

From War Cemeteries to Tourism Landmarks: Towers of Loyal Spirits and War Memorials in Colonial Manchuria

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From War Cemeteries to Tourism Landmarks: Towers of Loyal Spirits and War Memorials in Colonial Manchuria

YU YANG

In 1939, during the Sino-Japanese War, a guide to touring the battlefields of Manchukuo 滿洲国 (present-day northeast China), a puppet state under *de facto* Japanese control, titled *Manshū senseki junrei* 滿洲戰跡巡禮 (Touring Battle Sites in Manchuria), was published. The booklet introduces war memorials, soldiers' graves, and ruins of fortresses and cannons near every train station along the major railway routes,¹ and its cover features a black-and-white photograph of a monument called the Tower of Loyal Spirits (Chūreitō 忠靈塔)² made of granite and reinforced concrete (figure 1). The structure stands on a square foundation. Staircases lead up to the entrance of the lower section, which has three arched openings. Three tiers of hipped roofs atop the rectangular lower section gradually decrease in size as they ascend. The trapezoid body above the lower tiers of the roofs becomes slender as it rises, creating a sense of upward movement. The monument is topped with two tiers of hipped roofs, with the uppermost being pointed and adorned with a vertical finial. The monument exhibits stylistic

similarities to a famous Chinese pagoda called the Giant Goose Pagoda (Dayanta 大雁塔, Jp. Daikantō) in Xi'an 西安. However, the smooth granite surface and sharp silhouette of the Tower of Loyal Spirits are in stark contrast to the traditional appearance of plastered brick or stone.

This Tower of Loyal Spirits was built in Shinkyō 新京, the capital of Manchukuo, in 1934. It was one of ten Towers of Loyal Spirits erected by the Japanese Army in colonial Manchuria³ during the first half of the twentieth century. In tandem with Japan's imperial expansion in East and Southeast Asia during this period, a significant number of commemorative structures—including Shinto shrines, stone steles, wooden pillars, and towers—were erected to commemorate fallen soldiers and key battles in Japan's colonies and occupied territories. Among these, the Towers of Loyal Spirits were the most prominent monuments. They served as collective burial sites and memorials for Japanese soldiers who died in battle. These monuments became iconic landmarks of colonial Manchuria; they

1 I would like to thank historian Haratake Satoru, who introduced the booklet to me. See *Manshū Jijō Annaisho*, *Manshū senseki junrei*.

2 In this article I use "tower" as the English translation for the Japanese word *tō* 塔 because this was the most widely used English translation at the time and was also used by scholars.

3 "Colonial Manchuria" refers to the region between the late nineteenth century and 1945, including northeast China and outer Manchuria, which was ceded to Russia in the late nineteenth century. For a brief summary of the nomenclature and definition of colonial Manchuria, see Yang, "Fansi chengshi guihua," pp. 95–98.



Figure 1. The Tower of Loyal Spirits in Shinkyō. Cover of *Manshū senseki junrei*, 1939.

were introduced in Japanese primary school textbooks in the region,⁴ their images were prominently featured on postcards and tourist pamphlets of colonial Manchuria, and they were considered prototypes for the Towers of Loyal Spirits later built within Japan.

This study explores the Towers of Loyal Spirits in colonial Manchuria and their role as *lieux de mémoire*—sites where history and memory intersect—in the construction of the Japanese Empire.⁵ Recent debates over Confederate monuments in the United States have highlighted the powerful role of monuments in shaping public history, collective memory, and national identity. The stories of monuments—their creation, preservation, and deconstruction—reveal underlying power struggles, conflicts, suppressions, and negotiations among various groups within a society.⁶ Despite their popularity and symbolic significance, details surrounding the construction and design of the Towers of Loyal Spirits in colonial Manchuria remain insufficiently understood. Why were these towers designed in specific forms? Who oversaw their design and construction, and for what purposes? How did these monuments embody and advance the ideology of colonial Manchuria? Answering these questions is particularly difficult due to a lack of visual and textual records regarding the construction and design of these towers.⁷

This study focuses on the origins of the Towers of Loyal Spirits in colonial Manchuria using the Tower of Loyal Spirits in Port Arthur (completed 1909) as a case study. Drawing on newly uncovered archival materials, it examines the meanings embedded in the tower's nomenclature, spatial configuration, architectural designs, and building materials. The analysis reveals how the Imperial Japanese Army (hereafter IJA) and Imperial Japanese Navy (hereafter IJN) synthesized Shinto and Buddhist traditions with Japanese, Chinese, and Western architectural styles to create new forms and functions for these towers. Furthermore, this study highlights the significant role of mass tourism in transforming these towers from soldiers' cemeteries into major attractions and symbolic landmarks in colonial

Manchuria. Visits to these towers further transformed them into monumental spaces, as described by Henri Lefebvre, which “offer each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage.”⁸ In this way, the Towers of Loyal Spirits played a crucial role in shaping the collective identity of the subjects of the Japanese Empire.

The Construction of Towers of Loyal Spirits in Colonial Manchuria

The Towers of Loyal Spirits in colonial Manchuria were constructed in two distinct phases. The first phase began immediately after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Over eighty-four thousand Japanese and forty thousand Russian soldiers lost their lives in the war. The unprecedented scale of casualties posed an urgent challenge for the Kwantung Army (*Kantōgun* 関東軍) in Manchuria. Unable to transport remains back to Japan,⁹ the Kwantung Army commissioned on-site mausoleums (*nōkotsushi* 納骨祠). Between 1905 and 1910, the Kwantung Army built five large-scale mausoleums on the former battlegrounds of the Russo-Japanese War: Port Arthur (Lushun 旅順, Jp. Ryojun), Liaoyang 遼陽, Dalian 大連, Fengtian 奉天, and Andong 安東. Remains of the deceased soldiers were collected into boxes, registered with labels and numbers, and then placed in the underground chambers of mausoleums. The Kwantung Army oversaw the administration of these mausoleums. Later, memorial towers (*tō* 塔) were added to the mausoleums in Port Arthur, Fengtian, Liaoyang, and Dalian. The combination of two separate structures—a mausoleum and a memorial tower—was named Tower of Loyal Spirits in later accounts. The exception was the Tower of Loyal Spirits in Andong, completed in 1910, which integrated the mausoleum and memorial tower into a single structure.¹⁰ In the late 1920s and 1930s, the Towers of Loyal Spirits in Dalian, Fengtian, and Liaoyang were relocated and rebuilt. Like the tower in Andong, relocated towers integrated the

4 See the section titled “12 chūreitō meguri” 12 忠霊塔巡り, in Zaiman Nihon Kyōikukai Kyōkasho Henshūbu, *Manshū hojū dokuhon*, vol. 4, pp. 58–79. For a study of the textbook, see Isoda, “Ishimori kokugo no seiritsu to Manshū.”

5 Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” pp. 18–19.

6 Jameson, Baugher, and Veit, “Introduction.”

7 Yokoyama, “Senbotsusha no ikotsu,” p. 131.

8 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 220.

9 After the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), Japanese soldiers' remains were collected, shipped back to Japan, and reburied in an esoteric Buddhist pagoda (*tahōtō* 多宝塔) located in Gokokuji 護国寺 temple in Tokyo. A Hall of Loyal Spirits (*Chūreidō* 忠霊堂) was built in front of the pagoda for prayers. See Harada, “Bankotsu karu' kūkan no keisei,” pp. 23–24.

