The Formation of Geographical Images of the Outside World in Imperialist Japan (Mid-1880s to 1945)\textsuperscript{1)}

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I. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine how various kinds of geographical knowledges pertaining to colonial lands and other countries were diffused among the Japanese people during the era of imperialist Japan, and to point out the characteristics of such knowledges. The era of imperialist Japan refers to the period starting from the mid-1880's, when Meiji Japan began to be interested in economic and military expansion into the Asian continent and the Pacific area, and continuing up till the defeat of militarist Japan in World War II in 1945.

When we speak of geographical knowledges, it is necessary to clarify who the possessors of knowledges are, what the knowledges consists of and how precise it is. Here the question is the geographical knowledges of the majority of the Japanese people. I exclude geographical knowledge obtained and stored for professional purposes by the military and governmental authorities. Rather, I shall be discussing the type of geographical knowledge diffused by means of printed matter and the mass media, and through oral communication between people. In this paper, I confine myself mainly to an examination of three types of publications appearing during this period, and to the geographical images to which these publications gave rise, as follows: 1) Books for general readers, which consisting mainly of travel accounts, 2) academic publications, including papers published in scientific periodicals, and 3) school textbooks.

The books belonging to either of the first two categories are divided into works based on the authors' direct observations or firsthand sources, and works based on Japanese and foreign written sources, that is, secondary sources. In this sense, the school textbooks were consistently based on secondhand knowledges with the contents of the texts having, moreover, undergone a process of manipulation and distortion prior to publication, in order that they might conform to the state ideology. From 1880 up until 1903, all school textbooks were subject to governmental censorship under a ministerial approval system established for that purpose. The examination of school textbooks, including maps and illustrations, was carried out by officials of the Ministry of Education, who were generally holders of licenses for the teaching of geography at the secondary education level. Academic geography was not yet formed at this stage. From 1903 to 1948, the compilation of primary and secondary school textbooks was carried out under the direct authorship of the Ministry of Education.\textsuperscript{2)}

Apart from these three categories, the imperial army and navy, as well as various governmental agencies, notably the Foreign Office, accumulated geographical information on Japan and foreign countries, but here, I exclude these sources except for materials that were accessible to the public during the period under consideration. At that time, most of these governmental sources, especially those of the imperial army and navy, comprised classified material and hence, were unavailable to the public at large. I recognise the academic importance of enquiring into these documents, but even now, it is still very difficult to do so because many of the army and navy documents were destroyed in the confusion ensuing immediately after the surrender of imperial Japan, which brought World War II to an end; and as for the surviving papers, until recently, many of them continued to remain classified. There is no evidence that the graduates in geography or those who were educated in geography at teachers' training colleges worked in the cartographical section and the geographical information section of the imperial Japanese army. Some university graduates of civil engineering worked in the army cartographical section, but limited numbers of graduates in geography, who were in either the army or the navy, were assigned to the meteoro-

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logical or hydrological division. Presumably, geographical information-gathering services were conducted by professionals trained in military schools and academies. As for the mass media which contributed to the diffusion of geographical knowledge of the world outside Japan, I confine myself to an examination of national (as opposed to local) newspapers, which from the Meiji period had come to be intensively diffused, with the development of the home delivery system. Oral communication among the common people can be considered less important where the distribution of the knowledge of foreign countries was concerned. Certainly after the 1860s, there was a remarkable increase in the number of Japanese emigrants abroad, especially performing artists, prostitutes, merchants, and agricultural labourers on the Asian continent, and in Southeast Asia and the Pacific area, even before the establishment of Japanese consular or embassy-level offices; but generally, these Japanese immigrants had no contact with their relatives left behind in Japan, and the knowledge they acquired of foreign lands was not transmitted to the Japanese people in general. We have also to note that the number of Japanese emigrants abroad have always been, and still are, relatively few in proportion to the total population of the home country, in comparison with the cases of emigrants from other countries.

II. Investigative Travels and Travel Accounts

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, several official missions were dispatched abroad for negotiations at governmental level, and on these occasions they went on tours of inspection in the countries visited or carried out intelligence activities. Several reports were published, such as that of the Iwakura mission to the United States and Europe (1871–73), written by Kunitake Kume, secretary of the mission and later a professor of the University of Tokyo (Kume, 1878). Their observations were generally the outcome of their efforts to obtain information on the technology and institutions of more advanced countries, with the sole intention of utilising it in aid of the modernisation of Japan. It is generally considered that, historically, Japanese expansionism began in the middle of the 1870s in the dispute with Korea, with Japan pressuring Korea, with the support of warships, into opening up her ports to trade, and more or less doing the same thing Commodore Perry did to Japan some twenty years before. In those years, there was a strong opinion among government officials and opinion leaders that an army should be sent to Korea, but the general public was, if anything, indifferent to the idea, due mainly to a dearth of information. There were too few publications available on the land, society and history of Korea at that time, and these few publications generally confined themselves to emphasising the need for Japanese intervention in Korean affairs, forcing her to open her ports to trade, under the pretext of facilitating the modernization of Korea, as did the writings of Y. Fukuzawa of the 1870s, a so-called enlightenment thinker of Meiji Japan. It is necessary to note that it was only in the second half of the 1870s that a sentiment of disdain was first formed among the Japanese towards the Korean people; for even while the Japanese had lacked concrete knowledge of Korea, they had at the same time still been aware that Japan owed a great deal to the cultural heritage of Korea. At this stage of affairs, there was no evidence of any real effort towards the systematic construction of geographical knowledge for the purposes of the national defence or national expansion.

After the middle of the 1880s, increasing numbers of accounts of the travels or explorations of political, military or cultural figures were published and widely read. It is interesting to find that already during these years, two lines of ideologies or strategies were developing; one pertained to northward expansionism (hokushinron) or expansion in the direction of Siberia and northeast China, and the other to southward expansionism (nanshinron) or emphasis on aggression directed at Southeast Asia and the Pacific areas.

