disinfection of rooms that members of the family inhabited. The properly-installed sanitary equipment, including a bath, toilet and drains for waste water, was equally underlined. The art of persuasion to adopt a scientific prescription was employed, illustrating that this led to the same result as the Chinese tradition of *feng shui*, used conventionally for determining the configuration of space.<sup>71</sup> Sanitary quality was a token of security and largely appealed to a middle class with a heightened awareness of health of the family.<sup>72</sup>

Without the garden, a suburban house lost much of its *raison d'être*. As the novella “My Garden” indicated, this domesticated landscape was no longer a means to entertain guests with its professional horticulture. Rather, it was intended to serve as a place within which members of the family cultivated pastoral *shumi* (taste) and pastoral *shumi* (recreations) (figure 4.8). In Sakurai estate, a search for unity within the existing orchard farms led to several fruit trees being retained in the garden of each plot.<sup>73</sup> This environmental solution was also strategic to the positioning of the dwellings; “the blossoms and the fruits of the plants” were expected “to embody spring and autumn and give [the whole estate] aesthetic appeal.”<sup>74</sup> It is possible to



Figure 4.9  
Illustration of the *engawa* in magazine *Sanyō-suitai* (July 1915, 18)  
Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

consider that the setting of vegetation within an ecological cycle would act as a mnemonic for the seasons for various events and for the particular kinds of recreational activities and sports that Hankyu ‘leisurised.’ The front and back gardens were set out extensively and a kind of DIY experience through gardening and growing vegetables was taken for granted as a means to enhance both the creativity and health of the residents.<sup>75</sup>

An *engawa* also became the subject for the project of rationalisation in Hankyu’s planning as the south front of a house was coupled with more down-to-earth, practical images of everyday life. The platform originated symbolically from an emotional boundary dividing the indoor from outdoor spaces. This kind of barrier was not incompatible with middle-class wants. The *engawa* of the Hankyu was designed to serve as both corridor and multi-functional floor akin to a veranda that allowed exposure to the sunshine and to cool air in summer evenings. The organic link between the inside and outside of the house embedded in the image of leisure infused a new role into the *engawa* (figure 4.9). It became a more intimate space, viewed as a setting to enhance close proximity to the garden and nature. In the novella of *Sanyō-suitai*, the accounts of its main character implied a subtle nuance of this floor:





Figure 4.10  
Front view of a house in Sakurai estate (*Sanyō-suitai*, July 1913, 4) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

Since I start living at my own house [in the Hankyu], I feel like I am being of *shumi* at home. ... After work I always do something to my garden: trimming, watering and lighting lanterns. In the meantime, dinner is ready, and I am carrying the dishes onto the *engawa*. The [comfortable] feeling I enjoy in the evening cool breeze is quite a contrast to closeness and sultriness in a cramped house of the urban centre; this difference is like paradise and hell.<sup>76</sup>

The exterior of a typical Hankyu house erected in this period evoked that of vernacular architecture. Just like the ruling-caste dwelling in pre-modern times, it was fenced up by high walls (figure 4.10). A long-lasting tradition of material possession conceded the *samurai* the exclusive rights to a ‘symbolic’ gate and this was still a spatial component of Hankyu’s middle-class settlements (figure 4.11). But building materials and ornaments were no longer emblematic of privilege in this post-*samurai* period. Instead the shell of this ‘modern’ house came to contain a different type of message under the auspices of practicability. For example, the effect of weatherboarding that styled its appearance was seen, scientifically, as a means to lower room temperature during the summer months.<sup>77</sup> As such, Hankyu houses were



Figure 4.11  
Front view of a house in Ikeda-Muromachi estate (S. Nozawa, 4 June 2013)

primarily detailed architecturally to encompass a systematic and anatomical perspective on the relationship between the body and space.

As stated earlier, the rigid categorisation of floor plans did not much make sense because a potential buyer of a house determined how to use domestic spaces in line with the wider Japanese tradition of flexibility. But, a two-storey house erected at 7-3 Toyonaka, on sale in 1916, displays a unique feature that could be seen in the type of Hankyu houses built in this period (figure 4.12).<sup>78</sup> In accordance with the “family-oriented” planning, a main passage was arranged to make each room distinct, linking one with another mostly on the same side. This floor-boarded route ran along the south front of the house and was recognisably the *engawa*. If the south-facing eight and four-and-half *tatami* rooms on the ground floor were viewed as spaces for family use, guests would be led to the upstairs six-*tatami* room with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana*. Any decorative alcove was not equipped in downstairs rooms; rather, large built-in closets were designed to allow residents to settle their everyday lives there. The kitchen was accessible only

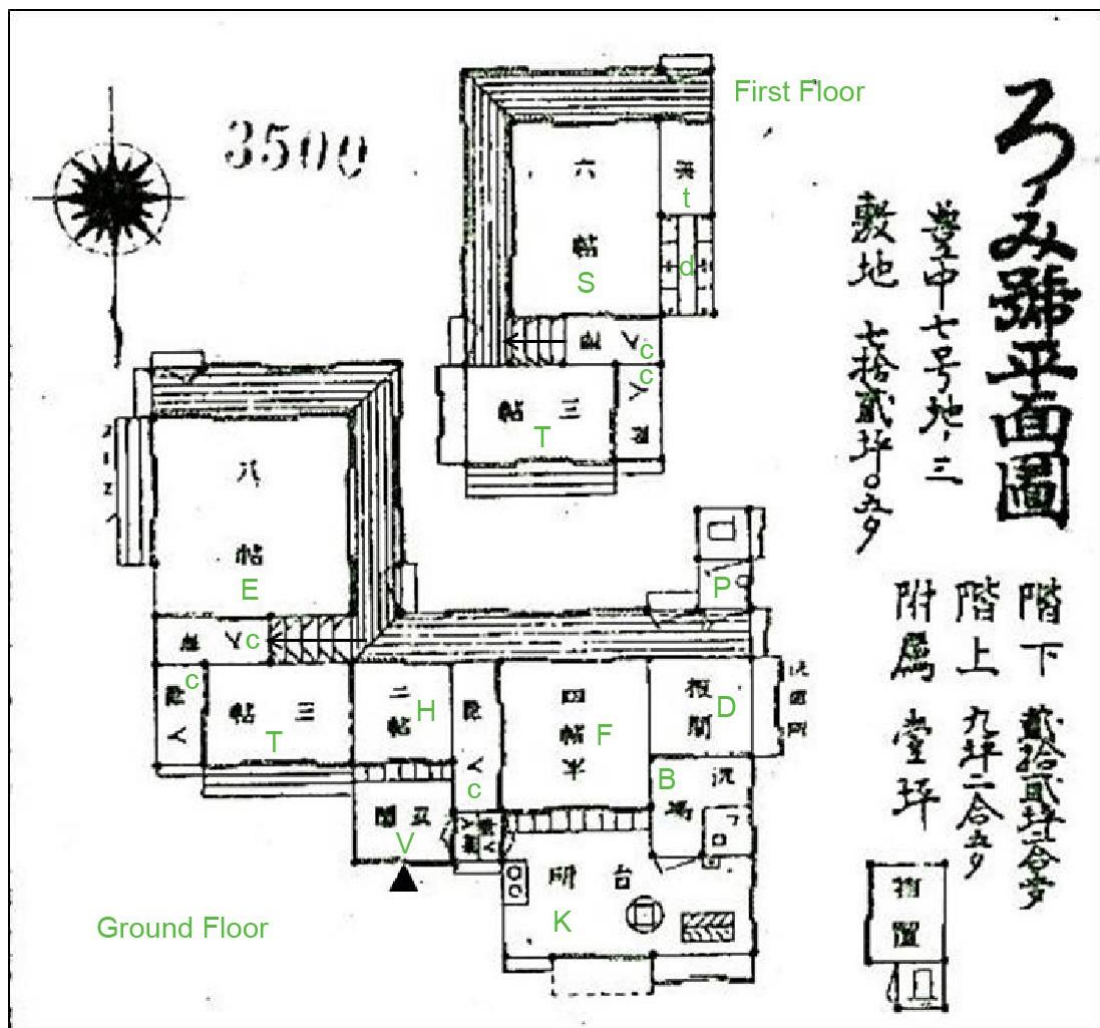


Figure 4.12  
 Hankyu house at 7-3 Toyonaka (B: bathroom; D: dressing room; E: eight-tatami room; F: four-and-half-tatami room; H: hall; K: kitchen; P: privy; S: six-tatami room; T: three-tatami room; V: vestibule; c: closet; d: chigaidana; t: tokonoma) (Minō Arima Electric Railway's housing catalogue "Ikeda oyobi Toyonaka jyūtaku madorizu," 1916) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

by passing through the four-and-half *tatami* room. This way of arrangement was a direct message that it served as a dining area, as a junction of daily rounds of the whole family. As the novella of *Sanyō-suitai* implied, the residents were expected to have meals around the *chabudai* in this meeting place for compartmentalised family.

The kitchen was an earthen space lower than the other parts of this house, containing a *kamado* and well. It adjoined the bathroom with an area for dressing. In the eye of the healthy-conscious middle classes, these well-designed amenities could be attractive, recognised as signs of good sanitary quality. This kitchen-bathroom connection presumed that a maid and

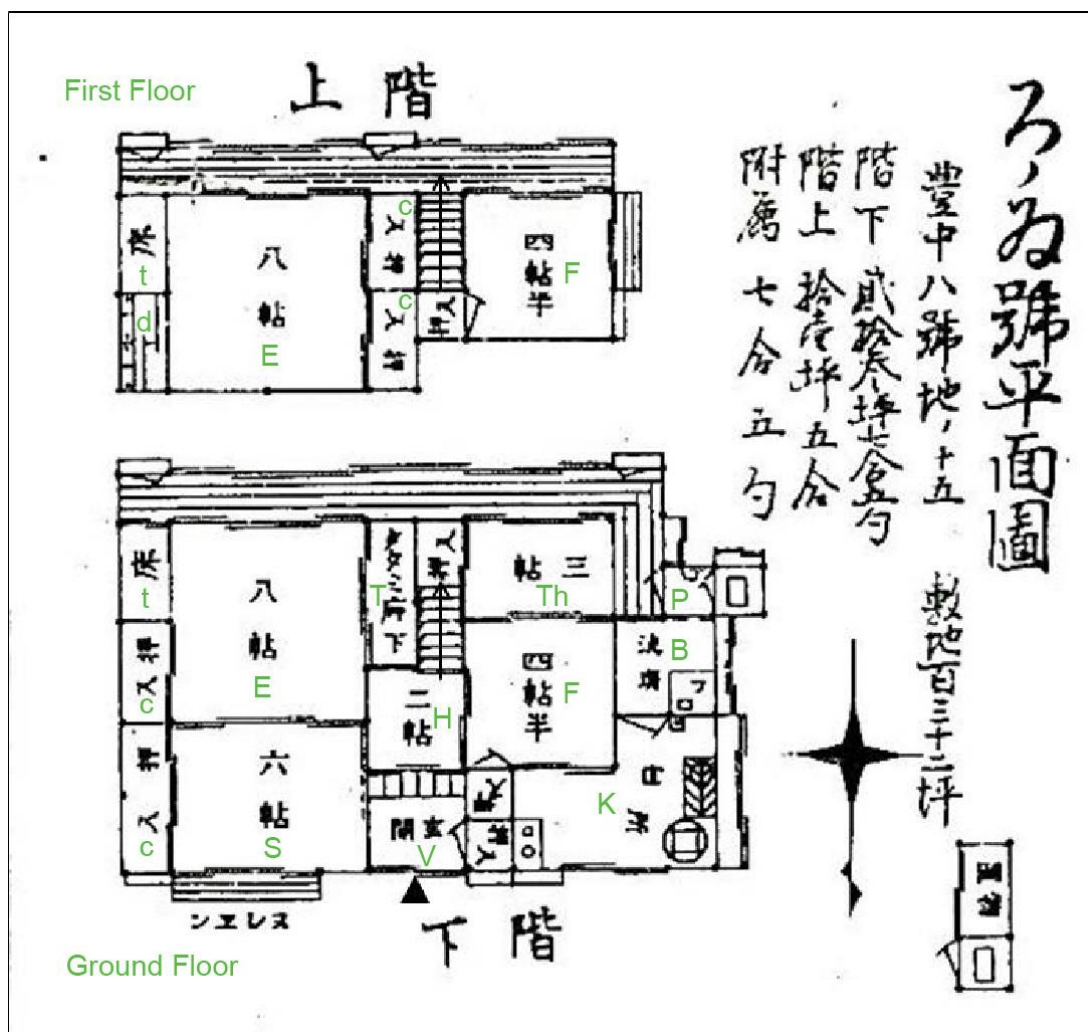


Figure 4.13  
Hankyu house at 8-15 Toyonaka (B: bathroom; E: eight-tatami room; F: four-and-a-half-tatami room; H: hall; K: kitchen; P: privy; S: six-tatami room; T: tatami corridor; Th: three-tatami room; V: vestibule; c: closet; d: chigaidana; t: tokonoma) (Minō Arima Electric Railway's housing catalogue "Toyonaka jyūtaku madorizu," 1917) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

members of the family brought water from the well and heated the bath by charcoal and firewood. Electricity was available in all Hankyu dwellings, but only for lighting at that time.<sup>79</sup> It was perhaps taken for granted that smoke from the *kamado* and bath furnace filled the kitchen and was eventually exhausted through the back door.

The floor arrangement of another house in Toyonaka estate was apparently open-plan, but the separation of one room from the others was secured in a different way. In contrast to the previous house, the shape of a dwelling built at 8-15 Toyonaka was markedly square (figure 4.13).<sup>80</sup> The floor area of boarded passages was relatively smaller, serving merely as

access to the toilet on the ground floor. In this arrangement, the hall with two *tatamis* instead played a key role in making rooms disconnected from each other. For residents taking shoes off in the entrance, there were five options of where to go: the six- and four-and-half *tatami* rooms, the upstairs and a *tatami* corridor leading to the eight-*tatami* room and *engawa*. The middle-class importance on reception was embodied in the design of the upstairs eight-*tatami* room which came with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana*, thereby sustaining a clear-cut distinction between contact with others and daily rounds by floor. Private lives of the residents were firmly protected from the public eye by the hallway like a hub directly linked with the stairs.

The six- and eight-*tatami* rooms on the ground floor were interconnected and separable by sliding paper screens. The layout of these *en suite tatami* rooms was presumably a result of reference to the stereotyped interior of an orthodox house. It could be thought that this was a direct response to the ritualised domestic practices involving the use of open-plan living spaces. Two walk-in closets assumed a change in roles of the *tatami* spaces by time and function, providing ample spaces for storage and particularly for bedding to transform them into shared bedrooms. The *engawa* was south-facing, a part of the interior, sealed by glass doors through which sunlight amply poured. Wherever they were residing, the disposition of the rooms of this dwelling allowed residents to enjoy a view of the garden by opening the screens. In this way, the unity of the inside and outside of the house was effectively enhanced in response to the concept that the garden was part of the continuum of the family's domain.

If the two large rooms with eight and six *tatamis* occupying the ground floor were the private sphere, a maid was expected to live in the three-*tatami* room along the hallway in a house erected at 4-216 Ikeda-Muromachi (figure 4.14).<sup>81</sup> A boarded corridor linking the hall, six- and four-and-half *tatami* room was short, but had an effect of making a threshold between areas of the family and ones of the servant. It suited a daily routine of a maid who was supposed to go back and forth between her room and the kitchen. A large closet built in the upstairs four-and-half *tatami* room meant that someone used the space for practical reasons. The close proximity to the eight-*tatami* room with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* might make residents

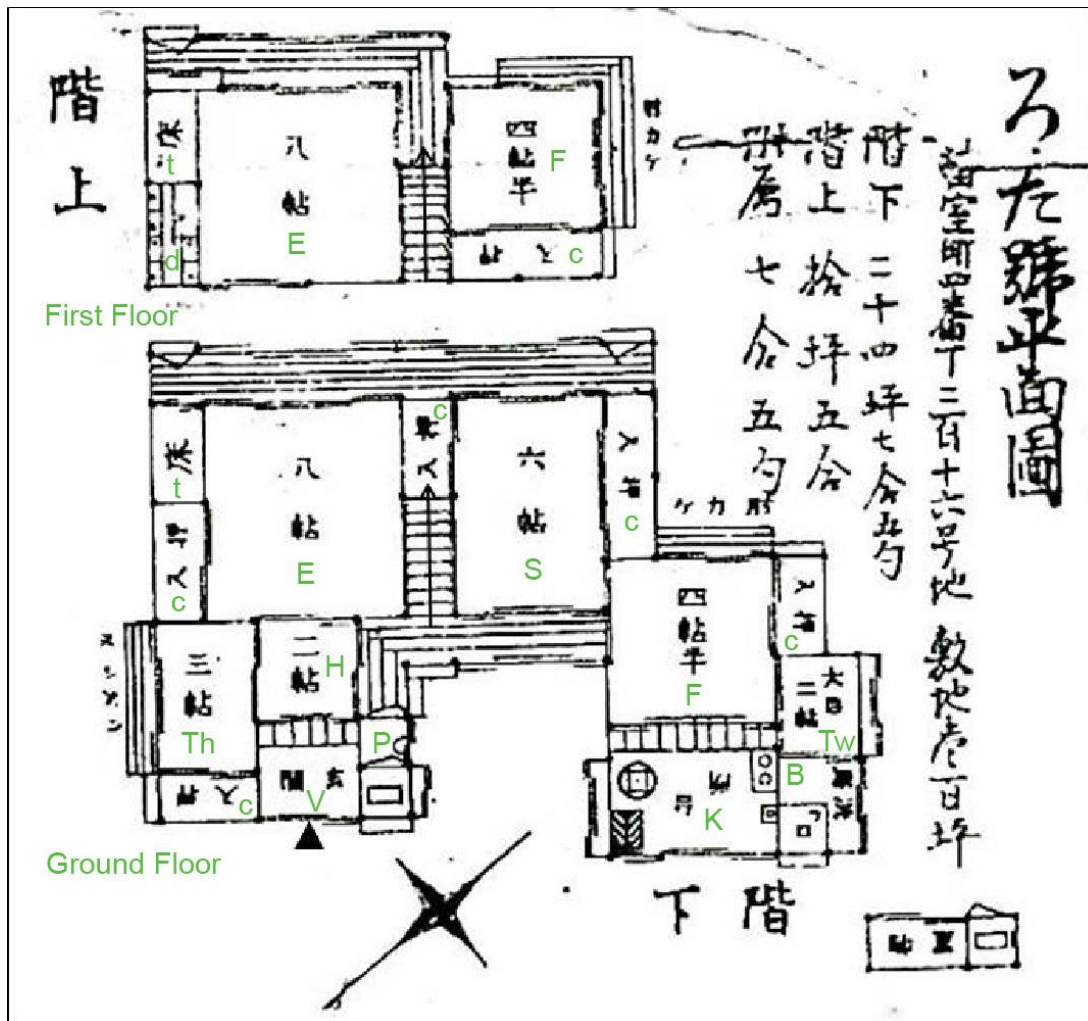


Figure 4.14

Hankyu house at 4-216 Ikeda-Muromachi (B: bathroom; E: eight-*tatami* room; F: four-and-half-*tatami* room; H: hall; K: kitchen; P: privy; S: six-*tatami* room; Th: three-*tatami* room; Tw: two-*tatami* room; V: vestibule; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Minō Arima Electric Railway's housing catalogue "Ikeda oyobi Toyonaka jyūtaku madorizu," 1916) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

think of it as a bedroom for a guest. This south-facing room on the first floor was meanwhile considered to be the ideal place in which youngsters studied and played, as discussed in the previous chapters. Perhaps, this house was largely agreeable for a family particularly with school-age children.

With respect to the connection between the *engawa* and rooms for family, this dwelling was morphologically similar to the previous square house in Toyonaka estate. The two *tatami* rooms facing the southeast were situated along the *engawa*, thereby enabling residents to benefit from daylight and fresh air. But, the role as a passage had remarkably disappeared from the *engawa* of the Ikeda-Muromachi, because the toilet was instead



Figure 4.15  
One-to-one model of a wife's room displayed in the Home Exhibition (*Sanyō-suitai*, April 1915, 14) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

located near the entrance. This type of *engawa* was therefore designed for private activities extended from other parts of the house, as the floored space along the sunny side was conceptually 'leisured' in the narratives previously quoted from *Sanyō-suitai*. All members of the family were presumed to appreciate pastoral *shumi* in the *engawa*, enjoying the cool of a summer evening and watching the garden together.

A series of exhibitions over the formative period of Hankyu meanwhile played a key role in promoting a range of material artefacts to shape a trajectory of life as an autobiographical narrative like those seen in *Sanyō-suitai*. The Paradise, at Hankyu's spa resort was the central point of this project. In 1914, for example, a range of bridal costumes and trousseaux were displayed as part of the Marriage Exhibition, along with the performance of the fledgling girl's opera troupe, Takarazuka Revue.<sup>82</sup> Intriguing female visitors with the beautiful array of both traditional and exotic items, it demonstrated that the women, as individuals of their own minds, could 'choose' from various types of wedding rituals in reference to their *shumi*. In

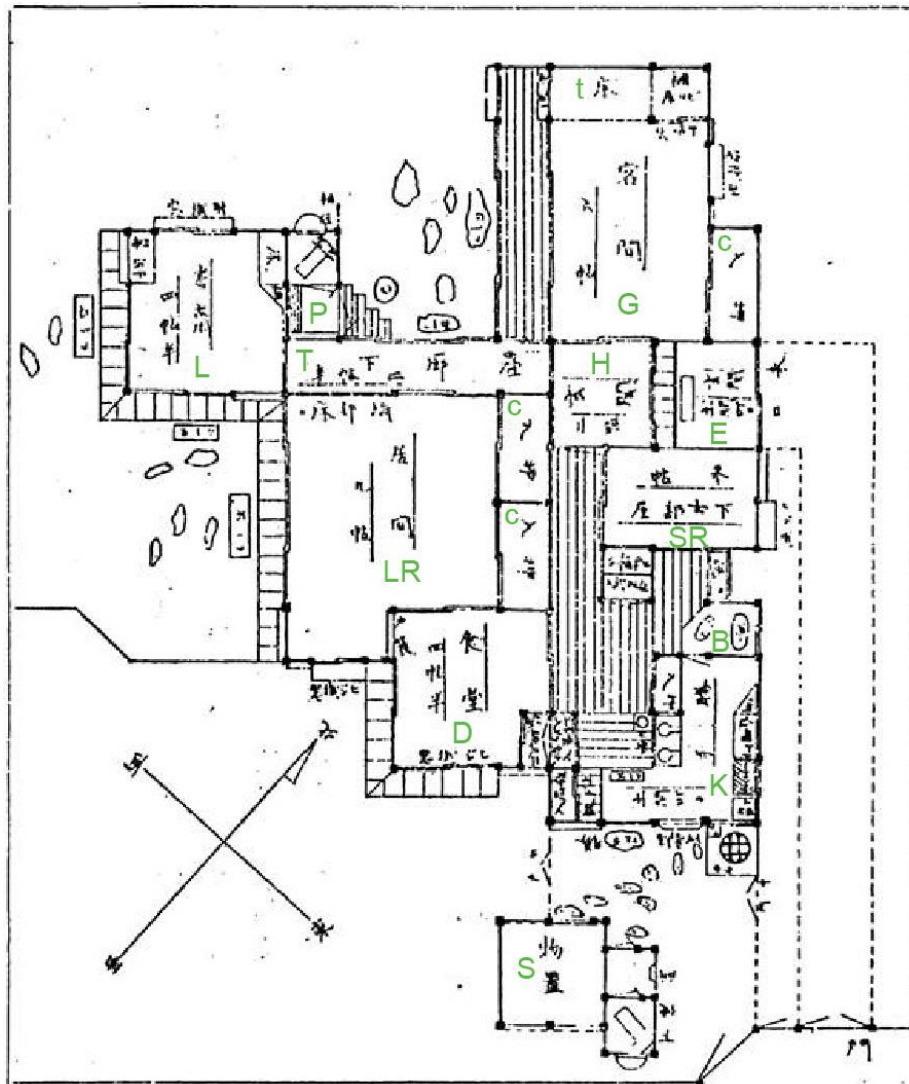


Figure 4.16  
Award-winning floor plan built at 4-219 Ikeda-Muromachi (B: bathroom; D: dining room; E: entrance; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: library; LR: living room; P: privy; S: shed; SR: servant's room; T: tatami corridor; c: closet; t: *tokonoma*) (*Sanyō-suitai*, July 1914, 12) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

the next year, the Home Exhibition entertained the middle classes, luring them with new furnishings and equipment deemed necessary for the routines of modern family life.<sup>83</sup> They experienced novel forms of living, walking through set showpieces and one-to-one models of the wife's room and nursery, which included displays of musical instruments and gardening tools to harmonise and 'leisurise' the family at home (figure 4.15).<sup>84</sup> Visitors could seek out the safest and most comfortable path of life to guarantee a sense of ontological security and the making of class identity.



The detail of the 1913 Ladies' Exhibition held prior to the fairs on the themes of marriage and home is not clear, but its chief attractions were the award-winning floor plans of the design contests which Hankyu sponsored.<sup>85</sup> A proposal was of a one-storey house targeting a family of four or five, and eventually materialised at 4-219 Ikeda-Muromachi (figure 4.16).<sup>86</sup> The north corner of this dwelling consisted of a *tatami* guest room and servant's room situated around the entrance and hallway, and there were family's rooms named the library, living room and dining room which occupied the sunny side. This systematic approach to the life of compartmentalised family was a response to the increasingly recognised image of 'home', which intertwined the notion of domesticity with the knowledge of sanitary science. The layout of spaces for 'others' confined within the north front hygienically less attractive was viewed as a sign of the attempts to do away with the "business-oriented" ideology that the *zashiki* occupying rooms along the large opening of an orthodox detached house evoked.<sup>87</sup> A boarded passage linking the hall, servant's room, dining room and the kitchen was arranged to facilitate the maid's work. The layout of floored and *tatami* corridors separating the private from public spheres evoked a domestic arrangement of the interior-corridor plan, which was widely employed in the inter-war years. The border of the library, living room and the garden was defined only by glass doors, and stepping stones depicted in the winner's drawing indicated that residents were expected to go down into the garden. Perhaps, the close association and harmony with the outside of the house was an adroit answer to what Hankyu sought: the pastoral *shumi* in design. A commentary of *Sanyō-suitai* on this proposal in fact praised its elaboration of such an inside-outside continuum as being "tasteful."<sup>88</sup> It was still a type of floor plans in Ikeda-Muromachi estate, but its disposition of rooms as well as the unity between the house and garden which it skilfully expressed was prophetic of the future design of Hankyu dwellings discussed in the next chapter.

## Neighbourhood of *shumi*

Happy family life with pastoral *shumi*, which a Hankyu dwelling bespoke, was encapsulated in a site framed by a rigorous grid of roads. This type of gridded landscape was a general feature of the estates built in the 1910s (figure 4.17). Behind the fences, the large garden, regularly placed on the south side of each house, promised healthy bodies and the refinement of *shumi*. In Ikeda-Muromachi estate two streets ran parallel the railway track, and the shape of a block is determined by eleven avenues running from southeast to northwest (see figure 4.6). All gates of houses were designed to face the avenues.<sup>89</sup> The public open space of this first railway-company built suburb formed a distinctively spiritual setting: a shrine centred in the brand-new residential district (figure 4.18). If it was a direct response to middle-class wants, this perhaps meant that the cosmological system of value continued to be worldly referenced by consumers at that time.

A site surrounded by hills and pine groves for Toyonaka estate was geometrically carved in the same way, but its centrepiece was no longer a place in which people recognised spiritual power. The main street running from the station served as an axis of development of building plots, reaching the Stadium where individuals and teams celebrated the secular activity of athletic competitions (figure 4.19). The Stadium was open to all, particularly used by college students coming from central Osaka for practice, and became a host of baseball games on every Sunday.<sup>90</sup> This arrangement could be effective in leading middle-class residents to watch and engage in modern sports as *shumi* (recreations).

Clubhouses were in addition erected in Ikeda-Muromachi and Sakurai estates, intended to be gathering places where residences gained acquaintances and socialised with others through leisure pursuits.<sup>91</sup> These were two-storey buildings; the ground floor was a parlour with billiard tables and the upstairs consisted of a large *tatami* room serving as a multipurpose space (figure 4.20).<sup>92</sup> The essence of the appeal of Hankyu's estates in this period was condensed into the clubhouses; an overall harmony among people who disliked the city on moral and aesthetic grounds and were in the relatively higher income bracket that bespoke respectability and an



Figure 4.17  
View from a street in Ikeda-Muromachi estate (*Sanyō-suitai*, August 1917, 16) Ikeda  
Bunko Library, Ikeda



Figure 4.18  
View from a shrine in Ikeda-Muromachi estate (S. Nozawa, 4 June 2013)

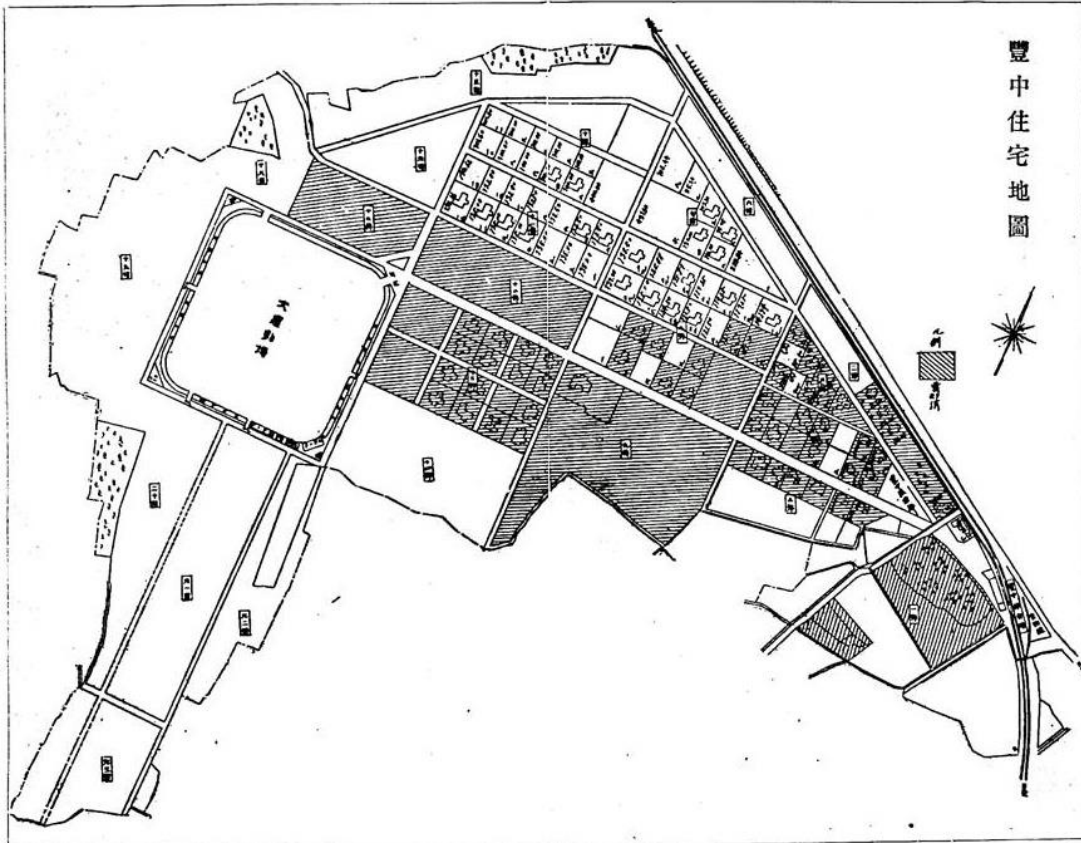


Figure 4.19  
 “Map of Toyonaka estate” (*Sanyō-suitai*, August 1917, 10-11) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

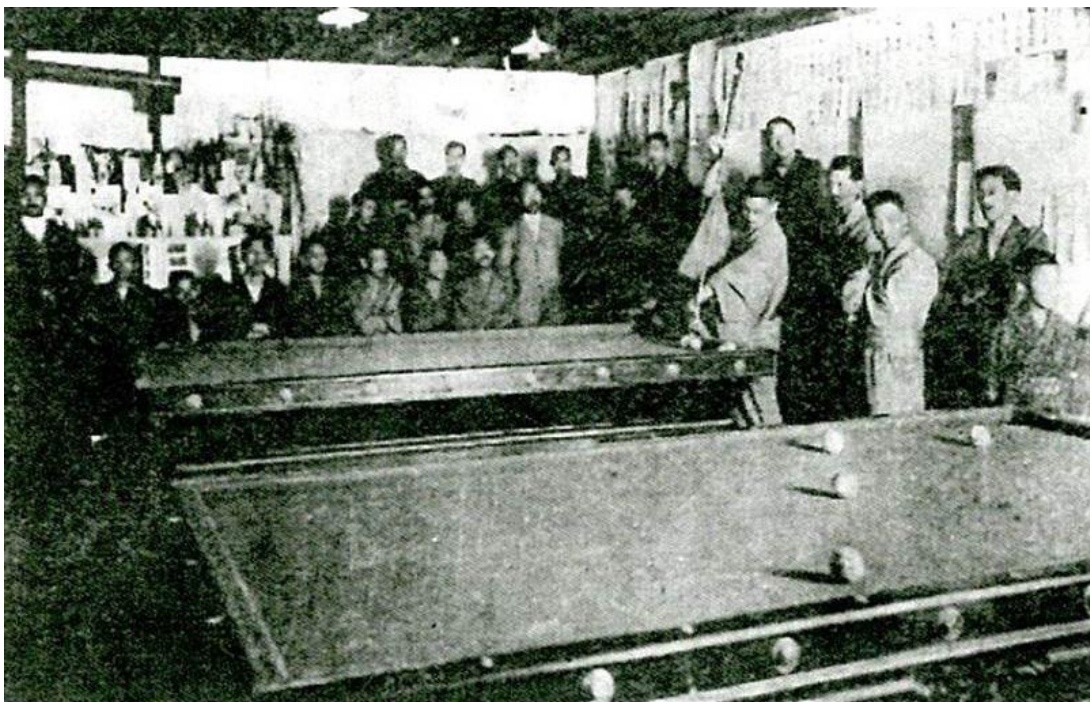


Figure 4.20  
 Pool in the club of Ikeda-Muromachi estate (*Sanyō-suitai*, December 1913, 4) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

appropriateness in *shumi*. Under refined *shumi*, good neighbours became good friends – in the course of the Second World War, the Muromachi, according to the record of its residents' association, had evolved into webs of cultural ties grouped by various kinds of *shumi* (recreations), such as tennis, hiking, traditional song, board games, and so on.<sup>93</sup> Likewise residents reported enjoying hearing music emanating from the houses as they moved around this homogenised residential community, even if latterly the constructed idyll of such estates was not immune to crime like burglary.<sup>94</sup> Whatever risks, it could be considered that residents of the Hankyu's estates were eager not only to acquire an environment appropriate for living-working separation and more family-centred life, but also to consume *shumi* – in both taste and recreation – proposed and commoditised by its founder: Kobayashi.

In short, the Hankyu's projects in the 1910s were a testament to the 'leisurisation' of the suburbs revolving around a subtle promotion of *his* pastoral *shumi*, which embraced the logic the elites used to justify their view of body-space relationship and the discourses of the advocates of *shumi*. To Kobayashi with Romanticised eyes, hilly districts accessible by Hankyu were embodiments of high aesthetic qualities, and contact with them, he believed, was a gateway to acquisition of refined *shumi*. He associated the image of the suburbs with the notion of home as a 'paradise' for refuge and for pleasure, suggesting that pastoral life was suited to the construction of both attachments amongst members of a compartmentalised family and their *shumi*. The dichotomous interpretation of urban-suburban characters powered by discourses on public health was effective in conceptualising the beauty and attraction of the suburbs. Commentaries and novella as published in Hankyu's periodical *Sanyō-suitai* presumed that gardening, music and sports as 'modern' recreations were means to make life in the outskirts enjoyable and tasteful. This implied that its creations: the estates offering large gardens, the Takarazuka Revue and Toyonaka Stadium, were products of the exchange of *shumi* between Hankyu as a taste-maker and its clientele. The creed of "family-oriented" planning was translated into purpose designs in many ways, so that potential buyers of its dwellings could find dispositions of rooms suitable for their various needs and preferences. The 'leisurised'

images portrayed in short novels of *Sanyō-suitai* were the ideal of activities in the south front of the house, which was designed for family physically distinct from the kitchen and room supposedly used by a servant and guests. This imagery of a suburban abode highlighted the unity of the family's domain and garden, affecting the designs of some Hankyu houses. Its estates were chosen and purchased by those whose *shumi* were same as Hankyu's *shumi*, and they ultimately created socio-culturally homogenised communities in suburbia.

## Notes

1. 'Hankyu' stands for Hanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway. It has used this name since 1918, but originally established as Minō Arima Electric Railway. Between 1943 and 1973, it was temporarily renamed Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway. This study entirely terms it 'Hankyu' even in referring to its enterprises before 1918.
2. Terunobu Fujimori, "Den-en-chōfu tanjyōki," in *Kōgai jyūtakuchi no keifu: Tōkyō no gāden yūtopia*, ed. Hiroshi Yamaguchi (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2005), 197; Atsushi Katagi, "Kindai Nihon no kōgai jyūtaku," in *Kindai Nihon no kōgai jyūtakuchi* ed. Atsushi Katagi, Yōetsu Fujiya and Yukihiko Kadono (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2006), 17-25.
3. All sources used for this examination are available at Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda. This library, established by Kobayashi, had archives including a collection relating to Hankyu's businesses.
4. Kobayashi is known for his active involvement in advertising through a range of literary works himself, but *Sanyō-suitai* does not allow me to identify his commentaries and short novels due to a lack of biographical information. Thus I regard articles and stories written in a didactic tone as manifestations of his vision. See Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 152.
5. Takashi Yasuda, *Kōgai jyūtaku no keisei: Osaka, den-en-toshi no yume to genjitsu* (Tokyo: INAX, 1992), 6-7, 10-11.
6. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkaikai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau: Osaka toshi jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 315.
7. Yasuda, *Kōgai jyūtaku no keisei*, 11.
8. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkaikai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 315.
9. *Ibid.*, 299.
10. Kazuo Saito, "Meiji 19 nen seitei nagaya kaoku kenchikureiki no seiritsujijyō ni tsuite," *Journal of the City Planning Institute of Japan* 17 (1982): 403-8; Akira Yasuno, "Eisei ga michibiita kōgai seikatsu: "Shigai kyojyū no susume" to sono jidai," in *Jyūtaku kenchiku bunken shūsei dai 8 kan*, ed. Seizō Uchida (Tokyo: Kashiwashobō, 2010), 258-60.
11. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkaikai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 317.
12. Katsuhiko Sakamoto, "Kōgai jyūtakuchi no keisei," in *Hanshinkan Modernism: Rokkō sanroku ni hanahiraita bunka, Meiji makki shōwa 15 nen no kiseki*, ed. Hanshinkan Modernism Exhibition Committee (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1997), 43.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkaikai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 348.
16. Yasuno, "Eisei ga michibiita kōgai seikatsu," 262-3.
17. Hiroshi Minami et al., *Taishō bunka* (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 1965), 146.

18. Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi* (Osaka: Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, 1959), 136.
19. *Ibid.*, 136-7.
20. “Paradise settai shitsu,” *Sanyō-suitai*, October 1913, 8; “Shin-onsen to hon-onsen,” *Sanyō-suitai*, December 1913, 2-3.
21. Minō Arima Electric Railway, *Mottomo yūbō naru densha* (Osaka: Minō Arima Electric Railway, 1908), 32-5.
22. “Shūran nari,” *Sanyō-suitai*, October 1913, 2.
23. “Shakoku,” *Sanyō-suitai*, August 1913, 17.
24. *Ibid.*
25. “Kōgai seikatsu to idomizu,” *Sanyō-suitai*, July 1914, 9; “Kōgai no idomizu,” *Sanyō-suitai rinjigō*, December 1914, 11; “Kōgai seikatsu to inryōsui,” *Sanyō-suitai*, May 1915, 22-3; “Kōgai no idomizu,” *Sanyō-suitai*, June 1916, 21; “Kūki,” *Sanyō-suitai*, August 1917, 4.
26. Gigen Iwata, “Kōgai sanpo toshintai ni oyobosu kansaku,” *Sanyō-suitai*, November 1913, 10-12.
27. “Kōgai seikatsu no fukuin,” *Sanyō-suitai*, July 1913, 4; “Okamachi dayori,” *Sanyō-suitai*, January 1914, 14; “Takarazuka no shinka,” *Sanyō-suitai*, March 1914, 12; “Okamachi no shinshikyō,” *Sanyō-suitai rinjigō*, December 1914, 22; “Okamachi he Okamachi he,” *Sanyō-suitai*, August 1917, 6.
28. “Mizu kiyoki kōgai yori,” *Sanyō-suitai*, September 1915, 10-15.
29. Kojirō Shimizu, “Shimai,” *Sanyō-suitai*, September 1914, 8-9.
30. “Kateiteki shumi,” *Sanyō-suitai*, February 1914, 12.
31. Hanako, “Den-en-seikatsu no youji ni oyoboshita kanka,” *Sanyō-suitai*, June 1914, 12-3; “Kodomo no tameni kōgai he,” *Sanyō-suitai*, May 1916, 18-9.
32. “Matsuyoi,” *Sanyō-suitai*, September 1913, 6-7; Norako, “Ningyō no ie yori,” *Sanyō-suitai*, July 1914, 2-3.
33. “Okamachi shin-shigai,” *Sanyō-suitai*, July 1913, 7-9; “Minō no ichiya,” *Sanyō-suitai*, August 1913, 10-11; “Yukemuri,” *Sanyō-suitai*, January 1914, 10-11; “Nichiyōbi,” *Sanyō-suitai*, May 1914, 4-5.
34. “Kateiteki shumi,” 12.
35. Yasuno, “Eisei ga michibiita kōgai seikatsu,” 265-8.
36. “Katei engai,” *Sanyō-suitai*, January 1914, 12-3; “Kateiteki shumi,” 12-3; Akiko, “Shichigatsu no engai,” *Sanyō-suitai*, July 1914, 21.
37. “Boku no teien,” *Sanyō-suitai*, October 1913, 5.
38. Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi*, 140.
39. “Kateiteki shumi,” 12.
40. Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi*, 140.
41. *Ibid.*, 137-9.



42. Ibid., 139.
43. Ibid., 140.
44. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Toyonaka, *Shinshū Toyonaka shishi dai 9 kan: Shūroku toshi* (Toyonaka: City of Toyonaka, 1998), 266.
45. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Toyonaka, *Shinshū Toyonaka shishi dai 2 kan: Tsūshi 2* (Toyonaka: City of Toyonaka, 2010), 276-8.
46. Ibid.
47. Takako Yoshida, “Ikeda-Muromachi: Kobayashi Ichizō no Jyūtakū keiei to mohanteki kōgaiseikatsu,” in *Kindai Nihon no kōgai jyūtakuchi* ed. Atsushi Katagi, Yōetsu Fujiya and Yukihiro Kadono (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2006), 316-7.
48. Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi*, 120.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Ikeda, *Shinshū Ikeda shishi dai 3 kan: Kindai hen* (Ikeda: City of Ikeda, 2009), 725.
53. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Toyonaka, *Shinshū Toyonaka shishi dai 2 kan*, 264.
54. “Yuttari to shita Sakurai,” *Sanyō-suitai*, March 1914, 7.
55. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Toyonaka, *Shinshū Toyonaka shishi dai 9 kan*, 220-1, 268.
56. Ibid., 222-3.
57. “Okamachi no shinshikyō,” *Sanyō-suitai*, September 1913, 8-9; “Okamachi no shinshikyō,” *Sanyō-suitai rinjigō*, 22; “Okamachi he Okamachi he,” 5-7.
58. “Okamachi shin shigai,” 7.
59. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Ikeda, *Shinshū Ikeda shishi dai 3 kan*, 414-5.
60. Ibid.
61. Setsuko Nakajima, “Hibarigaoka, Takarazuka: Abe Gentarō no risōkyō “Hibarigaoka” no kaiatsu sonogo,” in *Kindai Nihon no kōgai jyūtakuchi* ed. Atsushi Katagi, Yōetsu Fujiya and Yukihiro Kadono (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2006), 367-82.
62. Minō Arima Electric Railway’s brochure “Tsuki jyūnien de kaheru tochi kaoku: Risōteki kōgai seikatsu,” published in c. 1910.
63. Ibid.
64. For this study I use the pictures of the placards entitled “Ikeda shin shigai heimen zu” and “Sakurai jyūtakū annai zu.” The placard of Sakurai estate was made in September 1913. The detail of the Ikeda-Muromachi is unknown. Several editions are also available at Ikeda Bunko Library.

65. “Risōteki den-en-toshi Ikeda shin shigai,” *Sanyō-suitai rinjigō*, December 1914, 4; “Konomashī jyūkyō,” *Sanyō-suitai*, April 1916, 27.
66. Minō Arima Electric Railway’s housing catalogue “Ikeda oyobi Toyonaka jyūtaku madorizu,” published in November 1916; Minō Arima Electric Railway’s housing catalogue “Toyonaka jyūtaku madorizu,” published in April 1917.
67. “Boku no Jyūtaku,” *Sanyō-suitai*, December 1913, 5.
68. “Matsuyoi,” 6.
69. “Jyūni en geppu de kaheru tochi kaoku,” *Sanyō-suitai rinjigō*, December 1914, 21.
70. “Osaka ha sekai ichi no kekkakubyō chi,” *Sanyō-suitai*, December 1913, 9-10; “Eisei to tochi,” *Sanyō-suitai*, May 1914, 8-9; Yū Fujigawa, “Jyūkyō no mondai,” *Sanyō-suitai*, May 1916, 16.
71. “Kasō jyō kara mite ketten naki shin jyūtaku,” *Sanyō-suitai*, May 1916, 20; “Chisō kasō ron ha meishin deha nai,” *Sanyō-suitai*, June 1916, 16-7.
72. “Ikeda shin shigai shinchiku kaoku rakusei,” *Sanyō-suitai*, October 1913, 12; “Toyonaka jyūtaku no shinchiku,” *Sanyō-suitai*, June 1914, 10-11; “Risōteki den-en-toshi Ikeda shin shigai,” 4.
73. “Yuttari to shita Sakurai,” 7.
74. Ibid.
75. “Risō no jyūtaku,” *Sanyō-suitai*, October 1914, 23; “Risōteki den-en-toshi Ikeda shin shigai,” 4.
76. Kojirō Shimizu, “Luncheon Time,” *Sanyō-suitai*, July 1914, 11.
77. Saburō Yanagi, “Suzushī ie,” *Sanyō-suitai*, August 1914, 16.
78. Minō Arima Electric Railway’s housing catalogue “Ikeda oyobi Toyonaka jyūtaku madorizu.”
79. Hankyu Electric Railway, *75 nen no ayumi: Kijyutsu hen* (Osaka: Hankyu Electric Railway, 1982), 12.
80. Minō Arima Electric Railway’s housing catalogue “Toyonaka jyūtaku madorizu.”
81. Minō Arima Electric Railway’s housing catalogue “Ikeda oyobi Toyonaka jyūtaku madorizu.”
82. “Konrei hakurankai to shōjyo kagekidan no kōen,” *Sanyō-suitai*, March 1914, 13; “Sakidashite konrei hakurankai,” *Sanyō-suitai*, April 1914, 2-8.
83. “Katei hakurankai kaisetsu no shushi,” *Sanyō-suitai*, February 1915, 14-5; “Katei hakurankai zenki,” *Sanyō-suitai*, March 1915, 20-1.
84. “Katei hakurankai bekken,” *Sanyō-suitai*, April 1915, 12-4.
85. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Ikeda, *Shinshū Ikeda shishi dai 3 kan: Kindai hen*, 400-1.
86. “Ikeda shin shigai: Kenshō tōsen kaoku no rakusei,” *Sanyō-suitai*, March 1914, 8-9.
87. “Risō no jyūtaku,” *Sanyō-suitai*, July 1914, 12.
88. Ibid.

89. Yoshida, "Ikeda-Muromachi: Kobayashi Ichizō no Jyūtaku keiei to mohanteki kōgaiseikatsu," 318-9.
90. "Toyonaka jyūtaku no shinchiku," 10-11.
91. "Boku no Jyūtaku," 6.
92. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Ikeda, *Shinshū Ikeda shishi dai 3 kan*, 402.
93. Muromachi-kai, *Muromachi no ayumi* (Ikeda: Muromachi-kai, 1958), 22-7.
94. *Ibid.*, 19-20, 27-8.

## 5. Low Modernism: Home Electrification, lifestyle and Suburban Dwelling

The inter-war years saw the heightening of Japanese mass culture which still influences the basis of consumer choice and household economy until now.<sup>1</sup> The scientific and technological advances that demonstrated great performance during the First World War began to affect the materiality of urban life. The urban centres became increasingly high-rise. Buildings of reinforced concrete were beginning to make up the skyline, with new landmarks of high streets as well as business districts. Department stores and show windows of shopping centres with neon lights made ways for economic practices more visible and exchangeable, displaying the latest fashions, furniture and modern conveniences including electric home appliances.<sup>2</sup> An array of novel devices exhibited in the 1926 Grand Electrical Engineering Exposition, held in Osaka, was powerful in conceptualising how technology made life better, and predicted the future in material well-being.

This twenty-year period, on which Chapter 5 focuses, was internationally an arena for the experiments and practices of the novel ways for expression created by the cultural elites, particularly those describing themselves as modernists. But, this study does not necessarily look at the high culture which espoused the elites' view of modernity and their cultural orientation towards the arts and rationality. Rather, of interest here is the cultural role of for-profit businesses involving taste-making in the same time period. This other source of modernity – “low modernism” – as Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman describe it was distinct from high culture, or “high modernism.”<sup>3</sup> It is defined as results of a search for continuity between the

past and present with an emphasis on the reality of mainstream social practices.<sup>4</sup>

The exploration of Hankyu Corporation continues to be central to this chapter, with particular attention to its development of home appliances and construction of suburban estates in the inter-war years. It approaches “low modernism” originating from commercial activities involving the production of designed objects for sales, demonstrating how Hankyu sustained and ‘styled’ the public *shumi* in everyday life. First, I revisit Osaka in the 1920s, elucidating a subtle difference between two streams derived from a campaign for the reform of domestic life, which emerged as the Housing Reform Movement discussed in Chapter 3. One resulted in the building of ideal homes for display; another led to home electrification in which Hankyu engaged. To illuminate Hankyu’s stance, this inquiry includes a review of two kinds of periodicals: monthly magazine *Electricity for Home (Katei no denki)* issued by the Home Appliance Promotion Association (HAPA) between 1924 and 1943; Hankyu’s free newspaper *Hanshin-maichō shinbun* published every ten days from 1926 to 1928.<sup>5</sup> Hankyu worked with other manufacturers as one of members of the HAPA, created in 1924, for promoting the use of electrical appliances for private consumption. By examining discourses of the HAPA as well as advertising articles relating to Hankyu’s products, I attempt to demonstrate different images of lifestyles underlying the two streams. Next, this study interprets designs of Hankyu houses and site arrangements of its suburban estates, explicating ways in which ‘lifestyles’ and material relations were designed and crystallised in response to middle-class demands for family life. Thirteen kinds of Hankyu’s housing catalogues of five estates built in this period are analysed in comparison with the voices of its architects as they appear in its in-house newsletter (*Hankyu shahō*).<sup>6</sup> The goal of the fifth chapter is to discuss how conditions of “low modernism” were circulated and exchanged.

## Osaka, Housing Reform Movement and Home Electrification

The social climate of the late-1910s was not irrelevant to Osaka, Hankyu and the ethos of an inter-war society. In enabling the middle classes to enjoy their rising prosperity, the economic boom fuelled by the First World War created a tension between the accelerating pace of human activities and unfluctuating conditions of the urban fabric. In Osaka, the labouring population began to erect dilapidated shelters, encroaching upon the edge of the centre.<sup>7</sup> This vision of *laissez-faire* revolted the urban elites, who were also exposed to theories of Socialism and the early modernist architecture movement. Voices from Osaka boosted efforts to formulate the first national standards for building in Japan, which led to the 1919 City Planning Act and Building Act.<sup>8</sup> Architects were increasingly keen to learn from arrangements of Western residential neighbourhoods including the Garden City, looking at both legal arrangements and detailed design. Their enthusiasm for Western motifs and designs was crystallised in law, becoming legitimate expectations in judging and assessing the quality of housing.<sup>9</sup>

Houses with more colourful and exotic exteriors were erected gradually after the 1922 Culture Village which lured crowds with Occidental guises of the model houses at Ueno Park, Tokyo, on the one hand. New ways of carving out the landscape were likely to be employed for further housing development, on the other. In fact, the inter-war years saw a growing expansion of Osaka and its environs. A jump in the number of people living within the city in 1925 came as it absorbed adjacent towns and villages, and in the following decade, the population grew further from 2.1 to nearly three million.<sup>10</sup> The extension of Hankyu's railway networks perhaps accelerated this urban growth. Kobe had already been linked with Osaka by the national rail and Hanshin, but Hankyu opened a new route between them in 1920.<sup>11</sup>

A curvilinear road in a site close to Minō station was one initial case in which the Western practices of picturesque treatment were drawn on. It was the main axis of the Housing Reform Exhibition (HRE) held in 1922 by the Architectural Association of Japan (AAJ), which played a key role in establishing the 1919 Acts (figure 5.1).<sup>12</sup> This Osaka-based society for architects selected and built 25 schemes to display as ideal homes in the

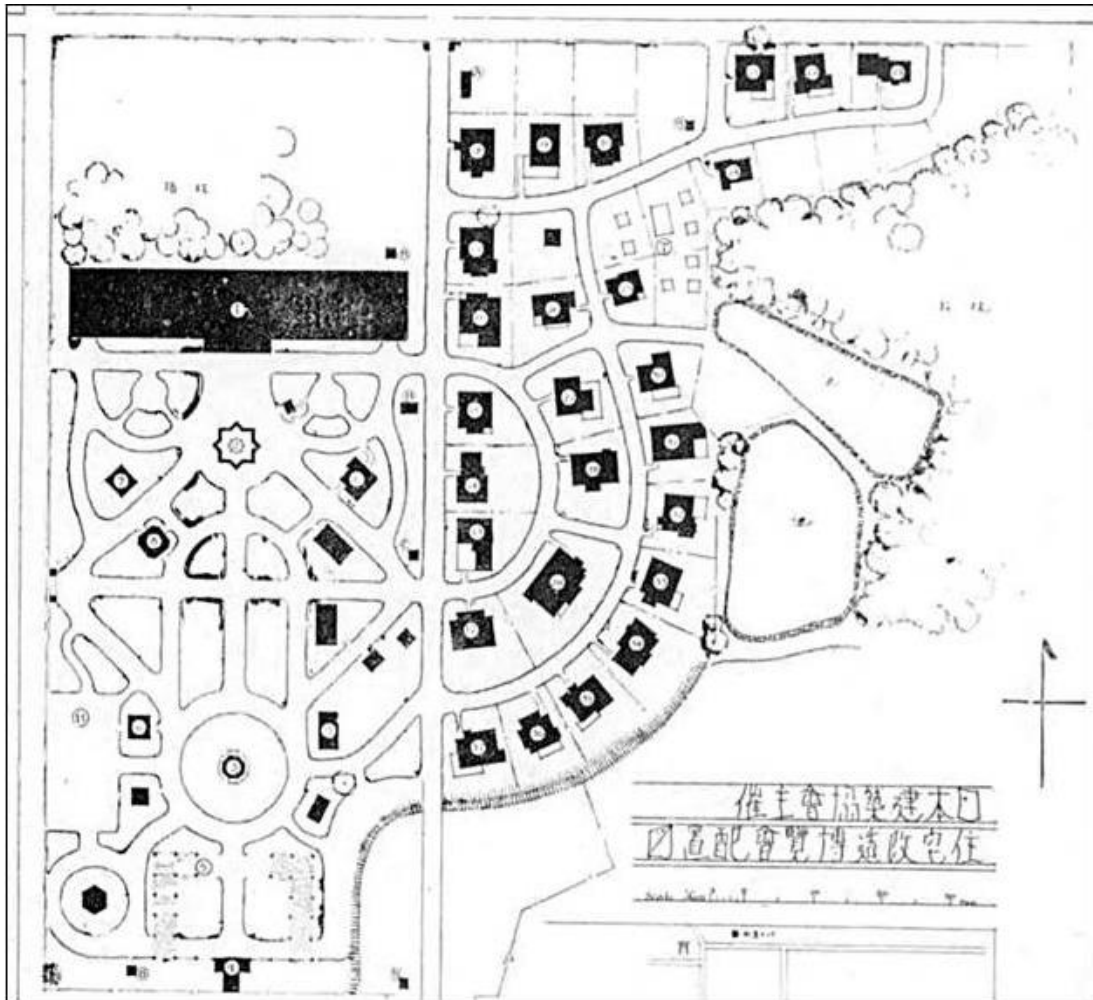


Figure 5.1  
 Plot pattern in a site of the Housing Reform Exhibition (Ichikawa, *Taishō jyūichinen kugatsu jyūtaku kaizō hakurankai shuppin jyūtaku zushū*, 5) National Diet Library, Tokyo

HRE.<sup>13</sup> The appearance of the model houses, as well as of the Culture Village, was part of the Movement where architects attempted to propose life in the future *by* design, entailing artistic guises of an Occidental appearance in line with their own *shumi*. The HRE dwellings were expected to be sold out after the closing of the show, targeted at middle-class households.<sup>14</sup> The curved street served to illuminate the houses grouped and placed along it, in sharp contrast with the landscape of the Hankyu’s estates of the 1910s.

The floor plans of the HRE dwellings could be considered to be more practical than those of the model houses of the Culture Village, presumably because they were hoped to be sellable and serviceable. In contrast to a “living-room-centred plan” by the Daily Life Improvement Alliance (DLIA), most of the plans were not literal translations of the “family-oriented”

planning that created a central space serving as sitting room, hall and corridor.<sup>15</sup> For example, a two-storey house characterised by its exterior styled ‘Spanish Colonial’ architecture was by construction firm Obayashi Corporation, and exhibited, albeit filled with Western furniture, an interior-corridor plan (figure 5.2).<sup>16</sup> The closeness between the entrance and ‘parlour-library’ was a sign of careful consideration on privacy, and the hall and corridor divided the servant’s room from the dining and living rooms sited on the south front of the house. There was a public-private separation by floor. Whilst the ground floor presumed a contact with others and was entirely floored, expected roles played by the upstairs rooms were to sustain clam and tranquillity. Two *tatami* rooms with *tokonoma* were situated in the south, interconnected yet separable by sliding paper screens, but no longer intended to receive guests as a *zashiki*. This spatial association mirrored the image of parents’ attachment for and attention to children. One was a nursery, and another was perhaps viewed as a mother’s place being convertible into a bedroom for sleeping in group. The plan proposed by Obayashi was designed to suit the public *shumi* of domestic life and demonstrated a somewhat curious appropriation of Western material cultures. Family togetherness was thus interpreted in a novel way with a fireplace: an essential item embedded in the culture of the English home. The living room accordingly came with a mantelpiece and chimney, echoing a view of a happy family circle as well as the *shumi* held by this anonymous architect.

Hankyu was not directly involved in construction of a model house for display, but its engagement in electric power supply and the development of home appliances was likely to affect domestic life. Electrified interurban railways including Hankyu grew along with electric power development. Since it started its railway services in 1910, electricity generated by its facilities was distributed to the areas along its rails.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, in 1914, the first electric power company launched its service for general households in Kyoto.<sup>18</sup> By 1920, the regional energy utilities began to light up Osaka, Kobe, Tokyo and other industrial cities.<sup>19</sup> Hydropower generation had grown in the same period, boosting its share of the total power output.<sup>20</sup> During a half decade up to 1926, the number of households consuming electricity increased approximately nine times with more than 85% of all houses beginning to use



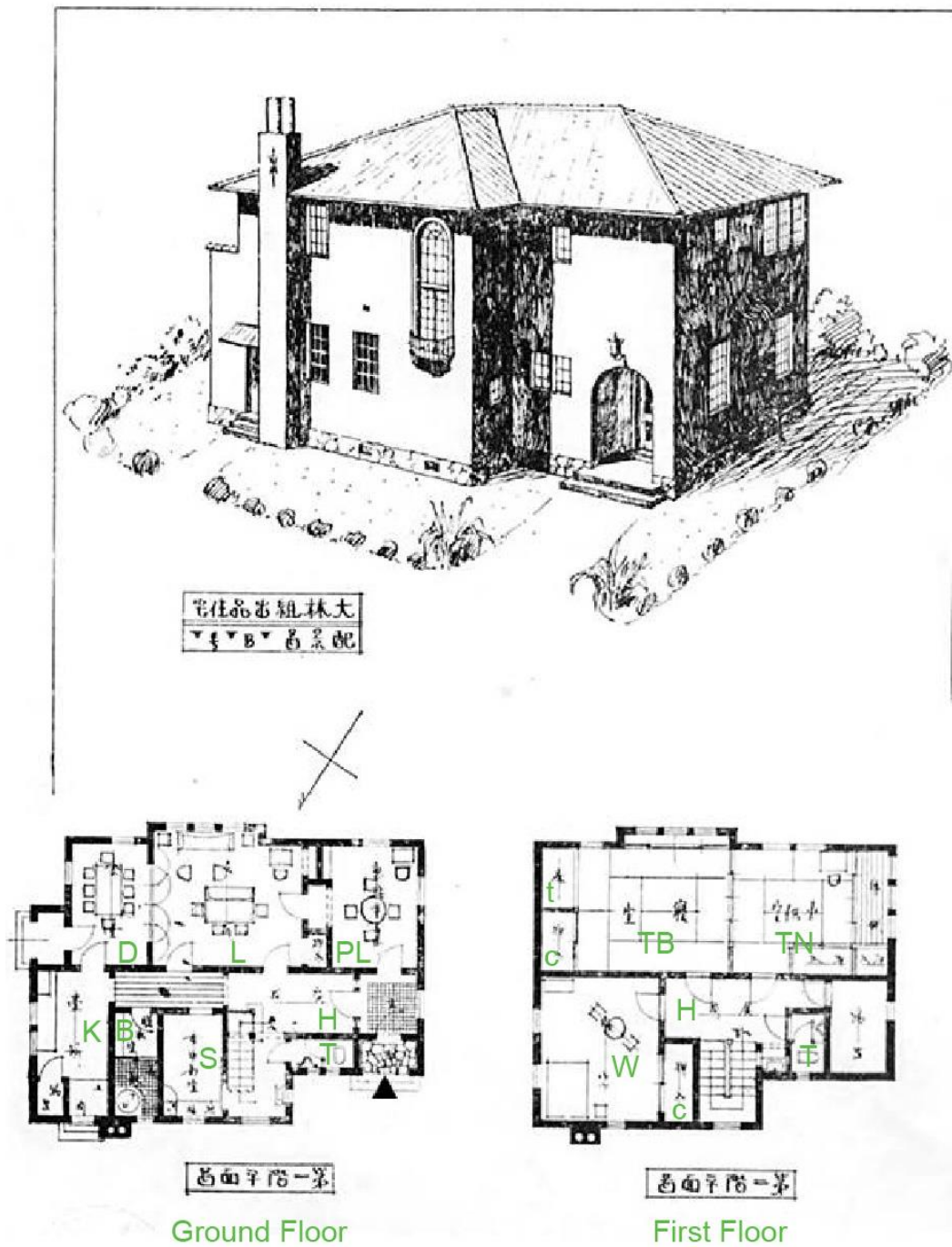


Figure 5.2  
Obayashi model house displayed in the Housing Reform Exhibition (B: bathroom; D: dining room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: living room; PL: parlour and library; S: servant's room; T: toilet; TB: *tatami*-mat bedroom; TN: *tatami*-mat nursery; W: Western room; c: closet; t: *tokonoma*) (Ichikawa, *Taishō jyūichinen kugatsu jyūtaku kaizō hakurankai shuppin jyūtaku zushū*, 11) National Diet Library, Tokyo

electric lamps.<sup>21</sup> Hankyu's energy supply service also continued to expand with it operating a new hydroelectric power plant from 1921.<sup>22</sup> It played a role as a home appliance maker as an increasing number of people began to live in artificially lit houses.<sup>23</sup>

The growth of electricity use in households was under the strategic initiative of the government, electric power suppliers and manufacturers. In 1924, Osaka saw the creation of the Home Appliance Promotion Association (HAPA) to facilitate a partnership between public and private sectors for home electrification.<sup>24</sup> Hankyu was a member company of the HAPA, whose aim was to spread general knowledge of electricity through promotion activities and to contrive electrical devices for family use.<sup>25</sup> Home electrification was promotionally valued as a means to make life better, on the one hand; in a view held by policy makers, it was part of a scheme to reduce fuel consumption in households, on the other. They developed the idea of energy independence as a national goal in the First World War, realising that the amount of natural resources used for fuel was limited by Japan's geological and geographical constraints.<sup>26</sup> The DLIA campaign to rationalise domestic life in fact championed this national security interest.<sup>27</sup> Timber that could be firewood was hoped to be set aside for an emergency, and this necessitated the management and conservation of forests.<sup>28</sup> The saving of firewood was expected to entail the protection of wellheads with water-retaining capacity for control of the river volume, allowing further development of hydroelectric power as an alternative energy source for daily use.<sup>29</sup> The trend to exploit hydraulic power was accelerated by linking the reform of energy composition at a national level with the betterment of the every-day at a personal level. The attempt to reduce dependence on unrenowable resources through home electrification added impetus to an inter-way ethos of life improvement: the simplification of life, which was one of streams stemmed from the era of the Movement.<sup>30</sup>

The more electricity was generated, the more versatile it became in domestic life. A number of HAPA events for promotion were aimed at demonstrating how electrical power was applicable to day-to-day activities in various ways. The 1926 Grand Electrical Engineering Exposition was the main attraction sponsored by the HAPA, luring crowds with a range of exhibits which visualised the relationship between the latest technology and their lives (figure 5.3 and 5.4). The centrepiece of this spectacle was the Pavilion of Electric Home. It consisted of one-to-one models of the nursery, library, bedroom, parlour, bathroom, kitchen and rooms for the elderly and



Figure 5.3  
Main building of the 1926 Grand Electrical Engineering Exposition (*Matsuda shinpō*, April 1926, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo



Figure 5.4  
Displays and crowds at the 1926 Grand Electrical Engineering Exposition (*Matsuda shinpō*, April 1926, frontispiece) National Diet Library, Tokyo

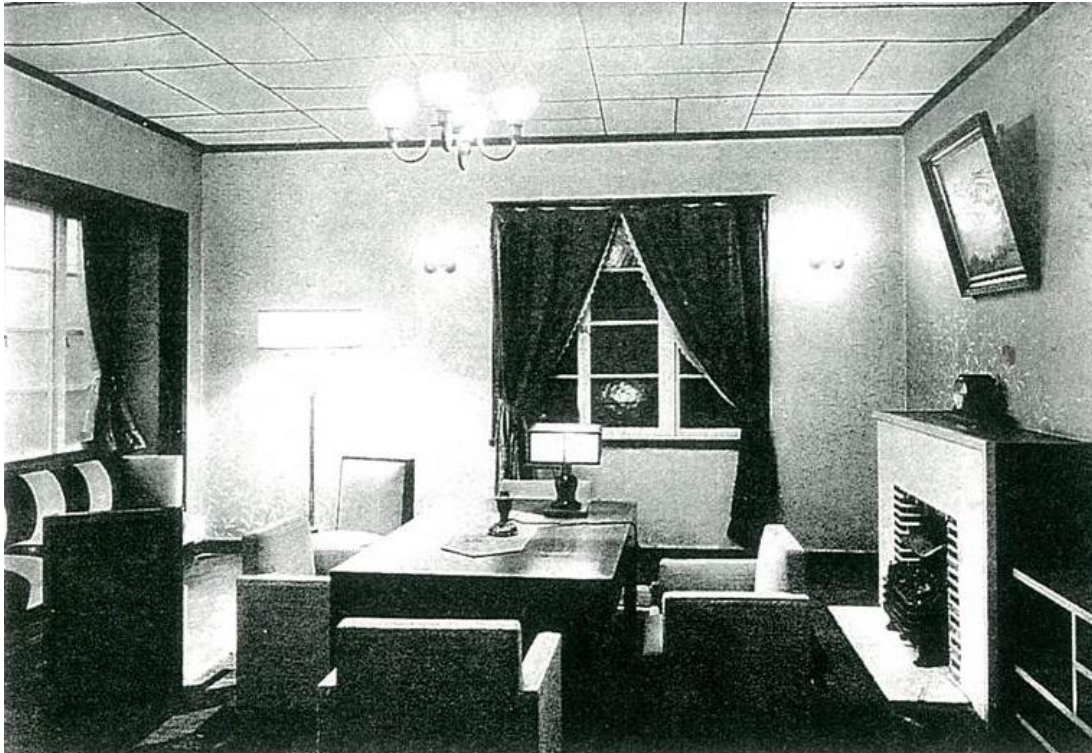


Figure 5.5  
Western room of the Home Appliance Promotion Gallery (Illuminating Engineering Institute of Japan, *Kyoto Osaka Kobe akari no meisho*, 46) National Diet Library, Tokyo



Figure 5.6  
Japanese room of the Home Appliance Promotion Gallery (Illuminating Engineering Institute of Japan, *Kyoto Osaka Kobe akari no meisho*, 46) National Diet Library, Tokyo



Figure 5.7  
Hankyu Department Store (Hanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Hanshin kyūkō dentetsu 25 nenshi*, 7) National Diet Library, Tokyo

housewife, aiming to show the ideal examples for installation of home appliances.<sup>31</sup> The Home Appliance Promotion Gallery was the office of the Electricity Bureau, City of Osaka, the birthplace of the HAPA, and the Western and Japanese rooms as parts of its displays served to impress visitors with the seamless blending of the interiors and apparatuses powered by electricity (figure 5.5 and 5.6).<sup>32</sup> Channels of promotion which the HAPA employed were diverse, ranging from a public lecture to the making of a comedy entitled *Switch* involving many scenes where a range of electrical appliances were operated in an effective way.<sup>33</sup> It uniquely held a series of cooking classes at girl's high schools and department stores.<sup>34</sup> This apparently recreational gathering served as a powerful means of persuasion for home electrification, enabling participants to realise the superiority of electric kitchen equipment through experiencing a whole process of preparing meals. Hankyu also became a sponsor of cooking classes, thereby publicising its products.<sup>35</sup> The detail of this occasion is unknown, but it was perhaps held at the Hankyu Department Store connected directly with Osaka

Umeda station, open in 1929, where there were restaurants with ample power sources available on the seventh and eight floors (figure 5.7).<sup>36</sup>

Home electrification envisaged by the HAPA was a set of practical solutions to issues raised by domestic life, and a process to actualise the widely recognised image of 'home' as well as the certain quality of space which satisfied middle-class sensitivity. Smokeless environments were viewed as the token of a house fully equipped with electrical appliances.<sup>37</sup> This meant that residents no longer struggled with smoke from charcoal and firewood substantially used for cooking and heating. A growing number of carbon monoxide poisonings caused by the use of charcoal braziers boosted the confidence of the HAPA.<sup>38</sup> These were ascribed to the adoption of glass over paper, which turned the traditionally airy Japanese house into a hermetically-sealed space.<sup>39</sup> Electric power machineries were expected to undertake a major part of manual labour in the house (figure 5.8). The use of them, the HAPA believed, was a gateway to servantless life.<sup>40</sup> Its promotion always underlined how reasonable home electrification was, through comparison of the efficiency and capability of electrical appliances with the quality of servants' labour and their salaries.<sup>41</sup> Implicit in this exhortation was the assumption that servantless life allowed members of the family to secure sheer enjoyment of domesticity without feeling constraint in a presence of the 'other'. Home electrification was intended to shorten the time required to execute a great deal of domestic chores on which the women at that time were likely to spend all the day.<sup>42</sup> Spare time, created by the application of labour-saving equipment, was hoped to be used for leisure and for family gatherings.<sup>43</sup>

Under the banner of simplification of life, Hankyu's development of electrical appliances served to produce items embedded in the middle-class imagery of the every-day. Its approach to invention included a creation of technologically new, unfamiliar items, but was in general more subtle, a morphologically minor change by electrifying common goods which embodied conventional material cultures. In fact, the line-up of its products was the electric *hibachi*, the electric *shichirin*, the electric rice cooker, the electric iron, and so on (figure 5.9).<sup>44</sup> Perhaps, buyers of these items with forms and uses familiar to all were not confused by understanding



Figure 5.8  
 “Daily life with electricity” (*Hirakeyuku denki*, January 1936, frontispiece)  
 Electricity History Museum, Kawasaki

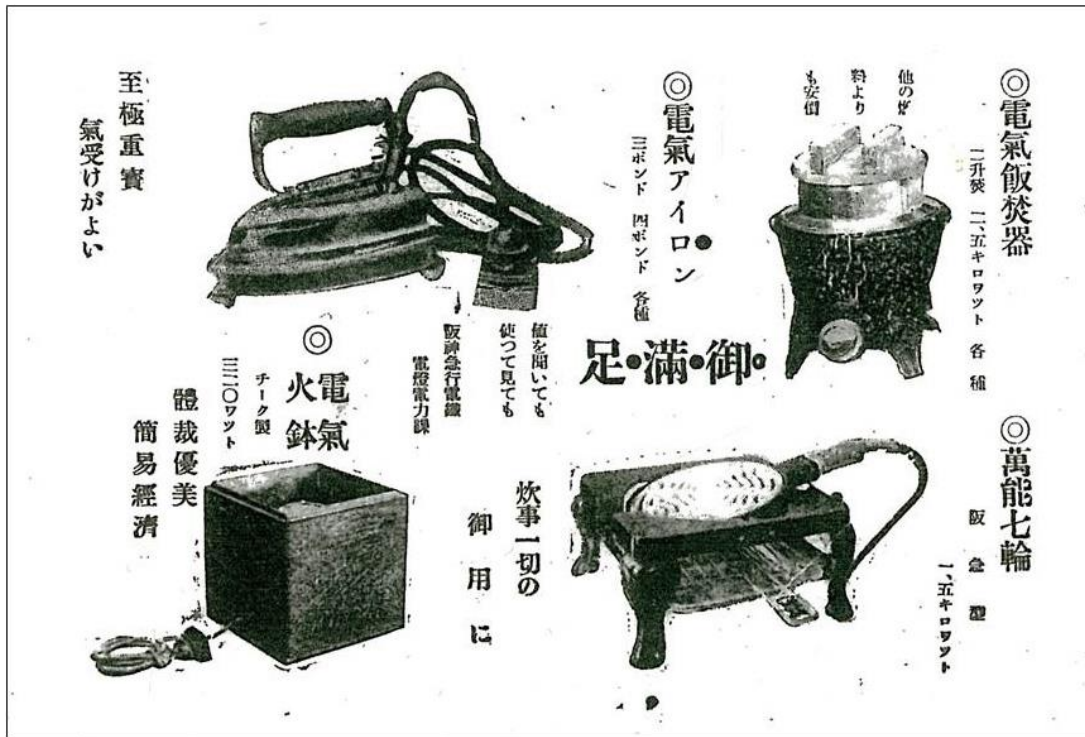


Figure 5.9  
Advertisement of the electric iron (top left), the electric rice cooker (top right), the electric *hibachi* (down left) and the electric *shichirin* (down right) (*Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, 1 March 1926, 3) Ikeda Bunko Library, Ikeda

instruction manuals. If the invention of the electric *hibachi* was a direct response to general consumer preferences for the habit of warming in a *tatami* space, a fireplace like one proposed by the Obayashi model house was less popular, expensive, beyond their images of daily routines.

*Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, the free newspaper of Hankyu, filled a lot of space with advertisements of its home appliances. There was the logic of the HAPA behind its message to simplify domestic labour through the application of electric-powered machinery. Home electrification, according to the newspaper, made housework more economical and manageable; the use of electric apparatus especially for cooking and heating did not cost more than expenses a household would incur as it continued to buy firewood and charcoal.<sup>45</sup> Electrical cooking appliances “help housewives with their works,” and this “allows them to have time on their hands.”<sup>46</sup> “Time saved” by installing labour-saving electric devices could “go into more effective uses and leisure with family.”<sup>47</sup> Credence to the acceptance of electric technology was given “from the viewpoint of national energy policy.”<sup>48</sup> Emphasis was put much on the fact that a lapse in cleanliness was avoided through the use of





Figure 5.10  
Electricity Store (*Hankyu shahō*, 15 October 1935, 5) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

electric appliances with an effect of turning coals generating soot and smoke out of the house.<sup>49</sup> It could be thought that Hankyu's manufacturing of the modern amenities were much faithful to the public *shumi* in daily life.

Hankyu's way of achieving smokeless and servantless homes was a commercial and bottom-up approach. The consulting and electrical engineering services offered by its experts were available in its local offices established to deal with personal, day-to-day needs for home electrification.<sup>50</sup> As of 1935 there were 15 branches mostly located in areas along its railway networks including Toyonaka, Minō and Ikeda.<sup>51</sup> Initially, the offices did not retail its products, but began to have shops named Electricity Store which exhibited various modern conveniences for sale: lighting apparatus, radio, gramophone, electric cooker, electric heater, electric cushion, and so on (figure 5.10).<sup>52</sup> This perhaps effectively made those watching the displays imagine more technologically advanced life, enabling them to compare

Hankyu's offers with the states of their daily experiences. Its wiring works were conducted in reference to the standard specification made by HAPA members.<sup>53</sup> The specification, as it proclaimed for "comfortable dwelling," ordered the number and position of light and plug and power consumption according to the purposes of rooms.<sup>54</sup> This meant that it presumed the particular kind of activities embedded in the use of electric equipment and certain degrees of luminance which fulfilled general preferences in brightness. Electricity was formless and intangible. But, home electrification drew implicitly on, rather firmly consolidated and commoditised the prevailing image of family life as 'lifestyles'.

### **Lifestyle and House**

Those people whom Hankyu envisioned as potential users of its home appliances were presumably the residents of its suburban estates. Over the 1920s and 1930s, it opened a total of 210 hectares across thirteen middle-class estates in the hinterlands stretching between Osaka and Kobe (figure 5.11).<sup>55</sup> The magazine to publicise its dwellings, *Sanyō-suitai*, which the foregoing chapter explored was no longer issued, and the company instead relied upon the power of daily newspaper circulation. Its publicity notifying a sale was distributed widely to every household, through advertisement columns and leaflets folded and inserted into the newspapers.<sup>56</sup> A photo exhibition of Higashi-Toyonaka estate was held at the Hankyu Department Store in April 1934, showing pictures and floor plans of houses newly available in the estate opened the previous year.<sup>57</sup> Its housing catalogues which this study revisits were presumably given to visitors dropping in at its real estate consultation desk of the Department Store, or spread in the information booths on site.<sup>58</sup>

Hankyu's suburban developments in the inter-war years continued to be affected by the business model which its founder Ichizō Kobayashi created to increase the number of people living in areas along its railway networks. It bought sites adjacent to its tracks and easily accessible to its stations, so that new residential quarters to accommodate future passengers using its train

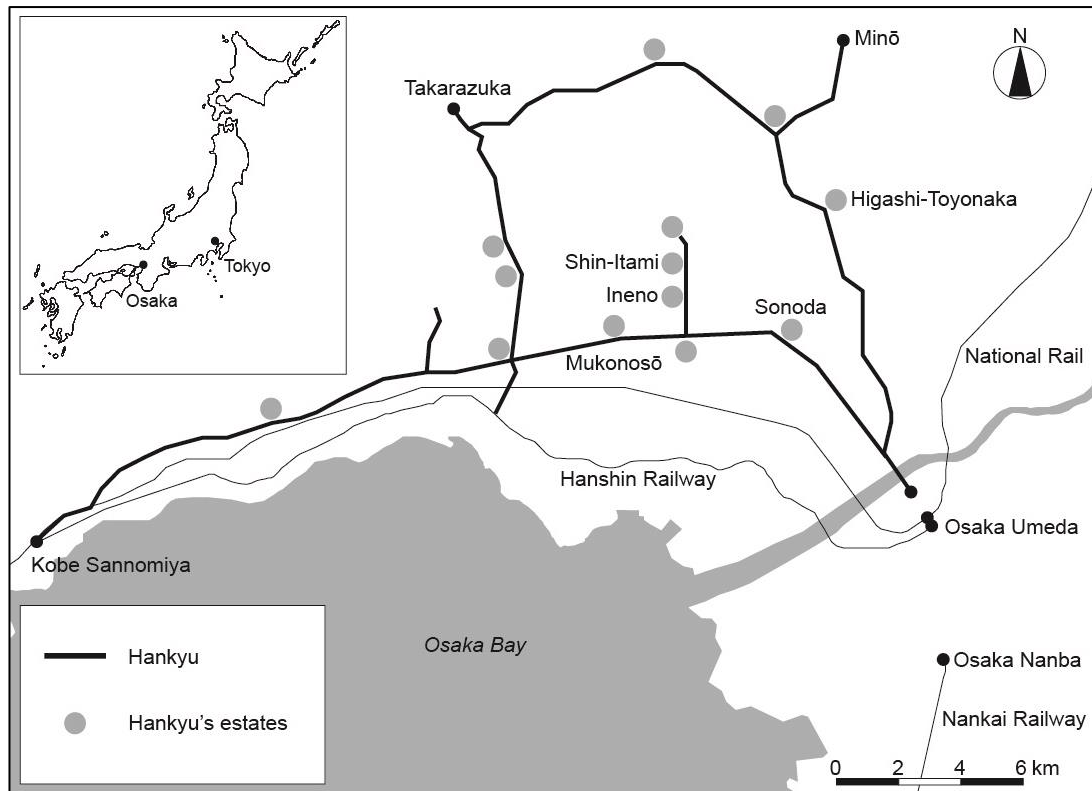


Figure 5.11  
Suburban development of Hankyu in the 1920s and 1930s

services were built up. For example, Sonoda station was opened as an estate adjoining it came on sale in 1936.<sup>59</sup> Sonoda estate held about 23.4 hectares of levelled grounds, subdivided into building lots including 180 housing units.<sup>60</sup> The ground area of plots was diverse, ranging from approximately 198 to 661 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>61</sup> The housing units with buildings designed by Hankyu varied in type and size with one of the smallest two-storey houses of ¥9,350, occupying a 346-square-metre plot.<sup>62</sup> The house had a ground floor of 81.4 m<sup>2</sup>, and about 77% of the plot was occupied by the garden.<sup>63</sup> A unit with a Hankyu dwelling whose total floor area was 147.1 m<sup>2</sup> was one of the largest and most expensive dwellings on the Sonoda estate.<sup>64</sup> It was available at ¥14,200, including the plot of 469.4 m<sup>2</sup> and a commodious two-storey house.<sup>65</sup>

Advertisements for Hankyu dwellings showed some fragments of its principles in planning. According to its housing catalogues, the design of the houses was based on “architectural science.”<sup>66</sup> This way of planning was a means to provide “elaborations of user-friendly housing, *shumi* and total economy.”<sup>67</sup> The design approach was to “simplify and streamline the mode of life.”<sup>68</sup> Well-built environments to make life in the estate healthy and

invigorating were also equally underlined. The catalogue of Sonoda estate in fact claimed:

Wholesomeness and access to cultural amenities are above everything else in the ideal suburban life. [There are] freshness, clean air, running water, sewer system, spacious road networks and green spaces; what a [Hankyu's] estate has are the best embodiments of the perfection of suburban dwelling.<sup>69</sup>

It is clear from *Sanyō-suitai* that Hankyu's marketing material had evolved from the experiential and phenomenological content of the 1910s to advertisements in the inter-war years which merely highlighted the total environments of the estates. Nevertheless, a material culture encapsulating more qualitative daily routines was incarnated in a particular architectural form. Its houses in this period were uniform in planning, mostly categorised as an interior-corridor plan, and dominated by Japanese-style interiors. A general description of its dwelling echoed the image of 'home' which, in a view commonly held by inter-war middle classes, was projected on *tatami* spaces. Commentary by Hankyu's architect Mr Kihōin in its in-house newsletter evidently indicated the narrative of daily life behind its application of "architectural science":

From a hygiene point of view, consideration on the sunny aspect was essential in planning, because the amount of daylight [entering a house] was associated closely with a way of arrangement. The south side of a house must be a place for living; a room for meals and one involving activities of younger members of the family be ideally situated on the south, or southeast and southwest. ... A house presumes the homely conditions to be peaceful. These were secured by the centrality of living spaces [as private spheres] for family gatherings: chatting, recreations, rest, and so on. Each room with particular function needed to be fairly independent, and passages ensure it while connecting one with another.<sup>70</sup>

A house of Plan 45 in Mukonosō estate, open in 1937, is extant, showing a typical example of Hankyu's architectural output at that time (figure 5.12 and 5.13).<sup>71</sup> The spacious hallway of this dwelling served as a public path connecting the entrance with the servant's room and the Western-style parlour, which was generally perceived as an area to deal with a short visit. A floored passage running from the kitchen to the hall was the

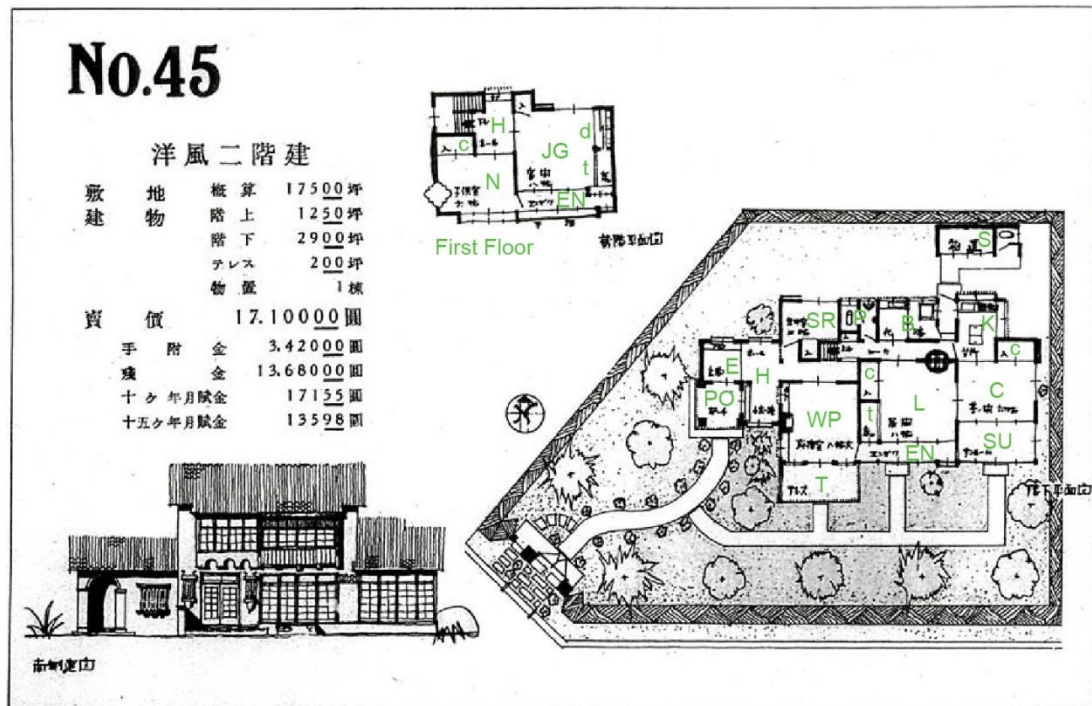


Figure 5.12

Hankyu house of Plan 45 (B: bathroom; C: *chanoma*; E: entrance; EN: *engawa*; H: hall; JG: Japanese-style guest room; K: kitchen; L: living room; N: nursery; P: privy; PO: porch; S: shed; SR: Servant's room; SU: sunroom; WP: Western-style parlour; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Kōbe sen shinsetsu Mukonosō ekimae Mukonosō dai jyūtakuchi ōridashi," c. 1937) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

hallmark of an interior-corridor plan, preventing a maid from interrupting other rooms when serving refreshments to guests in the parlour. In psychological terms, it had an effect of shutting off a private sphere. Family's domains were carefully designed to be at some distance from the entrance, and located in the south. They were namely a *chanoma* and living room, finished with Japanese-style décors, interconnected, and expected to be used in the family way. Regular meals were no longer held in the kitchen of this house, rather viewed as part of family gatherings in the *chanoma*. That was evident by illustrations of a sink and kitchen table which presumed cooking while standing. Hankyu's architects perhaps envisioned its electric *shichirin* and rice cooker being equipped in this narrow kitchen adjoining the *chanoma* (figure 5.14). The kitchen and bathroom were closely linked by an earthen space with a backdoor. This kitchen-bathroom connection was widely seen in its dwellings of the period, suggesting that traditional charcoals and firewood were still the main power sources to heat the bath.



Figure 5.13  
Exterior of the house of Plan 45 (S. Nozawa, 3 June 2013)

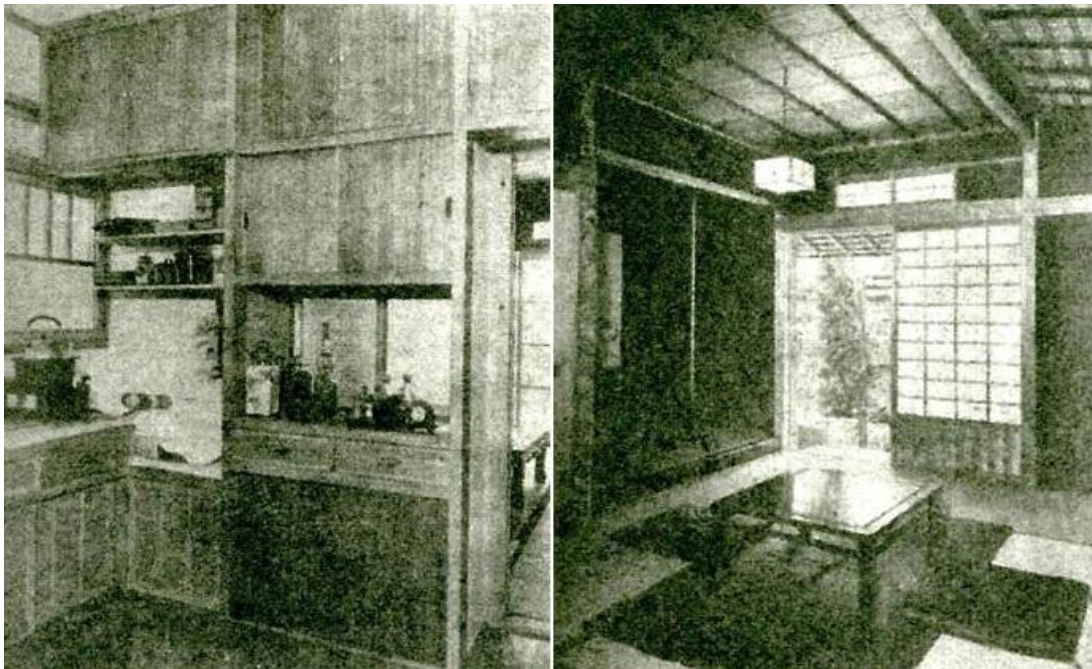


Figure 5.14  
Kitchen (left) and *chanoma* (right) of a Hankyu house (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Mukonosō dai jyūtakuchi," Black cover version, c. 1937) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

Roles played by the living room were diverse in Plan 45. Bedding could be put away in a closet during the day, and a hatch on a wall to receive food and drink served from the kitchen assumed occasions involving a dinner party which occupied the living room and *chanoma en suite*. The domestic arrangement of Plan 45 promised “the centrality of living spaces,” as Kihōin referred to.

Contrary to the HRE dwelling of Obayashi, the upstairs rooms of Plan 45 were not necessarily exclusive to members of the family. If a *tatami* room with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* was literally used in a way suggested by its name, children in the nursery would be asked to be quiet when parents were dealing with guests next door. This appearance of a *tatami* guest room apart from a Western-style parlour can be read in direct response to middle-class still placing importance of formality and hierarchy in reception, as Chapter 3 discusses. Plan 45 remarkably had a mantelpiece, but differed from the plan proposed by Obayashi in location. In the Obayashi model house, the fireplace was central to the image of family gatherings behind designed interior décors of its living room. Plan 45 intended that a built-in heater was set up in the hearth primarily for callers in the Western-style parlour, however. Presumably members of the family were expected to get warm by an electric *hibachi*. Both plans were technically results of crystallising the Romantic vision of ‘home’, but there was still an epistemological gap between them. Plan 45 indicated that pleasure of family togetherness were rarely sought in the floored space with its hearth and fireplace, rather it was widely recognised in the *chanoma* with *tatamis*.

Also explicit in accounts by Hankyu’s architects including Kihōin was that the garden was active as a setting for domestic life. Garden arches, pergolas, low fences and stepping stones, they believed, had the effect of blurring any interior-exterior boundary.<sup>72</sup> An *engawa* and terrace enabled an organic unity of space, allowing residents to feel at one with nature.<sup>73</sup> They were designed to act as a bridge between the garden and rooms involving the company of the family, to make an axis of enjoyment. Any difference was no longer found in the *chanoma* and areas like the *engawa* and balcony, which, according to the in-house newsletter, both constituted a “happy family circle” and were expected to be “used like indoor spaces for reception, chatting,

reading, meal, game and napping.”<sup>74</sup> In Plan 45, the *engawa* totally lost its role as a passage. The sunroom in front of the *chanoma* evoked the ‘extended’ *engawa* peculiar to a Dōjyunkai house. Glass doors protected these ‘leisurised’ spaces serving as an ‘extended’ *chanoma* and children’s playpen, keeping them bright and salubrious.

Hankyu’s architects were anonymous in its housing catalogues which never specify who designed its houses. But, by drawing and handwriting, Uzō Nishiyama, former professor of architectural planning at Kyoto University, identified some floor plans as the works of Kihōin.<sup>75</sup> They were indeed contemporaries at Kyoto.<sup>76</sup> According to Nishiyama, Kihōin became a Hankyu’s architect in 1933.<sup>77</sup> With a keen, artistic eye for design, he was excellent at drawing, and devoted to a design for houses of Shin-Itami estate built from 1935.<sup>78</sup> As a college-trained architect, he was perhaps an immediate asset to the suburban development of Hankyu. He brought precision and refinement to its architectural works, but his meteoric career was cut tragically short. He died four years after appointment of incurable tuberculosis.<sup>79</sup>

A house of Plan 271 characterised by the large *engawa* and terrace along its south front was Kihōin’s work, the most expensive housing unit in Shin-Itami estate (figure 5.15).<sup>80</sup> The housing catalogues did not necessarily add names of rooms to floor plans, but he defined and proposed purposes of them by name.<sup>81</sup> Plan 45 and 271 had a similar appearance with the motif of Spanish Colonial architecture. The major difference between them came from his planning which created a floored space exclusively for meals. It was sited at the end of an interior corridor running from the hall, a room with a window facing the west. This dining area lay between two arrays of rooms on the north and south fronts, and brightness was arguably a less important factor than closeness to the kitchen. If it was recognised as a space merely for dining, the eight-*tatami* room centred on the ground floor, namely a living room, was suited to leisure involving family gatherings. This was implicitly suggested by the rooms he specified for sleeping – a south-facing room adjoining the kitchen and the upstairs six *tatamis* were all expected to serve as bedrooms. A closet built in the living room allowed residents to use it in



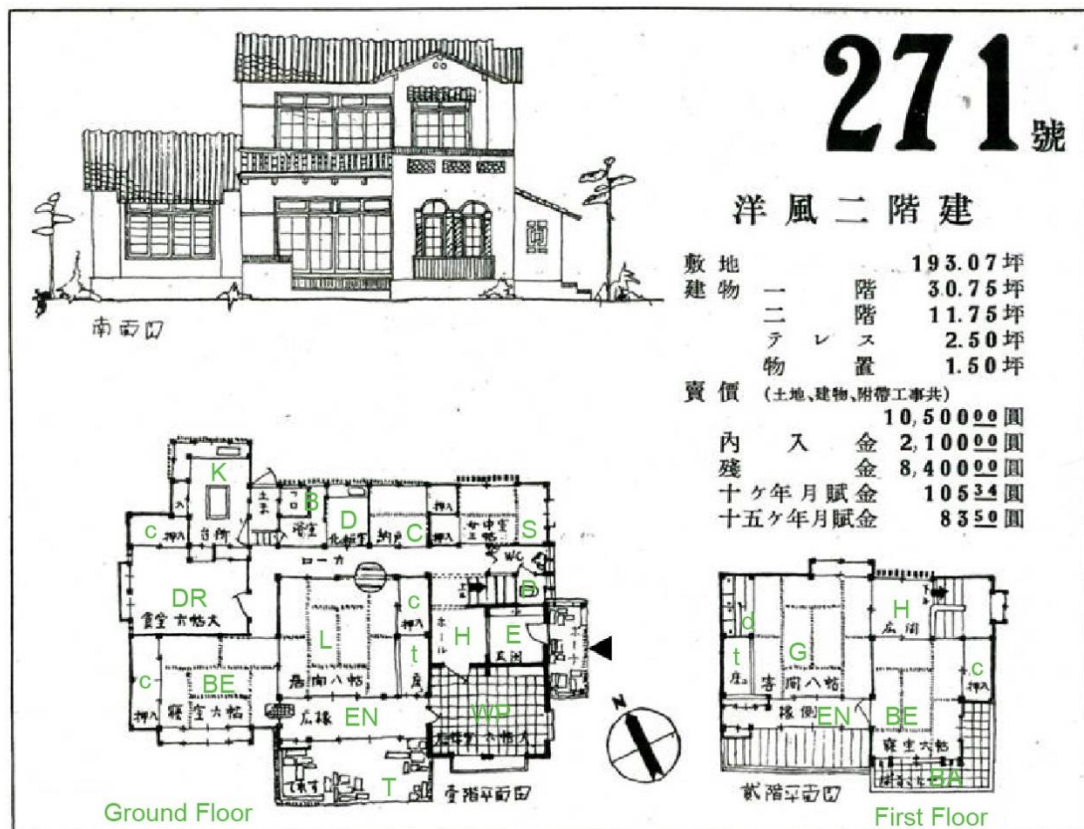


Figure 5.15  
Hankyu house of Plan 271 (B: bathroom; BA: balcony; BE: bedroom; C: closet room; D: dressing room; DR: dining room; E: entrance; EN: *engawa*; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: living room; P: privy; S: Servant's room; T: terrace; WP: Western-style parlour; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Sumiyasuku kahiyasui Hankyu keiei Shin-Itami jyūtakuchi tokubai ōuridashi goannai," c. 1935) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

multi-functional ways, but, in his view, it was a distinctively 'leisurised' space which attracted them with brightness and a view of the garden.

As well as Plan 45, this arrangement was a fairly architectural elaboration of the public-private segregation. The east front of Plan 271 evoked public quality, grouping the entrance, hall and Western-style parlour. If the exotic space along the hallway was intended to deal with short visits, residents were supposed to receive their close friends and relatives in the upstairs guest room with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* in line with middle-class etiquette. The stairs was also placed along the hall, thereby confining the access of others to the first floor in the east wing. The *engawa* was likely to play a role as a buffer zone separating the public and private domains. It was not designed to facilitate traffic on the ground floor, rather a destination accessible from all sides: the living room, bedroom, garden and even parlour.

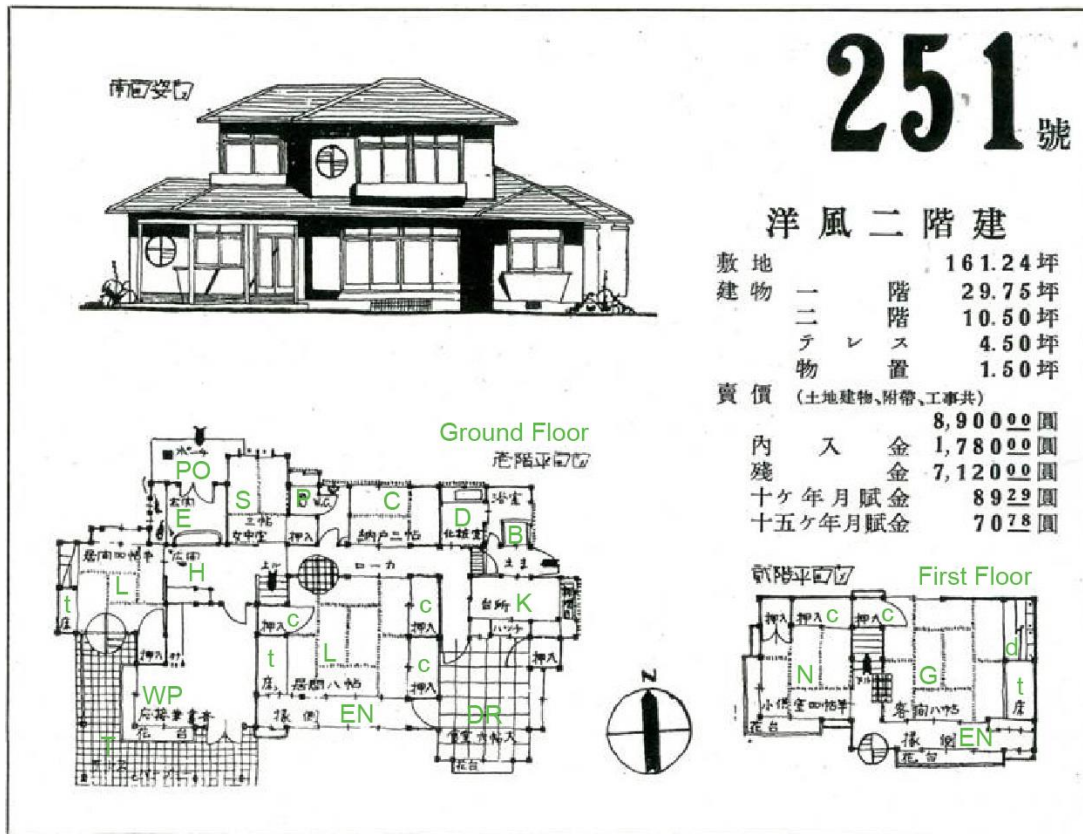


Figure 5.16  
 Hankyu house of Plan 251 (B: bathroom; C: closet room; D: dressing room; DR: dining room; E: entrance; EN: *engawa*; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: living room; N: nursery; P: privy; PO: porch; S: Servant's room; T: terrace; WP: Western-style parlour; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Sumiyasuku kahiyasui Hankyu keiei Shin-Itami jyūtakuchi tokubai ōuridashi goannai," c. 1935) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

This margin of the living room and of the garden was suited to feeling a breeze in summer, and became the warmest space in winter. A host could set a table and chairs in the *engawa* to enjoy a talk with a caller if other members of the family were out. Guest and residents were expected to share the upstairs *engawa*, too. The balcony along the bedroom was an open-air setting which allowed residents on the first floor to feel a sense of unity with nature, but perhaps the *engawa* was more suitable for watching the garden in winter time. In Kihōin's view, not only the décors of the Western-style parlour but also airiness and a feeling of nature available in the *engawa per se* served as the public definition of residents' *shumi*.

Kihōin undertook the design of Plan 251, following the basic principles of the interior-corridor plan (figure 5.16).<sup>82</sup> Some morphological similarities

between Plan 251 and 271 were elements of design implying that they were creations of the same architect. Both arrangements were marked by the eight-*tatami* living room occupying the central positions of the houses. They had the boarded space of the same size in the southeast corner, and it was a dining room in Plan 251 which placed the entrance in northwest. But, the connection between the *engawa* and garden was not architecturally enhanced by a terrace in this plan. Instead, Kihōin arranged a large tiled area with a pergola along the four-and-half *tatami* room and Western-style parlour. This was the appearance of subtle nuances in terms of how these rooms were expected to be used. They adjoined the hall which the servant's room faced, but he still envisaged family's activities in the spaces with the terrace. In fact, the Western-style parlour was named "parlour and library." This floored room was viewed as a less leisurely space equipped with desks, chairs and bookcases whereby a father read books and did a bit of work. The four-and-half *tatami* room close to the entrance was, in his imagination, a "living room." If residents were a large family, they were supposed to recognise it as one of bedrooms.

Expected roles played by the living room of Plan 251 were also slightly different. In Plan 271, Kihōin attempted to make it a room exclusively for leisure pursuits by identifying bedrooms. By contrast, two closets he designed in this eight *tatamis* of Plan 251 were evidence that residents were likely to sleep in group there. This does not necessarily mean that the living room was not 'leisured'. He arranged the *engawa* for access between the dining and living rooms, thereby allowing residents to move easily to the *tatami* space for relaxation after their meal. In his view, all members of the family got together in the living room and *engawa* and enjoyed chatting, drinking tea and listening to the radio before going to bed. The array of the dining room, *engawa* and living room along the sunny side of the house was the axis of purely private realms of domesticity. In this respect, the term "living room" in Plan 251 conveyed more complex messages. Its design, as well as one of Plan 45, was suited flexibly to family gatherings and sleeping, the literal embodiment of "the centrality of living spaces." The upstairs nursery was also direct proof that he presumed daily routines of a household with children and a happy family circle as a mechanism of parent-child

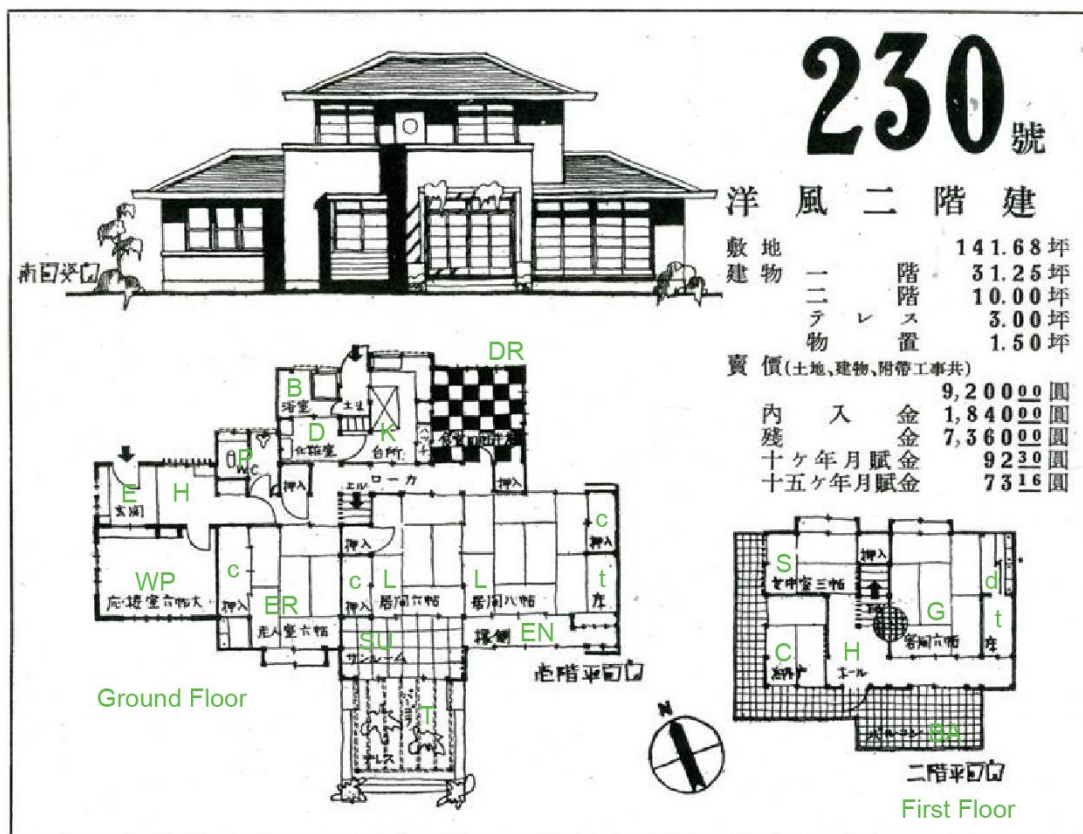


Figure 5.17

Hankyu house of Plan 230 (B: bathroom; BA: balcony; C: closet room; D: dressing room; DR: dining room; E: entrance; EN: *engawa*; ER: elderlies' room; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: living room; P: privy; S: Servant's room; SU: sunroom; T: terrace; WP: Western-style parlour; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Sumiyasuku kahiyasui Hankyu keiei Shin-Itami jyūtakuchi tokubai ōridashi goannai," c. 1935) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

unification. The room for younger members of the family was four and half *tatamis* in size, south-facing, sanitarily favourable for their growth. Perhaps, the isolation of the nursery from the ground floor was created in reference to the advice of educators and home economists on how to make a study room. Whatever the reality, this implies that, in Kihōin's vision, children were supposed to go downstairs after studying and to sleep together with their parents in the living room.

In Plan 45, 271 and 251, domains of the family and of others were assumed to coincide and sometimes mingled on both ground and first floors. Plan 230 shows an alternative approach to one type of demands for public-private separation (figure 5.17).<sup>83</sup> Kihōin grouped the *tatami* guest room and servant's quarter on the first floor, so that the downstairs rooms could be

entirely used in a family way. The ground floor still came with the Western-style parlour to cope effectively with short visits. But, his delicate treatment of the arrangement of the west corner enabled visitors to enter the parlour without passing through the hall. This way of segregation between public and private spheres had something to do with his presupposition of design in the family structures of prospective residents. Plan 230 targeted a family living with their elderlies, and there was thus a downstairs six-*tatami* chamber exclusively for their everyday. The elderlies' room was placed close to the entrance and toilet. This was a result of a careful consideration of their physical strength declined due to age, and accordingly a space for a more vigorous maid to withdraw and sleep was available only upstairs. If residents did not hire any housekeeper, the upstairs *tatami* rooms, namely servant' room and closet room, were likely to serve as study rooms for younger members of the family. The L-shaped balcony could be an adequate place to play, with a good view of the garden and plenty of sunshine.

The southeast corner of Plan 230 consisted of interconnected *tatami* rooms separable by sliding paper screens, both of which were named "living room." In this dwelling, it was practically a synonym for bedroom at night. Members of the family sleeping in group were supposed to put bedding away in the built-in closets every morning. The difference in the kind of settings along the *en suite* living rooms was Kihōin's answer to middle-class needs, coming from unique expressions of functions and meanings which each section had. The character of the eight-*tatami* living room was a quiet, traditional atmosphere evoked by *tokonoma* and *engawa*, whilst the tiled sunroom and terrace with a pergola were designed to lead residents in the six *tatamis* to go into the garden. The smaller living room was moreover placed close to the kitchen and dining room on the opposite of an interior corridor. This presumably allowed members of the family to move down and bring tea and refreshments to the six *tatamis* after dinner. In other words, the six-*tatami* living room was semantically more 'leisurised' than the eight *tatamis* in Kihōin's conception. The demand of Hankyu's clientele for postprandial access to the sunny side for leisure and pleasure crystallised into the disposition of the dining room, six-*tatami* living room and sunroom.

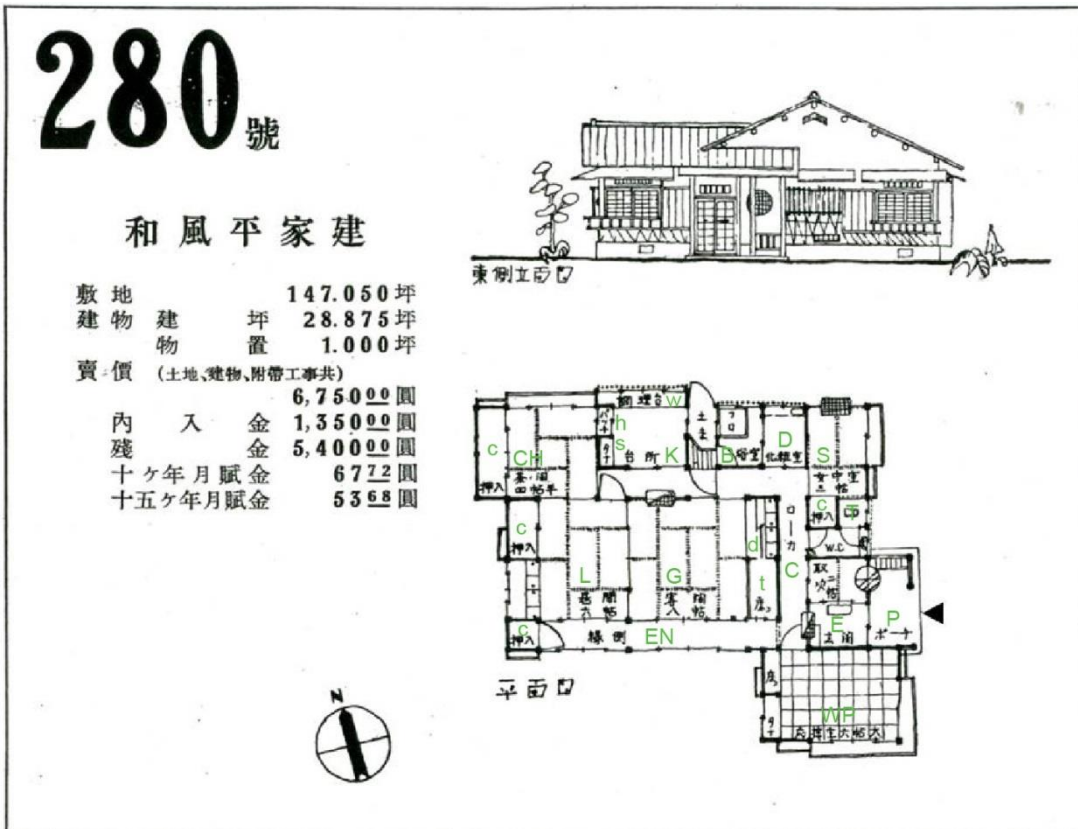


Figure 5.18

Hankyu house of Plan 280 (B: bathroom; C: corridor; CH: *chanoma*; D: dressing room; E: entrance; EN: *engawa*; G: guest room; K: kitchen; L: living room; P: porch; S: servant's room; T: toilet; WP: Western-style parlour; c: closet; h: hatch; s: shelf; w: worktop) (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Sumiyasuku kahiyasui Hankyu keiei Shin-Itami jyūtakuchi tokubai ōuridashi goannai," c. 1935) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

The previous three houses were larger models which were 133-140 m<sup>2</sup> in total floor area, and relatively higher latitude in arranging domestic spaces allowed him to express a set of middle-class desires in a more active, architectural way. Kihōin's attempts, as an 'anonymous' architect, to handle various demands of customers were also seen in a humble, comparatively smaller type of dwelling. Plan 280 was his elaboration of a one-storey house with a Japanese-style exterior, having the floor space of 95.5 m<sup>2</sup> (figure 5.18).<sup>84</sup> This house with the typical interior-corridor plan was apparently occupied by two types of public spheres. The entrance and Western-style parlour were grouped to facilitate the process of receiving callers, whilst he defined one of the pair of interconnected *tatami* spaces along the *engawa* as a "guest room." If the first floor were available, he would have arranged an upstairs guest room like ones in Plan 271, 251 and 230. This *tatami* guest

room centred in the house was seemingly against the family-oriented rules in planning, interrupting family's domains generally conceived for the south front. But, his works previously explored were the fruits of meticulous efforts to consider the public-private separation and sunny aspects. Thus, it could be thought that the eight-*tatami* room with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* was merely named "guest room" as part of public definition for those who viewed Hankyu's housing catalogues. By opening sliding doors, residents of this house could transform the *en suite tatami* rooms into bedrooms in practice. Yet, a middle-class clientele was perhaps much worried about occasions of sporadic receptions where they were expected to show politeness and hospitality.

A link of the *chanoma* with living room was a proof of Kihōin's critical insight into the general trend of traffic in domestic spaces. According to his column of Hankyu's in-house newsletter, daily routines of an average family presumed moving frequently between the kitchen and dining area; between a space for meals and living room.<sup>85</sup> He implicitly associated a major factor determining traffic flows from the dining to living rooms with a growing awareness of the image of 'home', suggesting that a disposition of rooms was hoped to be arranged "to place living spaces where all members of the family get together for chatting, leisure and rest at the central position of the house."<sup>86</sup> In Plan 45, the *chanoma* serving multi-functionally as a sitting-dining room was sited along the sunny side, adjoining both the kitchen and living room. But, the spatial constraints of Plan 280 made him locate the *chanoma* in the north corner, and design a hatch whereby food could be served from the kitchen next door. This way of arrangement was seen in Plan 230 in which the north-south axis of the dining room, living room and sunroom allowed residents to go down to the south. As well as the six-*tatami* living room of Plan 230, a *tatami* space named "living room" in Plan 280 was 'leisurised' in his view. In fact, the *chanoma* and living room were physically connected by sliding doors, and the north-facing *chanoma* accordingly lost a role as a sitting room. The delicate works Kihōin left, in general, implied that Hankyu's priority in domestic architecture was to create a 'leisurised' space filled with *tatami* mats named "*chanoma*" and "living room" on the south front of a house. The dwellings designed by this anonymous architect were



Figure 5.19  
Exterior of a house in Ineno estate (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Hankyu Ineno jyūtaku annai," c. 1925) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

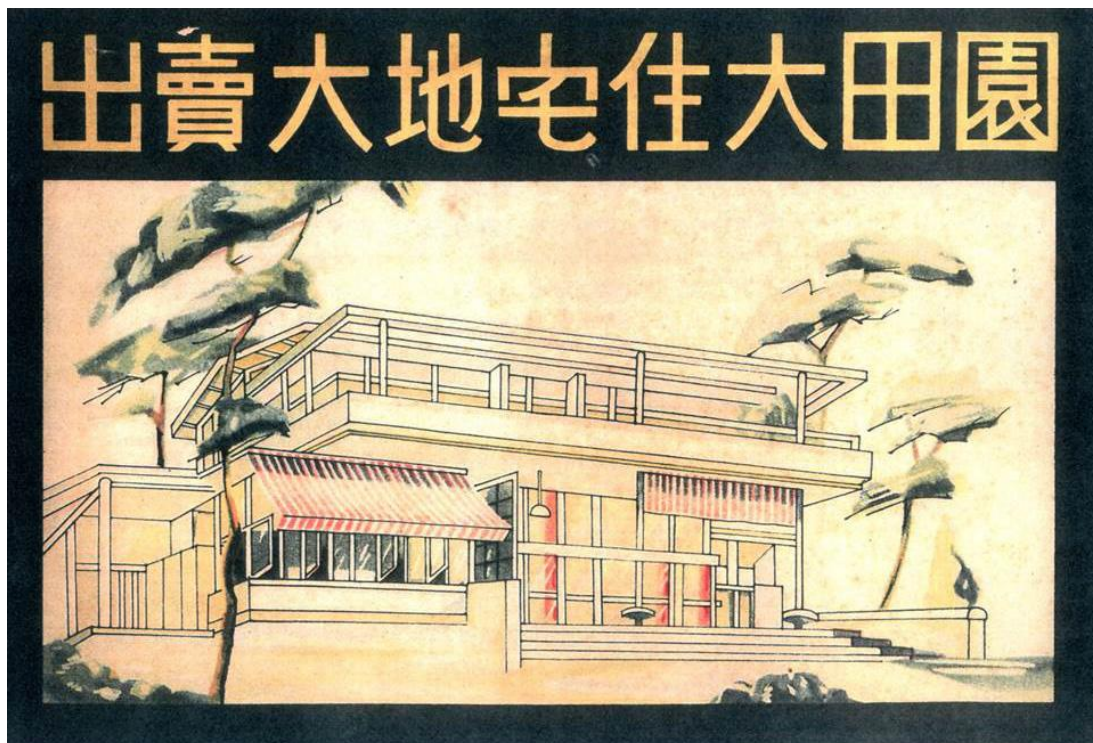


Figure 5.20  
Cover of a Hankyu's housing catalogue "Sonoda estate on sale" ("Sonoda dai jyūtaku ōuridashi," c. 1936) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki





Figure 5.21  
Le Corbusier influenced house in Higashi-Toyonaka estate (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Hankyu Higashi-Toyonaka jyūtaku annai," c. 1933) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

not the direct expression of his *shumi*, but mirrored preferences and *shumi* which anonymous consumers had.

The houses of Plan 45, 271, 251 and 230 had standardised, *tatami*-mat interiors in Occidental guises. Hankyu's architects widened the scope of architectural expressions in their exteriors by borrowing the motifs of Western housing. The decorative patterns of Spanish Colonial and Tudor Gothic architecture were particularly learned and applied to differentiate one model of house from others (figure 5.19).<sup>87</sup> This entailed the use of colourful building materials including red pantiles, making suburban landscape more vibrant and variegated in a society after the Movement. With a rational approach to design, the confidence of Hankyu's architects was heightened by the discourse of western modernists including Walter Gropius and their



Figure 5.22

Exterior of a house in Sonoda estate (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Sonoda dai jyūtaku ōuridashi," Red cover edition, c. 1936) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

emphasis on the ahistorical, systematic view of things (figure 5.20).<sup>88</sup> The impact of a wave of 'mechanisation of architecture' from the West was seen along its railway lines imitating Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus on the estates built at the beginning of the 1930s (figure 5.21).<sup>89</sup> But, the most popular exterior was Japanese (figure 5.22). The supply chain in this period still allowed Hankyu to offer houses with traditional designs at cheaper prices, on the one hand.<sup>90</sup> The popularity of them echoed the buyers' *shumi*, on the other. The variety of appearances of Hankyu homes was diverse, and middle-class customer could 'choose' and consume 'styles' of buildings signifying their identity like dresses and furniture.

Hankyu's architects including Kihōin, as well as most cultural elites at that time, were obviously aware of the works of architectural modernists, and tried to translate rather than reference their doctrines. They perceived the incongruity between spatial, material compositions led by the design principles of the modernists and ones suitable for Japan's humid weather.<sup>91</sup>

“As the age of imitation of Wright’ and Corbusier’s architecture is gone,” a housing catalogue of Mukonosō estate proclaimed, designing a house “adaptable to Japanese weather is an idea whose time has come.”<sup>92</sup> This faith was fuelled by the rediscovery of traditional beauty in reference to positive reactions to Japanese vernacular architecture from abroad.<sup>93</sup> Such an ‘aesthetic’ critique was not necessarily disconnected with a rise in nationalistic feelings as a product of the outbreak of the Second World War.<sup>94</sup>

Whatever the exterior, Hankyu’s architects had never lost elements of humanity in their designs. Their thoughts in the in-house newsletter were prophetic in reaction to the well-known modernist doctrine – a ‘machine for living.’ Adherence to this, they suspected, would not create the conditions of domestic spaces by which the Japanese discerned roominess and comfortableness.<sup>95</sup> Certainly the central tenet of Hankyu’s housing was ‘leisurisation’, which, in their view, was found in the sunny side consisting of the *engawa*, sunroom and rooms named *chanoma* and living room for family.<sup>96</sup> In this respect, simplification in their interpretations meant a project to systematise and formulate middle-class enjoyment derived from family gatherings involving chatting and recreational activities in south-facing rooms in line with the clientele’s *shumi*. A quotation by Romantic writer Victor Hugo’s in the in-house newsletter was representative of what Hankyu, and supposedly other homebuilders, envisaged through dialogue with their clients:

‘A refuge from danger,’ which a French poet Hugo discovers at home, has become the principle of designing a humble house; such a peaceful dwelling manifests a sense of comfort and enjoyment, as opposed to a French architect Corbusier’s *machine à habiter*.<sup>97</sup>

### ***Shumi* and Low Modernism**

The sense of refuge, of pleasure, and of happy family life continued to translate into the site planning of Hankyu’s estates. The uniformly gridded road network was the general feature of its estates built during the 1910s, and still determined the visual impression of the landscape of Ineno estate, opened in 1925 (figure 5.23).<sup>98</sup> But, the homogeneity of street patterns ceased



Figure 5.23  
 “Map of Ineno estate” (Hankyu’s housing catalogue “Hankyu Ineno jyūtakū annai,”  
 c. 1925) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

in its developments over the 1930s. For example, Hankyu developed an undulating land on the fringe of existing residential areas of Toyonaka for the Higashi-Toyonaka estate, laying out roads responding to the contour and terrain of the sites (figure 5.24).<sup>99</sup> This residential layout design was created by Kisaburō Shimomura, the architect appointed as a technical advisor of Hankyu in 1934.<sup>100</sup> His aspiration was to apply the design of well-ordered road networks aestheticized by plants, green spaces and the natural advantages of peripheral lands, which he saw in the suburbs of Western countries five years earlier<sup>101</sup> To learn ways for site arrangement, he visited Dusseldorf, Cologne, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Letchworth, Welwyn, Bournville, Glasgow, Paris and Bordeaux.<sup>102</sup> His experiences and expertise were essential to the further developments until he left Hankyu in 1945.<sup>103</sup>

The road networks of Shin-Itami, Sonoda and Mukonosō estates were marked by illuminated boulevards running from southwest to northeast as the main axes to the stations (figure 5.25). Plane trees regularly planted along

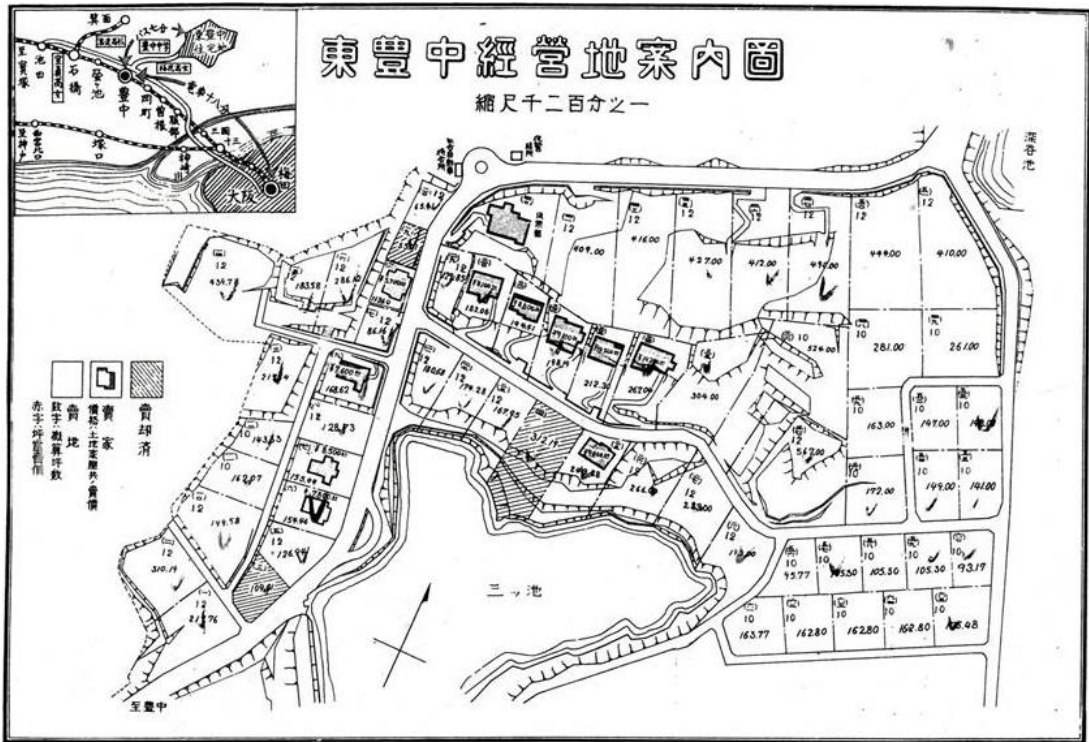


Figure 5.24  
 “Map of Higashi-Toyonaka estate” (Hankyu’s housing catalogue “Hankyu Higashi-Toyonaka jyūtaku annai,” c. 1933) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

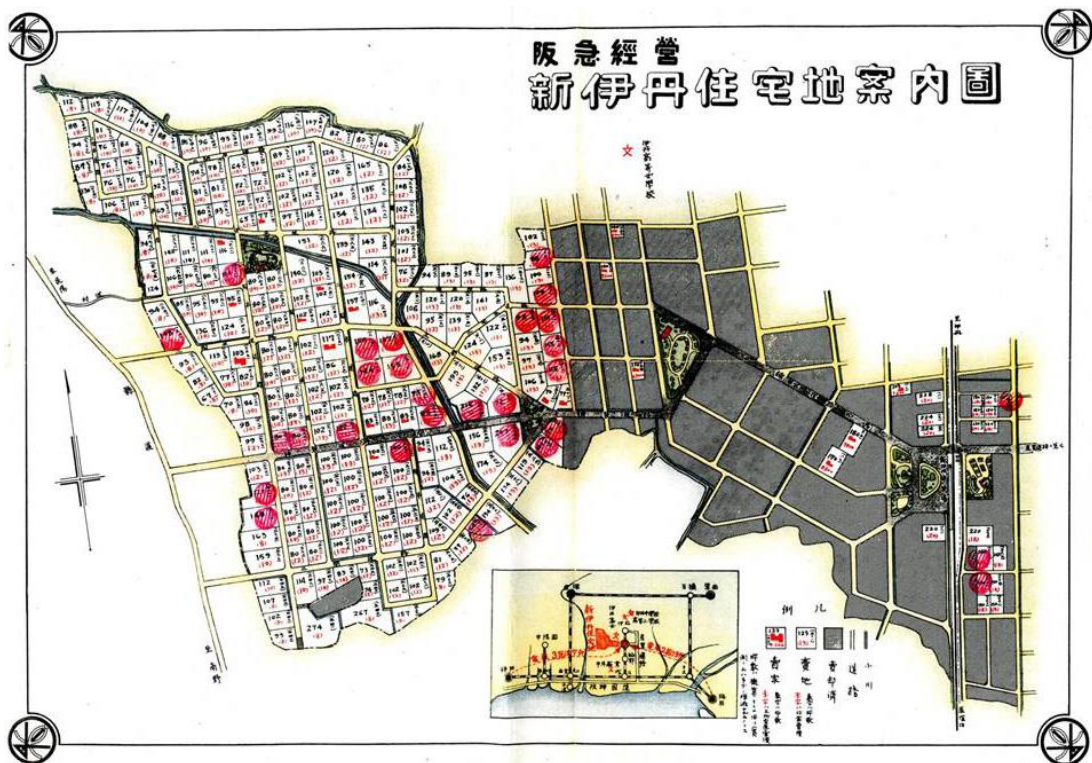


Figure 5.25  
 “Map of Shin-Itami estate” (Hankyu’s housing catalogue “Shin-Itami dai jyūtakuchi dai ni ki kaihatsuchi tokubai ōuridashi,” c. 1935), Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki

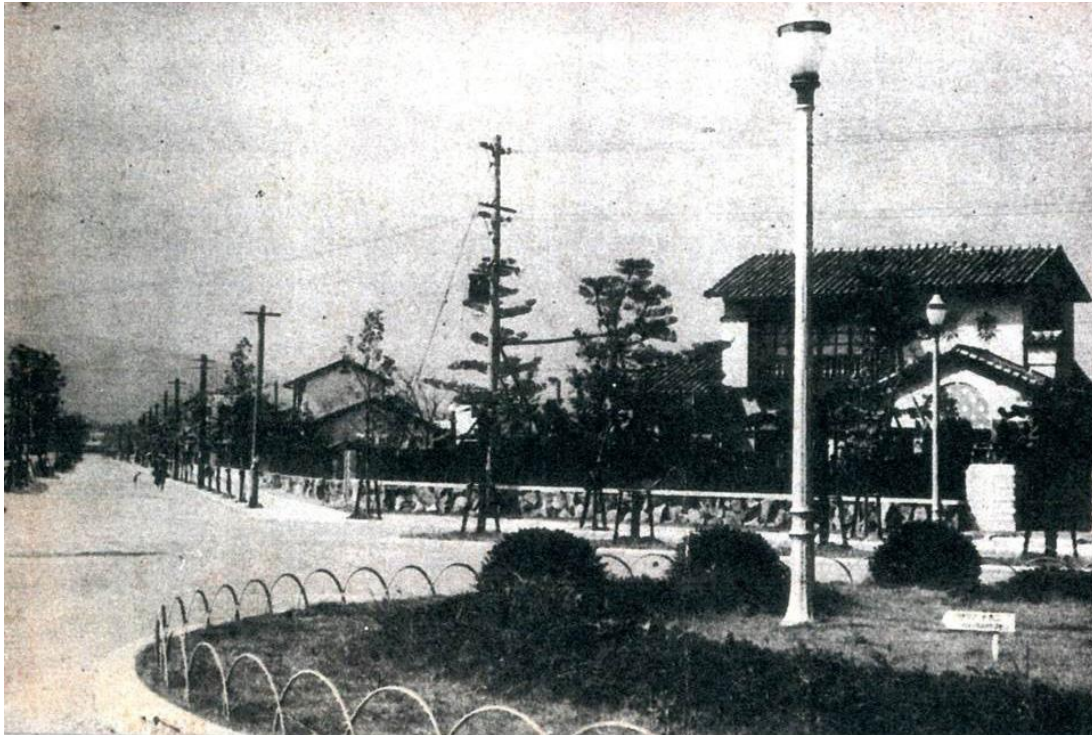


Figure 5.26  
Boulevard and roadside trees in Mukonosō estate (Hankyu's housing catalogue "Mukonosō dai jyūtakuchi," Orange cover version, c. 1937) Amagasaki Municipal Archives, Amagasaki



Figure 5.27  
Greenery of a station square in Mukonosō estate (S. Nozawa, 3 June 2013)



Figure 5.28  
Hedge in Mukonosō estate (S. Nozawa, 3 June 2013)

the boulevards were expected to enhance the beauty of the suburbia, and the shape of intersections was accented by corner plots neatly chamfered (figure 5.26 and 5.27).<sup>104</sup> A hedge around each lot was lowered, so as to add to spaciousness of the garden as well as continuity of nature between the inside and outside (figure 5.28).<sup>105</sup> In other words, the meanings of rooms facing the garden as ‘leisured’ spaces were elaborately considered in site arrangement. To Hankyu’s architects, communal areas within the residential neighbourhoods were still part of the refined realm of family life, transcended from the house. According to its in-house newsletter, open spaces at Sonoda included “a children’s playground and parks serving as walkways,” with decorative flower beds placed around streets and parks added colour to the whole district.<sup>106</sup> These conveyed the aesthetic standards which Hankyu’s architects had in taste and leisure pursuits: subtle associations that continued to formulate *its* pastoral *shumi* in everyday life.

To summarise, Hankyu’s allegiance to the simplification of life, albeit for its profit, entailed an endeavour to ‘style’ the public *shumi* through lucid,

critical observations on middle-class will. The floor arrangement of the Obayashi model house displayed at the HRE was recognisably the interior-corridor plan, a distillation of the public *shumi* of family life. Compared with Hankyu's manufacturing and housing, the Obayashi boarded living room with a hearth was still novel in ways to interpret the image of 'home'. These settings evoked a direct translation of the Romantic vision of domesticity, whilst Hankyu never presumed that the family lived around the fireplace in a floored space. Hankyu's stance was in fact explicit in its products: the electric *hibachi* and house of Plan 45 which had a mantelpiece in the Western-style parlour. The basic layouts of Hankyu dwellings in the inter-war years were also the interior-corridor plan, and its architects like Kihōin tried to express middle-class wants by arranging *tatami* rooms for family use along the sunny side. This meant that the clientele's image of 'leisured' *place* was associated strongly with a south-facing *tatami* space, as well as with brightness, airiness and salubrity which were highly valued under their 'modern' eyes.

Hankyu's search for 'leisured' space resulted in some variations of roles played by rooms even with the same names. The *chanoma* of Plan 45 was south-facing, the perfect embodiment of the widely acknowledged image of a sitting-dining room. However, Kihōin's works showed the *chanoma* and dining rooms consisting of the north corners of the houses, naming *tatami* spaces occupying the south fronts "living room." In Plan 251, 230 and 280, the "living room" was designed to adjoin the dining areas, and expected to serve multi-functionally as a 'leisured' space for members of the family to get together and bedroom at night. Meals were socially recognised as part of family gatherings, but those who studied Plan 280 were unlikely to envisage leisure time for ease and for refuge in the north-facing *chanoma*. The middle-class importance of 'leisured' space with the *engawa* and sunroom was fairly consistent with Hankyu's pastoral *shumi*. The harmony of rooms with the garden was vital to its architectural practices, and the street layouts and greenery of its suburban estates were considered to be inevitable settings to make residents enjoy a feeling of unity with the garden, community green spaces, and its suburbia. If Hankyu's commercial activities devoted to making 'lifestyles' were elements which constituted "low modernism," so was the quality of the public *shumi* which was collectively and endlessly



expressed through designing and labelling for everyday needs at a more intimate and feasible level. Did Hankyu's architects really grasp and 'style' middle-class desire powered by the public *shumi* of life? This will be evaluated in the final chapter.

