

## Japanese Tourism to Mukden, Nanjing, and Qufu, 1938–1943

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Imperial Japan's heritage landscape expanded along with the growing empire. This essay focuses on Japanese tourism to, as well as tourism planning and promotion for, three continental destinations, Mukden, Nanjing, and Qufu, from 1938 to 1943. Both governmental and civil actors rapidly exploited existing heritage from previous civilizations and also codified new heritage (e.g., battle sites) in order to promote tourism and also to propagate an edifying message about Japan's imperial project. Analysis of tourism to and tourism promotion for the above three locales also provides a window into Imperial Japan's complex relationship at the time with the overlapping heritages of Manchuria or Manchurian China (Mukden), contemporary China (Nanjing), and classical China (Qufu), as well as into Imperial Japan's self-appointed role as the guardian of Asian civilization.

**Keywords:** wartime Japanese tourism, Mukden, Nanjing, Qufu, Confucianism, modernity, Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB), heritage, empire, second Sino-Japanese War

### Introduction

The notion of tourism being vibrant in wartime might seem surprising, and yet the peak year for leisure travel in Imperial Japan was 1940, in other words in the middle of the war with China.<sup>1</sup> That year Japan celebrated the 2,600th anniversary of Emperor Jinmu's 神武天皇 establishment of the imperial dynasty, and the empire-wide festivities were the catalyst for an extra burst of travel.<sup>2</sup> But the tourism sector experienced an overall boom during the 1930s that continued into the early 1940s.<sup>3</sup>

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1 A growing body of literature evidences that far from being incompatible with war, tourism has often played an important role in the promotion of national ideologies in wartime, especially during the twentieth century. For the case of Spain, see Holguin 2005 and Basilio 2004. For the case of Italy, see De Grazia 1981, esp. pp. 180–84. For the case of Nazi Germany, see Semmens 2005 and Baranowski 2004.

2 Ruoff 2010, esp. Ch. 3.

3 Takaoka 1986, pp. 9–10. In this essay, the historian Takaoka points out the seeming contradiction that tourism increased even as authoritarianism grew stronger through the 1930s.

For the travel sector, the outbreak of full-fledged war between Japan and China in July 1937 represented only a short-lived interruption to an upward trend, which reassumed its ascent by 1938. In fact, the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), specifically victories by the Imperial Military on the continent, expanded the circuit of exciting heritage destinations available to leisure travelers, as had Japan's previous wars.<sup>4</sup> The tourists often followed with surprising rapidity in the footsteps of the soldiers, who were also sightseers in a foreign land.

Each time the empire expanded, especially if through battle, or each time something significant happened in the colonies, Imperial Japan's heritage landscape expanded as well.<sup>5</sup> For this essay, the term "heritage landscape" refers to sites (many man-made or at least man-mediated) and to peoples throughout the empire used to define the history and identity not only of Imperial Japan, but also of Asian civilization more generally.<sup>6</sup> Heritage tourism to the imperium played a role in the broader project of building, maintaining, and justifying an empire. Here I adopt a more expansive definition of empire to include Manchukuo, other Japanese puppet states, and additional areas of China under Japanese control during the period covered by this essay.

For example, battle sites and memorial monuments to fallen soldiers located outside of Japan proper (*naichi* 内地), but within the empire, were popular attractions for Japanese tourists. Visits to these and other sites gave Japanese a sense of personal attachment to the imperium. Battle sites and memorial monuments in particular served as reminders that the imperial project, with its vast territory, diverse (and backward) peoples, and delightful vestiges of previous civilizations, had come at a price, and that the maintenance and expansion of the empire required ongoing sacrifice. Tourism as a pedagogical means to help Japanese understand the nature as well as the costs and benefits of the imperial project is one theme here.

This essay analyzes tourism to and tourism promotion for three continental destinations, Mukden (present-day Shenyang), Nanjing, and Qufu, during the period just following the start of the second Sino-Japanese War until 1943. In mid 1942, the war in the Pacific turned against Japan, causing leisure travel to drop off precipitously in Japan proper,

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4 This process began with the earliest days of the empire. Here I cite just two early examples from among several. In the case of Taiwan, sites related to Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa 北白川宮能久親王, who had led the campaign against local resistance to Japan's seizure of Taiwan following Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 only to die (of malaria) during the operation, became attractions visited by Japanese tourists. Even more significantly, in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), battle sites from that war, most notably Port Arthur, almost overnight became destinations for Japanese field trips and soon thereafter for tourists. For the case of Kitashirakawa, see McDonald 2011, esp. pp. 182–84. For sites related to the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria, see Gao 2010.

5 A comprehensive study of wartime tourism, especially heritage tourism, throughout the empire of Japan (including Japan proper), with a particular focus on travel by imperial subjects (rather than on foreigners visiting the empire of Japan, although that is part of the overall story), would make a significant contribution to our understanding of the modern history of Japan. Although there is a growing body of literature on intra-empire tourism by imperial subjects, it remains somewhat localized (as is this essay). For Japan proper, see Takaoka 1986; Takagi 1999; and Ruoff 2010, esp. Ch. 3. For Manchuria, see Kawamura 1998; Gao 2002; Ruoff 2010, esp. Ch. 5. For Korea, see Pai 2011 and 2013; and Ruoff 2010, esp. Ch. 4. For Taiwan, see Soyama 2003; Taylor 2004; Barclay 2010; Tierney 2010; and Allen 2012. McDonald 2011 is far more empire-wide in her focus, and one anticipates the publication of her dissertation as a book. One project that already provides an empire-wide perspective on tourism is the online East Asia Image Collections, a digital collection of thousands of images, mostly postcards, from the imperial era, edited by Professor Paul Barclay of Lafayette College. See <http://digital.lafayette.edu/collections/eastasia>.

6 Natural landscapes should be included in a broader definition of national heritage landscape, but that is a subject for a different essay.

but it continued somewhat longer in areas under Japanese control outside of Japan proper. The above three locales provide a window into Japan's relationship at the time with the overlapping heritages of Manchuria or Manchurian China (Mukden), contemporary China (Nanjing), and classical China (Qufu). Today, all of these sites are located in China, but during the period addressed in this essay, they were under de facto Japanese control.

At the time of the second Sino-Japanese War, these destinations were at different stages of development in terms of their tourism infrastructure and in their ability to draw tourists. This differentiation offers insights into wartime practices of attracting and catering to tourists, as well as into the contemporary discourse, sometimes ambitious indeed, about tourism promotion. Mukden, with its advanced infrastructure, convenient location, and numerous and diverse sights, attracted large numbers of tourists, and provides a standard by which to measure efforts to develop tourism in Nanjing and Qufu.

After the Imperial Military captured Nanjing in December 1937, the “tourism world” worked to make the city appealing to Japanese as a destination not only for must-see sites related to the recent battle, but also for its ancient Chinese relics, an effort that met with some success in subsequent years.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, Qufu, in spite of potentially valuable tourism resources, remained somewhat peripheral, both to Chinese and to Japanese tourists. This site, central to the origins of Confucianism, did however attract interest from small numbers of scholars and other individuals with a particularly strong interest in East Asian history, as well as from Japanese soldiers stationed in the area. In order to place Qufu squarely on the heritage travel circuit for Japanese and especially for Chinese, one Japanese commentator put forth a sweeping plan in mid 1942 to transform this area so closely linked to Confucius 孔子 (551–479 B.C.) and Mencius 孟子 (372–289 B.C.) into a destination every bit as significant and popular in China as were the Ise shrines in Japan. Although this plan remained unrealized at the time that Imperial Japan collapsed in 1945, it helps us to understand the expansive discourse about tourism development and promotion that continued even in wartime.

## 1) Mukden

Mukden offered many attractions to tourists. It was the site of the last major land battle of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). It was also in Mukden that what came to be known as the Manchurian incident (1931) had started, with fighting between the Imperial Japanese Army and Chinese forces under Zhang Xueliang 張學良 (1901–2001). Mukden thus included old and new sites of victory in battle by Japanese forces, and both were popular attractions for tourists. By April 1939, things to see in Mukden included the newly opened Memorial Hall (museum) in Commemoration of the Manchurian incident.

But the appeal of Mukden went beyond battle sites. The Manchu-ruled Qing dynasty (1644–1912) had maintained Mukden as a “rear capital” and many vestiges of that era survived, including the city wall and imperial tombs. (An example of the latter appears in

<sup>7</sup> By 1940, the tourism world for any given locality, in addition to the local Japan Tourist Bureau office, typically included sections within prefectural and local governmental bodies (often both) or within the colonial bureaucracy, hybrid governmental/civil organizations combining forces to attract tourists, commercial airlines, railways, steamship companies, tour bus companies, innkeepers, restaurateurs, and brothel owners, among others. Outside of Japan proper, the tourism world almost always included representatives from the local colonized population (e.g., innkeepers), but in more settled areas of the empire Japanese interests tended to be dominant or at least predominant.

the reproduction below [Figure 1] of a contemporary Japanese postcard.) These ancient sites appealed to Japanese tourists in search of something authentic yet different from Japanese norms. The notion of authenticity was and is central to tourism, and yet there was no widely accepted definition of authenticity during the period covered by this article (nor is there today for that matter). These ancient sites also speak to another theme central to this essay, namely tourism's role in both consolidating and highlighting Imperial Japan's self-appointed role as the guardian of Asian civilization.