One of the precursors of the advocates of hokushinron or northward expansionism was Buyo Enomoto, who in 1878, after serving as minister plenipotentiary to Petersburg, deliberately chose to make an arduous return trip across Siberia by means of a horse-drawn carriage, rather than by the normal, and far more comfortable, journey by sea, in order to inspect economic and military facilities on the way. He wrote to his sister that he wanted to write a book on Russia because the Japanese people were inordinately afraid of Russia when in fact they knew only too little about the country (Nagasawa, 1973, p. 167). He kept a very detailed diary, but the complete account of his trans-Siberian journey was not published until 1943. However, he held various important ministerial posts, including that of Minister for Foreign Affairs, up till his death in 1898, and in this way was able to exercise considerable
influence on decision-making in the period of early imperial Japan, with the aid of his geographical knowledge pertaining to foreign countries. In fact, his Siberian diary contains rich and precise information on the economic activities of the country, supplemented by maps of his own making. He documented the languages of various ethnic groups in Siberia, and his phonetical interpretations regarding pronunciation are extremely accurate, in terms of current linguistic knowledge.

Kiyotaka Kuroda, who in the 1870s had already traveled in Korea, China, America and Europe and later held various ministerships, eventually became prime minister, in 1886 undertook a monumental crossing of Siberia from Vladivostock to Petersburg. His account of this trip was published in 1887, and it contained among other things extremely precise observations on military and transport facilities and also the folklore of the inhabitants. Both Enomoto and Kuroda were warmly treated by the Russian authorities due to their holding high-ranking positions in the government.

Numerous other inspection trips in China and Siberia were undertaken in the 1880s, sometimes in the form of an official mission, sometimes as part of intelligence activities carried on by diplomatic and military officers; most of the accounts of their travels were published in order to diffuse knowledge of these areas in support of the hokushinron policy. For instance, in 1876, Shin-ichiro Takezoe together with a friend traveled from Peking, via Hsian, Chunching and Chengtu to Shanghai, without the benefit of governmental protection. He accurately documented the poverty-stricken lives of the Chinese people, which sharply contrasted with the natural beauty of the landscape. His account was widely read, due in no small part to his literary talent. Another example is Yasumasa Fukushima, military attache at Berlin, who in 1892 made a return trip to Vladivostock alone on horseback; it took more than 400 days, and wore out more than ten horses. In order to obtain the necessary permission to undertake this trip from the Japanese military authorities, he emphasised the importance of enquiries into the military facilities of Russia, Mongolia and China, which making the trip would enable him to carry out. His enterprising journey earned extensive newspaper coverage; the daily Asahi reported on June 29th, 1893, that when he arrived back in Tokyo, 60,000 people waited to greet him at Shimbashi Station. Later, he gave numerous lectures before the general public and published papers based on his trans-Siberian trip in popular journals as well as some academic journals such as the Journal of Geography of the Tokyo Geographical Society. We should note that these publications advocating hokushinron were generally written by governmental officers or persons backed by government authorities. The Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–5, the main purpose for Japan being the exclusion of Chinese influence in Korea, contributed to the strengthening of hokushinron.

Already in the 1870s, many private concerns were to be found in Southeast Asia and the Pacific area, and in the 1880s, with the increasing German influence in Micronesia and Melanesia, there began to appear publications in support of southward expansion (nanshinron), which supplied information on these areas. In 1884–5, an exploration of Micronesia and Southeast Asia was carried out by Keikun Suzuki, an officer of the Foreign Ministry. But because his negotiations with the native people of the Marshall Islands did not meet with the approval of the Foreign Ministry, he was later compelled to resign from the Ministry. His travel accounts of the southern islands were published in 1892. In 1886, Shigetaka Shiga, in the capacity of journalist, visited the Pacific Islands on board a Japanese naval training ship. In 1887, he published Nan’yo Jiji (“Southern Affairs”), which is considered a pioneering work pertaining to nanshinron or southern expansionism. Shiga never held a governmental post. He published numerous geographical works and also taught geography at the present-day Waseda University. During the late 1880s and the 1890s, many exploratory trips were undertaken in the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asia, such as the travels in Indochina in 1896–7 of the aristocrat and politician Chizuna Iwamoto, accounts of which were published in this period in the form of books or papers in the reports of the Tokyo Geographical Society (founded in 1879). Generally all these advocates of southern expansionism did not have either material or moral support from the government. Their enterprises in travel were rather connected with private business interests (commerce, management of estate agriculture, houses of pleasure, and so on). With the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–5, Japan obtained possession of Formosa (the present-day Taiwan). However the interests of governmental authorities turned more and more to the strengthen-
ing of the Japanese influence in Korea and northeast China, resulting in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5. We can observe, in fact, that after the turn of the century, the number of publications dealing with geographical knowledges pertaining to Southeast Asia and the Pacific area decreased. The revival of nanshinron occurred only in 1914, when Japan occupied the Micronesia islands, then a German possession (in 1919, they became territories under the mandate of imperial Japan).

In the 1890s, investigation of the Asian continent, especially in China and Mongolia, became increasingly active and systematized. In fact, in 1890, Sei Arao, lieutenant of the army and chief of an intelligence service team in China, founded a school with the innocuous name of Institute for Sino-Japanese Trade, in Shanghai. Before its closure in 1893, this institute had only eighty-nine graduates; but most of them were destined to play important roles in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95, as interpreters and military intelligence agents (Inoue, 1910). They contributed greatly to the enrichment of the geographical information gathered by the governmental authorities, and some of their travel accounts were published at that period. Most of their accounts, however, did not see publication until the 1930s, at the time of increased popular interest in China and Mongolia and the apex of the period of Japanese imperialism (Towa Dobun-kai, 1968 and Nagasawa, 1973).

