

Colonial Modernization of the Traditional City of Daegu

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Abstract

Modern urbanization in Daegu originated in the colonial period. In this paper, I chronologically reviewed how the traditional city of Daegu, which was surrounded by fortress walls until the end of the Great Han Empire era, was taken apart and redeveloped by the city during the colonial period, and also examined the resultant changes to the urban landscape, as well as the creation and development of a divided urban space. I summarize the main points of this study as follows.

First, I traced the urbanization of Daegu from the end of Joseon to the early Japanese colonial period. Second, I pointed out that the urbanization of Daegu during the 1920s and 1930s was undertaken according to an urban planning project, even while hierarchy among ethnic groups within Daegu became more prominent and even structured. Finally, the Japanese-directed modernization of Daegu relied considerably on Japanese interest, which influenced the changes made to the landscape. This resulted in the thorough dismantling and destruction of traditional spaces and buildings. At the same time, differentiation among ethnic groups became greatly pronounced.

Keywords: Daegu Station, Daegu fortress, colonial city, urban redevelopment project, urban planning, Daegu Shinto Shrine, occupation of the center, Jung-angno

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Introduction

Korea bore witness to modern transformations in all facets of society from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. However, it was under Japanese colonialism that Korea first encountered modernity. In particular, urban spaces were where colonial modernity was structurally implanted and encountered on a daily basis in Korea. In urban spaces, human populations are concentrated and a surplus of goods accumulates while political, legal, and cultural institutions, and norms are formed.¹ Cities are where different aspects of modern society manifest themselves more vividly and concretely, and thus can be called a birthplace, clinical laboratory, or library of modernity.²

Urbanization under Japanese colonialism, however, was nothing less than “colonial” urbanization since it was planned from the outset by the Japanese colonial government.³ Colonial cities on the Korean peninsula were newly built by the Japanese, who saw themselves as being superior to Koreans, thereby enabling Japanese residents to dominate all fields of society ranging from politics to economy to culture.⁴ Colonial cities, therefore, can be defined as a space characterized by heteronomy, compulsion, exclusion, and duality, while being controlled and initiated by Japanese people.

Research into Korean colonial cities began in the field of sociology, which addressed population congestion and urban planning. In particular, Son Jeong-mok’s study was significant as it questioned both the research bias toward urban development and colonial development theory by focusing on Japanese-initiated urbanization.⁵ Kwon Tae-hwan’s study of urbanization also deserves mention. This sociological approaches to modern Korean cities were followed by historians who also conducted case studies of urban spaces. Among

1. Kim W. (2000).

2. Mike and Warde (1996).

3. Kwon T. (1990).

4. Song (2002).

5. Son J. (1992a, 1992b, 1996a, 1996b).

these studies, much interest was given to the modern nature and characteristics of urban spaces during the Japanese colonial period. As a result, some current research goes beyond the dichotomy of colonial modernity and exploitation, which has constituted a long-lasting controversy regarding the colonial period, to see colonial cities as a zone of compromise, or as an eclectic and independent space.⁶

Daegu, once a traditional inland center, became an important city during the colonial period, along with Seoul and Pyeongyang. Being the closest to Japan, however, Daegu’s urbanization was distinct because a preexisting center was occupied and its jurisdiction expanded (the so-called occupation of the center), rather than the opposite case of moving the center, as in the case in Busan, where the Japanese residential area was formed separately before establishing a new administrative office within it.

Research into the urbanization of Daegu began from the standpoint of urban geography and expanded to include an urban engineering approach. Although there is no doubt that these approaches contributed to understanding the change and development of Daegu,⁷ they have yet to fully illuminate the internal structure of the city, making and development of the colonial city, conflict over its urbanization, and the historical significance of colonial urbanization.

With these points in mind, this paper tries to understand the “colonial modern” or “colonial modernity” by focusing on Daegu, an inland center as well as a traditional city that was once surrounded by fortress walls. This paper, in particular, sheds light on the rearrangement of the urban space where Japanese residents were concentrated and the dual structure of residential areas in Daegu. This paper also examines Daegu as an inland city, distinct from coastal cities such as Mokpo and Wonsan.

6. Ko (1997); Yeom (2001); Song (2002).

7. Hong (1966). Jo (1991); Yi S. (1991); Im (2001); Daegu Metropolitan City (1995).

Making of a Colonial City during the Japanese Annexation

Deconstruction and Rearrangement of the Traditional Urban Spaces of Daegu

Daegu lies sprawled along a geological basin formed by the Geumhogang river, which joins the middle of the Nakdonggang river and its tributary, the Sincheon stream. The main parts of the city were formed as a result of the flooding of the Sincheon stream, which runs through the center of the city. In the Joseon era, Daegu secured its place as an administrative center in Gyeongsang-do province. Since its establishment in 1601, the Gyeongsang-do governor's office was located in Daegu even up until the Gabo Reforms of 1894. Daegu magistrates served as acting governor of Gyeongsang-do during the governor's absence. Daegu was also a point of strategic military importance during the Great Han Empire era. Furthermore, Daegu became a commercial center along the Nakdonggang river, where many commercial crops, such as grains (rice), clothing (cotton and hemp), herbs (*ginseng* and foxglove), fruit (persimmon and peanut), and tobacco were brought to market.⁸ For this reason, some national fairs were held in Daegu, including the Seomun (West Gate), Dongmun (East Gate), and Yangnyeongsi (Herbal Medicine) fairs, and eventually Daegu was recognized as a great source of wealth in the Gyeongsang region.⁹