10 Yokoyama, “Manshū' ni taterareta chūreitō,” pp. 130–31.

functions of mausoleums and memorial towers into one single structure.

The second phase of construction occurred after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932. Five more Towers of Loyal Spirits were built in newly acquired territories, including Shinkyō, Harbin 哈爾濱, Qiqihar 齊齊哈爾, Chengde 承德, and Hailar 海拉爾 (figure 2).¹¹ Different from the relocated towers in Dalian, Fengtian, and Liaoyang, the five built after 1932 were monolithic monuments with geometric, abstract designs in reinforced concrete, functioning as both collective burials and commemorative structures.

It is important to note the peculiarity of the use of the Japanese term *nōkotsushi*. This term was not used for any other burial facilities outside of Manchuria. The character *shi* 祠, as used in the term *shinshi* 神祠, is a special category of “semi-shrines” that only existed in

Japan’s colonies of Taiwan and Korea. Semi-shrines refer to small shrines built by local residents (organizations, companies, schools, etc.) in Taiwan (known as *shi* 祠) and Korea (known as *shinshi* 神祠), which were later incorporated into the Japanese Shinto system with a lower rank than normal Shinto shrines.¹² The semi-shrines were further divided into those authorized (*kōnin shinshi* 公認神祠) and those unauthorized (*mugan shinshi* 無願神祠).¹³ A semi-shrine did not have a Shinto priest on-site and had a simplified spatial configuration: only a main structure (*honden* 本殿) and a *torii* 鳥居 gate.¹⁴ It is possible that the Kwantung Army invented the term *nōkotsushi* from an integration of the Buddhist interment (*nōkotsu* 納骨) and colonial Shinto shrines (*shi* 祠) and adopted the architectural style of a Shinto shrine.



Figure 2. The Towers of Loyal Spirits: upper row from left to right, Shinkyō, Fengtian, Dalian, Port Arthur; lower row from left to right, Qiqihar, Harbin, and Chengde. Postcard. Date unknown. Private collection.

¹¹ In addition to these towers, another three were erected in the late 1930s in Beijing, Shanghai, and Zhangjiakou 張家口; see Yokoyama, “Nihongun ga Chūgoku ni kensetsu shita jūsan ki no chūreitō,” pp. 64–94.

¹² Nakajima, “Kaigai jinja oyobi sono atochi ni tsuite,” pp. 95–98.

¹³ Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁴ For discussions of the relationship between official shrines and unofficial shrines in the colonies, see Aono, “Shokuminchi Chōsen ni okeru kōnin shinshi.”

The Construction of Towers of Loyal Spirits in Japan

Towers of Loyal Spirits in colonial Manchuria are considered the prototype for Towers of Loyal Spirits later built in Japan. As the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) cost more and more lives, the Japanese government began a nationwide campaign to build Towers of Loyal Spirits. In January 1939, it announced guidelines to build a Tower of Loyal Spirits in each town and village.¹⁵ In July of the same year, the IJA general Hishikari Takashi 菱刈隆 (1871–1952) led the foundation of the Association to Promote the Loyal Spirits of Great Japan (Dai Nihon Chūrei Kenshōkai 大日本忠霊顕彰会).¹⁶ The association began a campaign of building Towers of Loyal Spirits nationwide, which received support from the IJA and Buddhist organizations. Various funding campaigns were organized, and nationwide competitions were held for the architectural designs of the Towers of Loyal Spirits.¹⁷ General Hishikari, with the support of the association, also published a historical account of Towers of Loyal Spirits for promotional purposes to the public.¹⁸ The construction boom was also welcomed by the relatives of the fallen—the commemorative rituals held at Yasukuni Shrine 靖国神社 were strictly hierarchical: relatives of the fallen were not allowed to attend official rituals but only to watch the parade from outside.¹⁹ Similarly, Gokoku Shrines 護国神社 were only built in major cities. In contrast, Towers of Loyal Spirits were to be built in local towns accessible to everyone.

The construction proposals, campaign slogans, and various leaders' manifestos regarding the Towers of Loyal Spirits clearly represented an imperialist ideology: construction was a part of the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement (Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin Undō 国民精神総動員運動) to unify all Japanese to promote the war. Lieutenant Colonel Sakurai Tokutarō 桜井徳太郎 (1897–1980), one of the major promoters of the construction, proposed that building Towers of Loyal Spirits on battle sites containing the remains of

fallen soldiers would boost soldiers' morale and encourage their sacrifice for the country because no soldiers would leave their comrades behind on the battlefield.²⁰

However, the ambitious goal of "building one tower for one city/town/village in Japan" (*ichi shichōson ni ikki* 一市町村に一基) was not realized. The campaign caused deep concern in Shinto organizations, who worried the commemorative function and accessibility of Towers of Loyal Spirits would further threaten the central position of Yasukuni Shrine and the leading roles of Gokoku Shrines in the national commemorative system. As a result, Shinto organizations and the Home Ministry (Naimushō 内務省) clashed with Buddhist organizations and the army, questioning the legitimacy of the Towers of Loyal Spirits as national commemorative facilities. After several rounds of public debates and private negotiations, all parties reached a settlement in November 1939, confirming the leading position of Yasukuni Shrine and the Gokoku Shrines in the national commemoration system and defining Towers of Loyal Spirits as collective burial sites for the fallen at the local level. As a result, Gokoku Shrines were built in prefectures (*fuken* 府県), and Towers of Loyal Spirits were built at the lower administrative level of cities, towns, and villages (*shichōson* 市町村).²¹ In 1941, the army integrated collective cemeteries for soldiers into Towers of Loyal Spirits, which further stimulated the construction of these towers.²²

By August 1942, 150 Towers of Loyal Spirits had been completed, 87 were near completion, 376 were in the planning stage, and 1,397 were proposed. However, most of the construction plans were not carried out due to Japan's quick slide to defeat in the Pacific War. After capitulation in December 1945, the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers (GHQ) issued a directive titled "On the Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control and Dissemination of State Shintō" (*Kokka shintō, jinja shintō ni taisuru seifu no hoshō, shien, hozen, kantoku narabi ni kōfu no haishi ni kansuru ken* 国家神道、神社神道ニ対スル政府ノ保証、支援、保全、監督並ニ弘布ノ廃止ニ関スル件) and ordered the destruction of Shinto-related facilities as they were

15 "Ichi shichōson ni ikki: Chūreitō kensetsu hōshin kimaru" 一市町村に一基：忠霊塔建設方針決る, *Asahi shinbun* 朝日新聞, 19 January 1939, Tokyo edition.

16 Ōhara, *Chūkōni no kenkyū*, pp. 113–17.

17 Yokoyama, "Ōsaka no chūreitō kensetsu," pp. 6–8.

18 Hishikari, *Chūreitō monogatari*.

19 Akazawa, *Yasukuni jinja*, pp. 19–20.

20 Kagodani, "Shichōson no chūkōni, chūreitō ni tsuite," pp. 66–67.

21 Ōhara, *Chūkōni no kenkyū*, pp. 125–35; Yokoyama, "Ōsaka no chūreitō kensetsu," pp. 8–9.