The successor to the Institute for Sino-Japanese trade, the East Asian Dobun Association, was founded in Japan in 1898; and in 1901, the East Asian Dobun Shoin College was established in Shanghai. This college remained functional until the end of World War II, and graduated many Japanese specialists in Chinese affairs. Already in the Russo-Japanese war, early graduates of this college were contributing a great deal to intelligence activities in northeast China and Mongolia. According to the curriculum of the college, the final (third) year students had to make field trips in small groups. The investigation trips of the student groups covered all parts of China, including Inner Mongolia and some parts of Indo-China. Most of the accounts of these trips were not published, but the larger part of them are now preserved in the archives of Aichi University. The latter university was founded by the repatriated professors of the East Asian Dobun Shoin College, after World War II. The geographical information contained in the reports made by the final year students of the college was extremely accurate, and from this fact alone, we can well imagine how useful these graduates were to the military and governmental authorities of imperial Japan, furnishing them as they did with vital geographical information. It was only recently that the documents pertaining to research trips undertaken by staff and students of the East Asian Dobun Shoin College were analysed and published (Fujita, 1994).

III. Geographical Knowledge and Colonial Rule

An important organization for the forming of geographical knowledges pertaining to Asian continents during the era of colonialist Japan was the research section of the South Manchurian Railway Company; the concession of this railway running in Chinese territory passed to Japan from Russia as a result of the peace treaty concluded in 1905 between Japan and Russia. The research section of the company was founded in 1907, and the company aimed not only at carrying out investigations closely related to the management of the railway company, but also at research in broader areas related to Japanese territorial interests. In fact, besides conducting enquiries into the economy and the customs practiced by the inhabitants of Manchuria (North-east China), the company conducted research on the economy and society of East Asia in general, and also some rather academic studies of the history and geography of China and Korea (Ishido et al, 1986, 226; and Yamada, 1977, 42–48). After the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo in the 1930s, the research section was enlarged, and proceeded to conduct a series of intensive field researches in northern China; the researchers involved published the results of their work, as well as translations of studies carried out by Western researchers, in the form of publications directly issued by the company, as well as through various private publishers. In 1939, the research section had 2,125 members on its research staff and had branch research institutes in various cities in China, and many liaison offices in various parts of the world, including New York, Hong Kong and Berlin.

Among the publications of the research section of the South Manchurian Railway Company were enquiries into the traditional customs of North-east China and the agriculture and economy of North China (1942), a series of translations of Western authors on East Asia published by Iwannami Shoten (1939–45) and a series of studies on
Southeast Asia and Oceania ("Nan-yo sosho, literally "Series on the Southern Seas") published by Keio Shobo (1942). We should note that in Japan after 1942, book publication projects were in dire straits due to severe censorship and the rationing of paper. But even under such difficult conditions, the South Manchurian Railway Company enjoyed special privileges and were able to realize their publications.

In the Company's last years, their researches covered China, South and Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands, including Oceania. By 1941, the number of Japanese researchers on the staff, in the fields of social sciences, the humanities and engineering, numbered more than two thousand, constituting Japan's biggest think-tank of that period. Some of the researchers in the field of social sciences and the humanities, were influenced by Marxist methodology, something that was impossible in other Japanese institutions of the time. Of this large number of researchers, graduates in geography numbered only twelve; but through the publications of the research institution, they were able to contribute a great deal to the widening and deepening of the geographical knowledge of the territories in which imperialist Japan was interested. They were instrumental to a great extent, in the construction of the geographical knowledge of the Japanese people and the advancement of academic studies.3

Formosa after 1855 and Korea after its annexation to Japan in 1910 until the end of World War II were actually Japanese colonies and were officially considered part of Japanese territory. They did not form subjects of investigative travels or travel accounts of foreign countries. Under the colonial administration, the formation of geographical knowledge among the Japanese people regarding Formosa and Korea was more systematic compared to other parts of Asia. These two colonies were officially treated much the same as Japanese territory proper (though in actuality, they were discriminated against in various ways, on the one hand, and on the other suffered the imposition on them of Japanese institutions and culture). Japanese nationals were able to travel freely in Formosa and Korea, and after 1919, also in the Pacific islands, formerly German colonies now under Japanese mandate. The governments-general of Formosa and of Korea were respectively established in Taipei and Seoul, annual statistics for each government were compiled and published, and geomorphological maps on the scale of 1:50,000, made by the Geographical Survey Section of the General Headquarters of the Japanese Imperial Army, covered all the colonial lands by 1918; and by 1939, the main parts of Formosa and Korea were covered by geological maps on the scale of 1:50,000, made by the geological survey section of the governments-general.

Numerous writings in Japanese on Formosa and Korea were published, emphasising ideologically that Formosa and Korea were part of the Japanese empire; in school textbooks, both colonies were treated as part of Japan, and scientific enquiries of various disciplines were systematically conducted in these colonial lands.

IV. Academic Researches

The Reports of the Tokyo Geographical Society, from 1879–1897, and the Journal of Geography, were founded in 1889. Both publications issued from the Tokyo Geographical Society, and contained numerous reports and papers on foreign countries, the larger number of these countries being located in Asia and the Pacific areas. Papers on natural history, especially those pertaining to geology and botany, were generally scientific contributions based on the direct observations of the authors, who also referred on occasion to the works of foreign researchers. Most of the reports pertaining to society and culture, however, were accounts of short trips undertaken by the authors and could not be considered as being based on scientific surveys. The Journal of Geography, itself, began to take on a more academic character after the turn of the century. However, as far as the reports on foreign countries were concerned, many of them still continued to maintain the old style originating from the days when the Tokyo Geographical Society consisted of an exclusive circle of upper class people interested in explorations of and travels in unfamiliar and exotic lands. This continued to be the case at least up until the interruption to publishing activities caused by the destruction of the Society's building by the earthquake of 1923. In 1910, the Geographical Society of Tokyo announced a fund-raising project in aid of an expedition to China. The purpose was to conduct a geographical survey there; in fact, the upshot was actually a detailed geological survey of China proper, carried out between 1911–16, by researchers of the National Geological Survey Bureau. This constituted a truly monumental achievement with the publication of a geological map on the scale of 1:2,000,000 for the main parts of China proper in
1919 (revised edition in 1929). Besides, the Japanese geologists, who arrived in China and spread to every corner of this vast land in order to carry out the survey, made several documentations of its society and culture, as reported in almost every number of the Journal of Geography in 1910.