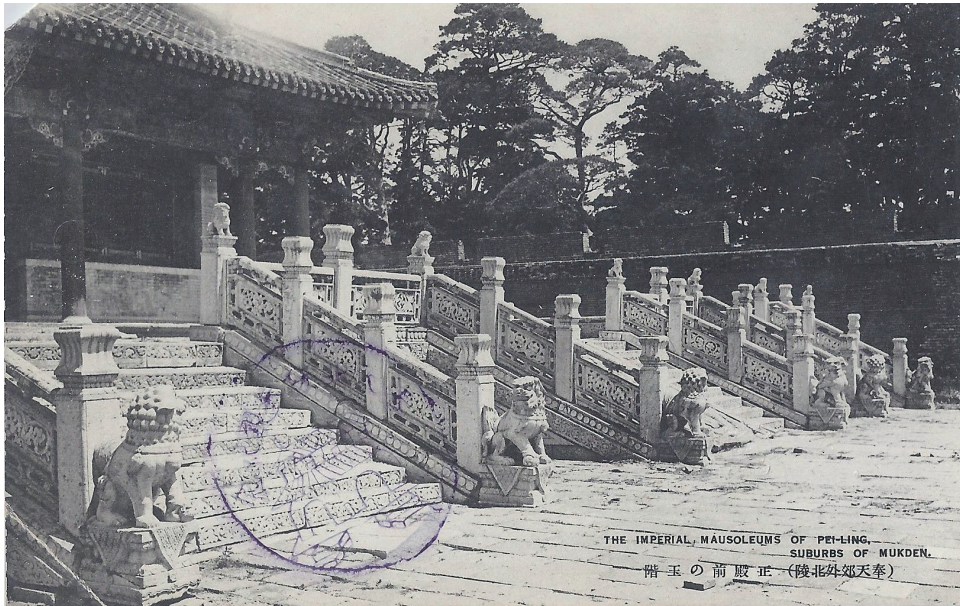


Figure 1

Almost all Japanese leisure travelers who went to Mukden also toured other areas in Manchuria, China, and Korea. Various permutations of continental tours, Korea and Manchuria, Manchuria and North China, Korea, Manchuria and North China, or Korea, Manchuria, and China (mostly coastal China), were more the norm by the late 1930s than were tours of these individual areas, but Manchuria was particularly popular. Individuals who left travelogues of their continental tours often singled out Mukden for having more of a “native flavor” than other urban areas in Manchuria such as Dairen 大連 (Dalian) and Shinkyō 新京 (present-day Changchun).<sup>8</sup>

It is sometimes difficult to determine exactly what Japanese meant when they employed the term “native” to describe local characteristics in their travels throughout the empire, and this was especially true in the case of Northeast China (Manchuria). Were they referring to Manchu, Mongolian, or Han Chinese influences, or to hybrid styles that were different

<sup>8</sup> For example, a student from the Nara Advanced Teachers College for Women (Nara Joshi Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 奈良女子高等師範学校) favorably contrasted Mukden's local, Manchurian atmosphere with that of Dairen (Dalian) in her 1939 account of an extensive continental field trip in which she participated. Her account has been published anonymously online. See <http://www.nara-wu.ac.jp/nensi/96.htm>.

from those of Japan in any case? For the first two centuries of the Qing dynasty, the Manchu rulers of China successfully forbade migration to Manchuria by Han Chinese. But what followed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a massive migration into the area that included millions of Han Chinese, further hybridizing the local cultural terrain in ways that belied political boundaries of the time that separated Manchukuo from the rest of China.

Thus, in reference to memoirs left by wartime Japanese tourists but also in a broader sense, the term “native” suffers from a vexing vagueness similar to the concept of authenticity. But what is clear is that by the late 1930s the multicultural aspects of the empire were featured prominently on the tourist landscape. After all, most Japanese tourists were in search of something different from their daily environs in Japan proper, or from the Japanese enclaves that they had established in the colonies. At the same time, they were happy to take advantage of modern conveniences while exploring exotic attractions.

Mukden, a thriving metropolis of approximately one million residents in 1940, offered many contemporary amenities. Diverse lodging options were available, ranging from the most modern of hotels to Japanese-style inns. Visitors could avail themselves of a wide variety of dining options, ranging from Japanese to Chinese to Russian. Located in the city were multiple movie theaters and also a massive stadium that hosted various events, especially sports contests. The advertisements in one travel guide introduce some of the diverse businesses in Mukden with a vested interest in inbound travelers: Olympic Restaurant (Manager: George D. Danilov); Ginei Theater, which featured “All Foreign Pictures” and “Latest World News Reels”; Grand Sokoku Cafes;<sup>9</sup> Hotel “Keining”; and Minakai Department Store.<sup>10</sup>

The real estate maxim that “location is everything” also applies to attracting tourists. Mukden was a convenient destination. It served as an axis for much of the railway system in Manchuria, itself connected to the railway systems of Korea and China. Additionally, multiple daily flights to and from Dairen (Dalian), Shinkyō (Changchun), and Beijing were available, as an advertisement commissioned by Manchurian Airlines for the 1939 *Hōten kankō annai* 奉天観光案内 (Tourism Guide to Mukden) informs us.<sup>11</sup> Tourists were additional customers on a vast empire-wide transportation system that had dual civilian and military uses. Through their fares, tourists helped support this transportation system on which Imperial Japan’s control over its empire substantially depended, thus helping to underwrite the costs of the imperium.

Mukden enjoyed additional advantages in attracting tourists that explain why the number of visitors to this city eclipsed the number of leisure travelers who went to Nanjing or to Qufu. The fact that a branch office of the Japan Tourist Bureau ジャパン・ツーリスト・

9 The historian Kawamura Minato 川村湊 has provided a snapshot of the extensive café scene in Mukden and the hostesses associated with it. See Kawamura 1998, pp. 112–13.

10 The Manchurian Daily News 1941, back section (no page numbers). This English-language guidebook is an almost exact translation of the Japanese-language *Manshū no tabi* 満州の旅, published by the same Manchurian Daily News in 1940.

11 Hōten Kōtsū Kabushiki Gaisha 1939. By 1940, it was possible to take a commercial flight, directly or with connections depending on one’s destination, to virtually every city of significance within the empire of Japan. The 1941 *Tōyō nenkan* 東洋年鑑, or Far East Yearbook, includes a chart showing commercial air routes, which were extensive, in the empire of Japan (including China and Manchuria) in December 1940. A reproduction of this chart appears in Ruoff 2010, p. 114.

ビューロー (JTB) charged with promoting tourism throughout Manchuria, China, and also Korea was located there meant that considerable expertise on promotion was on hand. It was the JTB Mukden branch office that published *Kankō tōa* 観光東亞 (Tourism in East Asia), a forum for both the promotion and study of tourism.

Established as a half-official, half-private organization in 1912, the JTB's original focus was attracting foreign tourists to Japan as a means of accumulating foreign currency. This remained one of the JTB's goals during the period covered in this article, but the JTB was also concerned to promote Japanese culture and the correctness of Japan's policies. By the late 1930s, the JTB operated an empire-wide network of offices, and the half-official and half-private equation typically did not apply to offices outside of Japan proper, which tended to be far more official than private.<sup>12</sup> By this period, the number of Japanese traveling the empire (including Japan proper) vastly outnumbered inbound foreign guests. The JTB continued to shape the messages received both by foreigners and Japanese during their travels within the empire, especially about Japan's continental policies.

Once a tourist had reached Mukden or any urban destination within the empire of Japan, the local, guided bus tour offered a convenient and inexpensive means by which to take in the local attractions. Tourists inclined to take a bus tour of Mukden could choose between two options: the half-day course which was on offer from 1 March to 30 November at 1.5 yen per adult with half price for children, and the full-day course available from April to November at 2.2 yen per adult with half price for children, offered by the Mukden Transportation Company (Hōten Kōtsū Kabushiki Gaisha 奉天交通株式会社).

Both tours began at the Mukden Station, stopped at the Mukden chūreitō 奉天忠靈塔 (Memorial Monument for Japanese Warriors), Tungshangtung Welfare Center 同善堂, Hokuryō 北陵 (North Mausoleum), Hokutō 北塔 (North Tower; see the reproduction of a photo (Figure 2) from a 1939 guide to bus tours in Manchuria [*Manshū no kankō basu annai* 満州の観光バス案内] that shows a Japanese tourist in front of the North Tower), Ryūjōkō 柳条溝, Hokudaiei 北大営 (North Barracks), Jōnai 城内 (Walled Town), and the Hōten Jinja 奉天神社 (Mukden [Shinto] shrine). The full-day tour, which included time for lunch, also stopped at the Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 国立博物館 (State Museum), Tenseibyō



Figure 2

12 The Ministry of Railways was the main governmental organ involved, and the key private enterprises included railway companies, steamship companies, elite hotels, and department stores. See Nakamura 2006, esp. p 117, and pp. 120–21. Professor Hara Takeshi kindly brought this essay to my attention.