22 Yokoyama, "'Manshū' ni taterareta chūreitō," p. 127.

symbols of imperialism.²³ As a result, in 1946 the Home Ministry announced a decree to remove the Towers of Loyal Spirits in Japan and to return soldiers' remains to their families.²⁴ Towers of Loyal Spirits were buried underground at the places where they had been constructed. However, after the end of the American occupation of Japan in 1952, some of these buried monuments were excavated and reconstructed on the same site or relocated. Some of them remain standing today.²⁵

Current Scholarship on Towers of Loyal Spirits

Scholars have examined various aspects of Towers of Loyal Spirits in Japan within the context of war memorials,²⁶ including their construction and administration,²⁷ architectural design,²⁸ function, and spatial transformation under GHQ's policies in postwar Japan.²⁹

Based on the 1939 settlement between the Home Ministry, Shinto organizations, the army, and Buddhist organizations, scholars have categorized three types of state-installed commemorative facilities for the war dead in Japan: Yasukuni Shrine/Gokoku Shrines, Towers of Loyal Spirits, and other commemorative steles (*hi* 碑) such as the Steles of the Loyal Dead (*chūkonhi* 忠魂碑).³⁰ The three types shared similarities in administrative management and function, with their respective development interacting with and influencing each other. The primary distinction

between Towers of Loyal Spirits and the other two commemorative structures is that Towers of Loyal Spirits house the remains (*ikotsu* 遺骨) or parts thereof (*bunkotsu* 分骨) of fallen soldiers. In contrast, commemorative steles are dedicated to the spirits (*tamashii* 魂) of individuals or groups, and Yasukuni Shrine and the Gokoku Shrines commemorate the collective "heroic spirits" (*eirei* 英霊) of the fallen.³¹

Towers of Loyal Spirits functioned as army cemeteries³² and national mourning/commemoration facilities for the war dead (*kokka senbotsusha tsuitō, irei shisetsu* 国家戦没者追悼・慰霊施設).³³ Their function has been contested among scholars. As pointed out in this article, since their construction, the Towers of Loyal Spirits have had a complicated relationship with Yasukuni Shrine and the Gokoku Shrines.³⁴ In postwar Japan, debates about national mourning and commemoration facilities for the fallen have been fierce, particularly those related to the issue of Yasukuni Shrine. Central to the debates is the question of whether these monuments serve exclusively memorial purposes (*irei* 慰霊) without any ideological promotion (*kenshō* 顕彰). Namely, can state-installed commemorative sites (*kinen shisetsu* 記念施設) separate the nationalist agenda from the commemorative function?³⁵ Furthermore, what is an appropriate form for Japan's national site of mourning other than Yasukuni Shrine, or should Japan have none? Will there be a national site of mourning that does not praise patriotism but rather reflects on Japan's war responsibility? And on a most

23 "Kokka shintō, jinja shintō ni taisuru seifu no hōshō, shien, hozen, kantoku narabi ni kōfu no haishi ni kansuru ken," December 1945. https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317996.htm.

24 Yokoyama, "Ōsaka no chūreitō kensetsu," p. 6.

25 The reasons for reconstruction were not explained clearly. Some of the towers were renamed as memorials for peace after they were reconstructed. See Motoyasu, "Irei no monyumento to 'jūgo' shakai," pp. 519–29.

26 For a recent review of the crucial issues related to the construction of Towers of Loyal Spirits in Japan, see Imai, "Chūreitō kensetsu ni kansuru kōsatsu"; Osa, *Senryōki senryō kūkan to sensō no kioku*, pp. 228–76.

27 Imai, "Kindai Nihon ni okeru senshisha saishi."

28 The modernist architects' proposals for the architectural designs of Towers of Loyal Spirits are interpreted as a struggle between utopian ideals and fascist propaganda. Inoue, *Senjika Nihon no kenchikuka*, ch. 3; Osa, *Senryōki senryō kūkan to sensō no kioku*, pp. 229–36; Matsukuma, *Kenchiku no zen'ya: Maekawa Kunio ron*, pp. 226–243.

29 Osa, "Sensō no 'jigo' o kangaeru," pp. 147–66.

30 Other commemorative steles include the Stele of the Shining Dead (*shōkonhi* 照魂碑), the Stele to Appease the Dead (*chinkonhi* 鎮魂碑), the Stele of Shining Loyalty (*shōchūhi* 照忠碑), and others. The division was first proposed by Ōhara; his view is that *chūreitō* indicate the actual burial function, a view inherited by later scholars including Imai Akihiko and Yokoyama Atsuo. See Ōhara, *Chūkonhi no kenkyū*.

31 As Yokoyama points out, the line between these three types was not distinctively drawn, and they influenced each other's development. See Yokoyama, "'Manshū' ni taterareta chūreitō," p. 125.

32 Morishita, "Kojin bochi kara chūreitō e"; Yokoyama, "Senbotsusha no ikotsu," pp. 99–100.

33 Awazu, *Kioku to tsuitō no shūkyō shakaigaku*, pp. 263–306.

34 A discussion of this topic is beyond this paper's scope. For detailed summaries of this complicated relationship, see Imai, "Kindai Nihon to senshisha saishi"; Ōhara, *Chūkonhi no kenkyū*, pp. 83–147; Kagodani, "Shichōson no chūkonhi, chūreitō ni tsuite."

35 The discussion of the debates is beyond this paper's scope. For a recent summary, see Kokugakuin Daigaku, *Irei to kenshō no aida*.

fundamental level, is it appropriate for a nation to construct a collective memory for the war dead by establishing collective memorials for individuals that lost their lives in war?³⁶ These difficult questions make any discussion of the Towers of Loyal Spirits a delicate affair.

Newly Discovered Photo Album

An examination of the historical origins of the Towers of Loyal Spirits in colonial Manchuria will shed light on how these monuments fulfilled both memorial (*irei*) and ideological (*kenshō*) functions. Among the ten Towers of Loyal Spirits in colonial Manchuria, no visual documentation exists for the original structures in Dalian, Fengtian, and Liaoyang before their relocation. This lack of visual documentation makes it difficult to summarize the common characteristics of the early towers. In contrast, abundant visual documentation exists for the towers in Port Arthur and Andong, as well as for the relocated towers in Dalian, Fengtian, and Liaoyang, and for the five towers built after 1932. Similarly, few texts mention early mausoleums or memorial towers in detail.³⁷

Among the early Towers of Loyal Spirits, the mausoleum and memorial tower in Port Arthur was perhaps the most famous. I discovered a photo album from 1910 titled *Ryojun hyōchūtō kensetsu shashinchō* 旅順表忠塔建設写真帖 (Photo Album of the Construction of the Tower of Expressing Loyalty in Port Arthur), produced by photographer Ogawa Kazumasa 小川一真 (1860–1929) and his studio. The album was presented to Emperor Meiji 明治 (Mutsuhito 睦仁, 1852–1912, r. 1867–1912) by two major commanders of the Russo-Japanese War: General Tōgō Heihachirō 東郷平八郎 (1847–1934) and General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1849–1912).³⁸

The photos document various stages of construction, different sections of the mausoleum and memorial tower, and the completion ceremony held on-site. The text introduces the designs, materials, and people involved in construction. This album thus provides crucial information for understanding the construction and the design of the mausoleum and memorial tower in Port Arthur.