The geological survey project of the Tokyo Geographical Society was naturally enough encouraged by the expansionist policies of imperial Japan, and in fact, geological surveys had been initiated in the area of important mineral resources, for which purpose larger-scale maps were made.

The field surveys of ethnic minorities in China, Mongolia and Siberia, conducted by Ryuzo Torii of the University of Tokyo between 1907–30, were not entirely unrelated to the schemes for expansion of the Japanese empire. However, Torii’s surveys were conducted in collaboration with the Chinese authorities and constituted the first anthropological surveys of inner Mongolia; they differed fundamentally from the surveys conducted by the military intelligence services in the same period. His scientific achievements were mostly published in scientific journals, with a certain number of his books for the general reader being published in the 1930s.

It is necessary to take note of the contributions made by Japanese Buddhist scholars and Buddhist monks during Japan’s imperialist period, with their studies conducted in Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. It was a fact that their research enterprises were facilitated, either directly or indirectly, by the presence of the Japanese influence on the Asian continent. But the actual motive of the many Japanese monks who went to Central Asia was neither the gathering of geographical information nor the contributing of intelligence services to the Japanese military and political powers of the time, but was rather purely religious or scholastic. In the Meiji period, Japanese Buddhism was completely separated from Shintoism, with the latter coming under the protection of the state. This new situation stimulated, in a certain sense, a trend towards a kind of fundamentalism on the part of Buddhist scholars who felt an urge to go back to the beginning and study and reinterpret the original sutras. It seemed to them that the existing Chinese translations of sutras were insufficient and hence they felt compelled to look for the Sanskrit originals of the sutras or Tibetan translations. In that period, Tibet adopted a strict seclusionist policy and a considerable number of Japanese bonzes who attempted to penetrate into Tibet in the 1890s did not succeed. Many of them lost their lives in inner China or at the border of Tibet, at the hands of Tibetan border guards or bandits. The first Japanese to succeed in gaining entrance into Tibet was Ekai Kawaguchi, researcher in Buddhist sutras. He arrived in India first in 1897, and after a three-year preparation period in India and Nepal, in 1900 he arrived in Tibet, disguised to hide his Japanese identity. Once there, he proceeded to study sutras and also met the Dalai Lama of that time. After a year’s stay in Lhasa, his identity was discovered; but the Dalai Lama recognized the passionate sincerity of his intentions and presented him with a large number of sutras in aid of his research (Mibu, in the annotation to Kawaguchi’s account of the 1978 edition).

In 1903, he returned to Japan, where news of his adventurous exploits had preceded him, and was so popular that every day for about six months, the main newspapers of Tokyo and Osaka featured his dictated travel accounts, which were published in the following year in the form of a book in two volumes. Because the work had been dictated in the first place, it inevitably tended to be somewhat self-opinionated; but it was at the same time, a very precise and accurate account as would be testified by many travellers in Nepal after World War II. Later on, between 1904–15, he again stayed in India and then once more in Tibet, and after his return to Japan he dedicated himself to the study of Buddhist classics at the Oriental Library of Tokyo, until his death in 1945 (T. Kawaguchi, 1961).

Another large-scale Japanese expedition involving Buddhist studies was realised under the initiative of Kozui Otani, later head priest of the Nishi Honganji, an important temple associated with the Jodo Shin (Pure Land) sect. His sense of initiative was no doubt stimulated by archaeological discoveries, especially those involving Buddhist classics, or sutras in Sanskrit, in Central Asia. In 1902, after three years of study in England, he made his first research trip in Central Asia, India and Burma, accompanied by a number of members of his church. After his return to Japan, he found himself unable to go abroad again because he had been appointed head of the temple. But he arranged for the dispatch of a second expedition between 1908–09, which traversed the Gobi and Taklamakan deserts as far as the Palmir highlands, and later, between 1910–12, a third expedition that traveled from the Tien Shan range to Sinkiang and Tibet. In the second
and third expeditions, the bronze Zuicho Tachibana played an important role, and numerous reports were published by him and other members of his research party after 1910. Many objects discovered by them on their travels are now preserved at the Ryukoku University in Kyoto, while others are preserved at the National Central Museum at Seoul. Besides academic reports of archaeological discoveries of the Otani missions (Kagawa, 1915), many detailed travel accounts, containing numerous maps, figures and photos, by the mission members were published in the 1910s and 1920s (Tachibana, 1912; Uehara, 1937; Honda, 1994). Thus it followed that in the 1930s, many popular editions of the accounts, including editions for children, were re-edited and reprinted, indicating that under the strict censorship system of the 1930s, Japanese governmental and military authorities discovered the validity of diffusing geographical images in the form of the travel accounts of Buddhist priests. In the school textbooks of which the numbers of pages were scant, geographical knowledge brought back by these Buddhist expeditions did not appear directly. In publications for children issued between 1935 and 1945, the names of Kawaguchi, Otani and Tachibana were prominent, these persons being treated as heroic vanguards of the Japanese penetration into Inner Asia.

The stories of the travels involving Ekai Kawaguchi and the three-time Otani expeditions were immensely popular in Japan at that time. This popularity was naturally related to the interest of the Japanese people in the Asian continent. Where the Otani expeditions were concerned, the members might incur blame as imperialists only in the sense that they appropriated and brought back with them to Japan, a number of cultural and religious artifacts that in fact were part of the heritage of the countries where they were found. Nonetheless, the value of the Buddhist classical and archaeological studies carried out by the Ekai Kawaguchi and Kozui Otani expeditions cannot be denied.