天齊廟, the Tetsuro Sōkyoku 鐵路總局 (General Directorate of Railways; from 1936 on, this coordinated not only all railways in Manchuria but also worked to promote general industrial development), Tetsusei kōgyō chiku 鐵西工業地区 (the Tetsusei Industrial District which was inaugurated in 1935), and the Nanbu jūtakugai 南部住宅街 (Nanbu Residential Quarter).<sup>13</sup>

Concrete statistics that give a sense of the vibrancy of tourism to Mukden are available in a manner not matched for Nanjing and Qufu. Passengers on the bus tours of Mukden steadily increased, from 14,148 (1938) to 35,130 (1939) to 62,535 (1940—the peak year for travel in Imperial Japan), before dropping back to slightly over 49,000 for 1941. The statistics, which appear to be amalgamated for the half- and full-day tours, also indicate that many tourists hired automobiles from the Mukden Transportation Company for the purpose of sightseeing. It was certainly possible to rent bicycles and rickshaws to tour the city as well.<sup>14</sup>

The first stop on most bus tours throughout the empire was typically the most important local Shinto shrine, which in the cases of shrines outside of Japan proper almost always enshrined Amaterasu, (mythical) progenitor of the imperial dynasty, and Emperor Meiji (r. 1868–1912), in whose name Japan's modern empire was established. Although not the first stop on the bus tour of Mukden, the Mukden shrine, at which Amaterasu and Emperor Meiji were both enshrined, was said to be one of the most impressive outside of Japan proper. In his 1942 account of continental travels, the historian Nakamura Kōya 中村孝也 (1885–1970), professor at Tōkyō Imperial University, lauded the magnificence of the Mukden shrine. Nakamura was on the mark in pointing out, in reference to Shinto shrines outside of Japan proper, that there was a close correlation between the scope and elegance of the local shrine and the local Japanese community's size and also the extent to which it was settled.<sup>15</sup>

While in Mukden, Nakamura was hosted by a former student he had taught at university who worked for the local JTB branch office. They took in the sights by automobile. Nakamura recorded in his travelogue how, upon seeing the South Gate to Mukden's walled city, he was impressed that it remained exactly as it was portrayed in the painting of General Ōyama Iwao 大山巖 (1842–1916) and his forces entering the city on 10 March



Figure 3

13 The Manchurian Daily News 1941, pp. 48–49.

14 *Manshi ryokō nenkan* 1944, p. 415.

15 Nakamura 1942, p. 420.

1905, after having overcome the Russian defenses, that was on display at the Meiji Jingū Seitoku Kinen Kaigakan 明治神宮聖徳記念絵画館 (Meiji Shrine Memorial Art Gallery).<sup>16</sup> This art gallery exhibited eighty paintings that celebrated seminal national moments during the reign of Emperor Meiji, and the one of General Ōyama's triumphant entry into Mukden is reproduced with the permission of Meiji shrine (Figure 3).

Nakamura devoted most of the rest of his account of visiting Mukden to the Tungshangtung, a municipal welfare institution that offered diverse programs that ameliorated the lives of thousands of the most needy in Mukden, and to the architecture and other characteristics of the North Mausoleum. Nakamura identified something that was both local and contemporary, the Tungshangtung, as praiseworthy, but the other landmarks he referenced symbolized the changing of the civilizational guard. The Mukden shrine represented the expansionist dynamism of Imperial Japan, whereas the city's wall, gates, and the North Mausoleum were relics of the previous dominant civilization.

In contrast to Nakamura, Sekiuchi Shōichi 関内正一 (1897–1962), who visited Mukden in July 1939 as part of month-long tour of Manchuria and China that focused on battle sites, devoted little ink and space to native features. Sekiuchi comes across in his travelogue as gleeful at the opportunity presented to him at each new memorial and battle site he visited to sing the praises of his country's military, to trumpet Japan's righteousness, and to repeat the official Japanese interpretation of every controversy between Japan and China. Sekiuchi's blatantly patriotic tone perhaps derived from his position as a member of the Fukushima Prefectural Assembly. In any case, he was a poster child for the official line that Japan's blood sacrifices justified its special interests on the continent.

Sekiuchi began his account of visiting Mukden by nationalizing the city. He asserted that because Mukden was the site of a key battle in the Russo-Japanese War and also of the Manchurian incident, it would be commemorated for eternity in glorious accounts of the national history.<sup>17</sup> Sekiuchi wrote of enjoying the bus tour. The precision with which he recounted details of various battles that took place in Mukden almost surely derived from what he learned from the guide's commentary (although he did not reference the guide's remarks about battle sites in his travelogue) and/or from supplementary accounts such as those available in the comprehensive 1939 guidebook, *Manshū senseki junrei* 満州戦蹟巡礼 (Pilgrimage to Battle Sites in Manchuria), that he consulted during his visit or after returning home when he was finalizing his travelogue. As the historian Gao Yuan has shown, the Japanese Kwantung Army 関東軍 did not leave the guide's commentary about sacred battle sites to chance. Rather, the Kwantung Army supplied to local transportation companies that offered bus tours patriotic scripts about local sites that were in essence performed by the guides, often with great emotional effect on participants.<sup>18</sup>

As a participant on the bus tour, Sekiuchi's exploration of Mukden began with "worship" at the Memorial Monument for Japanese Warriors, where a commemorative photo was taken. Memorial monuments to fallen Japanese soldiers of an imposing nature (typically in their height, but sometimes also in their breadth) dotted Manchuria, and were prominent stops on

16 Nakamura 1942, p. 422. See Meiji Jingū Gaien 1999, p. 150 for the painting. For an analysis of the significance of the Meiji Shrine Art Gallery and its eighty paintings in shaping popular historical consciousness, see Imaizumi 2011.

17 Sekiuchi 1940, p. 35.

18 Gao 2002, esp. pp. 232–33.



the local bus tours. Sekiuchi wrote reverently about seeing the North Mausoleum, but only because it had been the site during the Russo-Japanese War of a ferocious battle between Russian defenders and Japanese troops under the command of General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1849–1912). The Russo-Japanese War had largely been fought over which of these two countries would control Korea. After the Manchurian incident, however, Japanese sacrifices in the war against Russia came to be used to justify Japan's interests in Manchuria.<sup>19</sup>

Sekiuchi wrote of his excitement about seeing firsthand the precise spot known as Ryūjōkō where Chinese troops had supposedly blown up a stretch of the South Manchurian Railway thus instigating the Manchurian incident (the Kwantung Army staged the explosion). Sekiuchi regurgitated the official Japanese interpretation of the happenings at Ryūjōkō, a storyline featured in every imaginable media at the time, including postcards.<sup>20</sup> Sekiuchi also wrote with delight about his visit to the North Barracks. There, in response to the putative Chinese provocation, Japanese troops had attacked and overcome a local garrison of Chinese troops under the command of the warlord Zhang.<sup>21</sup>

Not all Japanese tourists to Mukden shared Sekiuchi's fascination with battle sites. The film critic Imamura Taihei 今村太平 (1911–86) toured Mukden by automobile and also on foot in October 1940, and he was most impressed with relics from the previous civilization. The North Mausoleum led him to conclude, "The Qing dynasty, which lost to Japan [in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95], also once had a glorious era."<sup>22</sup> He compared the North Mausoleum's elegance to the drab modern concrete buildings constructed by Japanese throughout Manchuria, including that of a temple in Fūshùn 撫順 he had visited the day before and the hotel where he had spent the previous night. Imamura's contrasting of his country's meager architectural imprint with the magnificent vestiges of what came before raises a question about the potential risks of preserving relics of the previous civilization. If surviving relics hinted that contemporary Japan did not measure up to what came before, the imperial project came across in less than a favorable manner. Imamura may have been somewhat unusual in his strong preference for aesthetics over, for example, the marvels of modernity such as the super fast and convenient train network in Manchuria. But it is also possible that the trappings of modernity, while comforting, may not have been so interesting to tourists in search of something different.

After dinner on his day of sightseeing in Mukden, Imamura strolled about the Japanese section of the city, but gradually became bored because "it did not give him the feeling of being in Mukden."<sup>23</sup> But not all of the native features appealed to Imamura. He recorded in his travelogue that, even just in passing by car near to a native residential area close to the city wall, he noticed a strong and unpleasant odor.<sup>24</sup>

Although Imamura, Sekiuchi, and Nakamura differed in what they highlighted about their visits to Mukden, they were representative of the fact that almost all Japanese tourists

19 Young 1998, esp. pp. 89–92.

20 For one such postcard, see [http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5235&CISOBX=1&REC=2](http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5235&CISOBX=1&REC=2).

21 Sekiuchi 1940, pp. 38–40. Sekiuchi remarked with satisfaction that a local university that Zhang had established with the purpose, according to Sekiuchi, of teaching 1,200 men and women anti-Japanese sentiments, now lay in "ruins" (*haikyo*).

22 Imamura 1991 (1941), p. 102.

23 Imamura 1991 (1941), p. 108.

24 Imamura 1991 (1941), p. 104.

who visited areas outside of Japan proper were middle class and above. Imperial Japan's poor went beyond Japan proper as settlers (migrants) or as soldiers, not as tourists. The other significant contingent of Japanese visitors to the empire was student groups, whose economic class is slightly more difficult to fathom, although they were unlikely to be from poor families.

A student from the Nara Joshi Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 奈良女子高等師範学校 (Nara Advanced Teachers College for Women), who visited Mukden in 1939 as part of a continental field trip with classmates, provided one of the more detailed accounts by a wartime Japanese visitor to that city.<sup>25</sup> During a daylong tour by automobile that featured ongoing commentary by a guide working for the JTB, this student managed to take in most of the sights and to perform the typical rituals expected of visitors, including worship at the Memorial Monument for Japanese Warriors. This student wrote of her frustration at having only twenty-five minutes to investigate the State Museum (a national museum of Manchukuo), which she described as marvelous.<sup>26</sup> This serves as a caution when drawing highly nuanced conclusions about the way that tourists interpret what they see, for in many cases the time spent at such and such a site is cursory.

As the result of her twenty-five minutes at the State Museum, could this student have interpreted it as an example of efforts by Japanese to serve as the guardians of Asian civilization? She does not indicate whether or not she interpreted the museum along those lines, although she understood the museum's holdings to be excellent historic examples of local art (and that many of the pieces dated from the Qing era). In his 1904 *Ideals of the East*, Okakura Tenshin (Kakuzō) 岡倉天心 (1862–1913) assigned to Japan the role of caretaker of Asian civilization. He termed his country the “museum of Asiatic civilization.” Okakura was active in arranging the transfer of numerous works of art previously held in private collections (including at temples and other religious sites) to museums, many newly built. It still seems implausible that he foresaw that, as the empire expanded, Japanese authorities would collect and store various relics of the local civilization in newly constructed museums in the colonies. But that is what subsequently happened.