## Notes

1. Richard Ronald, “The Japanese home in transition: Housing, consumption and modernization,” in *Housing and Social Transition in Japan*, eds. Yosuke Hirayama and Richard Ronald (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 165-92; See also John Clammer, *Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 39.
2. Shinya Hashizume, *Modan toshi no tanjyō: Osaka no machi Tokyo no machi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawakōbunkan, 2003); Shinya Hashizume, *Modanizumu no Nippon* (Tokyo: Kadokawasensho, 2006).
3. Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman, “Introduction: subjectivity and modernity’s other,” in *Modernity and Identity*, ed. Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 2-3.
4. Ibid.
5. The title of this periodical was changed twice. *Electricity for Home* (*Katei no denki*) was its original name, and it became *Hirakeyuku denki* from January 1933. In 1937, the HAPA again renamed it *Denki chishiki*. Some numbers of the HAPA magazine are available at Electricity History Museum, Kawasaki
6. Ineno estate (1), Higashi-Toyonaka estate (1), Shin-Itami estate (4), Sonoda estate (3), Mukonosō estates (4); I use the newsletter published between October 1931 and November 1936.
7. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau: Osaka toshi jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 301-2, 320.
8. Ibid., 318-20.
9. See Hideto Kishida and Eika Takayama, *Gaikoku ni okeru jyūtakushi shikichiwari ruirēshū* (Tokyo: Dōjyunkai, 1936).
10. Toshi Jyūtakushi Henshū Inkai Committee, City of Osaka ed., *Machi ni sumau*, 321, 325.
11. Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi* (Osaka: Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, 1959), 146.
12. Takako Yoshida, “Minō-Sakurai: Jyūtakushi hakurankai ga tsukutta machi to ie,” in *Kindai Nihon no kōgai jyūtakushi*, ed. Atsushi Katagi, Yōetsu Fujiya and Yukihiko Kadono (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2006), 332-5.
13. Ibid., 338-44.
14. Ibid., 344-6.
15. Uzō Nishiyama, *Sumai no kōgengaku* (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 2000), 208-9.
16. Kisaku Ichikawa, *Taishō jyūichinen kugatsu jyūtakushi kaizō hakurankai shuppin jyūtakushi zushū* (Osaka: Architectural Association of Japan, 1922), 11.
17. Hanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Hanshin kyūkō dentetsu 25 nenshi* (Osaka: Hanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, 1932), 1-2. Please see its “Power-supply sector.”
18. “Nihon ni okeru kateiyō dennetsu, ni,” *Katei no denki*, May 1928, 6-13.
19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 12.
21. Ibid.
22. Hanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Hanshin kyūkō dentetsu 25 nenshi*, 1-2.
23. Ibid.
24. Shoko Ito, “Denki gyōkai kanren dantai no kokumin muke keimō katsudō: Nihon Denki Kyōkai to Katei Denki Hukyūkai,” in *Senkanki Nihon no shakai shūdan to nettowaku: Demokurashi to chūkan dantai*, ed. Takenori Inoki (Tokyo: NTT shuppan, 2008), 244. The HAPA was initially established in Osaka, but its main office was relocated to Tokyo in December 1925.
25. Ibid.
26. Yoshijiro Ishikawa, “Kokumin no katsudōryoku to denki,” *Katei no denki*, February 1925, 3; Rokujiro Asada, “Katei denka no sokushin ni tsuite,” *Katei no denki*, September 1925, 17.
27. Masatomo Yamaguchi, “Seikatsukaizen Dōmeikai wo kaidoku suru,” in *Daidokoro no hyakunen*, ed. Japan Society of Lifology (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 1999), 142.
28. Ryotaro Mitsuda, “Katei ni okeru denki no riyō,” *Katei no denki*, February 1925, 9; Asada, “Katei denka no sokushin ni tsuite,” 16-17.
29. Tokujiro Fukuoka, “Katei no denki kōji, vol. 1,” *Katei no denki*, March 1925, 30-31; “Nihon ni okeru kateiyō dennetsu, ni,” 12.
30. Hiroshi Minami et al., *Taishō bunka* (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 1965), 252-3.
31. Yasuro Kobata, “Honkai no kōan sekkei ni naru katei denkakan,” *Katei no denki*, May 1926, 101-3.
32. Illuminating Engineering Institute of Japan, *Kyoto Osaka Kobe akari no meisho* (Osaka: Illuminating Engineering Institute of Japan, 1933), 46.
33. Shigeru, “Denka geki Switch wo mite,” *Katei no denki*, June 1927, 73-5.
34. “Honkai shusai Kyoto dainikai ryōri kōshūkai,” *Katei no denki*, August 1925, 51-2; “Katei muki wayō ryōri no kōshū,” *Katei no denki*, September 1925, 60-4.
35. Hankyu Electric Railway, *75 nen no ayumi: Shashun hen* (Osaka: Hankyu Electric Railway, 1982), 49.
36. Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi* (Osaka: Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, 1959), 168-77.
37. “Denka katei no hōmon,” *Katei no denki*, April 1925, 53-7; Tadaoki Yamamoto, “Kinkyū mondai to shite jyūtaku wo denka seyo,” *Katei no denki*, May 1926, 12.
38. Eiji Aoyagi, “Kyoto daigaku kishukusha no dennetsuki ni tsuite,” *Katei no denki*, March 1925, 6; Shinjiro Ichihara, “Denki sutōbu no hanashi,” *Katei no denki*, November 1925, 28.
39. Kohei Morita, “Teito no fukkō to danbōhō no kaizen,” *Katei no denki*, December 1925, 31.
40. Kenkichi Nishimura, “Chūryū katei no denka wo kōsō su,” *Katei no denki*, March 1927, 8.

41. “Denka katei no hōmon,” 53-7; Yamamoto, “Kinkyū mondai to shite jyūtaku wo denka seyo,” 9-10.
42. Nishimura, “Chūryū katei no denka wo kōsō su,” 8.
43. Yamamoto, “Kinkyū mondai to shite jyūtaku wo denka seyo,” 12.
44. Local History Compilation Committee, City of Ikeda, *Shinshū Ikeda shishi dai 3 kan: Kindai hen* (Ikeda: City of Ikeda, 2009), 419-20.
45. “Shufu no tasukaru denki suiiji,” *Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, February 1, 1926, 3; “kakei no nan-i ha odaidokoro no kanri ni ari,” *Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, May 21, 1926, 3.
46. “Haru no daidokoro to denki suiiji,” *Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, April 1, 1926, 3; “Shō-katei no denka ha bannō shichirin hitotsu de jyūbun,” *Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, May 1, 1926, 4.
47. “Seikatsu kaizen ha denka yori,” *Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, February 21, 1926, 3.
48. “Shufu no tasukaru denki suiiji,” 3.
49. “Kaoku wo hogosuru daidokoro no denka,” *Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, April 11, 1926, 3; “Keizaiteki na denki suiiji,” *Hanshin-maichō shinbun*, May 11, 1926, 4.
50. “Dentō eigyōsho no goannai,” *Hankyu shahō*, September 15, 1935, 8.
51. “Eigyō bu dentō denryoku ka,” *Hankyu shahō*, November 15, 1935, 2-3.
52. “Toyonaka dentō eigyōsho ni Denki no Mise wo hiraku,” *Hankyu shahō*, July 15, 1933, 9; “Itami dentō eigyōsho no iten,” *Hankyu shahō*, August 15, 1935, 4-5.
53. Hanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Hanshin kyūkō dentetsu 25 nenshi*, 1-2.
54. Home Appliance Promotion Association, *Sumiyoi ie: Denki home dentō gojyū nen kinen* (Tokyo: Katei Denki Fukyūkai, 1929).
55. Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi*, 120-5.
56. “Yakushinteki yoki ureyuki wo mitaru Tsukaguchi jyūtakuchi hanbai kiroku,” *Hankyu shahō*, May 15, 1934, 10.
57. “Higashi-Toyonaka jyūtaku shashin tenrankai,” *Hankyu shahō*, May 15, 1934, 11; Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi*, 122.
58. Some housing catalogues indicated that the consultation desk and information booths provided further information on the estates. For example, Hankyu’s housing catalogue “Shin-Itami dai jyūtakuchi dai niki kaihatsuchi tokubai ōuridashi” published in c. 1935; Hankyu’s housing catalogue “Kobe sen shinsetsu Sonoda ekimae Sonoda dai jyūtakuchi yoyaku ōuridashi” published in c. 1936.
59. Uzō Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2* (1973), Private edition, 163.
60. Keihanshin Kyūkō Electric Railway, *Keihanshin kyūkō dentetsu 50 nenshi*, 124.
61. Hankyu’s housing catalogue “Kobe sen shinsetsu Sonoda ekimae Sonoda dai jyūtakuchi yoyaku ōuridashi.”

62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Hankyu's housing catalogue "Sumiyasuku kahiyasui Hankyu keiei Shin-Itami jyūtakuchi tokubai ōuridashi goannai" published in c. 1935.
67. Hankyu's housing catalogue "Hankyu Ineno jyūtaku annai," published in c. 1925.
68. Hankyu's housing catalogue "Mukonosō dai jyūtakuchi," Black cover addition, published in c. 1937.
69. Hankyu's housing catalogue "Sonoda dai jyūtaku ōuridashi," Red cover addition, published in c. 1936.
70. Kihōin, "Jyūtaku sōdan," *Hankyu shahō*, May 15, 1936, 8.
71. Hankyu's housing catalogue "Kobe sen shinsetsu Mukonosō ekimae Mukonosō dai jyūtakuchi ōuridashi," published in c. 1937.
72. Kihōin, "Jyūtaku sōdan," *Hankyu shahō*, April 15, 1936, 10; Keiichi Nakagawa, "Sonoda dai jyūtakuchi wo hiraku Hankyu jyūtaku no gaibō," *Hankyu shahō*, August 15, 1936, 9.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 162.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid., 162-3.
81. Some housing catalogues did not specify functions of rooms by naming. For example, Hankyu's housing catalogue "Mukonosō dai jyūtakuchi," Orange cover addition, published in c. 1937.
82. Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 162-3.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Kihōin, "Jyūtaku sōdan," 8.
86. Ibid. See also "Ima to daidokoro no shin keikō," *Hankyu shahō*, June 15, 1934, 9-10.
87. Nakagawa, "Sonoda dai jyūtakuchi wo hiraku Hankyu jyūtaku no gaibō," 9.
88. "Kensetsu jyūtaku zu dai 6," *Hankyu shahō*, May 15, 1934, 12; "Kensetsu jyūtaku zu dai 11," *Hankyu shahō*, August 15, 1934, 17; Keiichi Nakagawa, "Jyūtaku ha mokuzō ka tekkin konkurito ka," *Hankyu shahō*, November 15, 1934, 12-6.

89. For example, a house erected in Higashi-Toyonaka estate, opened in 1933, indicates the influence of Le Corbusier and his works characterised by white walls and box-like, ornament-free design. Please see Hankyu's housing catalogue "Hankyu Higashi-Toyonaka jyūtaku annai," published in c. 1933.
90. Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 163-4.
91. Shimomura, "Jyūtaku sōdan," *Hankyu shahō*, November 15, 1935, 6-7.
92. Hankyu's housing catalogue "Mukonosō dai jyūtakuchi."
93. For example, German architect Bruno Taut and Frank Lloyd Wright are known for their strong interests in Japanese traditional architecture.
94. Nishiyama, *Sumai no kōgengaku*, 240-1.
95. Keiichi Nakagawa, "Sonoda jyūtakuchi ni tatsu kensetsu jyūtaku sekkei ni tsuitenno ichi kōsatsu," *Hankyu shahō*, September 15, 1936, 8-9.
96. "Kensetsu jyūtaku zu dai 5," *Hankyu shahō*, May 15, 1934, 11; "Ima to daidokoro no shin keikō," 9-10.
97. "Kensetsu jyūtaku zu dai 12," *Hankyu shahō*, September 15, 1934, 14.
98. Hankyu's housing catalogue "Hankyu Ineno jyūtaku annai."
99. Hankyu's housing catalogue "Hankyu Higashi-Toyonaka jyūtaku annai."
100. Yasuyoshi Wada, "Ōmino-Den-en-toshi, Sakai: Osaka nanbu Sakai shi ni kotsuzen to arawareta kanyjō hōsha gaiku," in *Kindai Nihon no kōgai jyūtakuchi* ed. Atsushi Katagi, Yōetsu Fujiya and Yukihiro Kadono (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2006), 277-98.
101. Yasuyoshi Wada and Makoto Terauchi, "Shimomura Kisaburō to kōgai jyūtakuchi kaihatsu," *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering of AIJ* 494 (1997): 232-35.
102. I came across Shimomura's article in the Organisation of Housing Reform's magazine *The House*. See Kisaburō Shimomura, "Tsukaguchi Den-en jyūtaku," *Jyūtaku*, August 1941, 44.
103. Wada and Terauchi, "Shimomura Kisaburō to kōgai jyūtakuchi kaihatsu," 235.
104. Nakagawa, "Sonoda dai jyūtakuchi wo hiraku Hankyu jyūtaku no gaibō," 9.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid., 8.

## 6. Myth and Reality of Middle-class Lives in Inter-war Suburbs of Osaka

Uzō Nishiyama, born in 1911, came from modest beginnings, a smith's family in central Osaka.<sup>1</sup> He grew up in a time of overwhelming changes taking places in his surroundings, the built forms and the everyday. He chose architecture to study at Kyoto University, and learn alongside Mr Kihōin, as described in the previous chapter. Their college days were affected substantially by the modernists' movement and the International Style, and this approach continued to affect Nishiyama for his entire lifetime.<sup>2</sup> However, their courses of life after graduation were totally different. Kihōin entered Hankyu as an architect. Nishiyama became a research associate working for the Housing Association, (formerly Dōjyunkai), reorganised to regulate building projects under the industrial control of wartime. In 1944, he returned to Kyoto and, in the next thirty years, his professional activities spanned researching, planning, designing and sketching the lives of ordinary people. His academic reputation was built on his early innovative efforts which this study explores: the application of science to the understanding of behavioural patterns within houses. He was not only a professor, architect, planner and painter but, after retiring from the world of academia, an activist with acute anxiety about the changing urban environment and the destruction of both natural and cultural landscapes. On 9th February, 1994, he addressed the court as a witness called by the plaintiff in a lawsuit over the construction plans for Kyoto station with its eccentric design and negative impact on the uniform skyline of the old capital. Illness did not allow Nishiyama to stay the course, however, and he was struck down the very next

day by a subarachnoid haemorrhage. This leading figure in the field of architectural planning in Japan passed away on 2nd April 1994, aged 83.

In this final chapter, “Myth and Reality,” I revisit the questionnaires used for his unique and well-known survey. As the houses designed by Kihōin began to be erected in Shin-Itami estate, his academic curiosity was aroused by a growing interest in how ordinary people settled their lives in the *tatami*-mat interior. Sponsored by his affiliation: the Housing Association, he set up a research project involving a simple, straightforward method to answer it: the questionnaire survey which presumed scientific treatment. In 1935, his questionnaires were handed out to the students of Toyonaka High School from where he had graduated. These consisted of an unusual request to the students to illustrate their houses and domestic lives.<sup>3</sup> He asked them what the name of each room was; how it was used (and by whom) in the daytime, and where members of the family and servants slept. After amending his methodology slightly, the same survey was conducted more widely at three Osaka high schools including the Toyonaka in 1936. This two-year inquiry allowed him to collect 915 questionnaires in total, and the average floor space of the dwellers in which respondents lived indicated that he predominately targeted mainly middle-class families.<sup>4</sup> He was attempting to prove his hypothesis that there was a tendency to domestic ritual in avoiding using the dining area as a bedroom in the *tatami* interior. Having employed statistical analysis to examine the responses, he published his “theory of separation of eating and sleeping.”<sup>5</sup> It was intended to be adopted by housing activities of the Association, whose ultimate goal was to minimise the use of building materials and energy to be instead set aside for expected future military campaigns.

In my view, the results of the questionnaires are diverse, displaying snapshots of the domestic spaces that the sample families appropriated in line with their needs and preferences. But, Nishiyama’s attitude toward them was different. In response to the firm dislike of ambiguity in the use of spaces, he, as well as most architects in this period, believed that each room of a house should be used and designed for a single purpose. The multi-functionality underlying a common dwelling style was fairly ascribed to the prevailing design of the interior consisting of *tatamis* and paper screens



which made it flexible.<sup>6</sup> Nishiyama and the Association were keen to identify when and how people varied their places in dwellings to suit purposes, and ultimately to suggest the economised design of a house whereby any obscurities regarded as a source of inefficiency could be eliminated.<sup>7</sup> In this respect, his survey was teleological, leading expectedly to the “theory of separation.”

Moreover, Nishiyama considered that the multi-functional use of domestic spaces could be abolished not only by design but also through guidance on lifestyle as a national policy.<sup>8</sup> Implicit was the assumption in this view, perhaps because of his socialist influence, that people’s patterns of behaviour even on the private side were entirely manipulable and controllable. This made him treat the relationship between daily rounds and spaces as more symbolic, concealing the fact that residents, particularly middle-class respondents of the questionnaires, were ‘informed’ individuals who arranged and ordered the material artefacts surrounding them in a subjective way. As argued in the previous chapters, the rule of separation was pivotal in experts’ advice on how to furnish domestic spaces and in “family-oriented” planning in response to changing perceptions towards the individual, family relations and space. Thus, this study presumes that what Nishiyama defined and justified as the “theory of separation” was one facet of the time-space management of compartmentalised lives of the families based on a good deal of information transported through mass media as well as *kyōiku* containing the prevailing discourses of the elites.

251 out of a total of 565 validated questionnaire responses still exist at Nishiyama Memorial Library. This study re-examined 92 completed and decipherable samples from the 1936 survey, to shed light on hidden aspects which his teleological and totalitarian approach dismissed from the subject of investigation. This study aims to illustrate a harmony and tension between designed spaces encapsulating the public taste and the results of appropriation that confirmed and sustained self-identity and personal tastes. First, the sample households and their material possessions are outlined to depict middle-class lives as they really were in inter-war suburbs of Osaka. Second, by reviewing the ways rooms were used for reception, children’s activities and the everyday of servants’ lives, I demonstrate how families

attempted to follow and personalise the imagery of the 'home'. The last section of this chapter focuses on a modern invention: the *chanoma*, and other 'leisurised' spaces. That is because, as argued in Chapter 2, *shumi* (recreation) was a vehicle for individual *shumi* (taste) and for human creativity which might affect ways families interacted and negotiated with built form.

### **Middle-class homes at a glance**

The Nishiyama questionnaires, where a house plan was expected to be sketched out by each student, was the homework of drawing classes given to students attending the three high schools of Osaka.<sup>9</sup> In 1935, the initial survey targeted 193 students of Toyonaka High School, with 181 returned.<sup>10</sup> This inquiry resulted in a number of illegible responses, but garnered precious data from 68 students.<sup>11</sup> The number of returns unable to be examined was perhaps ascribed to the student's unfamiliarity with architectural drawing as their sketches were less likely to allow him to read the connections between rooms and their settings, including clear door and window positions.<sup>12</sup> For the second round of research, he made the questionnaire form bigger in size, and seems to have attempted to hire someone to go to the schools directly to brief students on how to answer the questions and draw their floor plans. The revised survey was extensively undertaken by 734 students who were selected at Toyonaka, Izuo Technical and Miyakojima Technical High Schools, and the valid-response rate accordingly rose.<sup>13</sup> In contrast to the 1935 survey, the respondents widened the scope of illustration from houses to site arrangements. The samples he picked out from the 688 readable responses for his analysis were of detached houses, numbering 497.<sup>14</sup> The Association's target was supposedly a type of a dwelling like a Dōjyunkai house. These questionnaires were filled out respectively by 344, 124 and 29 respondents of the Toyonaka, Izuo and Miyakojima.<sup>15</sup> The proportion of the samples of Toyonaka residents to the surveyed responses from Toyonaka High School reached about 30%.<sup>16</sup> The

others were mostly answered by students commuting from the towns and villages stretching away between Osaka and Kobe along the Hankyu.<sup>17</sup>

The samples I re-examined comprise 92 out of 251 surveyed and extant questionnaires. The Nishiyama Memorial Library stores 56 responses from the 1935 survey and 195 returned in 1936.<sup>18</sup> These fragments of evidence of his works were discovered uncatalogued after his death, and became part of the collections of the Library, which was created in 1995.<sup>19</sup> All questions and floor plans of the 92 responses from the 1936 survey are mostly complete and understandable, allowing me to conceive the domestic lives of the middle-class families with high school students. The other 103 are considered to have been valid in his evaluation, but still imperfect from the viewpoint of this study which sets out to understand residents' perceptions of the value system of material relations.

Responses from the Toyonaka make up the majority of the questionnaires that are dealt with for reconsideration in this research. In the 92 samples, only two students were not of the Toyonaka, but both of them attended Miyakojima Technical High School. This was likely to have an effect on a general trend in geographical distribution of the sample households. The students who went to Toyonaka High School from its surrounding areas: Toyonaka, Minō and Ikeda accounted for approximately 85% of all. The confirmation of addresses given in the questionnaires by reference to the local history books and cadastral maps of the time enables the identification of the developers who built the houses in 23 of the sample questionnaires.<sup>20</sup> For example, the Hankyu estates including the Ikeda-Muromachi were home to twelve respondents' households and five students were settled in the Okamachi Estate explored in the previous chapter. A building and plot described by another student probably commuting from Hibarigaoka station were part of a luxurious residential area sold by the company of the real-estate mogul, Gentarō Abe.

The historical value of Nishiyama's survey is found both in the amateur drawings of the respondents illustrating plans of their dwellings, and also because they were expected to answer a range of questions about their families, their domestic rituals and their household goods. The 1936 questionnaires were designed to collect Census-type data, asking the

occupation of the head of a family (mainly of the father), the size of household, and the number of family members aged over 21, under 15, and working as live-in maids. This kind of systematism was applied equally to the questions about their lands and buildings. Whilst these properties were categorised broadly as rented or owned, the questionnaires also inquired when the houses were built. The information on ownership and the age of housing perhaps allowed Nishiyama to relate dwelling with the socio-economic condition of household. He also ascertained what each room was usually called amongst the family, presumably in his attempt to understand fully the flexibility of the interior. The students thus answered not only the roles played by each room in the daytime and during the night, but also its name *per se*. An inventory made in which the respondents described furniture and fixtures equipping each room was not particularly mentioned in Nishiyama's analysis, but can be used as supplemental data to judge precisely how domestic spaces were used. The kinds of heating devices, as well as cooking apparatus available in the kitchen, were also recorded via the questionnaire.<sup>21</sup>

These data, serving as barometers of the state of household, were thereby amassed, but the floor area of each room was not directly asked in the questionnaire. Instead, Nishiyama relied upon a visual appraisal of floor space, reckoning up *tatami* mats illustrated in the drawings. In fact, he wrote the results of his estimation of living spaces on all the returned questionnaire forms. Additionally, names of rooms often conveyed more explicit information on quantitative attributes of the interior. As he pointed out, domestic spaces finished with the plain, unvaried floor covering were in many cases referred to and discerned by their number (e.g. "four-and-half-*tatami* room"), and this helped him to confirm the dimensions of the dwellings.<sup>22</sup>

Nearly half of all of the detached houses examined in 1936 were recognised as typical dwellings of urban middle-class families, consisting of 20-30 *tatamis* (about 36.5-54.7 m<sup>2</sup>) of living space.<sup>23</sup> The 92 existing questionnaires revisited by me, are, relatively larger (table 6.1). Commodious residences with more than 30-mat living areas are dominant in these samples, averaging 44.1 *tatamis* (80.5 m<sup>2</sup>).<sup>24</sup> This implies that, even after the

Table 6.1  
Size of the sample houses

Floor space per dwelling  ( <i>tatamis</i> )	1936 survey  (n)	This study			
		Total (n)	Average number of rooms (n)	Average floor space per room ( <i>tatamis</i> ) (m <sup>2</sup> )	
- 24	147	3	5.3	4.4	8.0
24 - 30	90	11	6.1	4.5	8.2
30 - 36	74	14	6.5	5.0	9.2
36 - 45	89	30	7.9	5.2	9.5
45 - 60	62	21	9.1	5.7	10.3
60 -	35	13	11.8	6.3	11.5
Total	497	92			

survey, Nishiyama continued to keep questionnaires of families living in comparatively bigger houses for some reasons. Otherwise, the examination of smaller samples might not have been a part that he was responsible for, and his assistants instead dealt with these and they have been lost at some point after the publication of the research. Whatever the cause, the point that many of the houses reviewed through this study are a representation of the material relations of comparatively well-to-do families must be stressed.

The high homeownership rate among the 92 samples is another indicator of their material affluence. Whilst 47.9% of the whole surveyed households of the 1936 inquiry are householders, this figure increases to 72.8% in the 92 cases.<sup>25</sup> A comparison with the national average shows the exceptionality of all households of the respondents to the survey given that it is estimated that the percentage of house owners in 24 industrial cities was about 22% in 1941.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps, this cult of homeownership, illuminated unexpectedly by Nishiyama, was ascribed to the decentralisation of middle-class consumption, which was initially endemic in the suburbs of Osaka, and facilitated by the rise in homebuilders, as illustrated in Chapter 4.

The questionnaires targeting high school students bespoke the homogeneity of family structure amongst households of the respondents.<sup>27</sup> The size of ménages of the 92 samples was arguably larger than that of households without children, averaging 6.0 people. Most of them were

Table 6.2  
Occupation of the heads of the sample households

Occupation of the head of household	(N=92)
"Company employee" including "company executive"	37
<i>None</i>	9
Official	8
Independent merchant	7
Banker, dealer in securities, stockbroker	4
Dentist, doctor, pharmacist	4
Teacher	4
Architect, constructor, landscape gardener	3
Landlord	3
Electrician	2
Professor	2
Other	9

socially defined as nuclear families, and some students lived with their grandparents and other relatives. Nishiyama declared that the number of constituent family members had no relationship to the floor space of a dwelling, but the relatively spacious abodes of the 92 samples housed slightly bigger families than the average size of all of the 1936-survey households, 5.7 people.<sup>28</sup> Households hiring live-in maids numbered 57, suggesting that 62.0% of the students in the samples were embedded in everyday lives entailing ‘otherness’. This figure perhaps reflected their socio-economic advantages, raised from 47.9% in all questionnaire samples.<sup>29</sup> Whilst there was usually one maid per dwelling, some cases in which two or more servants serving a house could be seen in the samples.

The responses to the question on the kind of occupation of the “head of household” were implicitly expected to be in terms of fathers. Indeed, the 92 questionnaires did not overturn this assumption, revealing that the households of almost all samples were headed by fathers, except a few samples that did not have a male parent or that allow him to be identified. The fathers of the students attending Toyonaka High School were largely engaged in white- and skilled-blue-collar jobs as clerks, teachers, medical professions, bankers, and so on (table 6.2). The largest category of means of

livelihood was not named by occupational speciality, but a “company employee” or “company executive” answered by 37 out of 92 students implied that their fathers were office workers presumably in big firms. The officials came second, heading eight families in the sample households. This means, on the one hand, that nearly half of the heads of the households worked in large-scale business enterprises and public services that originated from industrialisation and the growing modern institutions. If these were regarded as contemporary models of work, the new-old dualism in a type of industry would be set up epistemologically by the responses of seven students whose fathers were involved in the more traditional wholesale trades, on the other. Whichever the source of income disclosed by the questionnaires, these, *per se*, evoked middle-class existence within the houses.

The dwellings in which the sample households lived were also relatively new at that time. Whilst the number of houses built between 1910 and 1919 is just 11, this figure increased dramatically to 81 from 1920 up to 1936. It could be considered that, while socio-economic factors cannot be wholly ignorable, the underlying motivation of the parental guardians to move to a new home was fuelled by their children’s growth and development. Most of their dwellings, except in six cases, had purpose designs, including 56 buildings with interior-corridor plans. The proliferation of this arrangement, seen after the mid-1920s, implied that the Housing Reform Movement, as illustrated in Chapter 3, led steadily to the desirability of family-oriented principles through architecture. A more detailed classification was given by Nishiyama, defining bespoke designs without passages bisecting the interiors (table 6.3). One was of what he recognised as a house with the hallway serving as the hub of all principal rooms (Plan A in table 6.3; see also figure 4.13). 17 samples of relatively small residences consisted of this type of organisation, thereby minimising the communal area for traffic. There were meanwhile 13 houses with arrangements that were seen in houses of the Hankyu’s estates of the 1910s (Plan B in table 6.3; see also figure 4.12). The corridors along one side of a room linked all areas of the building in the same way, framing arrays of living spaces. Spatial extent could also be developed in a vertical direction. Three-quarters of the sample

Table 6.3  
Relationship between floor plans and years when the sample houses were built

Year	Interior- corridor plan	Plan A	Plan B	House without purpose design
1910 - 14	0	1	2	0
1915 - 19	1	2	3	2
1920 - 24	3	3	3	0
1925 - 29	17	5	0	3
1930 - 36	35	6	5	1
Total	56	17	13	6

houses were two-storey buildings, containing mostly two or three rooms on the upper level.

The quality of domestic life can be in part evaluated by illuminating how modern conveniences helped the everyday lives of the families of the responses. Running water was available in 63 dwellings, covering 68.5% of all sample households. They remarkably had a much higher percentage of supplied water systems than the national average, which was approximately 35% before the Second World War.<sup>30</sup> An open flame burning either charcoal or firewood was still widely used for cooking, but the questionnaires also suggested that gas and electricity were at the same time popular as the sources of power in the kitchen (table 6.4). Some electric cooking apparatuses might be installed by technicians of Hankyu's Electricity Store. The secondary energy was in many cases consumed along with the primary one, but the sample dwellings with some cooking apparatus powered by gas in total slightly outnumbered the coal users by 69 to 64 nonetheless.

Caution must be required in reviewing the inventories of fixtures and furniture listed by the students. The reliability of their responses depends heavily on how detailed and precise their statements were. Despite more gas consumers by 20 and over, the descriptions of the "gas appliances" were fairly inconsistent, found in 44 out of 92 samples. These data are, yet, powerful tools to visualise practices in the kitchen, especially of female family members' use of space. 57 questionnaires listed the sinks to which high



Table 6.4  
Energy sources in the kitchens of the sample houses

Energy sources in the kitchens	(N=92)
Gas and (char)coal	38
Gas	15
Gas and electricity	9
Electricity and (char)coal	9
(Char)coal	8
(Char)coal, gas and electricity	7
Electricity	3
Oil + (char)coal	2
Oil	1

school students in Japan today are unlikely to give any special attention. The cupboards and the sideboards expected to encourage efficient use of vertical space for storage of cooking utensils were acknowledged as the most-used items among 44 households. There were at least 7 kitchens, moreover, that contained kitchen tables. These fragments of the panorama of modern amenities no longer evoked the furniture-less kitchen of a ‘traditional’ detached house. If Nishiyama’s “theory of separation” presumed meals in a *tatami* room like the *chanoma*, the modern kitchen was also already so popular among suburban residents that he could omit the old customs of cooking and dining directly on the floor of an old style kitchen.

In general, what the 92 questionnaires illustrate are the domestic lives of the inter-war middle classes in the suburbs which the Hankyu served – relatively better-off families with children attending high schools. The questions concerning households and material possessions consequently expose how specific groups of people in the same income bracket constituted their everyday lives, through exercising their economic power. This lived information, telling much about themselves, like modern statistics, was not subject to further discussion in Nishiyama’s “theory of separation.” That was because his scientific operation of data was devoted to seeking and conceptualising habits of using a space for a particular purpose. A chief limitation of this re-examination stems from the questionnaires *per se*, which

were designed to suit his teleological approach. This means that his questionnaire survey was likely to trim out the less noticed elements of the families and their everyday lives. For example, sexes of members of the household were not necessarily requested to be specified. In the 1936 survey, the students were asked to answer the number of people over 21, 16 to 20, and aged under 15. This echoed his special attention to eating and sleeping ‘in group’, and there was little interest in a behavioural pattern of each member of the family on which I will focus next. Furthermore, the ways in which respondents independently filled in the questionnaire in their houses were uncontrolled and this type of survey presumes integrity and authenticity of the answers. The complete questionnaires can be viewed as the efforts of the 92 students to complete homework given by Nishiyama, but some display the interventions of others in their assignments, for example “husband’s room” rather than ‘father’s room’.<sup>31</sup> Notwithstanding these unverifiable issues caused by the borrowing of his ‘designed’ questionnaires, the 92 samples are arguably adequate to describe the dynamics of modernity echoing the vacillation between public and personal tastes.

## **Space and place**

The designs encompassing most of the sample households were social products which crystallised a middle-class perception of the body, family and human relations. This process had caused an epistemological clash, as discussed in Chapter 3, between the symbolism of feudality giving priority to reception and the “family-oriented” planning governed by the rules of public-private separation and of sanitarily-favourable rooms for individual members of the family. A point of compromise in matters of planning was then sought through journalism serving effectively as a meeting place for the experts in dwelling and middle-class women. Some suggested that a room for reception need not necessarily be situated to the south, conceptually upgraded by an increasing awareness of personal hygiene. One option of a north-facing guest room was a direct response to this proposition; another was to utilise

upstairs rooms whereby social intercourses could be segregated from private activities in ground-floor rooms.

The middle-class importance of hospitality and reception manner was clearly reflected in the questionnaires of the 92 dwellings, which were occupied by *tatami* rooms recognised as spaces for reception. As explained in the opening chapter, a set of traditional furnishings, *tokonoma* and *chigaidana*, was central to the pre-modern guest room called *zashiki*, encoding a process of ceremonial reception in its plain, humble interior. This symbolic décor continued to adorn a number of middle-class houses, and was likely to order politeness and laws of etiquette on occasions of receiving guests. In fact, *tatami* rooms in which callers and visitors were expected to be received were seen in 84 samples, numbering 138 in total. This figure indicates that Japanese rooms prepared for sporadic exchange with others made up one or more areas of the dwelling on average. Any vestige of everyday lives of the families was not found in 73 out of all *tatami* guest rooms, which were expected to be exclusively used for reception and as bedrooms for sojourners. These presumably included a small number of empty rooms customarily called “guest rooms” that were seldom used for any other purpose. According to Nishiyama, some samples of small families had larger houses than the size of their households, containing obviously extra spaces that lost much of their *raison d'être* except as standbys.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps, a roomy, well-finished space with traditional straw-mat flooring like the *zashiki* presumed the image of a solemn atmosphere for reception, and *vice versa*. The Japanese-style guest rooms serving as public or semi-public spaces were comparatively generous, averaging 7.2 *tatamis* in size.

Meanwhile, the questionnaires served Nishiyama's purpose to disclose the time-space management of *tatami*-mat spaces with multi-functionality, suggesting that the idea of practicability was largely part of the knowledge of the sample families. 58 out of 138 guest rooms would be ready to receive callers, but portable bedding turned them into bedrooms for daily use. This flexible operation of spaces recognised as guest rooms was not unrelated to their psychologically preferred situation, affected largely by the modern concept of cleanliness. For the ‘healthy-minded’ middle classes, the locations of the rooms used exclusively or sometimes for reception were mostly *per*

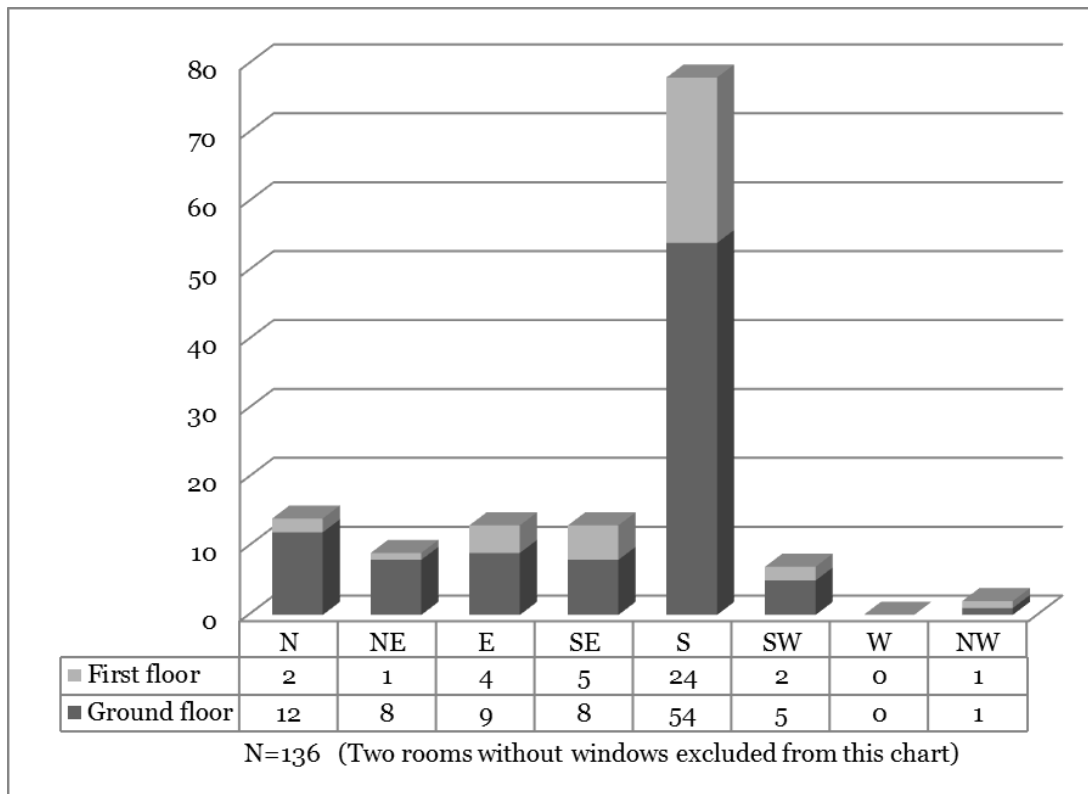


Figure 6.1  
Orientation of *tatami* rooms used for reception

*excellence* in hygienic terms. Many of them faced the southeast, south and southwest, accounting for over 70% of all guest rooms of the samples (figure 6.1). This was ascribed partly to the design influence of an orthodox detached house which placed a chief, commodious room like the *zashiki* on the sunny side along the garden. It allowed middle-class dwellers with a ‘modern’ perception of space not only to receive guests but also to get up in the morning with the benefit of sunshine in the southeast- and south-facing rooms. In accordance with the popular advice on the interior, isolation from the ground floor was also effectively employed in the sample houses for socialising. The total number of first-floor guest rooms was 39 among the samples, including 24 south-facing spaces with *tatamis*. The use of the upstairs fulfilled the middle-class needs not only for the access to a good view but also for the separation of public and private spheres.

The “dual-mode life” illustrated in Chapter 1 and implicit hierarchy embedded in the reception manners led to the proliferation of the unique invention of the period: the Western-style parlour. In sustaining a close association with *tatami* in domestic life, this floored space with a table,

chairs and sofa, usually situated along the entrance, allowed callers with Western-style garments to come in without any reluctance caused by the habit of sitting on the floor. The combined use of *tatami*-mat room and parlour for reception was seen in 47 households, allowing them to cope with both respect for the social norms of courtesy and hospitality and the protection of privacy. In their dwellings, a degree of intimacy in the images of space varied by the kind of flooring materials determining how to use the different type of guest rooms for various occasions, as Chapter 3 argues. A short visit and business meeting were commonly dealt with in the parlour containing furniture derived from a Western material culture as public institutions did. Hosts were apt to let their close friends and relatives into the guest rooms with *tatami* for casual gatherings and at-home involving meals and drink. 14 responses reveal another use for the parlour, suggesting that it also served as a sitting room, father's room, study room for children and library. If the everyday entailed Occidental modes of life, this heterogeneous space, as the inventory data of the questionnaires implied, would comprise an array of exotic furniture designed for them.

Nishiyama's inquiry deduced the 'hidden' patterns of the use of spaces for sleeping from the questionnaires. His "theory of separation" presumed the custom of sleeping in group, which allowed the families to create rooms exclusively for meals.<sup>33</sup> For example, the archetype of this behavioural characteristic was seen in the ways that the family of a student commuting from Amagasaki settled themselves in their six-room house (figure 6.2; see also Plan 16-862 of Appendix).<sup>34</sup> Headed by a father engaged in the construction industry, his family comprised six people in all. Their gender is not specified, but this sample included four adults over 21 years old, one youth aged 16 to 20 and another under 15. There was no live-in maid serving them. In the questionnaire, he illustrated the two-storey building with a typical interior-corridor plan, showing that the six-*tatami* room with the *engawa* on the south front of the ground floor was named "living room" amongst the members of his family. His answer indicated the existence of a habitual custodian of this hygienically advantageous spot with its view of the garden: his mother. The "living room" was perhaps viewed as a mother's domain during the day, allowing her to intensively handle a range of

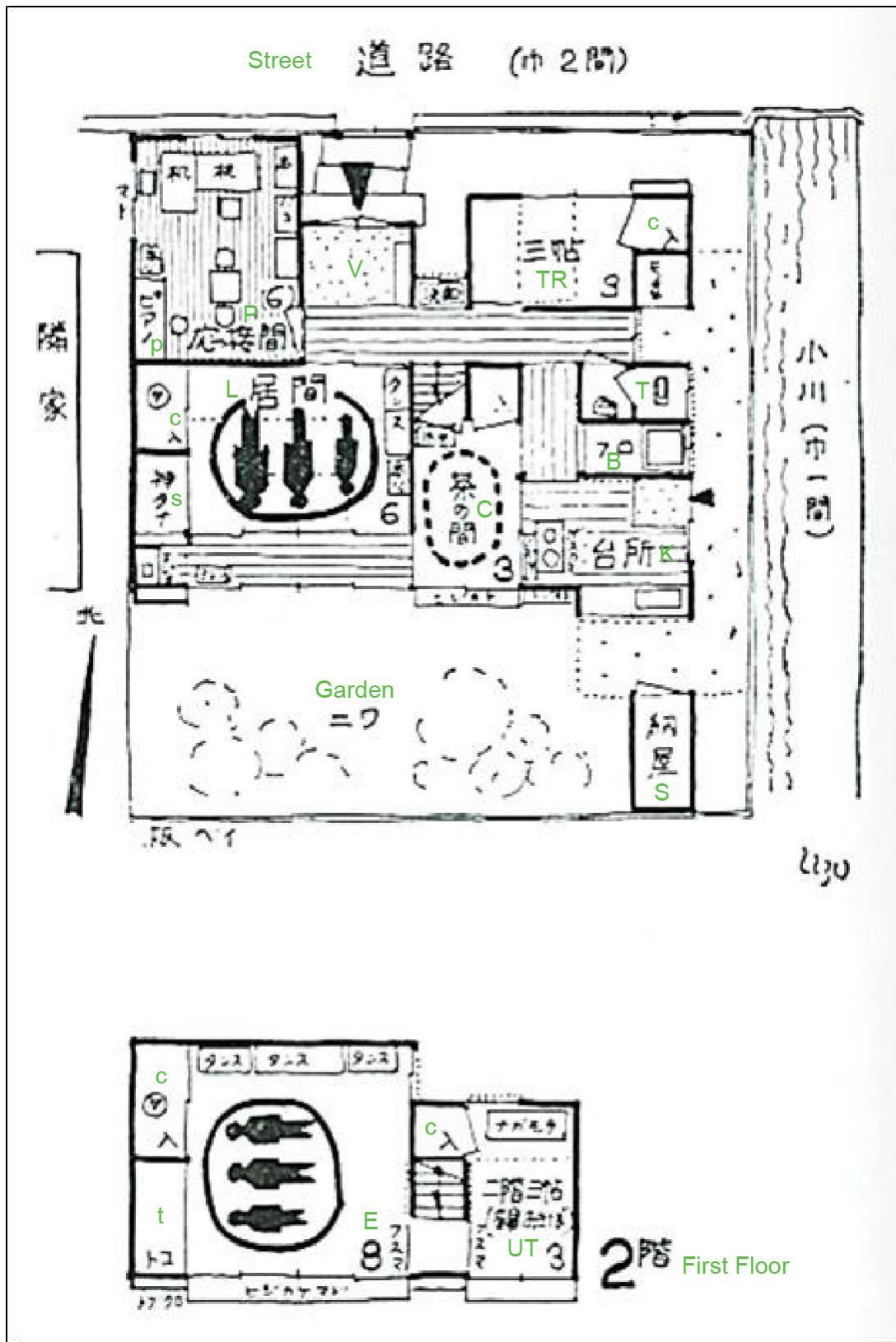


Figure 6.2  
 Nishiyama's sketch of the floor plan of a sample house (Ref. number 16-862) (B: bathroom; C: *chanoma*; E: eight-*tatami* room; K: kitchen; L: living room; P: parlour; S: shed; T: toilet; TR: three-*tatami* room; UT: upstairs three-*tatami* room; V: entrance; c: closet; p: piano; s: Shinto altar; t: *tokonoma*) (Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 170) Nishiyama Memorial Library, Kizugawa

housework. At mealtimes all members of his family seem to have been brought together and had meals in the next room, the *chanoma*. The adjoining kitchen illustrated by him was no longer designed to suit dining, consisting of a boarded floor with the sink and tiny earthen space as access to the backdoor. The “living room” was turned into a bedroom for three of them after dinner, whilst the other three went upstairs and spread bedding in the eight-*tatami* room with *tokonoma* occasionally used for reception. In this servantless household, the three-*tatami* room in the north could be available for the family to sleep, but it served as a mere lumber room in practice.

Another example of a Toyonaka house displayed more detail in the relationship between eating and sleeping habits, space and members of the family (figure 6.3; see also Plan 11-149 of Appendix).<sup>35</sup> The respondent was one of seven children between his father, a “company employee” and mother. By Nishiyama’s classification, his two-storey house with seven rooms of 30.5 *tatamis* was categorised as a type characterised by an entrance hall serving as a hub of principal spaces. One of them was the *zashiki* occupying an area of six *tatamis* along the garden. In a view held by his family, this uppermost part of their domicile with *tokonoma* and *chigaidana* was expected to be reserved solely for visitors. The south front housed both this quiet, unfrequented space and the lively four-and-half *tatami* room named the “living room” where his mother managed all domestic chores of this servantless family. Two chairs and table drawn in the *engawa* along the “living room” suggested that, for this family, the sunny, boarded area, enclosed by glass doors, served not only as a path to the toilet, but also as part of ‘living’ spaces. The kitchen of his house had a relatively large earthen space connected with the adjoining bathroom, designed to accommodate running water and charcoals for heating the bath. A raised, planked floor in the kitchen was equivalent to three *tatami* in size, but the ways in which his mother used this space are not disclosed. Nevertheless, his family did not acknowledge it as a dining area as his response indicates that, on opening the connecting sliding doors, his mother served food to the father and children waiting in the *chanoma*. After dinner the father, mother and youngest child occupied the “living room” with a walk-in closet for stowing bedding to sleep, leaving the use of the upstairs to the other six in the night. There, the two rooms

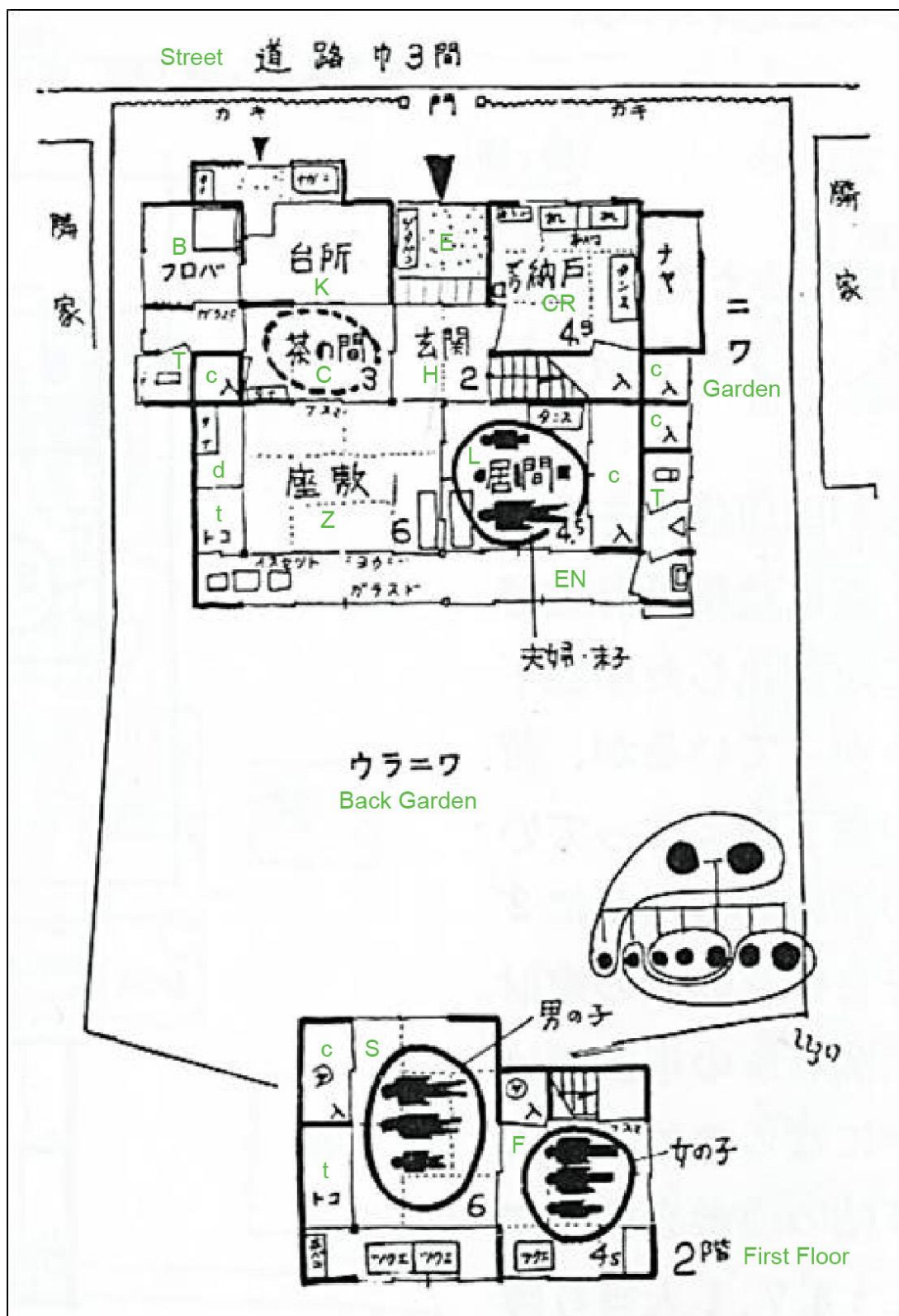


Figure 6.3  
 Nishiyama's sketch of the floor plan of a sample house (Ref. number 11-149) (B: bathroom; C: *chanoma*; CR: closet room; E: entrance; EN: *engawa*; F: four-and-half *tatami* room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: living room; S: six-*tatami* room; T: toilet; Z: *zashiki*; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 170) Nishiyama Memorial Library, Kizugawa



available on the first floor were segregated by gender with bedding sets in the six *tatami* room (used sporadically for reception) making a bedroom for three boys, and the girls' sleeping in the other four-and-half *tatami* room.

Nishiyama's survey evidences the universal practice of sleeping in group and is definitive proof for the assumption in the various advice articles concerning how to make rooms for younger numbers of the family. As the previous chapters discuss, an increasing awareness of individuality as well as 'childhood' had something to do with the search physically for children's *places* that fostered a sense of independence within the house. The "family-oriented" principles that presumed children as individuals suggested that south-facing rooms be given to them for the sake of 'healthier' development of their bodies and minds. For both the Amagasaki and Toyonaka respondents, the need for parental supervision determined the use of rooms adjoining adults' areas of activities like the "living room", but the inherent physical fitness of youngsters also enabled experts in dwelling to propose the use of upstairs rooms for children.

The fact that the questionnaires reviewed here targeted comparatively better-off families with high school students might lead to an overestimate of children's *places* must be underlined here. This potential bias notwithstanding, it could be perceived that, among the sample households, priority was given to the social demand to make an appropriate childhood as well as to the needs of the children. 84 out of 92 responses contained clear descriptions of spaces reserved for younger members of the families or used for several purposes involving their activities. The children's arenas of activities took over 149 rooms in total, outnumbering ones recognised as "guest rooms" among the surveyed families.

A space exclusively used by younger members of the family like a nursery was often referred to as a "study room" by early-century commentators, implying that spaces dedicated to the pedagogical process of *kyōiku* were distinct from the rooms that children bedded down in. In the survey there were 53 bedrooms identified that served youngsters more extensively as their own territories for studying and playing; but there was also adherence to the rule of separation with rooms used as "study rooms" by students numbering 74 out of 149, and 22 occupied or shared spaces that

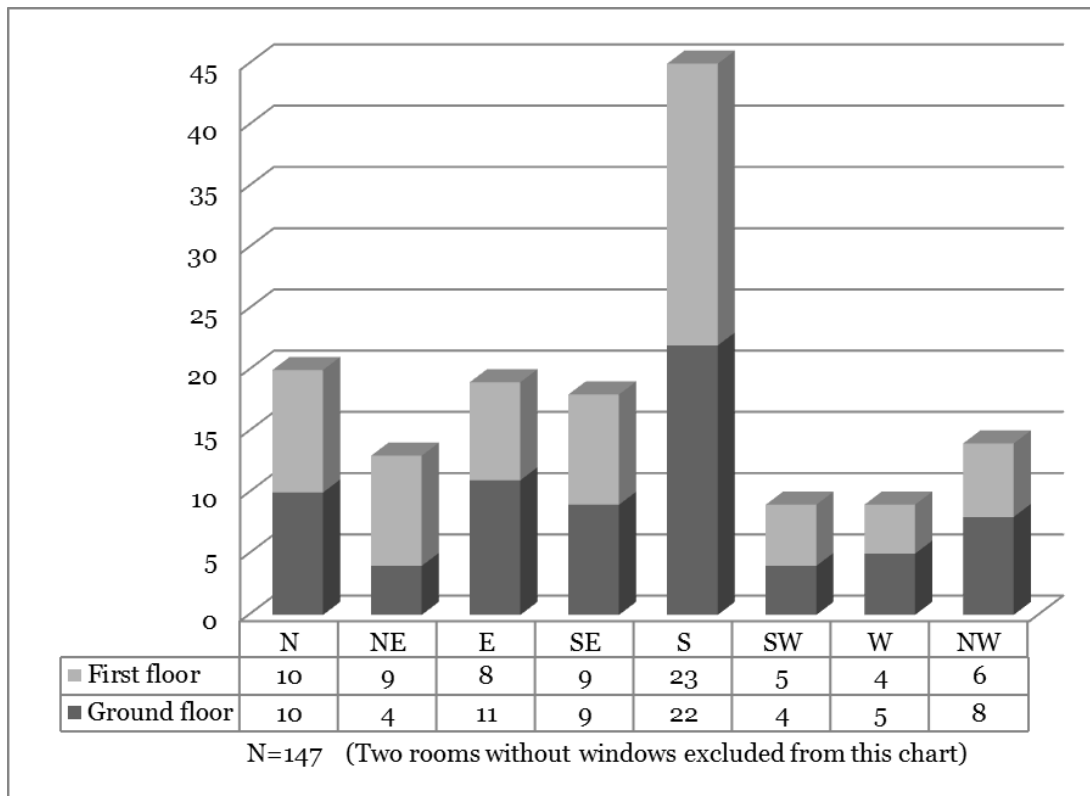


Figure 6.4  
Orientation of rooms used for children's activities

were expected to encompass all their activities except sleeping. These were not intended or designed to be converted into their bedrooms and they accordingly moved to other rooms for sleeping during the night.

Following the instructions of personal hygiene, their parents tended to allow them to inhabit the brightest and best appointed spaces in their dwellings. About 30% of all children's *places* were south-facing, and the number of rooms oriented to catch east and west light reached 100 (figure 6.4). The questionnaires also show that children's domains extended equally over the ground and first floors. The ground-floor rooms in which youngsters studied and played numbered 73 (excluding 2 without windows); the other 74 located upstairs, presumably enabled them to withdraw and escape from the world of adults.

The questionnaire completed by a student living in Toyonaka indicates that the shaping of children's *places* was embedded in the search for a clear-cut distinction between spaces for daytime activities and for sleeping (figure 6.5; see also Plan 11-141 of Appendix).<sup>36</sup> The dwelling illustrated by him was erected in the Hankyu's estate, and had housed the five-member family since

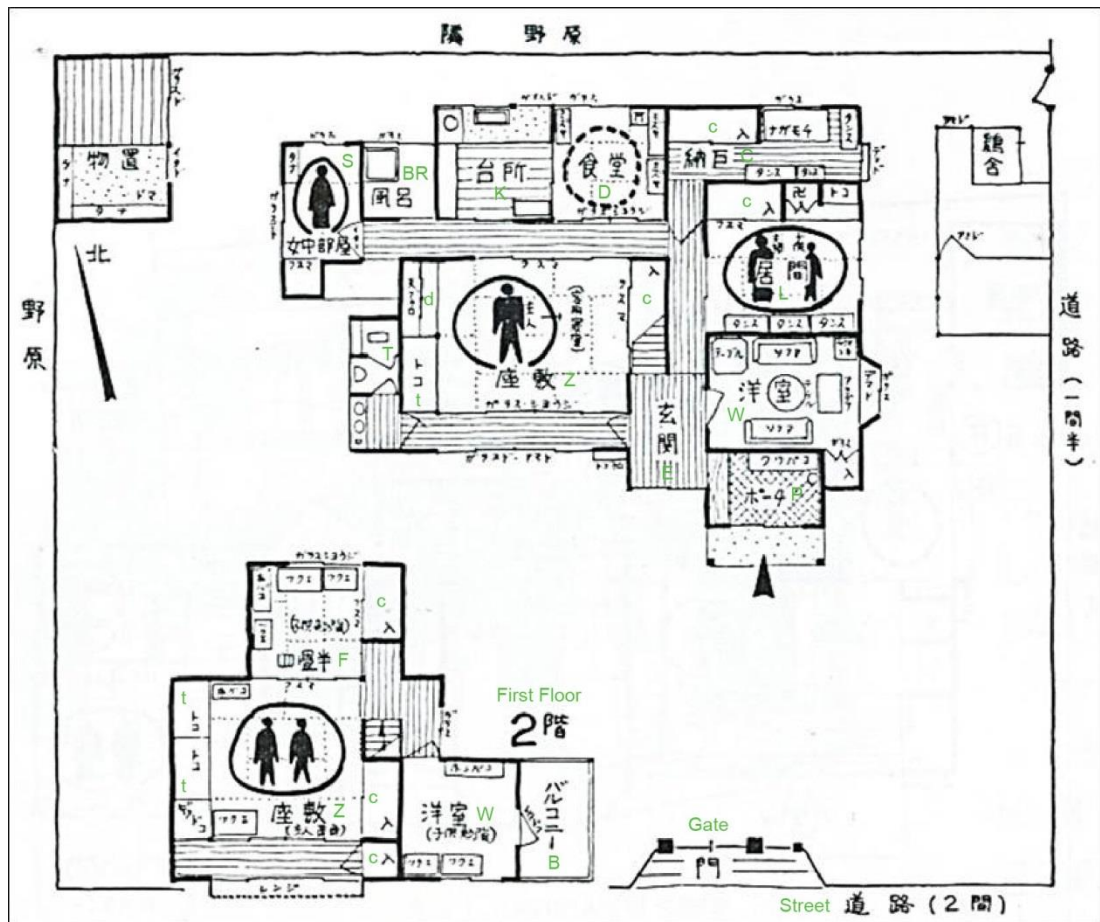


Figure 6.5  
 Nishiyama's sketch of the floor plan of a sample house (Ref. number 11-141) (B: balcony; BR: bathroom; C: closet room; D: dining room; E: entrance hall; F: four-and-half *tatami* room; K: kitchen; L: living room; P: porch; S: servants' room; T: toilet; W: Western room; Z: *zashiki*; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 168) Nishiyama Memorial Library, Kizugawa

1934. His father was a court clerk and owner of this eight-room residence with an interior-corridor plan of 46.5 *tatamis*. The daily routine of this official's family were entirely regulated and compartmentalised as the domestic arrangement of the ground floor implied. The dining room adjoining the kitchen was the only place to bring all members ranged over the house together, assuming that any activities were not omitted in his statement. Whilst the *zashiki* of the first floor served practically as the father's library, his mother settled her every day as a housewife in the downstairs room named "living room." Three children studied upstairs in two rooms, both of which were four-and-half *tatamis* in size and next to the library. One was a south-facing, boarded space used exclusively for their learning, containing two desks along the window. The other was a *tatami*

space Japanese-style study room, interconnected with the library and equipped with desks and bookcases, and which had an occasional role in lodging guests. The father was likely to give parental attention to the children studying there through paper screens dividing their *place* from the library. He did not continue to use the library at night, however. The downstairs *zashiki*, unoccupied in the daytime instead became his bedroom as head of the household. The mother meanwhile stayed in her own “living room” and slept with the youngest child in group. Finally the respondent and his brother or sister relocated their *places* from the “study rooms” to the library, laying out their bedding in the latter.

High-school-age children of even the middle-class families were not necessarily allocated particular spaces in which they were intended to remain all day. Some of their houses would have no room referred to and acknowledged as a “study room,” nevertheless it is assumed that they, like a student attending Toyonaka High School from Nishinomiya, effectively secured their *places* by ‘purloining’ time from the built spaces (figure 6.6; see also Plan 12-335 of Appendix).<sup>37</sup> He was a son of an Osaka ironmonger, living in a two-storey house whose living space was 39 *tatamis* in total. With his grandmother, parents and two siblings, he was settled in this seven-room house, ordered functionally by interior corridors. Normally his family used the downstairs as the private sphere, letting visitors into the guest room on the first floor. If all rooms acted as their names suggested, this house would have completely lost anywhere for younger members of the family to create a sense of identity. His response to the questionnaire revealed, however, that the grandmother allowed the children to stay in her four-and-half *tatami* room to study after school. Amongst his family, the term “living room” was described more traditionally, evoked a more formal space with a view of the garden from it through the glass doors screening the *engawa*-like passage. His description on how to use domestic spaces did not connote any element of femininity in this eight-*tatami* room along the south front. His mother’s domain, unlike the “living room” of the court clerk’s house, was instead seen in the *chanoma*, which was then transformed into a dining room at mealtimes. His mother dealt with housework here in the day, and went upstairs after dinner with the father and youngest child. The father perhaps

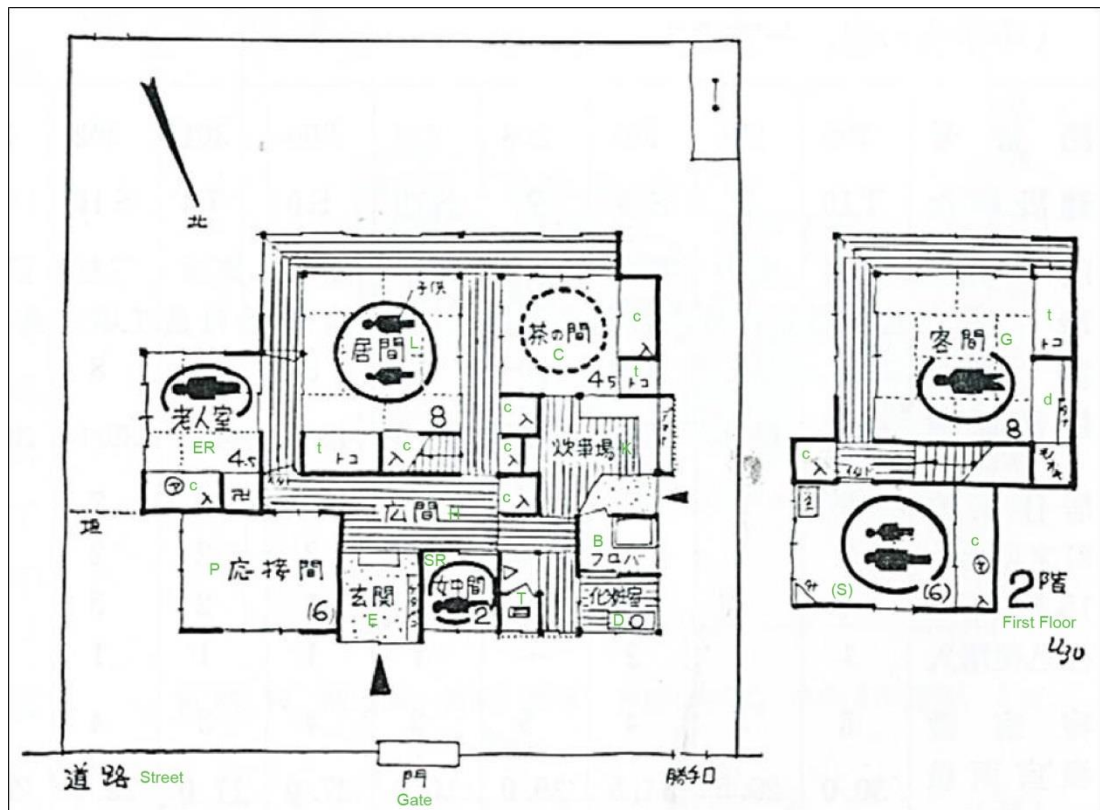


Figure 6.6  
 Nishiyama's sketch of the floor plan of a sample house (Ref. number 12-335) (B: bathroom; C: *chanoma*; D: dressing room; E: entrance; ER: elderly's room; G: guest room; H: hall; K: kitchen; L: living room; P: parlour; S: six-*tatami* room; SR: servant's room; T: toilet; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 169) Nishiyama Memorial Library, Kizugawa

occupied the spacious guest room for sleeping, as he carried his bedding from the closet of the next room where the mother and child slept in group, while the grandmother slept in her room, and the other two moved to the "living room" only in occasional use to receive callers during the day. In this case, the "living room" was not of the mother or any adult members of the family but of the youngsters for sleeping at night.

This compartmentalised, as well as, family-oriented ethos that was increasingly perceived as being 'modern' aroused a new feeling: privacy. As the intimacy of kinship bands was reinforced in line with the Romanticised conception of 'home', the gulf between members of the family and 'others'; between the private and public became considerably larger. The relatively higher income level of the sample households allowed them to enjoy spaciousness and comfort of their roomy houses, but this still led to a secondary issue on how to live with servants under the same roof. As

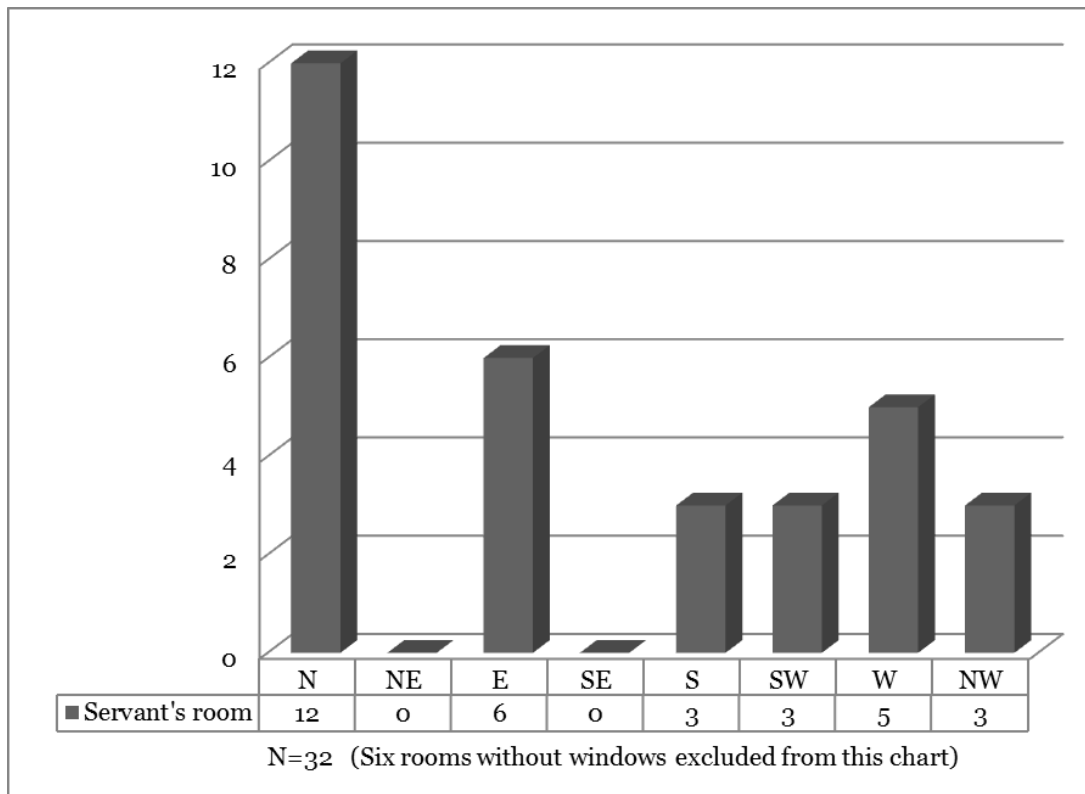


Figure 6.7  
Orientation of servants' rooms

previously discussed, 57 out of 92 families hired live-in maids devoted to domestic affairs with the mothers of the students. The “servant issue” was indeed a practical problem inherent to middle-class lives in this period.

