



A Comparative Study on the Construction Mechanism of Urban Public Space in Modern Shanghai and Yokohama

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In the 19th century, after experienced the "open port" and "port opening", Shanghai and Yokohama opened to the world, became the important ports for Europe and the United States in East Asia. In the view of different historical geography, background and management, Shanghai and Yokohama show different development processes and characteristics. On the basis of briefing the modern urban and social background of Shanghai and Yokohama, this paper analyses the similarities and differences from the aspects of urban forms, architecture scene, park space, based on these, try to conclude the reasons from the system policy, concept cognition, and the management feedback, supposes to place the studies in a broader perspective, understands the construction mechanism of the Modern East Asian cities.

Keywords: Modern, Yokohama, Shanghai, Urban Public Space

Introduction

The book *Amherst Tour 1832* is regarded to be the earliest western record of modern Shanghai. Maclellan (1899), Montalto (1909), Lanning and Couling (1921), Fredet and Jean (1929), Pott (1928), Miller (1937), Hauser (1940) and Murphey (1953) also explained the modern Shanghai in their own aspects. Since 1930, Chinese scholars began to study modern Shanghai, Yazi Liu wrote the *Shanghai History* and the *Shanghai History Series*, Zhenchang Tang wrote the *Shanghai History* in 1988. The *Shanghai Modern Urban Studies* edited by Zhongli Zhang, made a general exposition of the modern Shanghai. Later, the sociology, economics, political scholars started to focus on modern Shanghai. As to the modern Yokohama, *The Yokohama Guide* written by Griffis and William Elliot in 1874, introduced Yokohama to the world. At the beginning of 21st century, Japanese scholars started to study Yokohama, Yuzo Kato described the Yokohama's history in *The City of Yokohama: Past and Present*. In 1997, Chinese and Japanese scholars held a joint research. Based on these research, this paper compares the material space of modern Shanghai and Yokohama in urban form, architecture scene and park space, tries to analyse the similarities and differences of the management system, concept cognition and political system behind public space.

1. Modern Shanghai and Yokohama City Development

The rise of Shanghai is due to the port open. After the First Opium War, Shanghai "opened" as one of the five ports. *The Land Regulations* (1845) wrote, "the land that located in the north of Yangjingbang, south of Lijiachang to the British businessman, for the construction of buildings and residences¹". Later, the American and French also encroached on land. After several expansions, the Shanghai International Settlement reached to 33503 Mow, the French Concession extended to Zikawei (Figure 1). In 1927, Shanghai National Government set up, the Chinese government combined the Chinese and Western style into the new town planning -- *Great Shanghai Plan*. On the eve of the founding the People's Republic of China, the *Great Shanghai Metropolitan Plan I/II/III* showed the importance of concession area in the city construction.

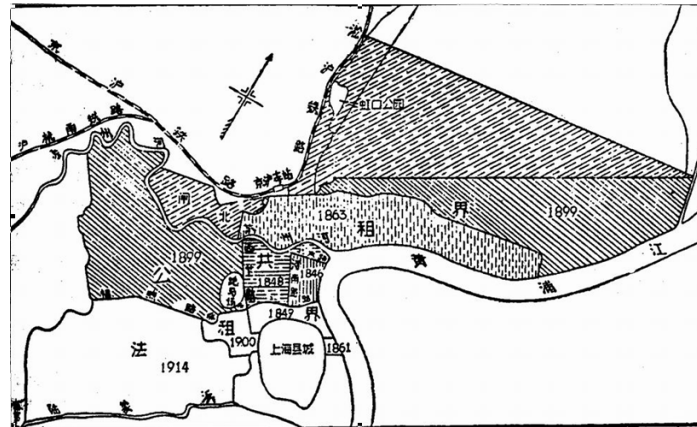


Fig.1 The Extended map of the Shanghai Concessions

If the “opening” transformed Shanghai from a general town that located in the empire’s border into a world-class metropolis, the Yokohama’s “opening” meant “the emerge of the city”. “Yokohama was a semi farm and fishing village. The hōgunate intended to catch up with the date of Port-Opening and stepped up the construction of the city²⁾”. In 1858, The *Treaty of Peace and Amity* stipulated the opening of the five ports. However, the Tokugawa shogunate decided that port facilities should be built in Yokohama instead. And the "customs house" was rented to the foreigners. In the early Meiji period, Yokohama developed into a prosperity modern city. In 1889, Yokohama built the city, and mainly around the port area of Kannai, Yamate and Yamashita (Figure 2). Subsequent decades, the Kanto Earthquake and US Air Raids slowed the pace of urban expansion.