In the course of Japanese colonization, however, Daegu, once a traditional center for administrative, commercial, and military purposes, saw its traditional nature weakened and rapidly became a colonial city. Following the establishment of the Residence-General in the city, a local administrative office called Isacheong (Rijicho) was also established in Daegu in 1906, subsequent to Seoul, Incheon, and Busan. More than anything else, the dismantling of tradition and the colonial rearrangement of Daegu was symbolized by the deconstruc-

8. Yi G. (1993).

9. Miwa (1912, 8).

tion of the town fortress and construction of Daegu Station on the Gyeongbu railroad line.

1) Opening of Daegu Station

Construction of the temporary building for Daegu Station was completed on August 1, 1904, while the construction of the Gyeongbu line was still underway. The station officially opened in January 1, 1905 for business with the completion of the Gyeongbu railroad line in December of the same year. Daegu Station was built on swampy land outside the north gate of the city. Traditionally, areas adjacent to the south gate were used as the main route from Busan to Seoul; thus, the population was concentrated along the hilly areas to the south and southwest of the town fortress. However, the Gyeongbu line ran parallel with the road to the north gate, avoiding the south gate of the fortress. For that reason, the southern part of Daegu went into an abrupt decline while the northern part, which was assumed to be inappropriate as a residential area, grew rapidly.

The opening of the Gyeongbu line allowed a large number of Japanese to flow into Daegu, and greatly affected the economy in areas adjacent to Daegu, because not only did the flatlands around Daegu produce large amounts of grain, fruit, and vegetables that could be shipped but large-scale fairs were already held locally for the sake of traffic convenience.¹⁰ Japanese residents in Daegu were engaged in sericulture, paper manufacturing, and tobacco cultivation near Daegu Station.¹¹ Until the 1910s, there were rice mills in Daesindong and Wondae-dong, as well as other manufacturers such as Daegu Spinning Company (in Dongin-dong), Pyeonchang Spinning Company (in Daebong-dong), and Joseon Spinning Company. (Taepyeongno); in addition to a tobacco manufacturer in Taepyeongno and Joseon Spinning in Chilseong-dong.

10. *Hanguk toji nongsan josa bogu* (Survey Report on Korean Agricultural Products: Sections on Gyeongsang and Jeolla Provinces) (Year indistinctness, 169-170).

11. Son G. (1996, 22-29).

2) Dismantling of the Daegu Fortress and Road Building

With the advent of the Russo-Japanese War (1905), the 1905 Korea-Japan treaty, and the opening of Daegu Station, the number of Japanese residents in Daegu increased greatly. They lived primarily around Daegu Station and outside the east gate, where Koreans were sparsely populated. Taking into consideration the geological characteristics of Daegu and the location of Daegu Station, Japanese residents believed it was imperative to dismantle the town fortress¹² if they were to effectively colonize the city. Although the Japanese authorities claimed that the deconstruction was intended to develop the city by removing obstacles, in actuality, it was for the purpose of securing commercial hegemony for the Japanese and ultimately restructuring Daegu to suit the purposes of Japanese colonial rule.

The first attempt to dismantle the fortress was made at the turn of 1906 by the Railroad Bureau and the Japanese Defense Garrison. First, the wall around the east gate was taken down, connecting the Japanese residents outside the east gate with the area inside the former fortress. The second attempt was jointly made in 1906 by the Daegu magistrate as well as acting Gyeongsangbuk-do governor Bak Jung-yang and Japanese residents in Daegu. In a petition to dismantle the fortress wall, Bak Jung-yang demanded that the wall be dismantled to allow for streets to pass through, stating that the "scattered and broken fortress wall made it inconvenient to pass through and thus needs to be taken down and roads built on both sides instead to allow for stores to be opened." From this, it can be understood that the purpose of dismantling the wall was to build streets. Following the complete dismantling, Bak undertook to repair the streets and renovate the markets.

In reality, it was not the governor's office but the Japanese resi-

12. The total length of the Daegu fortress wall was approximately 2,680-2,700 m, and its height and width were 6.6 m and 8.9 m, respectively. The fortress had four gates: Jindongmun (east gate), Dalseomun (west gate), Gongbukmun (north gate), and Yeongnam je ilgwan (south gate). It also had two small gates and one watch-tower.

dents in Daegu who initiated the dismantling of the fortress walls beginning in October 1906. Japanese residents organized the Daegu Road Commission and assigned three committee members to each of the four gates, with all twelve members being Japanese. They determined the shape and width of streets around the fortress.¹³ However, since the dismantling work began without governmental permission, conflicts arose even among Japanese residents over the issue of dismantling; moreover, Ito Kentaro, a leading figure in the deconstruction, fled to Busan.