The history of the State Museum in Mukden diverges slightly from the typical storyline of how most museums within Japan's empire were established, for its holdings originated with a local Chinese governor who collected many fine examples of Manchu and Mongolian art. Only later was it turned into a government museum. The fact that this museum displayed mostly examples of Manchu and Mongolian art rather than Han Chinese ones meant that the museum conveniently supported the narrative, stressed by many Japanese especially after the Manchurian incident, that historically Manchuria had not been part of China. This was one area in which the message that tourists encountered in Manchuria differed from that in the rest of China. Such a claim legitimized the creation of the (supposedly) independent state of Manchukuo.<sup>27</sup>

25 Osa Shizue has analyzed the practice and purpose of overseas school field trips during the imperial era, especially in the 1930s, and part of her overall analysis focuses on the experiences of students from the Nara Advanced Teachers College for Women. See Osa 2007.

26 Her account has been published anonymously online. See <http://www.nara-wu.ac.jp/nensi/96.htm>. For a contemporary postcard of the State Museum, see [http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5106&CISOBX=1&REC=16](http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5106&CISOBX=1&REC=16).

27 On the use of history in competing claims for sovereignty over Manchuria, see Duara 2003, esp. pp. 56–58.

By the late 1930s, the State Museum in Mukden was but another of the many colonial museums throughout the empire of Japan, from Taipei to Seoul to Toyohara 豊原 in Karafuto, devoted to classifying, displaying, and defining the local culture. The empire of Japan, in a more literal manner than Okakura perhaps intended, did develop into a “museum of Asiatic civilization.” Such museums became attractions for the many tourists who explored Mukden and other imperial destinations, and suggested that Imperial Japan, self-appointed leader of Asia, was a responsible overseer in preserving Asian heritage for posterity.

## 2) Nanjing

More recent victories by the Imperial Military on the continent produced new heritage, and various agents promptly went into action to transform this heritage into sites that could be visited by leisure travelers as well as to market these sites as worth seeing. Consider the case of Nanjing, which came under Japanese jurisdiction after the Imperial Military captured it in December 1937. For several weeks after the formal capture of the city, the Imperial Military committed numerous atrocities in what came to be known as the Rape of Nanjing. At the time, however, for most Japanese Nanjing represented the site of a heroic victory by their armed forces, a positive heritage site in other words.

The Mukden branch office of the JTB and the local tourism world worked to transform post-battle Nanjing into an appealing destination. Battle sites were popular attractions on the continent, and one competitive edge that Nanjing enjoyed was that the smoke had only recently cleared from sites of victory by the Imperial Military there, lending it an exciting aura. Nanjing never came to rival Kyongju 慶州, Mukden, Port Arthur, Seoul, Shanghai, and other more established continental destinations in terms of popularity, but it serves as an interesting case study about the process and rapidity with which new heritage sites in the empire were codified and exploited for their tourism potential, even while Japan was engaged in an all-out war.

At least one Japanese tourist left an account of a visit to Nanjing that took place only shortly after the area had been pacified. Noyori Hideichi 野依秀市 (1885–1968) provided a perspective on the state of Nanjing in April 1938, when it was not necessarily easy for the average visitor to take in the sights, lodge, eat, and, in a general sense, enjoy a relaxing and pleasant visit. In other words, his account represents a benchmark to measure the development of Nanjing as a tourist destination thereafter.

Nanjing already had significant tourism infrastructure before the battle for the city, some of which survived the conflict only to come under the control of the Imperial Military. The historian Liping Wang has shown that the tourism sector developed dramatically in China in the 1920s, as was the case throughout the empire of Japan and in many other countries too during that decade.<sup>28</sup> The emergence of mass tourism among Chinese increased the number of domestic visitors to Nanjing, which was also a destination for some Japanese. These included the novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 (1886–1965), who apparently went on a brothel binge there during a visit in 1918.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Wang 1999.

<sup>29</sup> Liu 2012, p. 147.

Our post-battle visitor Noyori arrived in Nanjing in the evening of 11 April 1938 by rail, which did not seem to have been disrupted by the recent fighting. But Noyori's initial experience of trying to lodge at the best Japanese-style inn, and, as it turned out, at any private inn at all, proved unsuccessful. The Japanese military had commandeered all the rooms in the best inn, whether or not they were being used on any given night. Noyori's interactions with the military, both on the day of his arrival and afterwards, remind us that various imperial projects involving myriad actors operated sometimes in tension and sometimes synergistically.

Compounding Noyori's dilemma the night he arrived in Nanjing was the fact that a group from Japan was occupying the next best inn, suggesting that he was not the only civilian visitor. Permission from the military was required to stay anywhere in Nanjing at the time, and the soldier helping Noyori finally arranged for him to stay in something along the lines of barracks, albeit for free, and to receive military rations for his meals. The loosening of military controls over the use of lodgings and other infrastructure must have contributed to the rehabilitation of Nanjing as a tourist destination.

Noyori's luck had improved by the next morning. What initially had seemed like a hassle, namely having to deal with representatives of the military for every detail of the visit, turned positive. A certain Colonel Horikawa 堀川 (no first name provided) from the Kenpeitai 憲兵隊, or Military Police Corps, intervened to host Noyori's visit in a manner that made it possible for him to visit the sights with a convenience otherwise unthinkable. Noyori was a prominent figure in the area of print media, and also had previously served two terms in the Lower House of the Diet (Japan's parliament). Colonel Horikawa provided Noyori with a car, driver, and a soldier as a guide. According to Noyori, it would have been impossible to hire a car at that time, at any price. Colonel Horikawa's firsthand stories of the fall of Nanjing also made Noyori's visit especially exciting.

Noyori made the rounds of some of the typical attractions, such as Purple Mountain which is the site of Ming era (1368–1644) imperial tombs and also of Sun Yat-sen's 孫中山 (1866–1925) mausoleum, in a city that, as a JTB travel guide issued the next year would stress, had been the site of nine dynasties in China's history and the residence of forty five emperors, many of whom were buried there.<sup>30</sup> Noyori was impressed by some of the vestiges of the Ming dynasty, but underwhelmed by more recent examples of architecture dating from efforts by Jiang Jieshi's 蒋介石 (1887–1975) Guomindang 中国国民党, or Nationalist Party, to transform the city into a modern capital featuring examples of architecture that were modern and yet Chinese in style.<sup>31</sup> In the eyes of many Japanese during this period, contemporary China rarely measured up to classical China.

Noyori commented that the modern buildings constructed by the Guomindang in the eleven years that it used the city as the capital lacked in comparison to what had been constructed in Shinkyō, the capital city of Manchukuo, in only six years. However, opinions about the new metropolis of Shinkyō also varied. The professional travel writer Gotō Asatarō 後藤朝太郎 (1881–1945), in a 1938 travel guide to China geared toward a mass audience, wrote disparagingly about "Shinkyō's American-style architecture that reeks of butter," instead recommending Nanjing for authentic examples of oriental architecture.<sup>32</sup> The butter

30 Japan Tourist Bureau 1939.

31 On the style of architecture that representatives of the Nationalist Party had in mind for Nanjing, see Musgrove 1999.

32 Gotō 1938, pp. 192–93.

metaphor was used by Japanese to characterize something as Western in a negative sense.

At the time, Nanjing offered excellent vestiges of the past, foremost of which was one of the most extensive (twenty two miles in length), imposing (it varied in height from thirty to fifty feet), and best preserved city walls anywhere in China. The wall had presented a challenge to Japanese forces attempting to capture the city, and the location and account of its breaching soon became, for Japanese, part of their heritage landscape that, one should remember, extended far beyond Japan proper during the imperial era. Noyori took a strong interest in and was complimentary of both the architecture of the wall and of its gates, but also of the success of the Japanese forces in finally breaking through Guanghai Gate 光華門. While inspecting this gate and hearing accounts of the battle from his soldier guide, Noyori noticed an unpleasant odor. His hosts informed him that it likely came from the corpses of Chinese soldiers buried haphazardly in the area.

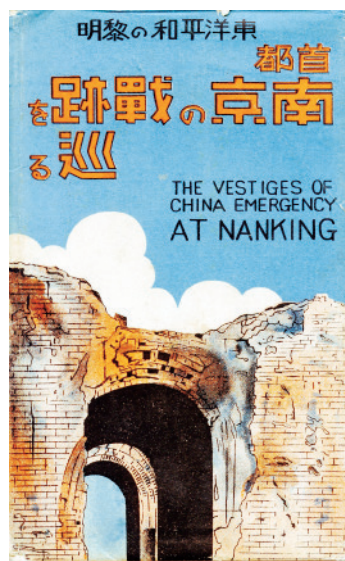


Figure 4

It is thus slightly jarring that only a little later in his travelogue, Noyori recorded his experience of trying to buy some postcards of Nanjing as souvenirs only to learn, after making the rounds of some stores, that no postcards were available in the city.<sup>33</sup> His touristic expectations for Nanjing were high even though the city had only recently been a battle site. If he had visited somewhat later he and other visitors would have been able to purchase postcards, including ones highlighting new attractions such as those featured in the set titled “Touring the Battle Sites of Nanjing,” whose jacket cover is reproduced above (Figure 4).<sup>34</sup>

The JTB’s opening of an information office in Nanjing in 1939 represented an important turning point in the promotion of the city as a tourist destination. Additionally, in March of that year, in other words approximately one year after the Rape of Nanjing, the JTB Mukden branch office published a short, inexpensive travel guide touting Nanjing’s attractions. This guide followed the basic format of concise brochures that the JTB offered about destinations throughout the empire. The purpose of the travel guide was not just to explain the transportation options available for reaching one’s destination and where to stay once there, but also to indicate, for the busy modern traveler, the sights worth seeing and how much time was typically required to complete that task. A highlighted attraction in Nanjing was the aforementioned Guanghai Gate that the Japanese forces had finally penetrated in order to gain entry to the city.