Under imperialist Japan, not all researchers in the field of social sciences and the humanities contributed positively to the geographical knowledge of the outside world in line with the expansionist policies of militarist Japan or utilised, even passively, the facilities offered by military and governmental authorities of the time. Some researchers clearly criticised the oppression or inhumane treatment of Asian peoples under imperialist Japan. An example was Tadao Yanai-hara, professor of colonial policy at the Faculty of Economics at the Imperial University of Tokyo. He carried out field researches in Manchuria, Formosa and the Pacific islands, all of which were under Japanese rule, and on the basis of his class lectures, in which he examined the colonial situation of these lands, he published voluminous books on Formosa under Japanese imperial rule in 1929, on Manchuria under Japanese imperialist rule in 1934, and on the Pacific islands in 1935.

“The development of capitalism in Formosa has not only changed the social relationships from pre-capitalist ones to modern capitalist ones, but has also imposed a relationship between the colonisers, that is the Japanese, and the colonised, comprising the indigenous population; thus class relationships are intricately intermeshed with ethnic conflicts” (Yanaihara, 1929).

“In Manchuria, the military group did not want to limit their activities to military or defence spheres but always considered it their task to take on the leadership in political, economic or other spheres in that territory......The social base of the military group mainly consisted of the middle class stratum of the peasantry, small merchants and artisans......Because of their social base, the military group were rather critical with regard to the capitalist penetration into Manchuria, but in recent years, they have become more and more dependent on the South Manchurian Railway Company, the biggest joint stock corporation of Japan. In this way, despite the original intentions of the military group, the economy of Manchuria took on a more and more capitalist character” (Yanaihara, 1934).

Because of his extremely critical stance, his book on Formosa was immediately banned in Formosa, but was translated in three versions in Chinese and one version in Russian. Also, his books on the Pacific islands under Japanese mandate were translated and published in England in 1939. But already in 1937, he had been forced to resign from his professorship at the Imperial University of Tokyo (the present-day University of Tokyo) by reason of his anti-expansionist and anti-nationalistic ideology.7

V. School Textbooks

In 1872, the Education System Ordinance was promulgated, ushering in the compulsory educa-
tion system. Under this system, from the beginning, geography was considered one of the most important subjects in the primary school curriculum, along with history and the Japanese language, as a means towards the formation and enforcement on the people of a national identity (Takeuchi, 1987). For the majority of the Japanese, until the comparatively recent diffusion of information via the mass media, the main source of information pertaining to the outside world was the institutionalized education system; school textbooks were widely read not only by children but also by members of their families. In the year 1873, the Ministry of Education, in collaboration with the Tokyo Teachers' Training College, took on the task of compiling primary school textbooks; however, in the ministry's manual, we read that this was done merely to provide an example of what the style and content of textbooks ought to be. In the earliest days, therefore, the Ministry of Education had no intention of controlling or restricting the publishing of textbooks (Nakagawa, 1978). In 1880, however, the Ministry of Education announced, in the form of an Imperial Rescript, a range of criteria pertaining to the use of school textbooks, thus opening the way to ministerial control or censorship of school textbooks. We see that the increased government control over school textbooks paralleled increasing trends in Japan towards a colonialist or imperialist attitude.

The authors of geography textbooks before 1880 were either writers of numerous popular books on foreign countries, such as Yukichi Fukuzawa, or teachers of the Tokyo Teachers' Training College such as Torasaburo Wakabayashi. They were not trained in academic geography, and in order to write school textbooks, they mainly relied on geographical books published in Western countries as sources; rarely did they consult primary sources (the only exception was Yukichi Fukuzawa who visited Western countries several times, first as a member of the shogunate and then of the Meiji government). Common features of the geography textbook of Japan's pre-colonial period were 1) the relatively small number of pages dedicated to Asian countries in comparison with the number given over to Western countries, and 2) mention of the economic backwardness, despotism and political subordination to other countries that characterised Asian countries, in contrast with the economic and cultural prosperity of European countries and the United States. There we can discover the ideology behind these geography textbooks inspiring the Japanese people to make efforts to raise themselves to the level of the economic and cultural development of Western countries, thus detaching themselves from their fellow Asians who remained mired in backwardness, both economically and culturally. For instance, in Sekai Kunizukushi ("Countries of the World"), first published in 1869, and used as a geography textbook at primary schools during the first years of the compulsory education system, the author wrote that Europe was the centre of the world. He went on to state:

"Their industries are successful and their trade prosperous; their armies are strong and well-armed. They enjoy a peace of which they are proud. If we seek the source of all this prosperity, we find that it is the blossom on the branches of a tree, whose trunk is learning. Never envy the flowers which blossom on branches without a solid trunk. Devotion to learning may seem a diversion, but it is the only way to arrive at progress. Let us take this path so that we might see the Western flower in our country."

In the Shogaku Chishi ("Regional Geography for Primary Schools"), compiled by Mazuki Minami and published in 1880, the author states for Korea only that it was on a peninsula situated north of Tsushima Island, with a cold climate and large areas of infertile land, that the capital was Hanyang (the Chinese version of the name was used) and, though ruled by a king, (Korea) paid tribute to China. The length of the description of Korea is less than one-tenth of that devoted to the British Isles.