Japanese residents headed by Okamoto from the Japanese consulate in Daegu accelerated the dismantling work. In March 1907, they obtained 5,000 won and removed three gates and several pavilions from the fortress. By April of the same year, the dismantling was complete. Earth, sand, and stones uncovered from the fortress were used to reclaim areas reserved for a soon-to-be red-light district and to build up low-lying areas. As a result, the Daegu fortress, which had been built during the Joseon period and came to symbolize the traditional function of the city, was destroyed by the Daegu Office, Japanese residents in Daegu, and pro-Japanese officials from 1906 to April 1907. In the course of taking down the fortress, pro-Japanese official Bak Jung-yang also destroyed many traditional guesthouses.

However, Japanese authorities and pro-Japanese officials encountered some resistance from Koreans. Daegu people not only organized a self-guarding garrison to keep the guesthouses from being destroyed, but condemned Bak Jung-yang, a pro-Japanese official, for leading the dismantling of the fortress.¹⁴

The Daegu Redevelopment Project during the 1910s

After occupying the center of Daegu through the opening of Daegu Station and dismantling of the fortress, Japan concluded its aggression into Daegu by launching the Daegu redevelopment project,

13. Kawai (1930, 164).

14. *Daehan maeil sinbo*, November 24, 1906.

which lasted from 1911 to 1917 and was run by Daegu City authorities and Japanese residents. During this period, the Japanese completed their occupation and remaking of the center of the city. Mainland Japan, prior to the legislation and implementation of the urban planning law, undertook the redevelopment project from the 1870s to 1910, modeling it after British urban planning and redevelopment.¹⁵ The project ultimately sought a Westernized, fireproof city. In colonial Korea, the director-general ordered each provincial governor to start the project in 1914.

However, Daegu redevelopment was intended only for the benefit of Japanese residents. For example, it was Japanese people who decided where to build new streets. By doing so, they were able to buy land at a low price in newly emerging areas from Korean landowners who had little knowledge of the redevelopment project. They then sold the land at a high price, acquired loans by offering the land as security, and built stores on their newly acquired land.

After the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese Government-General abolished the Japanese consulate in Daegu, changed Daegu-gun to Daegu-bu, and set up the Gyeongbuk Provincial Office in Daegu. At the time, Daegu was composed of 29 *myeon* and 260 *dong*. Afterward, some town names were changed to Japanese ones in 1911, and the jurisdiction of Daegu was greatly reduced to the inside of the old fortress where the Japanese population was concentrated. The Daegu administrative district was then centered on the Japanese residential area. The population of Daegu totaled approximately 32,000 people and the city included 52 *jeong* (*machi*) and *jeongmok* (*chome*), Japanese administrative units, and 8,000 households. Along with this, areas excluded from the Daegu jurisdiction belonged to Dalseong-gun county, some areas of which were again included in Daegu.¹⁶

As of 1910, when redevelopment was complete, Koreans mostly

15. Daegu City (1915, 394). Daegu redevelopment project is specified in *Daegu mindansa* (History of the Daegu Residents Association).

16. Daegu Metropolitan City (1995).

resided in the southern part inside the old fortress and in the northern villages, located along the hill leading from the southern to western quarters outside the fortress, whereas the Japanese lived in the northern area inside the fortress and the eastern area outside the fortress. Likewise, the colonial city of Daegu was clearly differentiated by nationality, and with completion of the redevelopment project, the formation of dual urban spaces was complete. In particular, this duality of the urban space was roughly characterized by straight streets in the Japanese neighborhoods and winding ones in the Korean neighborhoods.

Likewise, from the time of the opening of Daegu Station to the 1910s, the traditional fortified city of Daegu was transformed into a modern city over the course of the Japanese occupation. However, this was not aimed at long-term urban planning of the city, but at privileging Japanese interests. After all, 1910 was a time when Daegu was being prepped to become a colonial city rather than an autonomous modern one.

Urban Planning Project and the Further Development of the Colonial City of Daegu during the Colonial Period

Urban Planning of Daegu during the 1920s and 1930s

Having made a policy shift toward “cultural politics” (*munhwa jeongchi; bunka seiji*), the Japanese colonial authorities undertook a more sophisticated urban planning project during the 1920s and 1930s.

1) During the 1920s

Daegu’s urban planning project was influenced by Japanese legal reforms with regard to urban planning and the launch of the Seoul Urban Planning Committee in 1921. Detailed information is revealed in a survey report written by two officials from the Government-General, Ueda and Okui, who were invited to draw up the project. Hav-

ing finished the survey, they submitted to the city authorities a report, entitled "Overview of Daegu Urban Planning Project," around August 1922.¹⁷ Below is an outline of the project.

First, taking the year 1946 as a goal year, the urban planning project aimed to prepare important urban infrastructure in order to secure public security and welfare in terms of transportation, hygiene, security, and economy. The project was made up of many subitems such as 1) district demarcation, 2) railroads, roads, hygiene, and security, 3) public facilities, 4) social facilities, and 5) economy and financial sources. The report estimated the population in the goal year as 150,000 and the area at approximately 7.7 million *pyeong*, three times larger than that of Daegu in 1922 (2 million *pyeong*). According to the report, Daegu was to include: 1) the area along the Sincheon stream in the east; the area behind Dalseong Park in the west; the area behind a water reservoir in the south, the area between the Geumho-gang river and Sangyeok-dong in the north, and, tentatively, the northwestern plain in Wondae-dong and the plain in Suseong-dong.