The JTB travel guide to Nanjing explained the convenient transportation links (including by boat on the Yangtze river) that the city enjoyed with other cities in China, notably Shanghai, but also stressed that as of 5 October 1938, Japan Airlines had begun offering flights that connected Tokyo with Nanjing. This travel guide also provided a glimpse into

33 Noyori 1938, pp. 153–66.

34 I cannot pinpoint exactly when postcards again became easily available in Nanjing, but the agents of tourism generally worked quickly by the late 1930s. At used bookstores in Japan I have come across various post-battle sets of postcards focusing on or featuring Nanjing with titles such as *Nankin senseki* 南京戦跡 (Nanjing battle sites) and *Chūshi no senseki o meguru* 中支の戦跡を巡る (Touring the battle sites of central China).

those entities, in addition to transportation companies, with which the JTB Mukden branch office as well as the local JTB office partnered in order to promote tourism to Nanjing. Readers of the guide learned that for diversions while in Nanjing, a city with a population that had exceeded one million before the battle, they could enjoy films at the Tōwa Theater 東和劇場 and at two other movie houses or take in a Chinese drama at the Dashijie 大世界 and at other local theaters devoted to live performances. For a Chinese meal, the guide recommended the Taipingyang 太平洋 and two other restaurants, and for Japanese food, the Kotobuki ことぶき among five other eateries.

Lodging possibilities featured in the guide were separated into nine options located within the city wall that included the Nanjing Hotel and the Yamato Inn, and three options located outside of the city wall. The cost of a night's stay typically ranged from five to ten yen. The guide stressed that only three of the lodging options were appropriate for "foreigners" (*gaijin* 外人), Westerners in other words. Businesses such as hotels and restaurants were a core part of any local tourism world. In the case of Nanjing, their proprietors were presumably concerned first and foremost with the inbound flow of tourists and other travelers. This would have been an area of symbiosis with the JTB. In contrast, one wonders if local business owners took much interest in the message that visitors received about, for example, the recent battle. This latter issue was, however, of pressing concern to Japanese authorities, including JTB representatives, who wanted to portray the Imperial Military's actions and the imperial project overall as righteous.

The JTB's concise travel guide to Nanjing, in addition to recommending entertainment, dining, and lodging options, also suggested sightseeing courses, all by automobile and expected to take, respectively, four, three, and three hours. The fact that automobiles could be easily hired for touring the sights represented an advance in the tourism infrastructure from a year earlier when Noyori had visited. But hiring an automobile to see the sights for around fifteen yen would have strained the budget even of most middle class tourists.

The JTB travel guide also explained that a regularized bus tour of the battle sites in Nanjing was soon to be offered. This bus tour apparently was not yet available when the travel writer Azuma Fumio 東文雄 visited Nanjing. (His account was published in 1939, but it is unclear whether Azuma visited in 1938 or 1939, although his visit was definitely after the battle.) Azuma included in this guide his standard recommendation about train travel in China and Manchuria. He advised that Japanese travelers purchase, at the very least, second-class seats because the third-class cars were full of Chinese.<sup>35</sup> In order to see the sights in Nanjing, Azuma recommended a rickshaw, pointing out that hiring an automobile was far more expensive than in, for example, Shanghai, although he stressed that there was no way other than by car to visit a few of the sights in the outskirts of the Nanjing.<sup>36</sup>

Along the same lines, when the patriot Sekiuchi Shōichi visited Nanjing in July 1939, he found the conveniences to be somewhat lacking in comparison to other continental destinations. He did not steer readers of his travelogue away from Nanjing, however. Sekiuchi went by car to see the sights, including the place where Japanese forces had breached the city wall. His travelogue informs us that by the time of his visit, the story of and the landscape relating to the Imperial Military's successful attack had been substantially codified, clearly in part with tourists in mind.

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35 Azuma 1939, pp. 166–67.

36 Azuma 1939, pp. 172–73.

A wooden marker had been placed on top of the wall identifying the precise spot where Japanese troops had broken through, lending the requisite authenticity cherished by tourists. Additionally, in between the double set of doors of the imposing gate that the Japanese troops had breached, a marker had been placed identifying the location where Lieutenant Colonel Itō Yoshimitsu 伊藤善光, who quickly became *the* tragic hero in the standardized account of the attack, had met his death. Additional markers identifying where other Japanese soldiers had died during the successful attack had also been placed in the area.<sup>37</sup> In short, the location of the breaching had been formalized as a place worth seeing.

It is unclear if the bus tour specifically of the battle sites in Nanjing was ever regularized; it may have been too limiting in a city with numerous other attractions, many ancient, of interest to the typical tourist. But the 1941 edition of the JTB-edited *Manshi ryokō nenkan* 滿支旅行年鑑 (Manchuria China Travel Yearbook) informs us that at some point before this yearbook's publication (probably by 1940 if not earlier) a convenient bus tour of the city's sights was operating.<sup>38</sup> The two and a half hour tour, which cost three yen, provided a thoroughly commodified, affordable, and guided tour of eight attractions: the main avenue in the new city; Xuanwu Lake 玄武湖; Zhongshan Gate 中山門 (one of the gates through which Japanese troops had poured into the city); the Ming Imperial Mausolea; Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum (Sun was a preeminent symbol of Chinese nationalism);<sup>39</sup> Guanghua Gate (the area of the wall first breached by Japanese troops); Zhonghua Gate 中華門; and the Confucius Temple 夫子廟.

There was no stop at a Shintō shrine. This was indicative that the Japanese imprint on Nanjing, only recently brought under Japanese control, was less than in the case of Mukden.<sup>40</sup> In other ways, the bus tour resembled that of Mukden with its combination of stops at a few modern sites (but far fewer than that of the full-day tour of Mukden), battle sites, and heritage sites from previous civilizations.

In Nanjing, too, Japanese authorities preserved select examples of the local civilization and its antecedents, and exploited them for their value both in attracting tourists and in evidencing Imperial Japan's role as the guardian of Asian civilization. The operation of a regular bus tour suggests that circa 1940 enough tourists were visiting Nanjing to justify a regular, commercial bus tour operation. The bus tour was, after all, a profit seeking venture. From March of 1940, Nanjing became the capital of the Reorganized National Government of China, or of the Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883–1944) regime, a puppet government of the Japanese. This may have increased the number of visitors, but otherwise does not seem to have impacted the city in terms of tourism.

In a short essay about his visit to Nanjing published in the July 1943 issue of the tourism journal *Ryokō zasshi* 旅行雜誌 (a new title that continued the serial *Kankō tōa*), the novelist Yamada Seizaburō 山田清三郎 (1896–1987) expressed hope that, as stability returned, the preservation of the diverse and numerous tourism resources that the city enjoyed, such as the Drum Tower 鼓樓 (dating from the late fourteenth century), could be

37 Sekiuchi 1940, p. 75.

38 *Manshi ryokō nenkan* 1941, p. 46. I have not located any documents that inform on the commentary provided by the guide during the bus tour.

39 For a contemporary postcard of Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum, see [http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5559&CISOBX=1&REC=10](http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5559&CISOBX=1&REC=10). On the making of the Sun Yat-sen mausoleum, see Wang 1996.

40 A Shinto shrine in Nanjing that enshrined Amaterasu and Emperor Meiji was completed by October 1942, however.

ensured. Yamada was not an average tourist in the length of his stay in Nanjing, twelve days. The overall tone of his article, which appeared in this premier tourism journal published monthly by the JTB Mukden branch office, suggested a bright future for Nanjing in the area of attracting tourists.<sup>41</sup>

### 3) Qufu

Whereas the post-battle rehabilitation and re-crafting of Nanjing into a destination attractive to tourists succeeded in a basic sense, there were also examples of plans by Japanese to transform areas in China flush with heritage sites into must-visit destinations that never got off the ground. Previously, in my book *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith*, I devoted three chapters to analyzing wartime tourism. What impressed me most of all upon my first reading of Ishihara Gantetsu's 石原巖徹 (1898–?) 1942 plan for leveraging Qufu's heritage sites was that he obviously knew a great deal about tourism promotion practices at the time. This made his proposal for Qufu, unrealized though it was when the empire of Japan collapsed in 1945, useful for understanding the empire-wide circulation of cultural capital about tourism.

Some background about Qufu is required before turning our attention to Ishihara's proposal. Qufu had been a pilgrimage site for Chinese for centuries before the modern era, especially after leisure travel became popular among the gentry from the sixteenth century on. Several emperors traveled to Qufu to make offerings to Confucius, including the great Kangxi Emperor 康熙帝 (r. 1661–1722). During the modern era, Qufu became a place that Japanese, too, could visit rather than simply imagine as an abstraction, as had been the case previously for students of classical Chinese studies.

Initially, Qufu mainly attracted Japanese scholars versed in the Chinese classics eager to see firsthand the birthplace of the sage and of Confucianism. The historian Joshua Fogel has written about the case of the China scholar Uno Tetsuto 宇野哲人 (1875–1974), who reverentially visited Qufu in 1906.<sup>42</sup> As the result of his visit, Uno became convinced that there was a chasm between the great China of the classics (symbolized by Qufu) and the impoverished and weak contemporary China, a juxtaposed view of two Chinas that became common among Japanese during the imperial era.