Again, the rule of separation was the most prevailing way for harmonious coexistence with domestic staff. As Chapter 3 illustrates, the role played by passages bisecting domestic spaces of the house of an interior-corridor plan was to divide areas exclusively for everyday lives of members of the family from the semi-public arenas including the kitchen, parlour and servant's room. The questionnaires show that, in 57 samples with live-in maids, 38 of these had a maid's room averaging three *tatami* in size. In contrast to the family's *places*, their spaces were often in obscurity without the benefit of sunlight. North-facing rooms accounted for nearly one third of all servants' quarters, and a further 13 chambers faced southwest, west and northwest (figure 6.7). These orientations were unpopular with members of the families, and there were even six windowless rooms for maids. This implies that the group polarisation of *places* served to reduce the overlap between domains of the family and of servant(s) within the house.

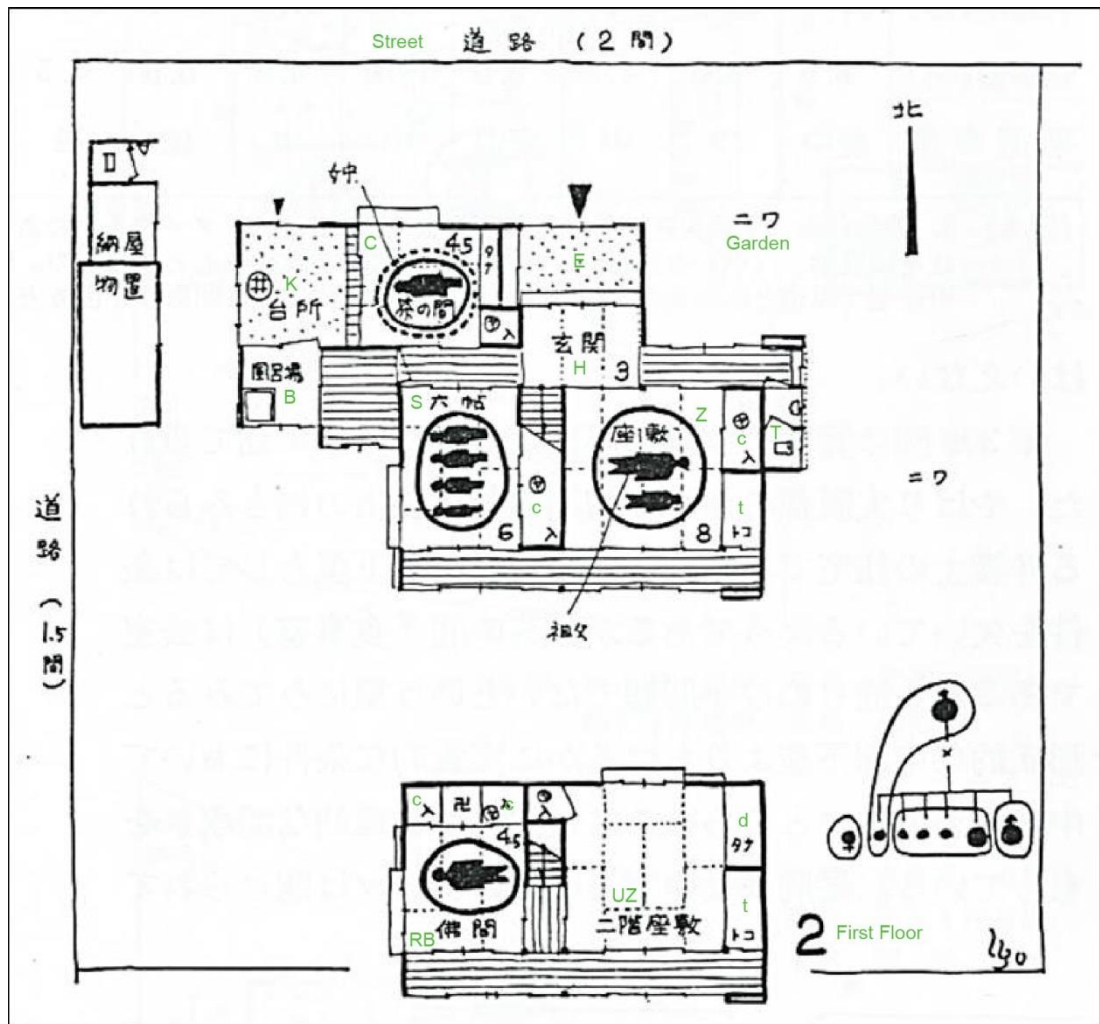


Figure 6.8  
 Nishiyama's sketch of the floor plan of a sample house (Ref. number 12-395) (B: bathroom; C: *chanoma*; E: entrance; H: hall; K: kitchen; RB: room with a Buddhist altar; S: six-*tatami* room; T: toilet; UZ: upstairs *zashiki*; Z: *zashiki*; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 169) Nishiyama Memorial Library, Kizugawa

Such differentiation of space was partly ascribed to the purpose designs of the sample houses as a result of modern 'planning', but the imagery of home involving narratives of domestic life was likely to affect the middle-classes' view of servants' *places*. For example, the dwelling of one respondent did not have a space that could be physically identified as a servants' room (figure 6.8; see also Plan 12-395 of Appendix).<sup>38</sup> He was a neighbour of the previous respondent whose father was a "company employee," and their houses had a very similar layout with a *tatami* entrance hall linking a doorway to all principal rooms. His family without both parents was headed by his grandfather, hiring a live-in maid to manage a household

including six grandchildren. At meals much activity was presumably seen in an axis of the kitchen and *chanoma* on the north front. The design of the cooking area of this house, built in 1920, was not of a 'modern' kitchen, rather of a scullery which came with an earthen floor at a lower level to the *tatami* floored spaces. But running water and gas were available, making the maid's work to prepare food for the six grandchildren manageable and efficient. There was a space labelled "six-*tatami* room" on the opposite side of the corridor from the *chanoma*, and the respondent described it as a "living room", perhaps *of* the grandchildren. Whilst this room became a bedroom for four of them, the grandfather occupied the room next door and slept with the youngest grandchild. The guest room on the first floor was usually vacant, but the other six *tatamis* serving as the library was used by the oldest grandchild as a bedroom. If a bedroom for the maid were selected based on Nishiyama's "theory of separation" of eating and sleeping, it should have been the untenanted guest room. However, she closed paper screens dividing the *chanoma* from the kitchen and spread bedding in the dining space after dinner. Privacy between the family and 'other' was maintained in this way. This sample was perhaps regarded as exceptional in Nishiyama's scientific and teleological analysis which aimed to identify a new disposition to spatial separation according to purpose.

Whatever the name, "*chanoma*" or "dining room," a space for dining was situated close to the kitchen in the five cases previously revisited. Being embedded in the custom of sleeping in group, the families used any or all of the *tatami* spaces recognised as guest room, *zashiki* and living room as bedrooms. With reference to the contemporary practices in planning, architectural historians have argued that the designs of middle-class houses in this period did not enable each member of the family to have an exclusive space. In their view, only the maid tended to enjoy individual privacy in a servant's quarter.<sup>39</sup> There is hardly any difference between the assumption in their discussion and Nishiyama's belief that the individual use of space should be much enhanced in designing a house. But, as this re-examination shows, the families of respondents of his questionnaires mostly took advantage of south-facing rooms for sleeping, and created children's *places* through the time-space management of their daily rounds. It could be said



that this was the appearance of their ‘modern’ attitudes towards the body and space, and of their ‘modern’ aesthetic sensitivity encapsulating the amalgam of domestic hygiene and the Romanticised vision of ‘home’. Meanwhile, Nishiyama referred to the variety of manners in which a room was called, for example “*chanoma*,” “dining room” and “living room” which conveyed different nuances and messages to the family. This diversity *per se* was evidence that uses of rooms had been ‘selective’ for the middle-class residents. The surveyed families endeavoured to turn their houses into their ‘homes’ through appropriating and naming domestic spaces.

### **Leisurised home? – its materiality and *shumi***

Emotional satisfaction was pivotal in modern family relations, replacing an economic incentive that used to unite members of the household in a pre-industrial society. As discussed in Chapter 2 and 3, the *raison d’etre* of this subtle family institution was conceptually found within the image of ‘home’. In a view generally held by the elites and middle-class women, the *chanoma* was an initial space for domesticating leisure and was central to family gatherings through meals, postprandial chatting, and so on. A number of demands for an exclusive room that allowed a housewife to pursue domestic chores without interruption were expressed by home economists, but spatial constraints of the middle-class dwelling added another role as a lady’s *place* to the *chanoma* in many cases. The design of an interior-corridor plan was expected to facilitate mother’s surveillance of children and servant, linking this sitting-dining room with the kitchen, living room and servant room. In other words, the two underlying structures behind purpose designs of houses in this period were ambivalent. They were intended to protect and encircle leisure experiences on the one hand; to be panoptic for power distribution as part of body politics, on the other.

52 out of 92 sample households had rooms called *chanoma*, and most of them were equipped with cupboards for tea utensils. This means that such basic amenities necessary for the company of family were uniformly set up in line with the elites’ advice on the amenities of *chanoma*. However, the

Table 6.5  
Relationship between the function of *chanoma* and its orientation

<i>Chanoma</i> used as	Orientation									Total	Average floor space ( <i>tatamis</i> )
	N	NE	E	SE	S	SW	W	NW	Rooms without windows		
Dining room	6	0	1	0	5	0	1	1	5	19	4.4
Dining room and space for housework	6	2	1	3	6	1	1	0	1	21	4.9
Living room (for unspecified purposes)	4	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	7	5.8
Space for housework	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	5	6.1
Total	16	2	3	4	15	2	3	1	6	52	
Average floor space ( <i>tatamis</i> )	5.0	6.0	5.0	4.6	5.3	5.3	5.0	3.0	4.0		

students' answers on how to use the *chanoma* imply a distinction between a space for dining and for leisure. To 40 students, the *chanoma* was for meals and domestic chores conducted by their mothers and servants. The term “*chanoma*” perhaps conveyed a different message among the other 12 families, indicating that it served entirely as an area for housekeeping or as a space whose function was simply answered with a “living room” for unspecified purposes. They instead had dinner in the dining rooms separated physically from the *chanoma*. It is considered that spatial conditions of a room adjoining the kitchen determined how the *chanoma* would be (table 6.5). The floor space of the *chanoma* used as dining rooms were four and half *tatamis* on average, and more than half of them faced the northwest, north and northeast, or were wholly enclosed by other rooms. Among the latter samples except four cases of north-facing rooms, the *chanoma* was generally six *tatami* and brightly lit rooms on the sunny side of the house, from which meals were excluded.

In addition to this, a close association with the apparently ambiguous, multi-functional space – “living room” – was seen in 33 out of the 52 samples with a *chanoma* (table 6.6). Over 70% of the houses which recognised rooms in the north or without windows as *chanoma* had the south-facing “living room” close to it. By contrast, the percentage of the dwellings with “living rooms” was less than 50% in the cases containing the *chanoma* along the

Table 6.6  
Close association of the *chanoma* with “living room”

Orientation of <i>chanoma</i>	Orientation of adjacent living rooms				Percentage of <i>chanoma</i> with adjacent living rooms (%)	Average floor space of adjacent living rooms ( <i>tatamis</i> )
	N	E	S	W		
NW-N-NE	3	0	11	0	73.7	6.4
E	0	0	1	0	33.3	6.0
SE-S-SW	4	1	4	1	47.6	6.1
W	1	0	2	0	100.0	5.0
<i>Rooms without windows</i>	3	0	2	0	83.3	6.3

southeast, south and southwest fronts. In all samples, the “living room” tended to be more spacious than the *chanoma*, consisting of 5-6 *tatami* mats. If the *chanoma* was a narrow, bleak space merely for meals and housework, the “living room” adjacent to it would serve as a sphere where members of the family spent much time on relaxing, chatting and so on. In other words, the *chanoma* in the respondents’ words presumed two contrasting images of practical uses of the *tatami* interiors, which were intricately intertwined according to conditions of the designed spaces. One was a bit narrow, sombre but lively space as a junction of daily routines of the whole family particularly for dining; another was a more extensive and bright room, free from restlessness at mealtimes in a separate dining room where the mothers and maids were setting the table and serving food. Whichever the name: *chanoma* or “living room,” a *place* for family’s enjoyment was mostly in the south.

It is possible to consider that the middle-class families were apt to turn larger and brighter rooms into ‘leisurised’ spaces within their ‘homes’. The day-to-day experience of a respondent commuting from Minō comprised regular meals in the *chanoma* serving chiefly as a dining area (figure 6.9; see also Plan 12-432 of Appendix).<sup>40</sup> His six-room house was built about 20 years earlier, and a hallway central to its 30-*tatami* interior made all rooms

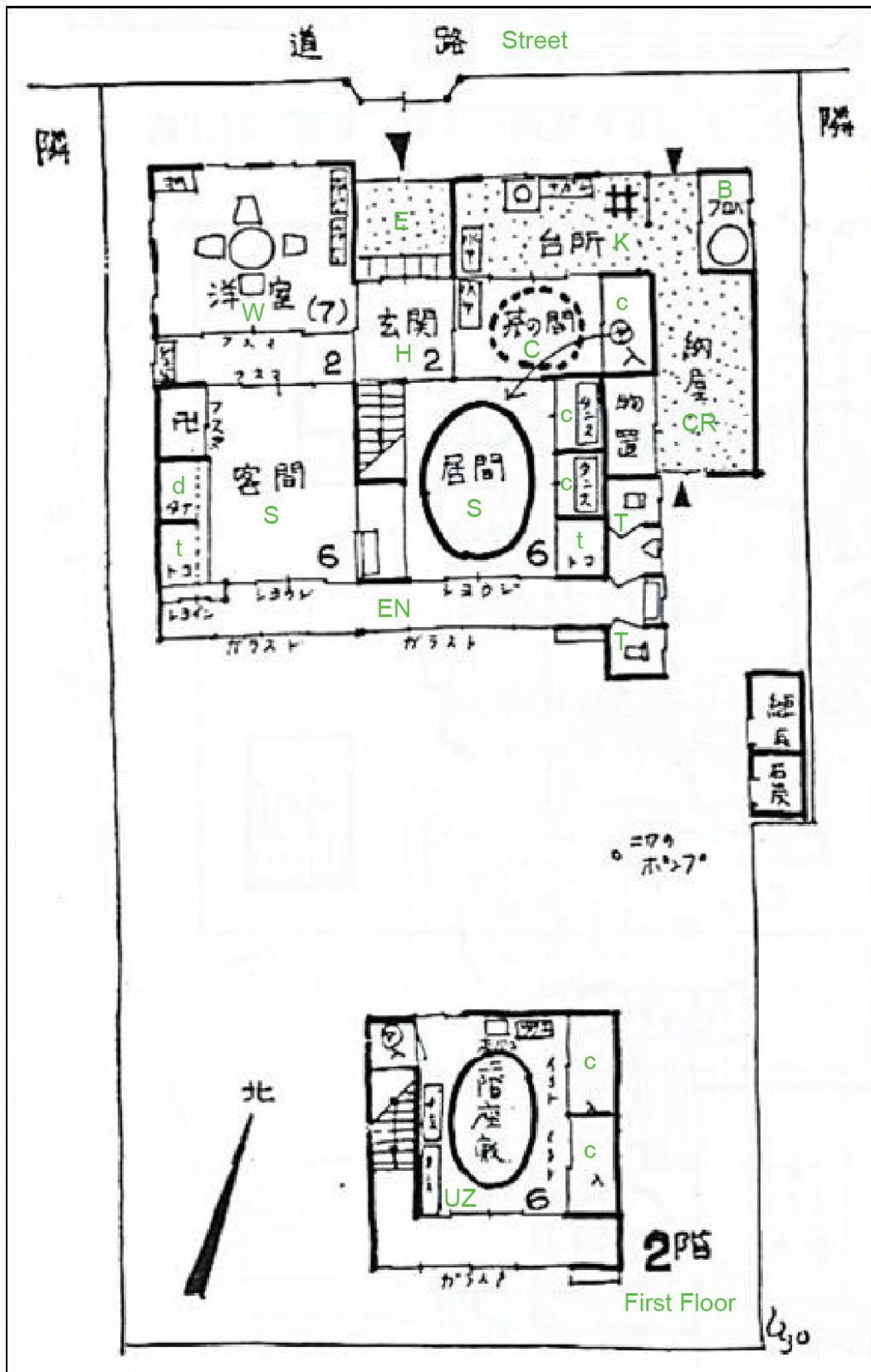


Figure 6.9  
 Nishiyama's sketch of the floor plan of a sample house (Ref. number 12-432) (B: bathroom; C: *chanoma*; CR: closet room; E: entrance; EN: *engawa*; H: hall; K: kitchen; S: *six-tatami* room; T: toilet; UZ: *Upstairs zashiki*; W: *Western room*; c: closet; d: *chigaidana*; t: *tokonoma*) (Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai* 2, 170)  
 Nishiyama Memorial Library, Kizugawa

distinct and explicitly divided. The three-*tatami* room directly accessible from the hall was acknowledged as “*chanoma*” amongst six people of his family, without windows, surrounded by the kitchen interconnected with a large space for bath and storage and “living room.” This spacious kitchen was outdated, dirt-floored, and perhaps lower than the *chanoma*. His mother used the sink and gas cooker along the north-facing window, but running water was not available in the cooking area. Water was instead pumped up from a well built next to the sink, and the children of this servantless family presumably helped their mother to fill a bathtub over a small partition with a bucket. The interconnected space named “closet room” stored charcoals and firewood for heating the bath. As sliding doors were opened by the mother cooking in the kitchen, dishes were in turn served to the whole family waiting in the *chanoma*. A lively atmosphere was a general character of this enclosed space, but it could be seen only three times per day. After meals the company of family moved to the “living room” from the crowded, stuffy *chanoma*. Both of them were easily accessible, divided effectively by a paper screen. This change of position meant a passage to the south front, and the inventory data described by him suggests that the “living room” contained a radio and brazier as the means to make a ‘happy family circle’.

As argued in the foregoing chapter, such a way to appropriate domestic spaces for a family’s own amusement seem to have prevailed, and was recognised by Hankyu’s architects. In Plan 280, Kihōin’s work, a four-and-half *tatami* room along the kitchen was hoped to be used as the *chanoma* (see figure 5.18). He labelled an adjoining six-*tatami* room on the south front as a “living room,” creating a door whereby residents went down seamlessly to the sunny side of the house from the *chanoma*. In his view, this southward mobility was fuelled by the pursuit for leisure and pleasure, and reached the *engawa*, and perhaps beyond. The strategic alignment of the *chanoma* and “living room” was also seen in the Dōjyunkai houses. Indeed, Kihōin’s work was a direct response to the middle-class *shumi* which linked ‘leisurised’ *place* with a bright, spacious *tatami* room.

But, the interaction between the appropriation and materiality of space was more complex. As argued in Chapter 2, a musical experience was highly recommended by the aesthetic reformers who attempted to refine

Table 6.7  
Items for musical experiences

Rooms for	Radio	Gramophone	Piano/organ
Meals	7	0	0
Meals and housework	5	0	0
Housework	1	1	1
Activities of unspecified members of the family except meals	11	2	2
Individual activities of child(ren)/elderly/servant(s)	2	3	3
Reception	7	13	8
Reception and activities of members of the family	2	2	2
Reception and meals	1	1	0
Traffic	0	0	1
Total (in 45 households)	36	22	17

popular *shumi* (taste), and viewed as *shumi* (recreation) whereby appropriate taste was internalised. The reliability of the inventories of the questionnaires depends to a large degree on how scrupulous respondents described their houses. It could be nevertheless thought that many families of the samples followed the instructions of the cultural elites to enjoy the domesticated forms of music. At least 45 students in 92 samples listed up the radio, the gramophone and keyboard musical instruments including the piano and the organ (table 6.7). The total number of the radios was 36 in all their houses, and rooms used for meals and housework were the most popular spots to listen to the wireless. 11 radios were not placed in dining areas, but in rooms for activities of unspecified members of the family. Such a ‘magical’ apparatus for delivering sound messages turned dining and living rooms into ‘leisurised’ spaces.

By contrast, only a few gramophones, pianos and organs made up the families' domains. Instead, the Japanese- and Western-style guest rooms with more 'public' qualities housed these items, albeit ideally used for family gatherings. For example, the house of the Amagasaki respondent had a Western-style parlour with piano, and the gramophone added exotic flavour to a boarded room for reception called the "Western room" amongst the family of the court clerk in Toyonaka. The piano and organ might be preferably situated in the planked parlour because a *tatami* room presumed furniture to be put away after use. Neither of the students, however, described roles played by the rooms where music was available as spaces for accomplishments and amusement. Their function was recognised as merely reception, and the Amagasaki respondent additionally used the parlour for studying.

Most of the gramophones, the pianos and the organs were apparently accessories enlivening the mood of social interaction. These expensive items were likely to serve effectively as the public definition of material possessions in spaces designed and furnished for contact with others. If any members of the family were not allowed to access guest rooms without restriction, the music player and keyboard musical instruments, purchased for 'leisurising' the everyday, would have lost much of their *raison d'etre*. Obviously, Nishiyama's questionnaires were not designed to reveal how frequently the surveyed families listened to music by the gramophones; how often they played the pianos and organs; how common an occasion of at-home with amateurish entertainment was. Without such information, the reason why the items for music were excluded from private spheres is not clearly answered. This somewhat echoes the cultural climate of middle-classness in this period, indicating that domesticated forms of music were less commonly recognised as means whereby the whole family enjoyed harmony and togetherness, as it was implied in Chapter 2.

But, I consider that the students' responses about guest rooms *per se* were the *literally* public definition of ways in which they used and appropriated the public domains of their homes. "They could hear the piano downstairs."<sup>41</sup> Sachiko, Yukiko and Taeko, *The Makioka Sisters* of Tanizaki, were proud of their middle-class status in the inter-war years. They settled

their lives in a two-storey house erected in suburbia accessible from both Osaka and Kobe by Hankyu. Its ground floor had boarded rooms, suitable for reception, with a hearth like one in the parlour of Plan 45 of the Hankyu previously illustrated (see figure 5.12). “Yukiko had finished dressing early, and young Etsuko always wanted someone beside her when she practiced.”<sup>42</sup> Etsuko, a daughter of Sachiko, enjoyed playing the piano to Yukiko, a family audience. The downstairs was in practice Etsuko’s playroom, but temporary. This novel gave a snapshot of a reversal of her unofficial leisure experiences and official, intrinsic role played by a space designed for reception:

The house was for the most part Japanese, the only Western-style rooms being this parlor and the dining room that opened from it. The family received guests in the parlor and spent the better part of the day there. The piano, the radio, and the phonograph were all in the parlor, and during the winter, since only the parlor was heated, it was more than ever the center of the house. This liveliest of rooms attached Etsuko. Unless she was ill or turned out by guests, she virtually lived there. Her room upstairs, though matted in the Japanese fashion, had Western furnishings and was meant to be her study; but she preferred to study and play in the parlor, which was always a clutter of toys and books and pencils. Everyone dashed about picking thing up when there was an unexpected caller.<sup>43</sup>

Narratives of the everyday fossilised in the Nishiyama’s questionnaires are snippets of scenes of domestic lives in the same socio-economic group: the middle classes, which were still culturally diverse. The 92 samples which this final chapter revisits are comparatively better-to-do, showing that the families of the respondents enjoyed a richness enhanced by various modern amenities in the suburbs of Osaka. The subjective experiences revived through the re-examination of these samples suggest that, despite their differences in family structures and needs, they followed similar ways to settle their compartmentalised lives in designed spaces with a wide spectrum of the size and layouts. Brightness and airiness led the healthy-minded families to take advantage of unoccupied *tatami* guest rooms situated on the sunny side as family’s bedrooms. The fathers and mothers of school-age children were keen to create *places* of their sons and daughters, dealing with a dynamic system of the use of rooms based on the sleep-in-group custom. This active operation of rooms was no longer embedded in a business cycle



central to the *ie* system, and governed by symbolism of the *samurai* rituals. Rather, it was part of their ‘management’ involving appropriation of spaces in reference to guidance and commentaries of advice manuals and the women’s press. The rhythm of their daily rounds was not necessarily governed by the tempo of social intercourses in which the fathers and children were involved, but implicitly paced by a development of fictional and autobiographical accounts of the experts espousing a Romantic vision of ‘home’.

A sitting-dining room was a ‘modern’ product of emphasis on family togetherness, and many responses in the samples displayed *tatami* spaces named *chanoma*. But, to the students and their families, this term seems to have recalled a narrower interpretation than the imagery of *chanoma* at large. In their houses, the *chanoma* meant a north-facing dining room linked with the kitchen; a sitting room along the *engawa* of the south front of the house was otherwise called so. The former type of the *chanoma* was mostly adjoining a south-facing room recognised as “living room,” which served as a sitting room in the daytime like the latter type of one. This suggests that the sample families strived to follow the rule of separation by giving priority to the ‘leisurisation’ of the sunny side. The ‘borrowing’ of the Nishiyama’s questionnaires shed light on domesticated forms of music in rooms for reception, but this study has the intrinsic limitation in demonstrating how the families pursued the enjoyment of music there. Passages from Tanizaki’s novel *The Makioka Sisters* describe the appropriation of a Western-style parlour. Although they acknowledged it as a merely guest room, most respondents who had the gramophones, the pianos and the organs might do likewise. *Shumi* (recreation) was a gateway to creativity of individuals, a vehicle for self-expression, as the advocators of *shumi* believed. With the public *shumi*, a Western-style parlour was likely to be generally identified as an area for reception. Without musical *shumi*, callers in the parlour would not be particularly aware of leisure time the families spent with music there as part of the appearance of their personal *shumi* – in both taste and recreation. If the symbolic relationship between rituals and spaces was of a pre-modern world, this perception gap *per se* is a distinctive character which engendered conditions recognised as modernity, allowing individuals to discern and experience it at home in different and subjective ways.

A personal taste that promotes appropriation is not necessarily the same as a widely acknowledged taste, but often collectively shared and developed. This entails the tension between the functionality of designed spaces crystallising an established taste and people's wants rooted in an increasingly circulating taste. As the example of Plan 280 implies, ever-changing demands caused by such a vacillation have endlessly been discovered and dissolved by experts and taste-makers, like Nishiyama and Kihōin, again and again.

## Notes

1. Nishiyama Memorial Library's pamphlet, "Nishiyama Uzō sono shōgai."
2. Ibid.
3. The pre-1945 period had a different schooling system from the current one. I translate *chūgakkō* into "high school," although it means "junior high school" in contemporary English. That is because youngsters attending *chūgakkō* at that time aged 12-17 and were junior-high-school and high-school-age children by present standards. In addition, the *chūgakkō* in this period was for male children, and females of the same ages received a different type of education at girl's high schools. This suggests that the respondents of the questionnaires were boys only.
4. Uzō Nishiyama, "Shomin jyūtaku no sumikata ni kansuru kenkyū," *Journal of Architectural Institute of Japan* 25 (1942): 141-8; Uzō Nishiyama, "Sumikata kara mita jyūtaku no shūshin saishoku kūkan: Shomin jyūtaku no sumikata ni kansuru kenkyū," *Journal of Architectural Institute of Japan* 30 (1943): 31-6.
5. Uzō Nishiyama, *Sumai no kōgengaku: Gendai Nihon jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 2000), 264-6.
6. Uzō Nishiyama, "Seibetsu kankei yori mitaru shūshin kanshū," *Journal of Architectural Institute of Japan* 29 (1943): 43-4.
7. Uzō Nishiyama, "Shomin jyūtaku no kenchikugakuteki kadai," *Kenchiku zasshi*, October 20, 1941, 782-91.
8. Uzō Nishiyama, "Jyūkyō no shitsu ni tsuite," *Kenchiku zasshi*, June 20, 1941, 411; Uzō Nishiyama, "Jyūkyō shūzoku no shidō hōkō," *Kenchiku zasshi*, February 20, 1943, 101-4.
9. Uzō Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2* (1973), Private edition, 164. This is edited by Nishiyama for personal use, and a collection of his magazine articles available at Nishiyama Memorial Library. It was lately published as a book: Uzō Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2* (Tokyo: Keisōshobō, 1976).
10. Nishiyama, "Shomin jyūtaku no sumikata ni kansuru kenkyū," 141.
11. Ibid.
12. I tried to re-examine 15 complete and readable samples from the 1935 survey, but found it difficult to interpret floor plans illustrated by some students. Drawings of the 1935 questionnaires are generally smaller than those by respondents of the 1936 survey, and not necessarily detailed enough to allow investigators to image the state of buildings and living environments.
13. Nishiyama, "Sumikata kara mita jyūtaku no shūshin saishoku kūkan," 31. Izuo and Miyakojima Technical High Schools were located in central Osaka.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Nishiyama, "Shomin jyūtaku no sumikata ni kansuru kenkyū," 141; Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2*, 164.
17. Ibid.

18. Finally I focused on the 1936 samples because of a lack of readability in responses to the 1935 survey.
19. Nishiyama Memorial Library's pamphlet, "Nishiyama Uzō sono shōgai." When the followers filed his collection, they tried to keep it as it was in his house. Thus, the order of the 92 questionnaires in Appendix wholly respects their original condition which the Library has maintained.
20. The local history books used for this exploration are listed below: City of Nishinomiya, *Nishinomiya shishi dai 3 kan* (Nishinomiya: City of Nishinomiya, 1967); Local History Compilation Committee, City of Toyonaka, *Shinshū Toyonaka shishi dai 9 kan: Shūroku toshi* (Toyonaka: City of Toyonaka, 1998); Local History Compilation Committee, City of Ikeda, *Shinshū Ikeda shishi dai 3 kan: Kindai hen* (Ikeda: City of Ikeda, 2009). Some cadastral maps called *tochihōten* are also complementarily used. These are *Hyōgo ken Muko gun Naruo mura tochihōten*, 1937 (available at Nishinomiya City Library); *Hyōgo ken Kawabe gun Sonoda mura tochihōten*, March 1940 (available at Amagasaki Municipal Archives); *Hyōgo ken Muko gun Kōtō mura tochihōten*, September 1940 (available at Amagasaki History Archives and Nishinomiya City Library).
21. See also Appendix listing the question items on its cover.
22. Nishiyama, "Shomin jyūtaku no sumikata ni kansuru kenkyū," 146-7.
23. 1 *tatami* = 1.824 m<sup>2</sup>
24. Nishiyama, "Sumikata kara mita jyūtaku no shūshin saishoku kūkan," 36.
25. Ibid.
26. Nishiyama, *Sumai no kōgengaku*, 278.
27. Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2*, 164.
28. Nishiyama, "Sumikata kara mita jyūtaku no shūshin saishoku kūkan," 36.
29. Ibid.
30. Seizō Uchida, Mitsuo Ōkawa and Yōetsu Fujiya, *Zusetsu kindai nihon jyūtakushi* (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2009), 72.
31. See Plan 11-141, 16-864, 12-398, 11-149, 12-408, 12-354, 12-439, 11-136, 12-359, 12-467, 11-025, 11-079, 11-163, 12-304, 12-307, 11-110, 12-428, 11-046, 12-440, 12-404, 12-425, 12-348, 11-028, 12-332, 12-415, 11-146, 11-116, 12-417 and 11-147 of Appendix.
32. Nishiyama, *Nihon no sumai 2*, 169.
33. Ibid., 164-5.
34. Ibid., 169-70.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., 167-8.
37. Ibid., 168-9.
38. Ibid.
39. Masao Aoki, Toshie Oka and Yoshihiro Suzuki, *Nakaroka no jyutaku: Meiji Taisho Showa no kurashi wo madori ni yomu* (Tokyo: Sumai-no-toshokan-shuppanyoku, 2009), 68-9.
40. Ibid., 169-70.

41. Jun'ichiro Tanizaki, *The Makioka Sisters*, trans. Edward G. Seidensticker (London: David Campbell, 1993), 1.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., 26-7.

## Conclusion

This study approached the duality of works of taste in Japan's modernisation process. Taste was, on the one hand, socially developed through the compulsory education, mass communication and commercial activities involving negotiations and dialogues between national elites, experts in home management, homebuilders, manufacturers, architects, designers, and ordinary people. It became the public taste which defined appropriate qualities of patterns of behaviour, family life and material relations, and was objectified as programmatic designs of houses including the interior-corridor plan. It was, on the other hand, absorbed and internalised in personal and family ways. An individual taste served as the motive force for appropriations of material artefacts encompassing the everyday, and led people to manage and alter their homes. The Japanese in the late 1900s and 1910s were motivated to become 'individuals' through cultivation of *shumi* in both taste and recreation. A growing number of novel social groups – the middle classes – were keen to consume leisure, and their constructed subjectivity began to play a key role in configuring domestic space in a new era of capitalism. The observation of Japanese architectural practices in the period from 1890s to 1930s was thus meaningful in arguing the relationship between architecture and capitalism, because, in a short time frame, Japan experienced all at once: industrialisation, urbanisation, technological advances, the rise of mass communication and modern education and aesthetic reforms which turned particularly urban population into anonymous, subjective and individualised 'consumers'.

If 1868 was the year of political and institutional upheaval, the final decade of the nineteenth century was the turning point for the lives of ordinary people. They began to experience the clash between traditional and newly emerging patterns of the everyday behind closed doors. One facet of this uncertainty stemmed from the rise of mass production which economically damaged the *ie* system: the fundamental unit of production in pre-industrial times. Another, on which the opening chapter focused, was from an epistemological crisis. As the term *kyōiku* and discourses of educators and home economists implied, the *ie* system and ‘modern’ institutions assumed totally different images of humankind as well as ways for the cultural reproduction of people. The traditional household industry did not assume a distinction between work and domestic chores, and the whole family had interconnected roles in their licenced business. Their daily routines were communalised, largely embedded in a cycle of service and production. Younger members of a household were expected to acquire a set of skills and expertise for succession, and repeatedly followed the same way of transactions from generation to generation. But, the spread of the public schooling was powerful in disturbing this path of transmission, disconnecting school-age children from houses. In the elites’ view, boys and girls were no longer apprentices, but sensitive animals who internalised their surroundings to be ‘individuals’. With a growing trend to separate living from working, fathers’ and children’s inclusion in the ‘public’ spheres made Japanese family compartmentalised. Advice manuals and women’s press began to convey didactic instructions in how to deal with gradually individualised family relations, redefining particularly housewifery and childhood based on novel concepts: management, productivity and privacy.

The initial questions concerning conventional architectural practices were raised by intellectuals including novelist Rohan Kōda, indicating the chaos caused by the vacillation between changing patterns of family life and prototyped arrangements of traditional houses. The basic layout of domestic spaces of a townhouse was open-plan, suitable for communalised rather than compartmentalised activities of the family. The main concern of the architectural profession in its formative years was the design of public, monumental buildings to celebrate technological advances of ‘modern’ Japan.

But, college-trained architects began to expand the object of their interests to dwellings of ordinary people, attacking the symbolic relationship between rituals and spaces which underpinned the interior of an orthodox detached house shaped through *samurai* cultures. The two floor plans simultaneously proposed by Sōtaro Okamoto and Kuichi Kitada were fragments of the birth of modern architectural ‘planning’ (see figure 1.19 and 1.20). Their projects marked by programmatic designs mirrored compartmentalised lives of their middle-class clients, suggesting that the design of a house became ‘selective’ and no longer determined by symbolism.

However, the disappearance of the traditional norms and “fast-frozen relations,” as Marx describes, entailed moral and aesthetic issues in a post-Japanese-Russo-War society. The cultural elites influenced by Romanticism associated the impasse in the progress of art promotion with the vulgar ostentation which a growing number of the *nouveaux riches* exposed. Without collective efforts to refine a sense of beauty in private life, they believed that any artistic attempt to seek ‘modern’ Japanese art would not be appreciated and matured. The decline of aesthetic sensitivity led them to look at the Western notion of *shumi* (taste) and to urge the populace to undertake the cultivation of it through engaging in *shumi* (recreations). Leisure pursuits were considered as vehicles whereby people could internalise good *shumi* (taste) on their own motive. The logic behind the intellectual discourses of the advocates of *shumi* implicitly presumed individuality as well as the works of the Romantics as standards for *their* aesthetic judgement.

Educators and home economists also agreed with the cultural campaign for the acquisition of *shumi* in both taste and recreation, which was likely to have an effect of diverting the upward mobility of rising middle classes to private activities. The same *shumi* was hoped to be shared amongst a family in a post-*ie* society, where members of a household were no longer bound to each other by common economic interests. Reference to the Romantic vision of ‘home’ made by the experts was an effective means to underline the essentiality of emotional ties in ‘modern’ family relations. Domesticated leisure was expected to bring compartmentalised members of the family together in the same company – the happy family circle – for refuge and for pleasure. This reinterpretation of family as an institution



affected material cultures and the meanings of actions and things. Pre-modern meals were part of symbolic practices involving the use of individual dinner trays, but an emphasis on gathering in the habit of dining resulted in the creation of the *chabudai* around which the whole family was closely seated (see figure 2.5 and 2.6). In experts' imaginations, enjoyable meals and postprandial chatting were presumed to be held in the sitting-dining room called *chanoma*. Formalism was no longer viewed in the garden whose original role was to entertain and impress guests. Educators and home economists instead developed a DIY attitude toward this private ground, envisaging that parents and children cultivated both *shumi* and attachments through 'gardening'. With the spread of Occidental music, playing musical instruments including the piano and organ was increasingly common as popular *shumi* (recreations).

The cultural elites still voiced their dissatisfaction with the state of middle-class *shumi*, however. Their criticism stemmed from a lack of family togetherness in recreational activities, deploring the fact that leisure pursuits were not necessarily conducted by the whole family. In their eyes, some forms of leisure in practice were for vanity's sake, part of exercises of mere economic power rather than creativity and *shumi*. Whatever the reality, the quest for *shumi* – in both taste and recreation – was likely to 'leisurise' middle-class dwellings.

An idea the advocates of *shumi* enacted through their aesthetic critiques seems to have been influential in the elites' view of material realities. Their exhortation of refinement of *shumi* entailed the conceptualisation of personal expressions including clothing, furnishing and housing, which were explained and understood as the public definition of self. This birth of a phenomenological perspective toward things around the body was perhaps crucial, making the experts in dwelling more aware of visible elements of inhabitation. In fact, their aspirations to suggest an improved, 'rational' relationship between daily routines and material artefacts were fuelled by a changing view of themselves as well as commercial success of mass media over the 1910s and early twenties. The Housing Reform Movement which historians of architecture perceive in this period exposed two types of justifications for rationalisation. To the experts, Western material cultures

were perfect, manifestations of achievement in embodying rational forms of life. Obscurity which they conceptually discovered in conditions antithetical to the materiality of Occidental houses was roundly criticised by means of scientific knowledge and discourses on public health. Their proposals of the 'modern' kitchen were proof of their adherence to the design of the Western kitchen involving the custom of cooking while standing (see figure 3.5, 3.6, 3.9 and 3.10). They questioned the basic posture of cooking which included acts of sitting down on the floor particularly in conventional urban detached and farmers' houses, aiming to get rid of such a, in their view, 'unhygienic' and barbaric habit. This study described the spread of the 'modern' kitchen in the inter-war years; still the competitions of kitchen designs disclosed a perception gap in images of being 'rational' conceived by professionals and non-professionals (see figure 3.7). Architects' dislike of life *on the floor* notwithstanding, ordinary people rarely considered the traditions of sitting, eating and sleeping on *tatamis* as hygienically harmful and irrational behaviours.

Yet, the experts' logic of the justification for rationality was central to their advice which a middle-class audience of the women's press consumed, particularly in terms of how a compartmentalised family was managed through floor arrangement. Their discussions on practical ways for planning were grounded implicitly on the rules of separation as safeguards to fulfil growing demands for efficiency and privacy in daily routines. Their reliance on sanitary science assumed the redefinition of the quality of domestic spaces, and modern family relations were bound up with this new spatial order in line with the Romanticised image of 'home'.

As brightness and airiness were increasingly valued, conventional architectural practices which placed the guest room called *zashiki* along the large opening of a *samurai* house became outworn in their view. An awareness of domesticity led them to site rooms for family including the *chanoma* on the south front which was hygienically favourable. The Western-style parlour was one of the options for this rearrangement of areas for social intercourses. It was expected to be situated along the entrance, consisting of a boarded floor with desks and chairs for callers dressed with Western-style garments. But, the advice manuals and women's readings continued to

suggest how to create a Japanese-style room for reception, echoing middle-class importance of hospitality and culturally ingrained etiquettes involving the use of *tatami* spaces. An idea of the upstairs *tatami* guest room was a response to a search for public-private separation. The emergence of the nursery, study room and every other space given to younger members of the family had much to do with the conceptualisation of ‘childhood’. The experts recognised south-facing rooms close to adults’ domains or on the first floor as areas adequate to the healthy and wholesome development of a child, envisaging the devotion of parents to their boys and girls. The instructions on children’s *place* presumed the sleep-in-group traditions, and they were thus expected to use different rooms for sleeping together or with adult members of the family.

The results of the “comfortable house” design contest of *Women’s Companion*, held in 1914, mirrored individual efforts to practice these ways for “family-oriented” planning. Some award-winning proposals evoked the distinctive characters of the interior-corridor plan which was widely seen in inter-war middle-class houses (see figure 3.14 and 3.15). In this arrangement, a path which bisected domestic spaces was intended not only to facilitate traffic of a compartmentalised family but also to secure the segregation of the south front for family and servant’s quarter. The boarded area called *engawa* running along the edge of a building was originally a ceremonial ornament as a threshold dividing the inside from outside, but the change in roles of the garden transformed its design, functions and meanings. For ‘modern’ comfort this floor was protected and sealed by glass doors, and viewed as a passage and ‘leisured’ space for playing and relaxation. This effective use of the *engawa* occupying the sunny side became a principle underlying the design code of detached houses of Dōjyunkai, a quasi-public enterprise created in response to increasing housing demands after the 1923 Greater Tokyo Earthquake (see figure 3.18). The centrality of rooms for family use secured by the interior-corridor plan was suggestive in understanding physical embodiments of modern institutions at all levels. If mother’s attention was given to bodily performances of members of the family and maid from the *chanoma* and other spaces for family gatherings centred in

this plan, its disposition of rooms could be interpreted as a power structure which Foucault found in the Panopticon.

Whilst the public *shumi* (taste) became encapsulated in the interior-corridor plan, the Movement served as an arena in which architects expressed their own *shumi* as part of a search for the rational forms of dwelling. The model houses of the Cultural Village intrigued visitors to the 1922 Tokyo Peace Commemoration Exhibition with their Occidental guises which demonstrated the variety of the Western *shumi* of their architects. A dwelling displayed by the Daily Life Improvement Alliance (DLIA) was a product of direct translation of “family-oriented” principles, consisting of entirely boarded spaces with a living room serving expectedly as a hall and sitting room placed at the centre (see figure 3.29). This “living-room-centred plan” was seen in other houses of the Culture Village, but did not become popular after the show. It implied that the sheer manifestation of architects’ *shumi* was not a project to embody the constructed *habitus*, particularly of the middle classes, which contained narratives governing the relationship between daily rounds and the quality of spaces according to the public *shumi*. The Movement meanwhile unmasked their fetishistic belief that patterns of the everyday were controllable and manipulatable *by* design. Perhaps, this was a misconception caused by the popularisation of the notion of *shumi* which made people’s state of mind conceptually visible. The design of a house, the advocates of *shumi* believed, was a reflection of *shumi* which potential dwellers had and an object observed and chosen by individuals. But, the irreversibility of this object-mind relationship was not necessarily theorised and fully understood, as there was a taste gap between these avant-garde architects and their consuming public.

The architects dedicated to the creation of the ideal home *by* design failed to express the public *shumi*, but Ichizō Kobayashi, the founder of Hankyu Corporation, an Osaka-based railway company, was good at approaching and grasping consumers’ *shumi*. His proposal of pastoral *shumi* was part of the strategies of Hankyu’s business involving suburban development, targeted at increasing the population in the areas along its railway lines. The polarisation of the polluted, degenerated urban centres and tasteful, salubrious hilly districts which the Hankyu line physically linked was

a usual logic behind its early publicity, serving as an effective appeal to the health-conscious middle classes. Its promotion described the suburbs as places worthwhile to visit for refinement of *shumi* (taste) and as lands whereby a compartmentalised family felt a sense of ease, enjoyment and togetherness through *shumi* (recreations).

Kobayashi espoused the ‘modern’ concept of leisure with particular interest in gardening, music and sports as *his shumi*, affecting Hankyu’s ways to be involved in housing and leisure industries. Floor arrangements of Hankyu dwellings built in the 1910s were products of which it proclaimed as “family-oriented” planning, arguably purpose designs and diverse, but the connection between the inside and outside of a building was commonly underlined (see figure 4.12, 4.13 and 4.14). The *engawa* was designed as an integral part of family’s domain conceptually extended from domestic spaces to the garden, and hoped to be used to enjoy changing seasons in idyllic, picturesque scenes of the domesticated nature and beyond. The amusement centre adjoining Hankyu’s spa resort named Paradise was the birthplace of Takarazuka Revue initially created to cultivate the eye of an audience and suburban dwellers for the beauty of Western music which Kobayashi appreciated. A stadium centred in Toyonaka estate mirrored his intention to intrigue residents with the attraction of modern sports (see figure 4.19). As the case of Ikeda-Muromachi estate, the first residential community opened as part of ventures of a railway company in Japan, showed, suburban neighbourhoods exclusively for living were likely to accommodate people with similar *shumi* – in both taste and recreation. Hankyu’s ‘leisurisation’ of the suburbs indicates that the homogeneous nature of suburbia stems not only from demographic, socio-economic but also from largely cultural factors.

Hankyu – as a taste-maker – continued to seize business opportunities over the inter-war years, ‘styling’ the public *shumi* as well as middle-class desire in everyday life. It played an expanded role in making and retailing home electric appliances in response to calls for home electrification as part of the national energy security involving the saving of fuel for the future military campaign. There was the implicit assumption as a result of its marketing behind its manufacturing and housing activities, which associated rooms on the south front of a house with ‘leisurised’ *place*.

Hankyu's electric *hibachi* and a fireplace designed in the Western-style parlour of its dwelling indicated that it did not envisage family gatherings in a floored space (see figure 5.9). Domestic architecture of its houses built in the 1920s and 1930s was mostly recognised as the interior-corridor plan, but detailed and varied designs of the *engawa*, terrace and other settings believed to give a sense of the unity between the interior and garden signified various ways in which south-facing *tatami* rooms were used and appropriated. If the *chanoma* and *tatami* space called "living room" both consisted of the south corner, this "living room" was intended to be occupied by some residents for their activities in the day and turned into a family's communal bedroom at night (see figure 5.12). The dwellings without a dining area along the sunny side had the south-facing "living room" serving expectedly as a bedroom and meeting place of the whole family, whilst Hankyu's architects did not conceive any 'leisured' image except the enjoyment of family dinner in the *chanoma* sited in the north (see figure 5.18). This diversity of roles played by the *chanoma* and "living room" resulted from their critical insight into the aesthetic sensitivity of middle-class clienteles which firmly linked brightness, airiness and salubrity with domesticated leisure and family togetherness. Although all housing catalogues of Hankyu did not necessarily specify the expected functions of rooms, some of them, by labelling and naming, implied uses of designed spaces according to middle-class needs, preferences and *shumi*.

As well as modernists' and Socialists' theories, the national security interests in this period affected a view held by a researcher, who latterly became the authority of architectural planning in Japan, Uzō Nishiyama. He considered that the multi-functional use of *tatami* spaces embedded in ritualised customs of dwelling were obstacles to the creation of a standardised and more economised form of a house which, in his vision, consisted of rooms designed for particular single purposes. His questionnaire surveys examined his hypothesis that ordinary people used different rooms for meals and for sleeping, targeting households with high-school aged children in the suburbs of Osaka. Respondents of his questionnaires were requested to draw floor plans of their houses and to describe names of rooms, the kind of furniture and fixtures they had, and ways in which members of

their families settled themselves in domestic spaces (see Appendix). He intended the outcomes of his survey to be applied to consideration of the design of a rational, simplified and labour-saving house, and many responses were of middle-class families living areas along Hankyu's railway network. His questionnaires, albeit with a different aim of research, disclosed some fragments in terms of how the surveyed families tried to appropriate domestic spaces in line with the rules of separation underlying advice of the experts in household management. In fact, Nishiyama revealed that dining areas were seldom used as bedrooms even in flexible *tatami* interiors, defining this habit of spatial segregation as the "theory of separation."

Whatever his intention, the extant and decipherable questionnaires of the 1936 survey disclosed the dynamics of time-space management which allowed middle-class families to turn their houses into the 'homes'. Their relatively commodious dwellings were largely characterised by purpose designs and *tatami* interiors, and the most dominant type of domestic arrangement was the interior-corridor plan. The majority of the families still had *tatami* guest rooms on the south fronts with a view of the garden, but this was merely one facet projecting middle-class significance of reception manners and hospitality. The sleep-in-group custom was central to their 'lifestyles', and their awareness of domesticity and personal hygiene led most of them to sleep in south-facing *tatami* rooms called living room, *zashiki* and guest room amongst the families. Nishiyama's questionnaires are clear evidence that parents with youngsters attending high schools in this period, by altering the uses of sunny-side rooms particularly on the first floors, tried to create children's *places* for studying and playing. This was the appearance of their affections for boys and girls as well as of the internalisation of the 'modern' concept of 'childhood'. The orientation of spaces given to day-to-day activities of maids proved middle-class delicacy in the relationship between kinship members of the family and 'other'. The bases of live-in maids were spatially and behaviourally segregated from family's domains, thereby enabling the families of the respondents to protect and sustain privacy. The ways to operate compartmentalised needs in uses of spaces were diverse, due to institutional, morphological and psychological factors: differences in family structure, the size of houses and preferences. But, the

common features in the handling of areas for sleeping, children's activities and the lives of servants evoked narratives of the everyday which the advice and proposals of educators and home economists presumed – the Romanticised vision of family life.

The subtle relationship between a dining area and room named “living room” which Hankyu's architects perceived was also part of the time-space management, as some questionnaires revealed. In the samples with rooms called *chanoma*, they were placed along the kitchens and did not necessarily face the south. Roles played by them in comparatively spacious houses surveyed by Nishiyama were more specified than the imagery of the *chanoma* – as a sitting-dining room – expected. There were dining rooms merely named *chanoma*, on the one hand; the respondents who had both dining room and *chanoma* identified it as “living room,” on the other. In many cases, the north-facing *chanoma* adjoined *tatami* “living rooms” along the sunny sides. These implied that postprandial leisure involving family gathering tended to be sought in a south-facing *tatami* room with a view of the garden, which the residents recognised as *chanoma* and “living room.” The number of the readable, analysable questionnaires including the description of *chanoma* is not necessarily enough to elucidate the facts of this ‘modern’ contrivance; but it is nevertheless possible to consider that, through appropriating and naming *tatami* spaces, the inter-war middle classes were likely to personalise and consume the circulated image of the *chanoma* in the family way.

Musical experiences as part of domesticated leisure were evoked in returns to the 1936 survey, but the overall picture of them is still unrevealed. The answers of some respondents indicated that their families enjoyed listening to radios in rooms for meals, family gatherings and private activities. Gramophones, pianos and organs were meanwhile described as mere components of reception areas, particularly of the Western-style parlours. Again, the ‘borrowing’ of the limited number of the existing questionnaires designed for Nishiyama's intention does not allow this study to clarify how middle-class experiences in ‘leisured’ spaces were. It considers that, as Tanizaki's *The Makioka Sisters* illustrates, there was a hidden aspect of musical *shumi* (recreations) which reinforced intimate relationships amongst



members of the family. If spaces equipped with gramophones and keyboard musical instruments were used as it was mentioned in the responses, they were intended to serve as parts of the displays for reception. The possession and use of these expensive items for hobbies could be powerful in demonstrating economic strength of the residents. In this respect, commentaries of the cultural elites dissatisfied with flaunting leisure previously discussed were prescient, criticising the state of domesticated recreations often lacking in family togetherness. According to Clammer, a class consciousness of the Japanese middle classes is “constructed principally around consumption which allows both symbolic competition and the sense of sharing common interests and a common future pursued through similar means, especially the acquisition of cultural capital.”<sup>1</sup> In other words, certain types and patterns of leisure pursuits *per se* are the core of their *habitus* constituted entirely through consumption and *still* symbolic. Even though domesticated leisure of the families observed by Nishiyama was an element of symbolic consumption which set up the source of their class identity, it could be said that the subtle coexistence of various perspectives towards ‘leisured’ spaces mirrored circumstances perceived as modernity.

The examination of the *shumi* of urban middle classes in a fifty-year period, 1890-1939, is indicative of the cultural orientation of the Japanese today, whilst caution must be paid to the fact that their lives did not represent day-to-day experiences of all at that time. As quotations at the beginning of Chapter 1 implies, children of artisans and of communities of farmers and fisheries were not necessarily recognised as ‘individuals’. Some biographical studies portray boys and girls suffering from two conflicting roles which they were expected to play: as successors destined to master skills and expertise to handle the same jobs of their parents in the *ie* systems; and as free agents hoped to absorb *kyōiku* at school and to work out their own fates in a modern capitalist society.<sup>2</sup> They were equally ‘informed’ through the compulsory education, but their thoughts and values were presumably antithetical to views held particularly by ‘new’ middle classes and likely to construct different courses of life as well as material worlds.

This study is a project to explicate an interaction of perceptions, practices and designed objects. But its discussion on the transformation of

the design of the kitchen still drew on a simplified cause-effect interpretation which dealt with intellectual discourses and suggestions, so as to demonstrate why the kitchens of middle-class houses looked like they did. The birth of the 'modern' kitchen is generally described as a response to increasing attacks on the cooking-on-the-floor habit bound up with the plain, spacious kitchen of an orthodox detached house derived from *samurai* dwelling.<sup>3</sup> It could be considered that this way of explanation is easily acceptable because it serves implicitly as a metaphor for the regime change involving the collapse of a feudal system and the emergence of 'modern' institutions. But, already in pre-industrial times, mistresses and maids of tradesmen in regions culturally influenced by Kyoto and Osaka cooked while standing as mentioned in Chapter 3. Their townhouses had an earthen passage namely *tōriniwa* with a set of kitchen equipment suitable for it, and this area was architecturally distinct from a living space converted into a dining room at mealtimes (see figure 1.7). The room for meals was mostly called *nakanoma* (middle room) and *daidokoro* (which means 'kitchen' in modern Japanese).<sup>4</sup> '*Chanoma*' was not in their vocabulary, but originally used among townsmen in eastern Japan to allude to the same area of a townhouse.<sup>5</sup> Nishiyama's questionnaires are therefore noteworthy as evidence of the power of mass media, revealing that middle-class families in the suburbs of Osaka termed areas for dining and for leisure *chanoma*. This complexity suggests that an area study with attention to the culture, life and architecture of a particular locality is a more reasonable approach to understand the remodelling of the kitchen and of the spatial relationship between cooking and dining spaces. Historical research concerning the triad of senses, customs and forms of the kitchen is needed to rest on more ethnographically detailed surveys revolving around local and regional contexts.

*Modernity at Home* entirely discussed a unique, semantic change of the garden, but its reliance on Nishiyama's questionnaires resulted in the omission of an analysis on how the garden was actually used and perceived. Chapter 5 explored works of Hankyu's architects with a strong accent on the inside-outside connection which was believed to enable residents to feel a sense of unity with the garden and nature. This is not proof that the middle-

class population in Osaka suburbs was largely involved in ‘gardening’ as *shumi* (recreation), however. If the garden was also appropriated in a process of symbolic consumption, some residents are supposed to have hired and relied heavily upon gardeners to trim a lawn, garden trees and flower beds. In addition, the ‘borrowing’ of the old questionnaires did not allow a disclosure of ‘private’ activities in the Western-style parlour with ‘public’ quality. Perhaps, a biographical analysis involving the examination of autobiographies, diaries, novels, readers’ letters and oral-history manuscripts is the only way to approach the reality of uses of the garden and parlour.

This study is marked with the exploration of taste. By viewing aesthetic standards of judgement, it attempted to illustrate the dynamics of housing activities harnessed by changing attitudes towards the relationship between the body and surroundings. Still, there is an issue of whether or not modern concepts: brightness, airiness, salubrity and domesticity could be thought as matters of aesthetic quality. I consider that an awareness of these values endorsed by intellectuals *per se* shaped a unique aesthetic sensitivity of the urban middle classes, and determined their modes of life and material realities at ‘home’. In fact, Nishiyama argued the avoidance of bright and well-ventilated spaces in behaviours of young factory workers moved from regions with a cold and snowy climate.<sup>6</sup> They perhaps grew up in airtight houses without large openings, and the quality that they recognised as beauty, as Tanizaki refers to, grew from their “realities of life.”<sup>7</sup> In other words, the inter-war years were the period in which the two types of beauty, discovered by him, still coincided and were appreciated in domestic spaces. Taste is crucial in the variety of body-space relationships as well as the making of the built forms involving the application of science and technology in a modern world. This study is made up of both qualitative and empirical analyses, suggesting that designing spaces at all levels could be more effective and fruitful when the tastes held by ordinary people are taken into consideration.

Personally, I experienced a sense of *déjà vu* through this project. When I was young, I was urged to play the piano. In my piano class, children of the same age with similar family backgrounds took lessons presumably because of exhortations of their parents. Until next lessons they practiced the piano in their homes, and eventually began to express their sensitivities and

personalities through piano performances. In the eye of the Japanese today, modern Japan before 1945 was something in the far distant past. Perhaps, acute episodes of the War pulled down the blind, concealing timeless experiences of modernity behind it. The interior-corridor plan is history now; instead, open-plan arrangements and the kitchen-diner have been fashionable and suited to current *shumi* (tastes). But, they could feel affinities *aesthetically* with some passages to modernity including *shumi* (recreations) which the inter-war middle classes routinised at home and fitted into their *habitus*. The everyday which this study explored seems old-fashioned in material terms, yet more culturally familiar to contemporary Japanese life than it is generally described.

## Notes

1. John Clammer, *Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 105.
2. Keiko Takahashi and Yasuhiko Yuzawa, “Shōgakkō kyōiku no meian,” in *Taishō ki no katei seikatsu*, ed. Yasuhiko Yuzawa (Tokyo: Kuresushuppan, 2008), 72-4.
3. Norikuni Kimura, “Taishō jidai no jyūtaku kairyō to ima-chūshingata jyūtaku yōshiki no seiritsu,” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Engineering, Hokkaido University* 18 (1958): 99-105.
4. Yasushi Yoshida et al., *Nihon no minka dai 5 kan: Chōka* (Tokyo: Gakushūkenkyūsha, 1980), 176.
5. Ibid.
6. Uzō Nishiyama, “Jyūkyō shūzoku no shidō hōkō,” *Kenchiku zasshi*, February 20, 1943, 103.
7. Jun’ichiro Tanizaki, *In Praise of Shadows*, trans. Thomas J. Harper and Edward G. Seidensticker (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), 31.

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# Appendix

## Uzō Nishiyama's questionnaires of the 1936 survey (92 samples)

### Question items

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#### Personal information of respondent

- Name\*
  - Affiliation\*
  - Address\*
  - Occupation of householder [mainly of father]
  - Size of household
  - Number of family members aged over 21 and under 15
  - Number of live-in maids, day helpers and people living with the family
- 

#### House and its amenities

- Is the land rented or owned by a householder?
  - Is the house rented or owned by a householder?
  - When was the house built?
  - Power source(s) for cooking
  - Kind of heating(s)
  - Is running water available?
- 

#### Interior

- Floor plan [requested to be described]
  - Names of rooms
  - How are rooms used (by whom) in the daytime?
  - Where do members of the family and servant sleep?
  - Furniture and fixtures
- 

#### Note

- \* These private student records are required to be protected, and not translated as agreed with the Nishiyama Memorial Library.