The descriptions in the geographic textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education during the 1880s and 90s are very different from the descriptions found in textbooks of the years preceding the 1880s and 90s. There was now a considerable increase in the proportion of pages dedicated to Asian countries, and we also discover certain descriptions that had never appeared at all in the textbooks of the pre-imperialist period. For the Korean kingdom, there is a detailed historical geographical description of the Japanese invasions in the ancient period and in the late sixteenth century; and as for China, there is mention of the importance of economic relationships between China and Japan, especially in connection with the export to Japan of fishery products, coal and copper. The four volumes comprising the Shogaku Chiri ("Geography for Primary Schools")
was probably compiled by graduates of the Higher Normal School\(^{10}\) of Tokyo and published by the Fukuusha Publishing Company in 1900, and approved by the Ministry of Education. In Volume II, on the geography of Japan, there is a chapter on Formosa (now Taiwan), which was ceded to Japan in consequence of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–5. We read that this island was rich in natural resources, and that these resources had come to be considered part of the wealth of imperial Japan. In the same textbook, in Volume III on foreign countries, we find the following description on Korea:

“Off the Western coast, there are many islands rich in maritime resources. The Koreans are not skilful in fishing, hence Japanese fishermen work there for large profits......It is a pity that the people are lazy and lacking in energy, and don’t work diligently and are satisfied with their poverty. There are not many people there who study the sciences of civilized countries, and in fact, railroads exist only in Seoul and Inchon”.

Here we can clearly observe that the indoctrination of the school children—the Japanese citizens of the future—was being implemented, in order to prepare them, so to speak, for the annexation of Korea in 1910.

In 1903, there occurred what was generally referred to as the “textbook scandal” (the bribery of school and education authorities of each prefecture by a number of publishers in order to influence the selection of primary school textbooks), which also involved geography textbooks, and the government took advantage of this affair to exclude the use of textbooks other than those written and published by the Ministry of Education. Between 1903 and 1944, geography textbooks (new works, not revisions of already existing texts) for primary schools were compiled six times, that is, in 1903, 1907–10, 1918–19, 1935–36, 1938–39, and 1943–44. The frequency of the compilations carried out after 1930 indicate the rapid changes in the international position of imperial Japan’s commitment to the so-called fifteen-year war after 1930.

The compilation of the first geography textbook of primary school level, authored by the Ministry of Education was a notable affair since it involved, for the first time, the collaboration of two academic geographers. Naomasa Yamasaki was professor of geography at the Tokyo Higher Normal School and Yasuoki Noguchi was professor of geography at the Tokyo Women’s Higher Normal School. Their contributions were remarkable, especially those to Vol. IV, which was dedicated to a systematic physical and human geography. The two volumes on Japan showed a distinct change from the textbooks published under the ministerial approval system: at the beginning of the description on Japan, it was strongly emphasised that Japan was a unique country reigned over for two thousand years by an unbroken line of sovereigns. This statement was repeated so often that it eventually became something of a watchword of imperialist Japan. The description went on to give details of the distribution of army divisional headquarters situated in various cities in Japan and other descriptions pertaining to the military geography of Japan, thus reflecting the importance of the national defence viewpoint at that period. Where descriptions of Asia as a whole were concerned, there was little difference from the later textbooks compiled under the ministerial approval system, such as the textbook published in 1900, and cited above.

In the governmental textbook published in 1907–10, the southern part of Sakhalin, Korea and the southern part of Liaotung peninsula were now included in the chapters on Japan, thus signifying Japan’s intentions with regard to northern expansionism. With regard to Manchuria, though the fact that it constituted the northeastern part of China was clearly stated, the geography of Manchuria was nonetheless treated in the same chapter as the southern part of Liaotung peninsula, a Japanese concession territory. The text states that before the Russo-Japanese war, the greater part of northeastern China had been under the influence of the Russian empire; and now Japan exercised a strong control over railways, mining and so on, in the southern part of Manchuria. In this particular textbook, world geography became very compact, so that the pages devoted to it constituted only about one-seventh of the total number of the pages. In the geography textbooks compiled in 1918, the proportion of world geography increased to one-sixth of the total number of pages. Moreover, the description of Asian countries, including Siberia, comprised almost half of the pages dealing with foreign countries. The geography of Manchuria now constituted part of the geography of China, but special mention was made of the closeness of the economic and political relationship between China and Japan. In 1914, Japan came to occupy the German concession of Chingtao and the surrounding area; hence in this textbook of 1918, we
find a description indicating that this former German concession was now under the jurisdiction of the Japanese authorities.

It is possible to discover a number of innovations in the geography textbooks compiled during 1930–31. For the first time, there were descriptions of the ethnic minorities of Japan. It was written that there were more than ninety million people holding Japanese nationality, of which about twenty million were Korean, and there were also four million three hundred thousand Chinese, and more than one hundred thousand aborigines in Formosa, and a small number of Ainu in Hokkaido and Sakhalin. It was also written that about six hundred million Japanese emigrants were living abroad. In the general description pertaining to Japan, we find a strong emphasis on the fact that the Japanese manufacturing industry was compelled to depend on imported raw material, especially iron ore, cotton and crude oil. Detailed lists of imports and exports denote the governmental intention of indoctrinating the future generation with the idea of the necessity of an industrialised Japan with regard to the foreign market, in aid of both import and export. In the section on the geography of Asian countries, the number of Japanese nationals working in each country is precisely detailed. This is in strong contrast to the chapters on North and South America; despite the large number of Japanese emigrants and citizens of Japanese origin living there, there is no mention of Japanese emigration to these two continents. The compilation of geography textbooks for primary schools in 1938–39 depicted the new situation caused by Japan's military invasion of Manchuria beginning in 1932, and of China beginning in 1937. Statistical data and situations pertaining to Asian countries and to the Japanese economy of the time were updated. We also note the increasing numbers of pictures of shrines on the pages dealing with the geography of Japan, reflecting the moral mobilisation of the Japanese people towards an ultra-national regime based on state Shintoism. Apart from shrines, we can see that most of the pictures and illustrations underline the modern and industrialised aspects of Japan, such as distribution maps of industrial areas and pictures of factories, the electrified railway system, commercial ports and so on.