There is somewhat conflicting evidence about the extent to which Qufu became popular among Japanese visitors to China in subsequent decades. Japanese affiliated with societies and academies with a special focus on China published travelogues and specialized studies about the sacred sites relating to Confucius and Mencius. For example, in 1922 Tōa Dōbun Shoin 東亞同文書院 (East Asia Common Culture Academy) published Yamada Kenkichi's 山田謙吉 "Account of Travel to Sacred Sites in Qufu" *Kyokufu kikō seiseki* 曲阜紀行聖蹟.<sup>43</sup> But Yamada's travelogue was far from the sort of promotional literature that

41 Yamada 1943. Strictly speaking, the JTB's name changed in 1941 to the Tōa Ryokōsha 東亞旅行社 (East Asia Travel Company) which then reverted back to the JTB in 1945. In order to avoid confusion, I have used JTB throughout the essay.

42 Fogel 1997.

43 Yamada 1922. The Tōa Dōbun Shoin that trained thousands of China specialists from its base in Shanghai was opened in 1901 by its parent organization, Tōa Dōbunkai 東亞同文会 (East Asia Common Culture Society), which was established in 1900 to promote mutual understanding between Japan and China. Yamada is referenced in the preface of his travelogue as a teacher at the East Asia Common Culture Academy, and his trip likely originated from this academy's stress on the importance of fieldtrips and fieldwork in helping students and teachers alike to develop a firm understanding of China.



might have encouraged mass tourism to Qufu. At least two Japanese-language collections of photographs of Qufu with commentary were published around the same time as Yamada's travelogue, suggesting some general interest in the sights there.<sup>44</sup>

In 1934 and then again in 1940, Baba Haruyoshi 馬場春吉 published thoroughly detailed tomes, full of visuals, about sacred heritage sites in the area around Qufu.<sup>45</sup> Toward the end of the Taishō era (1912–26), Baba, in order to provide educational opportunities for Chinese, established a school in Jinan 濟南, capital of Shandong 山東 province, where Qufu is located. This also provided him with a base to research various nearby historical sites related to the development of Confucianism. The Daitō Bunka Kyōkai 大東文化協会 (Great Oriental Culture Society) supported Baba's long years of research and the cost of publishing the 1934 volume, whereas the Santō Bunka Kenkyūkai 山東文化研究会 (Shandong Culture Research Association) published the 1940 one.

For both of Baba's monographs, various luminaries, ranging from leading Japanese figures in China Studies to a descendant of Mencius, contributed calligraphy or words of praise for the final results. In the 1940 volume, Uno Tetsuto commended Baba for his study of Shandong cultural history, which he termed the "axis of Chinese culture." Although both *Kōshi seisekishi* 孔子聖蹟志 (A Study of the Sacred Sites of Confucius) and *Kōmō seiseki zukan* 孔孟聖蹟図鑑 (An Illustrated Book of the Sacred Sites of Confucius and Mencius) included some of the trappings of leisure travel promotion literature at the time, such as bird's eye view maps of the sights, both were far too lengthy and scholarly to serve as reference for average leisure travelers.

A review of travel guides about the continent during the 1930s suggests that Qufu was not included on the routes typically tread by Japanese leisure travelers, although most guidebooks provided short accounts of its significance. However, Kong Demao 孔德懋 (b. 1917), the sister of Kong Decheng 孔德成 (1920–2008), the 77th male descendant of Confucius, recounted that visits by Japanese soldiers during the Japanese occupation provided income desperately needed by the Kong Mansion:

Japanese army officers often came to the Temple of Confucius to burn incense. After performing a ritual bow, they would make donations which the Temple attendants would record along with the donor's name on a wooden board in front of the altar. The next Japanese to come to the Temple would invariably want to out-give his predecessor. By the end of the month, the board would be covered with names and sums, and each month a new board would be erected. The Kong Mansion used this money to pay many minor daily expenses. It no longer had to borrow money, and even redeemed some of the land it had mortgaged out.<sup>46</sup>

Reproduced below is a pre-1945 postcard showing the Temple of Confucius in Qufu (Figure 5).<sup>47</sup>

44 Takahashi Shashinkan 1918 and Santō Kōko Gakkai 1924.

45 Baba 1934 and Baba 1940. The Great Oriental Culture Society, established in 1923 to promote the study of China, opened the Daitō Bunka Gakuin 大東文化学院 (Great Oriental Culture Academy) in Tokyo that same year.

46 Kong 1984, p. 235.

47 Professor Kishi Toshihiko 貴志俊彦, who oversees the Database of Pre-1945 East Asian Postcards (*Senzenki bigashi Ajia ehagaki detabēsu* 戦前期東アジア絵はがきデータベース) at Kyoto University's Center for Integrated Area Studies 京都大学地域研究統合情報センター, kindly gave permission to reproduce this postcard here.

Visits by Japanese soldiers notwithstanding, Ishihara Gantetsu, who often wrote about continental issues, was appalled by Qufu's overall lack of popularity, especially in reference to the small number of Chinese who visited. He sought to remedy this situation with an ambitious plan to transform Qufu into a center of worship and learning that was also an attractive tourist destination. Ishihara detailed his plan to transform Qufu into the

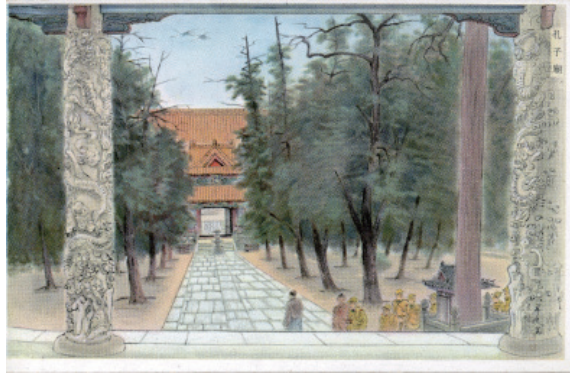


Figure 5

primary national heritage site in China in the latter part of an article in the May 1942 issue of *Kankō tōa*, which also included a bird eye's view map of the railways and attractions in Shandong province. The article identified Ishihara as a consultant to the Kahoku Kōtsū Gaisha 華北交通会社 (North China Transportation Company), an enterprise established in 1938 with governmental backing to manage the rail lines and bus routes in the areas of North China including Shandong province recently occupied by the Imperial Military.<sup>48</sup>

Ishihara devoted the first several pages of his essay, titled “Confucius and Contemporary Confucianism,” to convincing readers that Chinese no longer truly embraced the teachings of Confucius.<sup>49</sup> Among Japanese, the lineage of the basic “estrangement” interpretation dated back to the China scholar Uno, if not earlier. In his 1906 account of travel to China, Uno concluded that it was only Japan that had truly realized the teachings of Confucius, as evidenced by the practice of Japanese serving their sovereign, the emperor.<sup>50</sup> By way of contextualizing his plan for transforming Qufu from a sleepy locale into a sacred, yet bustling, national heritage site, it is necessary to introduce here Ishihara's understanding that the Chinese disaffection from Confucius had begun in the period following the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), and then had grown all the more serious in the modern era with the influx of Western ideas (and material culture) as well as outright intellectual attacks on Confucianism by members of the Chinese literati.

Ishihara decried the fact that there was next to no interest among the people and government of China in the Confucius Compound and other sacred sites in the area. He described the people and government as *jinmin* 人民 (*chōya o fukumete* 朝野を含めて), by which terms he seemed to imply everyone in China, including the Communist and Nationalist factions that were in conflict with Japan. If it occurred to Ishihara that, at a time when Qufu was under Japanese occupation and when the 77th direct descendant of Confucius had fled to Chongqing in an act of anti-Japanese resistance, Chinese might find it less than interesting to visit the Confucius Compound, he did not say so. The article included a photo of Kong Decheng, whose presence in Chongqing Ishihara attributed to kidnapping by General Jiang Jieshi.

48 It was a sister company to the South Manchurian Railway Company.

49 Ishihara 1942.

50 Fogel 1997, esp. pp. 352–61.

The notion of the Confucius Compound as a significant heritage site without the presence of the direct living descendant of Confucius symbolized an empire-wide process by which Japanese transformed places that previously had served active religious, political, and cultural roles in local societies into sites that were devoid of their previous function but accessible to tourists (although the Kong Mansion, or Confucius Compound, continued to function in wartime China even in the absence of the primary male descendant). A more striking example of this process was the fate of royal palaces in Korea. Once the residences of royal family members, courtesans, and servants, and also the location of various practices and rituals central to Korean government and society, palace buildings were either torn down or transformed by Japanese colonial authorities into heritage sites with no function other than to be gazed upon by tourists.<sup>51</sup>

Ishihara's specific recommendations for elevating the significance of the Confucius Compound were presumably directed toward the Reorganized Government of China based in Nanjing, as well as toward Japanese authorities. Ishihara bluntly assigned the Japanese a leadership role in transforming the Chinese people's superficial attachment to Confucianism (*katachi nomi o shihai suru* 形のみを支配する) to an attitude whereby they truly embraced it in their hearts (*Nihon no doryoku ni yori Shinajin ga jukyō o katachi no ue kara kokoro no ue ni made shihai seshimuru ni itaru toki* 日本の努力により支那人が儒教を形の上から心の上まで支配せしむるに至るとき).<sup>52</sup> With this in mind, Ishihara called for the Ise-fication (*Ise-ka* 伊勢化) of the Confucius Compound. He proposed the transformation of the Confucius Compound into a national shrine as important to China as were the Ise shrines to Japan, "to the extent that it would be embarrassing for Chinese not to have worshipped there at least once in their lives."

Ise is the holiest of Shinto shrines (the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, progenitor of the imperial lineage, is enshrined at Ise's inner shrine), and it attracted periodic mass pilgrimages even before the modern era. During the tourism boom in the 1930s and early 1940s that included further elevation, in terms of prestige, of all sites related to the imperial dynasty, Ise was one of most popular destinations in Japan. It drew more than four million visitors in 1940.<sup>53</sup>

The specifics of Ishihara's ambitious eight-point proposal, in slightly abbreviated form and also with some clarification by the author, are provided below:

1. Designation as national shrine: The Government should designate the Confucius Compound in Qufu as a national shrine, assume management of it, and codify its rituals.
2. Extension of rites:
  - a. For the spring and autumn festivals, the government should dispatch official representatives with stature, individuals of influence from every province should attend, as well as representatives from every part of society nationwide, making for a grand celebration.
  - b. Using the Grand Festival at Meiji shrine as a model, every imaginable group nationwide should be encouraged to hold meetings in Qufu in conjunction with the spring and autumn festivals.