## Type of floor plan

Ref. number	Type	Ref. number	Type	Ref. number	Type
12-330	ICP	11-122	Plan B	11-013	ICP
11-141	ICP	11-139	Plan A	16-862	ICP
11-097	ICP	11-158	ICP	12-404	Plan B
12-454	Plan B	11-022	ICP	12-425	Plan A
16-864	ICP	11-103	ICP	12-348	ICP
11-012	ICP	11-109	ICP	11-030	ICP
12-398	ICP	11-140	Plan A	11-011	ICP
11-161	ICP	11-114	ICP	11-043	ICP
11-149	Plan A	12-381	ICP	12-430	ICP
12-335	ICP	12-371	Non-PD	12-441	ICP
12-408	ICP	11-131	ICP	12-464	Non-PD
12-354	Non-PD	11-163	ICP	11-024	Plan B
12-439	ICP	12-304	ICP	11-028	Non-PD
12-432	Plan A	12-307	ICP	12-332	Plan A
12-395	Plan A	12-331	Non-PD	12-449	Plan B
11-037	Plan A	11-038	ICP	12-415	ICP
11-105	ICP	11-110	ICP	11-146	ICP
11-091	Plan B	12-336	ICP	11-116	Non-PD
11-076	ICP	11-144	ICP	12-399	ICP
12-344	ICP	12-428	Plan A	12-417	Plan A
12-358	Plan B	12-426	Plan A	11-154	Plan B
11-136	ICP	12-419	ICP	12-346	ICP
12-303	ICP	12-455	ICP	12-350	Plan A
12-301	Plan A	11-089	Plan A	12-375	ICP
12-359	ICP	12-325	Plan B	12-385	Plan B
11-014	ICP	12-411	ICP	12-386	ICP
12-437	ICP	12-339	ICP	12-456	Plan A
12-467	Plan B	12-360	ICP	11-147	ICP
11-098	ICP	11-046	ICP	11-152	ICP
11-025	Plan A	11-088	ICP	12-309	Plan B
11-079	Plan A	12-440	Plan B		

ICP:

Interior-corridor plan [56]

Plan A (see figure 5.4):

Floor plan characterised by a hallway linked with all principal rooms [17]

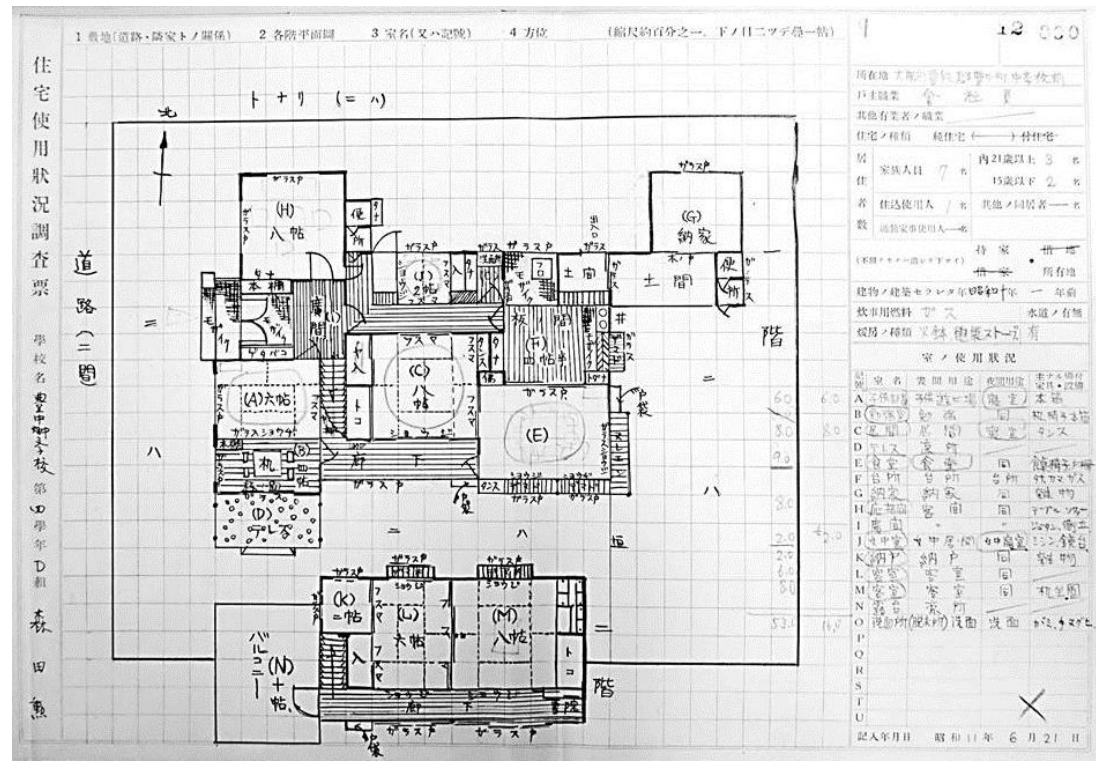
Plan B (see figure 5.1):

Purpose design with corridors along one side of a room connecting all areas of a house in the same way [13]

Non-PD:

House without purpose design [6]

Ref. number: 12-330



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 7 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1935  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Children's room	6.0	10.94	Children's room for playing	Bedroom	Bookcase
B	Study room	4.0	7.30	Studying	Studying	Desk, chair, bookcase
C	Living room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
D	Terrace	-	-	Cooling	-	-
E	Dining room	9.0	16.42	Dining room	Dining room	Dining table, chair(s), cupboard
F	Kitchen	-	-	Kitchen	Kitchen	Shelf, rice cooker, gas appliance
G	Warehouse	-	-	Warehouse	Warehouse	Sundries
H	Parlour	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Table, sofa
I	Hall	-	-	Hall	Hall	Carpet, screen
J	Servant's room	2.0	3.65	Servant's living room	Servant's bedroom	Sewing machine, vanity table
K	Closet room	2.0	3.65	Closet room	Closet room	Sundries
L	Guest room	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Guest room	-
M	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Table, floor cushions
N	Balcony	-	-	Cooling	-	-
O	Dressing room	-	-	Washing faces	Washing faces	Mirror

Ref. number: 11-141

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、Fノ日ニツテ攝一帖)

住宅使用状況調査票

所在地 465 11 11 270

所在地方 現況 所有地 所有権 所有権

戸主職業 裁判所書記

其他所有者ノ職業 無し

住宅ノ種類 純住宅 (一) 特種宅

家族人口 5 内21歳以上 3 内 15歳以下 1

住居者 住居使用人 1 其他ノ同居者 0

敷地面積使用人 0

(本票ノノリニ依リテ) 持家 所有地

建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和九年 二年前

炊事用燃料 薪炭 ガス 煤 水道ノ有無 有

暖房ノ種類 火鉢 火鉢 有

室ノ使用状況

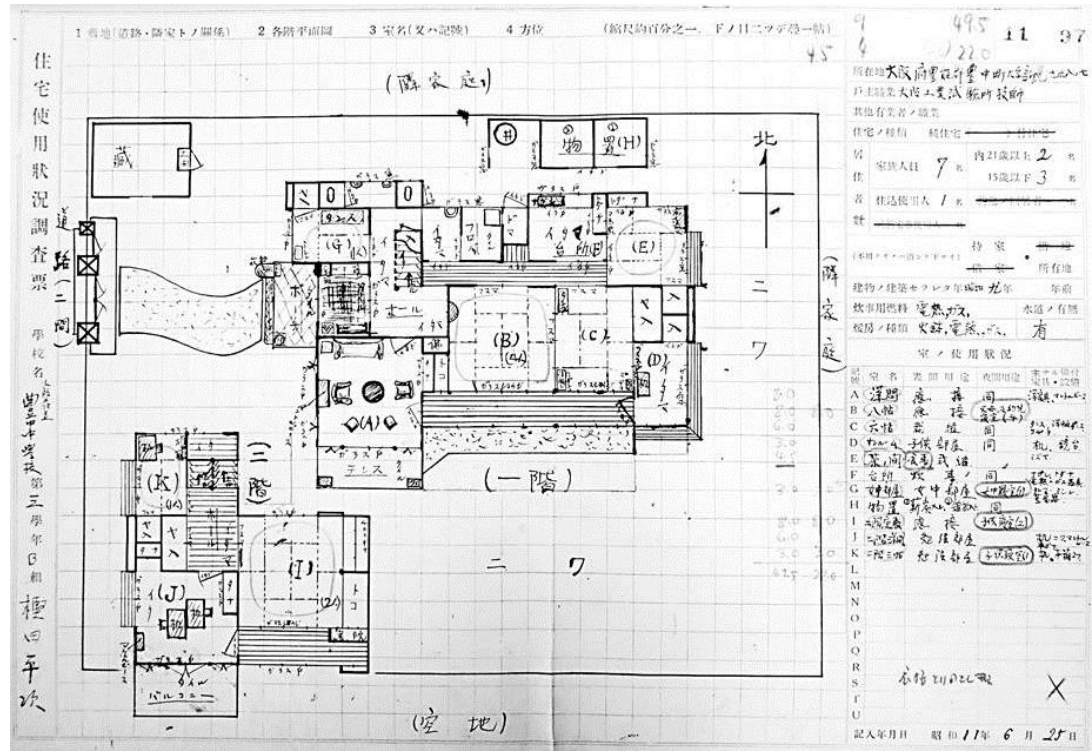
室名	業用用途	家具・設備
A (座敷)	接客用	主人或室の 床 机
B 玄関		タタミ
C 洋室		テーブル 椅子
D 廊下	面會	シューズボックス
E (居間)	家族住	タタミ 椅子
F 納戸	仕立 化粧	タタミ 椅子
G (食堂)	食卓	茶台 椅子
H 台所	炊事	タタミ 椅子
I 風呂	入浴 化粧	タタミ 椅子
J 仕立掛	仕立 化粧	タタミ 椅子
K 書院	主人書院	タタミ 椅子
L (四畳半)	子供部屋	タタミ 椅子
M (洋室)	子供部屋	タタミ 椅子
N バルコニー	眺望用	タタミ
O 物置	倉庫	タタミ
P 鶏舎	産卵	タタミ

記入年月日 昭和 年 月 日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Government official (court clerk)  
 Size of household: 5 (the three aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1934  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, (gas) stove  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Zashiki	10	18.24	Reception	Husband's bedroom	Tokonoma, desk
B	Entrance	-	-	Reception	-	Mirror
C	Western room	6	10.94	Reception	-	Table, gramophone
D	Porch	-	-	Reception	-	Shoe box
E	Living room	6	10.94	Housework, sewing	Children's bedroom	Chest of drawers
F	Closet room	-	-	Makeup, dressing	-	Mirror, chest of drawers
G	Dining room	4.5	8.21	Meals, chatting	-	Tea shelf, cupboard for tea-things
H	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	-	Kitchen table
I	Bathroom	-	-	Bathing, makeup	-	Mirror, washstand
J	Servant's room	3	5.47	Housework, sewing	Servant's bedroom	-
K	Zashiki	8	14.59	Husband's library	Bedroom	Bookcase
L	Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the children	Bedroom for guests	Desk, bookcase
M	Western room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the children	Studying	Desk, bookcase
N	Balcony	-	-	Viewing	Cooling	-
O	Warehouse	-	-	Warehouse	Cooling	Shelf
P	Henhouse	-	-	Producing eggs	-	-

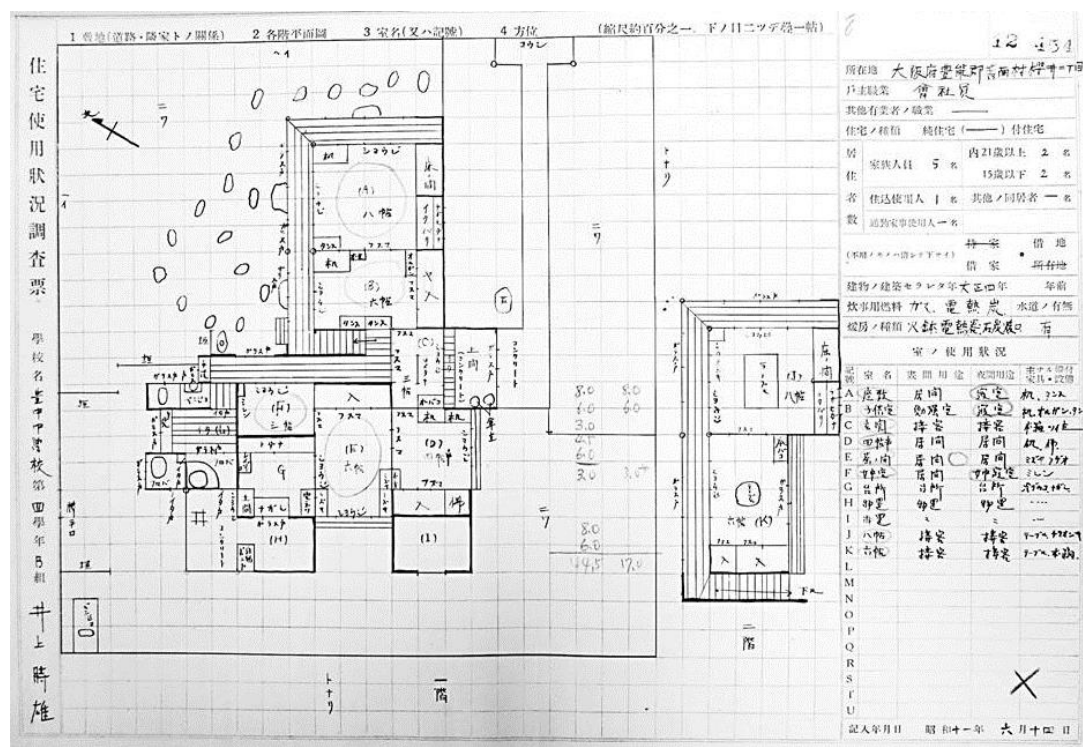
Ref. number: 11-097



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Lab engineer  
 Size of household: 7 (the two aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1934  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Electricity, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater, gas (stove)  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Western room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Western furniture, mantelpiece
B	Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom for the parents and infant	-
C	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Sewing	Sewing	Chest of drawers, wardrobe, radio
D	Sunroom	3.0	5.47	Children's room	Children's room	Desk, vanity table
E	Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Dining, sewing	-	Cupboard for tea-things
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, electric cooker, gas appliance
G	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	Servant's room	Servant's bedroom	Chest of drawers, sewing machine, gramophone
H	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
I	Upstairs zashiki	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom for the two children	-
J	Upstairs Western room	6.0	10.94	Study room	-	Desk, bookshelf, etc.
K	Upstairs three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Study room	Child's bedroom	Desk, two bookcases

Ref. number: 12-454

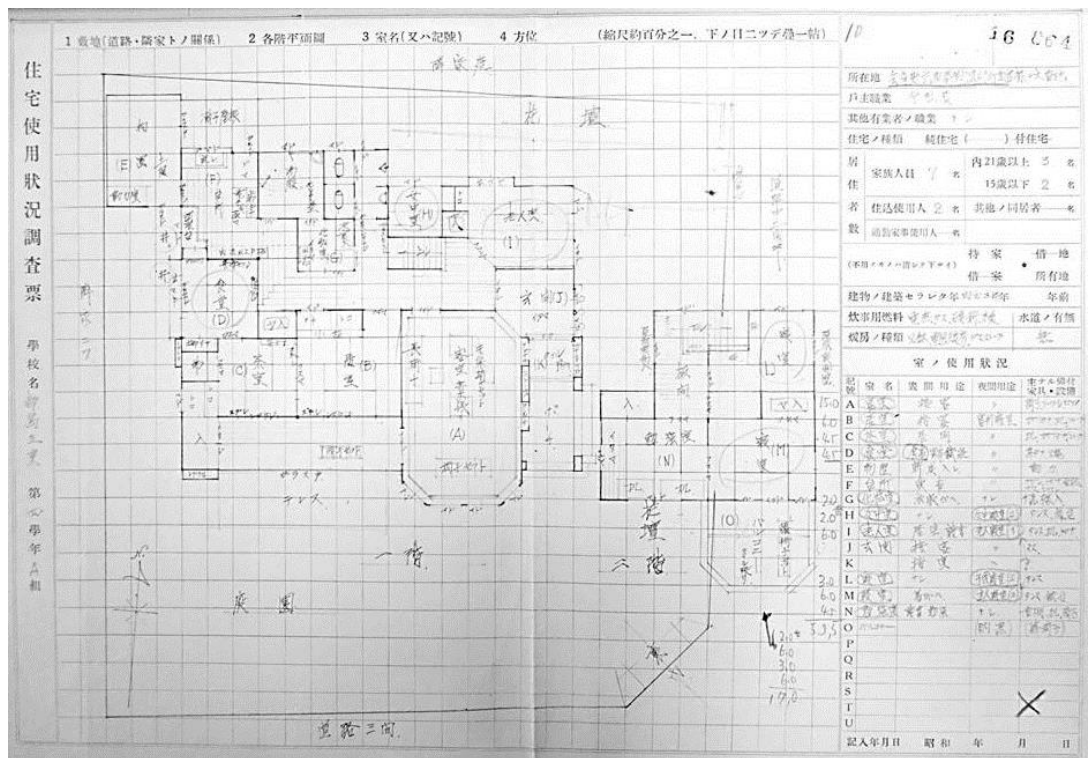


City: Minō  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1915  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, electricity, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater, fireplace  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Living room	Bedroom	Desk, chest of drawers
B	Children's room	6.0	10.94	Study room	Bedroom	Desk, organ, chest of drawers
C	Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Reception	Reception	Bookcase, screen
D	Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Living room	Living room	Desk, Buddhist altar
E	Chanoma	6.0	10.94	Living room	Living room	Cupboard for tea-things, radio
F	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	Living room	Bedroom for the servant	Sewing machine
G	Kitchen	-	-	Kitchen	Kitchen	Sink, refrigerator
H	Closet room	-	-	Closet room	Closet room	-
I	Closet room	-	-	Closet room	Closet room	-
J	Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Table, gramophone
K	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Reception	Reception	Table, bookcase



Ref. number: 16-864



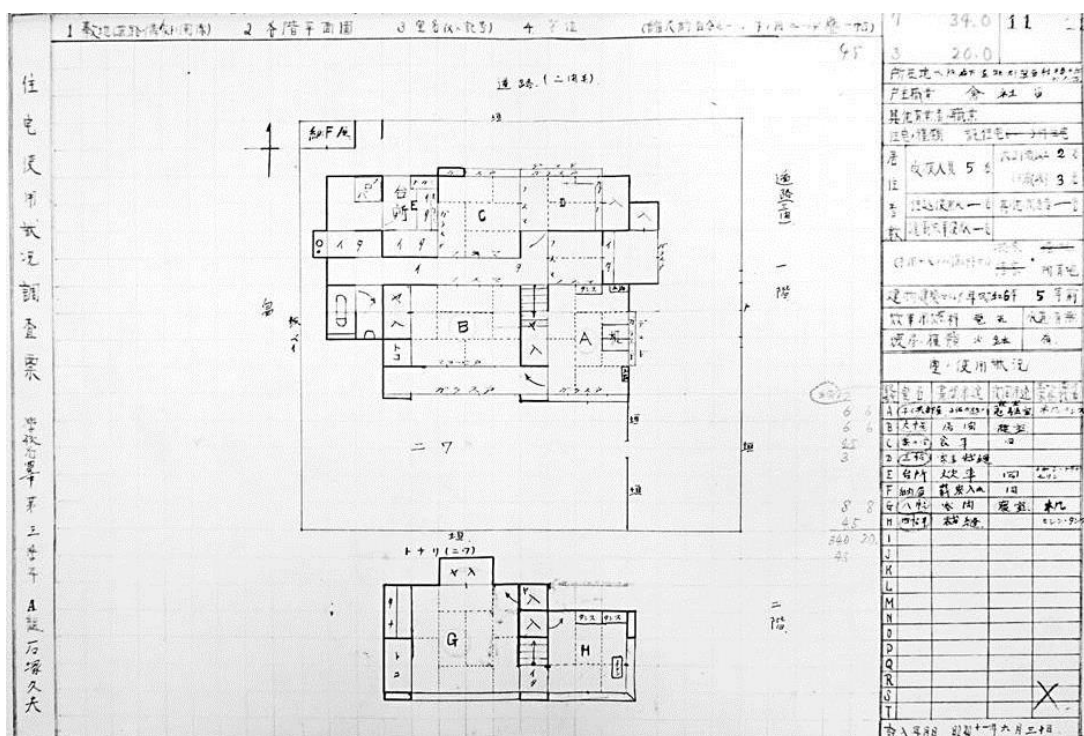
The details on the next page

Ref. number: 16-864

City:	Ashiya
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	7 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	2
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1928
Power source(s) for cooking:	Electricity, gas, coal, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, electric heater, gas stove
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	15.0	27.36	Reception	Reception	Chair(s), table, piano
B	Living room	6.0	10.94	Reception	Bedroom for guests	Display shelf, desk, (stove)
C	Tea room	4.5	8.21	Living room	Living room	Desk, display shelf, (stove)
D	Dining room	4.5	8.21	Meals, housework, sewing	Meals, housework, sewing	Tea shelf, brazier
E	Warehouse	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Power generator
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, electric cooker, gas appliance, charcoal stove
G	Dressing room	2.0	3.65	Dressing	-	Washstand, wardrobe
H	Servants' room	2.0	3.65	-	Servants' bedroom	Chest of drawers, vanity table
I	Elderly's room	6.0	10.94	Living room for reading	Elderly's bedroom	Chest of drawers, desk, sideboard
J	Hall (entrance)	-	-	Reception	Reception	Chair
K	-	-	-	Reception	Reception	-
L	Bedroom	3.0	5.47	-	Children's bedroom	Chest of drawers
M	Bedroom	6.0	10.94	Dressing	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Chest of drawers, vanity table
N	Study room	4.5	8.21	Reading, studying	-	Bookshelf, desk, chair
O	Balcony	-	-	-	(Cooling)	(Rattan chair)

Ref. number: 11-012



City: Minō  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1931  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Electricity  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Children's room	6.0	10.94	Playing	Bedroom, study room	Desk, chest of drawers
B	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	-
C	Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals	Meals	-
D	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Housework, sewing	-	-
E	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, charcoal stove
F	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
G	Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom	Desk
H	Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Sewing	-	Sewing machine, chest of drawers

Ref. number: 12-398

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツデ最一帖)

住宅使用状況調査票

所在地 210-8501 東京都豊中市豊中3-2-1

戸主職業 先生

其他有業者ノ職業

住宅ノ種類 純住宅 ( ) 付住宅

家族人員 7名 内21歳以上 3名 15歳以下 4名

住居使用人 名 其他ノ同居者 1名

数 延床家事使用人 1名

(\*) 借家・借地 借家 所有地

建物ノ建築セラレタ年 1926年 11年前

炊事用燃料 薪炭 水道ノ有無

暖房ノ種類 ストーブ・電気暖房 等

室ノ使用状況

記號	室名	日間用途	夜間用途	椅子・本棚・家具・設備
A	玄関			シューズボックス
B	四畳半	書斎	寝室	机、椅子
C	風呂			
D	六畳	居間	寝室	
E	キッチン	調理	調理	
F	居間		祖母の寝室	
G	二畳	二男の書斎	二男の寝室	
H	八畳	接待	夫の寝室 (and for the mother)	
I	二畳	接待	接待	
J	洋室	接待、二男の書斎	接待、一男の書斎	
K	バルコニー	バルコニー	星見	
L	日室	日室	日光浴	

記入年月日 昭和 11年 6月 29日

City: Toyonaka

Occupation of householder: Teacher

Size of household: 8 (the three aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)

Number of servant: 0

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned

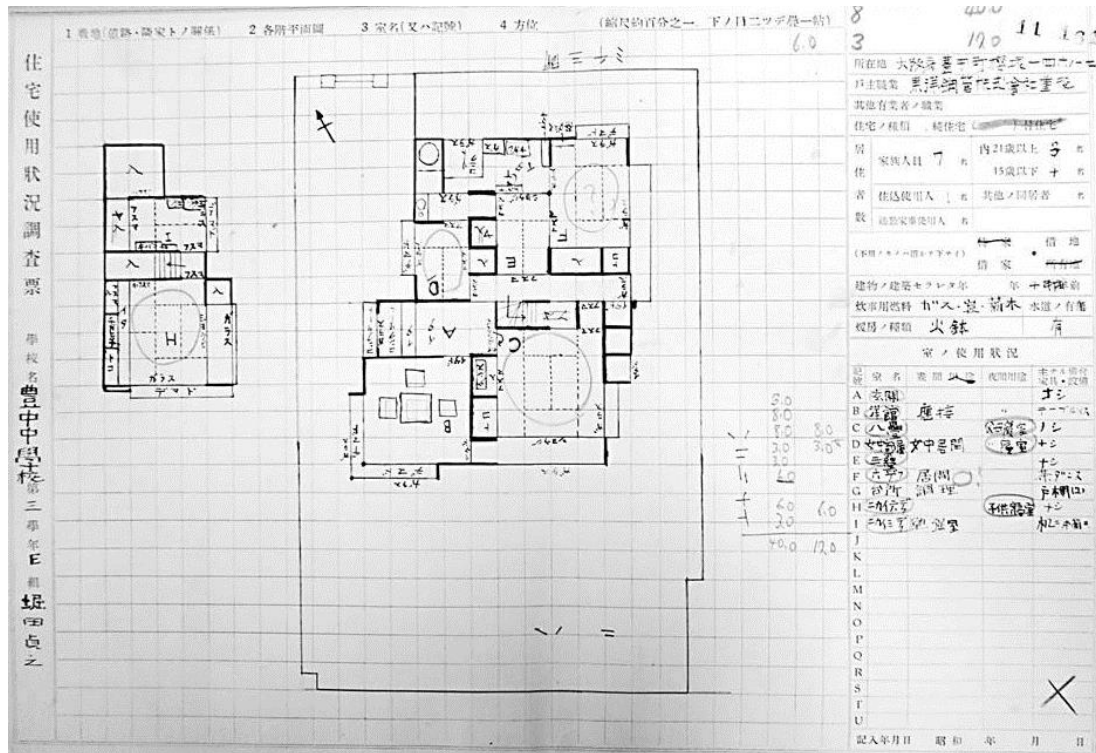
When was the house built? 1926

Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal

Kind of heating(s): Stove, brazier, electric heater

Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	Shoe book, umbrella stand
B Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Library, study room	Bedroom	Desk, chair
C Bathroom	-	-	-	-	-
D Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	-
E Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	-
F Living room	4.5	8.21	-	Grandmother's bedroom	-
G Study room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the second and third sons	Study room for the second and third sons	-
H Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	-
I Two-tatami room	2.0	3.65	Reception	Reception	-
J Western room	10.0	18.24	Reception, study room for the oldest son	Reception, study room for the first son	-
K Balcony	-	-	Balcony	Star watching	-
L Sunroom	3.0	5.47	Sunbathing	Sunbathing	-



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company executive  
 Size of household: 7 (the three aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1932  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, charcoal, firewood  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
B	Western room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Table, chair(s)
C	Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	-	Parents' bedroom	-
D	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	Living room for the servant	Servant's bedroom	-
E	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
F	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	-	Cupboard for tea-things
G	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	-	Two sideboards
H	Upstairs six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	-	Children's room	-
I	Upstairs three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Study room	-	Desk, bookcase

住宅使用状況調査票

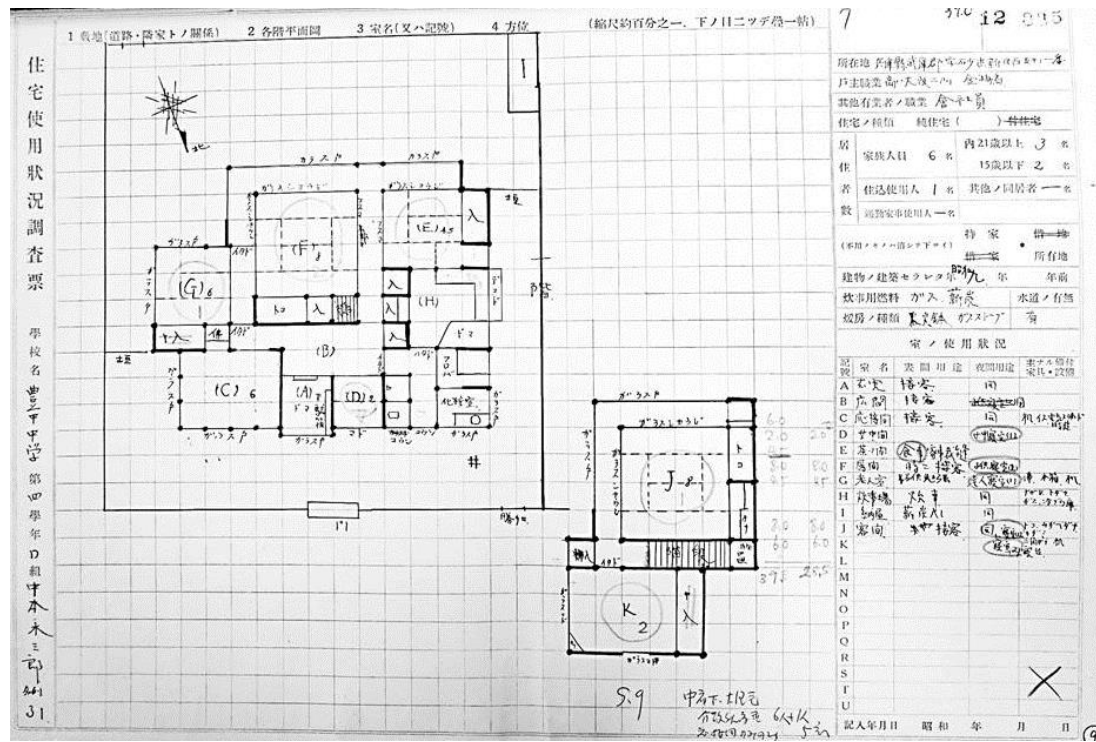
1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツデ器一帖)

所在地 大阪府豊能町豊能新築1丁目  
 戸主職業 会社員  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅( ) 住住宅  
 家族人口 9 内21歳以上 3 名  
 住 住 住 住 住 住 住 住 住 住  
 若 住込使用人 0 名 其他ノ同居者 名  
 数 通算家族使用人 0 名  
 (不問ノモノハヨロシクナシ)  
 建物ノ建築セラレタ年 1930 年 年前 年?  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 炭 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢  
 室ノ使用状況  
 記号 室名 裏田用途 内用用途 備品・家具  
 A 座敷 接待 ナレ 机 手箱  
 B 居間 家事 家人専用 ナレ 衣箱  
 C 納戸 洗濯 洗濯 ナレ 洗濯機  
 D 茶の間 食事 ナレ 多分ナシ  
 E 玄関 待客 ナレ 帽掛け  
 F 台所 調理 ナレ ガス 炊具  
 G 納屋 薪炭 薪炭 同 薪炭  
 H 上階 6畳 待客 兼 机 手箱  
 I 上階 4.5畳 待客 兼 机 手箱

記入年月日 昭和11年 5 月 27 日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 9 (the three aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1930  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Zashiki	6.0	10.94	Reception	-	Desk, bookcase
B Living room	4.5	8.21	Housework	Bedroom for the husband, wife and youngest child	Chest of drawers, bookcase, mirror
C Closet room	4.5	8.21	Study room, sewing	-	Sewing machine, telephone, desk
D Chanoma	3.0	5.47	Meals	-	Radio, shelf
E Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Reception	-	Hat rack
F Kitchen	-	-	Kitchen	-	Sink, running water, gas appliance, shelf
G Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Shelf
H Upstairs six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Occasionally used for reception	Boys' bedroom	Desk, bookcase
I Upstairs four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Grandmother's room	Girls' bedroom	Desk, chest of drawers



City: Nishinomiya  
 Occupation of householder: Independent merchant (ironmonger)  
 Size of household: 6 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1934  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, firewood, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, gas stove  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Entrance	-	-	Reception	Reception	-
B	Hall	-	-	Reception	Reception	-
C	Parlour	6.0	10.94	Reception	Reception	Desk, chair(s), floor lamp, clock
D	Servant's room	2.0	3.65	-	Servant's bedroom	-
E	Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals, housework, sewing	-	-
F	Living room	8.0	14.59	Occasionally used for reception	Children's bedroom	-
G	Elderly's room	4.5	8.21	Children's room for studying	Elderly's bedroom	Buddhist altar, bookcase, desk
H	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooling	Sink, sideboard, gas appliance, refrigerator
I	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
J	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception, bedroom	Tokonoma, chigaidana, mirror
K	-	6.0	10.94	-	Bedroom	Shelf, desk, bed

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ口ニツデ機一帖)

住宅使用状況調査票

所在地 大塚区大塚 1-2-1

戸主職業 法律家

其他有業者ノ職業

住宅ノ種別 純住宅

家族人口 5 内21歳以上 2 名  
15歳以下 2 名

住込使用人 1 名 其他ノ同居者 1 名

家族外住込使用人 1 名

持家 借家 所有地

建物ノ建築セウラキ年 年 1928

炊事用燃料 ガス、電気 水道ノ有無 有

暖房ノ種別 火鉢、ストーブ 無

室ノ使用状況

室名 用途 面積 (畳) 面積 (m<sup>2</sup>)

A 八畳 居間 8.0 14.59

B 六畳 子供部屋 6.0 10.94

C 四畳 食卓 4.5 8.21

D 三畳 女中部屋 3.0 5.47

E 三畳 勉強部屋 4.5 8.21

F 二畳 台所 2.0 3.65

G 二畳 玄関 2.0 3.65

H 一畳 納戸 1.0 1.82

記入年月日 昭和十一年 六月 十四日

City: Minō

Occupation of householder: Lawyer

Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)

Number of servant: 1

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned

When was the house built? 1928

Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, electricity

Kind of heating(s): Brazier, gas stove

Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Chest of drawers, tea shelf
B Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Room for playing	Children's bedroom	Two chests of drawers
C Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals	-	Sewing machine, tea shelf
D Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Servant's room	Servant's bedroom	Chest of drawers, tea shelf
E Guest room and study room	4.5	8.21	-	-	Desk, bookcase
F Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	-	Sideboard, shelf, closet
G Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	Folding screen
H Closet room	-	-	Storage for firewood, charcoals and sundries	Storage for firewood, charcoals and sundries	-



1 用地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ノツデ最一節)

7 795 12 034

所在地 大塚町=品川区の村下地持33分巻地

戸主職業 電気師機械作業

其他有業者ノ職業

住宅ノ種別 純住宅 ( ) 住持宅

居住人員 7名 内21歳以上 2名  
15歳以下 3名

住居使用人 1名 其他ノ同居者 1名  
部別室使用人 1名

(不備ノキハテテ)

持家 借家 借家 所有地

建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和10年 1年前

炊事用燃料 薪炭 電熱 水道ノ有無

暖房ノ種類 火鉢 電熱器 炭

室ノ使用状況

室名	室四角寸	夜間用途	家具・設備
A 八帖	8.0 8.0	長男(2) 次男(2)	机 本箱
B 座敷	8.0 14.59	客間	机 座卓
C 六帖	6.0 10.94	待合間	机 椅子
D 三帖	2.0 3.65	玄関	同 靴箱
E 三帖	3.0 5.47	子供部屋	同 机 本箱
F 六帖	6.0 10.94	家事部屋	机 椅子 本箱
G 四帖	4.5 8.21	食事	同 机
H 三帖	- -	炊事	同 火鉢
I 二帖	2.0 3.65	縫製	同 本箱
J 物置	- -	米薪炭	同 本箱

昭和11年6月28日

City: Ibaraki

Occupation of householder: Electrician

Size of household: 7 (the two aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)

Number of servant: 1

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned

When was the house built? 1935

Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, electricity

Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater

Is running water available? No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Study room for the oldest and second sons	Bedroom for the oldest and second sons	Desk, bookcase
B	Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Desk, chigaidana
C	Anteroom	6.0	10.94	Anteroom (waiting room)	Bedroom for the three children	Sewing machine, chest of drawers
D	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	Shoe box
E	Children's room	3.0	5.47	Study room	Study room	Desk, bookcase
F	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Housework, sewing	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Chest of drawers
G	Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals	Meals	Table
H	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, cupboard for tea-things, electric cooker
I	Servant's room	2.0	3.65	Sewing conducted by the servant	Servant's bedroom	Chest of drawers
J	Shed	-	-	Storage for rice, firewood, charcoals and sundries	Storage for rice, firewood, charcoals and sundries	-

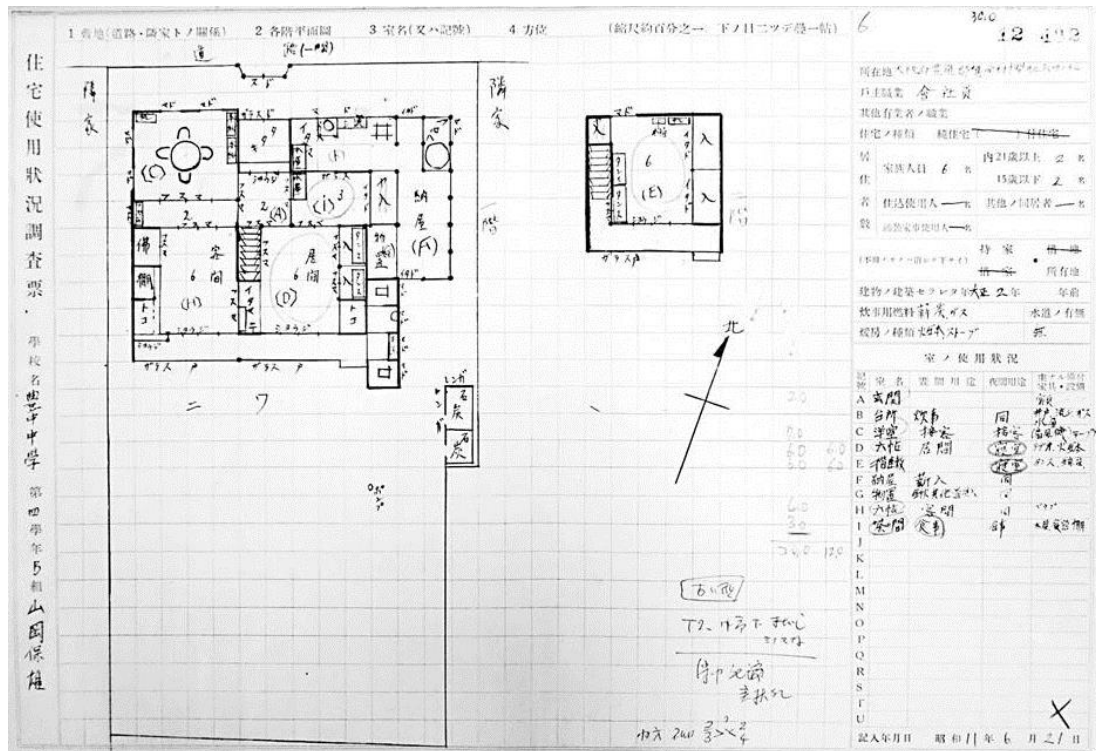
1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一 下ノ目ニツテ懸一帖)

住宅使用状況調査票

所在地 大阪府豊能郡豊中町松原  
 戸主職業 医師  
 其他有業ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 単独住宅(一戸)付住宅  
 階 内21歳以上 2名  
 家族人員 7名 15歳以下 4名  
 若 住居使用人 1名 其他ノ同居者 1名  
 数 訪問家使用人 1名  
 (本用...  
 建物ノ建築モジュール年昭和7年 存続年数  
 炊事用燃料 薪炭 炭 火 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火 石油 電気 暖房機  
 電燈ノ種類 電 石油 電気 暖房機  
 室ノ使用状況  
 室名 使用用途 備註  
 A 居間 月間 居間  
 B 子供室 子供部屋 居間  
 C 図書室 図書室 居間  
 D 三畳 三畳 居間  
 E 二畳 二畳 居間  
 F 二畳 二畳 居間  
 G 倉庫 倉庫 倉庫  
 H 小屋 小屋 倉庫  
 I 台所 台所 台所  
 J  
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 記入年月日 昭和11年6月27日

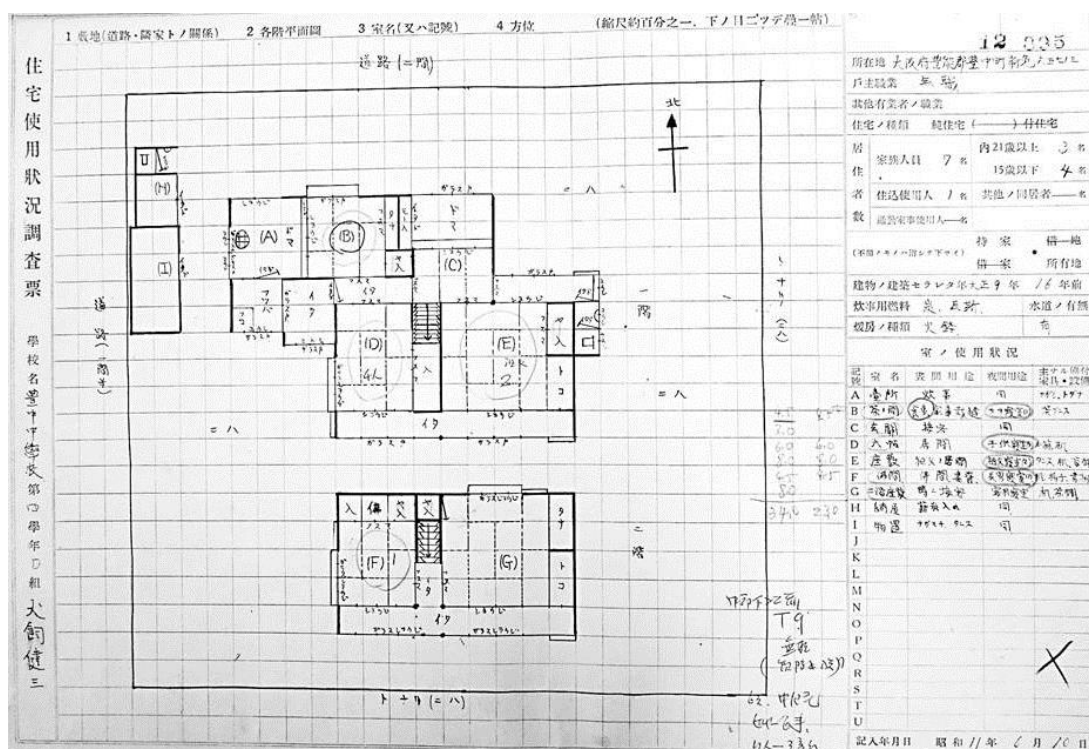
City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Doctor  
 Size of household: 7 (the two aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1932  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater, (gas) stove  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Living room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom for the husband and wife	Tea cabinet, desk
B Children's room	4.5	8.21	Room for playing and studying	Bedroom for the four children	Two chests of drawers
C Library and parlour	4.5	8.21	Study room for the oldest son	Bedroom for the oldest son	Two desks, two bookstands, bookcase
D Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Meals, sewing, makeup	Meals, sewing, makeup	Cupboard for tea-things, vanity table, dining table, radio
E Sitting room	6.0	10.94	Guest and sitting room	Guest and sitting room	Gramophone, two radios
F Two-tatami room	2.0	3.65	Hall	Hall	Coat rack, toy box
G Shed	-	-	Storage for farm implements	Storage for farm implements	Hoe, fertilizers, etc.
H Warehouse	-	-	Storage for a bicycle and baby buggy	Storage for a bicycle and baby buggy	-
I Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, cupboard for tea-things, cooking stove, well



City:	Minō
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	6 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1913
Power source(s) for cooking:	Firewood, charcoal, gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, (gas) stove
Is running water available?	No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	Frame
B Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Well, sink, gas appliance, cupboard for tea-things
C Western room	7.0	12.77	Reception	Reception	Table, (electric fun)
D Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bed room	Radio, brazier
E Upstairs zashiki	6.0	10.94	-	Bed room	Chest of drawers, vanity table
F Closet room	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
G Lumber room	-	-	Storage for household items	Storage for household items	-
H Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Guest room	-
I Chanoma	3.0	5.47	Meals	Meals	Cupboard for tea-things, tableware, shelf



City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	None
Size of household:	7 (the three aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1920
Power source(s) for cooking:	Charcoal, gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier
Is running water available?	Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard
B Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals, housework, sewing	Servant's bedroom	Tea cabinet
C Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Reception	Reception	-
D Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom for the three children	Bookcase, desk
E Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Grandfather's living room	Grandfather's bedroom	Chest of drawers, desk, tea shelf
F Room with a Buddhist altar	4.5	8.21	Room with a Buddhist altar, library	Bedroom for the oldest son	Desk, chair, bookshelf
G Upstairs zashiki	8.0	14.59	Occasionally used for reception	Bedroom for guests	Desk, tea shelf
H Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
I Warehouse	-	-	Large oblong chest, chest of drawers	Large oblong chest, chest of drawers	-

1 用地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツテ統一帖)

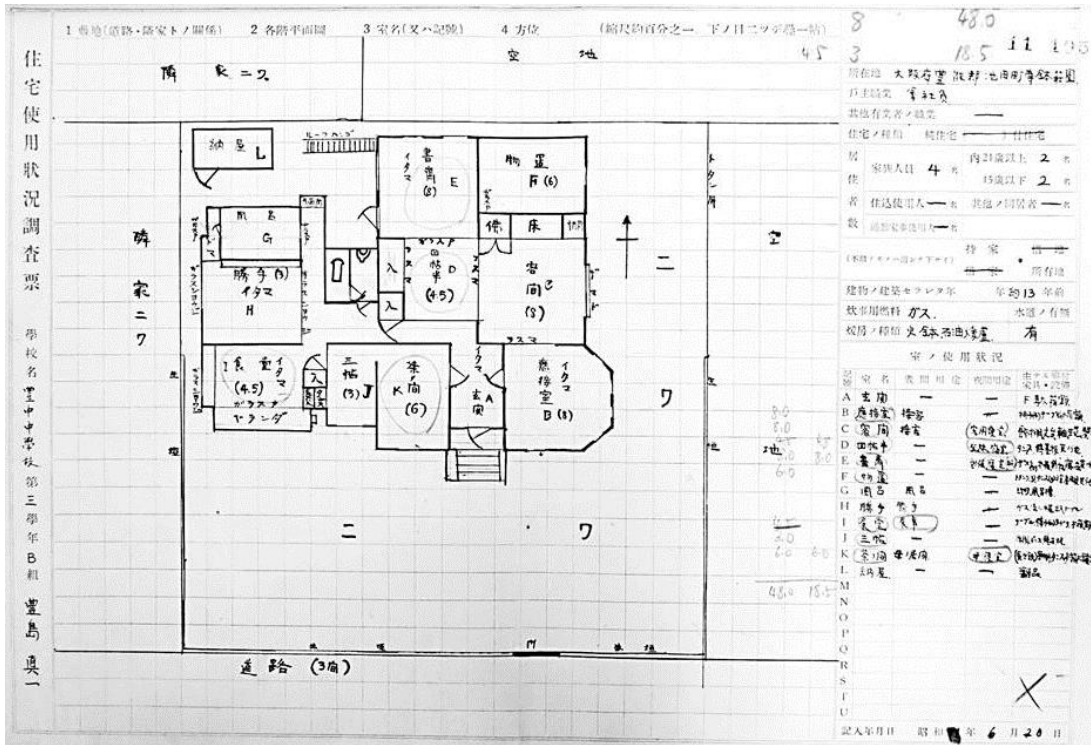
住宅使用状況調査票 学校名豊中女子高等学校 第三学年月組 技術実習組

41.5  
41.5  
23.0  
41.5  
23.0

現在地 大阪府豊中町豊中北原  
家主 菅 小工  
其他有業者 職業 —  
住宅の種類 純住宅(一) 住宅  
居住人口 8 内21歳以上 4  
住 15歳以下 2  
若 住込使用人 1 其他同居者 —  
数 調査対象使用人 —  
持家 借家  
(所有権) (借権) (所有権)  
建物/建築セラレタ年 九 年 十 七 年 前  
炊事用燃料 ガス・炭 水道の有無  
暖房の種類 電気ストーブ 有  
室ノ使用状況  
A 8.0 8.0 6.0  
B 6.0 6.0 6.0  
C 4.5 4.5 4.5  
D 4.5 4.5 4.5  
E 3.0 3.0 3.0  
F 2.0 2.0 2.0  
G 8.0 8.0 8.0  
H 4.5 4.5 4.5  
I 4.5 4.5 4.5  
J 8.0 8.0 8.0  
K 4.5 4.5 4.5  
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記入年月日 昭和 年 月 日

City: Toyonaka  
Occupation of householder: Company employee  
Size of household: 8 (the four aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
Number of servant: 1  
Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
When was the house built? 1920  
Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, charcoal  
Kind of heating(s): Electricity heater, gas stove  
Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom for guests	Desk, display shelf
B Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom for the father (and mother)	Desk, chest of drawers, bookcase
C Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Meals, housework, sewing	Meals, housework, sewing	Desk, chest of drawers
D Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Servant's room	Servant's room	-
E Three-tatami room (hall)	3.0	5.47	Reception	Reception	-
F Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, refrigerator
G Shed	-	-	Shed used by the father	Shed used by the father	-
H Shed	(3.0)	(5.47)	Storage for books	Storage for books	-
I Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
J Upstairs zashiki	8.0	14.59	Sisters' study room	Sisters' bedroom	Sewing machine, chest of drawers, bookcase
K Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Brothers' study room	Brothers' bedroom	Bookcase

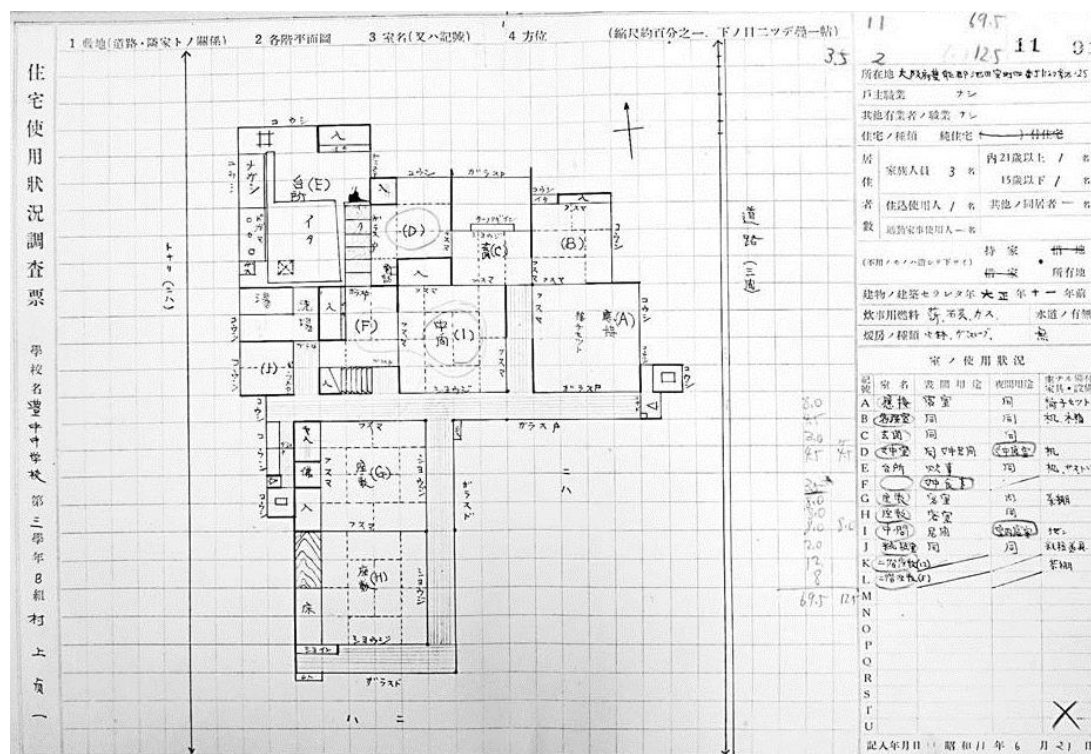


The details on the next page

Ref. number: 11-105

City:	Ikeda
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	4 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1923
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, fireplace
Is running water available?	Yes

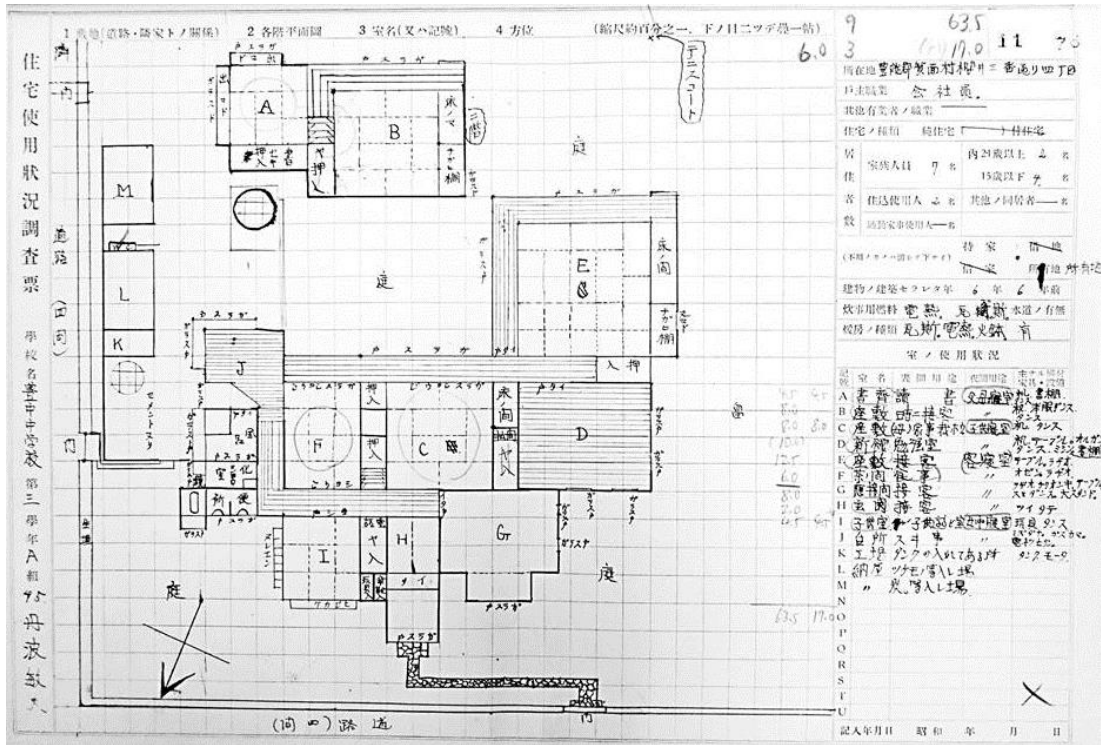
	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Hall (entrance)	-	-	-	-	Shoe box, frame
B	Parlour	8.0	14.59	Reception	-	Four chairs, table, bookcase, frame
C	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom for guests	Display shelf, tiny wooden desk, hanging scroll, flower, etc.
D	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	-	Bedroom for the father and sister	Chest of drawers, etc.
E	Library	8.0	14.59	-	Study room, bedroom for the brother	Two desks, bookcase, two chairs, bed, etc.
F	Closet room	6.0	10.94	-	-	Three trunks, two chests of drawers, heater, etc.
G	Bathroom	-	-	Bathroom	-	Bathtub
H	Kitchen	-	-	Kitchen	-	Gas appliance, sink, cupboard for tea-things, table
I	Dining room	4.5	8.21	Meals	-	Table, six chairs, radio, bookcase, frame
J	Three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	-	-	Wardrobe, vanity table, desk
K	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Mother's living room	Mother's bedroom	Tea shelf, chest of drawers, bookcase, mirror, frame, (brazier)
L	Shed	-	-	-	-	Sundries



City: Ikeda  
 Occupation of householder: None  
 Size of household: 3 (the one aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1922  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, coal, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, gas stove  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Chairs (and table)
B Study room	4.5	8.21	Study room	Study room	Desk, bookcase
C Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Hall	Hall	-
D Servant's room	4.5	8.21	Servant's living room	Servant's bedroom	Desk
E Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Desk, gas appliance, sideboard
F -	3.5	6.38	Servant's dining room	-	-
G Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Tea shelf
H Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	-
I Anteroom	8.0	14.59	Living room	Bedroom for the members of the family	Trays for meals
J Dressing room	2.0	3.65	Dressing room	Dressing room	Toilet articles
K Upstairs zashiki	12.0	21.89	-	-	Tea shelf
L Upstairs zashiki	8.0	14.59	-	-	-



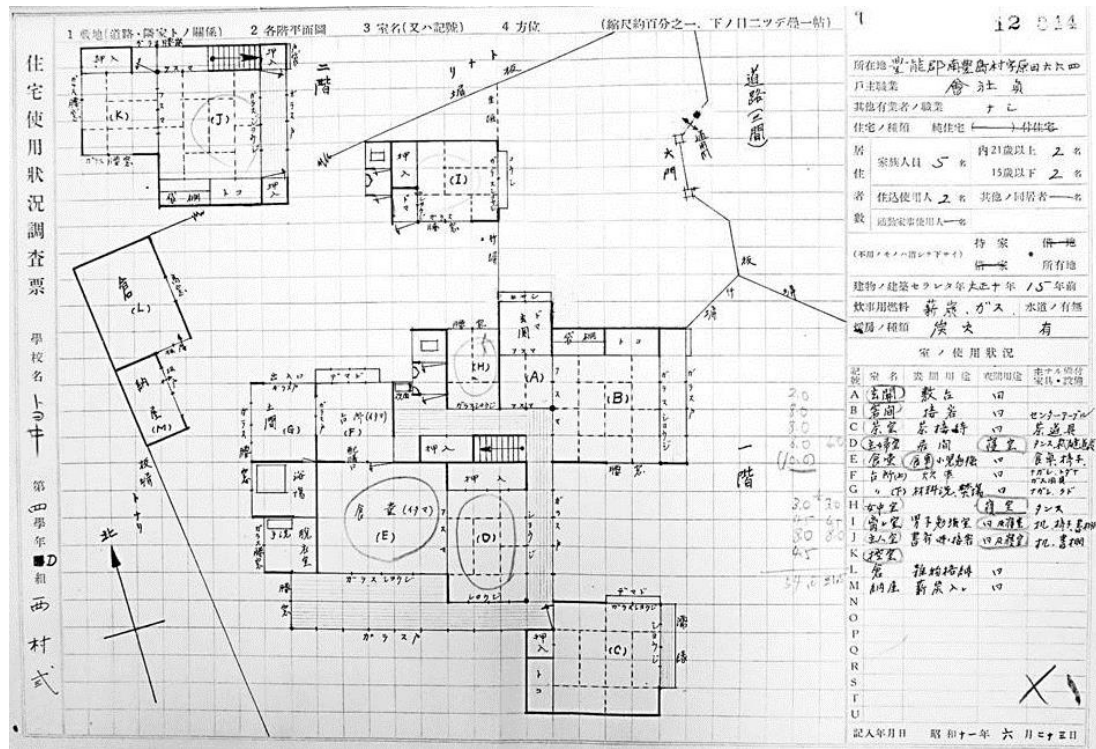


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Ref. number: 11-076

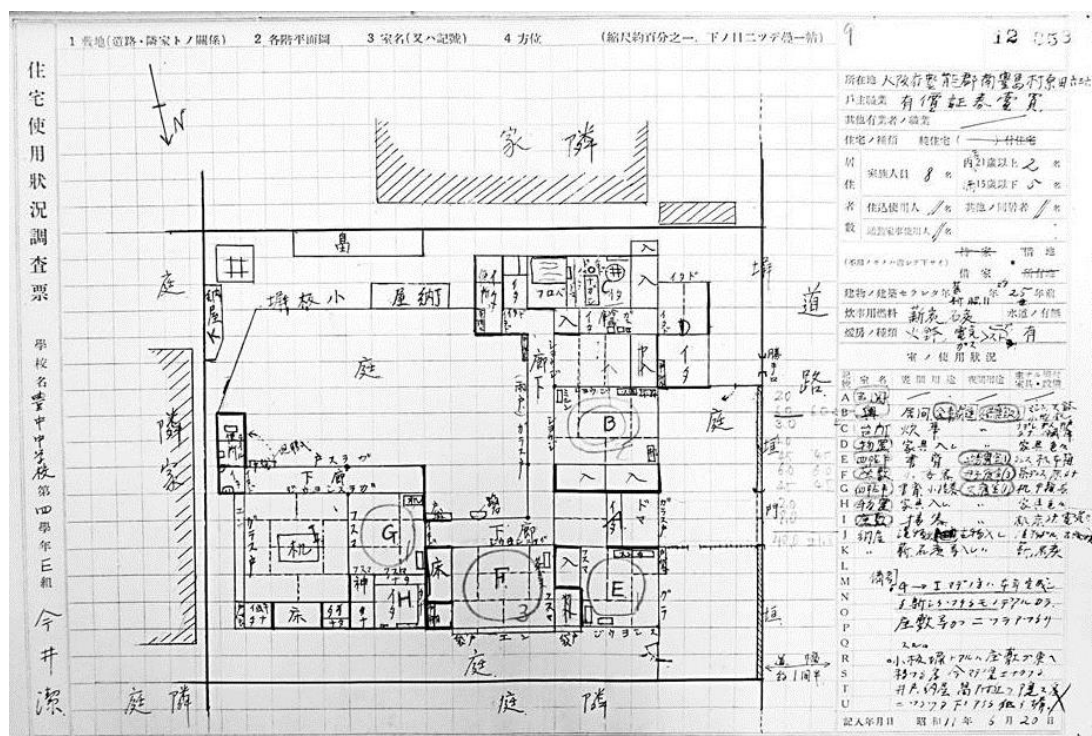
City:	Minō
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	7 (the two aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	2
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1930
Power source(s) for cooking:	Electricity, gas
Kind of heating(s):	Gas (stove), electric heater, brazier
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Library	4.5	8.21	Reading	Bedroom for the father and mother	Desk, bookcase, chest of drawers
B	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Occasionally used for reception	Occasionally used for reception	Desk, wardrobe, chest of drawers
C	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Housework, sewing	Children's bedroom	Desk, chest of drawers
D	Annexe	(10.0)	(18.24)	Study room	Study room	Desk, table, organ, chest of drawers, sewing machine, book shelf
E	<i>Zashiki</i>	12.5	22.80	Reception	Bedroom for guests	Table, radio
F	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Meals	meals	Trays for eating, radio
G	Parlour	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Radio, gramophone, table, chest of drawers, floor lamp
H	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Reception	Reception	Screen
I	Children's room	4.5	8.21	Children's room for playing	Servants' bedroom	Toy box, chest of drawers
J	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sideboard, gas cookers, electric cooking stove
K	Workshop	-	-	Storage for tanks	-	Tanks, motor
L	Shed	-	-	Space used for making pickled vegetables	-	-
M	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-	-



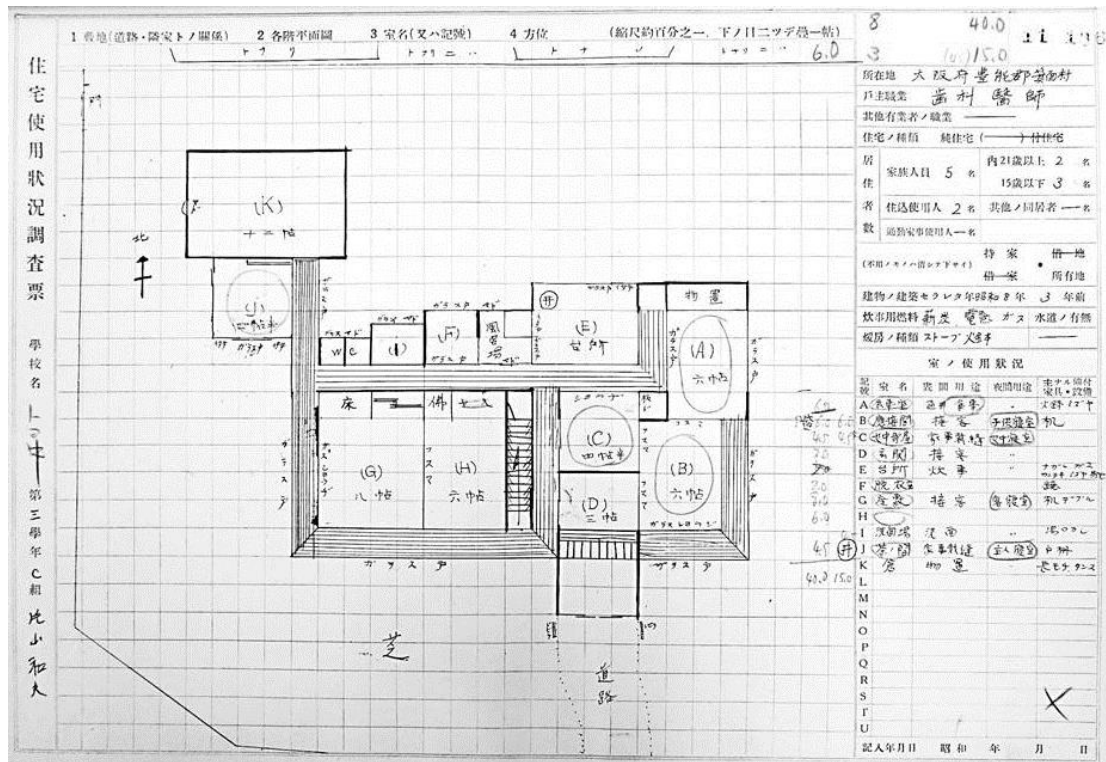
City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 2  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1921  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Charcoal (brazier)  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Reception	Reception	-
B	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Table (situated at the centre of the room)
C	Tea room	8.0	14.59	Reception (including tea ceremony)	Reception (including tea ceremony)	Tea utensils
D	Wife's room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	Chest of drawers, sewing things
E	Dining room	(10.0)	(18.24)	Meals, study room	Meals, study room	Dining table, chair(s)
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, gas appliance
G	Kitchen (scullery)	-	-	Washing foodstuffs	Washing foodstuffs	Sink
H	Servants' room	3.0	5.47	-	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
I	Annexe	4.5	8.21	Boys' study room	Bedroom	Desk, chair, bookshelf
J	Husband's room	8.0	14.59	Library, occasionally used for reception	Bedroom	Desk, bookshelf
K	Anteroom	4.5	8.21	-	-	-
L	Warehouse	-	-	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	-
M	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Dealer in securities  
 Size of household: 8 (the two aged 21 and over and the five under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1911  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, coal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater, gas stove  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
B Back room	6.0	10.94	Living room, meals, sewing	Bedroom for the two children	Sewing machine, brazier, small desk
C Kitchen	3.0	5.47	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, gas appliance, well, shelf, refrigerator
D Closet room	4.0	7.30	Lumber room	Lumber room	Sundries
E Four-and-half room	4.5	8.21	Library	Bedroom for the second son	Chest of drawers, desk, bookcase
F Zashiki	6.0	10.94	Reception for short visit	Bedroom for the mother and small children	Tea cabinet, tokonoma, chigaidana
G Four-and-half room	4.5	8.21	Library, reception for short visit	Father's bedroom	Desk, bookcase, etc.
H Closet room	2.0	3.65	Lumber room	Lumber room	Furniture, etc.
I Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Desk, tokonoma, chigaidana, plug
J Shed	-	-	Space used for making pickled vegetables, etc.	Space used for making pickled vegetables, etc.	Pickle barrels
K Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Firewood, charcoals



City: Minō  
 Occupation of householder: Dentist  
 Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 2  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1933  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): (Gas) stove, brazier  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Dining room	6.0	10.94	Meals	Meals	Brazier, cupboard for tea-things
B Guest room	6.0	10.94	Reception	Children's bedroom	Desk
C Servants' room	4.5	8.21	Housework, sewing	Servants' bedroom	-
D Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Reception	Reception	-
E Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, gas appliance, cupboard for tea-things, etc.
F Dressing room	2.0	3.65	-	-	Mirror
G Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom for guests	Desk, table
H -	6.0	10.94	-	-	-
I Room with a washstand	-	-	Washing faces	Washing faces	Water heater
J Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Housework, sewing	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Shelf
K Warehouse	-	-	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	Large oblong chest, chest of drawers

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツテ誤一帖)

所在地 茨城県守谷市増塚一丁目  
 戸主職業 会社員  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅( ) 付住宅  
 居室 家族人員 1名 内21歳以上 2名  
 15歳以下 0名  
 住居使用人ノ数 住居使用人 1名 其他ノ同居者 0名  
 訪問家事使用人 0名 式 0名  
 (不問ノモノハ調査外ニシテ) 特等 1名  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和7年前  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 炭火 式 0名

室ノ使用状況

室名	使用用途	使用用途	備考(不問ノモノハ調査外ニシテ)
A 起居室	居間	待客	
B 洋室	居間	居間	
C 洋室	居間	居間	
D 洋室	居間	居間	
E 洋室	居間	居間	
F 洋室	居間	居間	
G 洋室	居間	居間	
H 洋室	居間	居間	
I 洋室	居間	居間	
J 洋室	居間	居間	
K 洋室	居間	居間	
L			
M			
N			
O			
P			
Q			
R			
S			
T			
U			

記入年月日 昭和 12 年 1 月 30 日

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツテ誤一帖)

所在地 茨城県守谷市増塚一丁目  
 戸主職業 会社員  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅( ) 付住宅  
 居室 家族人員  
 住居使用人ノ数 住居使用人  
 訪問家事使用人  
 (不問ノモノハ調査外ニシテ)  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年  
 炊事用燃料  
 暖房ノ種類

室ノ使用状況

室名	使用用途	使用用途	備考(不問ノモノハ調査外ニシテ)
A			
B			
C			
D			
E			
F			
G			
H			
I			
J			
K			
L			
M			
N			
O			
P			
Q			
R			
S			
T			
U			

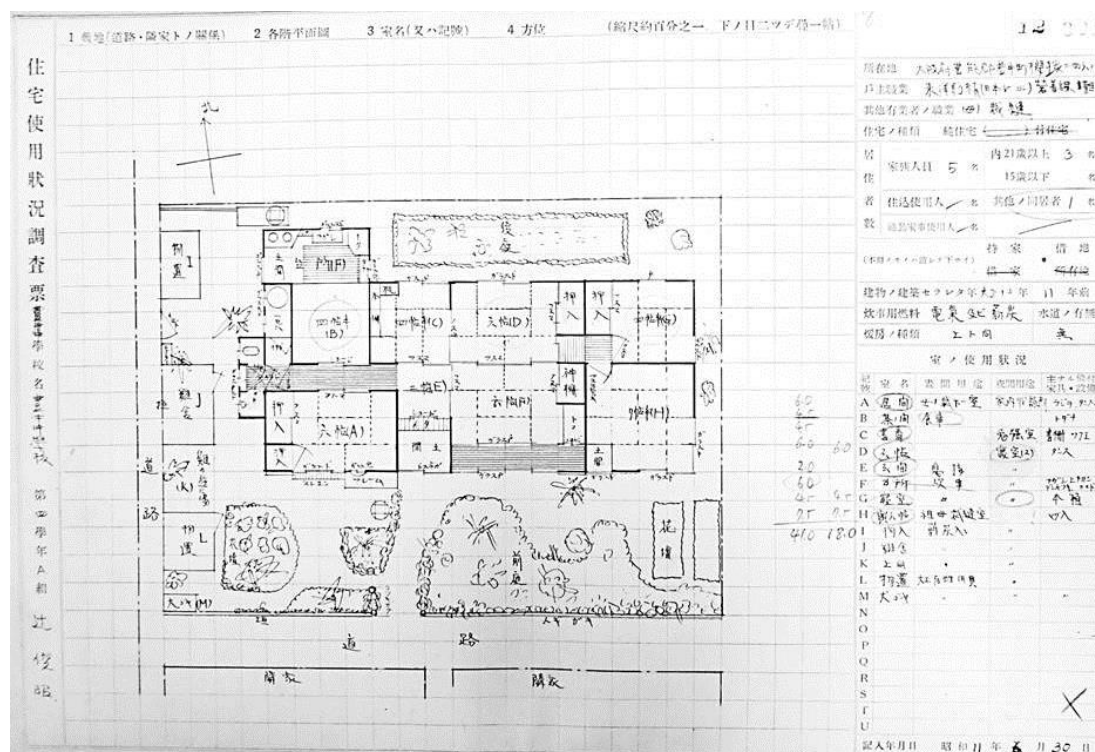
記入年月日 昭

The details on the next page

Ref. number: 12-303

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	3 (the two aged 21 and over)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1929
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, gas stove
Is running water available?	Yes

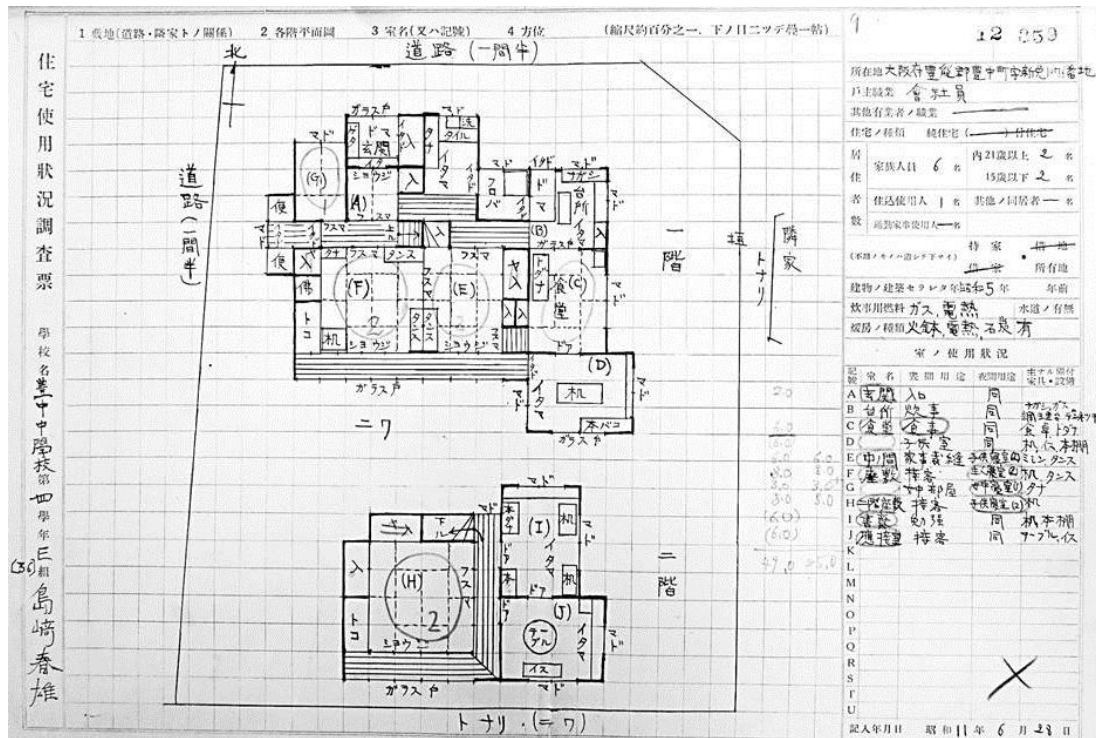
	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Living room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Bedroom	-
B	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Meals, housework	Meals, housework	Chest of drawers, radio, brazier, tea cabinet
C	Western room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Piano, desk, chair(s), bookcase, tea cabinet, etc.
D	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Cooking utensils
E	Servant's room	2.0	3.65	Housework	Bedroom	-
F	Closet room	(3.0)	(5.47)	Storage	Storage	-
G	Hall (entrance)	-	-	-	-	-
H						
I	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	-
J	Darkroom	2.0	3.65	Photographic development	Photographic development	Running water, gas appliance, etc.
K	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Study room	Bedroom (for the child)	Desk, chair, etc.