The project stated that Daegu City would be divided into four different areas according to function: residential, commercial, industrial, and compound, with the addition of one tentative area. The residential area covered areas ranging from the water reservoir to Cheonwangdang pond in the west; the commercial area was expected to expand to both the contemporary town and an area beyond the Daegu Station; and the industrial area added such new areas as Sincheon, Sangyeok, and Chimsan. Part of the plan was also to build six neighboring parks and stock farms within the zone covered by the project, accounting for 6.5% of the total area, with 2.5 *pyeong* per capita. In addition, a park was planned for Dongchon near Geumhogang river, at a distance of 4km from the city center, as well as a streetcar for public transportation.

The most noteworthy part of the urban planning project was the relocation of Daegu Station and development of Korean residential

17. For this report, see Son J. (1990); Daegu Metropolitan City (1995).

areas. As mentioned earlier, the opening of Daegu Station was not only symbolic of Daegu's transformation into a colonial city, with the station acting as a kind of centrifuge pulling the Japanese occupation further into Daegu. The plan was to move Daegu Station back to the oil warehouse. Along with the relocation of the station, an eight-mile-long, two-track railroad was going to be built, with a streetcar depot built in Wondae-dong. According to the project plans, the streetcar tracks would run down the middle of the street, and roadways and bicycle lanes would be built on both sides. No doubt, this project required enormous expenses. Daegu tried to cover the costs through varied means of financial support, such as increase in the city's tax income over the next 25 years, subsidies from the national treasury, free utilization of state-owned lands, selling of public lands, debts, and other business income.

Having received the urban planning project report from two Japanese civil engineers, Daegu authorities organized the Urban Planning Committee in 1923. At the first committee meeting, attended by 21 committee members out of a total of 37, the regulations for the Daegu Urban Planning Project were passed.¹⁸ This committee was composed of 11 Koreans and 26 Japanese. The Korean members were those who had already served as council members of the Daegu Council and Daegu Club, and were economically part of the landlord/capitalist class of Daegu. Discussions were held and decisions made in secret regarding the original plans, and it is conjectured that the plan was passed with little revision at the end of 1923.¹⁹

The Daegu Urban Planning Project stood out as the most significant issue in the city and aroused great interest. Here, it should be kept in mind that the Daegu Urban Planning Project was brought to the fore by the Daegu Press Club, which was made up of reporters from Japanese newspapers. The club convened on December 9, 1923 to make two important decisions: one was that the club had the right

18. Section 1: district; Section 2: transportation; Section 3: hygiene and security; Section 4: education; Section 5: social facilities; Section 6: financial resources.

19. Son J. (1990, 136-137).

to directly investigate the general aspects of redevelopment of Korean residential areas, and the other was that a civil congress on urban planning needed to be held.²⁰ It was because the club was unhappy that policy priority was given to the development of the Korean residential area.

Thus, on December 16, 1923, the Daegu governor was invited to participate in a Q&A session at a year-end meeting jointly organized by the Daegu Press Club and Gongjeonghoe society.²¹ The points at issue were whether the urban planning project would be repealed unless the station relocation was cancelled, and how to develop the Korean residential area while creating hygiene facilities. It became apparent from this year-end meeting that Japanese residents in Daegu were against the relocation of Daegu Station and development of the Korean residential area. In fact, the Japanese community in Daegu was opposed to both of these issues, and the purpose of the year-end meeting was to convey their stance to the governor.

As the Japanese strongly resisted the Daegu urban planning project and city authorities were in a very difficult situation, Sawada, the governor of Gyeongsangbuk-do province tried to directly resolve the conflict. He appeased the Japanese residents by heavily revising the original plan: specifically, he tried to cancel the motion to relocate Daegu Station and construct a couple of streets in the Korean residential areas during the first five years.²² In particular, a proposal to redevelop the Korean residential areas was submitted during the session of the Daegu City Council meeting held on March 16, 1924. Specifically, the suggestion was made to pave streets in the Korean residential areas first, as urban infrastructure was lacking there, instead of extending the existing 12-lane streets in front of Daegu Station. This means that the controversial 700,000 won budget for the five-year urban plan was to be used for the Korean residential areas.

20. "Daegu Press Club's Decision about Urban Planning Project," *Dong-a Ilbo*. December 13, 1923.

21. *Maeil sinbo*, January 8, 1924.

22. *Maeil sinbo*, March 13-14, 1924.

Governor Sawada's strategy was, as will be mentioned later, to appease both the Japanese and Korean residents simultaneously regarding the urban planning project. However, canceling the relocation of Daegu Station was a significant policy shift as it entailed a sweeping revision to the original framework of the Daegu urban planning project.

After the motion to relocate Daegu Station was withdrawn, Japanese residents continued to oppose the plan, which would have allocated 700,000 won toward developing the Korean residential area. Gyeongsangbuk-do Governor Sawada and Police Director Takatsuki catered solely to Japanese wishes, and accordingly, the project was discussed only amongst the Japanese, to the exclusion of Koreans.²³ As a result, at a meeting of the city council held on March 30, 1924, the first five-year plan to develop streets and a sewage system in the Korean residential area, which had previously passed on March 16, was repealed, and instead, development of the Japanese residential area took precedence.²⁴ As a result, they annulled the previous plan to move Daegu Station and agreed to revise the original plan. Also, they planned to expand the road in the Geumjeong area in front of Daegu Station.