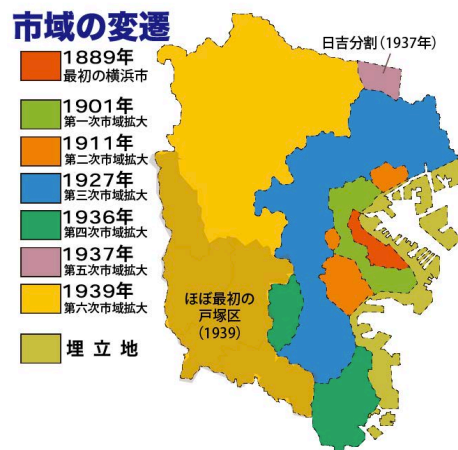


Fig.2 The Extended map of Yokohama

2. Comparison of Urban Public Space between Modern Shanghai and Yokohama

2.1 Urban Form

The concessions were the core of modern Shanghai. The construction of urban spaces was carried out around the shipping trade. The foreigners cared more about the timeliness and Functional, resulted in the collapsible layout in early concessions. From the 1960s, “building roads cross the border” was an important way for the expansion, land use continued to divide and sectorization go apparent. The International Settlement spared. The French Concession extended to zikawei. In the 1920s, the *Great Shanghai Plan*, which absorbed modern Western planning theory, used a radial and circular stitching pattern, showing a completely different urban form from the traditional Chinese town form. The impact of the *Great Shanghai Plan* on urban form had been lasting until the 1940s and even became a paradigm for the Japanese *Shanghai Metropolitan Plan* during the “Island Period”.

In order to build Yokohama into a port city, the shogunate built port facilities like roads, bridges, ports and other instalments, the Yamashita foreigner residential districts become similar to the Tokugawa town. In the early days of opening, Yokohama was bounded by the “customs house,” and the west was given to the foreigners, the east was the Yokohama village, both sides were in similar forms. The Shogunate developed a variety of land preferential policies to attract the Japanese to develop Yokohama, Kannai quickly became the Business centre. In



1889, Yokohama became a real city, the port area became the original form of Yokohama city. Later, Yokohama city expanded to 400 square kilometers.

2.2 Architecture Scene

In the early opening times, the couch-style that came from Europe to the Southeast Asia became the main style in Shanghai. At the beginning of 1860s, the foreigners began to hire some skilled architects for designing, and imported materials from overseas. The Bund was “full of gorgeous buildings”, Some of the buildings were imitated Greek temples, and some were imitation of the royal palace of Italy. In the 1920s, Chinese architects began to explore the modern architectural design in Shanghai. Although the Chinese architects mastered the western modern architecture technology and skills gradually, the design style was still subjected to conservative traditional ideology. For example, Dong Dayou used the traditional Chinese roof on the top of a Western-style building, try to build a symbol of government authority and stability (Figure 3). In the 1940s, the American modern style became the mainstream style.



Fig.3 Bird's-Eye view of the cluster along the Bund in 1930



Fig.4 National Shanghai Municipal Government Building

At the beginning, Yokohama was built in a traditional Edo style. After the opening, buildings began to appear strong western style, especially in the Yamate and Yamashita settlements, buildings were designed by foreign architects, “Renaissance”, “Gothic”, “Baroque” and other styles appeared Simultaneously. Yokohama became the source of westernization in Japan. After the Meiji Restoration (1868), the open social environment created a background for architectural development. “Imitate the western style” was prevailed in the Japanese folk³. At the end of the 19th century, the modernist architecture emerged. The native Japanese designers mastered the orthodox form of western architecture, and soon there emerged a large number of architects, such as Yamaguchi Hanroku, Tsumaki Yorinaka and so on⁴. In 1904, the Yokohama Specie Bank Ltd designed by Tsumaki Yorinaka was built in Yokohama, the building was New-Baroque style (Figure 4). Yokohama gradually became a laboratory of the modern style.