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5 (the three aged 21 and over) [and one boarder]  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1925  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Electricity, firewood, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Electric heater, Charcoal (brazier)  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Living room	6.0	10.94	Mother's room for sewing	Sitting room (for all)	Radio, chest of drawers
B Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals	-	Cupboard
C Library	4.5	8.21	-	Study room	Bookshelf, desk
D Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	-	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
E Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Reception	Reception	-
F Kitchen	6.0	10.94	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, charcoal stove, electric cooker, cooking stove
G Bedroom	4.5	8.21	Bedroom	Bedroom	Bookcase
H Six-tatami room	7.5	13.68	Grandmother's room for sewing	-	-
I Warehouse	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
J Henhouse	-	-	Henhouse	Henhouse	-
K Henhouse	-	-	Henhouse	Henhouse	-
L Warehouse	-	-	Storage for firm implements	Storage for firm implements	-
M Kennel	-	-	Kennel	Kennel	-





City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 6 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1930  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, electricity  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater, Coal (stove)  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Exit	Exit	-
B Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, gas appliance, kitchen table, electric cooker
C Dining room	6.0	10.94	Meals	Meals	Dining table, cupboard
D -	(6.0)	(10.94)	Children's room	Children's room	Desk, chair(s), bookshelf
E Anteroom	6.0	10.94	Housework, sewing	Bedroom for two children	Sewing machine, chest of drawers
F Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Reception	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Desk, chest of drawers
G -	3.0	5.47	Servants' room	Servant's bedroom	Shelf
H Upstairs zashiki	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom for two children	Desk
I Library	(6.0)	(10.94)	Studying	Studying	Desk(s), bookshelf
J Parlour	(6.0)	(10.94)	Reception	Reception	Table, chair(s)

Ref. number: 11-014

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一 下ノ目ニツテ器一併)

18 (50x6) 8 495 ii 21 4 235 (55)

所在地 大分県豊後高田市豊後一丁目  
 戸主職業 東京 支店 支店長  
 其他所有者ノ職業 ナシ

住宅ノ種類 純住宅 ( ) 付住宅 ( )  
 住 家族人員 内21歳以上 5 名  
 住 15歳以下 2 名  
 者 住込使用人 / 名 其他ノ同居者 1 名  
 数 追加実住居人 名

(不納ノ場合ニハ下ニ付) 持家 借地  
 持家 借地  
 持家 借地

建物ノ建築カラシテ年数 30 年  
 炊事用燃料 薪炭 電熱 ガス 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 薪炭 電熱 ガス

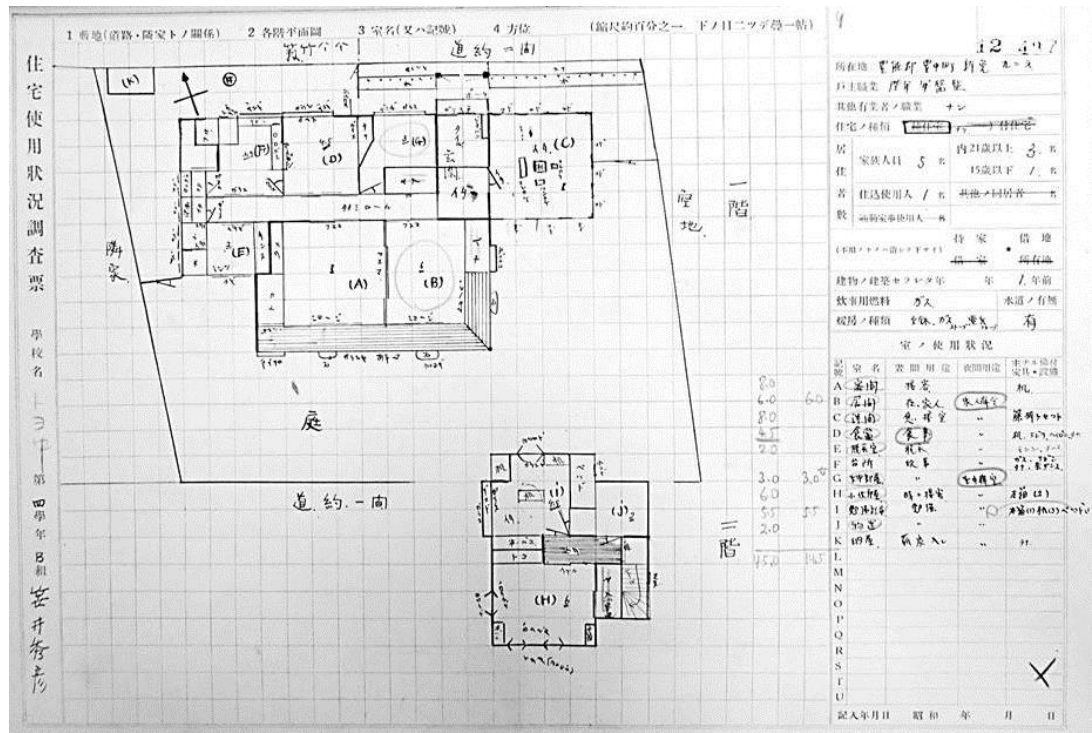
室ノ使用状況

室名	用途	使用時間	家具・設備
A (父室)	父の書斎	朝晩	書架・机
B (母室)	母の書斎	朝晩	机・椅子
C (座敷)	座敷	朝晩	机
D (下宿)	下宿	朝晩	机
E (廊下)	廊下	朝晩	
F (クローゼット)	クローゼット	朝晩	3・4 段
G (ダイニング)	相違及読書	朝晩	ガス
H (キッチン)	キッチン	朝晩	
I (ホール)	ホール	朝晩	
J (玄関)	玄関	朝晩	
K (父の書斎)	父の書斎	朝晩	3・4 段
L (父の書斎)	父の書斎	朝晩	ガス
M (ポーチ)	ポーチ	朝晩	
N (ポーチ)	ポーチ	朝晩	
O (倉庫)	倉庫	朝晩	
P (付居)	付居	朝晩	

記入年月日 昭和十一年六月二十九日

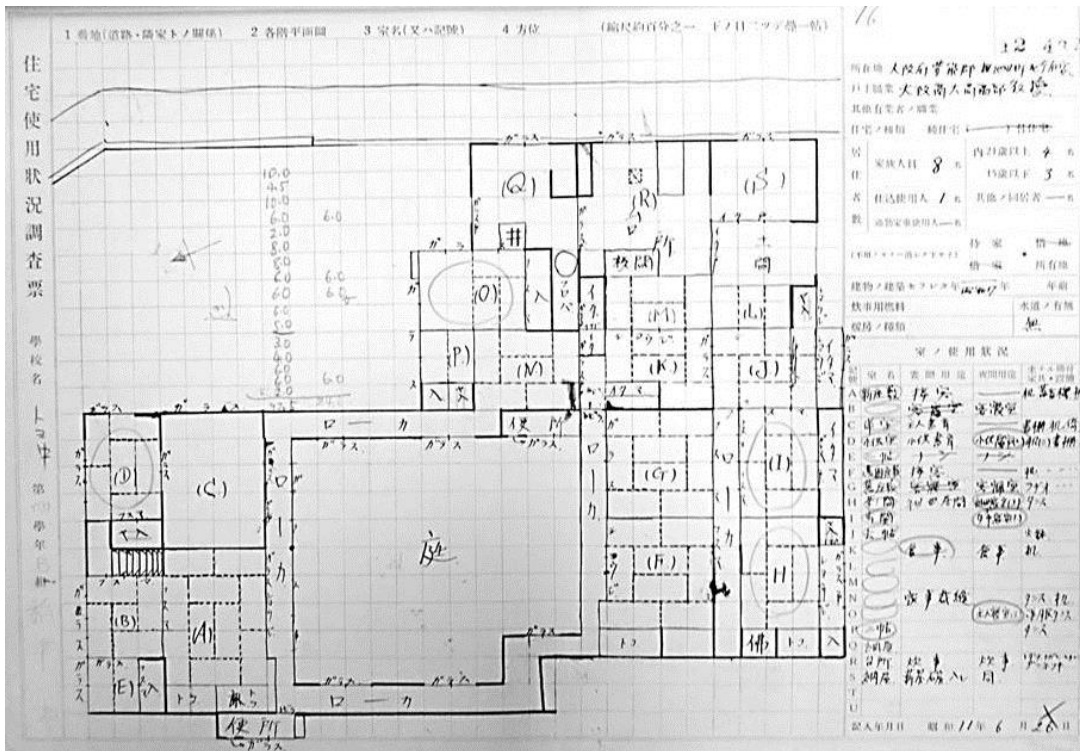
City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company executive (Branch manager of Asahi Newspaper in New York)  
 Size of household: 4 (the three aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1934  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, electricity, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, gas (stove)  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Library	8.0	14.59	Father's library	Father's library	Bookshelf, desk, chair(s)
B Parlour	8.0	14.59	-	-	Piano
C Chanoma	8.0	14.59	-	-	Chest of drawers
D Servant's room	3.0	5.47	-	Servant's bedroom	-
E -	-	-	-	-	-
F Closet room	(4.5)	(8.21)	-	-	Chest of drawers
G Dining room	5.5	10.03	Three meals	-	-
H Kitchen	-	-	-	-	Gas appliance
I Hall	-	-	-	-	-
J Entrance	-	-	-	-	-
K Study room for the oldest son	4.5	8.21	Study room for the oldest son	Bedroom for the oldest son	Bookshelf, etc.
L Bedroom	8.0	14.59	Father's bedroom (and for the mother)	Father's bedroom (and for the mother)	Chest of drawers
M Porch	-	-	-	-	-
N Porch	-	-	-	-	-
O Warehouse	-	-	-	-	-
P Annexe	-	-	Storage for sundries	-	-



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Government official (Surgeon general)  
 Size of household: 5 (the three aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1935  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, gas stove, electric stove  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	-	Desk
B	Living room	6.0	10.94	Space used by all members of the family	Bedroom for all members of the family	-
C	Western room	8.0	14.59	Parlour	Parlour	Rattan chair
D	Dining room	4.5	8.21	Meals	Meals	Desk, radio, cupboard
E	Dressing room	2.0	3.65	Dressing room	Dressing room	Sewing machine, chest of drawers
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Gas appliance, sink, shelf, tea cabinet
G	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	Servant's room	Servant's bedroom	-
H	Children's room	6.0	10.94	Occasionally used for reception	Occasionally used for reception	Two bookcases
I	Study room	5.5	10.03	Studying	Studying, (sleeping)	Bookcase, three desks, bed
J	Closet room	2.0	3.65	Closet room	Closet room	-
K	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Shelf

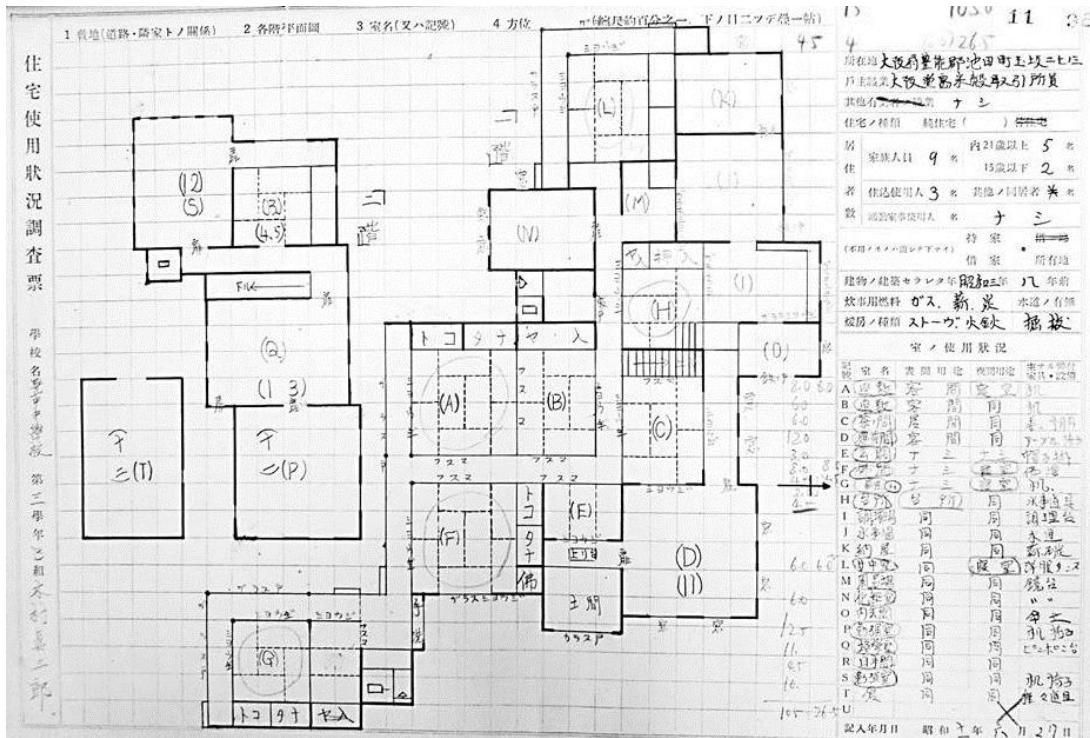


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Ref. number: 12-467

City:	Ikeda
Occupation of householder:	Professor
Size of household:	8 (the four aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1932
Power source(s) for cooking:	(Firewood and charcoal)
Kind of heating(s):	(Brazier)
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	<i>Zashiki</i>	10.0	18.24	Reception	-	Desk, gramophone, shelf
B	-	4.5	8.21	-	Bedroom for guests	-
C	Western room	10.0	18.24	Husband's library	-	Bookshelf, desk, chair(s)
D	Children's room	6.0	10.94	Children's library	Children's bedroom	Three desks, bookshelf
E	Three- <i>tatami</i> room	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
F	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Reception	-	Desk, etc.
G	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	-	Bedroom for guests	Radio, etc.
H	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Living room for the grandmother	Grandmother's bedroom	Chest of drawers
I	-	6.0	10.94	-	Servant's bedroom	-
J	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	-	-	Brazier
K	-	5.0	9.12	Meals	Meals	Desk
L	-	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
M	-	4.0	7.30	-	-	-
N	-	6.0	10.94	Housework, sewing	-	Chest of drawers, desk
O	-	6.0	10.94	-	Husband's bedroom and (for the mother)	Wardrobe
P	Two- <i>tatami</i> room	2.0	3.65	-	-	Chest of drawers
Q	Closet room	-	-	-	-	-
R	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sideboard, sink, electric cooker
S	Closet room	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-



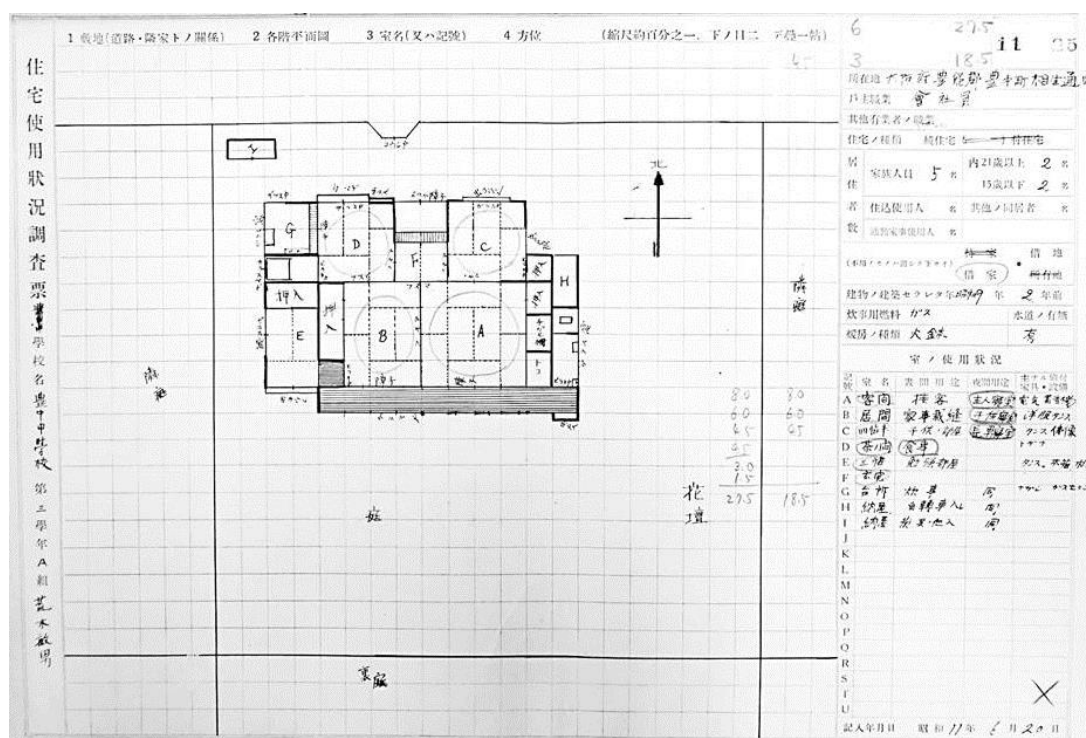
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Ref. number: 11-098

City:	Ikeda
Occupation of householder:	Rice dealer
Size of household:	9 (the five aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	3
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1928
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	(Gas) stove, brazier
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom	Desk
B	<i>Zashiki</i>	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Guest room	Desk
C	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Living room	Living room	Trays for eating, shelf
D	Parlour	12.0	21.89	Guest room	Guest room	Table, chair(s)
E	Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	-	-	Hat rack
F	Room with a Buddhist altar	8.0	14.59	-	Bedroom	Buddhist altar
G	Annexe	4.5	8.21	-	Bedroom	Desk
H	Kitchen(-diner)	3.0	5.47	Kitchen	Kitchen	Cooking utensils
I	Kitchen	4.5	8.21	Kitchen	Kitchen	kitchen table
J	Scullery	-	-	Scullery	Scullery	Running water
K	Closet room	-	-	Closet room	Closet room	Firewood, coals
L	Servants' room	6.0	10.94	Servants' room	Bedroom (for the servants)	Wardrobe
M	Bathroom	-	-	Bathroom	Bathroom	-
N	Dressing room	6.0	10.94	Dressing room	Dressing room	Vanity table
O	Side entrance	-	-	Side entrance	Side entrance	Umbrella stand
P	Study room	12.5	22.80	Study room	Study room	Desk, chair
Q	Entertainment room	11.0	20.06	Entertainment room	Entertainment room	Ping-Pong table
R	Japanese-style room	4.5	8.21	Japanese-style room	Japanese-style room	-
S	Study room	10.0	18.24	Study room	Study room	Desk, chair
T	Warehouse	-	-	Warehouse	Warehouse	Sundries

Ref. number: 11-025



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1934  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Gramophone
B	Living room	6.0	10.94	Housework, sewing	Bedroom for two children	Wardrobe
C	Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Children's room	Bedroom for the oldest son	Chest of drawers, Buddhist altar
D	Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals	-	Cupboard
E	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Study room	-	Chest of drawers, bookcase, desk
F	Hall (entrance)	1.5	2.74	-	-	-
G	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, gas appliance
H	Closet room	-	-	Storage for a bicycle	Storage for a bicycle	-
I	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-



住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツテ級一節)

所在地址 愛知県豊橋市豊橋区豊橋一丁目二番地

戸主 藤田 久太郎 55歳 男

其他有業者ノ職業

住宅ノ種別 純住宅 (一) 付住宅

居住ノ家族人員 内21歳以上 3名  
15歳以下 2名

住者 住込使用人 1名 其他ノ同居者 名  
数 訪問家事使用人 名

(家内ノモノハ固シク下ニ示ス)

持家 借地 借家 所有権

建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和19年 年前

炊事用燃料 ガス 水道ノ有無

暖房ノ種別 電熱 火 ストーブ 有

家ノ使用状況

室名	表用用途	夜間用途	備付家具
A 座敷	座敷	夫ノ座敷	引出箱、佛壇
B 座敷	座敷	妻ノ座敷	引出箱、佛壇
C 二軒	勉強室	長男ノ座敷	書架、書棚、机
D 二軒	和室	長女ノ座敷	引出箱
E 二軒	茶室	茶室	引出箱
F 二軒	調理場	調理場	-
G 二軒	居間	祖母及子供ノ座敷	書架、机、引出箱
H 二軒	二軒	長男ノ座敷	引出箱
I 二軒	湯殿	湯殿	-

記入年月日 昭和19年 6月 14日

City: Toyonaka

Occupation of householder: Landscape gardener

Size of household: 7 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)

Number of servant: 1

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned

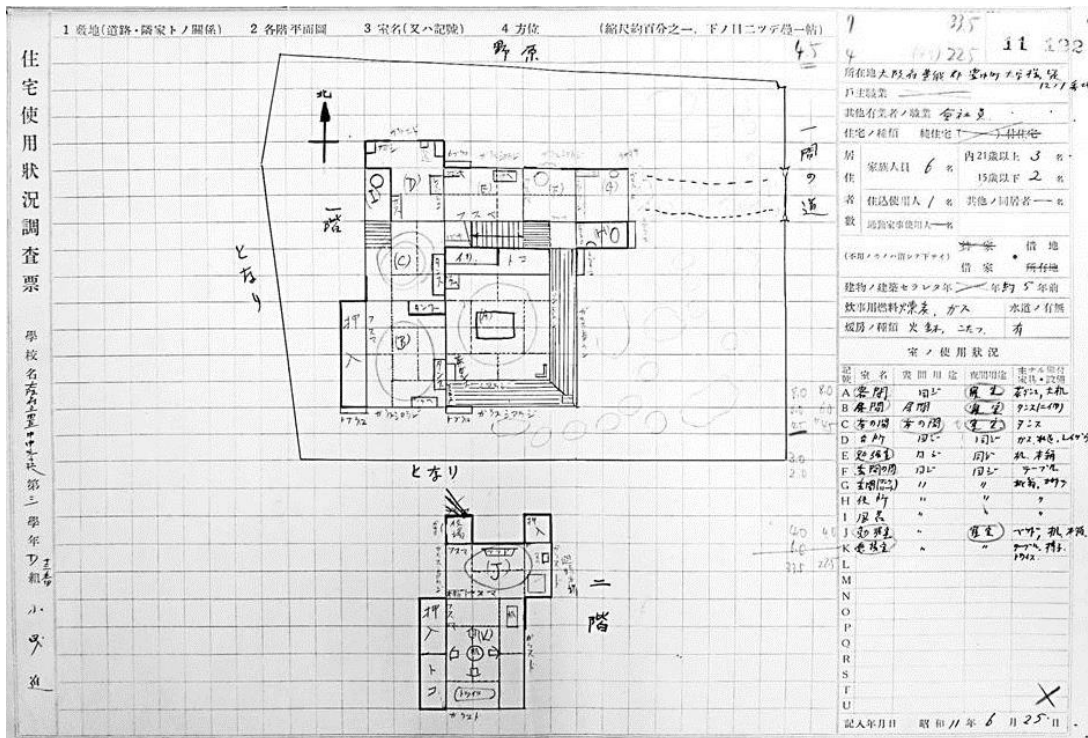
When was the house built? 1927

Power source(s) for cooking: Gas

Kind of heating(s): Electric heater, brazier, (gas) stove

Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Zashiki	6.0	10.94	-	-	Chest of drawers, desk, Buddhist altar
B	Zashiki	4.5	8.21	-	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Desk, wardrobe, bookstand
C	Two-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Study room	Bedroom for the oldest son	Bookcase, bookstand, desk
D	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	Shoe box
E	Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Dining room	-	Small cupboard for tea-things
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	-	-
G	Living room	4.5	8.21	Study room	Bedroom for the grandmother and children	Bookcase, desk, chest of drawers
H	-	3.0	5.47	-	Bedroom for the second son	Small chest of drawers
I	Bathroom	-	-	Bathing	Bathing	-



City: Toyonaka

Occupation of householder: Company employee

Size of household: 6 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)

Number of servant: 1

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented

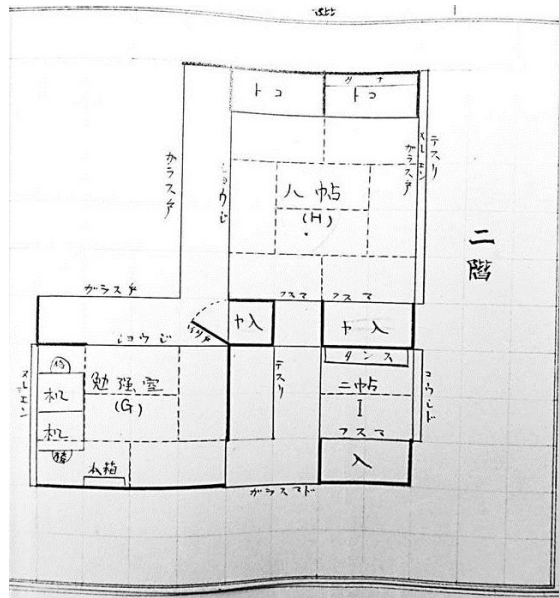
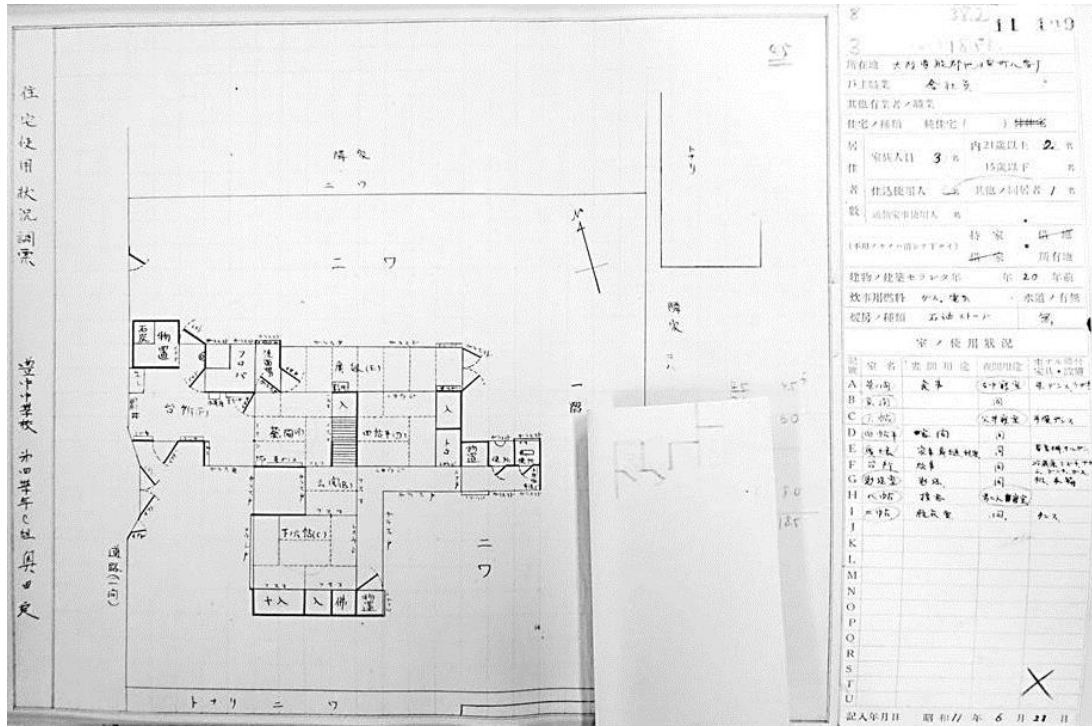
When was the house built? 1931

Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas

Kind of heating(s): Brazier

Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom	Tea cabinet, large desk
B Living room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	Two chests of drawers
C Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Chanoma (meals)	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
D Kitchen	-	-	Kitchen	Kitchen	Gas appliance, running water, refrigerator
E Study room	3.0	5.47	Study room	Study room	Desk, bookcase
F Hall	2.0	3.65	Hall	Hall	Table
G Entrance	-	-	Entrance	Entrance	Shoe box, umbrella stand
H Toilet	-	-	Toilet	Toilet	-
I Bathroom	-	-	Bathroom	Bathroom	-
J Study room	4.0	7.30	Study room	Bedroom	Bed, desk, bookcase
K Parlour	6.0	10.94	Parlour	Parlour	Table, chair(s), rattan chair



The details on the next page

Ref. number: 11-139

City:	Ikeda
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	3 (the two aged 21 and over)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1916
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, electricity
Kind of heating(s):	Oil heater
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	<i>Chanoma</i>	4.5	8.21	Meals	Bedroom for the servant	Tea cabinet, radio
B	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	Hall (entrance)	-
C	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	-	Bedroom for the father and mother	Wardrobe
D	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Guest room	Guest room	-
E	Large <i>engawa</i> (sunroom)	5.25	9.58	Housework, sewing, entertainment	Housework, sewing, entertainment	Gramophone, organ
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Refrigerator, cupboard for tea-things, sink, electric and gas appliances
G	Study room	6.0	10.94	Studying	Studying	Desk, bookcase
H	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom	-
I	Two- <i>tatami</i> room	2.0	3.65	Dressing room	Dressing room	Chest of drawers

Ref. number: 11-158

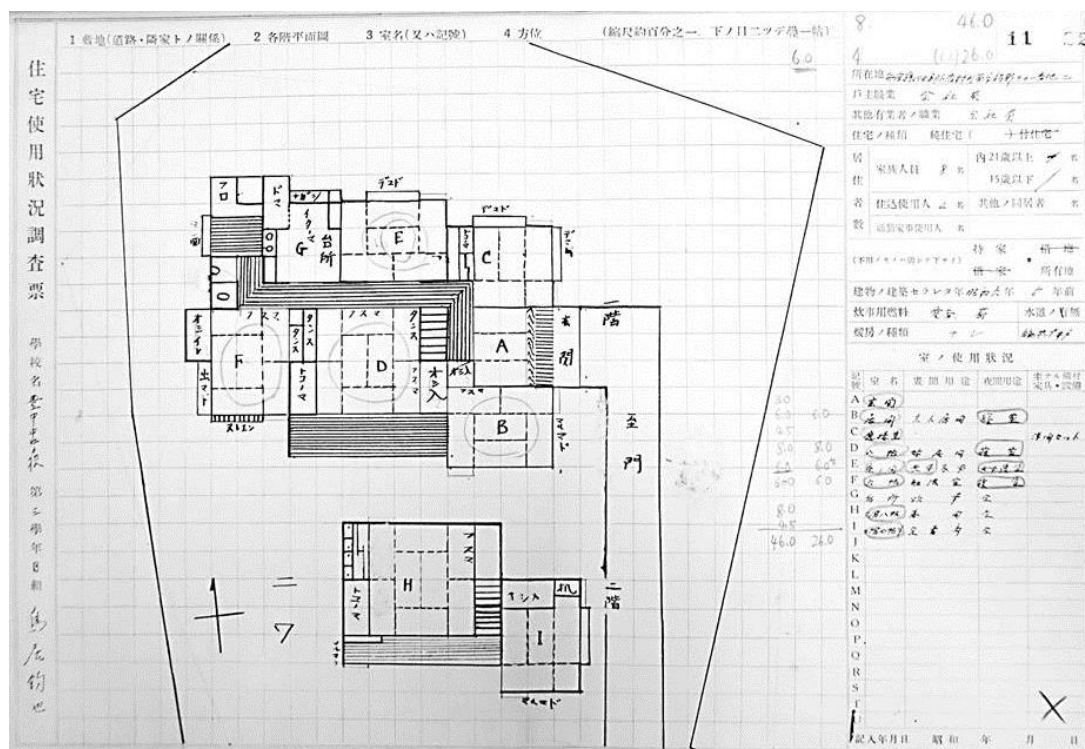
住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、Fノ目ニツテ統一也)

所在地位 清見町南森本  
 戸主職業 東洋硝子株式会社 役員  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅 1 軒建  
 住 家族人口 4 内21歳以上 2 人  
 住 住込使用人 0 其他ノ同居者 0 人  
 数 高層家使用人 0 人  
 (和洋ノ別ニテ示ス)  
 建物ノ建築キタシ年 年 月 日 年前  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 水道ノ有無  
 校房ノ種類 石炭ストーブ 有  
 室ノ使用状況  
 室名 使用用途 使用用途 車ノ有無  
 A 居間 居間 居間 あり  
 B 六畳 居間 勉強部屋 あり  
 C 客間 同上 同上 あり  
 D 仕立部屋 同上 同上 あり  
 E 食卓 食事 食事 あり  
 F 台所 台所 あり  
 G 土間 収納庫 あり  
 H 土間 あり  
 I 玄関 あり  
 J 土間 あり  
 K 六畳半 子供部屋 あり  
 L 六畳 父母部屋 あり  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 Q  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 記入年月日 昭和 十一年 八月 二十日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 4 (the two aged 21 and over)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1926  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Coal stove, brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Living room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Living room	Desk, records
B	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Study room	Bookcase, desk, rattan chair
C	Guest room	(6.0)	(10.94)	Guest room	Guest room	Sofa, desk
D	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	Servant's room	Servant's room	Chest of drawers, mirror
E	Dining room	4.5	8.21	Meals	Meals	Tea shelf
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Gas appliance, sideboard
G	Shed	-	-	Storage for books	Storage for books	-
H	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
I	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	Bookcase
J	Veranda	-	-	-	-	-
K	Six-and-half-tatami room	6.5	11.86	-	Children's bedroom	Chest of drawers
L	Bedroom	6.0	10.94	-	Parents' bedroom	Bed(s)



City: Takarazuka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 8 (-)  
 Number of servant: 2  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1931  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Electricity, firewood  
 Kind of heating(s): None  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
B Living room	6.0	10.94	Husband's living room	Bedroom	-
C Guest room	4.5	8.21	-	-	Western furniture
D Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Living room for the sister(s)	Bedroom	-
E Chanoma	6.0	10.94	Meals, housework	Servants' bedroom	-
F Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Study room	Bedroom	-
G Kitchen Upstairs	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	-
H eight-tatami room Upstairs	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	-
I four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Library for the brother(s)	Library for the brother(s)	-

Ref. number: 11-103

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニツテ最一帖)

7 325 105 11 102

所在地 豊能郡中津市三番地  
戸主職業 中学校教諭  
其他有業者ノ職業  
住宅ノ種類 借住宅 ( ) 借住宅  
居住人員 7 名 内21歳以上 2 名  
7歳以下 2 名  
者 住込使用人 1 名 其他ノ同居者 0 名  
数 通算家族用者 1 名  
(使用ノ人ハ別ノ下ナリ)  
建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和9年 年前  
炊事用燃料 薪炭 今 水道ノ有無  
暖房ノ種類 薪炭 有

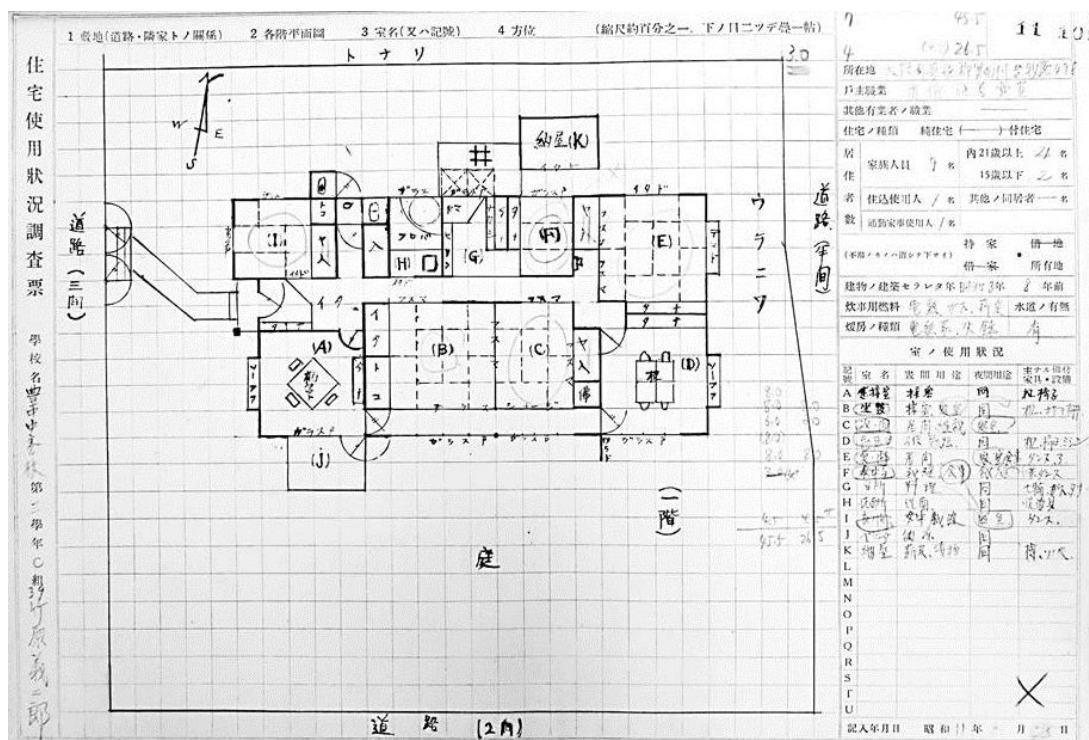
室ノ使用状況

室名	英名	用途	使用用途	主たる家具・設備
A	客室	客室	客室	同
B	客室	客室	客室	同
C	接待室	接待室	接待室	同
D	生活室	生活室	生活室	同
E	玄関	玄関	玄関	同
F	書斎	書斎	書斎	同
G	茶室	茶室	茶室	同

記入年月日 昭和 年 月 日

City: Toyonaka  
Occupation of householder: Teacher  
Size of household: 7 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
Number of servant: 0  
Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
When was the house built? 1929  
Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas  
Kind of heating(s): Charcoal (brazier)  
Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Guest room	4.5	8.21	Guest room	Guest room	-
B Bedroom for guests	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom for guests	-
C Zashiki	6.0	10.94	Reception	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
D Four-and-half tatami room	4.5	8.21	Living room	Children's bedroom	Chest of drawers
E Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	-
F Study room	3.0	5.47	Study room	Study room	-
G Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals, sewing	-	Cupboard



City: Minō

Occupation of householder: Dealer in securities

Size of household: 9 (the four aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)

Number of servant: 2 (including the one who did not live with the family)

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned

When was the house built? 1928

Power source(s) for cooking: Electricity, gas, firewood, charcoal

Kind of heating(s): Electric heater, brazier

Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Parlour	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Desk, chair(s)
B	Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Reception, bedroom	Reception, bedroom	Desk, display shelf
C	Anteroom	6.0	10.94	Living room, sewing	Bedroom	-
D	Study room	(8.0)	(14.59)	Study room	Study room	Desk, chair(s), sewing machine
E	Back room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Bedroom, meals	Chests of drawers
F	Servants' room	3.0	5.47	Sewing, meals	Sewing	Tea cabinet
G	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Charcoal stove, gas appliance, shelf
H	Dressing room	-	-	Washing faces	Washing faces	Toiletries
I	Front room	4.5	8.21	Sewing conducted by the servants	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
J	Veranda	-	-	Cooling	Cooling	-
K	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Pickle barrels, etc.



Ref. number: 11-140

住宅使用状況調査票 (縮尺約百分之一、Fノ目ニツテ器一帖)

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、Fノ目ニツテ器一帖)

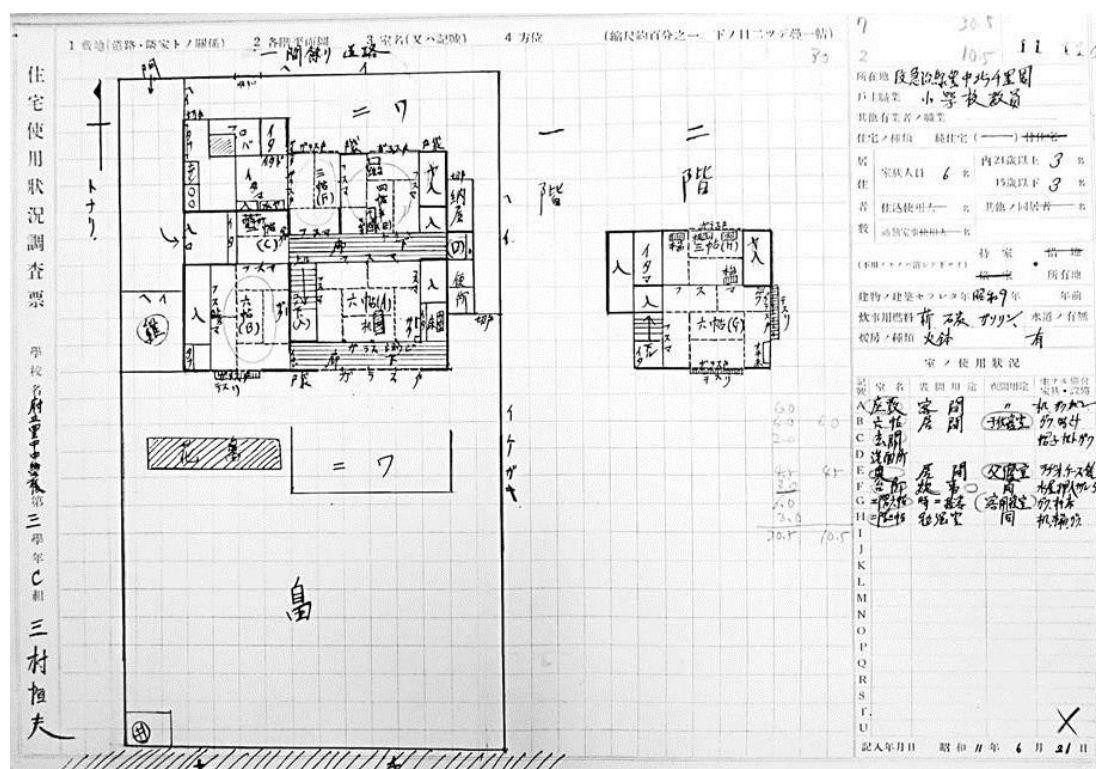
所在地 大阪府豊能郡池田町大字元553  
 戸主職業 会社員  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 既住宅 ( ) 借住宅 ( )  
 住 家族人員 5名 内21歳以上 3名  
 住 15歳以下 2名  
 若 住込使用人 0名 其他ノ同居者 0名  
 数 訪問調査使用人一名  
 (不明ノ場合ハ直シテ下さい) 持家 借家  
 建物ノ建築セラレタ年 1926年 所有地  
 炊事用燃料 薪炭 ガソリン 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢 電気暖房  
 室ノ使用状況

記号 室名 畳目用途 使用用途 中心位置  
 A 接待室 接待 同 接待  
 B 三畳 同 同 同  
 C 台所 炊事 同 同  
 D 勉強室 次子以上三人 同 同  
 E 六畳 居間 同 同  
 F 六畳 居間 同 同  
 G 八畳 居間 同 同

記入年月日 昭和11年 6月 21日

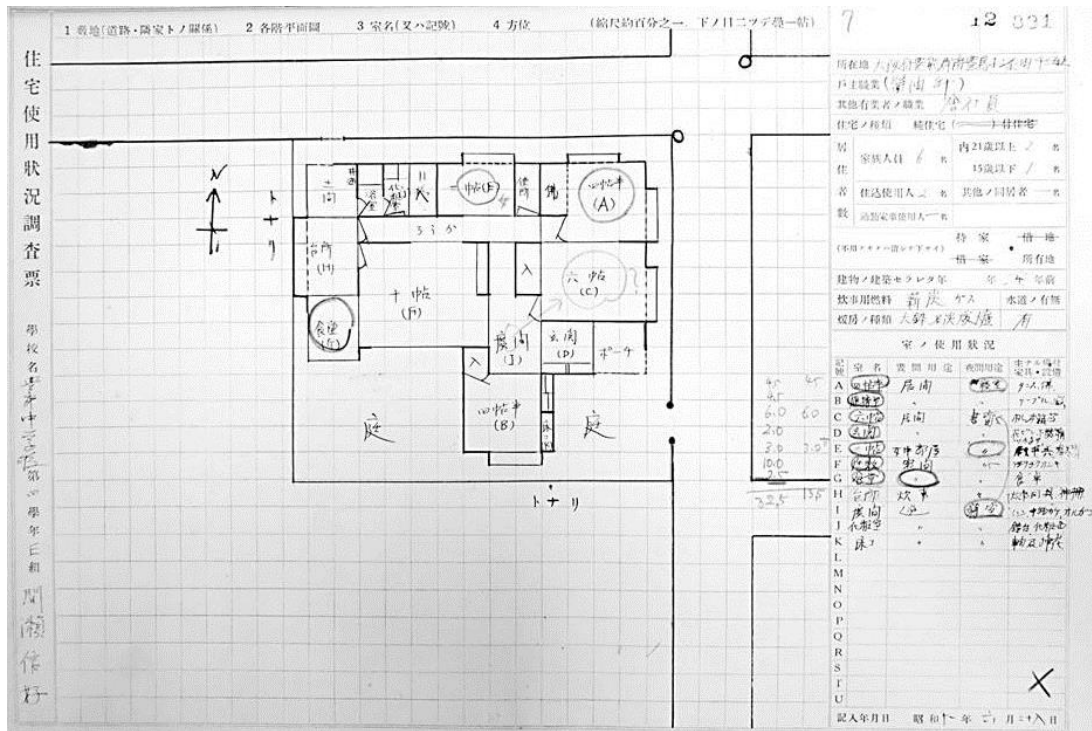
City: Ikeda  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 8 (the three aged 21 and over and the five under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1926  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, gasoline  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater  
 Is running water available? No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Parlour	6.0	10.94	Reception	Reception	Rattan chair
B	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Oldest sister's room	Oldest sister's room	Desk, chair(s)
C	Kitchen	(6.0)	(10.94)	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, cooking stove
D	Study room	3.0	5.47	Study room for the three children	Study room for the three children	Desk(s), chair(s), bookcase
E	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	-
F	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	-
G	Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	-



City:	Suita
Occupation of householder:	Teacher
Size of household:	6 (the three aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1934
Power source(s) for cooking:	Firewood, coal, gasoline
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier
Is running water available?	Yes

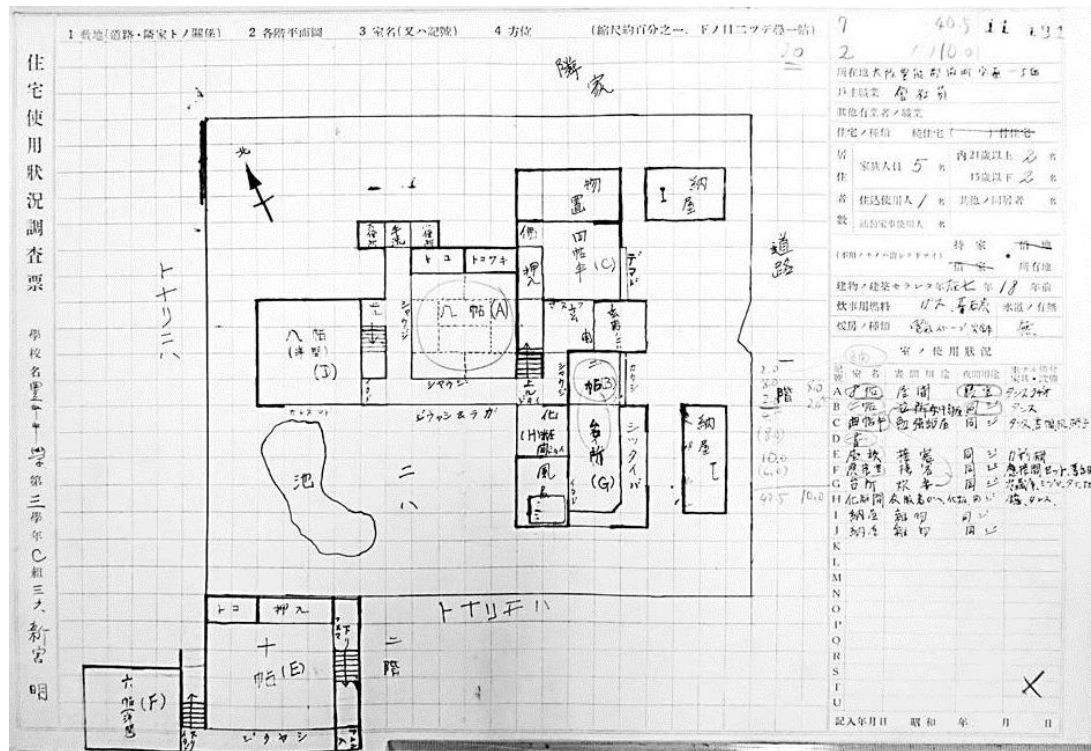
Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Zashiki	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Guest room	Desk, frame, vase
B Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Children's bedroom	Frame, desk
C Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	Hat rack, frame
D Dressing room	-	-	-	-	-
E Back room	4.5	8.21	Living room	Father's bedroom (and for the mother)	Radio, vanity table
F Kitchen(-diner)	3.0	5.47	Cooking	Cooking	Cupboard for tea-things, closet, sink, shelf
G Upstairs six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Occasionally used for reception	Bedroom for guests	Frame, stand (for display)
H Upstairs three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Study room	Study room	Desk, bookcase, frame



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Soy sauce wholesaler  
 Size of household: 6 (the two aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 2  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1932  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, fireplace  
 Is running water available? Yes

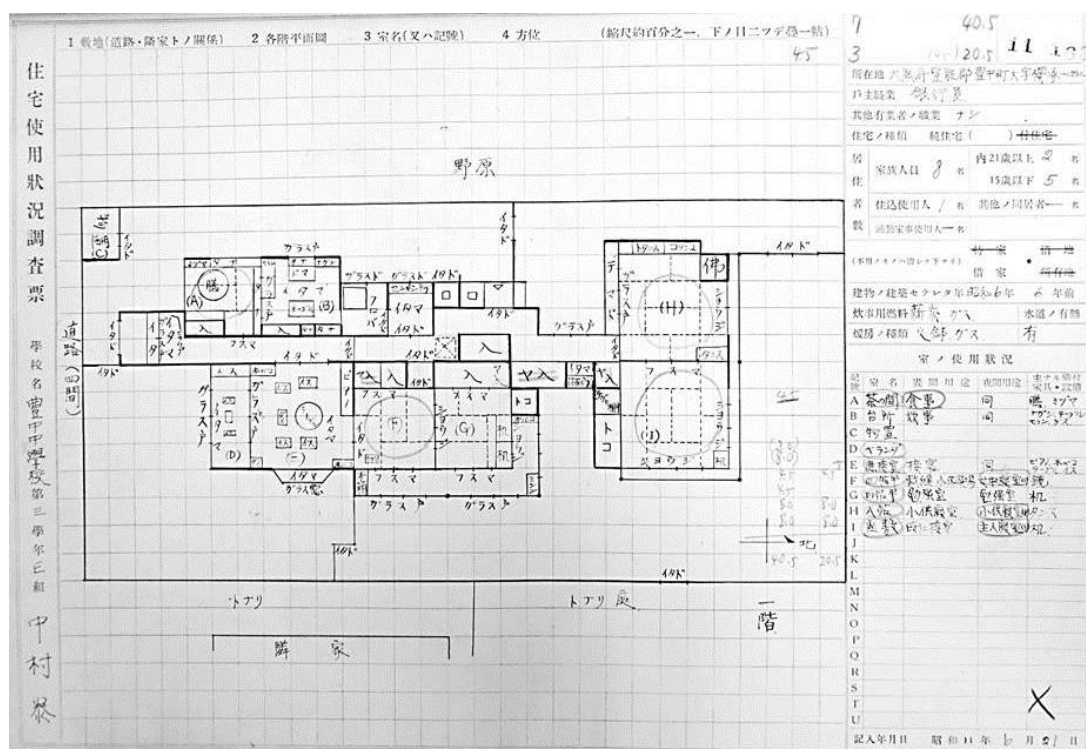
Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Living room	Bedroom	Chest of drawers, Buddhist altar
B Guest room	4.5	8.21	Guest room	Guest room	Table, etc.
C Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Library	Desk, bookcase, etc.
D Entrance	2.0	3.65	Entrance	Entrance	Vase, shoe box, screen
E Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Servants' room	Servants' room	Chest of drawers
F Zashiki	10.0	18.24	Guest room	Guest room	Radio, gramophone
G Dining room	2.5	4.56	Dining room	Dining room	Dining table
H Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Cooking utensils, Shinto altar
I Hall	-	-	-	Bedroom	Sewing machine, organ
J Dressing room	-	-	Dressing room	Dressing room	Vanity table, makeup kit
K Tokonoma	-	-	Tokonoma	Tokonoma	Hanging scroll, flowers





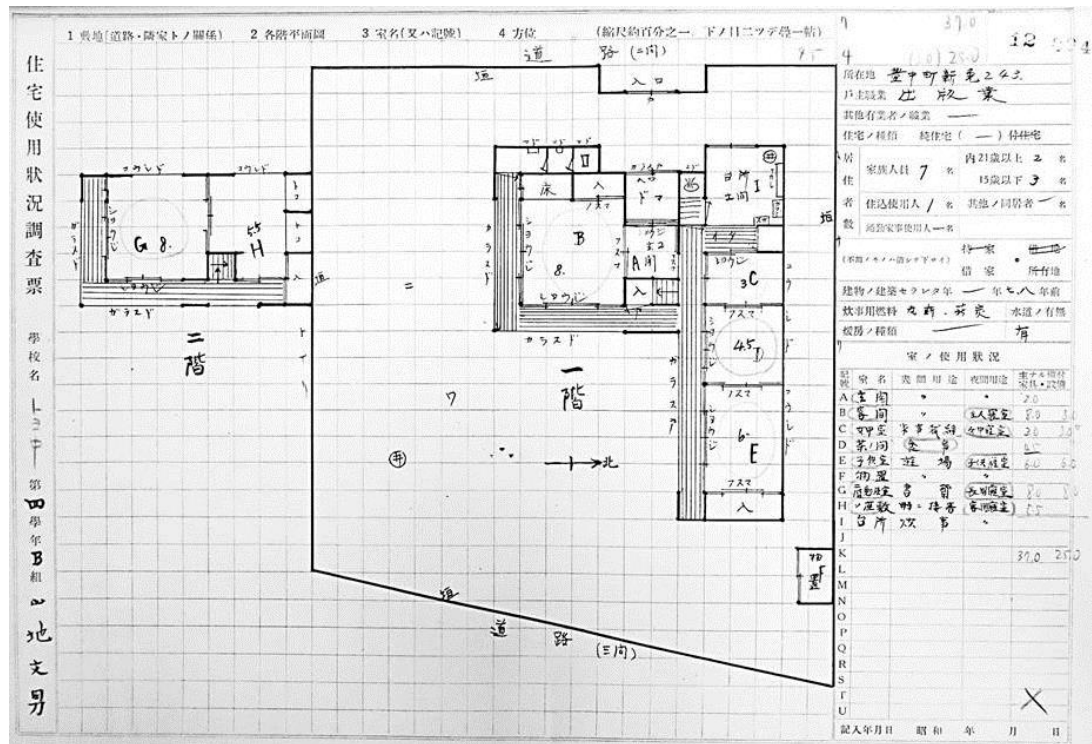
City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1918  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, coal  
 Kind of heating(s): Electric heater, brazier  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
A Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Bedroom	Chest of drawers, radio
B Two-tatami room	2.0	3.65	Servant's room	Servant's room	Chest of drawers
C Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Study room	Study room	Chest of drawers, bookshelf, desk, chair
D Library	(8.0)	(14.59)	-	-	-
E Zashiki	10.0	18.24	Reception	Reception	Display shelf
F Parlour	(6.0)	(10.94)	Reception	Reception	Western furniture, gramophone
G Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Refrigerator, sewing machine, shelf, sink
H Dressing room	-	-	Dressing, makeup	Dressing, makeup	Mirror, chest of drawers
I Warehouse	-	-	Sundries	Sundries	-
J Warehouse	-	-	Sundries	Sundries	-



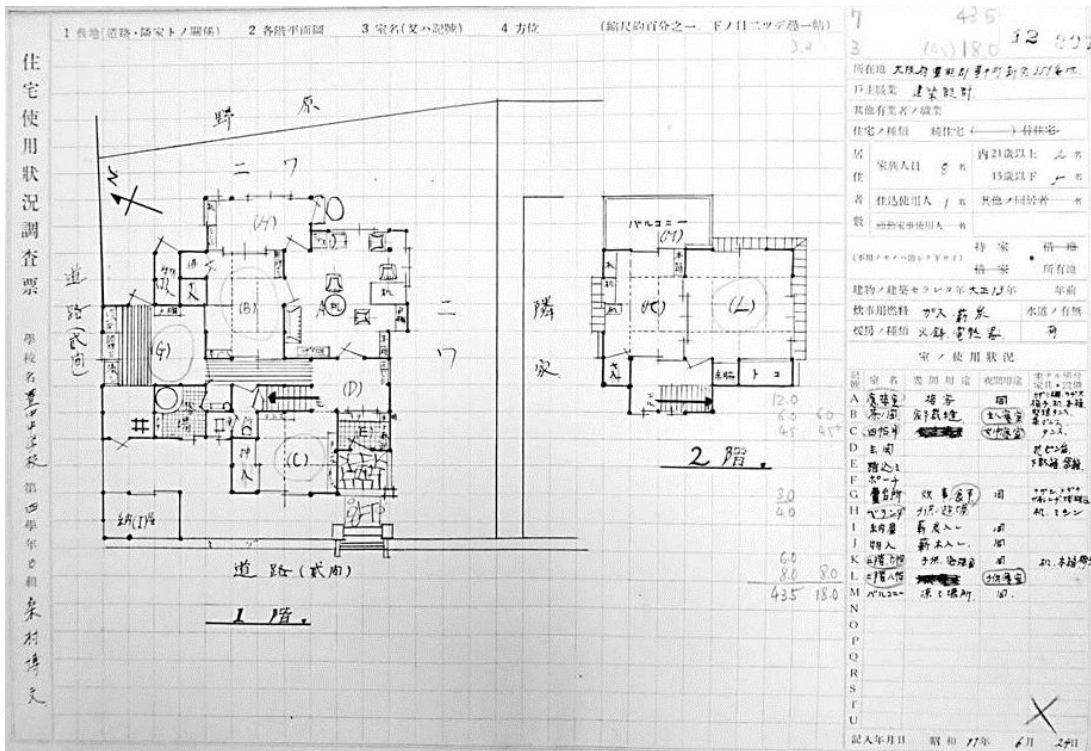
City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Banker  
 Size of household: 8 (the two aged 21 and over and the five under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1931  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, gas  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals	Meals	Trays for eating, cupboard for tea-things
B Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, (kitchen) table, charcoal stove, gas appliance
C Shed	-	-	-	-	-
D Veranda	(3.0)	(5.47)	-	-	-
E Parlour	(8.0)	(14.59)	Reception	Reception	Piano, bookcase, table, chairs
F Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Sewing, children's room for playing	Servant's bedroom	Mirror
G Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Study room	Study room	Desk
H Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Children's bedroom	Children's bedroom	Chest of drawers
I Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Occasionally used for reception	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Desk



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Working at a publisher  
 Size of household: 7 (the two aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1928-9  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, firewood, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): None  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	-
B Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	-
C Servants' room	3.0	5.47	Housework, sewing	Servant's bedroom	-
D Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals	-	-
E Children's room	6.0	10.94	Children's room for playing	Children's bedroom	-
F Shed	-	-	Shed	Shed	-
G Upstairs study room	8.0	14.59	Library	Bedroom for the oldest son	-
H Upstairs zashiki	5.5	10.03	Occasionally used for reception	Bedroom for guests	-
I Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	-



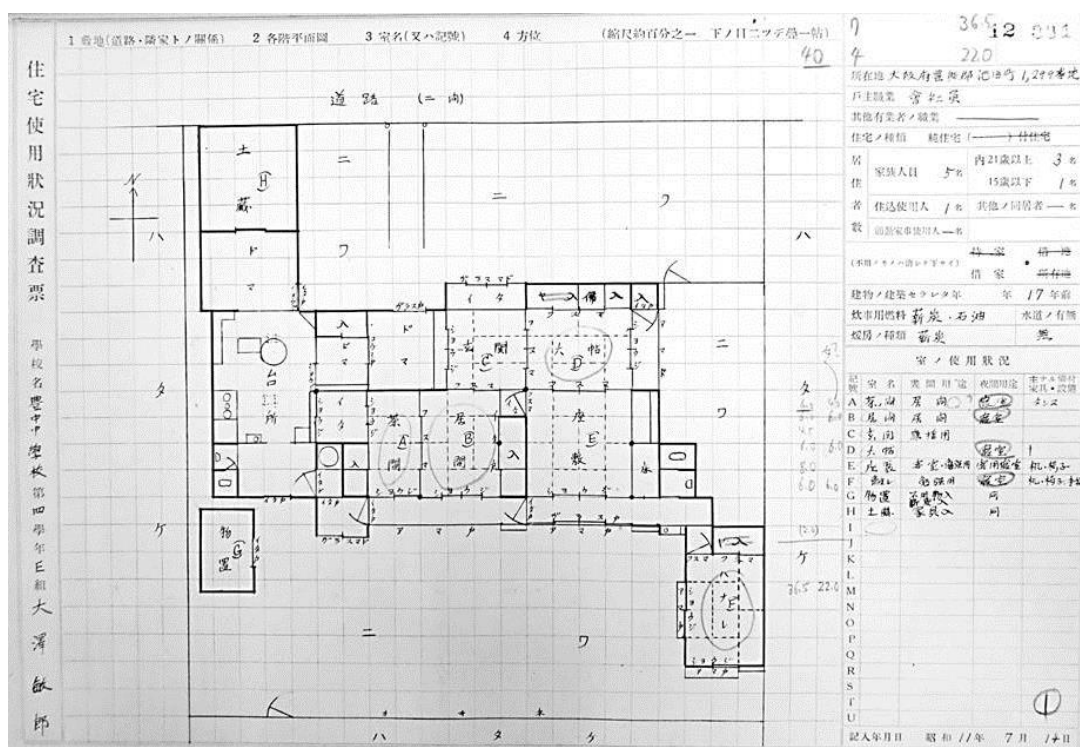
The details on the next page



Ref. number: 12-307

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Architect
Size of household:	8 (the two aged 21 and over and the five under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1924
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, electric heater
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Parlour	12.0	21.89	Reception	Reception	Display shelf, radio, chair(s), desk(s), bookcase
B	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Housework, sewing	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Chest of drawers, cupboard for tea-things
C	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	-	Servant's bedroom	Chest of drawers
D	Hall	-	-	-	-	Stand with a vase
E	Entrance	-	-	-	-	Shoe box, umbrella stand
F	Porch	-	-	-	-	-
G	Kitchen (kitchen-diner)	3.0	5.47	Cooking, meals	Cooking, meals	Sink, sideboard, gas cooker, kitchen table
H	Veranda	4.0	7.30	Children's space for playing	-	Desk, sewing machine
I	Warehouse	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
J	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
K	Upstairs six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Study room	Study room	Desk, bookcase, chair
L	Upstairs eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	-	Children's bedroom	-
M	Balcony	-	-	Cooling	Cooling	-



City: Ikeda  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5 (the three aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1919  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, oil  
 Kind of heating(s): Charcoal (brazier)  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Chanoma	4.0	7.30	Living room	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
B Living room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	-
C Hall (entrance)	4.5	8.21	Reception	-	-
D Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	-	Bedroom	-
E Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Guest room, study room	Bedroom for guests	Desk, chair
F Annexe	6.0	10.94	Study room	Bedroom	Desk, chair, bookcase
G Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
H Warehouse	-	-	Storage for furniture	Storage for furniture	-
-	2.0	3.65	-	-	-

住宅使用状況調査票 学校名 豊中 第三学年 A組 西 美治

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面図 3 家名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニワテ様一帖)

所在地 大阪府豊能郡池田町野  
戸主 池田 智 社員  
其他有業者・職業  
住宅ノ種類 借住宅 ( ) 借住宅  
居住人員 7 人 内21歳以上 4 人  
15歳以下 2 人  
住込使用人 〃 其他ノ同居者 〃  
親對家使用人 〃  
(本用・タテマシテ) 持家 〃 借家 〃  
建物ノ建築シテヨリ年加 加 6 年 5 年前  
炊事用燃料 薪炭 水道ノ有無  
暖房ノ種類 火鉢 〃

家ノ使用状況  
記号名 業用用途 夜間用途  
A 廊下 勉強 座敷  
B 廊下 勉強 勉強  
C 三つ 座敷 座敷  
D 三つ 炊事 〃  
E 六つ 居間 〃  
F 五つ 勉強 勉強  
G 十つ 居間 勉強  
H 〃 収納 収納

記入年月日 昭和 11 年 7 月 1 日

City: Ikeda  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 7 (the four aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1931  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Parlour	6.0	10.94	-	-	Rattan chair
B	Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Studying	Children's bedroom	Desk, bookshelf
C	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	-	-	Desk
D	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, charcoal stove
E	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room, (meals)	Meals	-
F	Five-tatami room	5.0	9.12	Studying	Studying, bedroom	Desk, bookshelf
G	Ten-tatami room	10.0	18.24	-	Bedroom	-
H	Closet room	-	-	Storage for a bicycle, firewood and charcoals	Storage for a bicycle, firewood and charcoals	-

Ref. number: 11-110

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツデ最一帖)

6 29.5 11.10

所在地 大塚町電線町中野森一丁目  
 戸主職業 倉庫司  
 其他有業若し職業  
 住宅ノ種別 純住宅 (→付住宅)  
 家族人員 5 名 内21歳以上 2名 15歳以下 4名  
 住込使用人 1 名 其他ノ同居者 0 名  
 通勤通学使用人 0 名  
 建物ノ建築セラレタ年 昭和10年 前  
 炊事用燃料 炭 水炭 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種別 炭 電熱 有  
 室ノ使用状況  
 記号 室名 表用用途 夜間用途 備付家具・設備  
 A 客室 待客 主寝室 机  
 B 茶室 食事 同 机  
 C 洋室 待客 勉強室 同  
 D 茶室 食事 寝室 机  
 E 台所 炊事 同 机  
 F 二帖室 取替 同  
 G 物置 同 同  
 H  
 I  
 J  
 K  
 L  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 Q  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 記入年月日 昭和 6 月 26 日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5(sic) (the two aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1935  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Gas (stove), electric heater  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
A	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Desk
B	Chanoma	6.0	10.94	Meals, housework	Meals, housework	Chest of drawers
C	Western room	(6.0)	(10.94)	Reception, study room	Reception, study room	-
D	Tea room	4.5	8.21	Reception	Bedroom for the first son	Desk, chest of drawers
E	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Gas cooker
F	Two-tatami room	2.0	3.65	For multi-purposes	Servant's bedroom	-
G	Shed	-	-	Sundries	Sundries	-

Ref. number: 12-336

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニツデ様一帖)

住宅使用状況調査票

所在地 大阪府東淀川区中町 1 丁目 28 番地  
 戸主職業 大阪府廳事務課 勤務  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅 (河邊ニ接連セ)

居住者 家族人員 6 名 内 21 歳以上 3 名  
 住 15 歳以下 2 名  
 者 住居使用人 1 名 其他ノ同居者 1 名  
 數 通算家使用人 1 名

(不附ノモノハ細シテ下ニ示ス) 借家 借地  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和 11 年 年數  
 炊事用燃料 薪炭 電熱 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢 有

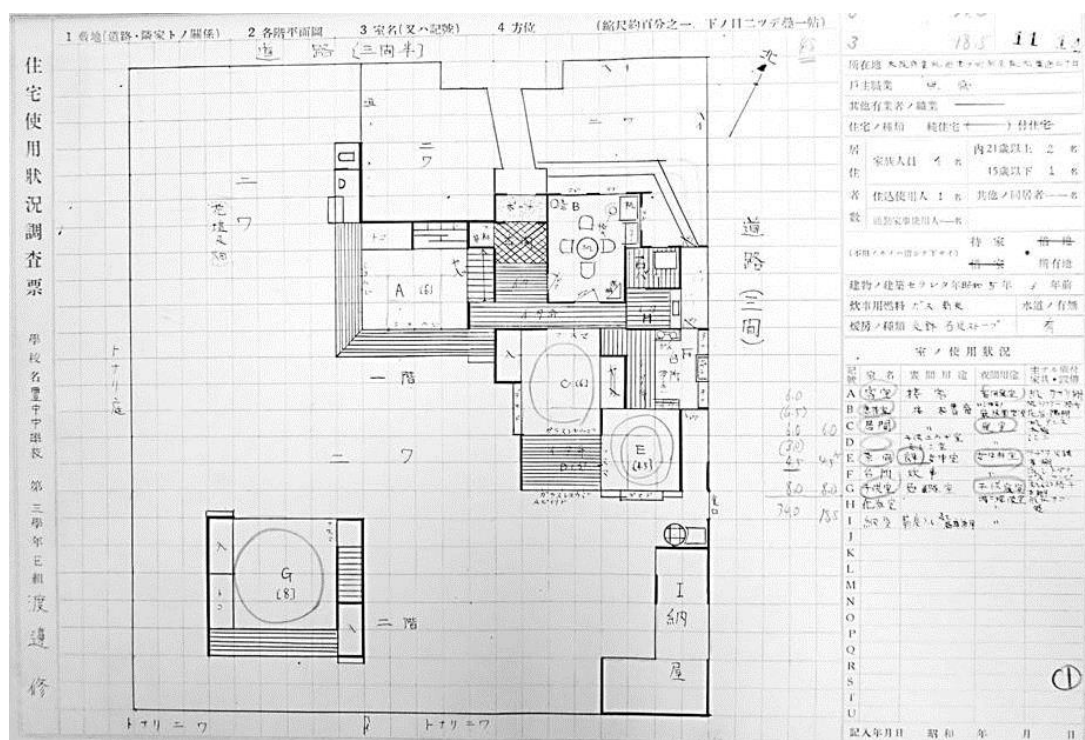
室ノ使用狀況

記號	室名	使用用途	使用面積	畳・畳数
A	六畳	客間 兼 臥室	10.94	六畳
B	洋室	書齋 兼 勉強室	8.21	四畳半
C	三畳	食卓 兼 洗濯	5.47	三畳
D	二畳	玄関	3.65	二畳
E	台所	炊事室	-	二畳半
F	戸棚	衣類収納	-	四畳
G	押入	商品貯蔵	-	四畳
H	納屋	薪炭貯蔵	-	四畳
I	押入	宝飾庫	-	四畳
J	六畳	客間	10.94	六畳
K	三畳	書齋	5.47	三畳
L	押入	書庫(本)	-	四畳
M	押入	旅行用品貯蔵	-	四畳
N				
O				
P				
Q				
R				
S				
T				
U				

記入年月日 昭和 11 年 6 月 13 日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Official  
 Size of household: 6 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1936  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, electricity  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Guest room, living room	Bedroom for the adults	Chest of drawers
B	Western room	4.5	8.21	Library, study room	Study room	Desk, floor lamp, sewing machine
C	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Meals, housework	Housework	Desk, shelf
D	Two-tatami room	2.0	3.65	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	-
E	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, charcoal stove, gas appliance, running water
F	Wall-cupboard	-	-	Storage for clothes	Storage for clothes	Clothes
G	Closet	-	-	Storage	Storage	Tableware
H	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
I						
J	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Guest room	Desk
K	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Books	Books	Bookcase, chair
L	Closet	-	-	Storage for books	Storage for books	-
M	Closet	-	-	Storage for goods for traveling	Storage for goods for traveling	Trunk, etc.