The Mausoleum and the Tower of Expressing Loyalty in Port Arthur

In Port Arthur, the military led the construction of the Tower of Expressing Loyalty and mausoleum. The album shows that the balance between the army and navy was carefully maintained: the same number of architects and technicians, as well as portrait photos of related officers from both sides, were selected.

The construction of the mausoleum in Port Arthur, located in the Baiyushan 白玉山 valley, began in 1905 and was completed in 1908 (figure 3). Baiyushan Mausoleum 白玉山納骨祠 (Jp. *Hakugyokusan Nōkotsushi*) was designed by army technician Hattori Shigenao 服部重直 (1870–1928) and the construction was under the supervision of technician Saeki Hiroshi 佐伯浩 (d.u.).³⁹ The main structure had the components of a Shinto shrine: lanterns, torii gates, a rectangular hall on an elevated platform, and a gabled roof with billets and forked finials atop. However, there are two striking differences to conventional Japanese shrines. First, the material—the walls, stairs, and veranda of the mausoleum—were made of granite, while its roof and floor were clad in copper plates. The polished, smooth, and solid textures of these materials gave a distinctly different aesthetic from traditional wooden shrines. Second, the mausoleum had three underground vaulted chambers, built in concrete, housing the remains of deceased soldiers. The remains were labeled, registered, and put into metal boxes with names and army registration information. Then, these boxes were placed on shelves inside the chambers in early May 1905, and public commemorative rituals were held.

Staircases from the main structure led to the ceremony platform (*saijō* 齋場) on a lower level, and a ditch

36 Awazu, *Kioku to tsuitō no shūkyō shakaigaku*.

37 One of the earliest records of these mausoleums was published by the Minami Manshū Nōkotsushi Hozonkai 南滿洲納骨祠保存会 (Association for the Preservation of Mausoleums in Southern Manchuria). See Sasaki, *Manshū chūreiki*.

38 The photo album was in the collection of Emperor Meiji. Shiraishi, “Kunaishō Zushoryō ni okeru Meiji,” p. 64. Ogawa Kazumasa’s studio was famous for its photos of Japanese national treasures, world expositions, Japanese imperial palaces, and the Forbidden City in Beijing. He also went to the battlefields of the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War and documented the battles. See Okatsuka, *Teikoku no shashinshi*, pp. 221–84.

39 Later it was renamed Baiyushan Shrine 白玉山神社 (Jp. *Hakugyokusan Jinja*).

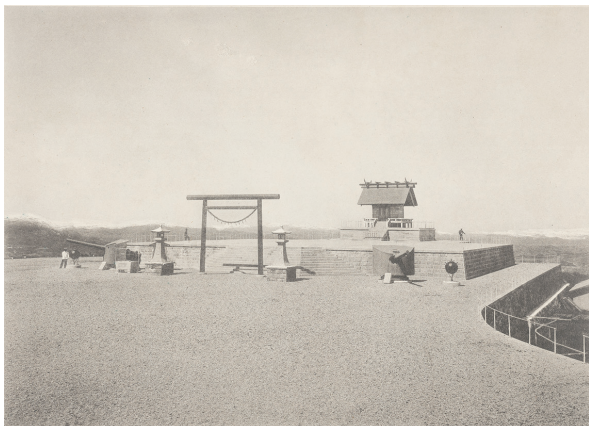


Figure 3. The *nōkotsushi* mausoleum in Baiyushan valley, Ryojun. Photograph. *Ryojun hyōchūtō kensetsu shashinchō*, 1910.



Figure 4. The temporary worship hall and tents set up for ceremonies. Photograph. *Ryojun hyōchūtō kensetsu shashinchō*, 1910.

was dug in-between. The ceremony platform was for installing a temporary wooden worship hall (*haiden* 拜殿) and tents for visitors during the ceremonies (figure 4). Stone staircases connected the ritual platform to a lower front yard, a vast area paved with finely ground sand. The front yard further descended to paved roads, which led to the downtown and the train station at the foot of the mountain. There was also a stairway shortcut for pedestrians to use. To the south of the front yard, a viewing pavilion was built to offer visitors a bird's-eye view of the former battlefields, the downtown, and the harbor. Benches and pathways leading to the front yard were installed. It is clear that the intention to promote tourism was incorporated in the initial design phase.

During the construction of the mausoleum, General Tōgō, the supreme naval commander of the Russo-Japanese War, and General Nogi, the commander of the Siege of Port Arthur, initiated a funding campaign to build a memorial tower nearby.⁴⁰ The campaign was successful: the construction of a memorial tower on top of Baiyushan mountain began in June 1907 and was completed in November 1909. Initially called the Tower of the Loyal Dead (*Chūkōtō* 忠魂塔), the tower's name was changed to the Tower of Expressing Loyalty (*Hyōchūtō* 表忠塔) during construction (figure 5). Once completed, the mausoleum and the Tower of Expressing Loyalty became the most

famous scenery for Port Arthur and were featured in numerous tourist guides and postcards. The mausoleum was destroyed in 1945, but the tower still remains standing today.

The Tower of Expressing Loyalty was designed by engineer Ishiguro Isoji 石黒五十二 (1855–1922) and architect Watanabe Yuzuru 渡辺譲 (1855–1930), who worked at the time as construction consultants for the IJN. The construction was led by navy technician Okudaira Kiyosada 奥平清貞 (d.u.).⁴¹ The tower consists of a round entrance hall at the bottom, a cylindrical body, and a top part with a bullet-shaped object. The tower was erected on an elevated mound with slopes leading to the roads. The entrance hall is a rotunda elevated on a round platform, made in reinforced concrete, with stone railings and staircases leading to its entrance. The rotunda is surrounded by a circular colonnade of eight unfluted columns supporting an unadorned entablature. The entrance hall bears stylistic features of Renaissance architecture: the circular structure, unfluted columns, and the unadorned entablature resemble the lower section of Bramante's Tempietto, a Renaissance temple located in the courtyard of the monastery of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome. A stone plaque with the name of the tower in the calligraphy of Prince Fushimi Sadanaru (Fushiminomiya Sadanaru Shinnō 伏見宮貞愛親王,

40 See "Ryojun hyōchūtō kankei shorui no ken."

41 In the photo album there is an article titled "Kensetsu shushi" 建設趣旨 (Goals of Construction) that details the construction.



Figure 5. Tower of Expressing Loyalty in Port Arthur. Postcard. 1905. Courtesy of the Main Library, Kyoto University. <https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/item/rb00030817>.

1858–1923) is placed above the front entrance. Above the entrance hall, the cylindrical body of the tower gets narrower toward the top as the width of the walls decreases. It has twenty-one rectangular, narrow window openings to let the light in. Inside the tower, cast-iron spiral stairs lead visitors to the top, where one can enjoy a bird's-eye view of Port Arthur. On top of the tower is a round platform, and a concave bullet-shaped object is placed in the center. A lightning rod was installed atop the object. A bronze plaque inscribed with an introductory text of the tower written by the two generals and transcribed by calligrapher Shiotani Tokiyoshi 塩谷時敏 (1855–1925) was once installed on the platform.