Fig.5 Yokohama Bund in front of the Grand Hotel



Fig.6 Yokohama Specie Bank Ltd

2.3 Park Space

In the 1860s, on the ground of “the public welfare”, the British Consuls set up the first park--Public Park (1868). The western modern concept of entertainment, park style and management system were introduced to China, and stimulate the transform of traditional gardens. In the late 19th century, parks extended other concession areas. The park types varied, there were community park (Quinsan Square, 1898; Wayside Park, 1911), athletic park (Public Recreation Ground, 1898, Hongkew Recreation Ground, 1909), recreation park (Jessifield Park, 1914), children's park (Tifeng Road Children's Playground, 1917, Nanyang Road Children's Playground, 1922) and many other types. The French Concession also began to build parks with the meaning of “Decorating the City” , such as Koukaza Park (1909), Verdun Park (1917) and Petain Park (1926). With the influence of the concession parks, Chinese began to make park a part in the town planning. The Chinese community set up the Military Road Memorial Park (1919), Xuehua Park (1928) and so on. The *Great Shanghai Plan* also included the park plan -- The First Park (1932).

In 1866, the foreign ministers signed the *Yokohama Settlement Renovation and Racecourse Cemetery Contract* with shogunate, and put forward the requirements of the construction of park. Until 1869 when the Japanese government gave the foreigners about 6,000 pyeong of land to build park, named Public Park (Yamate Park). In 1876, the foreigners established the “This Side and That Side Park (Yokohama Park). With the influence of the settlement park, the local private businessmen began to build commercial park, for example the sanenkaiken park. At the beginning of the 20th century, the types of Yokohama modern parks varied, including the Memorial Park - Kamonyama Park (1914) and the Children's Playground -Yokohama Children's Playground (1929). After the Kanto Earthquake, the Yokohama City Council set up Yamashita Park (1930), Motomachi Park (1930) and Kanagawa Park (1930) in the post-disaster ruins. In the 1940s, Tokiwa Park (1942), Gumyoji Park (1943), Tsunashima Park (1944) were set up as the defend green tract of land.

2.4 Comparison

Urban form

Modern Shanghai and Yokohama had excellent geographical location and port advantages, based on these opportunities, Shanghai and Yokohama absorbed a lot of capital both from home and abroad. Shanghai and Yokohama developed rapidly and became world-class port and metropolis in a very short of time. The differences between them are: 1) The builders of urban space in modern Shanghai were mainly the foreigners; and the builder of Yokohama was the Japanese government. 2) The development of modern urban space in Shanghai was achieved through the expansion of the concession for a long time; the modern Yokohama set restrictions for foreigners, and the settlements only played indirect roles in promoting the development of urban form, not the main force. (Table.1)



		Shanghai	Yokohama
Difference	Builder	Foreign Powers	Japanese Government
	Style	Western style — Chinese and Western combined	Edo style — Western style — Japanese and Western combined — Modernist style
	Main Area	Concessions	Japanese Community
Similarities	Original Position	Port Area	
	Construction Content	Roads system、Bridge	

Table.1 Comparison of Urban Forms between modern Shanghai and Yokohama

Architecture scene

Both Shanghai and Yokohama were affected by the western architectural ideology and material skills. The differences are: 1) Although Shanghai gained access to western modernism earlier than Yokohama, it did not form a definite value orientation; even Yokohama was enlightened late, the Japanese modernist architectural tendencies were clarified after the new culture movement. 2) Western designers or architecture studios monopolized the construction market of modern Shanghai for a long time, the Chinese native designers raised late, and they still pursuit the Western style more or less; However, the native Japanese architects realized the initiative early, laid the foundation for the flourishing development of Japanese architecture (Table.2).