City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	None
Size of household:	4 (the two aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1930
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, coal stove
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	6.0	10.94	Reception	Bedroom for guests	Desk, display shelf
B	Parlour	(6.5)	(11.86)	Reception, library	(Reception), sitting room	Desk(s), sofa, chair(s), stand with a vase, corner set of shelves
C	Living room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	Desk, chest of drawers, bookcase
D	-	(3.0)	(5.47)	Children's room for playing, sewing room	Children's room for playing, sewing room	Sewing machine
E	Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals, servant's room	Servant's bedroom	Radio, brazier, tea cabinet
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, shelf, gas and electric appliances
G	Children's room	8.0	14.59	Study room	Children's bedroom	Two desks, chair(s), bookshelf
H	Dressing room	-	-	-	(occasionally used as a dark room for photographic development)	Laundry basket, mirror
I	Warehouse	-	-	Storage for firewood, charcoals and sundries	Storage for firewood, charcoals and sundries	-

住宅使用状況調査票

1 所在地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、Fノ目ニツデ器一帖)

所在地 福岡県深瀬郡深瀬町深瀬1丁目  
 戸主職業 官吏  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 総住宅 ( ) 特住宅  
 家族人員 5 名 内21歳以上 3 名  
 住者 15歳以下 2 名  
 住居使用人ノ名 其他ノ同居者 名  
 数 総住居使用人 名  
 (不用品ノ目ニテ下ツテ) 特家 一借一地  
 借一室 所有地  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和二年 七 年前  
 炊事用燃料 炭 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 無

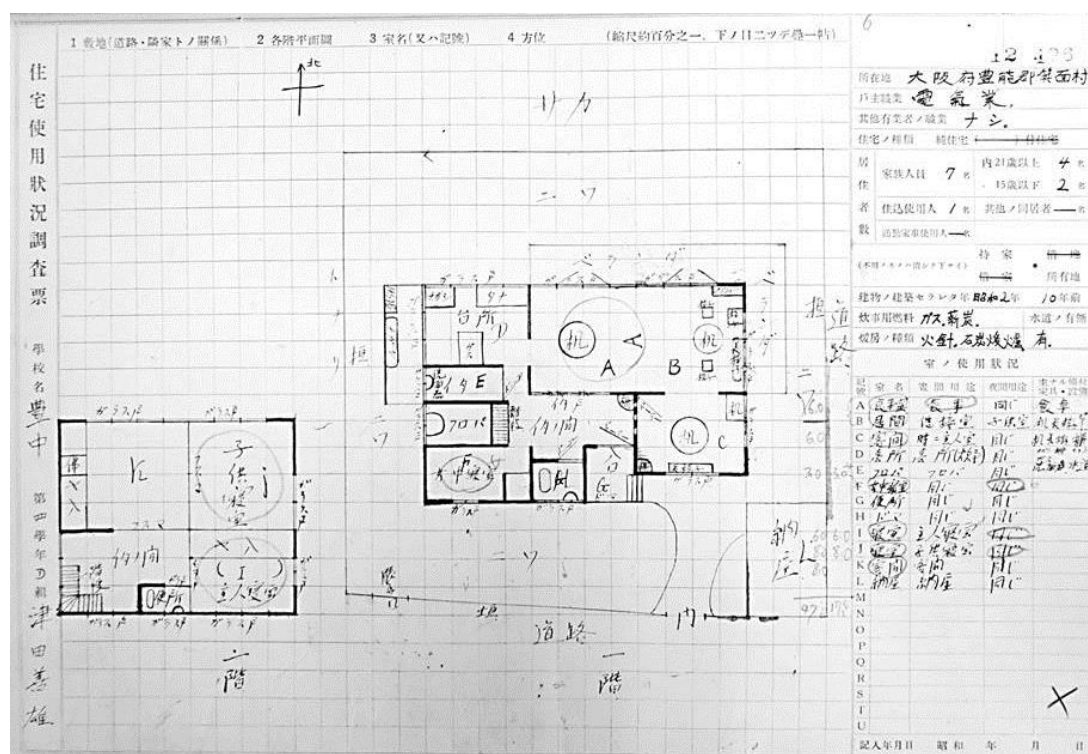
室ノ使用状況

室名	表用用途	夜間用途	家具・設備
A	待客室 読書見	(借室) 夫婦の寝室	本棚 机 椅子
B	居間 読書机	(借室) 夫婦の寝室	本棚 机 椅子
C	(借室) 女中居間	(借室) 女中の寝室	机 椅子
D	(借室) 玄関	(借室) 女中の寝室	机 椅子
E	(借室) 四畳半	(借室) 女中の寝室	机 椅子
F	(借室) 三畳半	(借室) 女中の寝室	机 椅子
G	(借室) 物置	(借室) 女中の寝室	机 椅子

記入年月日 昭和十一年六月二十六日

City: Minō  
 Occupation of householder: Official  
 Size of household: 5 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1927  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): -  
 Is running water available? No

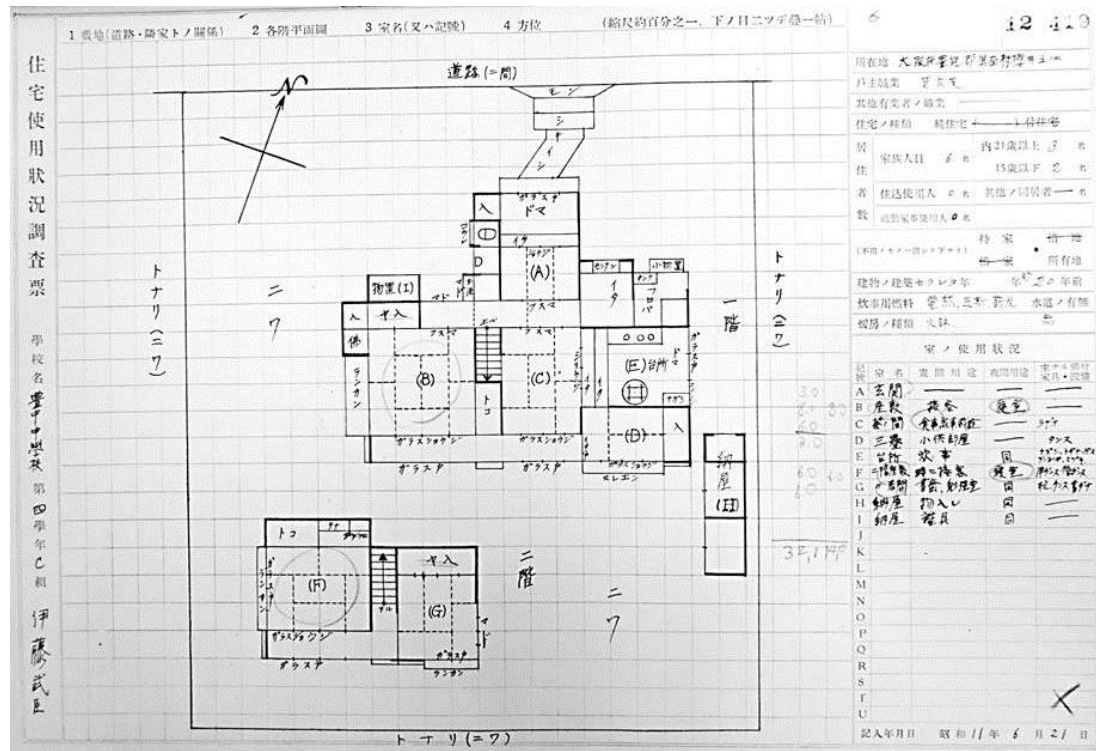
	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room and library	6.0	10.94	Reception, reading	Husband's bedroom	Bookcase, chest of drawers, desk
B	Living room	6.0	10.94	Study room for the oldest son	Bedroom for the oldest son	Bookcase, chest of drawers, desk
C	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	Servant's living room	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
D	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
E	Four-tatami room	4.0	7.30	Daughter's living room	-	-
F	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Meals, housework, sewing	Bedroom	Cupboard for tea-things
G	Shed	-	-	Storage for sundries	-	-



City: Minō  
 Occupation of householder: Electrician  
 Size of household: 7 (the four aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1927  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, firewood, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, fireplace  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Dining room	16.0	29.18	Meals	Meals	Dining table
B Living room	-	-	Parlour	Children's room	Desk, sofa, piano
C Guest room	6.0	10.94	Occasionally used as a father's room	Occasionally used as a father's room	Desk, sofa, shelf
D Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, shelf, charcoal stove, gas appliance
E Bathroom	-	-	Bathroom	Bathroom	Washbowl, running water
F Servant's room	3.0	5.47	Servant's room	Servant's room	-
G Toilet	-	-	Toilet	Toilet	-
H Earthen-floored space	-	-	Earthen-floored space	Earthen-floored space	-
I Bedroom	6.0	10.94	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	-
J Bedroom	8.0	14.59	Children's bedroom	Children's bedroom	-
K Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	-
L Shed	-	-	Shed	Shed	-

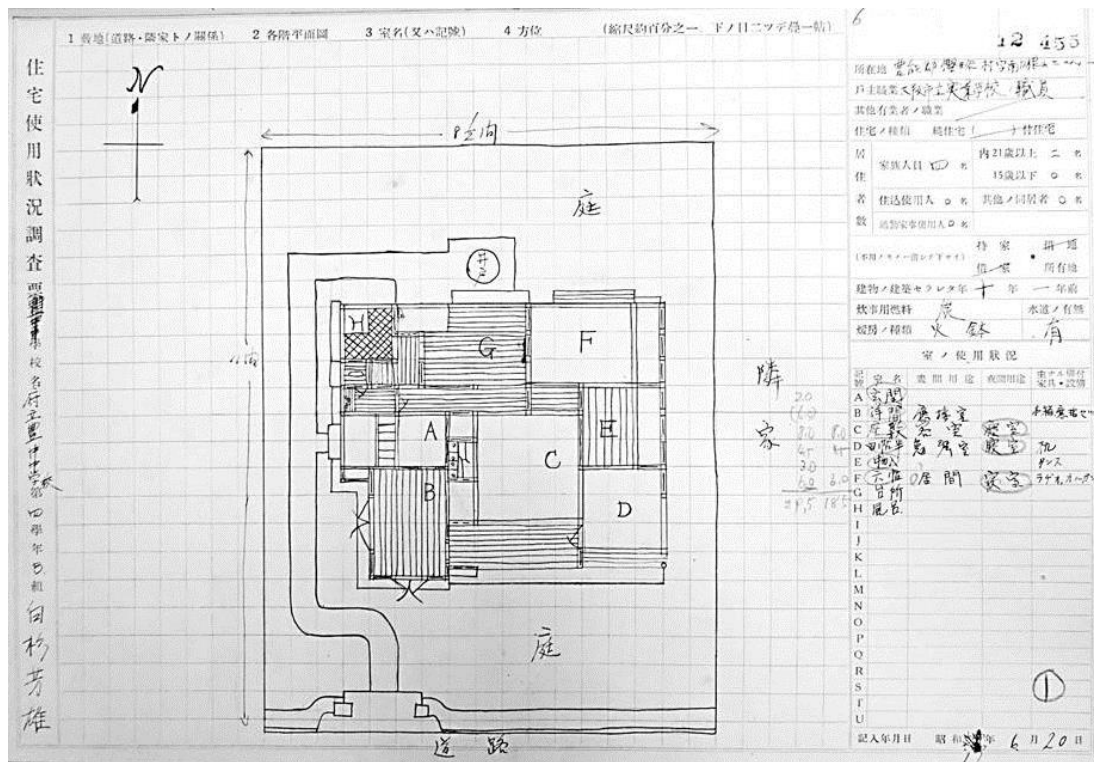




City: Minō  
 Occupation of householder: Landlord  
 Size of household: 6 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1916  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Electricity, gas, firewood, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? No

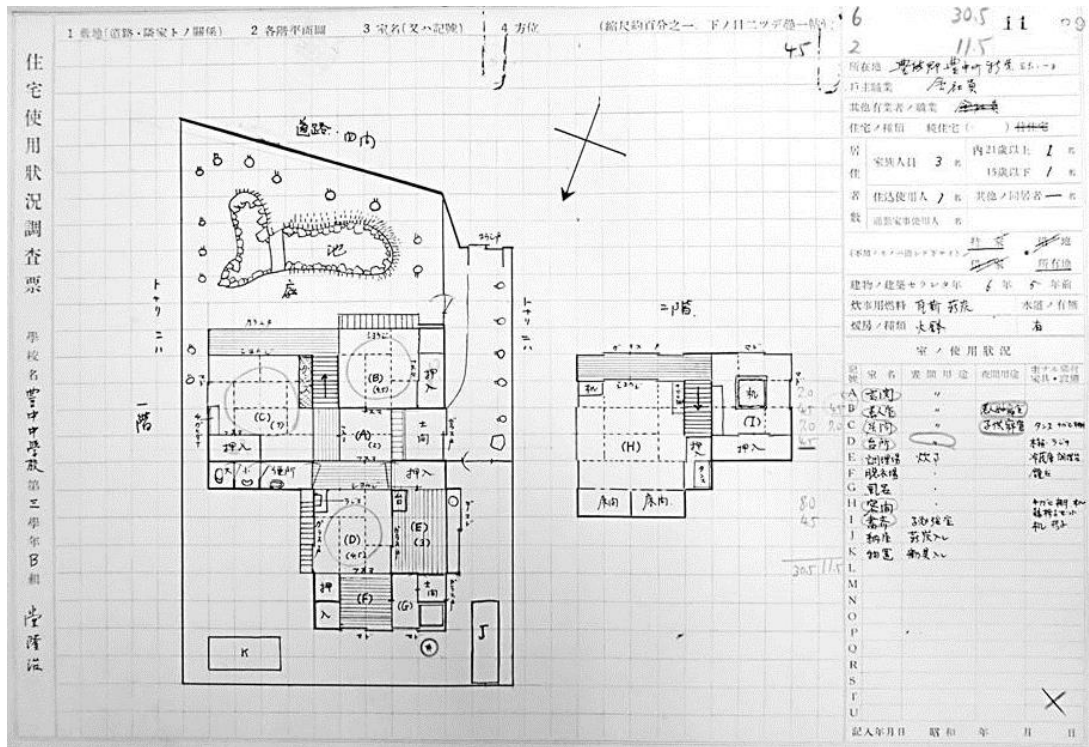
Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
B Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom	-
C Chanoma	6.0	10.94	Meals, housework, sewing	-	Radio
D Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Children's room	-	Chest of drawers
E Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, gas appliance, electric cooker, cupboard for tea-things
F Upstairs zashiki	6.0	10.94	Occasionally used for reception	Bedroom	Wardrobe, chest of drawers
G Upstairs living room	6.0	10.94	Library, study room	Library, study room	Desk, chest of drawers, bookshelf
H Shed	-	-	Storage	Storage	-
I Closet room	-	-	Sundries	Sundries	-

Ref. number: 12-455



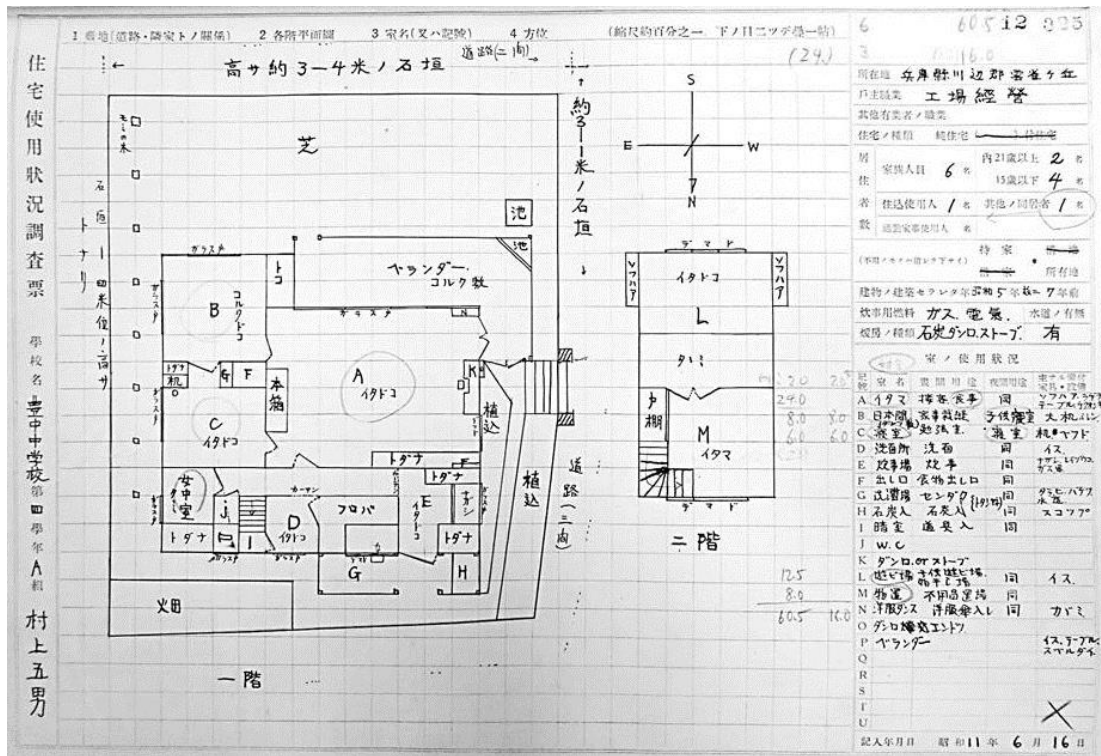
City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Official (working at a municipal school)
Size of household:	4 (the two aged 21 and over)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1935
Power source(s) for cooking:	Charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier
Is running water available?	Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
B Western room	(6.0)	(10.94)	Parlour	-	Bookcase, western furniture for reception
C Zashiki Four-and-half-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom	-
D half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Study room	Bedroom	Desk
E Closet room	3.0	5.47	-	-	Chest of drawers
F Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	Radio, organ
G Kitchen	-	-	-	-	-
H Bathroom	-	-	-	-	-



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 3 (the one aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1931  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, firewood, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Hall (entrance)	-	-
B Elderly's room	4.5	8.21	Elderly's room	Elderly's bedroom	-
C Living room	7.0	12.77	Living room	Children's bedroom	Chest of drawers, chigaidana
D Kitchen(-diner)	4.5	8.21	Dining room	-	Bookcase, radio
E Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	-	Refrigerator, kitchen table
F Dressing room	-	-	Dressing room	-	Vanity table
G Bathroom	-	-	Bathroom	-	-
H Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	-	Chigaidana, desk, rattan chair
I Library	4.5	8.21	Study room	-	Desk, chair
J Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-	-
K Warehouse	-	-	Storage	-	-



The details on the next page

Ref. number: 12-325

City:	Takarazuka
Occupation of householder:	Company executive/ Independent manufacture
Size of household:	6 (the two aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1930
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, electricity
Kind of heating(s):	Fireplace, (gas) stove
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
	Servant's room	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
A	Wooden-floored room	24.0	43.78	Reception, meals	Reception, meals	Sofa, radio, table, gramophone
B	Japanese-style room	8.0	14.59	Housework, sewing	Children's bedroom	Large desk, sewing machine
C	Bedroom	6.0	10.94	Study room	Bedroom	Desk, bed
D	Dressing room	-	-	Washing faces	Washing faces	Chair(s)
E	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, refrigerator, gas appliance
F	Hatch	-	-	Serving foods	Serving foods	-
G	Washing place	-	-	Laundry	Laundry	Washtub, bucket, running water
H	Place of storage for charcoals	-	-	Storage for charcoals	Storage for charcoals	Shovel
I	Darkroom	-	-	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	-
J	Toilet	-	-	-	-	-
K	Fireplace	-	-	-	-	-
L	Children's room for playing	12.5	22.80	Children's room for playing, place for drying clothes	Children's room for playing, place for drying clothes	Chair(s)
M	Closet room	8.0	14.59	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	-
N	Wardrobe	-	-	Storing clothes and umbrellas	Storing clothes and umbrellas	Mirror
O	Stove and chimney	-	-	-	-	-
P	Veranda	-	-	-	-	Chair(s), table, small slide

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ノワタシ一帖)

住宅使用状況調査票

所在地 愛知県豊田市豊田町  
 戸主職業 官吏  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅  
 居住者ノ家族人員 六 内21歳以上 2 名  
 15歳以下 1 名  
 住込使用人 1 名 其他ノ同居者 名  
 通算家事使用人 名  
 (年間ノ平均トシテ)  
 借地 借家 所有地 所有権  
 建物ノ建築セラレタ年 昭和9年3月前  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 電気 有

室ノ使用状況

室名	表用用途	夜間用途	書付ニ依リテ 家具・設備
A	客間	客用	衣箱
B	六帖	客用	衣箱、洗面台、 引き出し、 椅子、 洋卓
C	洋室	書斎	洋卓、 椅子、 洋卓
D	四帖半	食卓	洋卓、 椅子
E	八帖	足附書斎	洋卓、 椅子
F	三帖	足附書斎	洋卓、 椅子
G	納屋	炭、灰	洋卓

記入年月日 昭和11年6月28日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Official  
 Size of household: 6 (the two aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1934  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater  
 Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom	-
B	Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	Wardrobe, Shinto altar, chest of drawers, vanity table
C	Western room	6.0	10.94	Library	-	Two desks, chest of drawers, four chairs
D	Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Meals	Servant's bedroom	Tea cabinet
E	Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Living room, library	Bedroom	Two chests of drawers
F	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Living room, library	-	Desk, two chairs
G	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-	-

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニツデ攝一帖)

所在地 大阪府出能郡豊中町一ノ木  
 戸主職業 大阪府柔道 師範  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 借住宅 ( )  
 居室人員 6 名 内21歳以上 3名  
 住者 15歳以下 3名  
 者 他種使用人 名 其他ノ同居者 1名  
 數  
 (和室ノキハハ用トナラセテ) 借 地  
 借 家  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和三十九年 年前  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢 有  
 室ノ使用状況  
 記 号 名 表 開 用 途 夜間用途 床下・壁内  
 施 設  
 A (入口) 2.0 6.0  
 B 座敷 通隣家又親類客等ノ座敷 座敷  
 C (居間) 6.0 10.94 小間ノトコ (和室) 洋室  
 D 茶室 6.0 10.94 洋室  
 E 着脱所 6.0 10.94 洋室  
 F 納屋 6.0 10.94 洋室  
 G 井戸 6.0 10.94 洋室  
 H 台所 6.0 10.94 洋室  
 I 書斎 6.0 10.94 洋室  
 J 座敷 6.0 10.94 洋室  
 K 衣箱 6.0 10.94 洋室  
 L  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 Q  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 記入年月日 昭和三十九年六月二十三日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Judo trainer  
 Size of household: 6 (the two aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1934  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	Hat rack
B Zashiki	6.0	10.94	(Place for) receiving neighbours and relatives	Family's bedroom	Sewing machine
C Living room	6.0	10.94	Children's room	Desk (?)	Buddhist altar
D Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals	-	Shinto altar
E Dressing room	-	-	Facing faces, brushing teeth	-	Washbowl
F Shed	-	-	-	-	Barrel(s)
G Well	-	-	Laundry	-	-
H Kitchen	-	-	-	-	Sink, shelf
I Study room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the (oldest) son	Bedroom for the (oldest) son	Desk, etc.
J Zashiki	6.0	10.94	Guest room	-	-
K Closet	-	-	Storages of clothes	-	-

Ref. number: 12-360

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記号) 4 方位 1/1面 (縮尺約百分之一 下ノ目ニツケル一帖)

6 12 030

所在地 大阪府豊能郡 豊中町新栄二丁目  
 戸主職業 会社員(役員・取締役)  
 其他有業者ノ職業 -  
 住宅ノ種類 借住宅 - 借住宅 -  
 居住人員 6名 内21歳以上之者 2名  
 住者 15歳以下之者 2名  
 名 住居使用人 1名 其他ノ同居者 1名  
 数 借家使用人 1名  
 (本用ノモノハ別シテ下ニイ) 借家 借一帖  
 借家 借一帖  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年 1935年 年前  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 炭火 暖房 有  
 窓ノ使用状況

窓名 数 間用途 使用用途 家具・設備  
 A 座敷 接客 接待 机 椅子  
 B 居間 居間 机 椅子  
 C 茶室(書斎) 接待 机 椅子  
 D 台所 炊事 机 椅子  
 E 玄関 接客 机 椅子  
 F 物置 下物置 机 椅子  
 G 居間 接客 机 椅子  
 H 勉強室 勉強 机 椅子  
 I 階段 机 椅子

記入年月日 昭和 年 月 日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company executive  
 Size of household: 6 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1935  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, fireplace  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Reception	-	Desk, bookcase, radio
B Living room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom for the father and mother	Chest of drawers
C Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals, housework, sewing	-	Desk, two chests of drawers, Buddhist altar
D Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	-	Sink, gas appliance, refrigerator, sideboard
E Hall (entrance)	-	-	Reception	-	Shoe box, umbrella stand
F Closet room	-	-	Closet room	-	-
G Parlour	(8.0)	(14.59)	Guest room and study room	-	Gramophone, organ, desk, bookcase, etc.
H Study room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the oldest son	Bedroom for the oldest son	Desk, bookcase
I Upstairs zashiki	8.0	14.59	Occasionally used for reception	Bedroom for three children	Desk, vanity table



Ref. number: 11-046

住宅使用状況調査 西宮市立西宮中学校名 ト三三 第三学年E組 清水義弘

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又は設備) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一 下ノ日ニテ巻一紙)

5 235 11 15  
2 125 6.0

所在地 大井町区 塚原 32  
戸主 清水 清藏 物商  
共有者 無  
住宅ノ種類 結構志 ( ) 特住審  
居室 3 内21歳以上 2 名  
住者 15歳以下 1 名  
住者 様 住居用 1 名 其他ノ同居者 0 名  
数 通居者 住居用 1 名  
(本用ノ外ノ住居用 0 名)  
建物ノ建築キロ年 昭和 6 年 5 年前  
炊事用燃料 ガス、炭 本道ノ有無  
暖房ノ種類 炭火 有  
住宅ノ使用状況  
居室 兼用用途 非兼用用途  
A 客間 居席 (主人控室) 大人用 座敷  
B 茶間 居席 (子供控室) 大人用 座敷  
C 書齋 子供控室 子供用 座敷  
D 三畳 化粧、裁縫 大人用 座敷  
E 二畳 居席 大人用 座敷  
F 玄関 居席 大人用 座敷  
G 台所 炊事 大人用 座敷  
H 風呂場 入浴 大人用 座敷  
I 洗面場 洗面、化粧 大人用 座敷  
J 便所 大人用 座敷  
K 納屋 薪炭、農具、白粉等 大人用 座敷  
L 自転車庫 大人用 座敷

記入年月日 昭和 11 年 6 月 20 日

City: Toyonaka  
Occupation of householder: Silk merchant  
Size of household: 3 (the two aged 21 and over)  
Number of servant: 0  
Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
When was the house built? 1931  
Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, charcoal  
Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
Is running water available? Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Chest of drawers, table, chair(s)
B	Chanoma	6.0	10.94	Living room, meals, sewing	-	Desk, brazier, chest of drawers, tea cabinet
C	Library	4.5	8.21	Study room	Child's bedroom	Desk, chair, bookcase
D	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Makeup, sewing	Makeup, sewing	Chest of drawers, vanity table, shelf, clothes basket
E	Two-tatami hall	2.0	3.65	Reception	-	Frame, vase
F	Entrance	-	-	-	-	Shoe box, umbrella stand
G	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, gas cooker, sideboard, shelf, charcoal stove, cooking stove.
H	Bathroom	-	-	Bathing	Bathing	Two racks, mirror
I	Dressing room	-	-	Washing hands and faces, dressing, makeup	Washing hands and faces, dressing, makeup	Washbowl, clothes basket
J	Toilet	-	-	-	-	-
K	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood, charcoals and firm implements	-	-
L	Bicycle shed	-	-	-	-	Bicycle pump, lubricating oil, etc.

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツデ墨一帖)

所在地 大分県豊後市 豊後 大 三 一 七  
 戸主職業 会社員  
 其他有業者ノ職業 -  
 住宅ノ種類 転住宅  
 家族人員 4名 内21歳以上 3名  
 住者 15歳以下 -  
 住込使用人 - 其他ノ同居者 -  
 数 転居家世帯用人数 -  
 (本階ノ下ノ階ト下ノ階) 借家 所有地  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和33年  
 炊事用燃料 薪炭、ガス、水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢 有  
 室ノ使用状況  
 室名 実用用途 夜間用途  
 A 通り 待合 同 藤椅子  
 B 玄関 待合 同 下駄箱  
 C 台所 炊事 同 台所  
 D 台所 炊事 同 台所  
 E 四畳半 居間 同 床  
 F 六畳 居間 同 茶台  
 G 二畳 居間 同 机  
 H 六畳 居間 同 机  
 I  
 J  
 K  
 L  
 M  
 N  
 O  
 P  
 Q  
 R  
 S  
 T  
 U  
 記入年月日 昭和33年6月20日

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	4 (the three aged 21 and over)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	-
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Rented
When was the house built?	1933
Power source(s) for cooking:	Firewood, charcoal, gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier
Is running water available?	Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Parlour	3.5	6.38	Reception	Reception	Rattan chair
B Hall (entrance)	-	-	Reception	Reception	Shoe box
C Kitchen (scullery)	1.5	2.74	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, shelf
D Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Gas appliance
E Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Living room	Living room	Chest of drawers
F Zashiki	6.0	10.94	Reception, living room	Living room, bedroom	Tea cabinet
G Two-tatami room	2.0	3.65	Studying	-	Desk, bookshelf
H Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	Bookcase

Ref. number: 12-440

1 系別(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニツテ第一階) 5

12 10

所在地 大阪府豊能郡同町新田

戸主職業 無職

其他有業者ノ職業 専ら

住宅ノ種類 種住宅 (トナリ)

別 内21歳以上 5 名

住 家持人員 7 名

若 15歳以下 / 名

若 住込使用人 一 名

其 他ノ同居者 一 名

数 通算家持使用人 一 名

(不問ノテハテラフナシ) 借 地 有 無

借 賃

建物ノ建築キラシム年 1916 年

炊事用燃料 薪炭・石炭・ガス 水道ノ有無

暖房ノ種類 炭火 電熱 ガス 無

室ノ使用状況

室名	使用用途	夜間用途	家具・設備
A 玄関	待合	待合	靴箱
B 茶の間	食事	食事	食卓
C 台所	炊事	炊事	食卓、炭火、電熱、ガス
D 六帖	居間	夫婦及二人以上ノ成人ノ居室	引出箱
E 六帖	勉強	三人以上ノ居室	引出箱、机
F 六帖	長男ノ居室	長男ノ居室	机、書架
G 納屋	物置	物置	

記入年月日 昭和 年 月 日

City: Toyonaka

Occupation of householder: None

Size of household: 7 (the five aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)

Number of servant: 0

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented

When was the house built? 1916

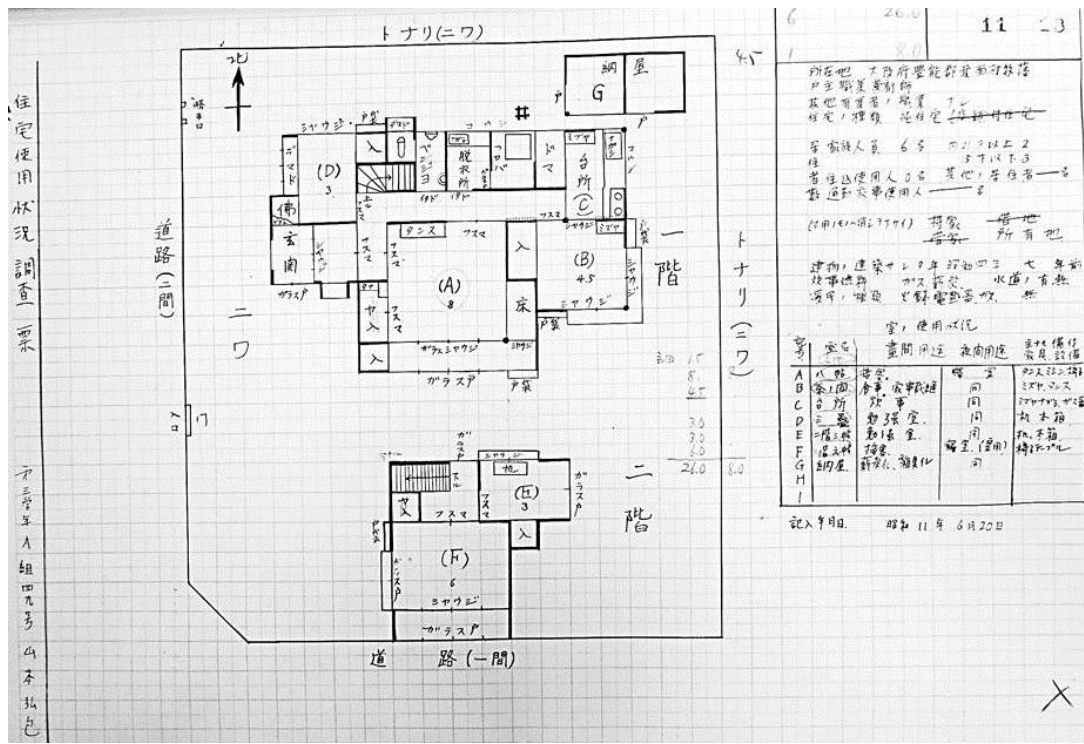
Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas

Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater, gas (stove)

Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Reception	Reception	Shoe box
B Chanoma	3.0	5.47	Meals	Meals	Cupboard, brazier
C Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, charcoal stove, gas appliance
D Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom for the husband and two adult members of the family	Chest of drawers
E Back room (six-tatami room)	6.0	10.94	Study room	Bedroom for three children	Chest of drawers, desk
F Two-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Library for the oldest son	Bedroom for the oldest son	Desk, bookcase
G Shed	-	-	Shed	Shed	-

Ref. number: 11-013



City: Minō  
 Occupation of householder: Pharmacist  
 Size of household: 6 (the two aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1929  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, firewood, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater, gas (stove)  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
Hall (entrance)	1.5	2.74	-	-	-
A Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom	Chest of drawers, sewing machine, chair(s)
B Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Meals, housework, sewing	Meals, housework, sewing	Cupboard for tea-things, chest of drawers
C Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sideboard, sink, gas appliance
D Three-tatami room Upstairs	3.0	5.47	Study room	Study room	Desk, bookcase
E three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Study room	Study room	Desk, bookcase
F Upstairs six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Reception	Bedroom for guests	Chair(s), table
G Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood, charcoals and sundries	Storage for firewood, charcoals and sundries	-

Ref. number: 16-862

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニツデ最一階)

所在地 29.0 16 0 0

戸主職業 建設者ノ職

其他有業者ノ職業

住宅ノ種類 総住宅( ) 借住宅

居住者 家族人員 6名 内21歳以上 4名  
 15歳以下 1名

作込使用人 1名 其他ノ同居者 1名

直営家事使用人 1名

(不借ノモノハ測レテマセ)

特一家 借一階

借家 所有地

建物ノ建築セラレタ年 昭和7年 年前

炊事用燃料 薪 炭 7ス 水道ノ有無

暖房ノ種類 火盆 ガスストーブ 有

室ノ使用状況

室名	実測用途	使用用途	床ノ面積
A 玄関	玄関	同左	4.0
B 居間	居間	同左	6.0
C 茶室	茶室	同左	3.0
D 三ツタタミ室	三ツタタミ室	同左	3.0
E 台所	台所	同左	3.0
F 倉庫	倉庫	同左	3.0
G 納戸	納戸	同左	3.0
H 八ツタタミ室	八ツタタミ室	同左	8.0
I 上ツタタミ室	上ツタタミ室	同左	3.0

昭和十一年七月三十一日

City: Amagasaki

Occupation of householder: Constructor

Size of household: 6 (the four aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)

Number of servant: 0

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented

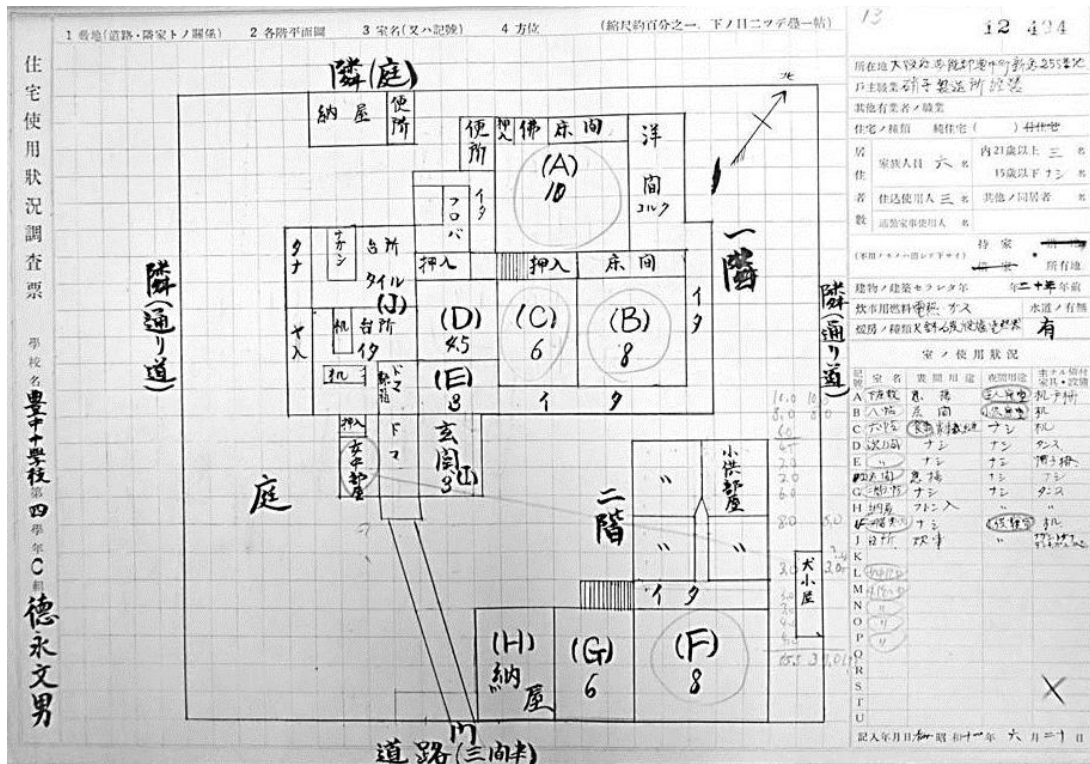
When was the house built? 1932

Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, gas

Kind of heating(s): Brazier, gas stove

Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	-	-	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	Shoe box
B Parlour	6.0	10.94	Reception, studying	Reception, studying	Chair(s), desk(s), bookcase(s), piano, (gas stove)
C Living room	6.0	10.94	Living room, sewing, reception	Bedroom for three member of the family	Chest of drawers
D Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Lumber room	Lumber room	-
E Chanoma	3.0	5.47	Meals, housework	Occasionally used as the bedroom	Cupboard of tea-things
F Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, gas appliance, cooking stove, charcoal stove
G Shed	-	-	Storage for furniture	Storage for furniture	-
H Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Occasionally used for reception	Bedroom for three members of the family	Chest of drawers, gramophone
I Upstairs three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Lumber room	Lumber room	-



The details on the next page

Ref. number: 12-404

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Company executive/ independent manufacturer
Size of household:	6 (the three aged 21 and over)
Number of servant:	3
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1916
Power source(s) for cooking:	Electricity, gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, fireplace, electric heater
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	<i>Zashiki</i>	10.0	18.24	Reception	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Desk, cupboard
B	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Children's bedroom	Desk
C	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Meals, housework, sewing	-	Desk
D	Anteroom	4.5	8.21	-	-	Chest of drawers
E	Anteroom	2.0	3.65	-	-	Hat rack
F	Upstairs back room	8.0	14.59	-	Children's bedroom	Desk
G	Upstairs six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	-	-	Chest of drawers
H	Closet room	-	-	Storage for bedding	Storage for bedding	Bedding
I	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Reception	-	-
J	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, gas and electric appliances, running water
K						
L	Servant room	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
M	Children's room	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
N	Children's room	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
O	Children's room	4.0	7.30	-	-	-
P	Children's room	4.0	7.30	-	-	-

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツデ最一帖)

12 425

所在地 茨城県水戸市...  
 戸主職業 学生  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 借住宅 ( ) 付住宅  
 家族人数 7名 内24歳以上 2名  
 住 15歳以下 4名  
 者 住込使用人 / 其他ノ同居者 /  
 数 通則家車使用人 /  
 (\*) 持家 借家 所有地  
 建物ノ建築セテ年 年々前  
 炊事用燃料 電気 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 電気 煤

室ノ使用状況

記号	名	用途	使用状況	備考
A	玄関	玄関	使用	
B	リビング	リビング	使用	
C	キッチン	キッチン	使用	
D	洗面	洗面	使用	
E	浴室	浴室	使用	
F	トイレ	トイレ	使用	
G	廊下	廊下	使用	
H	物置	物置	使用	
I	物置	物置	使用	
J	物置	物置	使用	
K	物置	物置	使用	
L	物置	物置	使用	
M	物置	物置	使用	
N	物置	物置	使用	
O	物置	物置	使用	
P	物置	物置	使用	
Q	物置	物置	使用	
R	物置	物置	使用	
S	物置	物置	使用	
T	物置	物置	使用	
U	物置	物置	使用	

記入年月日 昭和 年 月 日

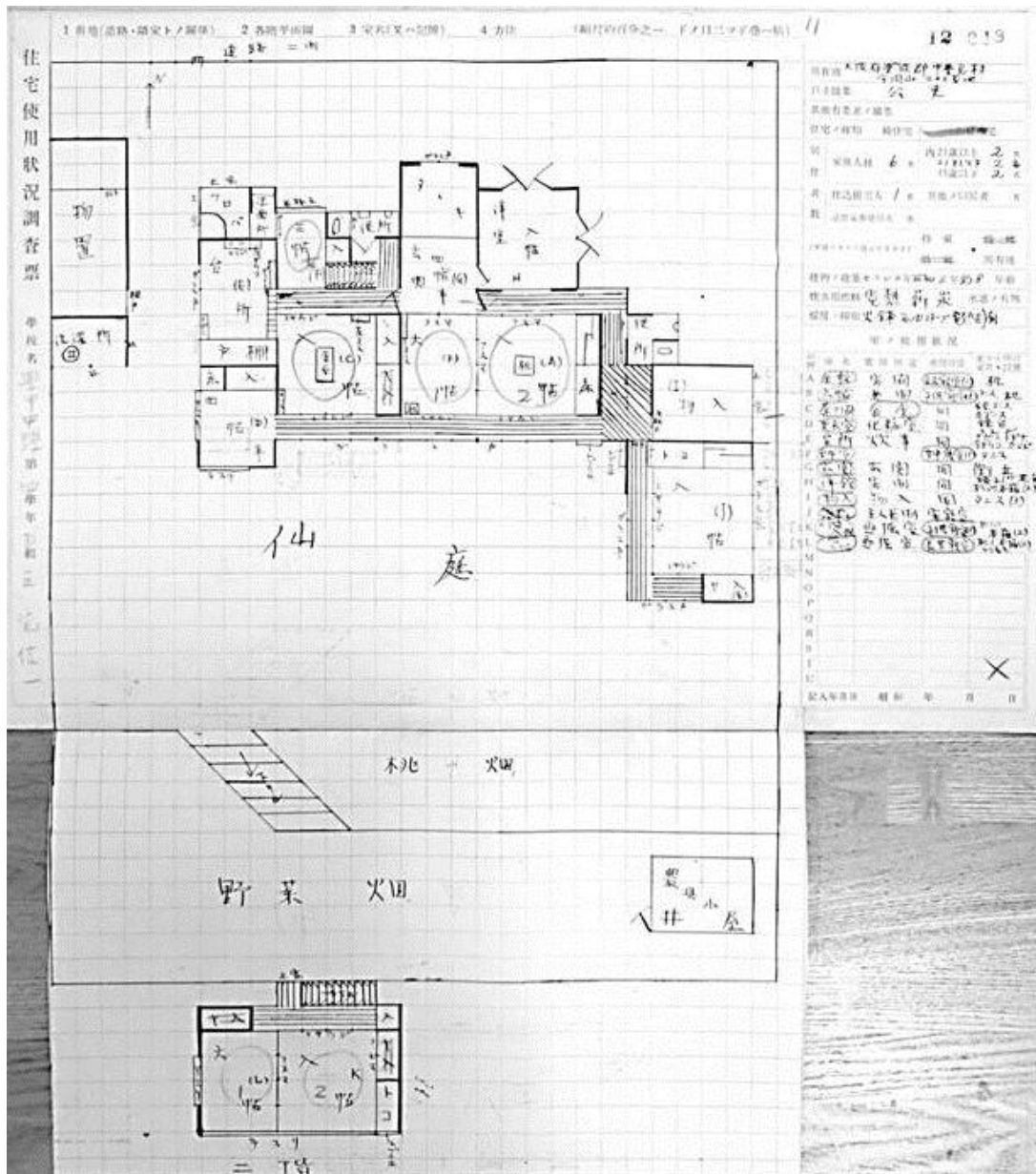
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Ref. number: 12-425

City:	Minō
Occupation of householder:	Teacher
Size of household:	7 (the two aged 21 and over and the four under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1916
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Electric heater
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Hall (entrance)	4.5	8.21	Reception	-	Coat rack
B	Kitchen (and scullery)	3.0	5.47	Housework	-	Sink, cooking stove, etc.
C	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Meals	-	-
D	Room	6.0	10.94	Housework, sewing, study room for the second son	Bedroom for the mother and three children	Desk, sewing machine, vanity table
E	Lumber room	-	-	-	-	Chest of drawers, large oblong chest
F	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Guest room	-	-
G	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Husband's library	Husband's bedroom	Bookcase
H	Closet room	-	-	Storage for books	Storage for books	-
I	-	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Bedroom for guests	-
J	-	4.5	8.21	-	-	-
K	-	6.0	10.94	Reception	Reception	Desk
L	Upstairs four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the oldest son	-	Desk, etc.
M	-	5.5	10.03	-	Bedroom for the oldest son	Bookcase
N	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-	-

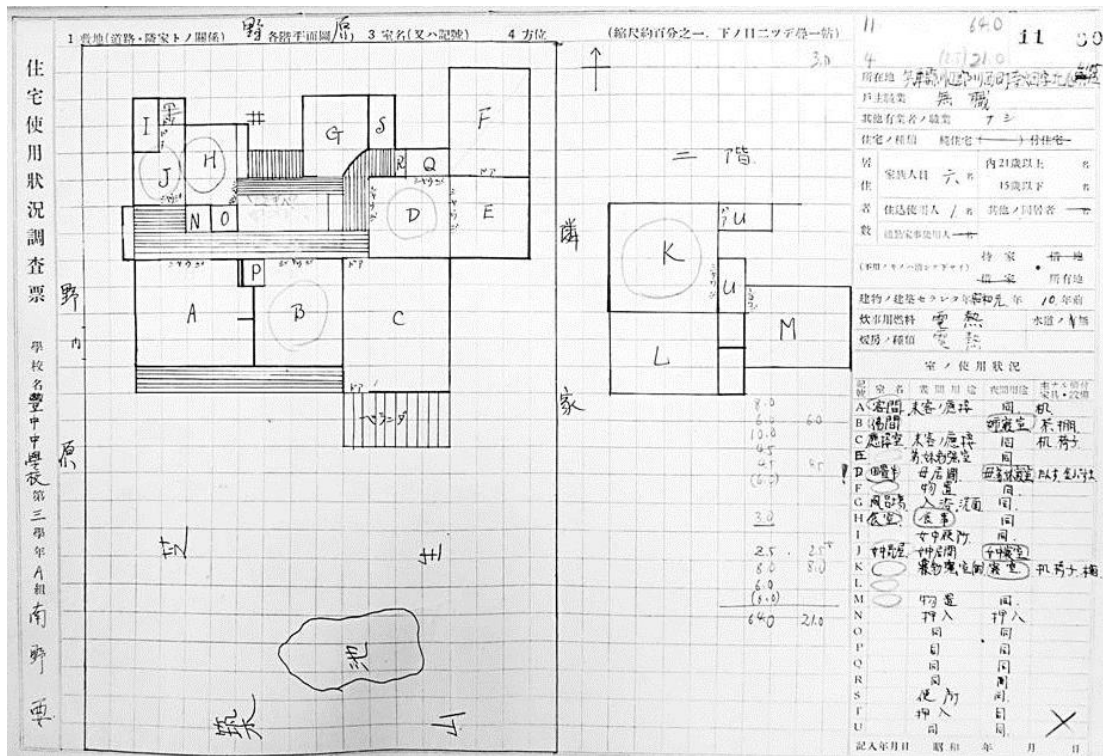


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Ref. number: 12-348

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Official
Size of household:	6 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1928
Power source(s) for cooking:	Electricity, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, oil stove, electric heater
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Desk
B	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Child's bedroom	Chest of drawers, desk
C	<i>Chanoma</i>	8.0	14.59	Dining room	Dining room	Dining table, chest of drawers, tea cabinet
D	Dressing room	4.0	7.30	Dressing room	Dressing room	Vanity table, sewing machine
E	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, refrigerator, cooking stove
F	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	-	Servant's bedroom	Chest of drawers
G	Hall (entrance)	4.0	7.30	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	Screen
H	Western room	(8.0)	(14.59)	Guest room	Guest room	Chairs, stand with a vase, desks, two bookcases
I	Closet room	6.0	10.94	Closet room	Closet room	Three chests of drawers
J	Annexe	8.0	14.59	Living room for the husband	Bedroom for guests	-
K	Upstairs eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Study room	Children's bedroom	Two desks, two bookcases
L	Upstairs six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Study room	Bedroom for the oldest son	Desk, two bookcases, gramophone

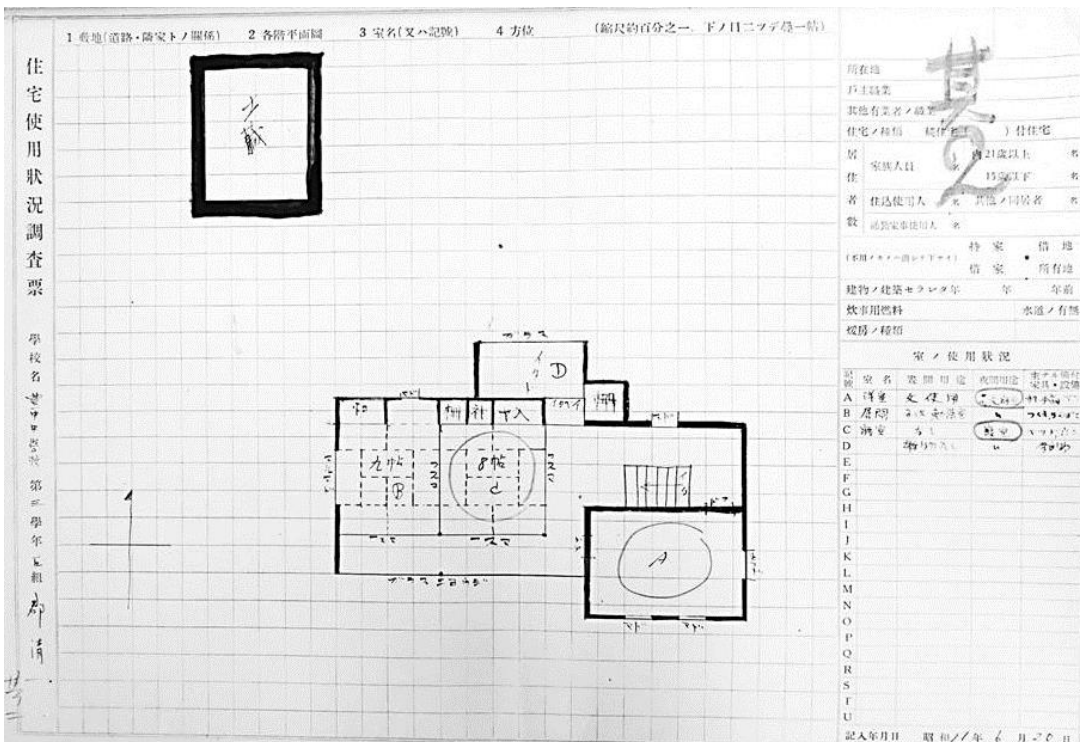
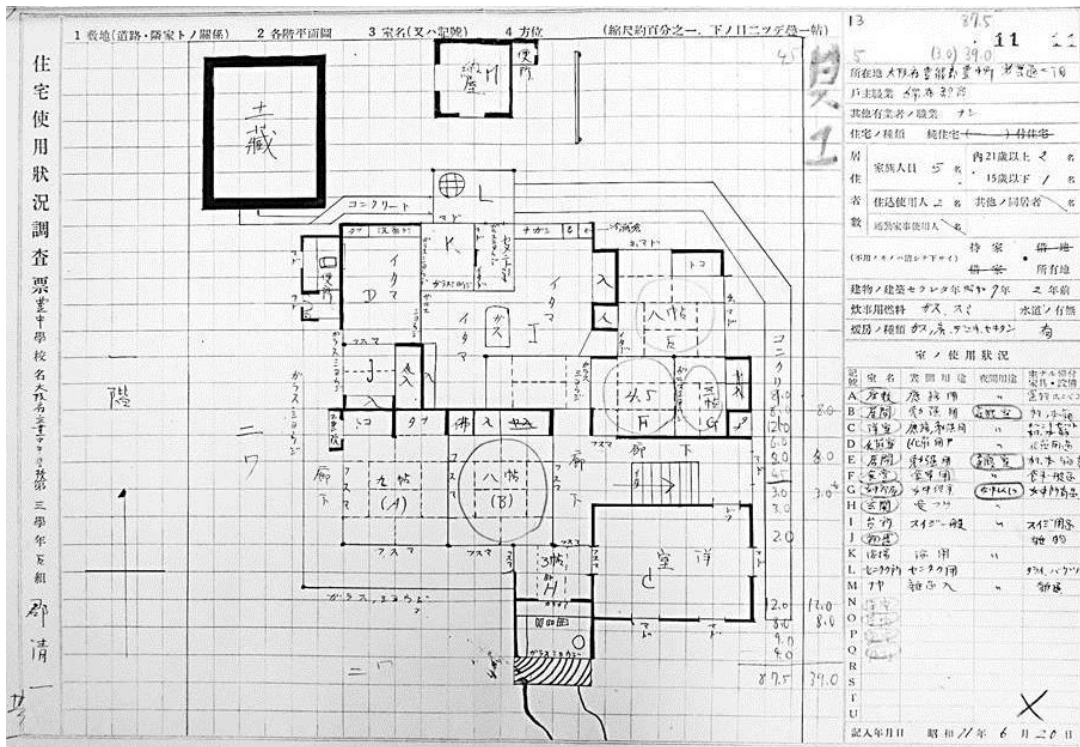


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Ref. number: 11-030

City:	Kawanishi
Occupation of householder:	None
Size of household:	6 (-)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1925
Power source(s) for cooking:	Electricity
Kind of heating(s):	Electric heater
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Desk
B	Room with a Buddhist altar	6.0	10.94	-	Bedroom for sister(s)	Tea cabinet
C	Parlour	10.0	18.24	Reception	Reception	Desk, chair(s)
D	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Living room for the mother	Bedroom for the mother and younger brother(s)	Chest of drawers, screen
E	-	4.5	8.21	Study room for the older sister(s) and younger brother(s)	Study room for the older sister(s) and younger brother(s)	-
F	-	(6.0)	(10.94)	Closet room	Closet room	-
G	Bathroom	-	-	Bathing, washing faces	Bathing, washing faces	-
H	Dining room	3.0	5.47	Meals	Meals	-
I	-	-	-	Toilet for the servant	Toilet for the servant	-
J	Servant's room	2.5	4.56	Living room for the servant	Servant's bedroom	-
K	-	8.0	14.59	Study room for the child (oldest brother)	Bedroom (for the oldest brother)	Desk, chair, bookcase
L	-	6.0	10.94	-	-	-
M	-	(6.0)	(10.94)	Closet room	Closet room	-
N				Closet	Closet	-
O				Closet	Closet	-
P				Closet	Closet	-
Q				Closet	Closet	-
R				Closet	Closet	-
S				Toilet	Toilet	-
T				Closet	Closet	-
U				Closet	Closet	-



The details on the next page

Ref. number: 11-011

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Cotton dealer
Size of household:	5 (the two aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	2
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1934
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Gas (stove), charcoal (brazier), electric heater, coal (stove)
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Display(s), bookcase
B	Living room	8.0	14.59	Studying	Children's bedroom	Desk, bookcase
C	Western room	12.0	21.89	Reception, studying	Reception, studying	Desk, bookcase, etc.
D	Dressing room	6.0	10.94	Makeup	Makeup	Cosmetics
E	Living room	8.0	14.59	Studying	Bedroom	Desk, bookcase, chest of drawers
F	Dining room	4.5	8.21	Meals	Meals	Eating utensils
G	Servants' room	3.0	5.47	Living room for the servants	Servant's bedroom	Items used by the servants
H	Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Reception	Reception	-
I	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Cooking utensils
J	Closet room	2.0	3.65	-	-	Sundries
K	Bathroom	-	-	Bathing	Bathing	-
L	Washing place	-	-	Laundry	Laundry	Tub(s), bucket(s)
M	Shed	-	-	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	Sundries
N	Western room	12.0	21.89	Room used by the father	Father's bedroom	Desk, bookcase, bed
O	Living room	8.0	14.59	Study room	Study room	Desk, bookcase
P	Bedroom	9.0	16.42	-	Bedroom	Bed, sewing machine
Q	-	4.0	7.30	Closet room	Closet room	Sundries

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツデ攝一帖)

13 060 11 23

所在地 大阪府豊中市西中ノ島  
 戸主職業 職工  
 其他有業者ノ職業 会社員  
 住宅ノ種類 単独住宅  
 居住者 内21歳以下 4名  
 家族人員 10名 15歳以下 5名  
 住居用車ノ台数 1台  
 住居用車ノ種類 乗用車  
 住居用車ノ年式 平成17年  
 住居用車ノ排気量 1800cc  
 住居用車ノ燃料 普通ガソリン  
 住居用車ノ色 黒  
 住居用車ノメーカー トヨタ

居室ノ使用状況

居室名	面積(㎡)	用途	使用状況
A 玄関	2.0	同	同
B 土間	2.0	同	同
C 居室	10.0	同	同
D 台所	4.0	同	同
E 大浴	4.0	同	同
F 洗面	2.0	同	同
G 廊下	2.0	同	同
H 浴室	2.0	同	同
I 脱衣	2.0	同	同
J 洗面	2.0	同	同
K 大浴	4.0	同	同
L 大浴	4.0	同	同
M 大浴	4.0	同	同
N 大浴	4.0	同	同
O 大浴	4.0	同	同
P 大浴	4.0	同	同
Q 大浴	4.0	同	同
R 大浴	4.0	同	同
S 大浴	4.0	同	同
T 大浴	4.0	同	同
U 大浴	4.0	同	同

記入年月日 昭和11年6月25日

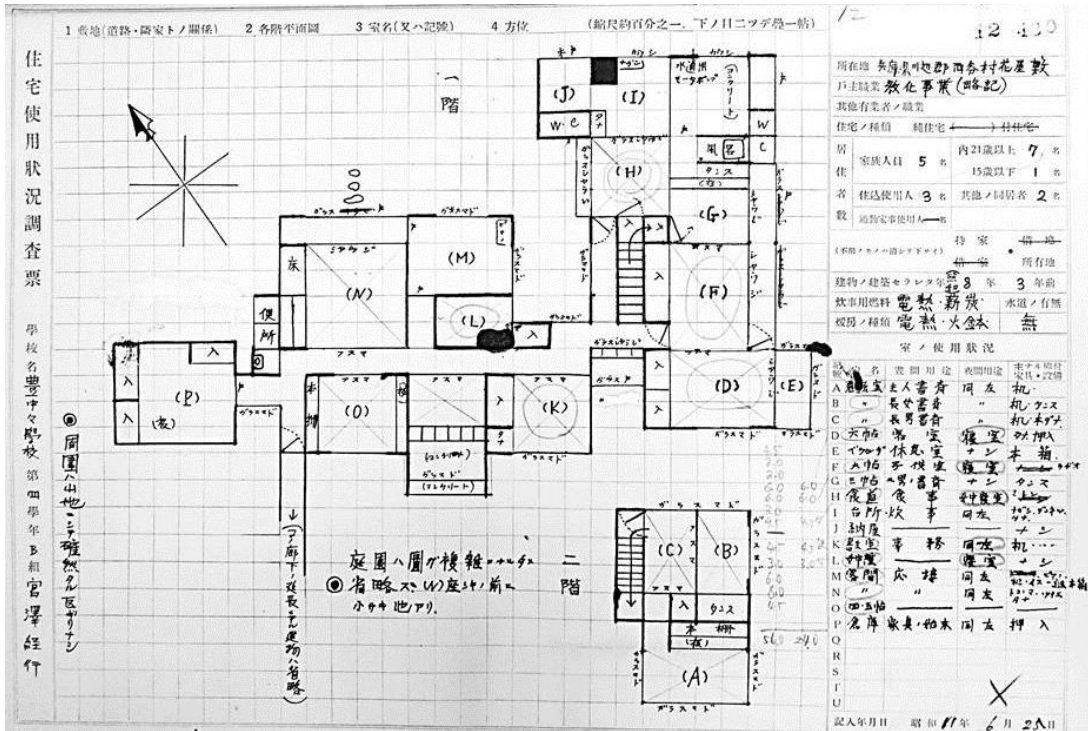
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Ref. number: 11-043

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Company employee (in steel industry)
Size of household:	10 (the four aged 21 and over and the five under 15 years old) [one boarder]
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1935
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, electricity, coal, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Coal (stove), electric heater, Charcoal (brazier)
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	Shelf
B	Servant's room	2.0	3.65	Sewing	Bedroom	-
C	Darkroom	-	-	Darkroom	Darkroom	Implements (for photographic development)
D	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, stand
E	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Dressing	Dressing	Two chests of drawers
F	Closet room	3.0	5.47	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	Five chests of drawers, etc.
G	Large room	10.0	18.24	Entertainment and working	Entertainment and working	Radio, bookshelf, chair(s), table, sewing machine
H	Dining room	7.5	13.68	Dining room	Dining room	Desk, chair(s), tableware(s), shelf
I	Ten- <i>tatami</i> room	10.0	18.24	Guest room	Bedroom	Desk
J	Three- <i>tatami</i> room of the annexe	3.0	5.47	Living room	Living room	Chest of drawers, desk
K	Six- <i>tatami</i> room of the annexe	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Bedroom	Radio, tea cabinet
L	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	-	Bedroom	Bookshelf
M	Sunroom	4.0	7.30	Sunroom	Sunroom	Chair(s), desk
N	Study room	(6.0)	(10.94)	Studying	Studying	Chair, desk
O	Study room	(7.5)	(13.68)	Studying	Studying	Chair, desk
P	Warehouse	-	-	Warehouse	Warehouse	-



The details on the next page

Ref. number: 12-430

City:	Kawanishi
Occupation of householder:	Working at a religious body
Size of household:	5 (the four aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old) [and two boarders]
Number of servant:	3
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1933
Power source(s) for cooking:	Electricity, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Electric heater, brazier
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Study room	4.5	8.21	Husband's library	Husband's library	Desk
B	Study room	3.0	5.47	Library for the oldest daughter	Library for the oldest daughter	Desk, chest of drawers
C	Study room	3.0	5.47	Library for the oldest son	Library for the oldest son	Desk, bookshelf
D	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Bedroom	Shelf, closet
E	Veranda	-	-	Rest area	-	Bookcase
F	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Children's room	Bedroom	Radio
G	Three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	Library for the second son	-	Chest of drawers
H	Dining room	4.5	8.21	Meals	Servants' bedroom	Sewing machine
I	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, electric cooker, shelf
J	Closet room	-	-	-	-	-
K	Room for the houseboy student(s)	4.5	8.21	Working	Working	Desk
L	Servants' room	3.0	5.47	-	Bedroom	-
M	Guest room	6.0	10.94	Reception	Reception	Piano, desk, chair, bookcase
N	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	<i>Tokonoma</i> , shelf (for display)
O	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	-	-	-
P	Warehouse	-	-	Storage for furniture	Storage for furniture	Closet

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又は記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツデ攝一帖)

•敷地ハ入リマゼン

所在地大阪府大阪市東淀川区東中津 1-3-0  
 以上職業、業、子=賃  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種別 純住宅( ) 賃貸住宅( )  
 居室人員 2名 内20歳以上 2名  
 住 住 15歳以下 0名  
 者 住込使用人 1名 其他ノ同居者 1名  
 数 訪問実地調査人 1名  
 (不問ノ場合ハ「ナシ」)  
 持家( ) 借家( ) 所有地  
 建物ノ建築セラレタリ年 11年前  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種別 床暖房 暖房 有

室ノ使用状況

記號	室名	表即用途	表即用途	表即用途
A	小休室	小休室	居室	居室
B	玄関	玄関	居室	居室
C	(廊下)			
D	吹(向)居接			白鐵管
E	浴室	浴室	浴室	浴槽
F	便所			
G	洗面	洗面		洗面台
H	内玄関			
I	洗面	洗面		洗面台
J	洗面	洗面		洗面台
K	洗面	洗面		洗面台
L	水屋			
M	浴室	浴室		
N	洗面			
O	洗面	洗面		
P	便所			
Q	洗面	洗面		
R	洗面	洗面		
S	洗面	洗面		
T				
U				