In response, some Korean council members and Japanese voiced their opposition to these revisions, and the Korean community selected negotiators, including Seo Sang-il, Jeong Un-gi, and Yang Gyu-sik, to strongly request that the original plan be reinstated.²⁵ However, Japanese authorities put the revised plan before the city council on May 23, 1927, which passed it unanimously.²⁶

Hence, the Daegu urban planning project came to nothing due to dissent and resistance from the Japanese residents in Daegu, and, as a result, the urban space of Daegu continued to be divided and unbalanced, as it had been since its formation during the initial peri-

23. *Dong-a Ilbo*, May 3, 1924.

24. *Dong-a Ilbo*, March 20, 1924.

25. *Maeil sinbo*, May 20, 1924.

26. *Maeil sinbo*, June 1, 1927.

od of Japanese occupation. In the end, the city of Daegu failed to achieve balanced development. Furthermore, as discrimination between Koreans and Japanese became more aggravated, Daegu became a typical colonial city.

2) Urban Planning Projects during the 1930s

Having tried to expand their administrative jurisdiction since 1933, Daegu city authorities set out to survey their administrative units from July 1935.²⁷ This plan seems to have been influenced by Gyeongseong's survey of its expanded jurisdiction, and the survey report that was submitted to the Government-General in 1934.²⁸ However, the real intent of the Gyeongseong survey involved long-awaited projects such as the building of a sports complex and Nammun (South Gate) market, as well as the paving of streets and construction of major roads, rather than expansion of administrative jurisdiction.

With the promulgation of laws and subordinate regulations regarding the urban planning project in March 1937 (under the Government-General Notice No. 186), Daegu City authorities began a full-scale urban planning project, while announcing the decisions that were made regarding districting, coordination of street networks, and land adjustment. Twenty eight *dong* (the lowest level of administrative units) from the neighboring Dalseong-gun county were added, making the area twice as large as it was before. The population also grew by more than 50% from 108,000 to 168,000 as of 1936.²⁹

Daegu's expansion of administrative jurisdiction was fuelled by its economic growth. As seen from Table 1, urbanization in Daegu made great progress; for example, both the amount of commercial trade and the number of factories increased by more than two times, industrial production three times, and the population three times over the 15 years from 1919. Daegu became overcrowded as the resi-

27. *Dong-a Ilbo*, July 7, 1935.

28. Yeom (2001).

29. Government-General in Korea (1937).

dential area per capita exceeded 100 m². As a result, the rural population that had flowed into Daegu was once again pushed out to the neighboring areas in Dalseong-gun county, with the population there totaling about 45,000 at the end of 1934.

Table 1. Comparison of Commercial and Industrial Capacity between 1919 and 1934

Year	1919	1934
No. of commercial contracts	13,470,000	28,450,000
No. of industrial factories	73	150
Industrial production	7,520,000	24,430,000
Population	41,413	107,657

During that time, the Korean population grew remarkably, while that of the Japanese decreased in number. Accordingly, Daegu became a majority Korean city. Korean population growth during that time was attributable to a large-scale influx of Koreans from rural areas into Daegu and the neighboring areas. With this influx, the poor living conditions in Daegu were greatly aggravated, and became a harbinger of further social problems. In addition, it can be said that the job hierarchy and gap between rich Japanese and poor Koreans continued to widen.

Having begun with the announcement of town planning on May 1937, Daegu's administrative reform was completed by incorporating three *myeon* from neighboring Dalseong-gun county—Suseong-myeon, Dalseo-myeon, and Seongbuk-myeon—into Daegu's jurisdiction and setting up administrative branches in each incorporated area.³⁰ As a result, Daegu spanned a total area of 115.64 km², with the total population increasing drastically to 170,000. However, the administrative units did not greatly differ from those that existed prior to the Japanese annexation. With the reform of town streets, the main

30. *Dong-a Ilbo*, October 4, 1938.

roads that ran through the city center were completed, and the city center and northern parts were connected to each other. The town readjustment project included land adjustment, industrial and housing districts' adjustment, as well as Geumhogang river improvement.

When the 1937 urban planning project was underway, the Daegu government placed its main focus on attracting factories and infrastructure facilities as well as wartime mobilization upon the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War,³¹ in order to transform Daegu into an industrial city. In accordance with the Government-General's policy, which sought transformation of the industry and economy of Korea peninsula into a wartime system, the Daegu City authorities actively engaged not only in merging several individual firms into one, but in bolstering wartime mobilization system. They intervened, directly or indirectly, in money collection for national defense following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, organization of local units of the 1938 Joseon National Spirit Mobilization League, setting up of local branches of the Patriotic Women's Association, and provision of military support to other divisions.

This climate made it more difficult to offer policy suggestions that pursued balanced development between the Korean and Japanese residential areas, and thus, there was no improvement to the living conditions and social infrastructure in Korean residential areas. For example, nothing was done about the Dalseocheon stream that ran through the main Korean residential areas of Daegu from south to west. Thus, since the start of urbanization in the 1930s, the colonial nature of Daegu, in which imperial orders were pushed through with no regard for Korean interests, was only further reinforced.