		Shanghai	Yokohama
Difference	Style Evolution	Western style — Chinese and Western combined	Western style — Modernist style
	Designer	Western architects have been more active, native architects imitated	Western architects in the early period, native architects took the initiative later
	Value Cognition	Swing between the West and the Traditional	With the influence of Western-style get into modernism
Similarities	Western Influence	Style, technology, materials are affected by Western architecture	

Table.2 Comparison of Architectural Scene between Modern Shanghai and Yokohama

Park space

In order to meet the health and entertainment needs, Foreigners set up the Public Park in Shanghai and Yokohama. The foreign parks promoted the rise of private self-built commercial park indirectly, such as Shanghai's Zhang Shuhe Garden, Yokohama's Sanenkaiken Park. However, there were some differences: 1) The concession management department and the concession parks were the most important construction subjects and construction contents of Shanghai Modern Park; The Yokohama modern park is derived from the settlement park, but the Yokohama municipal government started to build their own park quite soon. 2) Concessions and the Chinese communities handled their own funds, while Yokohama government took charge of the constructions. 3) As to the park types, Yokohama has set up defend green tract of land because of natural and war factors, became an early sample of disaster prevention green space (Table. 3).



		Shanghai	Yokohama
Difference	Builder	Concession — folk — concessions and the Chinese community at the same time to build the park	Western style— Modernist style
	Sources of funds	The concession and the Chinese community are fragmented	Yokohama government support
	Park type	Athletic park, suburban park, children's park and so on	Defense green tract of land as park
Similarities	Origin	Public park in concession or settlement	
	Influence	Changed people's entertainment concepts, public ideas	
	Park Opening	only open to foreigners in early period	
	Status	Is the early model or source of modern park in both countries	

Table.3 Comparison of Park Space between Modern Shanghai and Yokohama

3. Comparison of Construction Mechanism of Urban Public Space between modern Shanghai and Yokohama

3.1 The Management System

On the impact of colonialism, Asian countries suffered different fates. Some of them were completely reduced to the colonies of Western countries, such as India. Some turned into a semi-colonial, such as China. Moreover, other countries like Japan, although the sovereignty of them had been undermined, they still remained independent and even developed into a powerful country⁵. The British Consul, Sir Rutherford Alcock who successively served in Shanghai and Yokohama, frankly stated, "In Shanghai, there were more expensive price of land, because construction of all of the river bank, the pier and the road were been funded by the lessee, while in Yokohama all of them are constructed by Japanese government, and the lessee of land have no those responsibilities⁶".

Department of administration

In 1845, the *Land regulation* given the principal of "Planning Together", showed that the diaspora in concession were the main body of construction, the West were also responsible for the source of funds, design and implementation, management, and maintenance of municipal construction of concession. The Chinese government abandoned the right to construct and manage the concession. After the 1880s, they even grew into independent institutions as equal as the Chinese government. Different from Shanghai, <Land regulation of the Kanagawa Port in 1860> stated, "The Japanese government need to regularly maintain urban roads and terminals and, if necessary, to build sewers⁷". It showed that the main body of the management was the kanagawa government.

Situation of administration. There were three forces of management (the Municipal of Shanghai International Settlement, Municipale de la Concession Française de Changhai and the local community), took charge of their own regions independently, which result in a local orderly but overall disorder. Differently, the foreign powers forced the Shogunate to sign the <Yokohama Residence Book>, declared the independence of the residence and establishment of the General Court in charge of the affairs of the residence. After 1866, due to lack of funds, the foreigners gave up the autonomy of residence, so the modern Yokohama was under administration of Japanese government.

Source of funds

The background of the three divisions coexistence of shanghai decided the varied source of fund for construction. Along with the increase in residents of concession, higher taxes made the management organization of the concession enhance greatly enough to be afford municipal expenditure. In contrast, Yokohama had always been controlled by the government, taxes in the residential area were completely control by the local government of kanagawa.

Local management system. There were different attitudes toward to the western management system in Shanghai and Yokohama. Since the establishment of the National Government, They kept a Top-to-Down management



system, while in Japan, the political management system was more westernized, the Yokohama government provided more development space for the public.(Table.4)

		Shanghai	Yokohama
Difference	management authority	The government has voluntarily abandoned the concession	The government insists on adhering to its own sovereignty
	Management organization	Foreign residents , the Municipal of Shanghai International Settlement , the Shanghai government	Shogunate , the kanagawa government — Foreigner Council —Yokohama Government
	The source of funds	Westerners take use of tax and china offer partly support	The shogunate government take charge of it , take advantage of high price of land
	management situation	The three individuals	The Yokohama government
	Foreign organization	the Municipal of Shanghai International Settlement , Municipale de la Concession Française de Changhai: powerful	Short-lived Foreign Council, powerless
	Impact on the local	The top-down management system	after the Meiji restoration , the political management system westernized
Similarity	Westerners autonomous	Foreign powers both had self-governing periods in the concession and residence areas	