51 Pai 2013, esp. pp. 114–41.

52 Ishihara 1942, p. 21.

53 Ise-shi Sangyōbu Kankōka 1993. Professor Hara Takeshi kindly provided me with this document.

3. Distribute a Kōshi shin'i 孔子神位 Confucius ancestral tablet to all schools and governmental offices, where all persons concerned would worship it monthly and also during festivals.
4. Establish a college [in Qufu to focus on study of the] great sage. Students would be selected from every province, and upon graduation they would be dispatched as teachers to middle schools and above to teach a required curriculum [about Confucianism].
5. Establish a research center for the study of Confucianism, as well as a museum to display items about Confucianism and a library to store documents.
6. Tourism Facilities:
  - a. Build railways (and also possibly streetcars) to make transportation to and within Qufu convenient. Identify the main area within Qufu as a tourism sphere, and construct rail lines to connect it with the nearby Mencius Compound and other heritage sites in the area.
  - b. Construct large-scale lodging facilities, and in order to encourage the opening of such facilities by private entities beyond railway companies and other such [powerful] enterprises provide them with subsidies.
  - c. Establish “discount [railway] tickets for worship” and offer them for sale at every station nationwide.
  - d. Open a zoo and a botanical garden (which could be affiliated with the museum).
7. Other facilities:
  - a. Using the outer garden of Meiji shrine as a model, construct athletic facilities that would also provide a locale to hold large gatherings.
  - b. At a distance that would not “tarnish” the sacred area, establish a city and build housing for the employees [of the above ventures].
  - c. Establish a research center for ancient music.
8. Other:
  - a. Require everyone holding important posts at both the central and provincial levels of government to worship at Qufu.
  - b. Make Qufu a required field trip destination for middle schools and above.
  - c. Establish a “national shrine commemorative medal” to be presented to visitors to Qufu.<sup>54</sup>

Ishihara's basic plan to increase the flow of people to Qufu is more pertinent to this essay than his efforts to lead Chinese to a rediscovery of Confucius, although the two cannot be easily separated. It is significant that Ishihara was proposing a Chinese return to Confucianism, an ideology that the Japanese had coopted in service of imperial hierarchies by invoking concepts such as “proper place.” In this sense, his plan for exploiting the tourism potential of Qufu was not threatening to Japanese dominance, so long as Confucianism could be interpreted to justify the existing hierarchy.

Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that Ishihara was a consultant to the North China Transportation Company, which was seeking to increase traffic on its railway and bus lines. Moreover, in the context of the second Sino-Japanese War from July 1937 on, almost

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<sup>54</sup> Ishihara 1942, pp. 21–22.

everyone in the tourism world throughout the empire adopted a discourse that portrayed leisure travel as being in service to the nation in one way or another. In other words, even if Ishihara could have cared less about anything other than increasing the number of visitors to Qufu, the context of the times would have required him to justify his proposal as serving loftier ends than simply providing leisure opportunities and increasing economic activity.

One distinctive element of Ishihara's proposal was that it was mainly directed towards the local population rather than toward prospective Japanese tourists. But Ishihara's suggestions that the Chinese rediscovery of Confucius could coexist with or even serve Imperial Japan's continental policies are less than compelling, especially in light of the growing Chinese nationalism at the time. His plan involved combining Confucian morals with the Yamato spirit, in other words the basic imperial hierarchy of Japanese at the top and all others accepting their proper place in a new order in Asia led by Japan.

Nonetheless, if all the items of Ishihara's proposal that required official backing, from the formal recognition of Qufu as a sacred national heritage site to it being designated a priority destination on the field trip circuit for school children, had been realized, a dramatic increase in the human traffic to Qufu would surely have resulted. In the case of Japan proper, the field trip circuit for school children had been codified by the 1920s and continued to evolve thereafter, incorporating destinations outside of Japan proper, at least until the war situation deteriorated. Apparently Ishihara had the same sort of codification in mind for school field trips in China, at least in reference to Qufu.

From the general perspective of attracting leisure travelers, Ishihara's proposals were also on solid ground in the sense that they drew thoughtfully from the cultural capital about promoting tourism in circulation at the time. Whether or not such and such a place had been officially designated a must-visit destination on the heritage landscape played an important role in determining whether leisure travelers chose to visit it. Beyond exploiting the existing tourism resources in the Qufu area, Ishihara also proposed to build new attractions such as a museum and a zoo (something for families to do).

Ishihara's call for the establishment of a zoo symbolizes his willingness to develop a tourist-friendly environment. Ishihara did not elaborate on what sort of zoo he had in mind—a small petting zoo, a massive complex that would rival Tōkyō's Ueno Zoo, or something in between? This makes it difficult to fathom whether he envisioned the zoo in Qufu as serving the sort of complex societal functions that the Tokyo Imperial Zoo, as analyzed by the historian Ian Miller, played at the time.<sup>55</sup> There were also colonial models for combining a zoo with other attractions, in cities such as Taipei and Seoul.

For example, early in the colonial period, Japanese authorities in Seoul had transformed the Changgyeong Royal Palace into a park whose colonial-era Japanese name was Shōkeien 昌慶苑 that included a zoo, botanical garden, and greenhouse.<sup>56</sup> Although not sanctified (at least not by the Japanese authorities) to the extent that Ishihara had in mind for the Confucius Compound, this park, which combined local examples of heritage such as surviving palace buildings with newer attractions such as the zoo, was a popular site for residents and tourists alike.<sup>57</sup> At the time, zoos, botanical gardens, and museums, especially through

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<sup>55</sup> Miller 2013.

<sup>56</sup> For a contemporary postcard of the Changgyeong zoo, botanical garden, and greenhouse, see [http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5050&CISOBX=1&REC=1](http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5050&CISOBX=1&REC=1).

<sup>57</sup> See Ruoff 2010, p. 119.

their systems of classifying plants, animals, and examples of human culture, symbolized modernity more powerfully than they do today. Zoos and botanical gardens also provided an antidote to modern, urbanized living that was said to alienate people from nature.

Ishihara recognized the need to provide the infrastructure that would make the experience of visiting Qufu convenient and pleasurable. For this reason, he proposed to develop transportation and lodging facilities. Ishihara's suggestion for discounted railway tickets followed a common practice used by Japanese railway companies to encourage leisure travel. In light of his knowledge of tourism practices at the time, however, it is curious that Ishihara failed to propose bus tours, one of the most standardized commodities offered to tourists. Bus tours also conveniently allowed for guides to give a scripted and often ideologically loaded commentary about the significance of the local sights to a captive audience. They were a particularly effective way of spinning the take-home message.

Ishihara was also somewhat out of sync with mainstream practices regarding souvenirs. By offering, seemingly for free, a commemorative medal to all visitors to Qufu, he was proposing a level of generosity beyond that provided at heritage sites elsewhere in the empire. At popular sites, sacred or otherwise, a wide variety of souvenirs were typically available, but for purchase. It was also common practice for tourist attractions throughout the empire to offer free commemorative stamps to visitors. The ink stamp, which cost next to nothing other than having someone on hand to issue it normally at the point of entrance, was ritually stamped onto a booklet, table, postcard (see the stamp on the postcard showing imperial tombs in Mukden reproduced earlier in this essay) or other mementos purchased by the visitor.<sup>58</sup> Mementos with places for commemorative stamps often listed a variety of sites, grouped thematically or geographically, thus challenging the traveler to obtain all the stamps by visiting every site.

Ishihara also conceptualized how to make Qufu into an attractive venue for conferences and other large gatherings. The athletic facilities would have provided the sort of setting that could host competitions and other events best held outdoors. Ishihara perhaps drew here not only on the outer garden at Meiji shrine but also the outer garden at Kashihara shrine 橿原神宮 in Nara (built on the spot where Emperor Jinmu supposedly had been enthroned in 660 B.C.). Kashihara shrine and its outer garden were significantly enlarged and upgraded in advance of the 2,600th anniversary celebrations. Both of these shrines, must-visit destinations on the heritage landscape at the time, also hosted a variety of conferences, meetings, and athletic events.

Ishihara's proposal went far beyond typical interventions by the colonial authorities in his suggestion that these heritage sites be deployed in a massive pedagogical campaign directed toward a large local population. Nonetheless, in the basic area of heritage preservation Ishihara's plan drew upon an empire-wide pattern. Japanese colonial authorities, to a greater or lesser extent depending on the locale, preserved relics of previous civilizations, but with their own interests in mind, which often included the crafting of a narrative that justified the existing power structure.<sup>59</sup> The heritage sites at Qufu, central to the history

<sup>58</sup> At some sites the stamp was self-service.

<sup>59</sup> In reference to Korea, the historian Hyung Il Pai (2010) has analyzed efforts by Japanese archaeologists, with the backing of the colonial government, to preserve selectively and put on display in museums such as the Colonial Governor-General Fine Arts Museum (established in 1915 in a royal palace in Seoul) and the Kyongju Museum (est. 1921) relics of Korean civilization to construct a narrative that justified Japanese rule over Korea.

of Confucianism and of East Asian civilization, and nearly as ancient as sites linked to the putative founding of the imperial dynasty in 660 B.C. by Emperor Jinmu, were arguably of particular significance (Ishihara obviously felt so).