All building materials—including iron, timber, cement, and granite—were brought from Japan. Only the cast-iron spiral staircases were imported from the United States. The primary construction material for the tower was reinforced concrete, one of the latest industrial materials at the time. Cement, shipped from Japan, was manufactured into reinforced concrete blocks at factories at the foot of the hill. These blocks were transferred by local Chinese laborers and pulled via carts and horse carriages to the construction site where they were assembled. The tower was one of the earliest Japanese experiments in building with reinforced concrete.⁴² Another important material for the tower was granite. Used for the walls of the entrance hall, the colonnade, the platform of the top part, railings, and staircases, all of the granite was shipped from Kurokami 黒髪 Island in Yamaguchi Prefecture. The stone blocks used for the round base were retrieved from the seabed at Port Arthur as a symbolic tribute to the blockships that carried granite and cement and had been sunk in the harbor.⁴³

The selection of materials was distinctive, emphasizing high-quality industrial material and modern technologies (granite, metals, and reinforced concrete). In particular, the Baiyushan Mausoleum followed the

architectural style of Ise Shrine, but it used granite, reinforced concrete, and copper plates to present a distinctively different aesthetic from traditional wooden shrines, creating a local, “Manchurian” version of the Japanese shrine. The Baiyushan Mausoleum held annual spring and autumn ceremonies on the same dates as Yasukuni Shrine, which indicated the army's intention to place the Baiyushan Mausoleum within the Yasukuni Shrine commemoration system for the war dead.

The Significance of the Mausoleum and the Tower of Expressing Loyalty in Port Arthur

It is important to emphasize that the pairing of the Tower of Expressing Loyalty and the mausoleum in Port Arthur demonstrated two key points. First, the change in name from the Tower of the Loyal Dead to the Tower of Expressing Loyalty highlighted the military's clear intent to mobilize the war dead. The commemorative structure was not merely intended to serve as a memorial (*irei*) but was imbued with a nationalist ideology that praised individual sacrifice for the nation (*kenshō*). Second, the two separate structures demonstrated that, at this time, commemorative and burial functions had not yet been combined into a single structure. This pairing also served as a prototype for the other three sites, which all featured an amalgamation of a public memorial tower and a Shinto burial structure.

Moreover, the planning of the mausoleum and memorial tower revealed the effort involved in creating a picturesque scenic vista, such as the construction of paved roads for carriages, a viewing pavilion and benches (figure 6), and a viewing balcony atop the memorial tower. The strategic placement of the tower atop the hill also emphasized panoramic views of the harbor, city, and former battlefields. Later, the Tower of Expressing Loyalty became the quintessential landmark in the urban landscape of Port Arthur, symbolizing Japanese construction in the post-Russo-Japanese War era and establishing benchmarks for both public commemorations and sightseeing activities.

42 Imported cement was used as a building material in Japan from the 1860s on. Domestic production of cement began in 1875, and cement was widely used as an industrial material for buildings and railroads after 1878. Reinforced concrete was invented in 1867. Japanese architectural journals first introduced this new material as well as buildings using reinforced concrete in 1888. The first reinforced concrete structure was the Lake Biwa Canal Bridge, built from designs by Tanabe Sakurō 田辺朔郎 (1861–1944) in 1903. The first reinforced concrete buildings were a cooking facility and storage in Nagasaki in

1905. See Muramatsu, “Tekkin konkurito kōzō no rekishi 2,” pp. 39–44; Yamada, “Hito to konkurito to no tsunagari no rekishi,” pp. 7–9.

43 The blockships carried granite from Inujima 犬島 Island in Okayama Prefecture and cement from the Port of Osaka. See “Dainihen Ryojunkō oyobi Inchon no tekikantai.”



Figure 6. View of the *nōkotsushi* mausoleum from the Tower of Expressing Loyalty. One can see the viewing pavilion and paved roads leading to the foot of the mountain. *Ryojun hyōchūtō kensetsu shashinchō*, 1910.

Building War Memorials in Colonial Manchuria in the 1910s

The Tower of Expressing Loyalty and the mausoleum in Port Arthur were among the earliest war memorials built for the Russo-Japanese War. Immediately after the Russo-Japanese War, memorials were erected on former battlefields. These memorials had various designs and materials. For example, wooden pillars with inscriptions commemorating the fallen were erected on the hills of Port Arthur. In May 1905, atop the Nanshan 南山 (Jp. Nanzan) Hill in Jinzhou 金州, a town located north of Port Arthur, local Japanese merchants, under the guidance of the Kwantung Army and the Civil Administration (Minseisho 民生署), erected a Stele to Appease the Dead (*chinkonhi* 鎮魂碑) and a Stele of Shining Loyalty (*shōchūhi* 照忠碑) for those who had fallen in the Battle of Nanshan (24–26 May 1904) to commemorate the anniversary of the battle. The Stele to Appease the Dead followed the style of a gravestone, consisting of a rectangular stone block set on top of a stone platform surrounded by pillars. The Stele of Shining Loyalty was an irregular-shaped rock set on a stone platform.

Systematic construction and maintenance of war memorials for the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria began in the 1910s. Led by General Fukushima Yasumasa 福島安正 (1852–1919), the Association for the Preservation of Battle Sites in Manchuria (Manshū Senseki Hozonkai 満洲戦跡保存会) was established in December 1913 with support from the IJA, IJN, and the Southern Manchurian Railway Company (Minami Manshū Tetsudō Kabushiki Gaisha 南満洲鉄道株式会社, hereafter SMRC). General Fukushima took the role of president, with IJN Vice Admiral Sakamoto Hajime 坂本一 (1859–1948) and the president of SMRC, Nakamura Yoshikoto 中村是公 (1867–1927), serving as vice presidents. The association was approved in 1914, and a total of 500,000 yen was collected, including 150,000 yen from the Japanese government; 350,000 yen was allocated for the construction of new war memorials and 150,000 yen was designated for maintenance, including the War Victory Museum (Senrihin Chinretsusho 戦利品陳列所), and the Baiyushan Mausoleum/Shrine.⁴⁴

44 See “Manshū Senseki Hozonkai ni kansuru ken.”

The association proposed an ambitious plan for building and preserving war memorials. First, it proposed to erect steles at various former battlefields in Manchuria, including Port Arthur, Jinzhou 錦州, Liaoyang, Shahe 沙河, Fengtian, and Siping 四平. These steles were to use local stone materials, feature a simple design with inscriptions of battles carved on them, and be erected at a location that could be seen from all directions. Beyond steles, the association planned to establish facilities for the display and management of battle sites, build roads connecting memorial sites, and make topographic models of Port Arthur, along with models of cannons and battle maps to be showcased in the museum for educational purposes. Additionally, the association suggested building a prayer hall (*haiden*) in front of Baiyushan Shrine. By adding additional Shinto facilities, the original mausoleum was further transformed into a Shinto shrine. In essence, the goal was to establish tangible sites for public commemoration of and education about the Russo-Japanese War.

As a result, from 1916, a series of battlefield memorials (*sensekihi* 戦跡碑) were erected on former positions, batteries, and forts, most of which were located on hilltops. These memorials featured uniform designs: trapezoid blocks on stone platforms with rough-textured stone façades. The location's name was vertically inscribed on the body of the stele, while an account of the battle was inscribed on the bottom platform. For fortresses, as exemplified in the East Jiguanshan 雞冠山 Mountain, rectangular and bulky stones were erected, bearing the names of the fortresses (figure 7).