Table.4 Comparison of The Management system between Modern Shanghai and Yokohama

3.2 The Concept of Cognitive

Utensil culture

In the early of opening, both Shanghai and Yokohama showed resistance to foreign cultures. In the 19th century, it was still in a passive state of acceptance or even relatively exclusive stage, for example, in 1881, there began to appear tap water in Shanghai, but “Chinese users were fresh, and even doubted that the water was toxic and harmful and better not to use it⁸”. It was same in Japan, they rejected request of opening port of westerners at beginning, but then they immediately showed crazy pursuits for the western culture as long as they realized it was "advanced" soon.

Spiritual culture

Similar with Utensil culture, the acceptance of spiritual culture was even slower. At the end of the 19th century, people with lofty ideals advocated learning western culture, but the management system gave the elite little voice. In contrast, after the Meiji restoration, there were more active attitudes in Japan, encouraged the people to learn and absorb advanced western utensil and culture. The Meiji government combined the concept of Western Urban Planning with the problems of their own cities, triggered an upsurge of reform, and the government and non-governmental organizations spontaneously put into practice(Table. 5).

		Shanghai	Yokohama
Difference	Utensil culture	Passive acceptance	active acceptance
	Spiritual culture	resistance	The government and the people jointly promote it, The Meiji restoration
Similarity	In the early for the foreign culture are excluded		

Table.5 Comparison of the Concept of Cognitive between modern Shanghai and Yokohama

3.3 The Policy and System



System foundation. Since the opening of the port, the land regulations can be regarded as the earliest planning document and the first new law and urban planning law in modern Shanghai. After the opening of Yokohama, the foreign consuls and the shogunate signed the *Land Regulations of Kanagawa*, which was the basis for the negotiations between the early shoguns and the aliens.

Land management.

Chinese landlords had rights to deal with foreigners directly, which indirectly offered the potentiality for expansion of the concessions. Relatively, the shogunate acquired ownership of all land of Yokohama prior to the opening of the port, and the farmers could only use land in the form of a contract, which increased the difficulties of self-expansion of the settlement. When the city of Yokohama was founded, it repossessed the reservation and acquired ownership of all the existing land.

Settlement situation.

After the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and the Small Knife event, Chinese people flocked to the concessions, which led the settlement formation from separation of Chinese and foreigners to the mixed residence, and the Chinese people that living in the concessions became the main source of the taxes, and the forced the expansion and development of concessions. Oppositely, owing to the lack of local labor and capital, the strength of the residence had been unable to compete with the Yokohama government, which restricted the expansion of the settlement indirectly (Table.6).

		Shanghai	Yokohama
Difference	Land system	Westerners and landlords directly trade, the government does not take part	The land is owned by the government and the government and the West trade
	Settlement system	mixed residence of Chinese and foreigners	Separated residence of Japanese and foreigner
Similarity	The "Land Regulation" become the basis for the two cities to contact with foreigners		

Table.6 Comparison of The Policy and System between Modern Shanghai and Yokohama

Conclusion

Under the impact of advanced civilization, both Shanghai and Yokohama had completely finished the process of urban modernization or urban formation in a short period of time, showing a leap-style development process with characteristics of colonialism. On the basis of investigating the material form and construction mechanism of public space in modern Yokohama and Shanghai, the following conclusions are obtained: 1) The same geographical location, port resource and social background make the two cities have similarities in the external performance of urban public space. Modern urbanization processes are both derived from the foreigner settlement; Western architectural form have been the mainstream for a long period of time; Advanced materials and techniques have promoted the rapid development of architecture technology; Public Park became the early model and source of two cities and even modern parks in the two countries, changing the concept of entertainment, health, and public in the country. 2) There are difference in urban forms 、 architecture scene and park space between the two cities, and main performance are the builders , sources of funds, style and other aspects of rheology. 3) Different management systems, conceptual awareness and policy systems are the main causes of this discrepancy.

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Notes on contributors

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