A Changed Urban Landscape and Divided Urban Structure

Daegu's urban space underwent the most drastic changes during the Residence-General era, a time when Korea became a virtual Japanese

31. *Dong-a Ilbo*, July 16, 1938

colony; this change was marked by the destruction of long-cherished traditions and transformation into a colonial city. Beginning with the opening of the Gyeongbu railroad line, construction of Daegu Station, and dismantling of the fortress wall, there were far more changes to the landscape than expected, including straight roads, Western architecture, Japanese district names, and electric streetlights. As a result, Daegu was divided into two separate residential areas for Koreans and Japanese (the so-called divided structure of the city), which was reflected in such social indicators as quality of life and economy.

The Construction of a Shinto Shrine at Dalseong Fortress

Dalseong was the main residential area of Daegu where people lived since the Bronze Age. It also affords a panoramic view of Daegu. At the same time, Dalseong was where the Japanese army was stationed during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. After the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese residents in Daegu regarded Dalseong as a special place to commemorate the victory. The Japanese Residents Association of Daegu held a party at Dalseong to commemorate the Japanese victory and express their excitement over the victory. Japanese residents began to construct a park and Shinto shrine at Dalseong in order to make it into a symbolic space permeated with the Japanese national spirit. In November 1905, construction of the shrine began with the Yohai-shiki ceremony (the ceremony of saluting the God) participated by Guards-General Yamata, Police Director Arima, and Chairperson of Civil Council Tatogoro, and around March 1907, Japanese residents in Daegu launched the Dalseong Park Association with the aim of building Dalseong Park.

Immediately after the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, Japanese residents in Daegu started to repair the Worship Hall and turn it into a shrine. They also held a ceremonial meeting for the completion of the shrine on the occasion of Jinmu Emperor Day on April 3, 1914. As the Japanese empire issued a regulation on shrines and temples in 1915 for Korea, the Government-General approved a

request submitted by Japanese residents in 1916 to build Daegu Shinto Shrine. The shrine was upgraded in 1937 to the status of a state-run shrine by official edict.

Shinto shrines are not merely places where traditional Japanese religious rites are performed, but they symbolically represent the “publicness” of modern Japanese nationality. That is, to the Japanese, Shinto shrines carry the meaning of “respecting the deity, worshipping ancestors, and appreciating them for the benefits they bestow.” This is an articulation of nationalism upheld by imperial subjects, the origin of national ethics, national spirit, and national culture. In terms of overall urban planning as well, Shinto shrines, with their solemn wooden buildings in thickly forested settings, were symbolic of both religious authority and the norms governing colonial citizens, as opposed to business districts that represented colonial authority.³²

The Changed Landscape around the Daegu Fortress

In 1906, the Daegu Office was set up by Acting Governor Bak Jung-yang. Bak allowed Seonhwadang Hall, once a main building at the provincial office, to be used as a temporary office, and he provided some public buildings and annexes, which had formerly been part of the provincial office, free of charge. By doing so, the provincial administrative office of the Great Han Empire was turned into a Japanese administrative agency. In 1908, Bak Jung-yang, who went from Governor of Pyeongannam-do province to Governor of Gyeongsangnam-do province, sold the guesthouse and Confucian shrine, symbolic structures in the Joseon provincial office, and expelled the publicly-run Hyeopseong school. The guesthouse was the grandest and most beautiful of the provincial administrative buildings, and it was replaced by the governor’s office, in front of which were located the Military Police Regiment and the Daegu Post Office. In addition, the Daegu branch of the Joseon Industrial Bank

32. Kim I. (2007, 134-141).

was established. Eventually, the traditional administrative town came to be dominated by the Japanese, and was thus called Uemachi (Sang-jeong).

Following the complete removal of the town fortress around April 1907, wide, straight roads appeared. In 1909, when Bak Jung-yang took office as governor, the first intersection in Daegu was opened to traffic in conjunction with the paving of streets.³³ During the process, even the wall of the Daegu Public Elementary School was torn down under the pretext of building a street between the east and west gates.³⁴ The fortress was replaced streets. The government-financed project to build roads began in the winter of 1908 and ended in December of 1909. A six-lane circular road was built on the very spot where the fortress used to stand, linking Dongseongno, Namseongno, Seoseongno, and Bukseongno. Intersections and circular roads along the old fortress wall became trunk roads of the city.

Meanwhile, Japanese residents came to own significant portions of land and houses along the new main roads, and to that end, even the Japanese army and capital from the mainland were mobilized.³⁵ This was because land prices changed greatly after the fortress wall came down. For example, in Won-jeong (present-day Bukseongno), the difference in land prices between the inner and outer parts of the fortress wall was great. Originally, the land outside the fortress wall (Japanese area) was six to ten won per lot, whereas the price inside the wall was two to three won. However, after the wall was dismantled, land prices inside the former wall rose as high as ten times.³⁶ At the time, Kawakami, the treasury councilor, assisted a great deal in

33. These roads include: 1) the road that connects Daegu City Hall via Sang-jeong (location of provincial office, today’s Pojeong-dong) and Bon-jeong (present-day Seomullu), and 2) another road leading from Daegu City Hall to Daehwa-jeong (present-day Daeon-dong).