Memorials for individuals were also erected around this time. A stele for Second Lieutenant Nogi Yasusuke 乃木保典 (1881–1904), General Nogi's youngest son, who died during the Russian bombardment, was erected on Hill 203, the battlefield of the Siege of Port Arthur. Additionally, a stone memorial for the Russian general Roman Isidorovich Kondratenko (1857–1904), lethally wounded by Japanese fire, was built near the fortress ruins.⁴⁵



Figure 7. War memorials on East Jiguanshan Mountain in Port Arthur. Postcard. Date unknown. Courtesy of the Main Library, Kyoto University. <https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/item/rb00030815>.

45 Details regarding the construction of the Russian memorial are unclear.

These memorials, alongside ruined fortresses, mapped out the Russo-Japanese War spatially, visualized the scale of the war, and constructed public memories. In particular, the stone steles atop each hill in Port Arthur further transformed the entire city into a monument for Japan's military and colonial expansion. Photos and postcards of these steles were circulated widely as popular souvenirs, constructing the image of Port Arthur as an ensemble of war memorials for the Russo-Japanese War.

Port Arthur and War Tourism in Colonial Manchuria

The Tower of Expressing Loyalty and the mausoleum were among the first famous sites for war tourism in Port Arthur, which began immediately after the Russo-Japanese War.⁴⁶ In July 1906, one of Japan's foremost newspapers, the *Asahi shinbun*, organized the first tour group abroad. The Rosetta Liner Tour Around Manchuria and Korea (*Rosetta-maru Mankan jun'yū* ろせった丸満韓巡遊) successfully recruited 374 male passengers, including entrepreneurs, artists,

educators, and students.⁴⁷ The month-long grand tour departed from Yokohama and visited the Korean Peninsula and southern Manchuria (figure 8), two regions where Japan had acquired rights to construct railroads and railway settlements from Russia. An *Asahi shinbun* article dated 14 July 1906 outlined four goals of the tour: visiting Russo-Japanese War battlefields, inspecting burgeoning Japanese industries and construction, touring the continental landscape, and cultivating an interest in maritime affairs.⁴⁸ Consequently, the tour visited battlefields, shrines, Japanese settlements, palaces, mines, and railway stations, setting the template for later Manchurian tours. Historian Gao Yuan astutely observes that war tourism emerging after the Russo-Japanese War bore a political agenda to “confirm the new territory of the rising empire” and to establish new political relations with neighboring countries, which were seen in the arrangement of the route and the content of the tours.⁴⁹ In fact, the Kwantung Army provided substantial support for the tour, arranging accommodation, lectures, reception parties, and guides at each stop.

The first stop on the Rosetta Liner Tour in Manchuria was the Nanshan battle site on Nanshan Hill in Jinzhou,

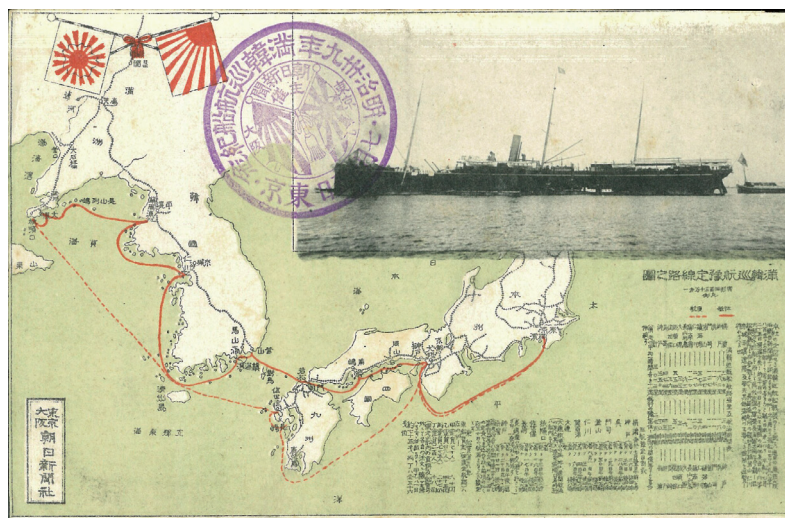


Figure 8. The route of the Rosetta Liner Tour. Postcard. Date unknown. Courtesy of the Main Library, Kyoto University. <https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/item/rbo0032449>.

46 Gao, “Senchi kara kankōchi e.”

47 *Asahi shinbun* published a photo album documenting the journey, *Rosetta-maru Mankan jun'yū kinen shashinchō* ろせった丸満韓巡遊記念写真帖. Together with articles and reports published in the newspaper itself (May–August 1906), one can

reconstruct how the tour visited war memorials.

48 “Kūzen no sōkyo: Mankan chihō junkō (Mankan junkōsen no hakkō)” 空前の壮挙：満韓地方巡行 (満韓巡航船の発向), *Asahi shinbun*, 22 June 1906, morning edition, sec. 6.

49 Gao, “Senchi kara kankōchi e.”

northeast of Port Arthur. Arriving in Jinzhou amid heavy rain, the scheduled outdoor speech near the memorial steles atop the hill was moved indoors. Brigade Major Izaki Yoshiteru 伊崎良照 (d.u.) delivered a detailed account of the Battle of Nanshan, captivating the passengers and fieldtrip students from Yamaguchi. Despite the rainstorm, over a hundred visitors chose to ascend the hill along the renovated road to the hilltop, converging around two stone steles dedicated to the deceased soldiers (figure 9).⁵⁰ As Sugimura Sojinkan 杉村楚人冠 (1872–1945) recorded for *Asahi shinbun*, from this vantage point, visitors had panoramic views of the harbors where Russian warships anchored, and the hills where the Japanese general Oku Yasukata 奥保鞆 (1847–1930) commanded his attacks.

The journalist emphasized that the desolate, grand landscape enhanced the heroic atmosphere of the battle.

Journalist Kizaki Kōshō's 木崎好尚 (1865–1944) accounts also reveal that the memorial steles on Nanshan Hill and elsewhere served as tangible markers of the battlefields and a central stage for a theatrical experience of war. When visitors gathered around the steles, a Major Otani 小谷 arrived at the scene on his horse. With a whip in his hand, he recounted the fierce Battle of Nanshan with intricate details and vivid episodes, as if reenacting it in front of the crowds. After this passionate speech, the narrator left on his horse, and the visitors were guided to tour ruined ammunition depots and barbed wire entanglements nearby before returning to the camp to join another lecture.⁵¹