The manipulation of school geography texts by the state culminated in the 1943–44 edition for 5th and 6th grades. The textbooks were banned in September 1945 by the Allied Occupation Forces. I myself can claim firsthand knowledge of these matters since I belong to the only generation that studied from this particular edition—this occurred in my 5th and 6th years at primary school during 1943–45. This edition in two volumes contained interesting and innovative elements, but in practice, they had little effect, not only because the two volumes were used for only one or two years, but also because in 1944 and 1945, classes were repeatedly interrupted by air raids as well as the mobilisation of pupils in order to perform war-work. In the description of Japan, there were more pictures showing an industrialised and modernised Japan, such as a newly-built underground railway system and hydro-electric power generation. There were as many as ten pictures of Shinto shrines (one shrine being in Korea for the purpose of imposing Shintoism on the Korean people), in contrast to only one picture of a Buddhist temple. The geography of foreign countries was limited to that of East and Southeast Asia and Oceania, namely the areas of the so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. At the beginning of the textbook, instead of the usual Mercator projection map, a specific projection map deliberately centred on Japan was shown, and her position was explained, geographically, to be “apt for extending her influence northward and southward”. Except for the emphasis on Japan's geopolitical advantages, there are neither environmentalist nor racial interpretations. But there was great admiration for Japanese achievements in colonial and occupied lands. For instance there were bird's-eye maps of the Changchun of around 1930 and 1940 showing numerous newly-built governmental offices. Place names given by the Japanese were used; for instance Shinkyo (New Capital) instead of Changchun and Shonan (Southern City of the Showa Era) instead of Singapore. Everywhere the activities of Japanese emigrants are exaggerated. For Hawaii we read:

“...in the island of Oahu, in the gentle valleys between volcanoes there are vast fertile fields where many Japanese live. In all the Hawaiian Islands there are 170,000 Japanese; this corresponds to 40% of the total population. Because many economic activities are in the hands of the Japanese, we can consider Hawaii as Japanese Islands”.

This is an example of the demagogic contents of the textbook. It is, of course, well-known that Japanese-Americans, including those from Hawaii, were amongst the bravest of American
soldiers in World War II, despite the fact that their families, unlike those of Italian- or German-Americans, suffered discriminatory treatment.

VI. Geographers and Constructing Geographical Knowledges

Within colonialist Japan, the formation of the Japanese people's geographical knowledge of the outside world was strongly influenced by Japan's international position and the governmental attitude towards foreign countries. The school textbooks, which were compiled under strict governmental supervision, very clearly reflected the changing Japanese position in the international sphere and the changing governmental policy.

The interest of the ordinary people of that time was closely interwoven with their experiences: first of all, there was the mobilisation of men as soldiers during wartime, giving rise to both new individual experiences and experiences involving relatives, neighbours and the community; secondly, there were the various new influences impinging on their daily lives, especially their economic lives, such as the appearance of products brought in from colonies—rice from Taiwan, sugar from Micronesia, and so on. It followed, therefore, that a large number of articles in the newspapers and other publications for general readers, very clearly reflected the military and economic expansion of imperial Japan. After World War I, there was an increase of immigrants from Korea, China, and Formosa, though the number of these people being relatively small, direct contact with foreign peoples remained somewhat limited. Besides, the majority of the Japanese people harboured, after the middle of the Meiji era, a strong, cultural superiority complex with regard to these peoples, who were dominated by the military and economic superiority of Japan. Only a few intellectuals were capable of reminding themselves of the fact that, historically, Japan owed a great deal to both Korea and China. This lack of awareness, on the part of the Japanese people, of their historical debt perhaps explains the scarcity of cultural interest in the colonial lands.

During the sixty years of imperialist Japanese predominance under consideration in this paper, constant and strong trends towards northern expansionism (hokushinron) were clearly indicated in newspaper articles and various other publications. This northern expansionism was in fact to be the dominant governmental policy starting from the early years of the Meiji Period and continuing until the time of the Sino-Japanese conflict in the 1930s. On the other hand, southern expansionism, while it existed, was subject to extreme fluctuations. The first time it became evident was in the second half of the 1880s, and it continued until the 1890s with the penetration of the Japanese economy, especially the private sector, into the Pacific and Southeast Asian areas. The second phase was in the late 1910s with the acquisition of the Pacific islands that had been in the possession of Germany during World War I. Many of the authors advocating the two-fold southern expansionism had no direct connection with the governmental authorities; they were more or less inspired by romantic ideas of the southern islands as utopian paradises. It was only in the mid 1930s, and in order to break the deadlock in the conflict with China, that Japan commenced the military penetration of Southeast Asia and the Pacific area, continuing until her defeat in World War II. These southward moves brought Japan into conflict with the allied countries of Europe and the United States, and southern expansionism became a matter of governmental policy. Even the Research Institute of the Southern Manchurian Railway Company, the vanguard institution in the construction of geographical knowledges pertaining to colonial lands, published numerous research reports and books for general readers on Southeast Asia, the Indian continent, and the Pacific area including Oceania. The military expansion of imperialist Japan over broader areas, naturally resulted in an enlargement of the geographical interest among ordinary people; consequently, during the 1930s, there was a remarkable increase in the number of publications dealing with these affairs.

The role of professional geographers in the construction of geographical knowledges concerning lands in which imperial Japan was interested was somewhat limited. The Ministry of Education engaged graduates of geography in order to conduct the compilation of school textbooks; the writers meantime remained anonymous. The number of geographers working in research institutes in Japanese colonies, such as the research section of the Southern Manchurian Railway Company, and in the intelligence service under the military authorities, was also very limited. When the power of the military in Japan was at its height in the first half of the 1940s, more than one hundred graduates in geography worked for the army and navy. Most of them were teachers at military academies and specialists in the cartographic and meteorological ser-
vices and did not contribute to the constructing of geographical knowledges. The number of geographers who joined the scientific expeditions facilitated by the imperial authorities, was also limited—there were less than ten of them in Manchuria and Mongolia, and just four in Southeast Asia. Except for one person, none of these geographers were to publish reports of any kind before 1945; the one exception to do so was Tadao Kano who carried out a great deal of research in the field, concerning the aborigines and indigenous villages of Taiwan, and published accounts of them during the second half of 1930s. However, he disappeared in Borneo in 1945, where he was conducting research under the orders of the military authorities, and all traces of him were lost. In this way, the contributions of geographers in the construction of geographical knowledges, in the period of Japanese imperialism, were a good deal less in comparison with those made by specialists in other disciplines, particularly researchers in Buddhist classics, whose studies involved them in travels and activities over several continents.