34. *Daehan maeil sinbo*, December 12; *Hwangseong sinmun*, December 22; January 19, 1906.

35. Son J. (1990, 392).

36. Kawai (1930, 161-170).

the land purchase.³⁷ Thus, Japanese residents in Daegu came to occupy much of the land near Daegu Station, the main streets, and from the governor's office eastward, and they also dominated the center of Daegu under the strong influence of the Japanese government. Viewed this way, Daegu's transformation into a colonial city was marked not by a "mobility of the center" but by the Japanese "occupation of the center."

Daegu Station

Public streets were built in the areas adjacent to Daegu Station, and industrial and commercial areas such as Jungangtong, Hang-jeong, Geum-jeong, and Bukseongno were developed. Around these areas, transportation businesses, such as motor companies, inns, stores selling local products, and restaurants began to thrive, becoming one of the busiest parts of Daegu. Among the many streets, the most two famous were the 22 m street leading from Daegu Station to Dongseongno and the 15 m street from Daegu Station to Infantry Regiment 80 or Taepyeongno.³⁸ The first was called Central Street beginning around 1929.³⁹

Main roads connecting Daegu to other provincial areas, such as Gyeongju, Andong, and Hyeonpung, began to be constructed under the direction of the Residence-General during the Great Han Empire period, and were completed after the Japanese annexation. In October 1918, as the railroad from Daegu via Gyeongju to Pohang was completed, grains and fish from local areas were brought to Daegu, which became a focal point of commerce, independent from Busan. In front of Daegu Station, a plaza and large buildings were built, including both an exhibition hall and a public hall.

37. The Daegu Residents Association sent their appreciation to Kawakami, calling him "an unforgettable man who guided and helped urban development for the benefit of Japanese residents, regardless of public and private affairs." Daegu-bu (1915, 100-101).

38. Daegu Chamber of Commerce (1920, 61-63).

39. *Jungoe ilbo*, October 4, 1929.

The amount of freight unloaded in Daegu Station rose five times from 42,490 tons in 1912 to 204,749 tons in 1919, and the number of passengers increased by two and a half times during the same period. The amount of imported and exported goods via Daegu Customs increased 13 times from 1.11 million won in 1919 to 13.46 million won in 1919. Of goods imported and exported via Busan's port to Japan, the rate of goods that merchants from Gyeongsangbuk-do and Daegu passed through customs rose from 10% in 1916 to 60% in 1919. In the financial sector, bank deposits in Gyeongsangbuk-do province increased more than five times in three years (1916-1919) from 1,289 won to 6,352 won. The most significant goods traded in Daegu were cotton imported from Japan, and grain and raw silk exported from the city. As a result, Daegu stood out as the prime market for grain and silk.⁴⁰

Population Fluctuation and Economic Structure

As seen in Tables 2 and 3, the population of Daegu increased by as much as 10.75% from 1920 to 1925. This drastic growth in popula-

Table 2. Daegu Population by Ethnicity from 1915-1944

	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1944
Total population	32,740	44,707	76,534	93,319	107,414	178,923	206,638
Number of Koreans	24,653/ 75.3	32,451/ 72.5	58,411/ 76.3	73,060/ 78.2	85,453/ 79.5	158,468/ 88.5	185,465/ 89.7
Number of Japanese	7,948/ 24.7	11,942/ 26.7	17,410/ 22.7	19,426/ 20.8	21,455/ 19.9	20,187/ 11.2	20,469/ 9.9

Sources: *Gukse josa bogoseo 1925-1944* (Survey Report on National Taxes in 1925-1944) (1915); and *Joseon chongdokbu yeonbo* (Yearbook of the Japanese Government-General of Korea) (1920).

40. Daegu Chamber of Commerce (1977, part 1, 377-412).

Table 3. Annual Rate of Increase for Daegu Population from 1915-1944

(Unit: %)

	1915-1920	1920-1925	1925-1930	1930-1935	1935-1940	1940-1944
Total population	6.23	10.75	3.97	2.81	10.21	4.02
Koreans	5.50	11.76	4.48	3.13	12.35	4.39
Japanese	8.14	7.54	2.19	1.99	-1.22	0.63

Table 4. Tax Amount by Ethnic Groups in 1926

	Tax amount per capita Korean	Tax amount per capita Japanese
National tax	16 won 550 jeon	96 won 90 jeon
Local tax	4 won 310 jeon	7 won 830 jeon
Commercial tax	4 won 988 jeon	22 won 3 jeon

tion can be attributed to rapid urbanization, especially the incorporation of some parts of Dalseong-gun county into Daegu City in 1917.

During this period, the rise in the Korean population was more remarkable than its Japanese counterpart. As new development of the city caused more Koreans to flow into Daegu,⁴¹ the percentage of Japanese residents dropped, though they continued to enter the city. Nevertheless, they still held onto their economic dominance in Daegu, despite the rapid increase in the number of Korean residents in the city, as found in Table 4. This was because a substantial portion of the Koreans flowing into Daegu was the rural surplus labor force who became the urban poor.