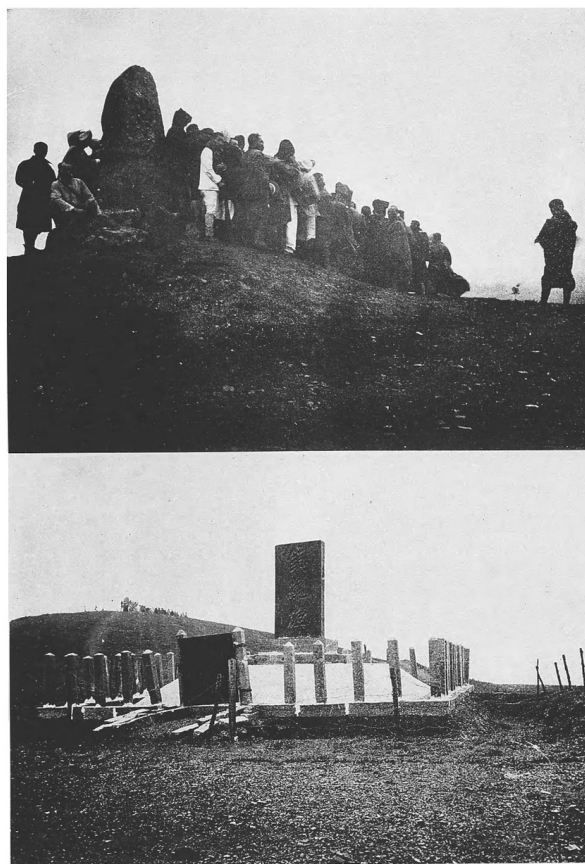


Figure 9. The album leaf with the upper photo showing the Stele of Shining Loyalty and the lower photo showing the Stele to Appease the Dead on Nanshan Hill, Jinzhou. A group of passengers gathers around the stele to listen to the officer's account of war. Photographs. *Rosetta-maru Mankan jun'yū kinen shashinchō*.

50 Sugimura, "Nanzan no fūu" 南山の風雨, *Asahi shinbun*, 27 August 1906, sec. 5.

51 Kizaki, "Nanzan no ototoshi" 南山の一昨年, *Asahi shinbun*, 28 August 1906, morning edition, sec. 5.

Port Arthur was their last stop in Manchuria before their return to Japan. During their two-day sojourn in Port Arthur, the itinerary consisted of a lecture on the Russo-Japanese War, a visit to the War Victory Museum, a guided tour of battery ruins scattered across various hills, and a visit to the Japanese town established after the war. At this time, the mausoleum's construction was already underway. Kizaki described the bustling activity, with about two hundred Chinese laborers diligently working on-site where three reinforced vaulted burial chambers had already been completed.⁵²

Three years later, in 1909, the renowned novelist Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916) visited Manchuria upon invitation from the SMRC. His detailed accounts, published in the *Asahi shinbun*, recorded a route and content similar to the earlier Rosetta tour.⁵³ He was guided to visit the War Victory Museum, trenches and batteries, and ruined fortresses where officers shared their personal war experiences. Contrary to the guides' passionate accounts of the war, Sōseki observed the unimpressive desolation of these battlegrounds and the challenging physical environment to navigate, as few areas were accessible by carriage. Sōseki had a glimpse of the newly completed Tower of Expressing Loyalty from the car window but was not motivated to visit it.

These early visits to Port Arthur featured guided tours of artillery batteries, complemented by firsthand narrations from army officers recounting their war experiences. Visitors climbed up and down the hills, encountered remnants of damaged fortresses and war debris, stood before memorials, and absorbed officers' detailed personal stories about the war, creating a theatrical Russo-Japanese War experience. This combination aimed to bridge the physical and psychological gap, bringing the Japanese visitors closer to the newly conquered territory as the frontier of the expanding empire. Moreover, early tours to Manchuria were limited to selected groups: students and teachers on school fieldtrips, or business entrepreneurs and intellectuals invited by the SMRC. These trips were far from

comfortable as the roads were not constructed or connected and the access to the sites was limited. While some determined visitors overcame the environmental challenges, others found the difficulties discouraging. Passengers on the Rosetta Liner Tour as well as Sōseki constantly complained about the hotel accommodation and food. Students on school fieldtrips got sick or even lost their lives due to the environment.⁵⁴

This situation began to change in the late 1910s. The annexation of Korea in 1910 stimulated the development of a cross-continental railway network connecting the Korean Peninsula, Manchuria, Russia, and Europe.⁵⁵ In 1912, the Railway Department, the Imperial Hotel (Teikoku Hōteru 帝国ホテル), and various transportation companies in colonial Korea and Manchuria, including the NYK Line (Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki Kaisha 日本郵船株式会社), Oriental Steamship Company (Tōyō Kisen Kaisha 東洋汽船会社), and SMRC, collaboratively founded Japan Tourist Bureau (Japan Tsūrisuto Byūrō ジャパン・ツーリスト・ビューロー, hereafter JTB) in Dalian. The company aimed to provide package tour services for European and American tourists traveling in Manchuria and Korea.⁵⁶ For instance, JTB provided a package deal to travel from Japan to Manchuria: passengers boarded the ferry from Shimonoseki 下関 to Pusan 釜山 and then traveled via railway across the Korean Peninsula and northern China. In August 1918, the SMRC founded the Tour Office for Korea and Manchuria (Senman Annaijo 鮮満案内所) in Tokyo, dedicated to organizing tours to Korea, Manchuria, and China for Japanese tourists. The office published guidebooks introducing scenic views, travel routes, and transportation schedules. It facilitated travel inquiries and offered ticket reservations for connecting trains to Korea and Manchuria, marking the SMRC's investment in developing mass tourism in these regions. In particular, the SMRC produced a vast number of texts and visual materials, including tourist pamphlets, guidebooks, travel magazines, postcards, and posters to extensively promote tourism to Manchuria and Korea.⁵⁷

52 Kizaki, "Mankan junkōsen: Ryojun hairi, ryojun no konnichi, shichū no zakkan" 満韓巡航船：旅順入り、旅順の今日、市中の雑観, *Asahi shinbun*, 29 August 1906, morning edition, sec. 5.

53 Natsume Sōseki was invited to visit the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria and his essays published in the *Asahi shinbun* were later assembled into a book. Natsume, *Mankan tokoro dokoro*.

54 Gao, "Senshō ga umidashita kankō," p. 18.

55 See Fujii, "Shiberia keiyu ryokaku kokusai unsō no igi to Japan Tsūrisuto Byūrō no setsuritsu."

56 JTB remains one of the largest tourist companies in Japan today. In 2012, the company published an introduction to its history to celebrate one hundred years of its establishment; see JTB, *JTB Gurūpu 100 nenshi: 1912–2012*.

57 For an introduction to the SMRC offices, see Gao, "Sen kyūhyaku nijū nendai ni okeru mantetsu no kankō senden," pp. 171–73.

Port Arthur assumed a central position in the development of war tourism in Manchuria. As described in previous sections, systematic construction and maintenance of war memorials, related facilities, and infrastructure made Port Arthur a perfect site for war tourism. The JTB office at the train station offered the “Tour of Battlefield Sites” (*senseki junran* 戦跡巡覧), which led visitors to sites related to the Russo-Japanese War accessible by carriage, such as the Tower of Expressing Loyalty, Baiyushan Shrine, the War Victory Museum, battery ruins atop surrounding hills, memorials for Japanese and Russian soldiers, Hill 203, and the Camp Sites of the Naval Forces (*suishiei* 水師營), where General Nogi and General Anatolii Mikhailovich Stoessel (1848–1915) signed a truce.⁵⁸

The 1920s and 1930s witnessed a turning point in the development of tourism in Manchuria: tours of Manchuria increasingly emphasized leisure (*gyōraku* 行楽) elements, evident in comfortable transportation such as express and luxury trains, modern accommodation like the Yamato hotels in the major cities of Manchuria, and abundant leisure facilities like hot springs.⁵⁹ This shift away from purely war-related

tourism to leisure-oriented tourism was also reflected in tours of Port Arthur. Tourist pamphlets introduced new leisure-oriented sites in Port Arthur, such as a newly completed recreation park (*gyōrakuen* 行楽園) near the beach and a music hall where a military band performed during the summer. A new park on the southern side of Baiyushan Hill, once a graveyard for thirty-one Japanese soldiers buried by the Russian army during the war, now featured lush greenery and cherry blossoms for the residents’ leisure activities. Ōgondai 黄金台, an area renowned for summer villas since the Russian reign at the end of the nineteenth century, beckoned with its beautiful scenery and summer beaches.