There is no evidence that Ishihara's proposal drew any official response, or that his essay encouraged significant numbers of leisure travelers, Chinese or Japanese, to visit Qufu. His timing was poor. His essay appeared just one month before the Battle of Midway in June 1942, an important shift in the tide of the Pacific War. This development made it all the more unlikely that the Imperial Military could disentangle itself from the Chinese quagmire, and overall stability on the continent remained elusive.

In mid 1942, leisure travel by people residing in Japan proper dropped off dramatically. But one Japanese man's March 1943 short travelogue about his visit, with his teenage daughter, to sacred sites related to Mencius suggests that the attraction of Confucian heritage sites went somewhat beyond Japanese specialists on China and soldiers stationed nearby, and also reminds us that leisure travel in the empire continued later in the war than in Japan proper. Nogami Masumi 野上増美 was an employee of the South Manchurian Railway Company, so it is little surprise that *Kankō tōa* published an account of his visit to heritage sites related to Mencius.<sup>60</sup>

Nogami began his essay, "Everyone knows about the existence of sacred Qufu, but few people know of sacred Zouxian." (The term he used for what is now known as Zouxian was Sūken 鄒縣.) It was by visiting Qufu that Nogami became convinced of the need to visit Zouxian, birthplace of Mencius, too. He compared Qufu and Zouxian to the inner and outer shrines of Ise suggesting a familiarity with Ishihara's essay. But Nogami did not take the Chinese to task for supposed failings in living up to the ideals of Confucianism or for other deficiencies. Mostly, he portrayed his thrill at visiting places identified with various parables involving Mencius to which he had been exposed in school.

Nogami also was amazed that the 74th descendant of Mencius received him, even though he provided no advance notice. He recounted the 74th descendant's secretary as praising the local Japanese military authorities for their propriety in not disturbing the Mencius Compound or the descendants in any way. Nogami used this story to transition into patriotic rhetoric stressing, "Japan is a righteous country." This nationalistic reference aside, Nogami's essay suggests how much fun it was to be a Japanese tourist in Zouxian in 1943, a contrast with the typically grim portrayals of individuals suffering in wartime Japan.

The empire provided an almost endless number of leisure travel opportunities for Japanese with the means and the wherewithal, in some cases even as late as 1943. But by that time in the war, tourism promotion magazines also seem, at least in retrospect, to have begun to assume an aura of fantasy. If contributors to travel magazines ever sensed that the empire was in danger of collapse, they refrained from alluding to that possibility in their essays about tourism opportunities. The omission is hardly surprising considering the censorship of the times, but it makes it difficult today to read some of these essays without disbelief.

For example, did any Japanese actually accomplish the astonishing four-month empire-wide tour that Itō Chōtarō 伊藤長太郎 proposed in an April 1943 essay in *Kankō tōa* titled "Kyōeiken no kōsei ryokō" 共栄圏の厚生旅行 (Health and Welfare Travel in the

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60 Nogami 1943.

Co-Prosperty Sphere).<sup>61</sup> This suggested tour, which included visits to the Philippines that came under Japanese control after Japan initiated the war in the Pacific in December 1941, left from Dairen (Dalian) and returned to Nanjing, and was first class in every sense (e.g., individual rooms with baths attached). It was as though representatives of the tourism world resolutely continued their duty to promote travel, regardless of a changed environment that allowed fewer and fewer individuals the chance even to contemplate a leisure trip, let alone undertake one.

## Conclusion

Today Shenyang (Mukden) hosts the “9.18” Historical Museum that commemorates Chinese resistance against Japan;<sup>62</sup> Nanjing is home to the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall; and, after many post-1949 twists and turns that included bouts of virulent anti-Confucianism during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–76), the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has elevated sites around Qufu related to Confucius and his disciples into revered heritage sites. The CCP now trumpets Confucianism as a defining feature of China’s great and ancient civilization.<sup>63</sup>

Although at war museums in Shenyang, Nanjing, and elsewhere in China today the locus of righteousness in the conflict between Japan and China favors the latter, curiously their narratives, in their stress on nationalism, replicate the patriotic messages that wartime Japanese tourists encountered at continental battle sites and memorials. As for Qufu, it is doubtful that anyone in China is aware of Ishihara’s proposal. Few there today would find it attractive learn that, in the middle of the second Sino-Japanese War, a Japanese commentator provided what may have been the first master plan for exploiting the tourism and ideological potential of what is now one of China’s most sanctified heritage sites.

But let us return to what this story of leisure travel and tourism promotion to the continent tells us about wartime Japan. First, many forms of consumption, from tourism to publishing, far from being interpreted as a drag on the war effort, were seen as supportive. This was true throughout the empire. Tourism thrived for approximately five years after the outbreak of full-scale war with China, and the war expanded the heritage landscape. Travel to heritage sites, for example, was justified in terms of providing patriotic citizenship training. This included intra-empire travel, useful for educating Japanese about the imperial projects. Forms of consumption with pedagogical components were often seen as useful to the overall war effort, at least until the wartime situation became desperate.

Heritage tourism is a political act, after all, and this is the second point. Although various state actors influence the tourism landscape, the tourism promotion literature, and the messages delivered at heritage sites, leisure travel nonetheless tends to be a voluntary activity, making its ideological role particularly interesting. The Japanese who traveled to heritage sites throughout the empire engaged in a form of self-administered citizenship

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61 Itō 1943.

62 It was on 18 September 1931 that Japanese forces attacked Chinese troops in Shenyang in the start of what the Japanese referred to as the Manchurian incident.

63 For information about Qufu and sites related to Confucius during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, see Ho 2006. There is a growing literature about the development, during the past three decades, of Qufu into one of the most significant heritage sites in China. For one introduction to this topic, see Yan and Bramwell 2008.



training through which they learned accounts, typically edifying, of the national history (including how Japan came to acquire an empire and why it was imperative to maintain the imperium), of Japan's role as the guardian of Asian civilization, and of Japan's role as the instructor of less modernized people (who in the case of the Chinese, at least according to Ishihara, needed to be taught the value of their own heritage). As leisure travelers, many Japanese were active agents and willing participants in the combustible mix of modernity, empire, and war.

Third, the vibrancy of tourism suggests that the “dark valley” narrative, a storyline that has been frequently applied, and quite simply misused, to describe wartime Japan as a period of unrelenting suffering for most Japanese needs to be put to rest once and for all. More and more scholars either dismiss outright the notion of the dark valley or in any case refrain from using this term. But my own sense of the scholarship about wartime Japan is that there is still a tendency, by means of tone, to suggest that it was a dreary period across the board, and in this sense the dark valley narrative persists. War, after all, is viewed as bad, so wartime must be dreadful for those involved. But this assumption does not necessarily describe the reality of the situation for many people in wartime Japan, at least not until the war turned decisively against Japan.

For intellectuals harassed for thought crimes or for peasants in northeast Japan suffering through famines, not to mention first and foremost for many colonial subjects, wartime Japan must have been grim. But was it a dreary time for the millions of Japanese undertaking leisure trips in Japan proper and the hundreds of thousands who visited areas beyond Japan proper that were under Japanese control? The contemporary travelogues suggest quite the opposite.

Fourth, a recent trend in the historiography of Imperial Japan is to stress the interrelatedness of Japan proper, or the metropole, and the empire. Although this is a worthy approach, it is a form of history writing that is not easy to accomplish in practice, especially in an empire-wide framework. But tourism was one way that Japan proper and the empire (and individual colonies and other areas under Japanese control) were especially interrelated. Consider, for example, the case of the Japan Tourist Bureau, one of the few organizations other than the military that had an empire-wide presence.

An advertisement the JTB published in the January 1940 issue of the tourism journal *Kankō tōa* lists the JTB as operating, in addition to the main office in Tokyo and the eleven branch offices (three of which were located outside of Japan proper, in Mukden, Seoul, and Taipei), 137 “information offices” (*annaisho*) throughout the empire. Sixty nine of the information offices, more than half, were located in areas under Japanese control but outside of Japan proper. They included information offices in places that one might not think as having attracted tourists in 1940, such as Inner Mongolia. A book length study of the JTB in Imperial Japan might go a long way toward complimenting a growing body of literature that studies Imperial Japan as the empire that it was, avoiding the island nation framework.

Finally, tourism is emblematic of the extent of modernity in wartime Japan. The romantic nationalism and other rhetoric drawing on mysticism so common in wartime Japan, but especially so during the 2,600th anniversary celebrations of the “unbroken imperial line,” has sometimes misled interpreters to view the period as a turn away from modernity, or as an attempt to overcome modernity. But below the level of romantic rhetoric about the primordial origin of the Japanese nation, one finds one of the most modern societies in the

world, exemplified by the extent of mass tourism. By the late 1930s, leisure travel, including to destinations beyond Japan proper, had been transformed into a packaged commodity regularly purchased by members of the middle class and above.

Historians do not agree on a precise definition of modernity, but tourism certainly intersects with various characteristics that are frequently cited as evidence of modernity. The steamships, trains, and airplanes that transported tourists to their destinations, as well as the buses that showed them the sites, remind us of the extent of industrialization. Heritage tourism speaks to the expansion of political participation as well as to the sense of nation, both characteristics of modernity. And mass heritage tourism, or mass tourism of any form (including the mass number of printed promotional materials), represents the extension of mass society that tends to be a characteristic of modern societies. (Japan circa 1940 had arguably one of the most mass societies in the world.)

There was an international tourist circuit that attracted a growing number of individuals of means before it was disrupted by World War II, but even intra-empire tourism reminds us how increasingly integrated the world was becoming at the time, another characteristic of modernity. For discussing modernity well into the twentieth century, it might make sense simply to include imperialism in our definition because much of the world was either colonized or a colonizer during that period. The study of tourism is particularly well suited to provide insights about the intersection of modernity and empire.

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