As widely recognized, what differentiates urban and rural areas is

41. Kwon T. (1990, 266). Tables 1 and 2 are also quoted from Kwon Tae-hwan's paper.

Table 5. Occupational Distribution between Koreans and Japanese in Daegu in 1927

	Japanese		Korean	
Agriculture and fishery	230	1,448	2,505	10,699
Industry	1,201	5,884	1,992	8,584
Commerce and transportation	1,984	8,191	5,152	322,842
Public officials and liberal professions	2,437	8,454	1,141	6,659
Others	49	144	784	2,576
Unemployed	50	128	909	3,844
Total	5,951	24,248	12,484	55,245

Source: Daegu Chamber of Commerce (1927).

industrial and occupational distribution. In the case of Daegu, as seen in Table 5, while the majority of Japanese were engaged in public affairs and liberal professions with a low number employed in agriculture, which means that most city administrators and professionals were Japanese, the majority of Koreans were engaged in commercial and transportation occupations, followed by agriculture. More Koreans than Japanese were categorized as urban lower class. Likewise, Koreans and Japanese exhibited such a remarkable distinction in terms of occupation to be even understood as a hierarchy. Thus, Daegu was often regarded not as a city of Koreans but that of Japanese.

The 1931 survey found that the Japanese population (30,117) and number of households (7,265) increased more rapidly than their Korean counterparts (73,150 persons and 16,639 households). The Japanese also bore a larger tax burden than Koreans did. In both national and local taxes, the Japanese paid 190,662 won and 76,818 won, respectively, whereas the Koreans paid 80,320 won and 25,279 won. In city taxes, as well, Japanese paid 152,922 won and Koreans

paid 71,550 won.⁴² There was also a prominent imbalance between Koreans and Japanese in terms of land and housing, 80% of which was owned by Japanese.⁴³

Characteristics of Korean Residential Areas

The local (Daegu) edition of *Dong-a Ilbo*, a daily Korean newspaper, featured a series of articles entitled “Some Aspects of Daegu,” made up of six articles, including “Old and New Daegu,” “Urban Planning and the Future of Daegu,” and “Then Who Does Daegu Belong To.”⁴⁴

If you enter an alley on Jongno on a dark and rainy night, there are no signs of people in the Korean residential neighborhood, and it is so dark that you can barely see your hand before your face. It is like a ghost town where visitors are suffused with fear and sorrow. . . . Nobody can see this city without tears in their eyes. Worn-out, straw-thatched houses stand roof to roof, and winding roads have been neglected. . . . How poor, weak, and old this city is! The city seems as if the elderly in their 80s or 90s, who have difficulty in breathing, stand at the crossroads of life.

As seen in the passage above, the article vividly demonstrates how run-down the Korean residential areas were. The author also argued that the urban planning of Daegu exacerbated the gap between Koreans and Japanese, thereby making Daegu a Japanese city.

Conclusion

Modern urbanization in Daegu originated in the colonial period, when the Japanese empire made aggressive forays into the Korean peninsula. In this paper, I chronologically reviewed how the tradi-

42. “A March in Cities: Daegu.” *Sindonga* 6.2 (June 1932): 48-49.

43. “Joseon munhwa-ui gibon josa” (Basic Survey on the Korean Culture). *Gaebyeok* (Beginning of the World) 36 (June 1936).

44. *Dong-a Ilbo*, October 8, 1923.

tional city of Daegu, which was surrounded by a fortress wall until the end of the Great Han Empire era, was taken apart and redeveloped by the city authorities during the colonial period, and also examined the resultant changes to the urban landscape, as well as the creation and development of divided urban spaces. In the following, I summarize the main points in this study.

First, I traced the urbanization of Daegu from the end of Joseon era to the early Japanese colonial period. At the end of the Great Han Empire era, Daegu bore witness to its rapid growth as a local administrative and inland commercial center. With reinforced Japanese exploitation, however, Daegu became a city where the Japanese exerted a controlling power over every aspect of city life. This was further intensified when Daegu’s administrative jurisdiction was greatly reduced to an area with a concentration of Japanese residents in the city along with the introduction of the *bu* districting system. Accordingly, Daegu became a colonial city, while acting as a focal point of Japanese invasion into the Korean peninsula. What is worth noting is that this transformation of Daegu into a colonial city was marked by “occupation of the city center,” in contrast to the “relocation of the city center” as seen in other cities.

Second, I pointed out that the urbanization of Daegu during the 1920s and 1930s was undertaken according to an urban planning project, even while hierarchy among ethnic groups within Daegu became more prominent and even structured. Despite the rate at which the Korean population rose, the Japanese continued to exert an overwhelming influence in industries and occupations in terms of expertise and economic power. That is, the actual population of each ethnic group in Daegu was in reverse proportion to the influence they exercised in terms of social and economic power; hence, the colonial nature of Daegu was all the more highlighted. Furthermore in the 1930s the city authorities placed excessive focus on attracting factories and social infrastructure facilities to the city as well as on implementing war mobilization. Thus, it is fair to state that despite the urbanization and expansion of city boundaries through urban planning, the colonial nature of Daegu was reinforced as the colonial gov-

erning authorities came to exert more control over the city.

Finally, the Japanese-directed modernization of Daegu was based predominantly on Japanese interest, which influenced the changes to the landscape. This resulted in thorough dismantling and destruction of traditional spaces and buildings in the city. At the same time, differentiation among ethnic groups became greatly pronounced.

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