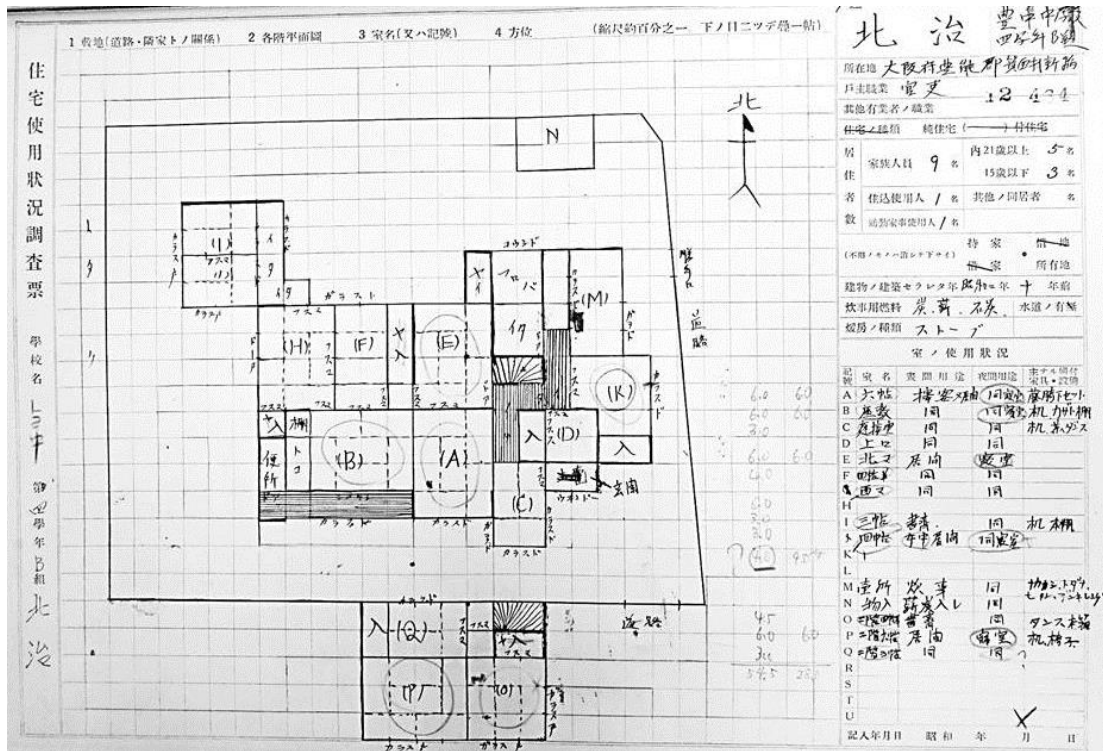
記入年月日 昭和 11 年 5 月 13 日

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Ref. number: 12-441

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	7 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1926
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, briquette (stove)
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Children's room	6.0	10.94	Children's room for playing	-	Gramophone
B	Hall	-	-	-	-	-
C	Entrance	4.5	8.21	-	-	-
D	Anteroom	6.0	10.94	Reception	Reception	Gramophone, <i>koto</i> (traditional musical instrument)
E	Guest room	10.0	18.24	Reception	Reception	Table
F	Toilet	-	-	-	-	-
G	Side entrance	-	-	Exit for the children	Exit for the children	Shoe box
H	Hall	2.5	4.56	-	-	-
I	<i>Chanoma</i>	4.5	8.21	Tea ceremony	Tea ceremony	Tea cabinet
J	Dining room	6.0	10.94	Dining room and salon	Dining room and salon	Tea cabinet, table
K	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, gas appliance
L	Cupboard for tea-things	-	-	-	-	Tea utensils
M	Bedroom	8.0	14.59	Living room for the family	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
N	Bathroom	-	-	-	-	-
O	Dressing room	2.0	3.65	Dressing, makeup	Dressing, makeup	Mirror, floor lamp
P	Toilet	-	-	-	-	-
Q	Library for the second son	4.5	8.21	Studying	Studying	Desk
R	Library for the oldest son	4.5	8.21	Studying	Studying	Desk, bookcase
S	Bedroom	8.0	14.59	For the two boys and their friends	Bedroom	Table

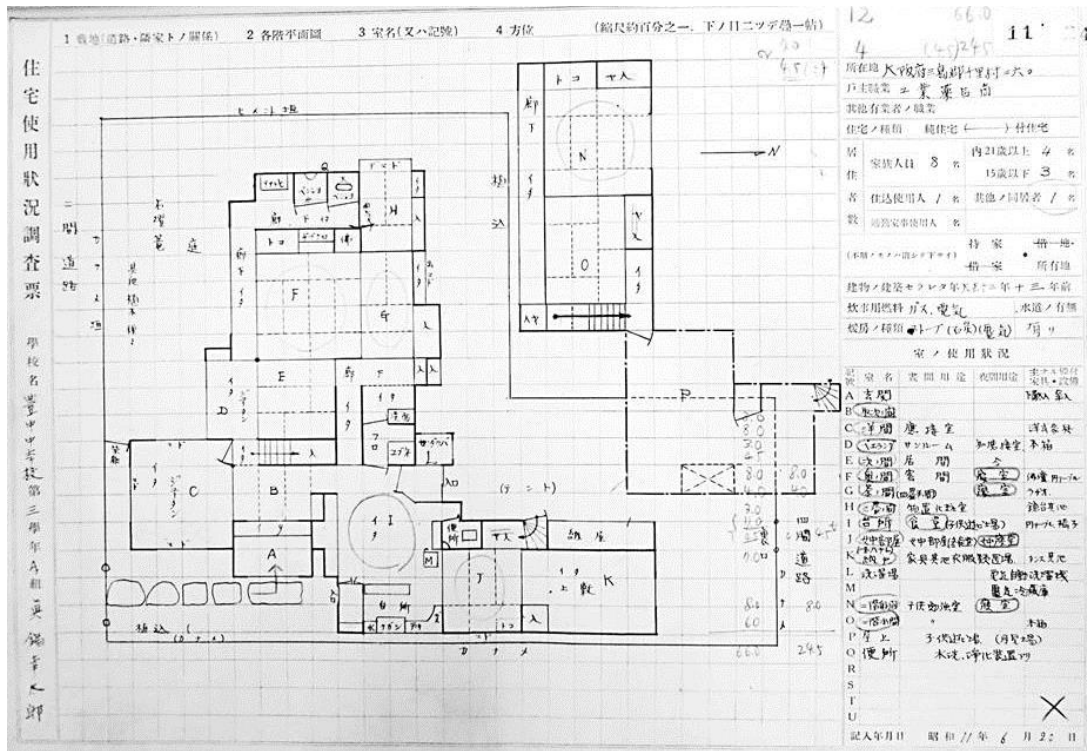


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Ref. number: 12-464

City:	Minō
Occupation of householder:	Official
Size of household:	9 (the five aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	2 (including the one who did not live with the family)
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1927
Power source(s) for cooking:	Firewood, charcoal, coal
Kind of heating(s):	Stove
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Reception, living room	Bedroom	Rattan chair
B	<i>Zashiki</i>	6.0	10.94	Guest room ( <i>Zashiki</i> )	Bedroom	Desk, display shelf
C	Guest room	3.0	5.47	Guest room	Guest room	Desk, tea cabinet
D	Hall	-	-	Hall	Hall	-
E	Room in the North	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	-
F	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.0	7.30	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	-
G	Room in the West	6.0	10.94	Room in the West	Room in the West	-
H						
I	Three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	Library	Library	Desk, bookshelf
J	Four- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	Living room for the servant	Servant's bedroom	-
K		4.0	7.30			
L						
M	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, charcoal stove, electric cooker
N	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
O	Upstairs four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Library	Library	Chest of drawers, bookcase
P	Upstairs six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	Desk, chair
Q	Upstairs three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	Living room	Living room	-



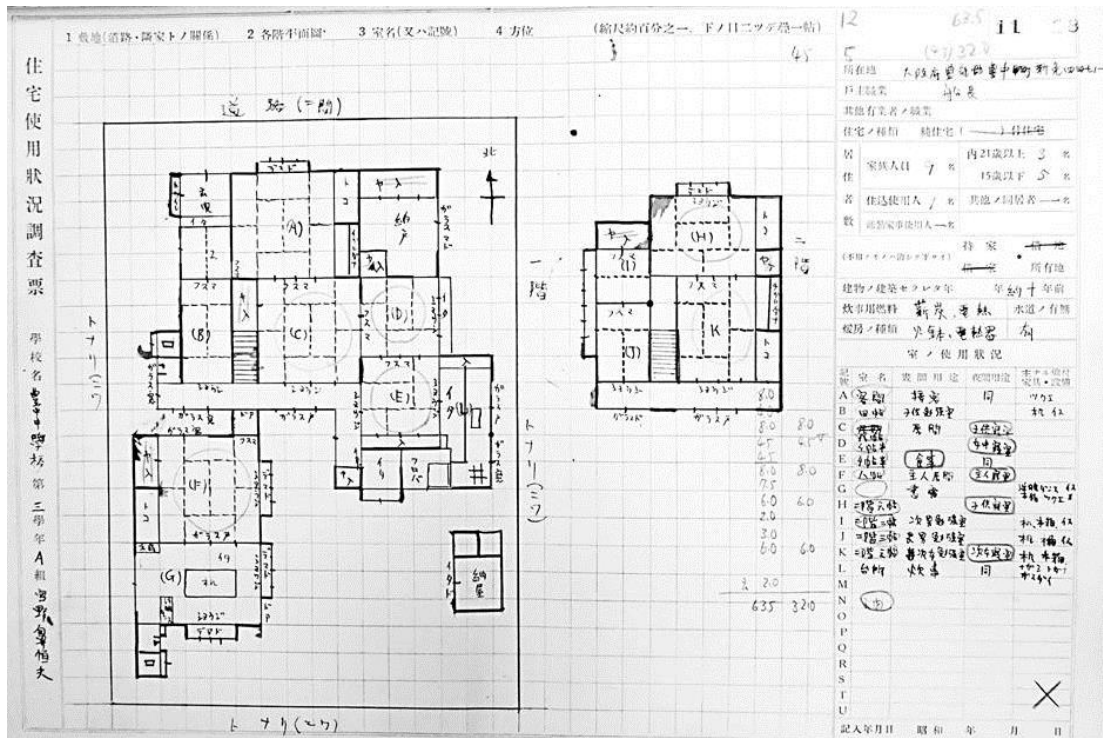
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Ref. number: 11-024

City:	Suita
Occupation of householder:	Dealer in industrial chemicals
Size of household:	8 (the four aged 21 and over and the three under 15 years old) [and one boarder]
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1924
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, electricity
Kind of heating(s):	Coal stove, electric heater
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Entrance	-	-	-	-	Shoe box, umbrella stand
B	Hall	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
C	Western room	8.0	14.59	Parlour	-	Western furniture
D	Veranda	3.0	5.47	Sunroom	Occasionally used as a parlour	Bookcase
E	Anteroom	4.5	8.21	Living room	Living room	-
F	Back room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom	Buddhist altar, round table
G	<i>Chanoma</i>	4.0	7.30	-	Bedroom	Radio
H	Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Closet room, dressing room	-	Vanity table, etc.
I	Kitchen(-diner)	7.0	12.77	Dining room, children's room for playing	-	Round table, chair(s)
J	Servant's room	4.5	8.21	Servant's room for dining	Servant's bedroom	-
K	Closet room	7.0	12.77	Lumber room	-	Chest of drawer, etc.
L	Washing place	-	-	-	-	Washing machine
M						
N	Upstairs back room	8.0	14.59	Study room	Bedroom	-
O	Upstairs anteroom	6.0	10.94	Study room	-	Bookcase
P	Housetop	-	-	Children's place for playing	(Viewing the moon)	-
Q	Toilet	-	-	Flush toilet	-	-



The details on the next page

Ref. number: 11-028

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Ship's captain
Size of household:	9 (the three aged 21 and over and the five under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1926
Power source(s) for cooking:	Firewood, charcoal, electricity
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, electric heater
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Desk
B	Four- <i>tatami</i> room	4.0	7.30	Study room	-	Desk, chair
C	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Children's bedroom	
D	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	-	Servant's bedroom	
E	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Meals	Meals	
F	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Living room for the husband	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	
G	-	7.5	13.68	Library	-	Wardrobe, chair, bookcase, desk, etc.
H	Upstairs six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	-	Children's bedroom	-
I	Upstairs two- <i>tatami</i> room	2.0	3.65	Study room for the second son	-	Desk, bookcase, chair
J	Upstairs three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	Study room for the oldest son	-	Desk, bookcase, chair
K	Upstairs six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Study room for the second daughter	Bedroom for the second daughter	Desk, bookcase
L	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, gas appliance
M						
N	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	-

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニツテ概一帖)

所在地 大阪府豊能郡池田町五番九  
 戸主職業 無職  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 借住宅( ) 借住宅  
 居住人員 3 名 内21歳以上 2名  
 住 家 族 員 3 名 15歳以下 1名  
 者 住込使用人 1名 其他ノ同居者 1名  
 数 送込家事使用人 1名  
 (本用ノモノハ道ノ下ナシ) 特 家 無一帖  
 所有地 無一帖  
 建物ノ建築セラント年 昭和31年  
 炊事用燃料 薪炭 電熱 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢 火鉢  
 室ノ使用状況

室名	表用用途	夜間用途	畳・畳数
A (A)	-	-	-
B (B)	-	化粧台	-
C (-)	-	-	-
D (-)	-	主人の部屋	-
E (E)	客室	-	-
F (F)	茶室	女中部屋	-
G (G)	客室	-	-
H (H)	洋室	接待	椅子
I (I)	書庫	長男の部屋	机
J (-)	-	-	-
K (K)	納屋	薪炭入	-
L (L)	炊事場	-	-

記入年月日 昭和 31 年 月 日

City: Ikeda  
 Occupation of householder: None  
 Size of household: 3 (the two aged 21 and over)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1931  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal, electricity  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? No

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
B Dressing room	2.0	3.65	-	-	Vanity table, chest of drawers
C -	4.5	8.21	-	-	-
D -	6.0	10.94	-	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Desk
E Guest room	4.5	8.21	-	-	-
F Chanoma	3.0	5.47	Meals, housework, sewing	Servant's bedroom	-
G Guest room	6.0	10.94	-	-	-
H Western room	(6.0)	(10.94)	Reception	Reception	Table and chairs
I Library	6.0	10.94	Study room for the oldest son	Study room for the oldest son	Desk
J -	6.0	10.94	-	-	-
K Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
L Kitchen	-	-	-	-	-

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又は記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニツデ第一階)

所在地 大阪府豊能郡箕面村字可尾六六五  
 戸主姓 無職  
 其他所有者ノ職業 ナシ  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅  
 居住ノ家賃人員 内21歳以上 〇名  
 15歳以下 〇名  
 住込使用人 〇名 其他ノ同居者 〇名  
 遊覧家使用人 〇名  
 (不問ノカキハ合ツテ下ナシ) 持家 借地  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年 年 22 年前  
 炊事用燃料 薪炭・電熱 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢・電熱 有

室ノ使用状況

室名	用途	使用用途	床面積
A	接客	客用座敷	6.0
B	居間	居間	6.0
C	居間	居間	3.0
D	三階	同上	2.0
E	三階	同上	2.0
F	如廁	女中部屋	2.0
G	茶の間	浴室	2.0
H	台所	浴室	2.0
I	物置	家具物入	2.0
J	脱衣室	脱衣	2.0
K	物置	下男部屋	2.0
L	物置	洋行小倉	4.0
M	物置	脱履所	6.0
N	書齋	同上	6.0
O			
P			
Q			
R			
S			
T			
U			

記入年月日 昭和 11 年 〇 月 〇 日

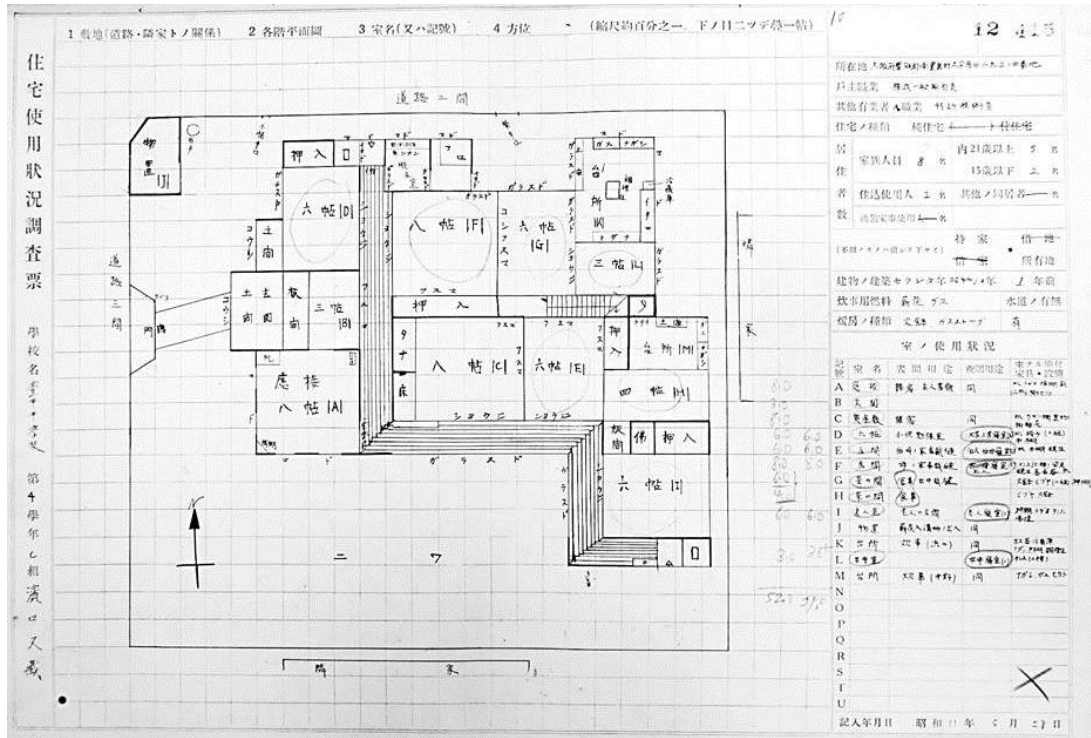
永井 祐太郎

The details on the next page

Ref. number: 12-449

City:	Minō
Occupation of householder:	None
Size of household:	4 (the three aged 21 and over)
Number of servant:	2
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1914
Power source(s) for cooking:	Firewood, charcoal, electricity
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, electric heater
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Reception	Bedroom for guests	Desk, electric cooker
B	Living room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Bedroom	Tea cabinet, desk
C	Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	Screen
D	Two- <i>tatami</i> room	2.0	3.65	Dressing room	Dressing room	Chest of drawers, clothes tray
E	Tea room	4.5	8.21	Living room	Bedroom	Desk
F	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	Servant's room	Bedroom	-
G	<i>Chanoma</i>	3.0	5.47	Meals, housework	-	Brazier
H	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, cooking stove
I	Closet room	-	-	Storage for furniture	Storage for furniture	Chest of drawer
J	Dressing room	-	-	Dressing	Dressing	Vanity table
K	Male servant's room	3.0	5.47	Male servant's room	Male servant's (bed)room	-
L	Shed	-	-	Storage for pickle barrel(s) and sundries	Storage for pickle barrel(s) and sundries	Pickle barrel(s), shoe box
M	Upstairs four- <i>tatami</i> room	4.0	7.30	Study room	Study room	Desk, sewing machine, bookcase
N	Library	6.0	10.94	Library	Library	Desk, bookshelf



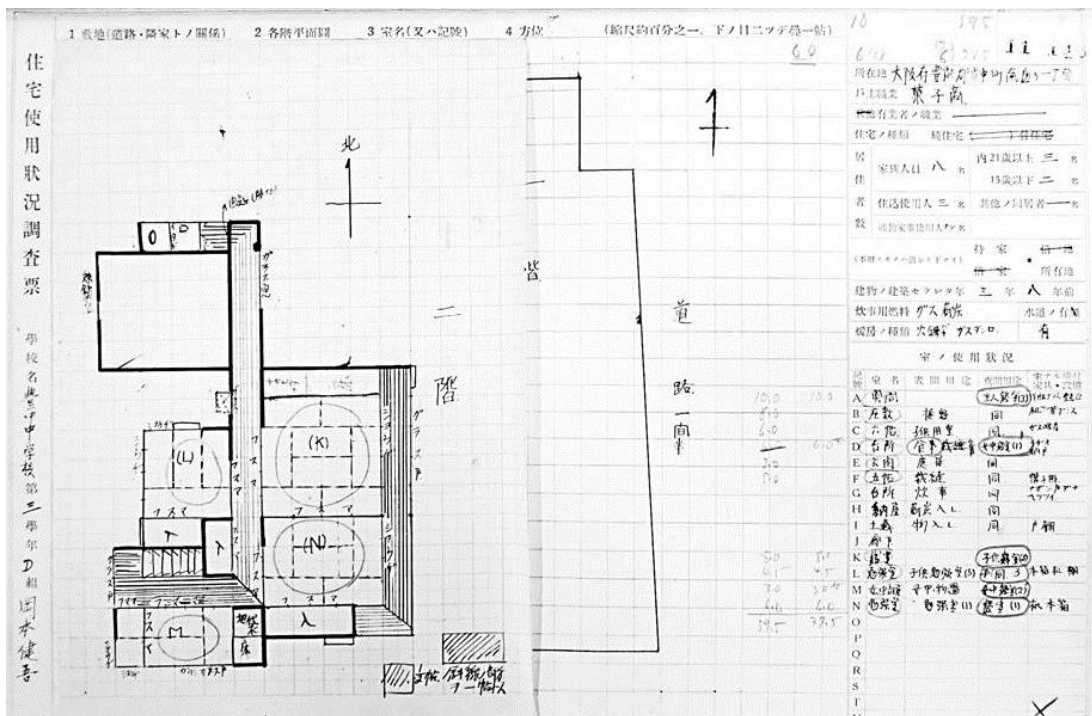
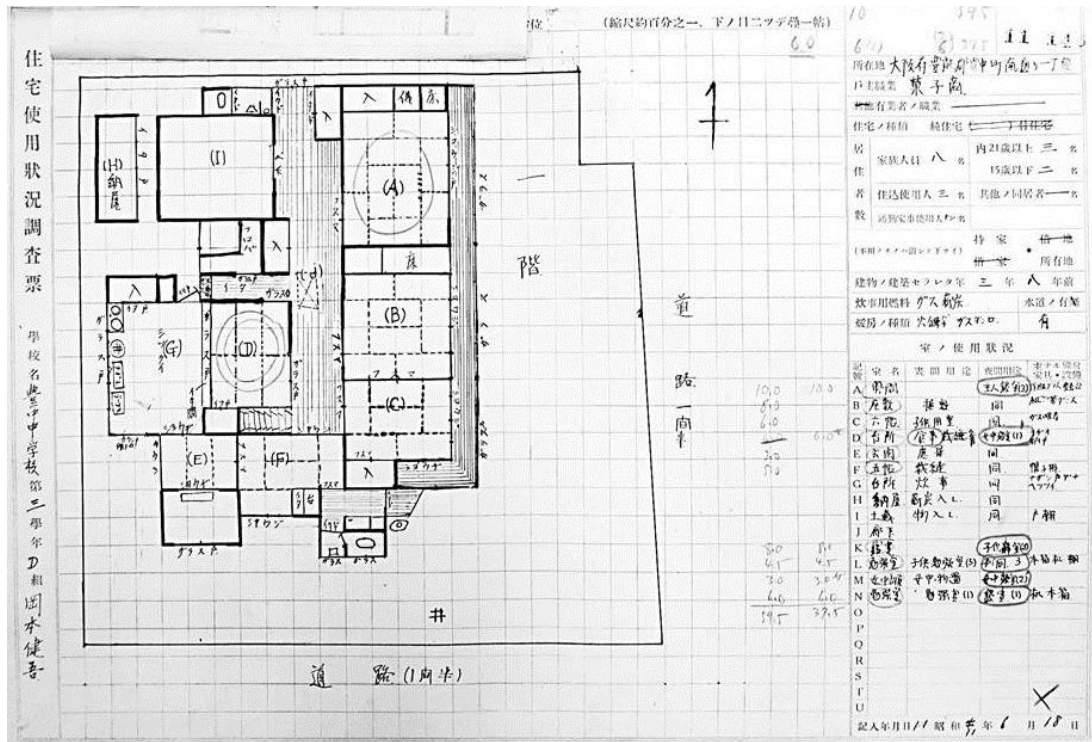
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Ref. number: 12-415

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Stockbroker
Size of household:	7 (the five aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	2
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1935
Power source(s) for cooking:	Firewood, charcoal, gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, gas stove
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Parlour	8.0	14.59	Reception, husband's library	Reception, husband's library	Desk, radio, corner set of shelves, three frames, desk, chairs
B	Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
C	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Desk, display shelf, hanging scroll, flower
D	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Study room	Bedroom for the second and third sons	Desk, two chairs, bookshelf
E	Living room	6.0	10.94	Housework and sewing conducted by the aunt	Bedroom for the uncle and aunt	Desk, bookshelf, vanity table
F	Living room	8.0	14.59	Housework and sewing conducted by the mother	Husband's bedroom (for the mother)	Two chests of drawers, large mirror, vanity table, gramophone, desk
G	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Meals, sewing conducted by the servants	-	Brazier, two cupboards for tea-things, Shinto altar
H	<i>Chanoma</i>	4.0	7.30	Meals	-	Cupboard for tea-things, brazier
I	Elderly's room	6.0	10.94	Living room for the elderly	Elderly's bedroom	Shinto altar, radio, chest of drawers, Buddhist altar
J	Shed	-	-	Storage for pickle barrel(s)	Storage for pickle barrel(s)	-
K	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Gas appliance, refrigerator, sink, sideboard, kitchen table
L	Servants' room	3.0	5.47	-	Servants' bedroom	Two chests of drawers
M	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking (conducted by the aunt)	Cooking (conducted by the aunt)	Sink, gas appliance, charcoal stove



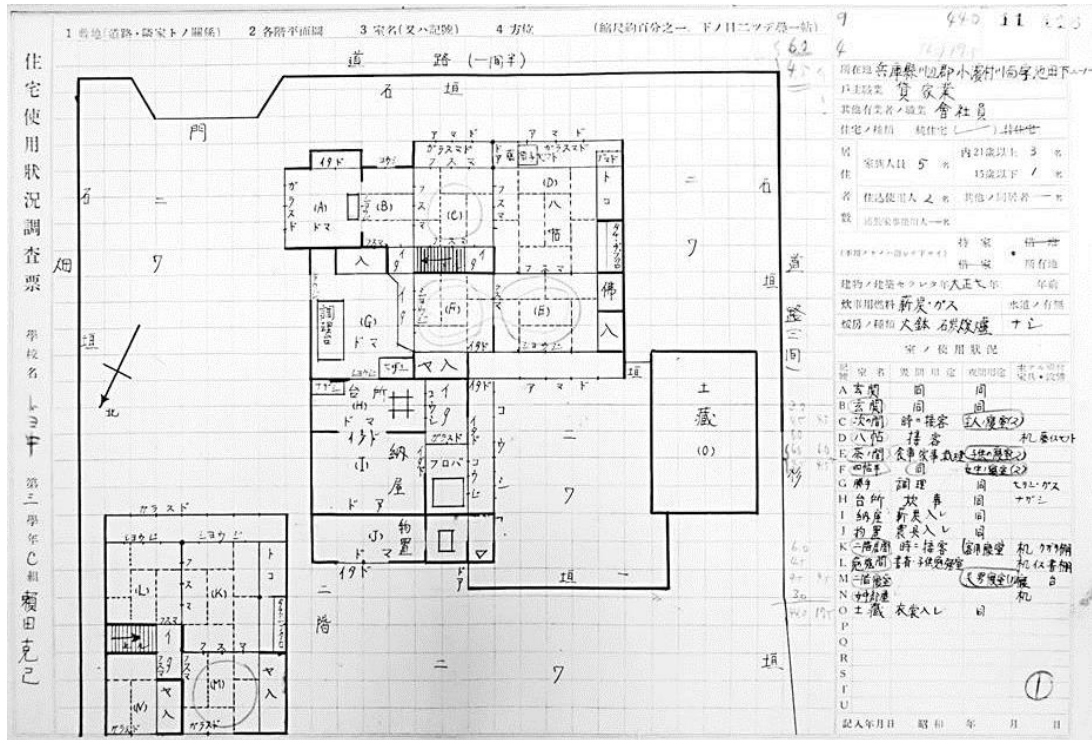


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Ref. number: 11-146

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Confectioner
Size of household:	8 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	3
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1928
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, fireplace
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Back room	10.0	18.24	-	Husband's bedroom (and for two adult members of the family)	Wardrobe, vanity table
B	<i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Reception	Reception	Desk, tea cupboard
C	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Children's room	Children's room	Gas heater
D	Kitchen(-diner)	6.0	10.94	Meals	Servant's bedroom	Radio, closet
E	Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Reception	Reception	-
F	Five- <i>tatami</i> room	5.0	9.12	Sewing	Sewing	Hat rack
G	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, etc.
H	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
I	Warehouse	-	-	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	Closet(s)
J	Corridor	-	-	-	-	-
K	Bedroom	8.0	14.59	-	Bedroom for two children	-
L	Study room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the three children	Study room for the three children	Bookcase, desk, shelf
M	Servants' room	3.0	5.47	Servants' room, closet (room)	Servants' bedroom	-
N	Study room	6.0	10.94	Study room for the child	Child's bedroom	Desk, bookcase

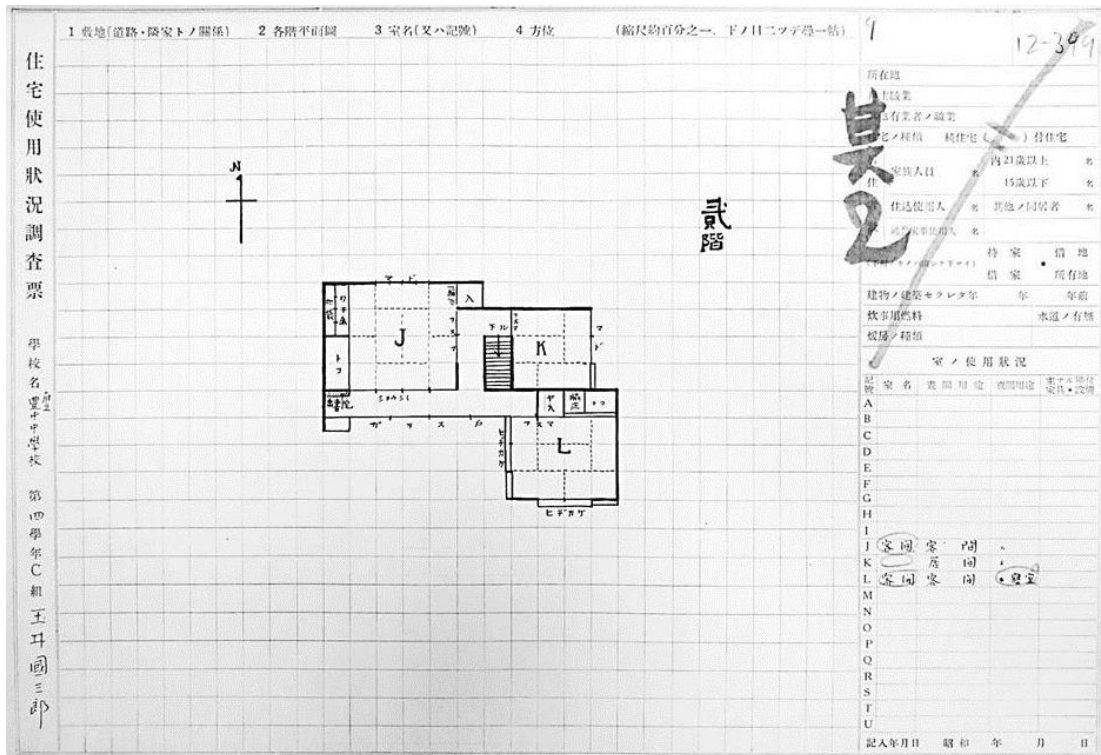
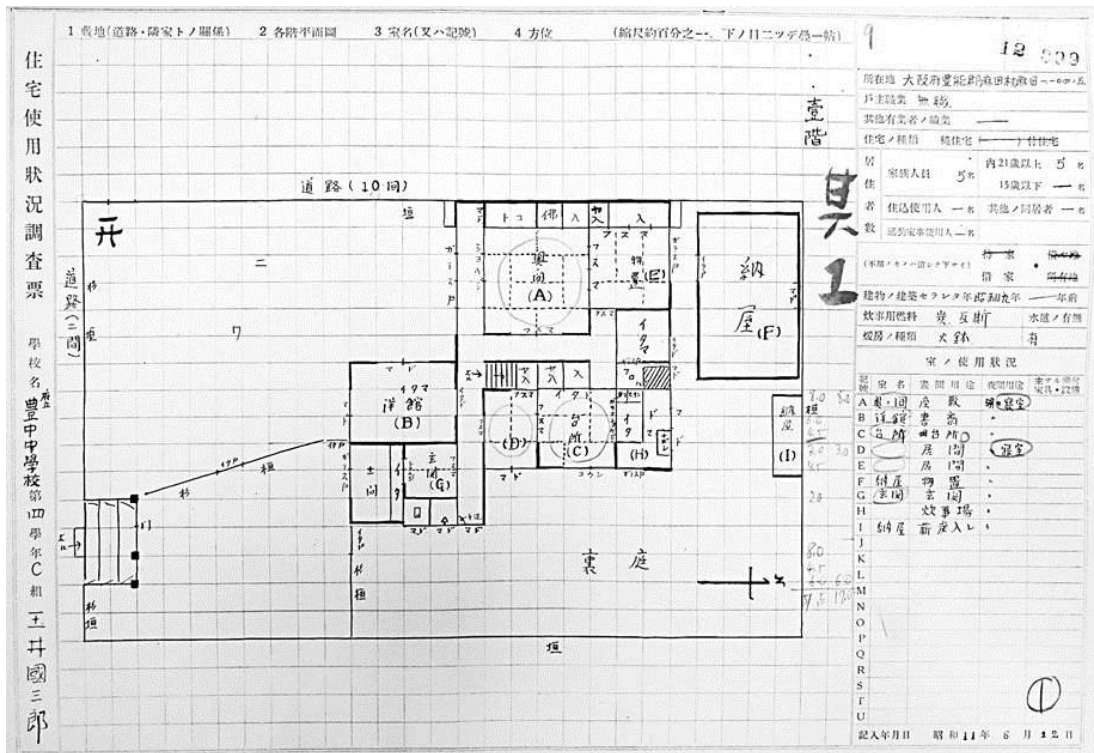


The details on the next page

Ref. number: 11-116

City:	Takarazuka
Occupation of householder:	Landlord
Size of household:	5 (the three aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	2
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1918
Power source(s) for cooking:	Firewood, charcoal, gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, fireplace
Is running water available?	No

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Entrance	-	-	Entrance	Entrance	-
B	Hall	3.0	5.47	Hall	Hall	-
C	Anteroom	4.5	8.21	Occasionally for reception	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	-
D	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Reception	-	Desk, rattan chair
E	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Meals, housework, sewing	Bedroom for two children	-
F	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	-	Servants' bedroom	-
G	Scullery	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Charcoal stove, gas appliance
H	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink
I	Closet room	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
J	Shed	-	-	Storage for firm implements	Storage for firm implements	-
K	Upstairs living room	6.0	10.94	Occasionally for reception	Bedroom for guests	Desk, display shelf
L	Study room	4.5	8.21	Library, study room for the children	-	Desk(s), chair(s), bookshelf
M	Upstairs bedroom	4.5	8.21	-	Bedroom for the oldest son	Bed
N	Servants' room	3.0	5.47	-	-	Desk
O	Warehouse	-	-	Storage for clothes	Storage for clothes	-



The details on the next page

Ref. number: 12-399

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	None
Size of household:	5 (the five aged 21 and over)(sic)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	-
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Rented
When was the house built?	1934
Power source(s) for cooking:	Charcoal, gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Back room	8.0	14.59	Guest room ( <i>zashiki</i> )	Bedroom	-
B	Western room	6.0	10.94	Library	Library	-
C	Kitchen(-diner)	4.5	8.21	Kitchen(-diner)	Kitchen(-diner)	-
D	-	3.0	5.47	Living room	Bedroom	-
E	-	4.5	8.21	Living room	Living room	-
F	Warehouse	-	-	Closet room	Closet room	-
G	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	-
H	-	-	-	Cooking Storage for firewood and charcoals	Cooking Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
I	Shed	-	-			-
J	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	-
K	-	4.5	8.21	Living room	Living room	-
L	Guest room	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Bedroom	-

Ref. number: 12-417

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツテ景一帖)

所在地 大阪府豊能郡豊中町新阪二  
 戸主 藤本 會社員  
 建物ノ種類 純住宅 一 特住宅  
 家族人員 7 人 内21歳以上 2 名  
 住 住 15歳以下 2 名  
 者 住込使用人 1 名 其他ノ同居者 1 名  
 数 通算家事使用人 1 名  
 (種類・マノ・階・下・上) 持家 所有地  
 建物ノ建築モラシキ年 昭和7年 4年前  
 炊事用燃料 瓦斯 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢, 炭物 有  
 室ノ使用状況

記號	室名	使用用途	或シテ用途	床ノ面積
A	八帖	寢床室	主寝室	6.0
B	六帖	居間	洋室	6.0
C	六帖	茶室	洋室	6.0
D	三帖		洋室	3.0
E	フロハ	同	洋室	2.0
F	台所	炊事	洋室	2.0
G	五帖	巾着室	洋室	2.0
H	土間			
I	物置	薪炭入れ	同	4.0
J	四帖	廊下	同	2.0
K	四帖	原付局	同	2.0
L	八帖	物置室	洋室	6.0
M	四帖	物置室	洋室	2.0
N				
O				
P				
Q				
R				
S				
T				
U				

記入年月日 昭和11年6月28日

学校名 豊中中学校 第四学年乙組 王城三郎

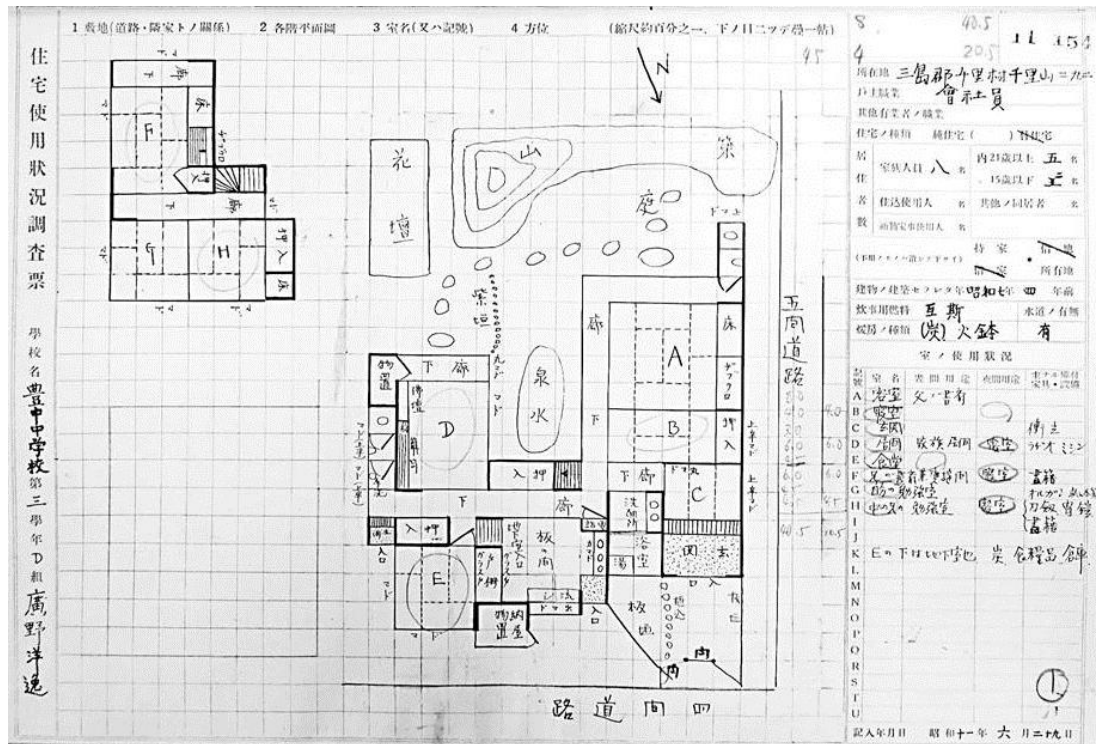
The details on the next page

Ref. number: 12-417

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	6 (the two aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	o(sic) [1]
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1932
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, gas (stove)
Is running water available?	Yes

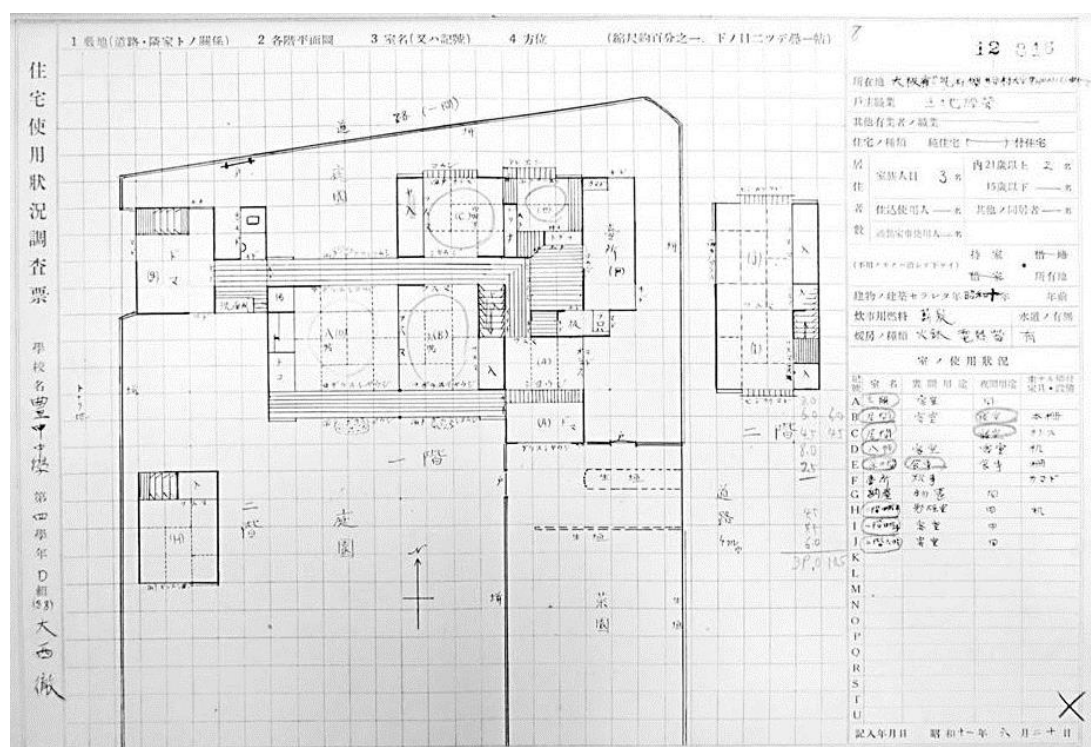
	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Husband's bedroom (and for the mother)	Desk, chair(s)
B	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Children's bedroom	Chest of drawers, desk
C	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	<i>Chanoma</i> (meals)	<i>Chanoma</i>	Chest of drawers
D	Three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	-	-	Sundries
E	Bathroom	-	-	Bathroom	Bathroom	-
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, charcoal stove, gas appliance
G	Three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	Servant's room	Servant's bedroom	Sewing machine
H	Hall (entrance)	-	-	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	-
I	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
J	Four- <i>tatami</i> room	4.0	7.30	Study room for the second son	Study room for the second son	Desk, bookshelf
K	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Guest room	Guest room	-
L	Upstairs eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Study room for the children	Children's bedroom	Bookshelf, chair(s), (desks)
M	Upstairs four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Children's 'club' for playing	Bedroom for guests	Large desk





City: Suita  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 8 (the five aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1932  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): (Charcoal) brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Guest room	8.0	14.59	Father's library	-	-
B Bedroom	4.0	7.30	-	(Bedroom)	-
C Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	-	-	Screen
D Living room	6.0	10.94	Family's living room	Bedroom	Radio, sewing machine
E Dining room	4.5	8.21	(Meals)	-	-
F Library and guest room for the oldest son	6.0	10.94	Library and guest room for the oldest son	Bedroom	Books
G Study room for the third son	4.5	8.21	Study room for the third son	-	Organ, desk, bookcase
H Study room for the second son	4.5	8.21	Study room for the second son	Bedroom	Books, etc.



City: Toyonaka

Occupation of householder: Landlord

Size of household: 3 (the two aged 21 and over)

Number of servant: 0

Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned

Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned

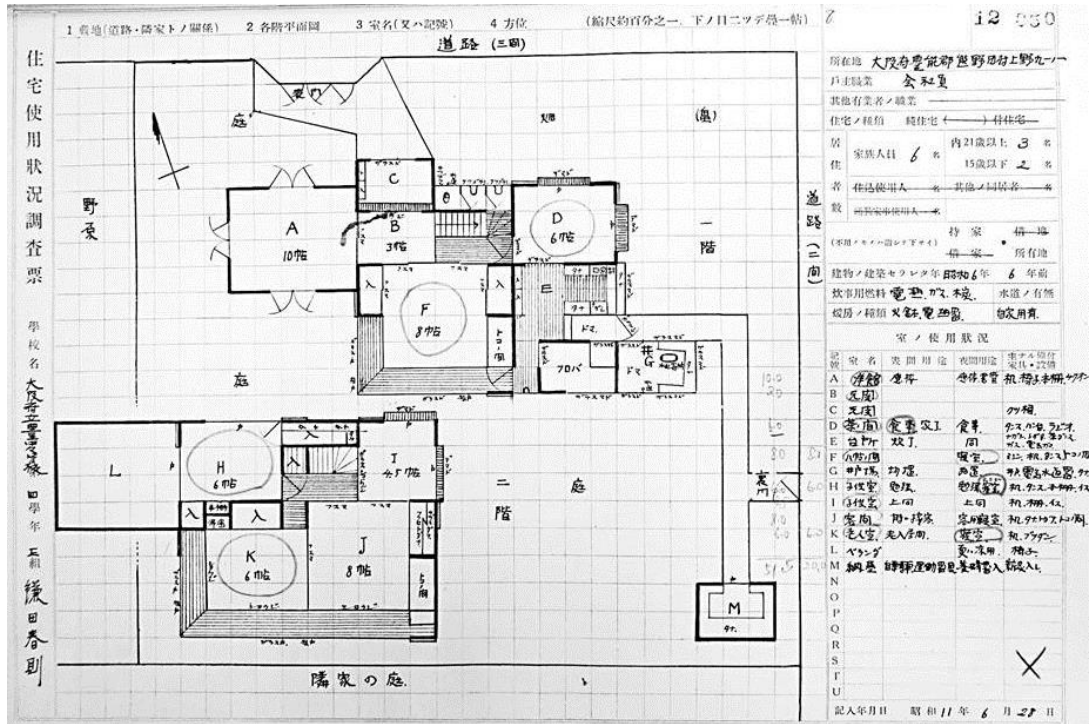
When was the house built? 1935

Power source(s) for cooking: Firewood, charcoal

Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater

Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	Guest room (sic)[reception]	Guest room (sic)[reception]	-
B Living room	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Bedroom	Bookshelf
C Living room	4.5	8.21	-	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
D Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Desk
E Chanoma	2.5	4.56	Meals	Meals	Shelf
F Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	-	Cooking stove
G Closet room	-	-	Closet room	Closet room	-
H Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Study room	Study room	Desk
I Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Guest room	Guest room	-
J Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Guest room	-

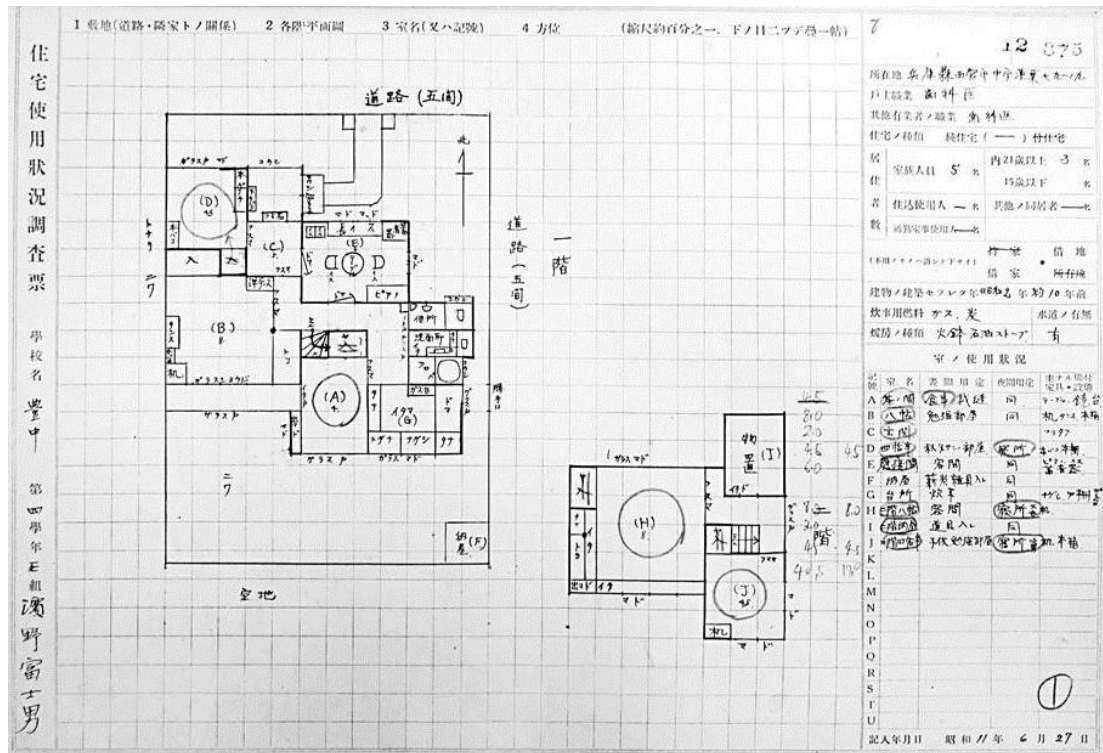


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Ref. number: 12-350

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	6 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Owned
When was the house built?	1931
Power source(s) for cooking:	Electricity, gas, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, electric heater
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Western room	10.0	18.24	Reception	Reception, library	Desk, chair(s), bookshelf, gramophone
B	Hall	3.0	5.47	-	-	-
C	Entrance	-	-	-	-	Shoe box
D	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Meals, housework	Meals	Chest of drawers, dining table, radio
E	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, tea cabinet, electric and gas appliances
F	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	-	Bedroom	Sewing machine, desk, chest of drawers, <i>tokonoma</i>
G	Scullery	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Well, running water, shelf
H	Children's room	6.0	10.94	Studying	Studying, bedroom	Desk, chest of drawers, bookshelf, chair
I	Children's room	4.5	8.21	Studying	Studying	Desk, shelf, chair
J	Guest room	8.0	14.59	Occasionally used for reception	Bedroom for guests	Desk, shelf, cupboard, <i>tokonoma</i>
K	Elderly's room	6.0	10.94	Living room for the elderly	Bedroom	Desk, Buddhist altar
L	Veranda	-	-	-	(Cooling in the summer)	Chair(s)
M	Shed	-	-	Storage for bicycle(s), sporting goods, implements for beekeeping, firewood and charcoals	Storage for bicycle(s), sporting goods, implements for beekeeping, firewood and charcoals	-

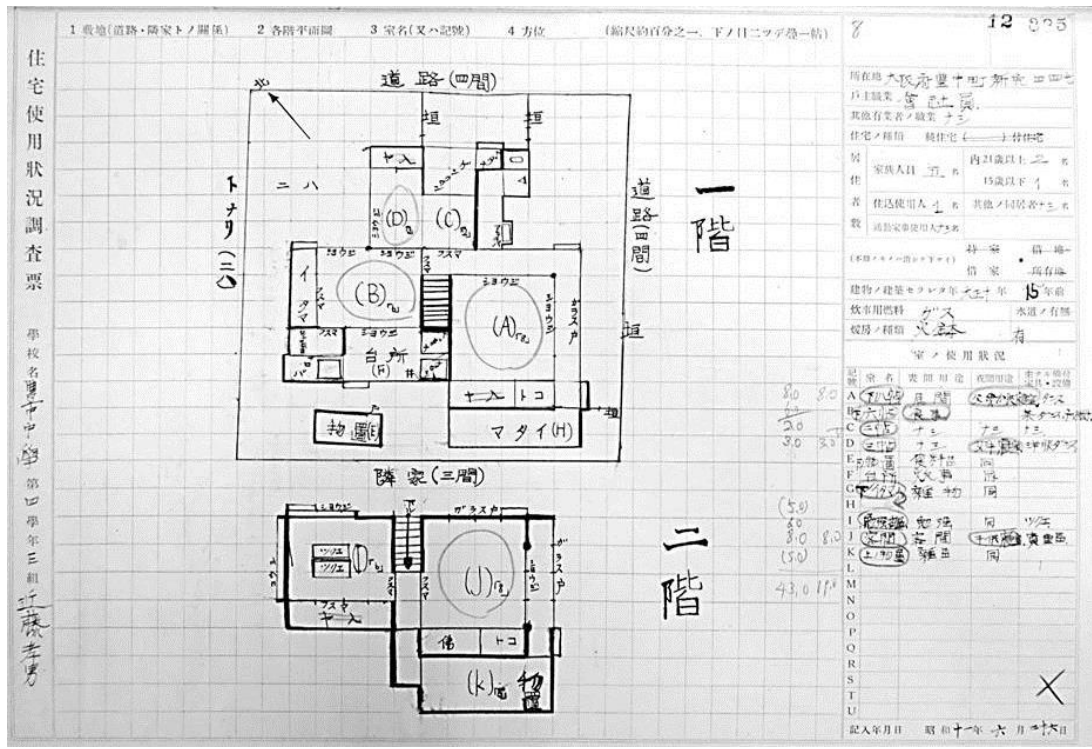


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Ref. number: 12-375

City:	Nishinomiya
Occupation of householder:	Dentist
Size of household:	5 (the three aged 21 and over)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Rented
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Rented
When was the house built?	1927
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, oil stove
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	<i>Chanoma</i>	4.5	8.21	Meals, sewing	Meals, sewing	Table, vanity table
B	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Study room	Study room	Desk, chest of drawers, bookcase
C	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	Screen
D	Four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Uncle's room	Bedroom (for the uncle)	Bookcase, bookshelf
E	Parlour	6.0	10.94	Guest room	Guest room	Piano, chair(s), gramophone
F	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood, charcoals and sundries	Storage for firewood, charcoals and sundries	-
G	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, sideboard, gas appliance
H	Upstairs eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom for the father and mother	Desk
I	Upstairs closet room	3.0	5.47	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	-
J	Upstairs four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Study room	Children's bedroom	Desk, bookcase



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1921  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Living room	Bedroom for the father, mother and child(ren)	Chest of drawers
B Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Meals	-	Tea cabinet, cupboard
C Two-tatami room	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
D Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	-	Servant's bedroom	Wardrobe
E Shed	-	-	Storages of foodstuffs	Storages of foodstuffs	-
F Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	-
G					
H Wooden-floored space	(5.0)	(9.12)	(Storage for) sundries	(Storage for) sundries	-
I Study room	6.0	10.94	Studying	Studying	Desk
J Guest room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom for child(ren)	Valuables
K Upstairs closet room	(5.0)	(9.12)	(Storage for) sundries	(Storage for) sundries	-

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツデ標一帖)

所在地 大分県大分市...  
 戸主職業 大分朝日新聞記者  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅( ) 借住宅  
 家族人員 5 内21歳以上者 2  
 住 15歳以下者 1  
 者 住込使用人 其他ノ同居者  
 数 通算家族使用人  
 (不問ノモノハ計ラズ)  
 特 家 備 備  
 借 家 所有地  
 建物ノ建築セラレタ年 年 / 月 年前  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火 有

室ノ使用状況

室名	敷地面積	使用用途	夜間用途	備付家具・設備
A (A)	2.0	玄関	玄関	本棚
B (B)	6.0	勉強室	勉強室	本棚、衣類棚
C (C)	8.0	客室	寝室	引き出し箱
D (D)	7.0	勉強室、客室	勉強室、客室	本棚、机、椅子
E (E)	3.0	縫製室	縫製室	引き出し箱
F (F)	4.5	ダイニング	ダイニング	茶台
G (G)	-	調理	調理	-
H (H)	6.0	-	寝室	衣類棚、本棚
I (I)	8.0	客室	客室	本棚、机
J				
K				
L				
M				
N				
O				
P				
Q				
R				
S				
T				
U				

記入年月日 昭和34年 月 日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee (working at a newspaper)  
 Size of household: 5 (the two aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? -  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1926  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	Reception	Reception	Bookcase,
B Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	Study room	Study room	Bookcase, wardrobe
C Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Bedroom	Chest of drawers
D Western room	7.0	12.77	Study room, guest room	Study room, guest room	Bookcase, desk, chair(s)
E Three-tatami room	3.0	5.47	Sewing room	Sewing room	Chest of drawers
F Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Dining room	Dining room	Tea cabinet
G Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	-
H Six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	-	Bedroom	Wardrobe, bookcase
I Eight-tatami room	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Bookcase, desk



住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家との関係) 2 各階平面図 3 室名(又ハ記号) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ニツテ器一帖)

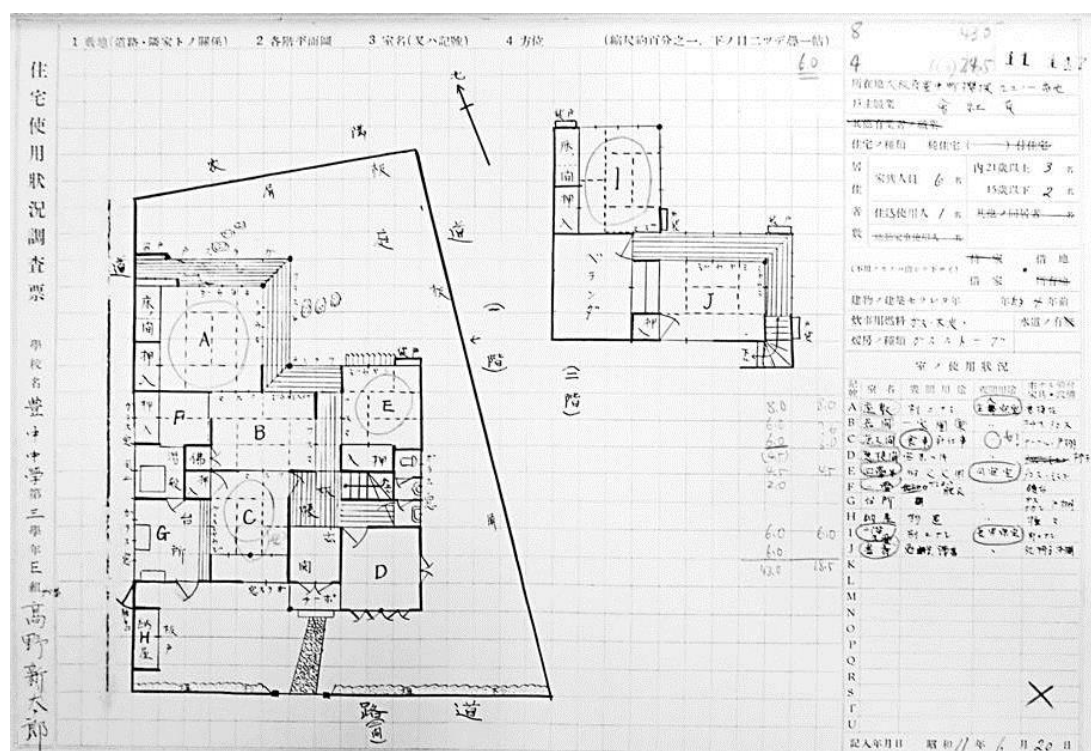
所在地 大府町 聖能郡 聖能町 北通 5-20  
 戸主職業 宇治電機株式会社 役員  
 其他有業者ノ職業 無し  
 住宅ノ種類 純住宅 一軒住宅  
 居住 家族人員 3 名 内21歳以上 1 名  
 15歳以下 2 名  
 借込使用人 無し 他ノ同居者 無し  
 高層住宅使用人 無し  
 (本用ノ外ノ用ニテ) 持家 借地 借家 所有地  
 建物ノ建築セラレタ年 1923 年 年前  
 炊事用燃料 ガス、電気 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢、石油ストーブ  
 室ノ使用状況

居室名 表題用途 表題用途 表題用途  
 A 座敷 客用 客用 座敷  
 B 座敷 客用 客用 座敷  
 C 居間 居間 居間 居間  
 D 居間 居間 居間 居間  
 E 書庫 書庫 書庫 書庫  
 F 玄関 玄関 玄関 玄関  
 G 居間 居間 居間 居間  
 H 寝室 寝室 寝室 寝室

記入年月日 昭和11年 6 月 14 日

City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 3 (the one aged 21 and over)  
 Number of servant: 0  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Owned  
 When was the house built? 1923  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, electricity  
 Kind of heating(s): Brazier, electric heater  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Gramophone, records
B Zashiki	8.0	14.59	Guest room	Guest room	Chest of drawers, toy box
C Living room	4.5	8.21	Living room	Bedroom	Chest of drawers, radio
D Chanoma	4.5	8.21	Living room, (meals)	Living room	Table
E Library	3.0	5.47	Library	-	Bookshelf
F Hall (entrance)	3.0	5.47	-	-	Chair
G Living room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the oldest son	-	Desk
H Bedroom	6.0	10.94	-	(Bedroom)	Chest of drawers



City: Toyonaka  
 Occupation of householder: Company employee  
 Size of household: 6 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)  
 Number of servant: 1  
 Is the land rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 Is the house rented or owned by a householder? Rented  
 When was the house built? 1932  
 Power source(s) for cooking: Gas, charcoal  
 Kind of heating(s): Gas stove  
 Is running water available? Yes

Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
	Number of tatamis	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A Zashiki	8.0	14.59	-	Husband's bedroom	Stand
B Living room	6.0	10.94	(Sitting room for family gatherings)	-	Radio, chest of drawers
C Chanoma	6.0	10.94	Meals, sewing	Bedroom	Table, cupboard
D ParLOUR	(4.5)	(8.21)	Reception	-	Chair(s), table
E Four-and-half-tatami room	4.5	8.21	Room for the uncle and father	Uncle's bedroom	Chest of drawers, sewing machine
F Two-tatami room	2.0	3.65	Dressing	-	Vanity table
G Kitchen	-	-	-	-	Gas appliance, sideboard, sink
H Shed	-	-	Storage for sundries	-	Sundries
I Upstairs six-tatami room	6.0	10.94	-	Bedroom for the oldest son	-
J Library	6.0	10.94	Studying, reading	-	Desk, chair, bookshelf

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又ハ記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ日ニラデ概一帖)

所在 大村市豊島町中野橋塚  
 戸主職業 会社員  
 其他有業者ノ職業  
 住宅ノ種類 種住宅( ) 柱構造  
 居室人員 7名 内21歳以上 3名  
 住居使用人 名 其他ノ同居者 名  
 数 延敷面積使用人 名  
 (不測ノモノハ注シテ) 借家 借地  
 借家 所有地  
 建物ノ建築セラレタル年 昭和19年  
 炊事用燃料 ガス 薪炭 水道ノ有無  
 暖房ノ種類 火鉢 カスタフ 有  
 室ノ使用状況

室名	用途	説明	電燈	電話
A	洋室	洋室	有	有
B	洋室	洋室	有	有
C	洋室	洋室	有	有
D	洋室	洋室	有	有
E	洋室	洋室	有	有
F	洋室	洋室	有	有
G	洋室	洋室	有	有
H	洋室	洋室	有	有
I	洋室	洋室	有	有
J	洋室	洋室	有	有
K	洋室	洋室	有	有
L	洋室	洋室	有	有
M	洋室	洋室	有	有
N	洋室	洋室	有	有
O	洋室	洋室	有	有
P	洋室	洋室	有	有
Q	洋室	洋室	有	有
R	洋室	洋室	有	有
S	洋室	洋室	有	有
T	洋室	洋室	有	有
U	洋室	洋室	有	有

記入年月日 昭和 11年 6月 20日

大村市豊島町中野橋塚 第三學年D組 大村豊島

The details on the next page

Ref. number: 11-152

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Company employee
Size of household:	7 (the three aged 21 and over and the two under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	0
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	Rented
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Rented
When was the house built?	1935
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, firewood, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Brazier, gas stove
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Hall (entrance)	2.0	3.65	-	-	-
B	Western room	(6.0)	(10.94)	Reception	Reception	Chair(s), gramophone
C	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Family's bedroom	Chest of drawers, sewing machine, bookcase
D	Eight- <i>tatami</i> room	8.0	14.59	Occasionally for reception	Bedroom for guests	Rattan chair, radio, desk
E	<i>Chanoma</i>	4.5	8.21	Meals	-	Cupboard, desk, chest of drawers
F	Kitchen	-	-	Cooking	Cooking	Sink, refrigerator, sideboard, charcoal stove
G	Three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	Living room	Family's bedroom	Small desk
H	Closet room	-	-	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	Large oblong chest, etc.
I	Shed	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
J	Three- <i>tatami</i> room	3.0	5.47	Sewing, playing	Bedroom	Chest of drawers, organ
K	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Library	(Study room)	Bookcase, desk, etc.

住宅使用状況調査票

1 敷地(道路・隣家トノ關係) 2 各階平面圖 3 室名(又は記號) 4 方位 (縮尺約百分之一、下ノ目ツデ絵一帖)

所在地 大府町豊原町 戸主 藤原 義典 氏 職業 専業主婦 435 12 200

其他有業者ノ職業 住宅ノ種別 純住宅 (一) 住棟数 住居 内21歳以上 5名 住居 15歳以下 1名 住者 住込使用人 / 名 其他ノ同居者 一 名 数 同居家族使用人 一 名

(本圖ノ外ニテハ別紙ニテ示ス)

建物ノ建築セラレタ年 大正 三 年 前 炊事用燃料 薪 炭 火 水道ノ有無 有 暖房ノ種別 薪 炭 火 鉢

室ノ使用状況

室名	類別用途	在り用途	面積・形状
A 土間	土間	同	6.0 x 6.0
B 居間	居間	同	3.0 x 3.0
C 茶間	茶間	同	3.0 x 3.0
D 土間	土間	同	3.0 x 3.0
E 座敷	座敷	同	3.0 x 3.0
F 土間	土間	同	3.0 x 3.0
G 土間	土間	同	3.0 x 3.0
H 土間	土間	同	3.0 x 3.0
I 土間	土間	同	3.0 x 3.0
J 土間	土間	同	3.0 x 3.0
K 土間	土間	同	3.0 x 3.0
L 土間	土間	同	3.0 x 3.0

記入年月日 昭和 十 年 十 月 廿 八 日

The details on the next page

Ref. number: 12-309

City:	Toyonaka
Occupation of householder:	Professor
Size of household:	7 (the five aged 21 and over and the one under 15 years old)
Number of servant:	1
Is the land rented or owned by a householder?	-
Is the house rented or owned by a householder?	Rented
When was the house built?	1934
Power source(s) for cooking:	Gas, charcoal
Kind of heating(s):	Gas (stove), brazier
Is running water available?	Yes

	Names of rooms	Floor area		Functions of rooms / How to use		Furniture and fixtures
		Number of <i>tatamis</i>	m <sup>2</sup>	(in the daytime)	(during the night)	
A	Hall (entrance)	-	-	Hall (entrance)	Hall (entrance)	Desk, shoe box
B	Parlour	6.0	10.94	Reception	Reception	Desk, chairs, piano, desk
C	<i>Chanoma</i>	6.0	10.94	Meals	-	Chest of drawers, cupboard
D	Servant's room	3.0	5.47	-	Servant's bedroom	Desk, bookcase
E	Guest room <i>Zashiki</i>	8.0	14.59	Reception	Sisters' bedroom	-
F	Six- <i>tatami</i> room	6.0	10.94	Living room	Sisters' bedroom	Desk, chest of drawers
G	Kitchen	-	-	Kitchen	Kitchen	Sideboard, gas cooker, sink
H	Closet room	-	-	Storage for firewood and charcoals	Storage for firewood and charcoals	-
I	<i>Zashiki</i>	6.0	10.94	Reception	Bedroom for the father and mother	Desk
J	Upstairs four-and-half- <i>tatami</i> room	4.5	8.21	Study room for the oldest son	Bedroom for the oldest son	Desk
K	Closet room	(4.0)	(7.30)	Storage for sundries	Storage for sundries	-
L	Sunroom	-	-	Place for playing	-	Sewing machine