In the late 1920s, amid the rapid development of tourism, the mausoleums in Fengtian and Dalian were relocated to the central areas of the expanding Japanese towns. In Dalian, a striking new Tower of Loyal Spirits, distinguished by its monumental scale and geometric, modernist designs, was erected in the central park of Dalian surrounded by green spaces and sporting grounds (figure 10).⁶⁰ The Tower of Loyal Spirits in Dalian became a famous place (*meisho* 名所) and its



Figure 10. The relocated and rebuilt Tower of Loyal Spirits in Dalian. Postcard. July 1936. Courtesy of the Main Library, Kyoto University.
<https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/item/rb00030734>.

58 Tetsudōin, *Chōsen Manshū Shina annai*, pp. 117–22.

59 McDonald, “Ryōdo, rekishi, aidentiti,” pp. 5–7.

60 For a discussion of the spatial configuration of the central park, see Zhang, “Dairen ni okeru sanroku,” p. 1150.

minimalist aesthetic reinforced Dalian's image as an international, modern metropolis.⁶¹ Departing from its original function as a burial site and war memorial, the tower assumed a new identity as an iconic landmark defining the modern cityscape. These monuments were featured prominently on the covers of travel guidebooks, further solidifying their status as symbols of the urban experience.

Tourism in Manchuria reached its zenith after the foundation of Manchukuo in 1932. Tourist buses became the most popular choice for tourists. New Towers of Loyal Spirits were constructed in the newly designated capital of Shinkyō and in cities in occupied territories including Harbin, Qiqihar in northern Manchuria that was formerly controlled by Russia, and Chengde in northern China. These Towers of Loyal Spirits and other war memorials featured prominently in the bus tours; for example, the bus tour in Shinkyō visited the war memorials of the Manchurian Incident,⁶² located in the suburban Nanling 南嶺 and Kuanchengzi 寬城子 areas. Passengers got off the buses, listened to the guide's narration of the battles, and purchased souvenir postcards depicting war memorials. Moreover, Japan's protracted war with China since 1937 added new layers to the map of war memorials in Manchuria and increased the popularity of battlefield tours. Tours of battle sites expanded beyond Port Arthur to all over Manchuria.

In Port Arthur, bus tours of battlefields departed from the train station three times a day for a four-hour ride. Tourist buses also departed daily from Dalian using a special highway between the two cities. Guidebooks now hailed Port Arthur as the "Holy Land" and "a Verdun in the East," and tours continued to emphasize leisure aspects.⁶³ For example, tours to Port Arthur in the 1940s boasted a luxurious ride on the Asia Express (*Ajiagō* アジア号). As a result, Port Arthur was portrayed not only as a holy site for war memorials and ruined fortresses but also as an ideal resort featuring mild weather, museums, schools, and summer houses.

Conclusion

The construction of war memorials in colonial Manchuria was an evolving process alongside the expansion of the Japanese Empire in the first half of the twentieth century. Analyzing their construction, administration, design, and public reception reveals how these memorials played a crucial role in defining the boundaries of the expanding empire, shaping collective memory, and forming popular narratives.

An examination of the historical origins and development of the Towers of Loyal Spirits in colonial Manchuria reveals a more complex, ambiguous, and fluctuating context for the "prototype" of Towers of Loyal Spirits. Early towers in colonial Manchuria, such as the one in Port Arthur, consisted of two distinct structures: a mausoleum in the style of a Shinto shrine, serving as the IJA and the IJN's collective cemetery, and a memorial tower for public commemoration. These towers were erected on former battlefields, acting as both geographical markers and tangible symbols of the war, evoking the experiences of those who fought. Over time, however, these structures underwent significant transformations. The Towers of Loyal Spirits were relocated and rebuilt in newly established urban centers within Japanese settlements. The new structures were giant monuments with abstract designs, and they became new landmarks for metropolitan modernity.

As Japan was in a protracted war with China after 1931, the number of Japanese soldiers who died in China significantly increased. The IJA faced the urgent task of not only constructing on-site collective burials but also crafting an effective ideological narrative to justify these sacrifices. As a result, Manchukuo became the epicenter of war memorial construction. New Towers of Loyal Spirits and war memorials were built to house the remains of soldiers who died in the Manchurian Incident and the ongoing war.⁶⁴ The new towers continued to function as spatial markers of the empire's territorial expansion, but their roles shifted from symbols of metropolitan modernity to tools of imperialist propaganda, which bolstered colonial Manchuria as a lasting monument for the expanding empire.

The rapid development of mass tourism in colonial Manchuria further transformed the Towers of Loyal

61 *Meisho* is a Japanese term for famous scenic places and can be traced back to the Edo period and far beyond. In tandem with the Japanese expansion in Manchuria, the process of making Japanized famous landscapes began; see Gao, "Teikoku no fūkei."

62 The Manchurian Incident (1931) led to the complete occupation of Manchuria by Japan.

63 Ryojun Shiyakusho, *Seichi Ryojun*.

64 Yokoyama, "'Manshū' ni taterareta chūreitō," p. 129.

Spirits from memorials of the fallen into popular landmarks for leisure consumption. Tourism in the region effectively integrated imperialist propaganda and urban leisure. The modernist designs of the Towers of Loyal Spirits and the luxurious, leisurely tours of war memorials encouraged visitors to perceive militarist aggression and urban utopia as two sides of the same coin. Postcards depicting the towers alongside the newly constructed cityscapes presented a promising utopian future of Manchukuo. This fusion of seemingly conflicting ideals—modernism and militarism—played a key role in shaping postwar nostalgic narratives of colonial Manchuria.

The construction, transformation, and destruction of the Towers of Loyal Spirits and war memorials encapsulate the making and unmaking of the empire in the twentieth century. After the collapse of the Japanese Empire in 1945, formerly occupied countries and regions adopted various strategies to “decolonize” these spaces, reversing negative connotations and reconstructing commemorative environments that aligned with the new regime. Japanese shrines and war memorials were either demolished or drastically modified to serve new political agendas. The Baiyushan Shrine in Port Arthur was first repurposed as a memorial site for deceased Chinese soldiers in the Second Sino-Japanese War before it was eventually destroyed. The Tower of Expressing Loyalty has been transformed into a site for anti-Japanese patriotic education and a landmark for Sino-Japanese war tourism. Today, the reinforced concrete tower stands as a silent witness to over a century of political turmoil, memorializing both the rise and fall of the Japanese Empire.

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