VII. Future Tasks

In this paper, I have examined published material, but by the end of World War II, the military authorities and diplomatic and other governmental authorities had accumulated a huge collection of geographical data related to the Asian continent, Southeast Asia and the Pacific area, through the efforts of the intelligence services attached to both the government and to semi-governmental organizations. Many of the military documents were destroyed in 1945 by the Japanese military authorities themselves. Until recently, numerous other documents remained classified and stayed buried in the governmental archives, but recently most of them have become accessible. On the other hand, in the archives of the United States, Russia and Mongolia, many documents have recently been found pertaining to the geographical information accumulated by colonial and military authorities of imperial Japan. Now there are prospects of studies based on these newly found and newly accessible data. The future tasks of studies in this area involve 1) the tracing of what kind of agencies and what modes of investigation and fact-gathering contributed to the accumulation of this information during Japan's imperialist era, 2) analysis of the mutual relationships between the scientific contributions of academicians in colonial lands and the activities of colonial and military authorities and 3) clarification of the channels through which the unpublished and classified, but mostly firsthand, information was passed, in order that it might influence the formation of the geographical knowledge of that period by means of publications for the general readers, information supplied to the mass media and material for school textbooks.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon my papers read at two symposia organized by the Commission on the History of Geographical Thought of the International Geographical Union and the International Union on Philosophy and History of Science at Zaragoza on 23–24 August 1993, on "Geography's Gatekeepers: Inner and Outer Voices" and at Prague on 20–21 August 1994, on "Text and Image: Constructing Regional Knowledges". This paper is scheduled to be included as a chapter in the book "Text and Image. Construction of Regional Knowledges" edited by Anne Buttimer and Stanley Brun. Because this journal, Regional Views, is aimed at domestic and international circulation within a group interested in regional studies, it has a limited circulation, with a small number of copies being printed; the author publishes this preliminary version with the permission of the above-mentioned editors. The author intends to revise the text and update the bibliography for the final definitive version to be used in the book. References to and quotations from this paper should be made in accordance with the final definitive version. The author is grateful to the editors, Anne Buttimer and Stanley Brun for their useful comments in the course of the preparation of this paper.

2. On this topic, detailed discussions have been presented by K. Nakagawa (Nakagawa, 1978). Also, I have previously discussed the changing character of geography textbooks in the compulsory education system (Takeuchi, 1987).

3. Many of the Japanese emigrants in the nineteenth century went abroad illegally, so it is difficult to know their exact number, especially where performing artists and prostitutes were concerned. From the police reports on stowaways discovered aboard ships...
The Formation of Geographical Images of the Outside World in Imperialist Japan (Takeuchi)

in Japanese and foreign ports around the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, it is estimated that at least 3,500 Japanese prostitutes were in Southeast Asia, and another 3,500 were in continental Asia (Morisaki, 1976; Mori, 1964). Other data consist of the report of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs cited by M. Kurasashi (1989, p. 73), according to which in 1910, among 86,449 Japanese women abroad, 19,097 were engaged in prostitution.

4. I have already discussed on the accounts of the Iwakura mission (Takeuchi, 1987). Detailed examinations have been made of the account written by Kume by A. Tanaka, editor of the Iwanami version. In recent years, many other studies have been published on Kume's account of the Iwakura Mission, the most exhaustive being that of N. Nishikawa and H. Matsumiya (eds.), 1995.

5. Before the publication of Enomoto's Siberian diary in 1943 from Tocho Shoin, the complete text of his diary had been printed and issued as public relations material at Dalian by the Southern Manchurian Railway. In this way, his Siberian diary was published only at the peak of Japanese expansionism in the Asian continent.

6. Regarding the geography and nationalist ideology of Shigetake Shiga, detailed biobibliographical studies were made by Minamoto (1984). I also have published two papers on this topic (Takeuchi, 1988 and 1994)

7. Research on traditional agrarian customs of Northeast China was undertaken immediately after the establishment of the research section of the company. The immediate purpose of the research was to facilitate the confiscation of land possessed by the Chinese for the development of railway networks and the construction of other facilities. The results of the research were published much later, in the 1930s, in nine volumes, and gained the appreciation of academic circles of that time as well as of today; but it is also necessary to underline the original purpose of the research (Yamada, 1977).

8. With the collapse of Manchukuo, documents and materials held by the research section of the South Manchurian Railway Company were either destroyed or were confiscated by the Russian or Chinese authorities. A series of source materials pertaining to the contemporary history of Japan (Gendaishi shiryo), published by Misuzu Shobo, dedicates two volumes to material pertaining to the Company (Vols. XXXI and XXXII). The material was found in Japan and Vol. XXXII contains several reports on economic and social conditions compiled by the Harbin branch of the company.

9. After World War II, Tadao Yanaihara regained his professorship at the University of Tokyo and was president of the university for six years, from 1952.

10. In this year, seven publishers issued geography textbooks for primary schools and only one textbook bore the name of the author who was a teacher at a Normal School. Already in the 1890s, textbooks of secondary schools generally bore the names of authors who were usually professors of geography of Higher Normal Schools, but in this period, no academic geographers committed themselves to the writing of primary school textbooks. In 1897, the sections of history and geography in Higher Normal Schools produced their first graduates. From the strong influence of Pestalozzian philosophy in this textbook, we may suppose that the author is a graduate of a Higher Normal School.
### Chronological Table

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